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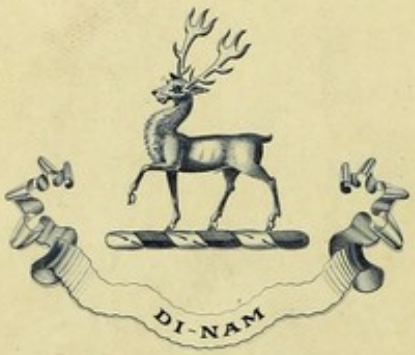
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THE

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OF

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AND

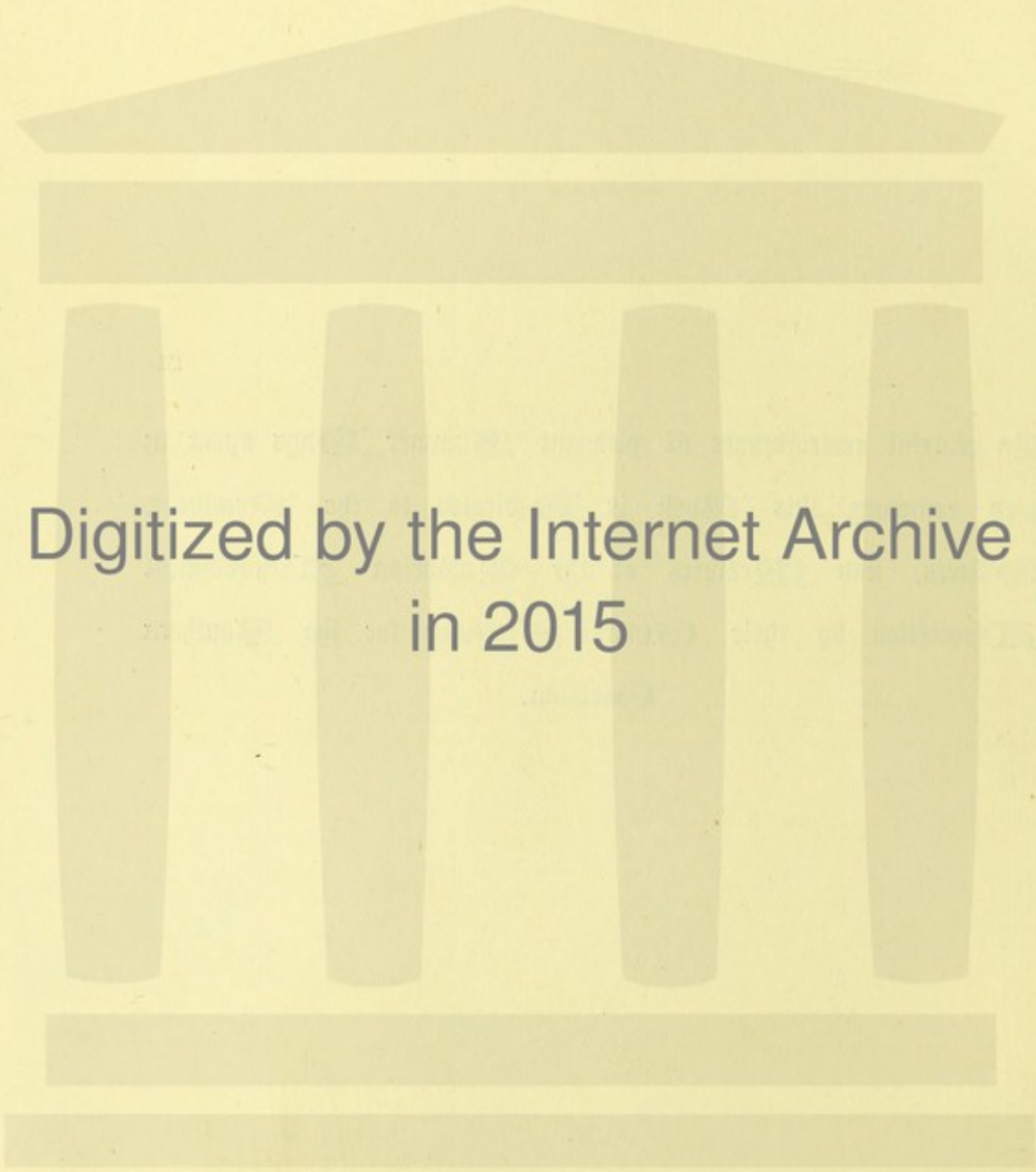
THE NON-KYMRIC COLONY SETTLED IN PEMBROKESHIRE.

BY EDWARD LAWS.

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Note.—Pictures marked (*) are from blocks kindly lent by the Cambrian Archæological Association; those with (†) are from the original plates engraved by C. Norris of Waterwynch early in the century.

PREAMBLE.

"ILLE TERRARUM MIHI PRÆTER OMNES
"ANGULUS RIDET."



OMING man must necessarily be of mingled lineage. Locomotion is regenerating the races, wedding North to South, and giving the East in marriage to the West. In a few years, or centuries, as the case may be, tribes of unmixed blood will cease to exist; unless peradventure some poor remnants may be found as fugitives driven to the uttermost parts of the earth, and in nowise influencing the progress of the mongrel majority. But earth is not large enough for absolute equality; the best men will always lord it over the best land; the immutable law will ever be in force, "To him that hath shall be given." The fittest will survive, and wrest earth's pleasant places from their weaker brethren.

Who will lead the van in those days to come? Will it be a nation through whose veins runs a mixture of the blood of all the peoples, the perfection of miscegenation? Or will the chosen people be men whose fathers have restricted themselves to Aryan wives, who have married indeed Hindoos, Persians, Kelts, Latins, Slavs, Teutons, and Scandinavians, but have carefully eschewed the allophylian daughters of Heth? Who can say? To such as care for questions of this nature, the history of a very small, isolated district, into which many immigrations of completely distinct races have been poured in almost appreciable proportions, must prove an interesting study.

Being so, South Pembrokeshire, though a mere microcosm, is worthy of attention. Into this little district, measuring some 24 miles by 36, we know that waves of Silures, Gaels, Dutchmen led by Italians, Kymry, Scandinavians, Bretons, English, Normans, Saxons,

Flemings, and mediæval Irish, have rolled in, one after the other; and that the descendants of the motley crew have been strangely secluded for several centuries; for Little England beyond Wales, as its children love to call it, is hedged in by physical and ethnical barriers; it is bounded on the east, south, and west by the sea, and on the north by a Welsh-speaking people with whom it has even to the present but little intercourse.

If the racial line is not now-a-days quite so hard as it was in times past, the fact is attributable rather to the pressure of English civilization outside Wales, than to aggressive movement from either side within. The Welsh have not overrun their borders on the one side, neither has the foreign colony on the other; and these latter do not seem greatly to have recruited their numbers. Until the railroad era, the overland journey was tedious and expensive, and relatively so it remains; still there was but little traffic by water. That magnificent estuary, Milford Haven, has been strangely neglected, and though at times its broad waters are gay with the flags of all nations, yet on the return of a favourable breeze the foreigners go their way, leaving no more trace of their sojourn than do the swallows.

The insignificant seaports of Saundersfoot, Solva, Fishguard and Newport, have never invited an immigration of seafaring folks. In the case of Tenby matters are somewhat different. For many generations this town has been intimately connected with Brixham, in South Devon, the fishermen from the latter place coming over in their boats year by year to ply their trade, and not infrequently marrying Tenby girls; but when the autumnal equinox gives notice that the fishing season is over, then bride and bridegroom spread their brown tan sails, and seek the waters of Tor Bay. Very few Brixham men settle down at Tenby, and even if they did the fisher folk are so exclusive and clannish that the result would not affect the outside population. Visitors, and their dependents, on the other hand have certainly introduced a strain of fresh blood into the little town. Pembroke-Dock and Penally, as well as the shores of Milford Haven, have also been, doubtless, more or less affected by their naval and military visitors; but on the whole, since the various ingredients were mixed together that make up the Pembrokeshire man, this district has been singularly secluded from the rest of the world.

The veriest cheap tripper cannot visit Pembrokeshire without perceiving that it is a land

with a history. He sees dolmens, monoliths, alignments, and stone circles standing grey and ghost-like on mountain and moorland; tumuli stud the fields, and deserted earthworks crown the heights. Nearly every village is dominated by a mediæval castle, draped in ivy, and gay with wall-flower, or valerian. From out of its ruined gates issue a people, claiming black mail in English, spoken as a foreign tongue, and at times clad in what our tourist deems an out-landish dress. The very churches have an unfamiliar look. From without they resemble fortresses, from within their vaulted roofs and rude massive arches remind the stranger of temples dug out from the solid rock. In bewilderment he asks what it all means, and is most likely referred to Fenton's *Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire;* and a very admirable work he will find it, though perhaps not quite what he requires.

Since Fenton's day a great deal has been done in constructive archæology, and a great deal in destructive. All pre-historic work was then attributed by learned men to the Druid; by unlearned, to the Devil; now-a-days we admit we know as little of one agent as of the other. The national records, too, have been opened during the present century, and these throw considerable light on Pembrokeshire story.

It may, and perhaps will be said: "How dare you, an untried man, attempt to compress the history of an immense period and many races into a book like this, when the strongest writers find a period scarcely exceeding one man's life-time sufficiently taxes their strength?" I can only say, in all humility, that I give of my best, having grudged neither time nor labour. For years past I have scoured the County from Carn Englyn to St. Govan's Head, from Monkstone Point to Ramsey Island—examining, measuring, digging, asking questions and taking notes. Having thus carefully and reverentially sought inspiration from the *genius loci*, the result is here set down. But in addition to these observations of my own, I have requisitioned from others everything I could find which I thought threw a light on my subject.*

This book then is the outcome of my work. In it I have attempted to show what

* I trust I have fully acknowledged these "benevolences;" but should any authority, from whom I have quoted, by some mischance not have received due acknowledgment, I beg hereby to tender him a sincere apology.

traces of their sojourn the various races have left behind them, and how their descendants were blended into one by the hurly-burly of Religion, War, and Politics. If my reader admits that it is worth while to *try* and write the history of Little England beyond Wales, then I claim that my Preamble is proven.

EDWARD LAWS.

TENBY.

LITTLE ENGLAND BEYOND WALES.

CHAPTER I.

PRIMARY AND PLEISTOCENE PEMBROKESHIRE.

Rocks of Pembrokeshire — Pre-Cambrian — Cambrian — Silurian — Devonian—Carboniferous — Drift — Ice Scratches — Bone Caves — Great Pleistocene Subsidence—Hoyle's Mouth—The Little Hoyle—Black Rock Caves—Caves on Caldy Island—Pleistocene Fauna—The Northern Temperate and Southern Groups—List of Caves and their Contents.

LITTLE England beyond Wales is essentially an ancient land. It had been solid ground for untold æons, while the greater part of Europe was still sludge lying on the sea bottom. The rocks of West Wales belong either to the Primary system, or to those igneous and metamorphic intrusions which, as lava or volcanic ash, have been forced from below.

With the exception of the North American Laurentian and Huronian rocks, no recognized formation ante-dates certain fossiliferous Pre-Cambrian beds found in the neighbourhood of St. David's, and consequently called Menevian by Dr. Hicks, who drew the attention of geologists to them. In these are to be found the earliest crustaceans, among them the queer-looking *Paradoxides Davidis*, a primordial trilobite that looks like a cross between a lobster and a wood-louse. This is one of the largest of the trilobites. These early crustaceans are found in the Cambrian which follows the Menevian, and is well represented in Pembrokeshire. In the Llandilo beds of this great system we find *Graptolites* at Robeston Wathen: these are a serrated sertularian family, and take their name from the resemblance their fossil bodies bear to writing in some unknown character. At the same place we find the allied *Didymograpsus;* at St. David's are worm tracks, and the trilobites known as *Calymene* and *Ogygia Buchii;* while at Gilfach, near Narberth, is a quarry filled with specimens of the great *Asaphus tyrannus* on such a gigantic scale, and in such profusion, that they would provide a young geologist with dream subjects for the remainder of his life. In a cutting near Haverfordwest, on the South Wales Railway, which passes through the Bala beds, the coral-like *Petraia vivia*, and the bivalve *Strophomena depressa*, are found in bewildering numbers. This has led us over an almost imperceptible borderland into the Silurian system. Good specimens of the Llandovery beds are to be seen at Marloes, on the extreme south-western point of the county, and the Wenlock rocks crop up at Talbenny, not far off. Superimposed on the Silurian lies the Devonian.

This period is remarkable, in that at length we reach *terra firma;* for although the Devonian is *par excellence* the fish period, yet among its fossils are indubitable remains of land plants: horse-tails, club mosses, ferns, and conifers. In Laurentian, Huronian,

Cambrian, and Silurian times, we only deal with sea bottoms. It may reasonably be asked: What like then were the rocks whose detritus formed the sea sludge from which the Laurentian system was built up? And again: What forms of life, animal and vegetable, dwelt on the dry land washed by Laurentian, Huronian, Cambrian, and Silurian seas? The geologist's answer must be, and that in all reverence, "God only knows." These periods, to our limited knowledge, are the borderland dividing Time from Eternity.

Our Devonian beds in Pembrokeshire are not rich in relics. At Freshwater East there is a fossiliferous rock, filled with small shells; and at Skrinkle, near Lydstep, there is a fish bed lying on the junction of the Devonian and Carboniferous. The Devonian fish were chiefly ganoids, in which the inner skeleton is cartilaginous, but the scales make up for this deficiency by their strength: the sturgeon is a modern instance.

In the very interesting Carboniferous period, we are in Little England well supplied with examples. All along our southern coast are grand cliffs of carboniferous limestone, the glory of our land. These were the bottom of the deep sea in Carboniferous times, and are stored with corals and lily-like crinoids, growing from their root, with stem and flower; oysters then as now were natives of Pembrokeshire; the little snail-like *Bellerophon* lived in this sea, at Haroldstone, near Haverfordwest; as did the bivalve *Producta*, at Manorbier; both, perhaps, providing food for the shark-like *Cochlioldus*, which has left its shell-crushing teeth in the limestone of Giltar. On reaching Tenby the limestone ocean shallowed, and we get to millstone grit. This was deposited in shoal water. We find in this, those stones which, when sawn in two and polished, are called by the Tenby folks beetle-stones. They are really some organic matter (fish coprolites, perhaps) which, in rolling about on the slimy bottom of the millstone grit waters, collected round themselves a coating of clay; then gases formed in the nucleus, and cracked it, without bursting the enveloping clay; in future ages these cracks were filled up by spar. The pebble on being cut and polished, very fairly simulates a beetle, the body of the insect being represented by the fish dung, the legs by the gas cracks filled with spar. Passing on towards Saundersfoot, we come to the regular coal measures. In this neighbourhood, during the Carboniferous period, there grew in soil, half sand, half slime (much the same as we found under the millstone grit waters), a forest of Calamites, giant horse-tails, or *equiseta;* these ran up some twenty feet without a branch, the foliage springing directly from the cane, as it does in the common horse-tail. An undergrowth of suckers breaking up from the roots of the Calamites made thick bushes; with these grew another plant of which we now only find the pith *sigillaria*, and the roots *stigmaria*. Then as now Saundersfoot was draped with ferns. We find at least three sorts: *pecopteris*, *neuropteris*, *splenopteris*. All these plants grew either in, or on, the banks of, a lagoon, and the country was gradually sinking. When it sank below the sea level then water rushed in, and with it mud. After awhile fresh vegetation grew, and the process was repeated. It can scarcely have been a healthy neighbourhood for man; but that did not much matter, since the ruling inhabitants of the earth in those days were huge frogs called *Labyrinthodonts*, and even these were non-resident at Saundersfoot.

This period of feathery canes and ferns was a time of great unrest in Pembrokeshire. The earth's crust being constantly on the move, now rising, now falling, the result was that the coal formed did not retain its gases, and is of the kind known as anthracite. In our days earthquakes are fortunately but feeble phenomena in the British Isles; yet when they do occur, Pembrokeshire still trembles as from the recollection of past terrors, for a volcanic vein runs under us.

When the Carboniferous age terminated, a veil falls over the history of the land. The Permian age came and went; the great secondary series of formations was followed by

the Tertiary, but what happened in West Wales is a mystery; the veil fell in the days of frogs and ferns, nor was it raised again until the land was inhabited by men, horses, and oxen. During the Carboniferous period the earth crust was palpitating; but the Pleistocene deposits show unmistakable signs of more serious convulsions. As is well known the highlands of North Wales are capped with gravels, containing foreign rocks and marine shells, proving that they have been dipped under ocean; we find this same drift formation in Pembrokeshire. Instances are to be seen on the cliffs in the Pencaer district, and on those near St. David's. There is a very good specimen on the rocks above Marloes Sands, with a spur running off and meeting the Haven near Mullock Bridge. A fine section may be seen on Prendergast Hill, Haverfordwest, and no doubt many others. It is impossible to say whether this subsidence, and upheaval was a sudden catastrophe, resembling that which has in our days ruined Java, or the slow work of ages. Nature is a kindly mother to her children, and even in what appear to us as her angry moods, confers benefits on the sons of men. During the subsidence of the Carboniferous period, she harvested the coal crop for us the children of her old age. In the Pleistocene depression, flint stones were drawn into the drift, and on to the sea-shore. To us these are valueless, but to the first-born sons of man they represented a great deal: cutting implements, knives, axes, adzes, chisels, scrapers; boring tools, awls, and so on; weapons to be used in war and the chase; daggers, arrow-heads, spear-points, and other things too numerous for enumeration. Our predecessors easily dug flint from the soil for themselves when they dwelt on the chalk; but in lands like West Wales, destitute of flint, man in the stone age depended for his cutting tools, on the deposit left by this Pleistocene depression and upheaval. There is evidence to prove that this convulsion of nature occurred during a period of excessive cold, for we find that the shells imbedded in the drift are Arctic, and belong to species that still inhabit the Icelandic seas. After the land was again uplifted from the ocean bed, this severity of climate still continued, for the great mammals that have left the remains of their feasts and carcasses in the limestone caverns are in most instances of an Arctic type. The highlands of Scotland, Cumberland, Lancashire, and Wales were still enveloped in an ice-sheet, as is Iceland in our time.

The southern limit of this great glacier must have roughly followed the line of the South Wales Railway, from Clarbeston Road to Whitland. In Pembrokeshire, near Clynderwen Station, there is a very good section of boulder clay, or till, containing angular erratic blocks of stone, some of considerable size polished and grooved by ice friction. Dr. Hicks, in a letter to the writer, states that he has found the same formation underlying the sunken forest in Whitesand Bay, St. David's; and in many other parts of the county it may be studied. Organic remains are absent in this offscouring of ice-clad hills.

But in Pembrokeshire we find more interesting relics of the Pleistocene age than ice scratched stones. In the south-eastern corner of the county there are certain caverns in the Carboniferous limestone. The lower portions of these are filled in with red cave earth and breccia, (*i. e.*, small fragments of limestone cemented together by carbonate of lime,) and this earth and stone is usually sealed down with stalagmite, formed by the drip of water through the limestone roof. In many of the caves, bones and teeth of great mammals are thickly packed in the red earth and broken stone. So wonderfully preserved are these bones, that when the ignorant are assured they are in truth relics of an age so distant that its date cannot even be guessed at in years, our uninitiated one laughs you to scorn: "Why," he cries, "the bones of my grandfather, his ox and his ass, and all that was his, have crumbled into clay; and yet you tell me that this bone I hold in my hand may have been clad in flesh and muscle a million years ago; see, it is quite fresh, white, unpetrified, and looks not half-a-dozen years old."

Cave water, charged as it is with carbonate of lime, in some way tends to preserve these remains; but it is a strange and puzzling fact, that frequently two bones from the same carcass, lying side by side, which have apparently endured the same treatment, exhibit such different results: one will be found as hard and fresh as on the day of death; the other in what cave hunters call a "biscuity" condition, ready to crumble into dust at a touch. Why this may be it is hard to say.

Another *crux* presents itself to Pembrokeshire cave searchers. How comes it that the caves situate in the little island of Caldy contain a vast collection of bones, representing large herds of mammoth rhinoceros, &c., while the forage produced on so small an island would prove insufficient to keep half-a-dozen of these great mammals for a week?

Professor Boyd Dawkins, in his interesting work, *Cave Hunting*, answers this question:—

> The discovery of Mammoth, Rhinoceros, Horse, Irish Elk, Bison, Wolf, Lion, and Bear, in so small an island as Caldy, indicates that a considerable change has taken place in the relation of the land to the sea in that district since those animals were alive, It would have been impossible for so many, and such large animals, to have obtained food on so small an island. It may therefore be reasonably concluded that when they perished in the fissures Caldy was not an island, but a precipitous hill, overlooking the broad valley now covered by the Bristol Channel, but then affording abundant pasture. The same inference may therefore be drawn from the vast number of animals found in the Gower caves, which could not have been supported by the scant herbage afforded by the limestone hills of that district. We must therefore picture to ourselves, a fertile plain occupying the whole of the Bristol Channel and supporting herds of reindeer, horses, bisons, many elephants and rhinoceroses, and now and then being traversed by a stray hippopotamus, which would afford prey to the lions, bears, and hyænas inhabiting the accessible caves, as well as to their great enemy and destroyer man.*

The Professor goes on to prove that this was no local phenomenon, but part of a general elevation that affected the whole of north-western Europe. His arguments are the identity of the pleistocene British Fauna with that found on the continent of Europe, and the innumerable pleistocene remains dredged up from the bed of the German Ocean, by fishermen while trawling. This, he might have added, occurs now and then in Carmarthen Bay. But the Pembrokeshire jetsam and flotsam is as nothing when compared with the findings on the East Coast. If we could see the sea bottom there, it must resemble the track of a retreating army, excepting that the line of march is defined by the great bones of huge mammoths instead of dead men, dead horses, guns, and cast-off garments; perhaps this may really have been the line of retreat for the pleistocene herds, may be they, and their master, palæolithic man, flourished in the wilds of Siberia long after all memory concerning them had died out in West Wales.

It is generally believed that the earth's surface has sunk about 100 fathoms since the days of the great mammals. If so, the nearest sea-shore to Tenby in those times would be a point about 120 miles to the south-west of Cape Clear, in Ireland, where the Atlantic deepens suddenly from 100 fathoms to 2000. This theory is immensely strengthened by the fact that Captain White dredged up a shell of the fresh-water mussel (*unio pictorum*) from a depth of water something between 50 and 100 fathoms, and about 200 miles south-west of the Land's End. Here then was the mouth of a great river, which perhaps received as tributaries all the streams of southern England and northern France, west of the Straits of Dover. The bank at this point forming the watershed. The rivers now falling into the German Ocean from England, Scotland, Belgium, Holland, and Germany, running north, either traversed the great tract of land which is now covered by the sea, and found an

* *Cave Hunting*, by W. Boyd Dawkins, F.G.S., F.S.A.; Macmillan, 1874; p. 289.

outlet into the ocean about 100 miles north-east of Cape Wrath; or wending their way eastward, entered a narrow gulf which then connected the Baltic with the open sea.

Having thus briefly described the outline of the land in pleistocene times, it will be well to examine in detail what relics of that distant period have been discovered in Pembrokeshire. These are almost invariably the products of caves in the carboniferous limestone. The ossiferous caves are situated in the south-eastern portion of the county, near Tenby. Hoyle's Mouth was the first of them to which attention was drawn; then its "little" neighbour in Longbury Bank was partially examined; the quarrymen on Caldy Island opened others; and lastly, the operations at Black Rock have disclosed a new series. Isolated bones have been found under the town of Tenby, and doubtless many sea caves, which are now scoured by the tide, were in pleistocene times wild beast dens, for mammoth bones are not infrequently met with on the shore. Last, though not least, comes the Coygan, near Laugharne; though as this cave is in Carmarthenshire, it scarcely falls within our limits. The Woogan, under Pembroke Castle, has not been hunted for pleistocene relics.

HOYLE'S MOUTH.

This is a tunnel cave, about a mile and three-quarters from the town of Tenby, and about a mile from the sea, though in recent times the tide must have run up to the foot of the rock from which it is excavated. The Hoyle is on the western side of a marsh known as the St. Florence valley, from which the sea has been excluded by sundry banks constructed at different periods; those which affect this portion of the valley are of unknown date, but as some ruined cottages just beyond the cave are known as "Old Quay," we may reasonably suppose that vessels ran up thus far, since English has been the language of the country. Some years ago, during the time of the late G. N. Smith, Rector of Gumfreston, a canoe, or "dug out," formed from a single tree, was discovered in the marsh near this spot.* The cavern known as Hoyle's Mouth is in a limestone rock about 70 feet above the sea level. The entrance is wide and lofty, but it quickly contracts into a passage about 20 feet long. In this there are small chambers. The floors of these are covered with angular fragments of limestone, the passage itself being paved with stalagmite. What the Hoyle may have been in years gone by it is impossible to say, but in the present day it is of very little interest, for the stalagmite floor in most places rests either directly on the limestone rock without the intervention of cave earth, and therefore does not cover ossiferous remains, or only caps limestone cemented with a solid mass by carbonate of lime (breccia), from which bones or implements are difficult to abstract unbroken; while the broken limestone, although it contains both pleistocene and neolithic remains in considerable quantities, has been remorselessly tumbled over and over by generations of Tenby tourists, till its products are so mixed as to be of little value. I have myself found in the limestone, remains of hyæna (*hyæna crocuta*), brown bear (*ursus arctos*), reindeer (*cervus tarandus*), Irish elk (*cervus megaceros*), and boar; but whether this last was a pleistocene or a neolithic pig it is impossible to say. The same remark no doubt applies to the reindeer and Irish elk; but hyæna clearly proves the cave was inhabited by that beast in pleistocene times. Professor Boyd Dawkins adds to the list I have given, brown bear (*ursus arctos*), and man of the first stone age (*homo palæolithicus*). With regard to the former, the bear

* Hoyle's Mouth probably takes its name from a bygone Fleming. There are no Hoyles at present in Pembrokeshire; but a family of that name settled in Halifax, Yorkshire, *temp.* Edward III., who came from Flanders. Arms ermine a mullet sable; crest, an eagle's head erased proper. There is a small farm called Hoyles near Redberth.

he found no doubt was a pleistocene one; but such bones as I unearthed were mixed with those of the small domestic ox (*bos longifrons*); so that if they were *in situ*, which is more than doubtful, were neolithic, prehistoric, or recent, for both ox and bear flourished here as late as the days of the Welsh princes. Regarding *homo palæolithicus*, or man of the old stone age, I never came across any human bones, or human handiwork, in the Hoyle cave, that were attributable to this race. Professor Dawkins, in a letter to the writer, says:—

> I never dug out any flint or hornstone implements with my own hands in association with pleistocene beasts in this cave; I believe, however, that Mr. Ayshford Sandford found them in association with bear, under the stalagmite near the end of the cave, on the left hand side; I have met with them in the breccia, under the stalagmite at and near the entrance, on the right hand side, along with fragments of charcoal, and splinters of bone; these I consider pleistocene.

My dear old friend, Mr. G. N. Smith, of Gumfreston, although an indefatigable cave digger lived and died an infidel so far as pleistocene man was concerned, and this I think was brought about partly, no doubt, by the bias of his faith, and partly by the fact that he never unearthed man's work in association with the remains of the great pleistocene mammals. Hoyle's Mouth seems to me to have been used by hyænas during the old stone age. In neolithic times it became both a dwelling and a cemetery for men.

THE LITTLE HOYLE.

This cave, situated about five hundred yards nearer to the sea than Hoyle's Mouth, is excavated from the apex of a small ridge of rock, dividing a little valley which runs up from the Marsh to the Ridgeway. The ridge known as Longbury Bank, is as pretty a spot as man need wish to see. The Little Hoyle was cursorily examined in 1866 by the Rev. H. H. Winwood. The late Mr. Smith, of Gumfreston, had also dug in it, before Professor Rolleston, Mr. Power and myself, cleared it out in the years 1877 and 1878. We discovered, what the others had failed to find, slight but unmistakable traces of pleistocene bones, (those of the larger beasts, probably either rhinoceros or elephant, perhaps both.) There were no hyæna bones, coprolites, or tooth markings; but the conclusion arrived at was that in pleistocene days this was a hyæna den. The rich neolithic harvest we gleaned from the floor of the Little Hoyle will be mentioned further on.

BLACK ROCK.

The Little Hoyle is about equi-distant between Hoyle's Mouth and the Black Rock quarries; in these, at intervals during the last twenty years, pleistocene remains have been found, which I have had the opportunity of examining. The conclusion I have come to is, that all these bones were carried by water through one soaker, or external fissure, and from thence distributed through the ramifications of one large cave. They consist of hyæna (*crocuta* var. *spelæa*), wolf (*canis lupus*), mammoth (*elephas primigenius*), woolly rhinoceros (*tichorinus*), reindeer (*cervus tarandus*), a small deer with palmated antlers, fox (*canis vulpes*), lion (*felis leo* var. *spelæa*), horse (*equus caballus*), hippopotamus (*H. major*), elk (*cervus alces*), Irish elk (*cervus megaceros*), bear (*spelæus*, *ferox*, *priscus*, and *arctos*), ox (*bos primigenius*), red deer (*cervus elephus*). My principal reason for supposing that these bones were water carried is, that in certain instances they lay in natural position, notably those of a rhinoceros. Unfortunately the quarrymen pounced on this and carried it off piecemeal, and the bones being in a very biscuity condition, were ruined before it was possible to recover them. There

are, moveover, no hyæna coprolites, and no sign of man, either palæolithic or neolithic. To the present (1886) we have not discovered the outlet, though there can be little doubt that it is in the field on the top of the quarry.

CALDY ISLAND.

About the year 1840 the quarrymen, while blasting a cliff on the northern side of the island, broke into an ossiferous cave. Only a portion of the bones were preserved and verified.* Among these were mammoth (*elephas primigenius*), rhinoceros,† lion (*felis leo* var. *spelæa*), hyæna (*crocuta* var. *spelæa*), bear (*ursus spelæus* and *arctos*), horse (*equus caballus*), ox (*bos primigenius*), deer of sorts, wolf (*canis lupus*), fox (*canis vulpes*).

It did not in those early days occur to Mr. Smith to search for implements; but as neolithic remains, such as the bones of swine, sheep or goat, fish, and other recent animals were found, it is likely enough that the later stone implements at all events may have been present. Mr. Smith considered that all these bones were water carried. This is unlikely as regards the neolithic fauna, and as carnivores were present, improbable as to the pleistocene. The cave was about 100 feet above the sea level. The outlet was not discovered.

A second cave not far from this was laid open in 1858. The bones on the surface were recklessly destroyed, but fortunately a fall of *debris* prevented the floor being broken up, and it was afterwards examined by Professor Boyd Dawkins.‡ He obtained numerous bones and teeth of young wolves representing a litter, and two metatarsals of bisons cemented together into a compact mass. The Rev. G. N. Smith and myself dug from the same source lion, mammoth, rhinoceros (*tichorinus*), horse, hippopotamus, wild boar, Irish elk, red deer, reindeer, and *bos primigenius*. I saw no trace of coprolites, but still from the tooth-marks on some of the bones am disposed to think that it was a wild beasts' den in pleistocene times. Professor Boyd Dawkins's young wolves would surely have been dispersed had they been carried into the cave by a torrent. I found no neolithic remains; but as they would have been on the surface, they may have been shovelled overboard when the cave was discovered in 1858.

I have picked up the elbow-joint of a mammoth on the South Sands, Tenby. Of course this may have been one of the bones thrown out of the Caldy cave; but as the edges were not rubbed by the action of the sea, and as I found at the same time considerable quantities of peat, like that existing in the "sunken forest" which lies under the medium tide mark in several parts of the county, I believe that both the peat and bone were torn up from a similar formation lying between Caldy and the mainland by a storm. A portion of the humerus of a mammoth was picked up on this forest bed near Amroth, and is now in the Tenby Museum. This bone has become petrified through infiltration of water highly charged with carbonate of lime, which is an unusual phenomenon in our caves. Some very fine teeth of the great cave bear (*ursus spelæus*) were found while digging out the foundation of a house on the Esplanade, Tenby, in a small fissure in the limestone.

COYGAN CAVE.

Without doubt the most interesting ossiferous cave in West Wales is the Coygan, near Laugharne, in Carmarthenshire. It is excavated from an outlying hill of mountain limestone,

* See a paper on *Tenby Bone Caves*, read before the Geological Section of the British Association, at Oxford, in 1860, by the Rev. G. N. Smith.

† Mr. Smith says *leptorhinus*, but I expect it was *tichorinus*.

‡ *Cave Hunting*, p. 289.

which stands about a mile from the sea, flat marsh land and sand burrows intervening. There can be little doubt that in comparatively recent days the sea washed the foot of this hill. The entrance to the Coygan is extremely low and narrow, but soon opens out into a lofty and extensive chamber. So far as I know there has been no discovery of neolithic remains in this cave. It was deemed by the late Professor Rolleston to be the most perfect instance of a hyæna den he had met with. We found hyæna bones in position, and their coprolites in great quantities, apparently as fresh as though they had been voided recently; the other remains were similar to those found in Black Rock and Caldy, but were more plentiful, in good condition, and much scored by teeth marks.

In addition to these ordinary cave bones, I had the good fortune to find under rhinoceros bones which were overlaid by stalagmite a piece of bone, whittled and rounded into the shape of an awl, lying alongside of two flint flakes, one of which had indubitably been manipulated, the other was a pebble which had been broken, whether by natural or artificial means it is impossible to say; these are in the Tenby Museum, and constitute the sole proof of the presence of pleistocene man in West Wales discovered by me. To many this bald list of the relics obtained from our ossiferous caves will prove I fear, but dry reading; but if we examine what is known as to the appearance and habits of these various beasts whose bones we have unearthed, matter of interest may be deduced.

We find that the pleistocene fauna naturally divides into three classes — northern, temperate, and southern—and yet from the intimate association of the bones there can be no doubt that they ranged the land together.

THE NORTHERN.

At the head of this division stands the mammoth *elephas primigenius*. We are perfectly acquainted with, and know the general appearance of this mighty elephant; for not only have we his bones, but the soft parts have been preserved in the frozen banks of the river Lena; and as if this was not enough we have his portrait drawn on his own ivory by the cave men of the Dordogne valley, who hunted and slew him. The specimen of the mammoth which was found in Siberian ice was nine feet high and sixteen feet long.* He was by no means a very large one, for bones and tusks have been found in many places which obviously must have been derived from much taller animals. For instance, a tusk was obtained from Ilford which measured twelve feet six inches in length following the outward curvature; while a fragment was found at Clacton, Essex, with a circumference of two feet.† In all probability the female carried less formidable weapons. The mammoth, unlike his extant congeners, was clad in a thick fur coat composed first of black bristles, thicker than horse hair, from twelve to sixteen inches long; secondly, hair of a reddish brown, about four inches; and lastly, with wool of the same colour as the hair.‡

Professor Owen considers that the formation of the mammoth's grinders prove that it fed on the woody fibre of trees, "and was thereby rendered independent of the seasons which regulate the development of leaves and fruit." § Strange to say, Mr. Middendorf, in the year 1843, found the carcasses of several mammoths both calves and adults, and associated with them was the trunk of a larch tree (*pinus larix*) as though nature had preserved it especially to teach us what that woody fibre was. Near at hand there were some marine shells—

* Sir C. Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, p. 182.

† Owen's *British Fossil Mammals and Birds*, p. 245.

‡ Sir C. Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, p. 182.

§ Owen's *Fossil Mammals*, p. 262.

nucula pygmæa, *tellina calcarea*, *mya truncata*, and *saxicava nigosa*. All of these species still flourish in the northern waters of Europe.†

To return to our Pembrokeshire mammoths. The great majority of their bones belong to calves and these generally very young, some fœtal, which proves they bred near the caves, for young bones of the other mammals are decidedly scarce; so we must suppose that while the mammoth cows dropped their young on the rugged hills lying between the glacier of Precelly and the low lands, the other beasts preferred for breeding purposes the jungly swamps now covered by the waters of the Bristol Channel, and as this district was a long way from the caves, when a young beast was devoured by a carnivore, his bones were left on the surface and so perished.

We know the habits and appearance of the woolly rhinoceros (*R. tichorinus*), as well as his neighbour the mammoth, for the rhinoceros has been preserved in ice after the same fashion. He is known as *tichorinus* because his nostrils are divided by a bony ridge; he was a sturdy brute, and to a certain extent resembled the common white rhinoceros (*R. simus*) of Southern Africa. Like the latter, his skin lacked the folds which are so remarkable in the Asiatic rhinoceros. He had, moreover, two horns; one of these (probably the first or nasal horn) is in the Natural History Museum at Moscow, and measures nearly three feet in length.* There was, however, one striking difference between the rhinoceros which formerly wandered over our land and that which still exists in Southern Africa. The British beast was covered with a thick woolly coat composed of short hair of a cinereous grey colour, from one to three inches long, with here and there a black hair longer and stiffer. "So much hair as grew from the parts of the frozen rhinoceros, observed by Pallas, he never observed on any other living species." ‖ It is supposed that the mammoth fed on the twigs of larch and other trees. That the woolly rhinoceros did so to a certain extent there can be no doubt, for in 1846, Professor Brandt, of St. Petersburg, was "so fortunate as to extract from cavities in the molar teeth of the Wiljni rhinoceros a small quantity of its half chewed food, among which fragments of pine leaves, one-half of the seed of a polygonaceous plant, and very minute portions of wood with porous cells (or fragments of coniferous wood) were still recognizable." ‡ The Pembrokeshire rhinocerous either migrated somewhere else during the breeding season, or as I have suggested above, bred at some considerable distance from the caves.

The reindeer (*cervus tarandus*) so far as we can learn from its bones, the extinct reindeer of Pembrokeshire, was identical with the Lapland deer of to-day. In the pleistocene days it ranged through Southern Europe, and in prehistoric times still lingered on in Scotland. The elk (*cervus alces*) is indistinguishable from the existing species. The mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, reindeer, and elk were northern types; but as they ranged in company from the north of Asia, so far south as the Alps and Pyrenees, must have been able to endure a considerable variation of temperature. There were, however, pleistocene mammals which were even more essentially northern: the musk ox (*ovibos moschatus*), the lemming (*myodes lemmus*), the tailless hare (*lagmyos*), the marmot (*arctomys spermophilus*), and the Arctic fox (*canis lagopus*). These are found in many of the ossiferous caves in England, but are missing in Pembrokeshire. Is this merely an accident, or does it prove that our caverns were stored during the comparatively warm period that suceeded the glacial winter?

TEMPERATE GROUP.

The beasts adapted to thrive in a temperate climate are very numerous: wolf (*canis*

† *Principles of Geology*, p. 182.

* Owen's *Fossil Mammals*, p. 353.

‖ Owen's *Fossil Mammals*, p. 252.

‡ *Principles of Geology*, p. 181.

lupus), fox (*canis vulpes*), bears (*spelæus* and *arctos*), horse (*equus caballus*), ox (*bos primigenius*), bison (*bos bison*), Irish elk (*cervus megaceros*), red deer (*cervus elaphus*). These with the solitary exception of the cave bear (*ursus spelæus*) survived into the prehistoric period. Perhaps *ursus spelæus* had certain traits in common with the Polar bear (*ursus maritimus*), though he is generally considered as a prototype of the American grizzly.

THE SOUTHERN GROUP

Consisted of the lion (*felis spelæa*), the hyæna (*hyæna crocuta*, var. *spelæa*), and the hippopotamus (*H. major*). These to all intents and purposes are at present represented by the African lion (*felis leo*), the spotted hyæna (*hyæna crocuta*), and the African hippopotamus (*H. amphibius*). In all likelihood neither of them precisely resembled the extinct beast, while on the other hand neither of them greatly varied from it. The large cats, as is well known, can stand a considerable amount of cold. The Indian tiger has no hesitation in following its prey into the snow-clad ranges af the Himalayan mountains, while the lion has flourished in the by no means mild climate of Northern Greece during the historic period. But whether *felis leo*, or *felis tiger*, could thrive in the West Wales of to-day, is more than doubtful; perhaps the pleistocene climate was drier as well as colder, and the beasts hardier; the same remarks will apply to the spotted hyæna. From the bones of the *spelæan* variety, it seems that this was a heavier brute than the animal which now inhabits the South of Africa, and probably he was also hardier than his modern representative.

So far then climate offers no difficulty as to the curious admixture of northern temperate and southern beasts' bones in our caves. The *crux* has been left to the last. How is it possible to account for the contemporary existence of hippopotamus *major* and the reindeer in our land? Supposing we deem him to have been a purely northern type of hippopotamus, clad in seal-like fur, as was the rhinoceros *tichorinus* (a supposition for which there is not a tittle of evidence), even then how would he get a living in the ice-blocked rivers of the north? Such plants as those on which recent hippopotami feed die down on the approach of winter. It seems impossible to account for a British hippopotamus unless we admit that he sought a milder climate when the rigor of winter set in; and although we have named a possible *modus vivendi* for the other southern beasts, it seems probable that they to a greater or less extent followed his example.

In pleistocene times the earth positively teemed with animal life. The strange nocturnal re-unions described by modern travellers in Africa, might have been seen in those days at every moonlit pool. The earth was overstocked with great mammalians, and the southern beasts were driven to seek their subsistence, when the season permitted, in the lush pastures of the north; while during the severe winter months the northern and temperate beasts were driven by hunger down south, the carnivores of each division following perforce, and thus enjoying a strange diversity of diet. The lion feasted on reindeer venison, and the wolf filled his maw with hippopotamus beef. This free trade was rendered possible by the then configuration of the earth's surface. As already mentioned, between pleistocene Britain and the Continent there was no water greater than a river to be passed by the migrating herds, and these when they reached Europe might, were they so disposed, pass on to Africa either by the western isthmus which joined Gibraltar to Tangiers, or by the central one which connected Cape Bon to the island of Sicily, and that again to Cape Spartivento. Migration was easy in those days for such mammals as dared to cross the rivers. This arrangement of land and water made a considerable difference in the climate, as Professor Boyd Dawkins observes in his work on *Cave Hunting:* "The substitution of land for water would give an

intense summer heat, the elevation a great severity of winter cold." Professor Prestwich "estimates that the climate of the Thames, Somme, and Seine was in palæolithic times 20° of Fahrenheit colder than now, or such as would belong to a country 10° or 15° of latitude further north." *

Perhaps it would be well to close this sketch of pleistocene Pembroke with these two extracts; but I venture to remind the reader that the pleistocene period was a troubled time, a time of great disturbance. The mountain tops subsided under the sea, and the bed of the ocean was upheaved, so that the beasts of the field pastured in its depths; then again it sank back nearly to its present level. All these changes took place about the time we speak of. Whether they were sudden or gradual it is impossible to say. If the former, then climate must have changed with each change; if the latter, it must have been so constantly altering that each year must have varied from its predecessor. One thing, however, is certain, namely, that upon a time the reindeer and the hippopotamus fed side by side in our fields.

TABLE SHOWING CONTENTS OF OSSIFEROUS CAVES NEAR TENBY.

Locality.	Brown Bear (Ursus arctos).	Cave Bear (Ursus spelæus).	Wolf (Canis spelæus).	Fox (Canis vulpes).	Hyæna (H. spelæa).	Lion (Felis spelæa).	Mammoth (Elephas primigenius).	Woolly Rhinoceros (R. tichorinus)	Horse (Equus fossilis).	Hippopotamus (H. major)	Irish Elk (Cervus megaceros).	Red Deer (Cervus elephus).	Reindeer (Cervus tarandus).	Wild Ox (Bos primigenius).	Bison (B. priscus).	Palæolithic relics.	Neolithic relics.	Bronze.	Roman relics.
Hoyle's Mouth	—	—			—						—	—	—		—	—	—	—	
Longbury Bank	—						—	—									—		—
Black Rock	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
Caldy Island	—		—		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			—		—		
Coygan	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—	—	—			

* Sir C. Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, p. 190.

CHAPTER II.

THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD.

No Commingling of Blood between Men of the First and Second Stone Age—Appearance of Neolithic Man—Improvement in Implements—Earth Movement in Progress during Neolithic Times—Remains found in Cornwall and Carmarthenshire—Did Man in Pembrokeshire during Neolithic Times Dwell on Land which is now Submerged—Flint Flake from Whitesand Bay—Ox Skull from Wiseman's Bridge—Irish Elk from Pendine—Raised Beaches at Manorbier, Tenby, Caldy Island, &c.—Cliff Castles—Hut Circles—Caves—The Little Hoyle—Kitchen Midden on Giltar—Flint Factories—Finds of Implements—How did Neolithic Man in Pembrokeshire dispose of his Dead?—His Long Barrows—Cromlechs—Stone Avenues, Alignments, Monoliths and Circles—Habits of Neolithic Men.

WE cannot tell how, or why, Palæolithic man left Britain, nor can we say how long (if at all) the land lay uninhabited. We know not who followed him; but there is no evidence as to the intervention of any race before that which is known indifferently as Silurian, Iberian, or Neolithic. It is pretty clear there was no intermingling of blood between these people and Palæolithic man. We must bear in mind that during the period which intervened between these two races, the configuration of land and water, and the climate of North-western Europe, were revolutionized. Palæolithic man left Britain an arctic corner of the continent of Europe; Neolithic man found it a peninsula, if not an island, with a climate much resembling that which it now enjoys. The Neolithic men were no petty clan, for they colonized part of Asia, Northern Africa, and the whole of Europe.

During the long period of their supremacy they maintained an equal, unprogressive stage of culture. They were not members of that great Aryan family from which nearly all the nations of modern Europe spring; indeed, with the exception of a few outlying fragments surviving from this priscan stock, all Europeans are of one blood, the exceptions being Basques, Magyars, Finns, and some of the people of South Wales. In person these allophylians were short, with dusky complexions, and black curly hair growing on their long, narrow heads. Professor Busk estimates the stature of the Neolithic dead (buried in the sepulchral caves of Perthi Chwareu, and in the chambered tomb at Cefn) at a maximum of 5ft. 6in., and a minimum of 4ft. 10in.* Professor Rolleston after his immense experience in the measurement of crania concluded that the brain power of the male and female Neoliths was nearly equal.† The Neolithic people had advanced as far in civilization when they first appeared on the scene as they had done when driven from it by the metal working Aryans. They tilled the soil, and sowed it with wheat, barley, oats, and rye; bred domestic animals, the ox, horse, sheep, goat and dog; wove cloth and made pottery; but they were far behind their predecessors in artistic feeling. Like the men of the Pleistocene period they were unacquainted with the art of fusing metals; but had greatly improved on the stone implements. Palæolithic man simply chipped out an ovate form, sharpening the lesser end, and held the broader one in his hand dagger-wise. Neolithic man first chipped out his celt much in the same fashion as his predecessor had done, but then ground it all over to an

* Boyd Dawkins's *Early Man in Britain*, p. 310.

† "People of the Long Barrow Period;" *Journal of the Anthrop. Institute*, October, 1875.

uniform surface, which he polished; on the broad end he made his cutting edge, while he fixed the narrow extremity into a wooden handle. To us this seems an obvious arrangement, but in reality it was a discovery which revolutionized the world.

It is impossible to say from whence this new people came, but as they brought with them sheep and goats, wheat and barley, which are indigenous to Central Asia, we must conclude either that they sprang originally from that land, or in their journeyings had passed through it, or had come across another race which used Central Asian products. This latter, certainly, was not the palæolithic man of Europe. Whether the neolithic men came into Britain dry-footed, or across an isthmus which connected Dover and Calais, is a moot point; but the consensus of opinion is in favour of the insularity of Great Britain at their advent. One point is very clear, namely, that the great depression which so altered the geography of North-western Europe continued after the arrival of neolithic man; nay, subsequently to the colonization by him of such remote districts as Western Wales. There seems little doubt that large districts which were inhabited by this people are now covered by the Bristol Channel. They found the land higher than it now is, but during their occupation it sank some twelve feet lower; then came a reaction, and it was uplifted to the present level.

On the English coast, immediately opposed to Pembrokeshire, outside Northam pebble ridge, the submerged land is to be easily traced; on it flint flakes have been found extending over a considerable area. Near the baths, at the watering-place Westward Ho, charcoal, and bones, both burnt, and split by man for marrow, have been dug up at a spot now covered by 23 feet of water at spring tide. The bones were those of *bos longifrons* (the small domestic ox of neolithic times), goat, swine, and roebuck; with these were shells of oyster, cockle, periwinkle, hen cockle, and furrows. More direct traces of man, however, came to hand in the shape of a piece of pottery, with a vandyked pattern on it, and a millstone grit pounder. These various articles exactly represent what we commonly find in the neolithic deposits of Pembrokeshire.

Again, on the Carmarthenshire coast, the Dean of St. David's informs me, very large quantities of bones are recovered from below the tide mark. Of these he brought me a sample which consisted of a goat's head with long horn cores. This deposit I should without hesitation attribute to neolithic times. In Pembrokeshire we have, as will be presently seen, numerous relics of this period; and they are almost always on the coast, or on high land within sight of it. Our shores are surrounded by a belt of submerged land, and it seems probable that the neolithic incomers first settled on this, and were gradually driven back by the encroaching ocean to the line where we now find their camps, kitchen middens, flint factories, and burial places. If my supposition is correct such relics as remain in Pembrokeshire must be attributed to the later neolithic times, and this was the conclusion the late Professor Rolleston arrived at. Perhaps the earliest relic of neolithic man hitherto discovered in Pembrokeshire is a flint chip found by Dr. Hicks in the neighbourhood of St. David's. Under Whitesand Bay lies the tail of a pleistocene moraine composed of gravel, carried and scratched by ice. On this is superimposed till clay, while on the clay lies the submerged peat, &c., in which grew the trees of the "sunken forest." Dr. Hicks, in October, 1883, kindly sent a box of specimens for exhibition in the Tenby Museum; among these was a flint chip which he found in this clay on the edge of the submerged land. This flake must have been manipulated by man, and dropped after the pleistocene moraine had been covered with clay, and perhaps before the lower part of that clay had become a peat bog; certainly before it was submerged by the sea. So far as I know no other work of man's hands has come to light in the submerged land of Pembrokeshire. But many bestial relics of that period have been found. For instance, Dr. Hicks discovered in the Whitesand bed, a perfect jaw of the brown bear (*ursus arctos*), and many antlers of red deer (*cervus elephus*). A fine head of the

wild ox (*bos primigenius*) was discovered at Wiseman's Bridge, near Saundersfoot, and presented by C. R. Vickerman, Esq., of Hean Castle, to the Tenby Museum; very many red deer horns have been found near Amroth, and dredged up between Tenby and Caldy Island. Close to the Castle Hill, at Tenby, a reindeer's head was brought to shore. Mr. Wilkins, cabinet-maker, Tenby, who is a native of Pendine, pointed out to me a bed of till near that place, just above the sunken forest, and agreeing in all respects with Dr. Hicks's bed at Whitesand. In this, when a boy, Mr. Wilkins found "a deer's skull which had enormous horns, flat like those of the stags in Stackpole Park." There can be no doubt it was the head of an Irish elk (*cervus megaceros*). Unfortunately, the finder's uncle sold it to make knife handles.

The subsidence of this tract of land seems to have been gradual, with occasional checks. The late Rev. G. N. Smith, of Gumfreston, found in the submerged forest bed at Manorbier an old raised beach. This no doubt marks the level of a check. Then the subsidence went on until the tide reached up to the level of the well-known raised beach, portions of which are to be seen above Merlin's Cave Tenby, at Giltar, on Caldy Island,* and under the Butts on the Penally Rifle Range. When this point was reached, an upheaval commenced, which brought the land back again to its present level. From the last named raised beach at Merlin's Cave I have obtained oyster, periwinkle, limpet, and other shells, which show that the climate much resembled that which now exists.

The district peculiarly affected by the neolithic population of Pembrokeshire was, as stated above, the coast. To this, perhaps, we should add the high lands of Precelly. Indications of their occupancy may be traced in their camps, cave refuse, and kitchen middens; by flint flakes left by the manufacturers of implements, and the perfect implements themselves, whether of flint or other stones; add to these burial places, both in caves and in megalithic chambers. The neolithic cliff castles have been tenanted by other races since the far distant days in which they were first designed, and many of them have no doubt suffered modification at the hands of their later owners. Their plan was simple enough. A peninsula having been chosen, already fortified by nature on three sides, the fourth was then rendered safe by ditch and bank, the latter being doubled or trebled if necessary.

These cliff castles are very plentiful on the western coast of Pembrokeshire, less so on the southern, absent altogether on the eastern and northern shores.† A good typical cliff castle is that on Old Castle Head, near Manorbier, where the constructors have taken advantage of a curious natural formation. A soft bed in the old red sandstone has been destroyed by joint action of weather and sea, so that a yawning cañon is left between a portion of the rock and the mainland; the crevasse is spanned by a natural bridge; a small space inland of this natural fortification is enclosed by a double line of fosse and vallum, behind which the level falls away towards the mainland. The whole enclosure is very small and obviously intended for a temporary refuge, though in it are some faint traces of huts, but as there is no water, and the camp is exposed to all the winds that blow from heaven, it could scarcely be intended for permanent occupation.

* On Caldy is a very puzzling phenomenon. In the north-western corner of the island, not far from St. Margaret's, there is a well defined fragment of the raised beach, some twelve feet above the existing shore. From the old to the recent beach is a sheer drop of some 12 feet. Now comes the puzzle. Leading to the precipice on which the raised beach is fixed, an old road may clearly be distinguished in the turf; from it the boulder stones and live rock which cumber the neighbouring ground have been removed. Of course we may at once dismiss any notion that the road and raised beach were synchronous. The only reading I can suggest for the riddle is, that from storm, high tide, or some other reason, modern shingle was heaped up against the cliff, and remained there so long that the inhabitants of Caldy were tempted to make a road to this inclined plane in order to gain access to the shore. After this had been done, storm or high tide carried away the shingle it had formerly deposited, and so rendered the road of no avail.

† Though the great fortifications on the peninsula of Dinas are no doubt of this description, I think they are not neolithic. The cliff castles may be said to range from Strumble Head to Tenby.

One characteristic of these early camps is well illustrated at Old Castle, viz., a means of exit to the shore. In most of them this may be traced, though in some instances it has ceased to be practicable in consequence of the disintegration of the rocks. Some of the early camps are on such stony ground, that it was impossible to dig ditches to fortify them; in these cases the engineer raised stone walls. Instances of this sort may be seen at St. David's Head, and on the inland camp of Carn Fawr, near Strumble.‡ Perhaps it was the shelter of the walls that tempted the builders to form permanent dwelling-places; but it is strange that in both of these walled camps there are a number of hut foundations. Within Carn Fawr there is water too.* I have found neolithic remains within the precincts of many cliff castles, and were the ditches searched no doubt they might be discovered in most of the others.† The hut circles on Old Castle Head, St. David's Head, and Carn Fawr, may, with a fair show of probability be set down in the list of neolithic remains. They are enclosed by camps, either containing flint flakes, or exactly corresponding with others that do so. But there are other and more important groups of hut circles in Pembrokeshire which have not as yet been examined with sufficient care to justify even a guess at their probable date.

The little peninsula of Gatholm contains a good many circles, and I was informed by the boatmen that on the rock known as Midland, in Jack Sound, there are one or two. But the largest collection I ever saw are grouped on Skomer Island, where they may be counted by hundreds, and many of them are surrounded by an enclosure marked out with single stones, containing about a quarter of an acre. In this yard or garden there is generally a small cairn. The number of these hut circles is so great, that if they had been inhabited at one and the same time, it would certainly have been necessary to import food from the mainland. Who were their builders? It is impossible to say without a very careful examination, whether indeed they were neolithic folk flying from the dreadful bronze axes, or Gaels pursued by Kymry, or as Mr. Davies, the occupier, fancies, Scandinavian robbers who formed a depôt on this out-of-the-way island to store their booty; § or perhaps they may even have been pilgrims who came on certain occasions to hear some holy mediæval preacher. This is all pure guess-work, for from neolithic times until the present day circular huts have been built on stone foundations. Indeed, the shielings in which the inhabitants of some of the Scotch islands live seem to be an exact reproduction of a stone age house.

The most instructive neolithic find that has hitherto been discovered in Pembrokeshire, was unearthed from the cave known as the Little Hoyle, in Longbury Bank, Penally, by Mr. Wilmot Power, the late Professor Rolleston, General Pitt Rivers, and myself, in the years 1876–77–78.‖ We found the remains of certainly nine, if not eleven, human beings, large quantities of the bones of domestic and wild animals, birds, shells, pottery, charcoal, stone and bone implements. These were mixed up with black earth and angular stones in a sort of hotchpotch which, to the writer, seemed to indicate that men and beasts had been alike eaten

‡ This camp, though about half-a-mile from the coast, is on a detached rock, and evidently of the same construction as the cliff castles.

* Were the walled camps built by another race?

† In the camp at Old Castle I have found flint chips; at Greenala, flint, shells of limpet, oyster, and periwinkle, with bones of sheep or goat; at Pen-y-holt, flint flake; Little Castle, near Dale, flint, and a well formed pounder; Great Castle, flint; Marloes Mere, flint. At St. Bride's there are two camps close together, with a flint factory between them. In the northern camp Mr. J. R. Allen picked up a well-made flanged flint arrow-head of a late form. At St. David's Head are hut circles; and at Carn Fawr, near Strumble Head, flint and hut circles in considerable numbers.

§ Tradition has always attributed them to the Gaels.

‖ "On a Kitchen Midden found in a Cave near Tenby, Pembrokeshire." By Edward Laws, late 35th Regiment. January, 1876.—*Journal of the Anthrop. Institute*, August, 1877. "Report of a Committee, consisting of Professsor Rolleston, Major-General Lane Fox, Professor Busk, Professor Boyd Dawkins, Dr. John Evans, and Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, appointed for the purpose of examining Two Caves containing human remains in the neighbourhood of Tenby."—*Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* for 1878.

by man. But Professor Rolleston read the riddle otherwise. The conclusion he arrived at was that men used the cave itself as a dwelling-place, and a depression above as a burial-place; at last the depression subsided into the cave, letting down the buried human bones among the remains of bygone feasts, and that burrowing animals, foxes, badgers and rabbits, completed the admixture. Professor Rolleston says:—

We are not aware that this explanation of the presence of human bones mixed with those of domesticated animals in a cave, by the gradual or sudden descent into it of such bones from a superimposed interment is necessitated by the phenomena of any other cave; it is obvious enough, however, that the concave surface presented by "an initiatory area of depression," would be very likely to suggest itself as a convenient site for such a purpose to any race of men who might be sufficiently free at once from the conventionalities of civilized life, and from the superstitions of savage life, and might be glad to take an easy way of burying their dead out of their sight.

With regard to the human remains, he says:—

We have absolute proof in the nine lower jaws, that no less than nine human beings have their skeletons represented in the collection made from this cave. Two fragmentary representatives of lower jaws found—one in the talus outside the north entrance, the other in the middle of the north cave, correspond probably to two other skeletons, but it is just possible that they may be parts of some one or other of the nine demonstrably distinct mandibles. Of these nine individuals, no less than five were males in or beyond the middle period of life; one belonged to a woman in late life; one to a person about the age of puberty, with the wisdom tooth as yet uncut; one to a child with the first two molars just cut; one to a child with none but the milk teeth in place; three more or less perfect calvaria have been reconstructed out of the remains collected by Mr. Laws and ourselves. All the crania are dolicocephalic; and one a male skull, "mecistocephalic" in Professor Huxley's language, with a cephalic index of 69 and with the pear-shaped contour when viewed from above, due to a rapid tapering from the level of the parietal tubera forwards, which has so often been spoken of since the writings of Professor Daniel Wilson as characteristic of many skulls from the earliest sepultures of Great Britain. There is no doubt that this is a very ancient form of skull, but the well-known tenacity and persistence of such ancient forms forbids us to use it as an evidence as to date.† Of the other two, one belonged undoubtedly to a man, the other to a woman, and neither though dolicocephalic are exaggeratedly so, as is the case with the first named.‡

When I opened a large kitchen midden on Giltar Head the contents much resembled those of Longbury cave, but the shell-fish immensely preponderated over the bones, and amongst these human bones were absent. In chalk countries flint knives and arrow-heads being the produce of a cretaceous formation, were made here there and everywhere. In Pembrokeshire only a few places produced flint; on the sea-shore are water worn pebbles, plentiful indeed, but too small for use; in the patches of drift found on the western side of the county, large pieces of flint are not uncommon. Probably the natives of these favoured localities becoming skilful in knapping, not only made knives for their own use, but supplied their neighbours with stone cutlery; at all events they seem to have chipped off a great many flakes in their time. Starting from the south-east the first place in which we find signs of a flint factory is on Stackpole Warren. This seems to have been a most important centre in primitive times. We find there relics of flint, bronze, and iron. Before the tide was shut out, and when the sea level reached up to the raised beach marks, this plain of blown sand was

† This was added by my late friend after a visit to the Parish Church of Tenby, where his attention was drawn to the living head of an old Tenby resident, whose skull he assured me was even more "mecistocephalic" than that of the cave man.

‡ The animal bones consisted of a few horse, very many small oxen (*bos longifrons*), goat, and probably sheep, in quantities, swine, dog, brown bear, red deer, roebuck, hare, rabbit, badger, fox, eagle, black cock, partridge, cormorant; shells of oyster, limpet, periwinkle, whelk, cockle, and mussel, in large quantities; fragments of pottery. The implements consisted of a hornstone scraper, a large flint fabricator, a water-worn stone, which had been used for pounding, many flint flakes, some of which appeared to have been used for cutting, a very perfect bone needle, and a broken awl. The late Mr. Smith got a great quantity of bones, human and bestial, out of the Great Hoyle; these, however, were not very carefully preserved. Those in the Tenby Museum consist of some human fragments, red deer, and wild boar, with many flint and hornstone flakes. He also got a bone comb, which was lost. From one of the Caldy caves he procured some fish bones: conger eel, ray, and angler fish; and some bones and flakes from the great cave under Pembroke Castle. We have the flakes, but the bones are missing.

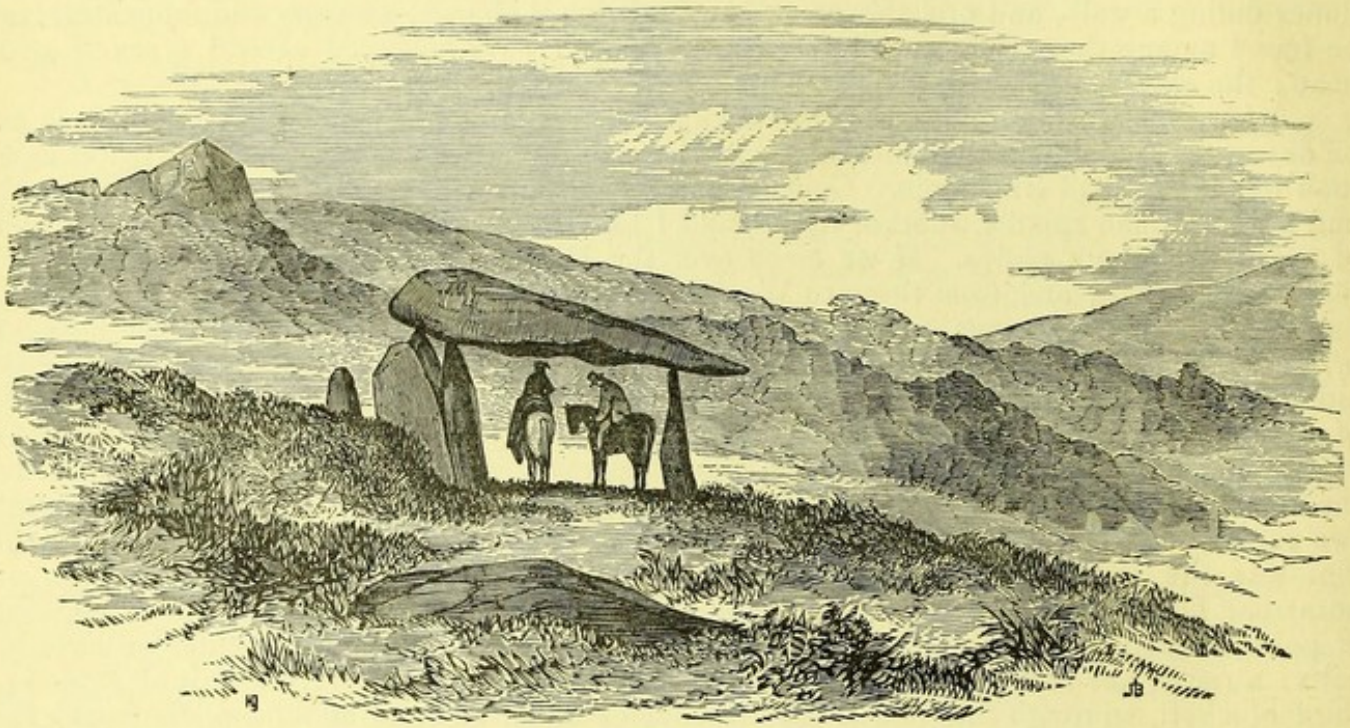
intersected by the ramifications of a sheltered fiord, whose waters were a safe fishing-ground for fragile boats, and whose extensive winding shores no doubt abounded with the shell-fish so grateful to priscan man. Besides, that expanse of sand which to us is somewhat dreary, had for them considerable attractions; no clearing was required, and clearing even furze and blackthorn with a stone axe involved no slight labour. But on Stackpole Warren this was unnecessary, the ground was cleared by nature, and its inhabitants felt secure, for no wild beast, or more brutal human foe, could creep up unobserved under the cover of brushwood, and carry off women, children, or cattle, without a fight. For these, or other reasons, Stackpole was a favourite locality, and as flint was to be found on the shores it was worked in this comparatively large settlement. A pocketful of flakes may be easily picked up on the dunes during a walk, and probably arrow-heads of divers shapes, scrapers and fabricators, may be found among them. Colonel Lambton and myself have collected several types of arrow-head; the early leaf-shaped, plain spiked, and the later barbed.*

A few miles further on are the Brownslade Burrows, and on these similar phenomena may be observed, though the raw material seems here to have been imported to a greater extent than was the case at Stackpole. Colonel Lambton has picked up two small unfinished celts, and a well-formed spindle whorl of felsite, and I have found some fragments of chert. Neither of these stones are native. If we cross over the Haven, near West Dale, we come on the flint bearing drift, and from there to Wooltuck Point the cliffs are strewed with worked flint flakes. Then there seems to be a break. At St. Bride's again there was an important factory, which unlike the others, seems to have been carried on in one spot, and so probably either by one individual, or one family, for on a spot on the cliff there is an actual stratification of worked flint chips and flakes, and so careful was this workman, that hitherto I believe no spoiled implement has been discovered, though many people have examined and worked at the deposit. It is covered by about three feet of soil and on the very edge of the cliff close to two camps. At Tremaenhir Moor, near Solva, there is another factory, but felsite rather than flint was the raw material. On the coast of Pencaer, near Fishguard, flint, felsite, and hornstone flakes are common. In the Tenby Museum will be found a good typical collection of polished stone celts from various parts of Pembrokeshire. From Tremaenhir we have four celts: a rough one of the fine grained ash of the district; another very like it of gabbro; a third of chert, so rough that had it been discovered under different circumstances would have perhaps been assigned to the Palæolithic age; and a fourth of ash, like the first, but finely worked and polished. This place would seem to have been a celt factory. From a bog on Plumstone Mountain is a very beautiful axe, of chert, which has acquired a rich golden hue either from peat water, or iron, since it was made. Of the later forms we have a fine polished gneiss hammer axe from Llanvalteg, and another great "ash" weapon of the same form from near Narberth. Neither of these are perforated, though the boring is commenced on both sides in the first, on only one in the second. But there is an exceedingly pretty little diabase perforated axe, so small and so beautiful that it almost looks as if it had been an ornamental appendage. It was found in a stone coffin (or cist), which, is not very clear. It was accompanied by a coin of some sort, now lost, and of course was only placed as a charm or what not, in a comparatively recent grave. This tomb was near the great cromlech of Long House. We have a very fine axe and adze, taken from beneath a cromlech destroyed on Fynondruidion Farm, near Fishguard, early in the century; and this brings us face to face with a very difficult question. How did the neolithic inhabitants of West Wales dispose of their dead? The most authentic early neolithic remains in Britain are the elongated heart-

* Other curious relics are to be seen on Stackpole Warren, but as in all probability they are of the Bronze age they will be treated of hereafter.

shaped barrows,† for in these we find inhumated bodies, invariably of the long-headed or dolicocephalic type, with no admixture of round-headed or brachycephalic skulls. These burial-places are, so far as my experience goes, conspicuous by their absence in West Wales. Barrows we have in plenty, but they are the round barrows of the bronze using, round-headed people, and usually (though not invariably) contain cremated bodies.

There is, however, another class of tomb which is very largely represented in our west country, viz., the cromlech or dolmen. Of these about twenty are marked on the Ordnance Map of Pembrokeshire; but an immense number of ruined cromlechs,‡ and indeed many perfect ones have been carelessly omitted by the map-makers. We may safely say that these



THE GREAT CROMLECH AT PENTRE EVAN, NEAR NEWPORT.

structures are more plentiful in Pembrokeshire than in any other district in Great Britain. The mystery which perforce hangs over these tombs has been unnecessarily magnified by generations of theorists. Welsh writers in an ecstasy of patriotic enthusiasm have claimed them as altars of an unknown god, who was ignorantly worshipped by their Keltic ancestors,

† Rolleston's *People of the Long Barrow Period; Journal of the Anthrop. Institute*, vol. v.; and Boyd Dawkins's *Early Man in Britain*, p. 284.

‡ The remains (more or less perfect) of fifty cromlechs might, I think, be traced in the county of Pembroke. To exhibit at a glance the amount of labour required to erect these tombs would be very difficult. Still the length and breadth of a few capstones will enable the reader to form some opinion. Pentre Evan, 18ft. × 9ft.; Manorbier, 18ft. × 9ft.; Long House, 16ft. × 9¾ft.; Trefculhwch, 15ft. × 8ft.; Gilvach Goch, 14ft. × 8ft.; Llanwnda, 13ft. × 9½ft.; St. David's Head, 11¾ft.; Benton, 10ft. × 8½ft.; Llech y Dribedd, 8ft. × 3½ft.; Trellyfant, 7ft. × 6ft.; Newport, 10ft. × 9ft.; Tredyssi, 7ft. × 3ft.; Trevaccwm, 13½ft. × 4ft. The thickness of these stones varies from one to five feet. They are supported on three, four, five, or six uprights, which vary in height from two to eight feet. Generally, but not invariably, these sepulchres are erected near to the rocks from which the stones were originally detached. Newport cromlech is built on an alluvial flat. It seems scarcely credible that the huge stones of which it is formed could have been floated thither on rafts, but the idea has crossed my mind. The method used in cromlech building would seem to be somewhat as follows:—First, the legs or uprights were erected; then these were buried in soil; and then the capstone was run up the inclined plane of this soil on rollers, and carefully adjusted on the legs. Afterwards the soil was excavated from beneath the capstone; this must have been a service of great danger.

under the guidance of a Druidic priesthood. Unfortunately for the theorists, there can be no doubt that these megalithic structures are neither more or less than the ruins of great chambered tombs. In most instances we can actually trace the soil or stones which once enveloped them, while in other cases it is possible, though not very probable,* they were never enveloped at all, but were erected as cenotaphs to men whose bodies lie elsewhere. Not much in the way of exploration has been done in the ground covered by cromlechs, and that for two very sufficient reasons. To pull down one of these ancient structures for the purpose of examination would justly expose the student to a charge of Vandalism; while to grub under the uprights on which a capstone weighing some ten tons rests, is a service of considerable danger.† Of course the mere discovery of neolithic implements under a cromlech by no means proves that the structure was erected before the discovery of metals. It cannot be too frequently impressed on the student that there is no hard and fast boundary between the so-called Stone, Bronze, and Iron periods. They overlapped each other. The stone age began with the beginning of human affairs, and still continues in certain localities; so it may be these polished stone axes were placed by Keltic Bronze, or even Iron users, by the side of their deceased friend. In religious ceremonial survivals are peculiarly vigorous. Stone knives have been used in sacrifice, and in the mutilation of neophants, by very many various peoples, long after they had acquired the art of iron smelting.‡ It would therefore be very rash to assume that cromlechs are neolithic tombs because in an isolated instance neolithic implements were found under one. Still we find:

> Scattered from Algiers to Kamscatka, from the Orkneys to Ceylon, monuments of a great tomb building race, a race which resembles the primary rock which underlies all subsequent formations.§

And these tombs are thickest in those parts of Europe which we believe to be more essentially the heritance of the Iberian, Silurian, or neolithic race. The three terms are equally applicable. We find them in Northern Africa, Spain, Portugal, Western France, and Wales. It has been assumed:

> That these dolmen builders did not use stone for their tombs until comparatively late times. . . . The dolmens disappear gradually from the North-east of France, and cease altogether in Belgium; but are found in great numbers in North Holland and Mecklenburgh, proving that the Belgæ must have cut this people in two before they began to work in stone.‖

If this deduction is correct it would fall in with the state of things in Pembrokeshire, for our neolithic remains are certainly late. Whether the earlier colonists fixed on land subsequently submerged, or whether this outlying district was neglected, it is hard to say; the fact remains that the ancestors of the long-headed folks one often sees in Pembrokeshire did arrive somewhat late on the scene, if we are to judge from the small properties they left behind them. As stated above, I have failed to find a single instance of the burial mounds which are

* If the supports were not buried, how was the capstone raised?

† In the year 1830 a cromlech on Fynondruidion (Druid's Spring) Farm, near Fishguard, was destroyed by the tenant, who grudged the land on which it stood. While the labourers were levelling the site they unearthed two fine neolithic implements, an axe and an adze. These trophies of their misplaced thrift were forwarded to the landlord, the late C. Mathias, Esq., of Lamphey Court, and are now in the Tenby Museum, as stated above.

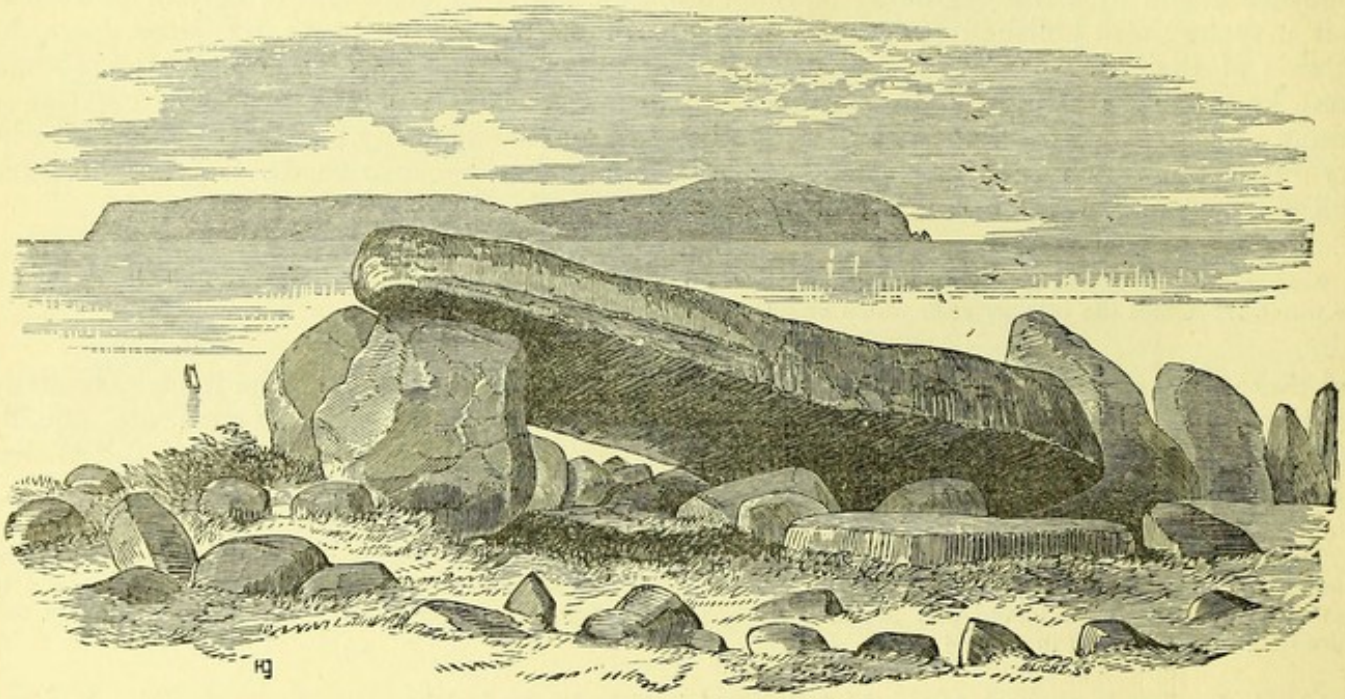
‡ In England, in the Hardham Romano British Cemetery, in Sussex, flint flakes were found in an oaken chest with a cinerary urn, sandals, and other articles.—Boyd Dawkins's *Early Man in Britain*, p. 336. I myself found flint flakes in Bullibur tumulus which contained oriented bodies and Christian symbols.

§ Isaac Taylor's *Etruskan Researches*, p. 34.

‖ *Quarterly Review*, July, 1876.

technically known as long barrows in Pembrokeshire. The form of these tumps is really heart-shaped.

From careful examination of many round, or bronze age barrows, I find that (in Pembrokeshire at all events) they were always girdled with a circle of stones more or less perfect, traces of which are to be found near the outside of the earth tump. Round very many Pembrokeshire cromlechs I find traces of a somewhat similar stone girdle. As it is pretty generally admitted now-a-days that the stone chambers were covered with soil or stones, this was to be expected; but (in many instances at all events) the girdle enclosing the cromlech is not circular, but more resembles an elongated crescent, the horns of which terminate with larger stones, which seem to have been connected to the cromlech by a short stone avenue. If the chamber was covered in with soil, which followed the outline of these stones, the result would be a "long barrow."

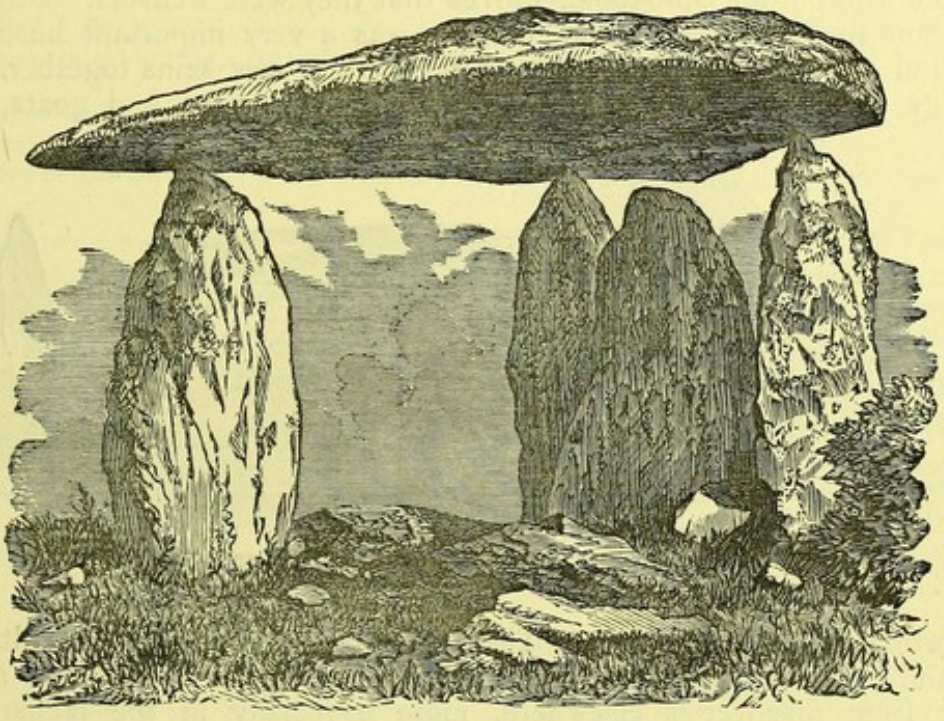


CROMLECH AT ST. DAVID'S HEAD, SHOWING STONE GIRDLE.

This theory, however, requires careful sifting. In many instances the stone girdle is entirely wanting, or extremely fragmentary; in others, the stones have been displaced. Besides, I have never seen or read of a cromlech found buried in a long barrow. One peculiarity of the cromlechs remains to be noted; they nearly all have one short leg, which stands free of the covering stone. If this occurred in a few instances, the natural supposition would be that the free leg was owing either to an error on the part of the builders, or to subsequent movement caused by the weight of the capstone; but the peculiarity is so common that many think this leg was left purposely free, and that when a second or third interment had to be made, the free leg was used as a sort of door to the tomb, dug out and replaced after the body had been introduced.

With the cromlechs are associated stone avenues, alignments, circles, and monoliths. The most striking alignment in Pembrokeshire is no doubt that standing the Parc-

y-Marw, near Llanllawer Church, about four miles from Fishguard. It consists of eight monoliths, four of which are standing, and vary from 12 to 16 feet in height. The line apparently once led up to a cromlech, which was ransacked by the historian Fenton. On one stone there is a horse-shoe shaped mark, evidently made by man, and seemingly not recent. At Benton, not far from the castle, is another avenue or alignment far exceeding that of Parc-y-Marw in extent, though the stones are smaller, not being more than three or at the most four feet in height. But this line of stones runs for about 250 yards, and is in some places double. When perfect this was most likely the case from end to end. Near the avenue is a stone about 7ft. 6in. long and 5ft. 6in. across, which is said once to have formed part of a cromlech. Some exceedingly fine monoliths may be seen standing about three-quarters of a mile from Llanfirnach. They are arranged in two pairs. The northern couple are noble stones, one about 14 the other 9 feet high. The lesser one has been broken and the



CROMLECH AT PENTRE EVAN, SHOWING THE FREE LEG.

fragments still lie at the base. This is seventeen paces N.E. by E. from its larger comrade. About 250 yards off are the other stones—one 5ft. 6in., its mate 9ft.—this last stands seven paces N.N.E. from it lesser brother. There is no cromlech in the immediate neighbourhood of these stones. At St. Nicholas near Fishguard, is a circle with a monolith on one side, and another stood about 150 yards further on. This has now been broken to pieces. The cromlech to which they pointed was destroyed early in the century. From beneath this dolmen came the stone implements mentioned on page 17. It seems pretty certain that *some* of the monoliths, alignments and circles are of the cromlech age.

From these premises we obtain a fairly good notion as to the daily life of the neolithic tribes of Pembrokeshire. Like other savages, they appear to have lived in a constant state of warfare; we find each little community had its fortified camp, which formed a refuge in case of danger; from this we may suppose that raids rather than regular warfare were the evil they

dreaded, since the greater number of camps are without water, and therefore incapable of standing a prolonged siege, though admirably adapted to save the women and cattle from a band of marauders until assistance could be obtained. The neolithic men particularly affected the coast line for their strongholds, partly because they could there find positions already fortified on all sides but one by nature, and partly because in case of need an adventurous member would be able to climb down the face of the cliff and replenish the commissariat with a skin of water and a bag of shell-fish; nay, at a pinch if necessary, the whole community could escape in this way (for they would no doubt be able to climb like monkeys), but then the flocks and herds were bound to be sacrificed. These natural sally-ports could readily be defended even by a few women if provided with large stones to roll down on the invaders. The projectile weapons were javelins, arrows tipped with flint or bone, and slings; their side arms, polished stone celts, some heavy and some light, set in wooden handles. Their clothing consisted, no doubt, partly of cloth, for a carding-comb found in Hoyle's Mouth, and the stone spindle whorl from Stackpole, proves that they were weavers. Still the numerous flint scrapers show that the preparation of hides was a very important business; while the bone needle found in the Little Hoyle is well adapted to sew skins together. We may well believe that pelts taken from game, with skins from their sheep and goats, formed a very



ALIGNMENT AT PARC-Y-MARW ("THE FIELD OF THE DEAD"), NEAR FISHGUARD.*

considerable portion of their wardrobe. They were to some extent agriculturalists, for we find pounders and mullers of stone for rubbing corn into meal. What this grain was we do not know; but from discoveries elsewhere, more especially in the lacustrine villages of Switzerland, there is no reason to doubt they had wheat, barley, oats and rye. From what we see of modern savages, the cultivation of these cereals was in all probability woman's work, as was also the pot making. They turned out a strong serviceable ware; some shards I found in the Little Hoyle seem to have been made of old red sandstone, ground fine and mixed with clay; this ware was not turned on a wheel, but fashioned by the hand, and from the finger marks on it apparently by a small hand.

If we are to take the remains in the Little Hoyle as a sample, they were rich in oxen, sheep, goats, and swine; all however of a small breed. This arose no doubt chiefly from the treatment to which they were subjected. For generations the calves, lambs and kids were robbed of their milk, and allowed to grow up as best they could, stunted and miserable, in

* In this woodcut a modern bank, which conceals some of the stones, is omitted. It is noteworthy with respect to this megalithic monument, that a ghost (presumably a neolithic ghost) is still believed to haunt the spot; and so real is the terror inspired by this goblin, that since the public road passes close to the stones, a trespass path is, and has been time out of mind, used by timid nocturnal wayfarers. This path takes the traveller at least a quarter of a mile out of his way.

their turn to produce a still more degenerate progeny. Horses seem to have been comparatively scarce; whether these were used for draught, or only for food and milch purposes, we do not know. Dogs must be reckoned among their most valuable possessions; some of these were fine animals; one whose bones I unearthed from the Little Hoyle must have been as large as a mastiff. This beast had received and recovered from a frightful wound on the head. Whether received in fair fight from the tooth of some wild beast, or from the foul blow of a brutal master who can say?

These hounds hunted brown bear, red deer, roebuck, hares, and foxes; wild boar seem to have been scarce; wolves and beavers, which we know existed in the land, are conspicuous by their absence.* We know too pretty well, what trees and shrubs grew in the coverts in which these beasts harboured. In the submerged land we find oak, Scotch fir, yew, hazel, iris, and fern. While sitting on the roof of the limestone cave known as the Little Hoyle, my friend, the late Professor Rolleston, recommended me to take a note of the flora growing round us, which, in his opinion, could have changed but very little since the dry bones which we had dug out of the cavern below were clothed in flesh and muscle. We both noted down the trees and shrubs, and a few months afterwards he wrote:

> There are many mountain limestone headlands in parts of the Principality where the Welshman (in spite of the traditional hatred for trees which his race, like some other ancient races, as for example the Spanish, is said to entertain) has allowed the ancient flora to remain, and left it unmixed with foreign importations.

My note-book shows that at the time we examined the little wood (July, 1878) there were growing out of the crevices of the limestone: ash, oak, mountain ash, hazel, holly, elder, bramble, and privet.† These woods were inhabited by black game, and the hill-sides by partridges, which were either shot or trapped by the neolithic men, and no doubt proved a toothsome delicacy, though the users of polished stone do not seem to have objected to full-flavoured food, for alongside of the black cock and partridge bones we found remains of eagle, cormorant, and gull. Fish was a very important item in their housekeeping, especially shell-fish: oysters, cockles, periwinkles, whelks, pectens, and the like, were used in great numbers; an occasional crab, too, seems to have been eaten; but I have seen no remains of lobster. These various fish were doubtless collected by the women and children.‡ Fish bones found

* Irish elk and reindeer I have found in the Hoyle with neolithic remains, and as they have both been discovered in the submerged land, we consider that they were *in situ;* but as I have stated before, pleistocene and neolithic remains are so mixed together in this cave, that it is impossible to rely on the finds. The great wild ox too, we know roamed over the land in neolithic days, but I have failed to find his bones among the remnants of man's feasts.

† Since writing the above I visited Longbury Bank in order to verify my notes, and found that the occupier of the land had been carting town refuse into this pretty glade. The stench from this abomination will no doubt pass away, but its result will be an adulteration of the ancient flora. Indeed I came across two little upstart sycamore seedlings. These I eliminated, but I have no doubt there are plenty more of them. *Moral:* Make notes when you come across anything characteristic, lest a few years alter the surroundings.

‡ On Giltar Head, near Tenby, the working of a limestone quarry laid bare a large kitchen midden of this period, which had been concealed by blown sand covering an irregular surface some 60 feet by 20 feet; but this was not the original extent, as some portion (how much I cannot say) had been removed in quarrying. This I carefully excavated, and the results were: bones of *bos longifrons*, sheep or goat, hog, dog, red deer and roebuck, a charred hazel nut, a few flint chips, a sharpened bone about 3½ inches long, which might have been used to tip a spear or arrow, or as a borer, and a very good muller; this latter had done service as a pounder as well as a grinder. Under and above these were many tons weight of shells, consisting of the following sorts: crab, *Littorina littorea, Tapes pullastra, Lutraria elliptica, Cardium edule, Pecten varius, Cardium echinatum, Purpura lapillus, Dentalium Tarentinum, Venus striatula, Trochus lineatus, Trochus umbilicatus, Turritella terebra, Ostrea edulis, Patella vulgata, Buccinum undatum, Solen siliqua, Pecten maximus, Serpula, Mytilus edulis, Littorina littoralis, Nassa reticulata, Cerithium reticulatum.* The arrangement of these shells and bones was strange. The lowest deposit rested on a floor of burnt clay and charcoal, superimposed on the blown sand; then about 9 inches of shell and bone, blown sand, and again charcoal and clay burnt to the consistency of pottery. This was repeated three times. My reading of the riddle is, that the community which deposited these shells and bones found the blown sand a disagreeable resting-place, and therefore conveyed clay to the place to cover it up, that their fires burnt the clay into pottery, and that their feasts accounted for the shells and bones; that this was only a summer station, and sometimes the winter winds buried the clay floor so deep with sand that it was less trouble to make a new one than to unearth the old. From the great number of small, useless shells I found, it seems as though some of the edible shell-fish were so plentiful as to have been shovelled up and carried off in baskets to the hill-top.

in the Hoyle, and one of the caves on Caldy Island, prove that the men of the neolithic age were not contented with the crustacea, but also took fish; these bones consist of conger-eel, ray, and angler fish. The conger may have been pulled out of the rocks, but the other bones were so plentiful that I expect the fish must have been taken with hook and line, though doubtless anything found on the shore would have gone into the pot. All was fish, I expect, that came into the neolith's net.

As we have seen, a "dug out" canoe was found during the late Mr. Smith's time, close to the Hoyle's Mouth, where it had no doubt rested since the days when the sea ran up to that point; from the account he gave of the boat, I should think there can be little doubt that it was either neolithic or bronze age, and probably had been used for fishing and travelling to the islands. But one cannot help supposing that the use of coracles, those portable skin-clad wicker boats, which we still see in West Wales, has been handed down from father to son since the neolithic times.

CHAPTER III.

BRONZE AGE.

The Aryan Migration—Kelts led the way—The Gaels—The Silurian contribution to civilization—No Copper Age in Britain—Bronze Axes from Carn Segan, St. Botolph's, St. David's, Llandysilio—Stone Hammer Axe—The Stackpole Sword Handle—Find at Henfeddau—Bronze Age Graves—The Dry Burrows—The Ridgeway Tumuli—Freyneslake Tumulus—Norchard Beacon—Carew Beacon—Mode of constructing a Bronze Age Barrow—Urns—Incense Cups—Find at Llandysilio—Funeral Feast—Bronze Age People in Pembrokeshire very poor—Religion in Bronze Age—Druid's Rocking Stones at Goodwick, St. David's, and Skomer Island—Enclosures or Prehistoric Villages near New Inn and Stackpole Warren—Stone Circles—Cupped Stone at Pendine—Difficulty in separating Stone Age from Bronze Age Relics—Pembrokeshire should be called Little Ireland—People inhabiting Western Coasts of Europe much alike in Bronze Age—Horse Weddings.

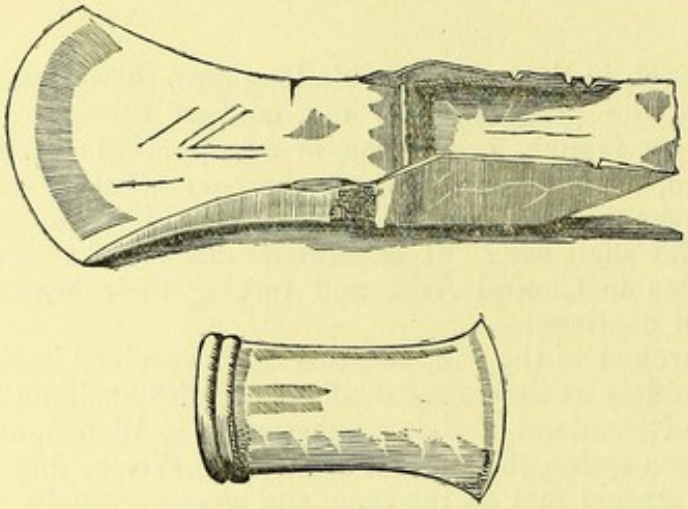
ONCE upon a time, far back in the unfathomable long ago, there was a disruption of the great Aryan people who were the progenitors of our modern European nations. Whether this movement was caused by famine, originating in an upheaval of the earth's surface which changed the water-shed, making fertile lands barren; whether civil war broke out; or whether the cause was simply that irresistible spirit of restlessness by which the nations are periodically affected; who shall say? It is however clear that a section of this great family left their ancestral homes in Central Asia, and turning their heads westward sought their fortunes in the European continent.

The Keltic race marched in the van, and this again resolved itself into two divisions—the Gaels, Goidels, or Gwyddels as they are called (whose descendants are now to be found in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, and as a substratum in Wales), and that other and larger Keltic family from whence spring the French Kelts, the Welsh, and the Cornish. It seems probable that the Gaels started first on the race, and were eventually driven westward by their stronger brethren; at all events it is on the western coasts (that refuge of the destitute) we find them when history commences.

The Gaels eventually found themselves face to face with the neolithic Silurians who inhabited Pembroke. Whether these invaders came of their own free will or as fugitives we do not know. But when they arrived they bore a bronze axe in their right hand. Thus armed the tall, round-headed, fair-haired Gael proved irresistible; and the short, swarthy, small-boned, long-headed Silurian, armed only with stone weapons, was forced to give way. These latter were subdued, and such as were not slain became slaves; the men hewed wood and carried water, the women served as concubines or handmaidens. But this overthrow was not complete, for we shall find by-and-by that when the Roman legions arrived they found a Silurian tribe dominant in West Britain.

Roughly speaking the Silurian contributions to the store of human knowledge were the art of domesticating cattle, the rudiments of agriculture, the potter's craft, and the improvement of cutting tools in stone. Copper seems probably to have been the first metal worked. If there ever was a purely copper age, Professor Boyd Dawkins believes that the bronze folks had outgrown it before they crossed over into Britain. Isolated weapons of this substance are however occasionally found in the island; one has been discovered in West Wales (which will presently be noticed). The earliest British bronze axe was a model of the neolithic celt, just a

wedge of metal. So far as I know this has not been observed in Pembrokeshire. The method used in fitting this weapon on to a handle was as follows:—A stout stick was chosen with a branch growing from it as nearly as might be at right angles. The branch was split and the wedge-shaped axe inserted into the cleft, where it was secured by thongs of leather. The bronze wedge naturally tended to burst this primitive arrangement when used; so an improvement was devised. Instead of a smooth wedge a flanged axe was made. This flanged edge not only prevented the handle from splitting, but materially assisted the workman in securely fixing his weapon. An axe of this description was found at Carn Segan, near Fishguard, and is now in the Tenby Museum. The next addition was a metal eye on the top of the axe, apparently for the purpose of attaching it by a thong to the owner's belt. One of these was found at St. Botolph's, near Milford, and presented to our Museum. The Dean of St. David's gave us another, which came from that city, but the exact locality from whence it was unearthed is not known. The next improvement in axe-making was an entirely fresh departure. The axe instead of being lashed on to the handle with thongs, was made with a socket, into which the branch or the haft was slipped—a grand invention. A weapon of this nature was discovered some years ago at Llandysilio, and purchased by Mr. B. Wright, the well-known dealer, who kindly showed it to me. So we have first the wedge-shaped axe, then the flanged, and lastly the socketed weapon. The simple plan of inserting a handle into a socket in the centre of the axe, and doing away with the branch on the handle, seems never to have been used for bronze weapons. Oddly enough we find this modern usage was applied to stone, for the stone hammer and hammer axe greatly resembled the implement we find in our own coal cellars. This *stone* weapon is supposed to have been invented by the bronze age folks.



FLANGED CELT FROM CARN SEGAN; SOCKETED DITTO FROM LLANDYSILIO. (HALF SIZE).

Although the axe makers did not progress much, other weapons, such as swords and javelins, arrived at great perfection before iron was introduced. During the lifetime of the first Earl of Cawdor, while digging out a fox under a "rock shelter" on Roche Point, near Stackpole, a very interesting sword-handle was unearthed, which was presented by the present Earl to our Museum. The interest of this little relic consists first in the rivet holes, which prove that at this period the smiths veneered the handles of their swords either with wood or bone. Then again this piece of bronze is beautifully tinted with the coating which antiquarians refer to some vegetable lacquer; but as this article was to be veneered it seems scarcely credible that the manufacturer should have troubled to lacquer it. May not the lacquer be simply oxide of copper? The weapon having been broken led me to suspect it had been placed with its owner in his grave. So I proposed one day to his Lordship that we should have a dig under the rock at Roche Point. The result was the bones of a human foot, and a few ox and sheep or goat bones. These proved I was correct in my surmisal of burial. Lord Cawdor then informed me there was a tradition that a golden bedstead was buried under this rock. Did this mean that some one, at some former period, had actually discovered

something at Roche which tradition had converted into a golden bedstead; or was it a dim recollection, handed down for more than 2000 years, of the lying in state of this bronze age warrior? The sword-handle was interesting also in that it confirmed the occupancy of the settlement on Stackpole Warren * by the bronze age people, though the tumuli which we opened on the sand-hills had already made us pretty sure of this.

The great find of the district was at a place known as Henfeddau (old graves), on the border line of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, not far from Llanfirnach. At this place a number of bronze weapons were found in 1859 by a farmer, while draining a bog, and obtained by the late Dr. Jones, who presented them to the College at Lampeter. There can be no doubt that this treasure trove was once deposited with the ashes of a leader of men. The name Henfeddau drew Fenton's attention to the place, which he visited and described as follows:—

> "The old graves" are lines of parallel ridges of considerable length, overgrown with heath, and seemingly of great antiquity. A little to the right of the ancient road thereabouts, known as Sarnau, or the pavements, the tradition is that a great battle was fought here, and that the bodies of the slain were deposited in these singular shaped semicylindrical ridges. A little to the westward of this spot, on each side of a narrow dingle, there is a small circular earthwork, which may have reference to this traditional scene of slaughter.†

The cylindrical graves alluded to seem to have been destroyed, for I could not find them. From their shape probably they were comparatively recent, and their occupants may well have been the victims of some Kymraeg massacre. The place where the bronzes were found was between the two camps mentioned by Fenton; there is however, no reliable evidence as to their relative position, so that it is quite possible that they had been looted from a tumulus and hidden in the bog by their finder; but their smashed condition proved that they had been *killed*, made ghosts of, in order to be buried with their late owner, and accompany him to ghost land; they consisted of not less than thirty-six fragments, which when sorted resolved themselves into the following articles:—Four leaf-shaped swords, all broken to fragments; of one, only a portion of the blade. Of another, only the hilt is present.‡ One scabbard guard, thirteen spear or lance heads, and four ferules for the same, all more or less broken; portions of the oaken shafts still remain in several of the sockets and ferules. There are also a number of fragments of spear-heads which may belong to these or other. Two small rings, belonging perhaps to the scabbard. With one exception these fragments are of golden bronze:

> Some of them still retaining that peculiar lustrous lacquer which is often found especially on sword blades. What this kind of varnish is has not yet been ascertained, but is thought by Dr. Wilde to have been of vegetable nature.‖

From the presence of the leaf-shaped swords we know that this collection was deposited in late bronze times. It is therefore the more curious that one of the spear-heads should be made of pure copper. In all probability, as stated above, there was at one period a copper age, which must have preceded the bronze. Where the early metal using tribes were when they emerged from this and took to mixing their metals, we do not know; but it can scarcely have been in Europe. So we may safely assume that the smith who moulded the copper

* This is just under Roche Point.

† Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 484.

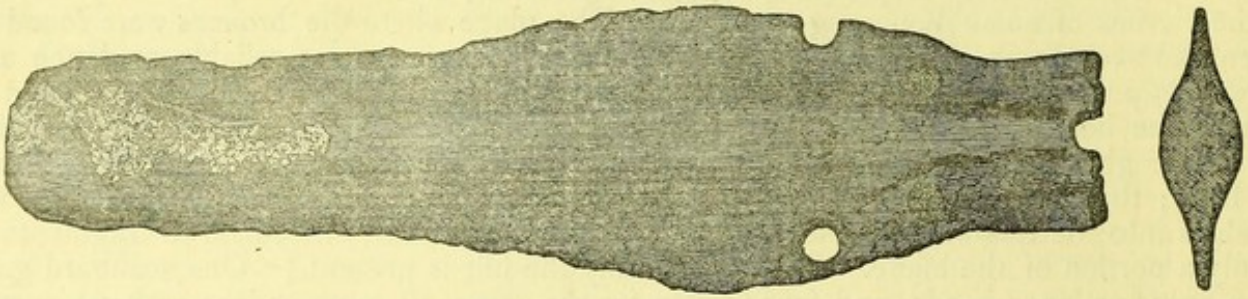
‡ Mr. Barnwell says: "From the manner in which they have been bent and fractured (as especially in the case of the swords) it is probable that the destruction was deliberately effected in honour of the dead with whom they were buried."

‖ Rev. E. Barnwell in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 39.

spear of Henfeddau had run out of tin, and was bound to make the weapon of pure copper. These weapons are known as the Glancych bronzes, from the name of the late Dr. Jones's house, where they remained some years. On the opposite page the most interesting specimens are figured. These are described as follows by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell in vol. x. of the 3rd Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*:—

(1.) Leaf-shaped sword in three pieces, having its extreme tip and the lower portion of the blade broken off. (2.) Three portions of a similar sword, but without any portion of the handle plate. (3 and 4.) Ferules, one crushed in, and having their open ends broken; these retain their wooden shafts. (4*a*.) The handle plate of a sword, probably belonging to No. 2. (5.) Spear-head, socket gone. (6.) Very short lance, or spear-head; perfect, except that the face of the blade has been battered in. (7.) Spear-head, having its tip broken off, but found with it. (8.) Small rings.*

The graves of these bronze using people are the chief source from which we glean information as to the customs of the men and women who are interred within them; but a great difficulty arises, which lessens the value of the evidence extracted from these tombs. We find that in consequence of the lengthened concurrent occupation of Pembrokeshire (and other places) by the neolithic Silurians, and bronze using Gaels, the sepulchral rites of the two races became mixed. A Silurian, according to the usage of his forbears (as evidenced



BRONZE SWORD-HANDLE FROM THE ROCK SHELTER AT ROCHE POINT, STACKPOLE.

by the "Long Barrows" of Southern England), ought to have been buried in a long barrow, or perhaps under a cromlech. His body should have been curled up, placed in a stone cist, with food, &c., for his journey. The bronze using man, on the contrary, ought to have been burnt, and then placed in a round barrow, with burnt food, broken weapons, &c., so that the spirits of these *killed* chattels might attend the shade of their master into the unseen world. If these ceremonials had been faithfully carried out, we should have experienced no difficulty in saying: "*this* is a Silurian tomb, *that* one of the Bronze age." But it cannot be done. We find skeletons with long-shaped skulls (*i. e.*, Silurians) placed with broken chattels in round barrows; and we also find skeletons with round skulls (Kelts) buried (not burnt) after the neolithic fashion, in these same round tumps. Round barrows are so numerous in Pembrokeshire that it would be hopeless to give a list of them. Including cairns and beacons, the Ordnance Map gives thirty-six, but this is a very small proportion of those remaining, and they are disappearing day by day. For instance, on the dry burrows at Orielton, Fenton noticed:

* A ring about the size of a small curtain ring, but stouter, with some indistinguishable fragments of bronze was found in the cliff castle at St. Bride's, and is now in the Tenby Museum. Fenton states (p. 412) that a ring was once found with human bones in the cliff castle near Bosherston Meer. This I think accounts for all bronze finds in Pembrokeshire which have been recorded.

A furzy moor covered with tumuli, the largest group I ever recollect to have seen in this county—as if it had been the principal mausoleum of the early inhabitants of this county, it being very unusual, in any other part of it, to see so many together.*

Of these very few are now left. Everywhere our farmers mark out the tumuli as an excellent top dressing, and in this way they are dissipated year by year.

I have before me a more or less accurate account of the contents found in thirty-two Pembrokeshire tumps.† The late Mr. Dearden opened three on the Ridgeway in 1851, which he described in vol. ii. of the 2nd Series of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. In the same year the late Rev. G. N. Smith, of Gumfreston, opened three more in the same place. I have his MSS. notes. In the autumn of 1880, Colonel Lambton examined one at Freyneslake, sending the contents to the Tenby Museum, and an account to me. I have myself opened five at various times, keeping accurate notes of the proceedings. Of these thirty-two graves only two would seem to have contained inhumated bodies; the remaining thirty were raised by cremationists. Mr. Dearden opened the second barrow westward, in a field adjoining the Norchard Beacon, on the south side of the Ridgeway. He soon came on a huge covering stone, 9ft. long, 3ft. 6in. broad, 15 to 20 inches thick, and weighing three or four tons. This stone he unfortunately blasted with gunpowder. It rested on a stone at the head and foot, but had no sides such as are usually found to kistvaens; under it a hollow space was pitched with water-worn pebbles, and on these was a skeleton laid at full length, east and west. The bones were in good preservation, but the cranium was smashed by the unfortunate use of gunpowder. No mention is made either of beast bones or potsherds, so if present they were overlooked. The skull, as stated above, was crushed; but probably if it had fallen into better hands could have been pieced, for Mr. Dearden's medical friends pronounced it to be that of a male about thirty years of age, and about five feet six or seven in height. "From the portion of the skull preserved, he had what phrenologists term a handsome cranium." This information is unfortunately, of little use to us. In the Carew Beacon Mr. Dearden found under a kistvaen, fragments of bone,‡ part of a curious triple ring, in bone or ivory, a flanged flint arrow-head, and a broken earthenware vessel, very rudely made, slightly ornamented with lines.‖ Mr. Owen, a farmer in the neighbourhood, informed Mr. Dearden that a tump had been opened about thirty years earlier in his ground, in which a skeleton had been found. Fired by the success of Mr. Dearden, my old friend Mr. Smith determined to try his hand. He opened three, and in them found cremated bodies, with handsome urns. He saw the stone which Mr. Dearden had broken, and felt convinced that a buried cromlech had been wantonly destroyed.

Colonel Lambton's tump was in the sand at Freyneslake, and was built up of stones and sand. In it he found two skeletons in a kistvaen. From one of these he took the cranium, leaving the other as it was. This skull is in the Tenby Museum, and was described by the late Professor Rolleston as "the beautifully typical brachycephalic skull of a young female."§ With it were ox, pig, sheep or goat bones, white water-worn pebbles, and fragments of well baked black ware. These three then are the only instances

* Fenton's *Historical Tour*, p. 393.

† Fenton gives twenty.

‡ Probably cremated.

‖ Evidently a bronze age urn of the common type.

§ Since writing the above the workmen, in cutting a channel through the Giltar sand-hills, discovered a female skeleton, some 18 feet below the surface. It had been arranged in a crouching attitude, and round it were a few stones. From the shape of the skull, dolicocephalic, and the propinquity to the kitchen midden on Giltar Head, I believe this woman was a Silurian; but the evidence is not strong, for I did not see the bones *in situ*, nor did I see any of the usual adjuncts of neolithic burial. There is an important burial place near Brownslade which seems to me Christian, and will presentiy be described under that head.

we have of inhumated bodies in our Pembrokeshire tumps. The Ridgeway skeleton found by Mr. Owen in 1821, just the period of Fenton's decease, may be passed over, as we have no evidence as to the surroundings. Dearden's skeleton seems to have been discovered under a kistvaen resembling a buried cromlech. The fact that it was extended east and west at first sight looks suspiciously recent, but the bronze round barrows do occasionally contain not only inhumated but extended bodies,* and the orientation might easily have been accidental. Colonel Lambton's two skeletons were placed in a normal kistvaen, and in the position usually affected by the priscan people. These certainly exhibit the phenomenon of inhumated round-headed skeletons. We may safely say that cremation was the rule, and inhumation the exception, in the Pembrokeshire tumuli. In the rock tomb of Hoyle's Mouth, and in the rock shelter of Roche Point, near Stackpole Court, inhumation was certainly practised; in the two latter bronze weapons were found, as already stated. From the little experience I have in the structure of bronze age round tumuli, I conclude the method of construction was as follows: First a circle of large stones seems to have been formed; then the enclosure was filled up with soil to the level of the stones; on this raised platform the pyre was built, not generally in the centre, but on one side; on this the body was burnt. Then a kistvaen was erected on the other side to that on which the pyre had been made, in which were placed the funeral urns one, two, or three. These in Pembrokeshire are usually of such a poor description that they rather resemble baked mud than burned clay; still they are generally more or less decorated with a pattern made by running a piece of string or twisted hide round the vessel at intervals, and filling up the interstices with lines and dots made with some sharp instrument.

The urns I have examined vary in size, the largest (found by me in Stackpole Warren) being two feet in height, with a diameter of twelve inches; the smallest (found by Mr. Smith on the Ridgeway), four inches high, and two in diameter. They are usually, but not invariably, found with the mouth downwards. In order to introduce the remains of a human being into one, or even two, of these vessels, very complete calcination must have taken place. But this does not seem to have been the case, for those urns I examined were coated on the inside with some black greasy matter; so it would seem that the urns were not used to contain the ashes of the dead, but some offering of food or drink which was burned in the funeral fire and then placed near the dead. This seems the more probable, as in several instances I have found the blackened urns on one side, and a considerable quantity of calcined bones on the other.

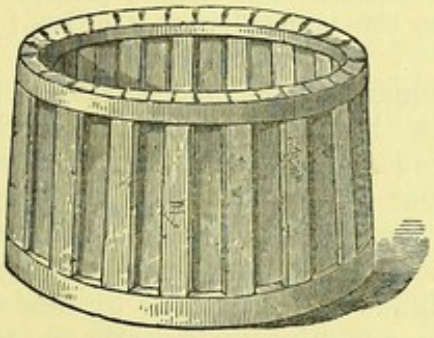
I myself never found one of the so-called incense cups in Pembrokeshire, but Messrs. Way and Stanley state that a vessel of this nature was discovered in a carnedd or cairn at Meinau 'r Gwyr, in the parish of Llandysilio. A small bronze sword or dagger is said to have accompanied the deposit. On the bottom of this incense cup there is a curious cruciform pattern. Another very singular vessel was also found at Meinau 'r Gwyr, a representation of which is given by the late Mr. John Fenton, who describes it as resembling "a miniature Stonehenge . . . being fashioned with upright projecting ribs that meet a rim at the top of the drum-shaped urn." †

Either before the pyre was lit, or after it was put out, the friends of the deceased held a funeral feast on the earthen platform. They ate horse-flesh, oxen, sheep or goats, pig, dog, red deer, and when near the coast shell-fish. Then they seem to have strewn a few small

* Boyd Dawkins's *Early Man in Britain*, p. 368.

† "Notices by the Hon. W. O. Stanley, M.P., with additional observations by Albert Way, M.A., F.S.A."—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 55.

white pebbles * on the platform. Sometimes a few flint flakes are to be discovered, and occasionally spindle whorls of bone, stone, or clay; shards of pottery frequently occur, but these usually, if not invariably, are the result of subsequent disturbance either by men or burrowing animals, and only indicate that the urns have been smashed and dispersed. When the funeral feast was over the mourners completed the tumulus and departed; but either on anniversaries, or some other holy days, it seems to have been their custom to return and hold feasts on the summit of the tump. When these were over they repaired the outside, adding a few baskets of soil which buried the fragments. This theory would account for the bones, shells, &c., which we find stratified in the higher levels of the tumps. These may of course have been deposited by the funeral party, but it is scarcely probable that mere workers would have been permitted to feed above the ashes of the illustrious dead. The Gaels of Pembrokeshire, like their predecessors the Silurians, were apparently a poverty-stricken folk, for in scarcely any of their tombs do we find weapons; in none so far as I am aware anything approaching to ornaments. From the marked difference in their funeral arrangements it seems almost certain that the metal workers introduced a new religion.† But this new cult does not seem to have erected an impassable barrier between the races—man originally was fairly tolerant in such matters. The *odium theologicum* seems to have been a Semitic introduction. The neolithic Silurian, when he built a tomb for his dear ones, attempted to erect a home that should last for ever. He built a house on the same lines as that in which the dead man lived and died, in order to make it lasting, the stones of the dead man's dwelling-place were enormous rocks weighing many tons; and to hide it from prying eyes, the erection was covered in with a mound of earth or stone, a great undertaking this for a civilized age, but one of enormous difficulty in those far-off days. Yet as Professor Rolleston wrote:



BRONZE AGE VESSEL FOUND IN A CAIRN AT MEINAU 'R GWYR, NEAR LLANDYSILIO, PEMBROKESHIRE. ‡

> Priscan man, like the modern savage, grudged no labour less than that which was spent in piling up a huge burial mound.§

In this vast structure the dead man was buried, curled up in the position he was wont to sleep, and by his side were placed the simple requirements of his daily life, the impression left on the survivors being that their dead friend still dwelt among them. But the bronze-bearing Gael passed his dead through the fire, perhaps with some notion of purification, and such chattels as seemed requisite for his journey to the shadow-land were either burnt or broken, made into ghosts of chattels, that they might accompany the disembodied spirit. These were then placed with one or more earthen vessels in a small chamber built with flagstones, and covered over by a mound or tumulus of earth—some very large, others not greater than could be carried away in two good carts. We find both these rituals were practised during the bronze period, and that not infrequently in the same tomb, so we may fairly

* I have never opened a tump in which these were not to be found.

† Boyd Dawkins's *Early Man in Britain*, p. 366.

‡ In 1879 I saw the socketed celt (shown on p. 26) in Mr. Bryce Wright's shop. It was said to have formed part of this find.

§ *People of the Long Barrow Period*, p. 127.

suppose that the two cults flourished amicably side by side. Perhaps the Gael cremationist looked askance at the Silurian inhumationist much as a High Church rector does now-a-days on such of his flock as persist in seeking their spiritual sustenance at Little Bethel.

Professor Rhys has thrown considerable light on these extremely ancient religions. In the first place he points out that Herodotus calls that race which dwelt beyond Keltica, Kynesii or dog men. The Professor then goes on to show how many of the non Aryan Pictish proper names contain allusions to the dog.* In Kerry there is an Ogham monument to a man called Netshound, son of Rishound. The well-known legendary hero, Curoi Mac Dairi, means Ri, or Roi's hound. Again, Cucorb was Corb's hound. Cu Ulad, the hound of the Ultonians; Cu Mide, the hound of Meath. Macbeth he (Professor Rhys) considers to be a name of the same kind. Macbeth meant Beth's slave, and Beth must either have been a dog god or a dog totem. Net was the Silurian Mars. Ri, or Roi, and Corb were gods worshipped by the same race. Nud, or Nudens, was their sea god, whose great temple stood at Lydney, and found worshippers and restorers through the Roman period. It is rather sad to find that Professor Rhys pushes back our old friend the Druid into this misty mythology where he (the Druid) ministers as a sort of medicine man:

> In the western parts of the island Druidism still retained perhaps its most rugged and horrible features, unmodified by the Aryan ideas which may have been telling on it in Gaul.†

The Romans were not exactly humanitarians, but they seem to have been disgusted by these horrid rites, altars reeking with human blood, and soothsaying performed with human entrails.‡ The Romans destroyed the groves where these evil deeds were done; whether in truth this was entirely on account of the wickedness of the proceedings is another matter. The reader may remember that the Puritans are said to have put a stop to bull-baiting, not from any pity towards the baited, but out of sheer spite towards the baiters. It is a sad falling off from the position assigned to the Druids by modern Welshmen, who have evolved out of the shadow of a shadow a monotheistic priesthood, learned in all the Semitic lore of Judaism, and abounding in Christian benevolence. The strange part of the story is that in all probability the Welshman's Kymraeg ancestors never heard of Druids until they conquered Wales, some time after the departure of the Romans. Anyhow it is pleasant to find after all that the Druid makes out a title to the "Druidical remains," for if he did not use the cromlechs as altars his bones may have mouldered into dust beneath their mighty capstones. But there are certain structures still existing in our land which in all probability were used in his ritual. I allude to rocking-stones; these may be artificial or natural productions, generally the latter. One great boulder by denudation of the surface has been left resting on another; then by weathering the supporting surface becomes so reduced, and the upper stone so nicely balanced, that a touch will move it—a phenomenon pretty sure to attract notice either in savage or civilized times.

Strabo, quoting from Artemidorus, an eye witness, states that on Cape St. Vincent (which was in the territory of those Kynesii whom Professor Rhys identifies with the Silurians):

> There were in many parts three or four stones placed together which are turned by all travellers who arrive there, in accordance with a certain local custom, and are changed in position by such as turn them incorrectly. It is not lawful to offer sacrifices there, nor yet to approach the place during the night, for it is said that the gods take up their abode at that place. Those who go thither to view it stay at a neighbouring village over night, and proceed to the place on the morrow, carrying water with them, as there is none to be procured there.§

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 260. † *Celtic Britain*, p. 70. ‡ *Tacitus*, ann. x., iv.; 29, 30.† § *Strabo*, book iii., c. 4.

There can be little doubt that this passage refers to what we call "rocking-stones," though the meaning of "the change in position" is not quite clear. There were several of these in Pembrokeshire; some however, have been put out of gear. One stands on the top of the hill behind Goodwick, in the immediate neigbourhood of many cromlechs. Fenton calculates the weight of this stone to be about five tons, and states "that it yields to the pressure of the little finger."* On the western side of Carn Llidi, and again in the neighbourhood of a cromlech, is a great stone 5ft. high, 6ft. long, and 6ft. 6in. wide. Close by is the stone on which the rocker was balanced. George Owen, writing in Elizabeth's time, describes it as being

> Mounted upon divers other stones, about a yard high from the ground, and soe equally poised as that with one finger a man may soe shake it as that you may sensibly see it move, and if two or three men or more sit or stand on it, that the men on it may sensibly see and feel themselves moved thereby. This is reckoned for a strange and rare thing, and is visited of many that have cause to resorte to St. David's. It is reported of this stone, that you may move it with one finger, and if you put the whole strength of your body it will not stirre: the cause whereof is, for that the motion of the stone is but very little, and therefore it is not soe well to be perceived, if you put both your hands or your shoulder to move it, as when you put but one hande, or one or two of your fingers, it should seeme that the placing was not don by arte of man, but by naturall meanes, or chance as we call it. The like stone have I found myself in the Haven of Caldei Island, by chance going over the stones there, under the full sea marke, and but much lesse in quantity than this of St. David's.†

Brown Willis, in his *History of St. David's*, quotes an unknown author's account of this stone, which he says "they call here the shaking stone y-maen-sigl."‡

The rocking-stone appears to have been regarded with a certain amount of superstitious awe so late as the middle of the seventeenth century, for Edward Llwyd says it was overthrown by the iconoclastic Puritans.§ On Skomer Island a very imposing stone of this nature is still in full working order; though not very large it stands high, somewhat pulpit fashion, in a sort of natural amphitheatre. I believe no cromlech exists on the island, but the whole surface is covered by enclosures and hut circles. These three rocking-stones, and many more which have either been destroyed or have escaped notice, were in all likelihood holy places during the Gaelic-Silurian period. There are certain arrangements of stone to be found in Pembrokeshire which at first sight resemble the foundations of walls and buildings, but on a closer inspection will be found too narrow to support any superstructure. With reference to these a mason once said to me, "Never a wall yet was raised on two stones." One of these enclosures is described by Fenton.‖ It lies at the foot of Moel Eryr, on Vagwrgoch Farm, not far from New Inn, on the Haverfordwest and Cardigan Road.

A much better known example is that usually called the Prehistoric Village on Stackpole Warren. This is a good specimen of these enclosures, and consists of an irregular parallelogram some 180 yards long, 80 yards wide on the eastern end, extending gradually to 120 on the western; on the northern line, outside the walls, are two little horse-shoe shaped enclosures; on the southern, five short walls. On the western side is a large horse-shoe 30 yards long by 20 wide, just inside the encircling wall. Near this is a circle with a diameter of about 10 yards, while outside there is a large circle with a diameter of 30 yards. Near the centre of this large circle Lord Cawdor kindly had a pit sunk, and in it we found a quantity of wood ashes. In the immediate neighbourhood on the blown sand, an abundance of flint flakes, arrow-heads, scrapers and fabricators have been found. Monoliths that may be the remains of cromlechs are present. The rock shelter in which the bronze sword-handle was

* Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 16. † *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 212. ‡ Brown Willis's *History of St. David's*, p. 63.
§ Gibson's *Camden*, p. 638. ‖ Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 347.

found in connection with human bones, is close at hand. Many tumuli, apparently of the bronze age, are to be seen in the immediate neighbourhood (we opened two and found the ordinary bronze age pottery); there is a great amount of iron slag lying about, while as a climax the late Lord Cawdor found a beautifully enamelled bronze fibula near at hand. This is now in the British Museum, and marked "Roman." Altogether it will be seen that it is not very easy to give an approximate date for the enclosure known as the Prehistoric Village, but the neighbourhood of the bronze age barrows, and the ashes within the circle, lead me to believe this structure to be of the bronze age, still the evidence on the subject is slight. Nor is it easy to guess what was the object for which it was built. Perhaps the ground enclosed was "taboo" for some sepulchral or religious purpose.

These stone lines seem to have puzzled the Welsh as much as ourselves. They for want of a better gave them the name of "Caerdroia," or walls of Troy, fancying that they were built in memory of the mythical migration of Brutus from Ilium to Britain.† These stone lines are found in many localities; one of the finest specimens which I have examined is on Dartmoor, near an earthwork known as Grim's Pound, about four miles from Manaton. Very much more frequent in our county are the plain stone circles. Concerning the object of these, too, we are quite ignorant; nor can we guess whether their builders were neolithic Silurians, Gaels or Kymry. So far as I know, in Pembrokeshire there are no stones with the curious cup marks common in Scotland and elsewhere; but in a stone, one of a circle on Pendine Head, Carmarthenshire, about three miles from the border, is a hollow about the size of a breakfast cup, which seems to me artificial.

It will be seen that descriptions of many objects which appear to be neolithic have crept into the chapter on bronze times; in truth, the two ages are so intermixed in this county that it is impossible to separate them. After the races amalgamated their descendants held the land without a rival for an immense period of time; no doubt individual tribes warred among themselves after the custom of man, and in all probability invaders harried the coasts, but these were their own brethren from Ireland, Devonshire, or Wales. By-and-by the Welsh division of the Keltic family, which Professor Rhys calls the Brythons, began to press on their Gaelic cousins in England, driving them towards the western seaboard. Some of these fugitives no doubt sought refuge in Pembrokeshire. How they behaved, and how they were received, we do not know; but as they were Gaels the infusion of fresh blood did not sully the purity of the race. The Kymry, or Welshmen, did not trouble the land for many a long age. The English-speaking inhabitants of Pembrokeshire have for generations called their home "Little England beyond Wales." If racial preponderance rather than language is considered, the land should have been termed Little Ireland. Our west Welshmen know nothing of this, and despite the proverb, sometimes it is the wise child who does not know his own father.

It seems pretty clear that so late as the first century after Christ the peoples inhabiting the western coast of Europe, from Cape St. Vincent to the Isle of Anglesea, differed but little in blood and customs. The Keltiberian of Spain was very closely allied to the Gwddyl Ffichti of Wales. For instance, the former "Divined by the entrails of captive enemies, whom they first covered with a military cloak, and when stricken under the entrails by the soothsayer, they draw their first augury from the fall."† The latter as has been quoted above from Tacitus, shocked the Roman invaders of Anglesea by drenching their altars in human gore, and seeking the will of the gods in men's entrails. The north-western Spaniards made bald the front of the head, in order to display the forehead to greater advantage.‡ The early inhabitants of Wales had a form of tonsure. The followers of Columba (that same Gaelic

* *Drych y Pref Oesoedd* of Evans, c. i., par. 33. † *Strabo*, book iii., c. 6. ‡ *Strabo*, book iii., c. 4

saint to whom is ascribed a hymn containing the words: "Christ the Son of God is my druid"*) were expelled from Northumbria in 664, and from the Pictish kingdom, of which Scone was the capital, in 717, because they would not shave their heads according to the Roman regulation. Again the ancient world, Classical Keltic and Teutonic, was in the habit of wearing light or coloured garments. In Bastetania they "all dress in black, the majority of them in cloaks called saga."† Whether the Cassiterides were the Scillys or not is difficult to say, but in the islands going by that name "the men wore black cloaks, and were clad in tunics reaching the feet, girt about the breast, and walking with staves, thus resembling the furies we see in the tragic plays."‡ Such were not improbably the dress and customs of the mixed race of Gaels and Iberians, or Silurians, who lived in Pembrokeshire.

I will conclude with a survival from these times which existed within the memory of men still living. It was customary in some villages of Northern Pembrokeshire, Cardigan, Carmarthen and Glamorganshires, to celebrate what were called horse weddings. That is to say, bride, bridegroom and friends all went mounted to church. When the service was complete, the newly-married couple galloped home as fast as they could, pursued by their friends. If the latter succeeded in catching the bride they were entitled to a kiss; and what was more to the point, the bridegroom had to ransom his newly-made wife from her captors with unlimited *cwrw dda*. The custom must have proved inconvenient to bridegrooms who were not provided with good cattle, since for obvious reasons the poor man would be unable to borrow a mount from his friends on the happiest day of his life. This quaint marriage custom so lately practised was, I should fancy, handed down from the Gael, since it is not peculiar to Western Wales, but existed in Scotland, Ireland, and Westmoreland.§ There can be little doubt that where such traditions survived exogamous marriage once prevailed. With the exception of Western Wales, the localities point rather to a Gaelic than a Silurian origin. When a man was forbidden to choose a wife from his own tribe, and that tribe was at war with all the neighbours, if he wanted a partner of necessity he must steal her. Long after all recollections of girl-snatching had departed, this curious form remained. Marriage by capture was commemorated by a race for a kiss and a cup of beer.

* Reeves' *Adamnan's Life of S. Columba*, p. 149. † *Strabo*, book iii., c. 3. ‡ *Strabo*, book iii., c. 5.

§ Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. ii., p. 151; Bohn's Edition.

CHAPTER IV.

IRON AND ROME.

The Iron Age a development of the Bronze, not introduced by a fresh race of men—A Bronze Smith on Iron—Supernatural qualities attributed to Iron—Roman influence reached Pembrokeshire about 52 A.D.—Ptolemy's notice of the County—The Bishop of St. David's on Roman Pembrokeshire—Richard of Cirencester, his Itinerary—Dr. Stukely—Professor Bertram, was he a Practical Joker?—Sir R. Colt Hoare and Fenton, they identify Castle Flemish as Ad Vigesimum—Ford—No Roman Buildings at St. David's—The Bishopric no proof of Roman occupation—Rectangular Camps near St. David's—Stoup (?) in the Cathedral—Roman Altar at Caerleon—Roman Remains at Longbury—Bronze Dagger from Kilgerran—Fibulæ from Stackpole and Llanwnda—Roman Mines—Roman Coins recorded as found in Pembrokeshire—Irish raids in Roman times.

SUPPOSING the question was propounded now-a-days, What craft has most benefited our race? many votes would be given to the iron smelter. But this discovery was brought in with no flourish of trumpets; the introduction of iron for cutting purposes, unlike chipped stone, ground stone and bronze, did not mark the advent of a race, though it clearly defined a new departure in civilization. When or where the discovery was made we cannot tell, probably the idea occurred concurrently to many minds in many places. Man from the very first had used iron pyrites for the purpose of obtaining fire, and when he gained proficiency in working copper, tin, lead and zinc, it would naturally occur to him that something might be melted out of the strike-a-lights. Probably the first essays were not very satisfactory. The metal produced must have been soft and impure, and as by this time bronze had been brought almost to perfection, we can easily fancy a grim old Gaelic smith laughing to scorn the new invention. "What," he might have said, "compare this poor soft stuff to the bright yellow metal; it is no better than the lead bad workmen mix with their copper; give me a bronze brand, shaped like the dock leaf, shining like the sun's ray, and if I do not cut through iron blade and bearer's skull without a notch on the good bronze sword, then smelt me in my own crucible. Your new metal may be fine medicine against ghosts and goblins, but trust me old bronze is the stuff with which ghosts are made."

Iron has always been supposed to have some affinity for the unseen world. Sword-blades were given by gods and blessed by saints; the powers of evil dreaded the new metal; even to the present day such witches as still survive object to pass under the iron arch of a horse-shoe. A strange corollary to this belief is the fancy that the flint arrow-heads found lying on the fallows were shot from fairy bows, and therefore "medicine" for men or cattle who had fallen under the displeasure of the "good folks." The unaccustomed was, is, and ever will be equivalent to the supernatural. The relics of a prehistoric iron age in Pembrokeshire are very insignificant. We find iron slag in nearly all the localities affected by the stone and bronze-using peoples,* proving that the occupation of these sites was continuous from the neolithic to prehistoric iron times. The Latin writers inform us that iron was considered to be a precious metal in Britain at the commencement of the Christian era. Iron collars were used

* Stackpole Warren, Brownslade Burrows, Hoyle's Mouth Cave, Longbury Cave. In the latter we found kidney-shaped ironstone, evidently procured from the shore near Saundersfoot. In the other districts the hematite common to the county was most likely in use.

for ornament, and pig-iron took the place of specie. In all probability these were the customs of the Pembrokeshire man as well as of his cousins who lived further east in Glamorgan and Monmouth.*

The Romans entered Britain B.C. 55. When they reached Pembrokeshire is not very clear, probably about A.D. 52. At this date South Wales was divided between two tribes, the Demetæ, who inhabited a country which is now represented by the shires of Pembroke, Cardigan and Carmarthen; and the Silures, who held the remainder as far as the river Severn.† The Silures seem to have represented the old neolithic non-Aryan stock, and had in some way got the upper hand of their neighbours, the Demetæ, in whose veins ran a more purely Gaelic blood. But if the Silures were neolithic by descent, they probably spoke a Keltic language of the Gaelic branch, and were ruled by Keltic lords of the Brythonic or British stock.‡ Roman writers with one solitary exception ignore Pembrokeshire. Ptolemy was born at Pelusium about the year 70, and lived to be a very old man. He wrote a geography book in Greek, and among a list of coast names mentions Τουερόβιος ποτ. εκβολαὶ and Ὀκταπίταρον ἄκρον. These have been identified with the river Teivy and St. David's Head. He also states that the Δήμηται dwelt in the western part of South Wales, and that the name of their chief town was Μαρίδουνον. This is not much data from which to build up a history of classical Pembrokeshire, but it is the only contemporary notice of the county in Roman times. So meagre is the testimony that some authorities have gravely doubted if the Roman ever entered Pembrokeshire at all. For instance, the Bishop of St. David's, in his excellent address to the British Archæological Association ‖ during the Tenby Congress in 1884, remarked: "I do not know that there is any trustworthy evidence that the Romans ever got into Pembrokeshire at all." Indeed the only trace of Roman handiwork he could see in the county was a camp, of which he said:

> At a very short distance from Menevia, or St. David's, there are two small forts—one quadrangular the other circular, of which the latter appears certainly to be the later, and to have cut into the former. It was long ago suggested to me by an accomplished archæologist that the quadrangular fort may have been of Roman origin, and may have been afterwards adopted and adapted by some Keltic chieftain.

The Bishop laughed at Menapia, Ad Vigesimum, and all the other Roman lore which has been held for gospel by many generations of Pembrokeshire men. Fenton's bones must have rattled in their grave. But perhaps the Bishop over estimated the absolute necessity for contemporary evidence.

In the middle of the 14th century a Benedictine of St. Peter's Westminster, Richard of Cirencester by name, wrote several historical works, one of which came to light in a remarkable fashion in the middle of the 18th century. It is a tract on the ancient state of Britain, and contains an Itinerary of the Roman Period. In the eleventh iter from Ab Aquis (Bath) the Julian road terminates at Ad Menapiam, which is said to be St. David's. As far as Leucarum, or Loughor, the names are fairly well identified. From thence it runs:

> "Leucaro.
> Ad Vigesimum xx.
> Ad Menapiam xviiii.
> Ab hac urbe per m p
> xxx.
> Navigas in Hyberniam."

* Mommsen's *Solinus*, p. 114.

† Julius Agricola, the Roman General, a very close observer, noted that while the Calidones, or Scotch Gaels, were red headed and big limbed, the Silures of South Wales were dark skinned and had black curly hair; from these peculiarities he concluded that the former were related to the Teutons of Germany and the latter to the Iberi of Spain; his first guess is unfortunate, but in his second he is supported by modern investigation.—*Tacitus*, Vit. Agr., c. xi.

‡ Rhys's *Celtic Britain*, p. 215.

‖ He was President.

Now there is no doubt you may sail to Ireland from St. David's in about 45 (not 30) miles, but you cannot get from that city to Loughor in 39. This being the case, it was proposed to correct the text by the insertion of Maridunum, or Carmarthen. It would then read:

"Loughor.
Carmarthen xx.
Ad Vigesimum xx.
Ad Menapiam xviiii."

This would make the total correct. Ad Vigesimum could not be identified. Richard's authorities are supposed to have been MSS. which he found in different monasteries in England or Rome visited by him in 1390.

Regarding the discovery of this Itinerary. About the middle of the last century an antiquary, by name Stukely, flourished exceedingly; he was in his own day considered a prodigy of learning. Now, a graceless generation deem him but an enthusiastic visionary. Among Dr. Stukely's many friends happened to be one Charles Julius Bertram, Professor of English to the Royal Marine Academy at Copenhagen. Professor Bertram sent Dr. Stukely a transcript of Richard's *History and Itinerary*, together with a map, which he says

Came into my possession in an extraordinary manner, with many other curiosities. (It) is not entirely complete, yet its author is not to be classed with the most inconsiderable historians of the Middle Age.

Stukely printed an analysis of this work, and Bertram published it *in extenso*, stating in his preface

It is considered by Dr. Stukely, and those who have examined it, as a jewel, and worthy to be rescued from destruction by the press. From respect for him I have caused it to be printed.

Stukely was delighted and again printed "the jewel" in the second volume of his *Itinerarium Curiosum*. But (and it is a great but) no one excepting Bertram ever saw the original. The library at Copenhagen has been hunted again and again, in vain. The generally accepted opinion is that the whole thing was a practical joke played by Bertram on his credulous friend, and that Ad Vigesimum and Ad Menapiam must be sought for rather in cloud-land than Western Pembroke.

Now for the other side of the question. Fenton, the historian of Pembrokeshire, and his friend Sir R. Colt Hoare, were no doubt firm believers in Dr. Stukely. But they could not have been confederates of Bertram. Yet these two men found Roman remains where Ad Vigesimum should be if the extra 20 miles for Carmarthen is introduced between that station and Loughor. Bertram's book was published in 1757, when Fenton was nine years old. In 1810 the latter thus describes his find:

The supposed Roman station of the Ad Vicessimum of Richard of Cirencester (lies) about a mile to the north-east of the church of Ambleston. This station by its shape, the square agger with rounded angles (notwithstanding the tillage of ages it has undergone faint yet distinct), the appearance of Roman brick and cement on its surface though in pasture, and the course of the road that runs through it corresponding with the other portions of the Via Julia we had traced, was acknowledged by my judicious fellow-traveller Sir Richard Hoare, who had, from every concurrent circumstance, no doubt but that this was the place referred to in the Itinerary of the Monk of Cirencester. It is almost a perfect square, its sides measuring about 260 feet each. It lies east-south-east by west-north-west.*

* On my visit to Castle Flemish it appeared to me that Fenton had rather over estimated its size. The sides of the square did not seem to me more than 60 yards; but it is rather difficult to say, for the road with its high banks cuts it in two. On the south-east angle there are pretty clear indications of a tower, such as we see at Caerleon. There is a single vallum. I saw no brick, or pottery, but believe the work is Roman.

A carpenter living near, who said he had seen a stuccoed floor opened there, brought a pick-axe, and in a few minutes dug up several fragments of bricks; says he remembers to have seen some round, and others evidently constructed for conveying water. He mentioned likewise his having seen a large flag that had been found near with some inscription on it; perhaps a milliary. Near to this place is a farm called to this day "Streetlands."*

I believe since that carpenter turned up the bricks for Fenton no one has ever put a pick into the ground. It would well repay examination, for if Ad Vigesimum really is identical with Castle Flemish in Ambleston parish, then Bertram and Richard of Cirencester are proved to be reliable authorities.

About three miles from these remains, close to the road marked "Via Julia" on the Ordnance Map, near the village of Ford, at the western end of Trefgarn pass, is a field in which Fenton states† he had reason to believe there had been a Roman villa, for

In the month of December, 1806, a labourer employed in casting down an old hedge found a great number of bricks, proved afterwards from their peculiar form and ornament to be Roman, and stones which on examination seem to have been in contact with fire. This induced him to dig deeper, when he came to a pit of an oblong square lined on each side with stone and mortar, about eight feet long, and near six feet high: from each of the side walls there were two flues springing up to the surface of the ground, elevated to about forty-five degrees. The mouths of the flues were one foot four inches wide, and three feet from the bottom of the pit, but four inches wider at the surface of the ground, and worked round with fluted Roman brick of about one inch and an eighth of an inch thick. There was a great quantity of ashes turned up, appearing to have been of culm and wood. The pit is at the distance of a hundred yards from an old British encampment, and several pieces of walls have been discovered between the pit and the encampment, by digging for stones (to erect a presbyterian house in the village) of similar masonry to that round the pit. For this account I am indebted to the accuracy of the Rev. Mr. Jenkins, vicar of St. Dogwell's, and who saw the place in the state here described. I visited the spot, when the bath itself and the line of foundation wall connected with it had been cut through in several places, yet not so perfectly destroyed but that I could see enough to prove that the above description was very correct, and that I need not hesitate a moment to pronounce it a bath, part of a Roman villa. There were scattered about in various directions great quantities of bricks of various sizes and shapes, some thick, others thin, ornamented with lines, and others grooved, so as to admit of their being a duct for water, together with some slate tiles curiously shaped, some having iron pegs in them. I saw also a piece of vitrification of great thickness, and bits of red painted stucco. My son found to the westward of it on an uninclosed spot sloping towards the river, the remains of a small earthwork nearly square, with the angles rounded, marked by a single vallum, having an entrance into it from two opposite sides as if it had been intersected by a road. There were on the surface great inequalities which led him to suppose there had been buildings of some kind there formerly.

When I visited Ford two years ago, in the late autumn, the field described by Fenton was under stubble. The tenant without any hesitation took me to the spot where the pit, or bath, had been discovered. There was not much to see except certain marked inequalities in the ground, but the farmer told me that in summer some of these were always bright green in the driest weather, others looked brown and burnt even in wet years. I picked up a few fragments of brick, too small to show whether they were Roman or recent, and I saw a great deal of stone lying about which had been exposed to the action of fire. It must be borne in mind that Pembrokeshire is essentially a stone country, and a brick is as rare here as a large block of limestone would be say in Berkshire. The small earthwork discovered by Master Fenton might, in my opinion, be of any age from neolithic to mediæval.

If we admit that the Roman station at Ad Vigesimum was a fact, and not fiction of Professor Bertram's pen, we must admit Ad Menapiam as a necessary corollary. But a formidable difficulty at once stops the way. Neither in St. David's itself or the neighbourhood are there any remains such as one would expect to find on the site of a Roman city. The plough has never turned up foundations of buildings, mosaic pavements, or even bricks,

* Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 333.

† Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, 331.

potsherds or coins, so far as I know. "But" Ad Menapiam "is buried under the blown sands in Whitesand Bay" says tradition. Under certain circumstances no doubt blown sand has overwhelmed villages and cultivated lands, as for instance between Ferryside and Llanelly; but in this district of Carmarthenshire it seems to me that a gradual depression of the earth's surface is actually now in progress. At St. David's there is nothing of the kind. The sand dunes above Whitesand Bay rather resemble Stackpole Warren and Brownslade Burrows. On these we find relics of an earlier age than the Roman constantly exposed, and you cannot walk half-a-mile without finding tangible proofs of neolithic industry in the shape of flint chips, arrow-heads, and the like. But at St. David's, if we except certain small earthworks and a worked stone in the Cathedral (which will presently be referred to) there is nothing that the boldest ingenuity could convert into a relic of Roman civilization. It has been suggested that the Cathedral itself is an indirect proof of Roman occupation, for through the length and breadth of England the early Bishops resided in and took their titles from Romano-British towns. The authors of the *History and Antiquities of St. David's** point out that this rule did not hold good in Wales, for neither at Bangor, St. Asaph, or Llandaff, are there any signs of Roman occupation, the abandoned Bishopric of Caerleon, and this disputed question of St. David's, being exceptions.

On St. David's Head there are the remains of a strongly fortified village, and near at hand, towards the north, between the foot of Penbery and the sea, are a number of curious walls built apparently for the purpose of penning cattle. If this was the object of their erection the number of beasts must have been very great, *ergo*, the population was probably considerably greater than the fortification on the Head could permanently accommodate; but as mentioned before, these priscan camps seem only to have served as refuges in days of danger. Most likely the cattle owners had huts in the neighbourhood of their cattle pens, and only resorted to the camp when driven there by the exigencies of war. This camp and its suburbs was perhaps Menapia, a petty neolithic village, inhabited by a Siluro-Gaelic population, important as being the point from which Ireland was most readily reached. The Romans wisely kept clear of that distressful land, and therefore neglected its approaches. If, however, we are to believe Richard the Monk, on some occasion or other a detachment of soldiery was despatched to this out-of-the-way corner. The absence of relics proves that this occupation must have been of a temporary nature. Where then could they have entrenched themselves? The Roman engineer affected rectangular fortifications. Of these I believe there are but six in the county of Pembroke, viz., Castell Meherin near Narberth, a camp near Strumble Head, Castle Flemish (Ad Vigesimum?), Clegyr Foia, and two at Parc-y-Castell; the last three are in the neighbourhood of St. David's.

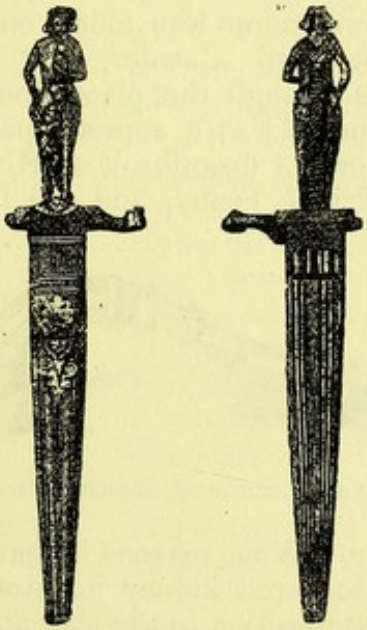
On the top of a high bank overlooking the little river Alan, within a few hundred yards of the city, and hard by the Bishop's mill, is a curious compound earthwork, known as Parc-y-Castell.† One of the circular camps so common in Pembrokeshire has been thrown up over a right-angled work. The diameter of the circular camp is about 120 feet (the circle is not true). The parallelogram, which is on one side cut through by the circle, is about 150 by 100, nearly the same size as Castle Flemish. To the south-west of this complicated work are traces of a larger rectangular enclosure which is bisected by a road, an arrangement very characteristic of Roman occupation. Tradition declares that Parc-y-Castell (presumably the later circular camp) was erected by St. David to protect himself and his followers when threatened by a Gaelic chieftain. This man, Boia by name, is said to have dwelt in a

* Page 240.

† This is the camp referred to by the Bishop of St. David's in his presidential address to the British Archæological Association in 1884.

rectangular camp hard by, called after him Clegyr Foia, or Boia's rock. Leland terms these entrenchments "the two castles of Boia." Can it be that these three rectangular works are of Roman origin? If so, perhaps Menapia was but a native village, near which (Ad) a Roman detachment was quartered, either to repel invasion, or as a preparatory step towards the ultimate conquest of Ireland. Another body of men seem to have been encamped near the twentieth milestone, and a third body at Ford; this last being an important strategical point (it stands at the head of Trefgarn pass) was selected as the best place for the officer in command to reside, hence the Roman bath, &c. This can only be proved by the pick-axe and shovel.

Residing for longer or shorter periods within the walls of the Cathedral Close are many cultured men who occasionally must find time hang somewhat heavily on hand. May I suggest that in the solution of this question they would find an interesting and profitable occupation. Let them set their gardeners to dig in the ditches of these camps, and carefully preserve every scrap of pottery, metal, bone or hewn stone they may find; and it is I think more than probable we should then have the site of Ad Menapiam definitely settled. If the dwellers on St. David's Head were called Menapii, and a detachment of Roman soldiers was sent here to expel an Irish invasion, it is extremely probable that Menapians from three different lands met. The Irish Menapii, the Pembrokeshire Menapii, and men from a tribe of the same name who inhabited a district at the mouth of the Rhine, which was the great recruiting ground for the legions.*



BRONZE AND IVORY ROMAN DAGGER FOUND AT KILGERRAN EARLY IN THE 18TH CENTURY.

"Via Julia" is marked on the Ordnance Map in large letters. It runs by Fenton's Ad Vigesimum and Ford, and as he states close by there is a farm called Streetlands; but I cannot see that it differs in any particular from other Pembrokeshire roads. The legions may have marched along it likely enough, for many of our by-lanes are much older than Roman times, and were perhaps first of all tracks trodden out by wild beasts, mammoths, rhinoceros, reindeer, Irish elks and so on, long before the advent of palæolithic man. Some other roads in Pembrokeshire have been claimed as Roman, yet I never saw any sign of the peculiar paved, straight-running causeways, in this county. No Roman grave has been opened in Pembrokeshire, but in the year 1878, when the late Professor Rolleston and myself cleared out Longbury Cave (in which were many neolithic relics, and which had evidently been used as a burying-place by that people) outside the cave, and in no way connected with the early sepulchral remains, we found a considerable fragment of a Samian ware vessel, which is now in the Tenby Museum, and with it some iron slag; this was on the top of the cave. Near the northern entrance was a spindle whorl, formed from a piece of Samian ware, possibly the self-same saucer-like vessel.

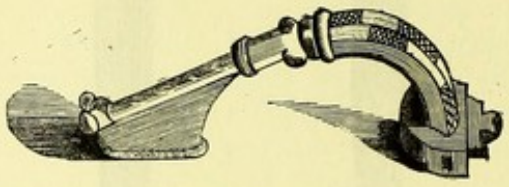
In 1716 the Rev. Theophilus Evans (a native of Newcastle-Emlyn, Carmarthenshire) wrote a History of the Ancient Britons and a View of the Primitive Ages. After describing the apocryphal murder of British chieftains by Hengist and his Saxons on Salisbury Plains, the author by way of corroborative evidence states:—

* A stoup of the Saxon period, preserved in the Cathedral Church, so closely resembles a Roman altar in Caerleon that some have considered it was made from a similar object, but the faint outlines still to be traced thereon, prove this to be a mistake.

I have seen one of the knives said to have been used on this occasion. It was a frightful instrument, the blade about seven inches in length and more than half an inch in breadth, had two edges extending five inches from the point. The haft was made of ivory; the figure of a naked female with a globe in her left hand and her right placed upon her hip was prettily carved thereon. At her right was the representation of a young servant with the rays of the sun encircling his head; the sheath was also of ivory curiously wrought.*

In May, 1811, John Fenton, son of the historian of Pembrokeshire, contributed a paper to the *Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet*, in which he figures and describes the above-mentioned dagger, at that time in the museum of John Symmons, Esq., Paddington House. Fenton points out that the personages carved on this curious little weapon are without doubt intended to represent Venus and Cupid. Venus holds the apple presented to her by Paris, while Cupid bears wings and carries the bow and quiver. The dagger was found near Kilgerran, and judging from Fenton's description and sketch is certainly Roman work.

On several occasions bronze brooches, or fibulæ, have been found in Pembrokeshire. There may perhaps be doubts as to whether they are Roman, Keltic, or Romanized Keltic. The most beautiful of these little ornaments was found on Stackpole Warren, by the gamekeeper, in the days of the first Lord Cawdor, dug out perhaps by a rabbit, for it lay on the sandy road which passes through the plantation on the eastern side of the warren. The fibula is made of bronze, enamelled† with a pretty pattern. Lord Cawdor presented it to the British Museum. The authorities describe it as Roman. In the year 1851 the Cambrian Archæological Association visited Tenby, and the late Miss Tuder exhibited in their museum a bronze fibula in form resembling the last, but with signs of gilding in lieu of the enamel. This was found in Tenby. Some years ago a plain bronze fibula, in shape and size like the above, was found at Llanwnda. This is figured in the *Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association*.



FIBULA FROM STACKPOLE WARREN (EXACT SIZE).

The late Sir Gardiner Wilkinson maintained that some of the drifts cut into the cliff near Saundersfoot had been excavated by the Romans in search of iron ore. What reasons he had for this assertion I know not; but Professor Rolleston and myself discovered kidney ironstone exactly corresponding with that found in these workings lying in juxtaposition to the slag and Samian ware at Longbury.

The discovery of coins in a country by no means proves that the race by which the medals were struck ever visited the district from which they were exhumed. For instance, Roman coins have been discovered in Ireland, and even in Australia, taken to the latter no doubt by archæologically-minded colonists in the 19th century. When however we find it is on record that single specimens and hoards of Roman money have been discovered at intervals ever since the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire were sufficiently cultured to note such matters, and that these finds still continue, we must of necessity admit that beyond doubt *somebody* imported large sums of Roman money into West Wales. When it is further shown that these coins either actually date from, or appear to be have been deposited not earlier than the British expedition of Claudius, or later that the evacuation of Caerleon, which is the only period the legionaries could have appeared in Pembrokeshire, the evidence seems to prove that Western Wales was occupied by Roman troops, or inhabited by a Romanized population. Of course it is utterly impossible to give an accurate account of all coins found in a county.

* Evans' *History of the Ancient Britons*, translated by Rev. G. Roberts. Pryse Llanidloes. Page 92.

† See woodcut, on which the colours of the enamel are given in heraldic tinctures, but not quite correctly, for the *or* is really orange not gold, while the *plate* has a decidedly yellow tint; the *murrey*, or dark red, is exactly the colour so designated by heralds.

Those included in the following list are either recorded by reliable authorities, or have been inspected and handled by myself:—

LIST OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN PEMBROKESHIRE, WITH DATES OF DEATH OF EMPERORS, AND PARTICULARS AS TO THE FINDING OF COINS.*

OB. B.C.	EMPEROR.	LOCALITIES AND PARTICULARS OF FIND.
44	Julius	"In the year 1692 were found at Broneskawen in Llanboidy parish, Carmarthenshire (three miles from the Pembrokeshire border), about 200 Roman coins. "They were discovered by two shepherd boys at the very entry of a spacious camp called Y-gaer, buried in two very rude leaden boxes, so near the surface of the ground that they were not wholly out of sight. The coins were all of silver, and some of the ancientest ever found in Britain." These coins from the list given include several Republican medals, Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vespasian, and Domitian; so they could not have been deposited before A.D. 79, when the latter became Emperor." The above quotation is from Gibson's *Camden's Britannia*. Edward Llwyd states that he saw about thirty of these coins, and describes the camp as "somewhat oval; at the entrance, which is about four yards wide, the two ends of the dyke are not opposite, the one where the coins were found being carried rather further out than the other so as to render the passage oblique; on each side of the camp is a barrow. The leaden boxes would contain half-a-pint of liquor." Judging from the engraving given in Gibson's *Camden* the boxes in their battered condition were in shape not unlike muffins.
A.D.		
14	Augustus	See Julius.
37	Tiberius	See Julius.
54	Claudius	See Julius.
68	Nero	See Julius.
69	Galba	See Julius.
69	Otho	See Julius. In a letter printed in vol. ii. of the *Cambrian Register*, p. 490, Lewis Morris states: "There is medal of Otho found lately at Crugiau, Kemaes, in Pembrokeshire, and four common medals. The person in whose possession they are

* In case of Empresses, and other members of the Imperial family in whose honour coins were struck, the date of the Emperor's decease is given. It will be observed that in one instance notice of a find in Carmarthenshire is given. In this case the locality lies so close to the borders of Pembrokeshire that for purposes of history or ethnology it may fairly be included in the latter county.

OB. A.D.	EMPEROR.	LOCALITIES AND PARTICULARS OF FIND.
69	Otho	bought them for twelve pence. He has since been offered £500 for Otho." This letter the editor of the *Cambrian Register* supposes to have been written in 1757.
79	Vespasian ...	... See Julius. In 1878 a coin of Vespasian was dug up on the Esplanade, Tenby, in juxtaposition with goat and small ox bones. Two years afterwards a silver Bactrian coin was discovered close by. It lay two feet under the surface, and was unearthed while the workmen were digging out the foundation for Mentmore House, immediately opposite the new archway made in the town-wall, near the south-west corner. It is a drachma of Menander, King of Bactria in the second century B.C. On the obverse is a head of Pallas, with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. On the reverse is Pallas fighting, with the legend in Pehloi character, MAHARAJASA TRADATOSA MENANDASA. The authorities in the coin department of the British Museum, who most kindly identified the coin for me, insist that it cannot possibly have been found in Britain; *but for all that it was*, and what is more seems to me to have been placed where it was discovered in the first century A.D. Its intrinsic value is about 6d., for these coins are very common in North-western India. It is in the Tenby Museum with the Vespasian. I myself saw the latter dug up.
96	Domitian ...	... See Julius. A coin of this Emperor was found on the Castle Hill, Tenby, and is in the Museum.
180	Faustina Jnr. ...	... Found at Tenby, and in the Museum.
192	Commodus ...	... Camden says a number of Roman coins were found at Kilymaenllwyd of impure silver. The series reached from Commodus to Gordian III., and included Helvius Pertinax. M. Opellius. Diadumenianus. Julius Verus. Maximinus. Cœlius Balbinus. Clodius Pupienus. Aquilia Severa, wife of Elagabalus. And Sallustia Barbia Orbiana. —Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.
193	Helvius Pertinax	... See note on Commodus.
218	Diadumenianus	... See Commodus.
218	Aquilia Severa	... Wife of Diadumenianus or Elagabalus. See Commodus.
222	Marcus Aurelius	... Found at Tenby. In the Museum,
235	Sallustia Barbia Orbiana	... Wife of Severus Alexander. See Commodus.
238	Julius Verus Maximus	... See Commodus.

OB. A.D.	EMPEROR.	LOCALITIES.
238	Balbinus ...	... See Commodus.
244	Gordianus III. ...	... See Commodus.
251	Decius... ...	... A silver coin of this Emperor was found in making the railway between Pembroke and Lamphey. Mr. Jones, station-master at Lamphey, has, or had it.
263	Valerianus ...	... There is a small collection of Roman coins in the Haverfordwest Museum which were dug up in the neighbourhood. They consist of Valerianus, Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus.
267	Postumus ...	... See note on Valerianus. In "A Statistical Account of the Parish of Fishguard" contributed to the *Cambrian Register*, 1795 (probably by Fenton), it is stated "about twelve years ago, not far from this town, in ploughing a field that had often undergone that operation before, near a large stone (but which the share had never approached so near before) was turned up an urn of very mean pottery filled with Roman copper coins of the lower Empire, some few silvered over, a catalogue of some of the most perfect of which now in my possession I shall subjoin: Postumus (5), Gallienus (4), Claudius (2), Victorinus (2), Tetricus (1), Tetricus Jnr." During the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association at Fishguard in 1883, I purchased 93 copper Roman coins from a rag-and-bone man in that town. He told me they were part of a find dug up in a garden somewhere (he did not know where) near the town. They were discovered six or seven years before. The rest had gone to London. Those I obtained consisted of Postumus, Gallienus, Salonina, Claudius, Victorinus, and the two Tetrici. The latter were very plentiful.
268	Gallienus ...	... See Valerianus and Postumus. A hoard of coins were found early in the century on Esgarn Moor, near Fishguard. A portion of these fell into my hands. They consist of Gallienus, Victorinus, Claudius, Gothicus, Aurelianus, Tacitus, Probus, and Numerianus. These appear to have been buried (or bogged) in a wooden box which had decayed. The money was cemented by oxide into a solid mass. At Newton, near Narberth, in the time of the late Baron de Rutzen, there was found a somewhat similar mass of coin. On this latter I am informed an impression of the skin in which they were originally enclosed was distinguishable. Report declares them to have been so numerous that they weighed at least one cwt., and the Baron is

OB. A.D.	EMPEROR.	LOCALITIES.
368 ...	Gallienus ...	... said to have given the finder a cow for his treasure trove. Those I have seen consisted of Gallienus, Victorinus, Claudius, Tetricus Snr., and Tetricus Jnr. This however was an incomplete collection, for E. L. B. (*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 9, page 313) adds to the above: Postumus, Florianus, Quintillus, Salonina, Carausius, and Probus. He states that with the coins were found a ring and a bronze ligula, with what was apparently its case. From inquiries I find that the latter were found with the "Newton" coins, so am enabled to identify them with E. L. B.'s coins found near Narberth.
268 ...	Salonina ...	... Wife of Gallienus. See Postumus and Gallienus.
267 ...	Victorinus ...	... See Valerianus, Postumus, and Gallienus.
267 ...	Tetricus Snr. ...	... See Postumus and Gallienus.
267 ...	Tetricus Jnr. ...	... See Postumus and Gallienus.
270 ...	Claudius Gothicus	... See Valerianus, Postumus, and Gallienus.
270 ...	Quintillus ...	... See Gallienus.
275 ...	Aurelianus ...	... See Gallienus.
276 ...	Tacitus ...	... See Gallienus.
276 ...	Florianus ...	... See Gallienus.
282 ...	Probus	... See Gallienus. A coin of this Emperor was dug up many years ago at Tenby, which I have inspected.
284 ...	Numerianus ...	... See Gallienus. About six years ago a fisherman shrimping near Amroth found a piece of rotten wood in his net on which a coin of this Emperor was sticking. It is in the Tenby Museum.
310 ...	Maximianus ...	... Two coins of this Emperor were found on Trefloyne Farm, near Tenby.—*Camb. Journal*, 1862, p. 95.
293 ...	Carausius ...	... See Gallienus. A few coins were found on St. Margaret's Island. They consisted of two Carausius, a Constantine, and a Constans.—See *Cambrian Journal*, 1855. One Carausius was found at Tenby, and seen by me. Mr. Cobb, while excavating at Pembroke Castle, found a Carausius which had been used to fix a blade of some kind on to its handle. With it were a Constantine, a Constantine II., a Constans, and two uncertain coins. A single coin of this Emperor was found at Newton, near Narberth, in addition to the hoard already mentioned.—Journal of the Cambrian Archæological Association, 2nd Series, vol. v., p. 148.
313 ...	Diocletian ...	... I saw a copper coin of this Emperor some three or four years ago which had been dug up at Tenby.
337 ...	Constantinus ...	... See Carausius.
340 ...	Constantinus II.	... See Carausius.
350 ...	Constans ...	... See Carausius.

In all it is on record that forty Roman Emperors and Empresses have left specimens of their coinage in Pembrokeshire. According to Whelan's *Numismatic Atlas of the Roman Empire*, from the death of Julius, B.C. 44, to the death of Constans, A.D. 350, one hundred and sixty-five individuals were represented on Roman coins, many however for very brief periods, so that their medals are exceedingly scarce. In this three hundred and ninety-four years we may fairly claim that specimens of the copper coinage issued by about one-fourth of the crowned heads is proved to have circulated in Pembrokeshire. The assortment in the various finds corroborates history in saying none arrived in the county until the days of Vespasian, who died A.D. 79.

I have endeavoured to make the above list as complete as may be, but it must of course only be looked on as a sample of coins used in Pembrokeshire by men occupying the land from the middle of the 1st to the middle of the 4th century. It would be manifestly absurd to argue why some periods are more fully represented than others. Certain inferences are, however, too obvious to be excluded. Pembrokeshire in those days, as now, was a poor land. So far as I know not a single gold coin has been unearthed, without indeed Lewis Morris's marvellous Otho was struck from the precious metal. Silver is very, very scarce, and represented by the Broneskawen find and the Lamphey Decius. The coin in use seems to have been almost invariably the second bronze. As to localities, it is unsafe to dogmatise concerning treasure trove, but we may perhaps guess at the centres of activity from the frequency of finds.

At Tenby I have every reason to believe there is no sign of Roman masonry. The broken Samian patera I found in Longbury Cave, and some coarse potsherds near the Vespasian dug up on the Esplanade, are the only signs of Roman pottery. Yet here we find a more perfect series of Roman coins than in any other part of the county, though no large hoards have been discovered. May it not be that this was the port used by Roman galleys from Isca (Caerleon), Venta (Caerwent), Maridunum (Carmarthen), and the other towns under charge of the Second Legion? It is noteworthy that the great hoards of coin have been discovered either in the neighbourhood of Fishguard, or in the centre of the county, viz., Llanboidy, Kilymaenllwyd, and Narberth. It is generally supposed that these hoards were military chests, abandoned or stolen in days of disaster. If this theory be correct, the original owners of the coins perhaps suffered defeat near Llanboidy about the middle of the 1st century; somewhere near Kilymaenllwyd (not far off) in the middle of the 3rd century, and towards the end of it, lost a great deal of military treasure near Narberth and in the neighbourhood of Fishguard. Now Llanboidy, Kilymaenllwyd, and Narberth are none of them very far from the track which continued the "Via Julia," so the assailants of Rome at these places may have been the natives of the land who had risen in revolt.* But possibly troops were sent to Fishguard that they might repel foreign invaders who had landed in Goodwick Bay. If so, who were these marauders? Gibbon, in chapter xiii. of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* gives us a clue. He states that in the third century

> The barbarians of the land and sea—the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons—spread themselves with rapid and irresistible fury from the walls of Antoninus to the shores of Kent.

Which of these then were the men who raided Pembrokeshire? Hardly Saxons; more likely Picts and Scots from Ireland, Gwyddel Ffichti, the Pembrokeshire man's own Gaelic brethren. These must have been the barbarians who drove that unhappy Romanized matron from her

* The authors of our Ordnance Map write "Via Julia" on a road between Castle Flemish (Fenton's Ad Vigesimum), Ford where the Roman hypocaust was found, and thence to St. David's. Near Llangolman is a short stretch of road called "Parc Sarnau," the road field. This word Sarnau is usually indicative of Roman work.

home in Tenby to seek shelter in Longbury Cave. The poor soul fancied it was but a passing trouble, and carried with her for safety her Samian saucer, a cheap shabby affair, but probably the pride of her little house. In that cave I fear she stayed until cold wet and famine at length gave her peace.

These Gaelic savages seem gradually to have swept over Wales. The western coast of course would suffer first. We find at Caerleon, notwithstanding the Second Legion was removed to Richborough in the reign of Valentinian (very soon after Roman coin fails in Pembrokeshire), that the citizens of that good town continued to drop Roman halfpence from their pocketless garments until the days of Honorius, when the legions finally evacuated Britain; nay more, we find the tiny minims* which are supposed to have been coined by the British Romans after the departure of their masters. But the Gael at length reached even Caerleon, which he conquered and ruined; the neighbouring town of Caerwent he seems to have utterly destroyed. We must rather trust to pick-axe than pen for information regarding this period, but in those days the human tide ran fast and furious over the land we now call Wales. The ebb and flow of contending races obliterated remembrance the more readily, as among such barbarous tribes history was tradition, not record; dates and names were treated most recklessly. Unfortunately the mediæval forger has still further vitiated this tainted evidence.

In a paper called the "Periods of Oral Tradition and Chronology," printed in the Iolo MSS., pp. 40 and 412, it is stated that in 294 the Gwyddel Ffichti were slain; that in 297 a battle was fought against the Romans at "Gynvarwy in Dyved;" in 307 a pestilence prevailed arising from the bodies of those who had fallen in different battles; the Picts again invaded; in 314 the Irish and Lochlynians ravaged the land as allies of the Romans, and so on. This tradition, though unreliable, agrees with the common sense view that it was the Irish, not the Saxons who rooted up such Roman civilization as had spread in Western Wales. It has been somewhat unfairly stated that if the English were expelled from India to-morrow, the only evidence of their rule would be certain broken beer bottles. In Pembrokeshire a few brickbats, a little broken crockery, and some brass farthings are all we have to prove that the masters of the world once marched and countermarched along its lanes.

Sic transit gloria mundi.

* These latter have never yet been discovered in Pembroke so far as I know.

CHAPTER V.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Change of Race in North Wales since Roman Period—The Gael in Gwynedd—South Welsh more directly descended from their predecessors—In England Roman civilization destroyed by Pagans—In Wales by Christians—No relics of Roman Christianity to be found in South Wales—Aaron and Julius—Magnus Maximus—Caer Alun or Haverfordwest—Caer Fyrdin, Caermarthen—Form of Consecration of early Churches—Nial of the Seven Hostages—Aulach Mac Cormac—Brychan and his Children—Pelagius—Kunedda—Keredig—Garmon and Lupus—Dyfrig or Dubricius—Illtyd—Teilo and Dewi, or David—Conflict of the latter with Boia—Boia's Wife sacrifices her Step-daughter—Dewi routs the Pelagians—Is elected Primate of Wales—*Resumè* of early Dedications in Pembrokeshire—Welsh Saints not Ascetic—Form of early Churches—Brownslade Tumulus—Ogham Inscriptions—Professor Graves first Interpreter—List of Pembrokeshire Oghams.

THE blank in English history which extends over the 5th and 6th centuries has always fascinated thinking men, for during that period the grandest tragedy ever played on British land was performed. Civilized Romano-British society was overwhelmed by a flood of barbarism which burst on it from north, east and west. Welsh pride fostered a notion that matters were very different in the Principality. An autochthonic tribe of Kymry were supposed to have held this outlying district, the Saxon conquest of England simply adding to their numbers certain heroic British brethren, who "Never, never would be slaves," and who retired to the mountainous land of their kinsmen with all honours of war. The present Bishop of St. David's was one of the earliest assailants of this fable. In his *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* he proved that the race of men inhabiting North Wales during Roman times was not that which dwelt there in the days of the Welsh Princes, and that the racial characteristics in South Wales had been greatly modified. In fact that when the Kymric Kelts were driven from Strathclyde into Wales they dispossessed Gaels not Kymry, and entered as conquerors, not as welcome guests. He pointed out that Kunedda's conquest would not account for a tradition prevailing from Orm's Head to Worm's Head, that Wales had once been occupied by Gaels. In every county, ports headlands, rocks, passes, groves, meadows, brooks, ridges and valleys are called after the Gwyddel or Irishman. The circular hut foundations, too, so common through the Principality, which mark the habitation of some priscan race, are called Cytiau r Gwyddelod, or the Irishmen's cottages. The Bishop pointed out that in North Wales one half, and in South Wales one quarter of the Roman names have perished, a state of things unlikely to be the result of a temporary conquest. His Lordship in *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd* necessarily does not treat the question exhaustively as it affects South Wales; but there can be no doubt that as we go south Roman names are better preserved, and the epithet Gwyddel less frequent, so we may fairly assume that when Welsh names crystallized into their present form, the inhabitants of South Wales were more directly descended from their predecessors of the Roman period than were the occupants of Gwynedd, or North Wales.

If then there were two invasions of Wales, one by Picts immediately after the Roman evacuation, and another by Kymry somewhat later, both afflictions were felt more severely in the north. Doubts have been expressed by Professor Rhys as to the reality of this Gaelic invasion of Gaelic Wales in his *Celtic Britain*, but the fact remains that though some few Roman names have been saved, Roman culture perished, Roman cities were utterly destroyed,

and Roman specie ceased to circulate. Who then were responsible for this widespread devastation? We have no suggestion of a native rising. The Saxon rover had not penetrated so far to the west; the Scandinavians were not yet sufficiently numerous. Surely tradition and history may be believed when with one voice they name the Gwyddel Ffichti or Irish Picts as the wild hordes who made the land a desert.

In England savage heathendom swept over a partially Christianized form of civilization. In Wales a Christianized barbarism seems to have swooped down on a more civilized but very superficially Christianized society. During the period of Roman supremacy the petty princes in Britain, as elsewhere, appear to have exercised a certain jurisdiction, and on the extinction of the Imperial sway each regulus started as a king on his own account. Possibly some of these may have learned Christianity from their late masters, but we have no evidence to that effect so far as South Wales is concerned; still it is not unlikely to have been the case, for the population was no homogeneous whole professing one creed, but a collection of Silurians and Gaels, fringed by Britons and intermingled with the mongrel mass who had been introduced by Rome from every corner of the habitable world, so it is quite possible that some of these may have been professing Christians. Still believers must have been in the minority, for if Christianity had been the religion of the many in Britannia Secunda, surely some Christian symbols would have appeared among the innumerable Roman relics which have from time to time been unearthed in the land. If so, where are they to be seen? Certainly not in South Wales. The conclusion to which we are driven is that Christianity was an exotic faith practised by a few foreigners. But the mediæval monkish writers constantly refer to the doings of imaginary saints and martyrs which they conceived did honour to both church and fatherland. It will be conceded by most that the myths concerning Joseph of Arimathea, and Bran the father of Caractacus, are fables and nothing more. In searching for the establishment of Christianity we may dismiss every thing that antedates Diocletian's persecution A.D. 303. Britain was at that time under Chlorus Constantius, father of Constantine the Great. We are informed by Matthew of Westminster that two martyrs, Aaron and Julius, suffered then at Caerleon, and that a native of this same town named Amphibalus was stoned for adhesion to his faith at Rudborn, near St. Alban's. As these names are foreign and have no Keltic equivalents, we may conclude that their owners (granting their existence) were in some way connected with the Second Legion which had its headquarters at Isca Silurum or Caerleon. After the days of Constantius Chlorus there seems to be a break in the annals of Welsh Christianity until we hear of the sainted Emperor, Maxen Wledig. It is believed under this name a Spaniard named Magnus Maximus is intended. He served under the elder Theodosius in the campaign against Picts, Scots and rebellious Britons 368 A.D., and according to Welsh story was then given a command in Wales where he became a great favourite, and married a Welshwoman Elen, daughter of Eudav, regulus of Monmouth and Hereford, by whom he had three sons all saints. There is no doubt that Magnus Maximus was a Christian; indeed he is said to have been the first believer who watered his Master's vineyard with Christian blood. The act by which he is best remembered is the drafting of British fighting men into Gaul. In 383, having collected all available legionaries and provincials, he with his child Victor * set sail for Gaul in order to wrest the purple from Gratian. According to Zozimus, a contemporary historian, these troops from Britain were the most turbulent of all legionaries. Maximus seems to have sailed to the mouth of the Rhine (not a likely port to make if he embarked from Wales), then marched into Gaul, where he was joined by the legions who were influenced, according to Welsh legend, by Kynan Meiriadog, Elen's cousin, who raised a strong force in Wales and transported it to

* Nothing is said about the Welsh saints.

Brittany. The result was that Gratian was put to death and Maximus acquired a share in the empire; but very shortly afterwards he and his child Victor were slain by Theodosius at Aquileia.

Kynan and his Welshmen, according to the legend, had meanwhile settled in Brittany, from whence they never returned. This emigration is said to have drained Wales of her fighting men and paved the way for events that were to come. According to tradition Maximus or Maxen was very busy in South Wales; he built Caer Alun, or Haverfordwest, and Caer Vyrdin, or Carmarthen.* These towns would no doubt be useful in repelling Irish raids, but if Maximus built them he certainly left no coins on their sites; perhaps the reason is that the land he defended was Southern Scotland and not Southern Wales, for in all human probability the race of Kymry who have handed down the tale resided in that district when Maximus wore purple.

Shortly after this period (402) the Roman army of occupation in Britain was reduced from three to two legions. The second was removed from Caerleon to Richborough, while the twentieth was recalled from Chester by Stilicho to assist in the war against Alaric and his Goths, the result being that Wales was depleted not only of its native defenders, who are said to have passed over into Brittany with Kynan, but also of the two Roman legions which had been quartered in it so long. The Irish Gaels seem to have spied out this withering extremity of the Roman Empire and commenced raiding the coast even before its final evacuation. This period is enveloped in pitchy darkness. A tradition of names indeed remain to us, these are of little interest excepting to the philologist, yet by his aid through these names we may trace shadowy processions of races—Gaels, Kymry, Britons, Silurians—passing and repassing across the stage.

So far Christianity has been of little service to our story, for if indeed there were disciples in Wales during Roman times they have left no mark; but in succeeding generations it is to the missionary priests we must look for aid.† In Pembrokeshire a great number of churches are dedicated to local saints unrecognized by Rome. Of these holy men little is known beyond their names; tradition has handed down a vague clue to their nationalities and dates. Yet if anything is reliable in this period of early Pembrokeshire history perhaps it is to be extracted from church dedications and place names derived from these saints.

In the 3rd book, chapter xxiii., of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* we find the form of consecration in use among Christians of North Britain in the 7th century. The author writing of Cedd, a bishop in East Anglia who was on a visit to his own native country, Northumberland, says:—

> The man of God desiring first to cleanse the place for the monastery from former crimes by prayer and fasting, requested of the king that he would give him leave to reside there all the approaching time of Lent to pray. All which days except Sundays he fasted till the evening, according to custom, and then took no other sustenance than a little bread, one hen's egg, and a little milk mixed with water. This he said was the custom of those of whom he had learned the rule of regular discipline, first to consecrate to our Lord by prayer and fasting the places which they had newly received for building a monastery or a church.

"Those of whom he had learned" were the same school of Christians who sent missionaries into Wales in the preceding centuries. This extremely personal form of consecration would surely tend to impress the individuality of the consecrator on the memory of the community.

The ill-omened expedition of Welshmen who expatriated themselves to aid Magnus Maximus is supposed to have set sail in the year 383, and very soon afterwards an Irish

* Price's *Hanes Cymru*, p. 133; *Myv. Arch.*, vol. ii., pp. 3, 60, 218.

† The authority quoted for hagiology in this chapter is Rees's *Essay on the Welsh Saints.*

chieftain known as Nial of the Seven Hostages, at the head of an army of Gwyddel Ffichti occupied the whole of North Wales and the Counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan.* From this unlooked for source Welsh Christianity seems to have sprung. A rover, indifferently known as Anlach son of Coronac, or Aulach Mac Cormac Mac Cairbre,† either a member of Nial's force or an independent pirate settled with a body of Gaels on the river Isgaer near Brecon, married Marchell a princess of the country, and started his son Brychan in life as a respectable regulus. This eponymous chieftain from whom Brecon takes its name came to his throne about 410, according to Rees; he was a notable Christian and was blessed with a family of twenty-four sons and twenty-six daughters, most of them saints. The second of these sons Cledwyn was a warrior as well as a priest, and seems to have made an expedition either to assist his kinsfolk in Pembrokeshire or to conquer them, which, it is impossible to say. He was accompanied by his brother Dogvan and his sisters Mechell, Clydai, Cymorth and her husband Brynach the Irishman.

This campaign of warrior priests and priestesses seems to have proved a success. Their leader Cledwyn founded the church of Llangledwin on the borders of Carmarthenshire. Dogvan was slain at some unknown place in Pembrokeshire where a lost church was dedicated to Merthyr Dogvan. Mechell married a chieftain Gyner of Caer Gawch near St. David's.‡ Clydai founded the church of Clydai in Emlyn. Cymorth, Cledwyn's sister and Brynach's wife, seem to have been contented with naming a mountain in Emlyn after herself; but her husband made up for any deficiencies. He founded seven churches: Dinas, Nevern, Henry's Moat, Pontfaen, Kilymaenllwyd, Llanboidy and Llanfirnach. In Kilymaenllwyd the natives refused to take him in, so he slept under a rock and called his church that of the "Greystone." In Llanboidy they gave him a shed for his lodging, so he named this church the "Cowshed." At Llanfirnach he was treated as a saint should be, so he honoured the inhabitants by calling their place of worship after himself.

Rees, the eminent hagiologist, considers the series of churches attributable to Cledwyn's expedition are the earliest of our Pembrokeshire consecrations, without indeed one dedicated to St. Patrick at Menevia should take precedence. But even if we are prepared to claim St. Patrick as a Welshman there can be little doubt that his Christianity was of the Irish school. Ffraid, or Bridget, the foundress of St. Bride's and Colman of Llangolman, are both distinctly Irish. Whether they ever were personally in Pembroke the legend seems to doubt. Morgan, generally known by his Greek name Pelagius or the Sea-born, flourished during this period. This arch-heretic was a Kymro from North Wales, and most likely originally a Christian of the Roman school. The humdrum life of a missionary had no charms for this talented man. He went to Rome, and from thence travelled here and there wherever religious controversy led him and died about 410, better known perhaps than any native of Wales who preceded or followed after him. Though Pelagius had personally but little to do with his native land, the doctrine he taught rapidly spread through Wales and caused considerable trouble to his orthodox contemporaries.

During the 5th century another school of missionaries poured into Pembrokeshire. The Irish were not long left in quiet possession of Wales, for as we have already seen Kunedda, a chieftain from Strathclyde, pressed either by Saxons or Picts, probably the latter, migrated with his tribe to North Wales, from whence he ejected the Gaelic intruders and conquered the Gaelic natives. Legend says that he claimed the sovereignty of Wales through his mother,

* Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 109; Moore's *History of Ireland*, c. vii.

† Professor Rhys has no faith in this hero, believing him to be no other than the well-known Dane Anlaf Cuaran antedated. See *Celtic Britain*, p. 243.

‡ This man by a second wife was grandfather to Dewi, the patron saint of Wales.

but it was with his broad sword that he made good his title and established the supremacy of the Kymric race. He was a Christian, having either acquired his faith from Rome, or peradventure learned it from that Ireland whose sons it was his mission to expel. An eponymous son of his, Keredig by name, invaded Keredigion or Cardigan, from which he drove out the Irish. But the Gael still seems to have held his own in Pembrokeshire, neither Keredig or his sainted brethren being able to effect a footing in that county either as conquerors or missionaries, though as will be seen their immediate descendants won it by fair means or foul.

The form of Christianity affected by Kunedda and his Kymry was subsequently deemed heterodox at Rome; but in these days of its infancy a movement on the Continent infused fresh vigour into the Welsh sect. The church in Gaul was during the first quarter of the 5th century in bad odour at Rome, it was deemed to be tainted with Pelagianism. For some reason or other (perhaps as a proof of orthodoxy) the heads of this same Gallic church determined to send missionary bishops, viz., Garmon of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes, to lecture in Wales against the damnable heresy of which they themselves were accused. What makes the story even more complicated is that Lupus had a brother, one Licentius, who was a notable Pelagian, so one would have thought he should have begun his preachment at home.* Garmon and Lupus apparently sympathized rather with the Kymry than the Gaels; but the chief result of their visit was a fusion of the schools of Kunedda and Brychan. This came about through the foundation of ecclesiastical colleges by Garmon, to which both Welsh and Irish Christians were admitted. Through these establishments the Kymric saints seem to have obtained a footing in Pembrokeshire which was still under Irish rule.

St. Dyfrig or Dubricius, a grandson of Brychan's, was Bishop of Llandaff during the visit of Garmon and Lupus. He (Dyfrig) is said to have been a native of Abergwain, or Fishguard, although no church in Pembrokeshire bears his name. An Armorican named Illtyd was appointed by the missionary bishops to a college at Caerworgon (said to be Llantwyd or Llanwit).† A pupil of his, Pawl, supposed to be a North Briton, founded the celebrated school at Whitland (Ty Gwyn ar Daf, the holy house on Tav), and in this establishment educated two celebrated pupils, Teilo and Dewi or David. Teilo was a grandson of Keredig, and was born at Gunniau eccluis, or Gumfreston, near Tenby. He had studied under Dyfrig before joining Pawl at Whitland. Teilo is named in the Triads (with Dewi and Cattwg) as one of the three canonized saints of the Isle of Britain. His celebrated fellow-student Dewi demands a more extended notice. It will be remembered that a man named Gyner of Caer Gawch, near St. David's, espoused Mechell, sister of Cledwyn, the Irish militant missionary. After her death he is said to have married Anna, child of Gwrthevyrn or Vortimer, by whom he had a daughter Non. Now it happened that Sandde son of Keredig, King of Cardigan, visited St. David's; whether as a friend, or raiding the country as a foe, we are not told. He saw fair Non, and although she was a nun and he a saint, violated her. Dewi was the result of this intercourse. Marvellous tales were told of the child while yet in his mother's womb. St. Patrick, while preaching at St. David's before the pregnant Non, was struck dumb and warned by heaven that the unborn child was destined to bear sway in Wales. The meaning of this legend is obvious; Kymric not Gaelic theology was to dominate the land. Then again Non, in the agonies of childbirth, squeezed a boulder stone so hard that the marks of her fingers remained impressed, a wonder to succeeding generations. As stated above,

* There seems to have been an immigration of Armoricans into Wales about this time. Whether the cause or the effect of Garmon's mission it is impossible to say; but Kystennin, a descendant of Kynan ap Meiriadog, is said to have led a force into Wales to expel the Irish, and finally to have settled in that country and founded a dynasty from which the mythical Arthur sprang.

† Illtyd is patron of Llantwyd in Pembrokeshire.

Dewi was educated at Whitland; from thence he returned to his old home at Menevia. Popular tradition avers that he dwelt within the circular earthwork Parc-y-Castell (see p. 40) which he threw up to protect himself and his servants from a Gaelic chieftain (Quidam Scotus) named Boia, who dwelt in an adjacent camp known as Clegr Foia or Boia's Rock. This conflict between Dewi and Boia appears to be the only legend preserved which describes an encounter between the followers of Christianity and heathendom in Wales.

We are told that Dewi on arriving at a place called Hodnant, in the Glyn Rossyn near Menevia, bade his followers light a fire. Boia, a neighbouring chieftain, on seeing the smoke hastened down at the head of his tribe to expel the strangers who had dared to occupy his land without permission. He does not seem, however, to have offered actual violence to the Christians, contenting himself with mockery. The superstitious Gael naturally attributed a murrain which broke out among his herds to the wrath of Dewi's god, and as a peace offering presented Hodnant to the strangers. Then we hear that Boia's wife bade her maidens go down to the river Alan and in a state of nudity, counterfeiting madness, dance before the saints. This would appear to have been some wild ritual executed in honour of her gods. Dewi's holy men were much exercised and begged their master to fly from the accursed place. "Nay," said the good man, "we ought not to be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good; if Christ is with us who can be against us; be therefore valiant in a war in which you may overcome, lest your enemy may rejoice at our defeat. We ought to remain and Boia to depart."* As the dance of Mænads had failed to move the Christians, Boia's wife determined on a solemn sacrifice. Taking her daughter-in-law, Dunawel, she retired into a hazel grove and placed the girl's head on her lap that she might arrange her hair.† Having by this sign adopted the maiden as her daughter, she with a sharp knife severed her head from her body. But nought came of this bloody deed, the gods made no sign, the upstart priest of a mushroom creed triumphed, whereas Boia's wife and the loyal followers of the old gods departed from holy Octapitaron‡ for ever.

"Who now shall content thee as they did,
Thy lovers, when temples were built
And the hair of the sacrifice braided
And the blood of the sacrifice spilt."

Shortly afterwards Boia himself was slain by one Lisci, a rover who landed at Porthlisci.

In 519 Dewi attended a synod at Brefi in Cardiganshire, where by his eloquence and learning he routed the followers of Pelagius. So important was his victory considered that the venerable Dubricius resigned his mitre and David was unanimously elected Primate of Wales. Feeling it would be well to strike while the iron was hot he called another synod at Caerleon, where he utterly exterminated the Pelagians and then drew up rules for the regulation of the British Church, dividing the Principality into dioceses. His next step was to remove the see from Caerleon to Menevia, or as thenceforward it was called Ty Dewi, St. David's. This became the most famous shrine in Wales:

Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum.

Fifty-three churches are dedicated to Dewi's memory in *South Wales*, besides some in England (strangely enough not one in North Wales); of these, eleven are to be found in his

* *Cambro British Saints*, p. 428.

† Among the Keltic races a great deal of etiquette was attached to the arranging of hair. To comb or cut a young man's hair was an admission either of actual paternity, or of adoption.

‡ Professor Rhys says in *Celtic Britain*, p. 226:—"Octapitaron, the name given by Ptolemy to St. David's Head, comes most likely from the forgotten language of the non-Celtic inhabitants."

native county. The cathedral, which he shared with St. Andrew, Hubberston, Llanddewi Felffre, Llanychllwydog, Llanychaer, Maenor Deifi, Prendergast, Whitchurch, Brawdy, Capel-y-Gwrhyd.

The career of St. David represents not only the triumph of the Kymric Church over heathenism and Pelagianism, but the overthrow of the Gael, and so is interesting to ethnologists as well as hagiologists and churchmen. Historical gleanings from the life of saints must necessarily be meagre, for the authors not only encrust them with impossibilities but magnify matters which are of little import, and treat details we should like amplified as trivial if not actually pernicious. Had missionaries from the first faithfully described heathendom and its ways how much folklore lost for ever would have been preserved; the heathen pure and simple was never so favourite a study with them as the heretic. St. David's story has been so bedizened with lies that some have doubted his existence, but there seems to be a certain personality in the brief record related above.

It may be as well to give a short *resumé* of these early dedications in Pembrokeshire. They resolve themselves into three classes: Gaelic, Armorican and Kymric.

GAELIC.

According to Cressy's *Church History* Padrog, or Patrick, was born in the valley called Rossina, where the cathedral church of St. David's now stands. Another story avers that he was born in Gower, and carried from thence to Ireland by slavers.* The earliest Pembrokeshire dedication of which legend tells is a chapel which once existed in the parish of St. David's, and which was dedicated to Patrick. According to John of Teignmouth it was situated close to the spot from whence the angel showed him the vision of Ireland. Brynach Wyddel, who as stated above accompanied Brychan's children and married his daughter, claims the churches of Dinas, Henry's Moat, Nevern and Llanfirnach; Clydai, his sister-in-law, that which bears her name. Colman, a saint of the 5th century, who flourished in Ireland, takes Capel Colman. Ffraid or Bride, said to have been born at Fochart, county Louth, in 453, is commemorated by St. Bride's. Aedan was a disciple of Dewi. He not only bears a Gaelic name, but was also Bishop of Ferns; he patronized Llawhaden. The Irish called him Maidor and Moedhog, so he is probably the same personage to whom under the name of Madog, Haroldston West and Nolton are dedicated.

ARMORICAN.

This mission was led by Garmon, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, according to the church story, in the 5th century. No Pembrokeshire church commemorates either of these worthies, but Hermon's Hill, in the town of Haverfordwest, seems to have taken its name from the former. Garmon had a nephew, one Emyr Llydaw, an Armorican regulus, whose family are very largely represented in the hagiology of Pembroke. His son Gwyndaf founded Llanwnda; his nephew Varthawg (the knight) conferred temporal as well as spiritual blessings on Wales, for he introduced an improved plough into that country; hitherto the natives had been contented to hack up the land by hand, or scratch it with a harrow.† The church of Llantood is dedicated to him. Three grandchildren of Emyr have churches in the county of Pembroke dedicated to them, viz.: Cristiolus; Eglwys Wrw, Penrhidd, and Pencelli. Meilyr; Llys-y-Fran. Llawdog or Lleudad; Kilgerran. Another

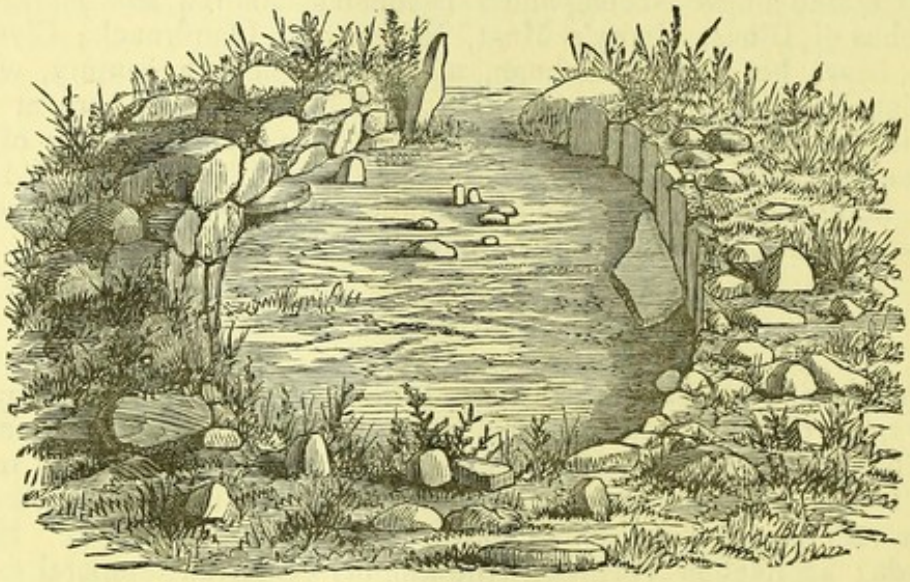
* Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 129.

† *Myv. Arch.*, c. ii., p. 67.

grandson named Cadfan led a body of missionaries into Wales, one of whom Ust preached in Pembrokeshire; to him is dedicated the church of Llanust. Budig, a noble Armorican, put to sea with a fleet and landed in Milford Haven. A chapel was erected to his honour and called by the natives St. Buttock's; this was not considered euphonious, so when a mansion was built it was rechristened St. Botolph's. Budig married Arianwedd (Teilo's sister), a saint of Kunedda. By her he had two children, Tyfei who was accidentally killed while yet an infant by a man named Tyrtuc, and buried at Penally. Possibly one of the crosses in this churchyard may have been erected by a later generation to his memory. Lamphey, which Giraldus calls Lantefei, was named in his honour. Budig's other son was named Ismael, and is commemorated by the churches of St. Ismael's, Camros, Uzmaston, Haroldston, and Rhosmarket. Stinan, called also Justinian, a noble Armorican of the 6th century, preached in Pembrokeshire, and is said to have been murdered by his own servants on Ramsey Island, where he had taken up his abode. A chapel was raised to his honour at Capel Stinan. One can scarcely doubt that there is some foundation for the tradition of a mission which started from the country lying between the Seine and the Loire for the evangelization of Western Wales after its evacuation by the Roman legions.

KYMRIC.

It appears to have been chiefly through the instrumentality of this branch of the Keltic Church that Pembrokeshire was eventually won for Christendom. Chief among the Kymry was Dewi. Of him we have already spoken. Teilo, a descendant of Kunedda, was born at Eglwys Gunniau or Gumfreston; Llandeilo and Llandeloi are dedicated to him. Ailfyw was the cousin of Dewi; he names St. Elveis. Tyssul was of the Kunedda family, St. Issell's.



HUT FOUNDATION OF IRISHMAN'S COT.

Edeyrn, said to have been a son of Vortimer, St. Edren's. Cewell, or Cuillus, a son of Gildas, Steinton. Tudwall, a local bishop, Llanstadwell.

Such were the men who Christianized Western Wales. They were of royal or noble blood, and appear in many instances to have wielded temporal as well as spiritual authority; no ascetics, for they married and were given in marriage. Although some of their haunts are now deserted by man we must not think of them as hermits, for if we are to judge by earth-

works, &c., many of these same spots that seem to us so desolate, were in the 5th and 6th centuries centres of comparatively populous districts. Not a vestige of the churches in which they ministered has come down to us; probably they resembled the houses then in use. There are through the length and breadth of Wales foundations of huts or houses which are universally known as Cytiau r' Gwyddelod or Irishmen's cots; they have been frequently and carefully examined, but with small result. Such as I have overhauled in Pembrokeshire contained shells,* remains of charcoal contained in a sort of hearth; neither bones, flint chips, or pottery were present. Perhaps the safest conclusion to arrive at with regard to hut foundations is that these circular dwellings were in use among most of the early races; but that the Gaels in Wales continued to dwell in them subsequently to the discovery by their neighbour the Kymry of the fact that rectangular houses were a more convenient arrangement. The circular bee-hive huts, with a stone foundation, were therefore called by the latter people Irishmen's cots. Perhaps the buildings in which the earliest missionaries preached of Christ, to the Gaelic-Silurian inhabitants of West Wales were but a superstructure of wattled furze erected on a dwarf wall, resembling these Cytiau r' Gwyddelod.

With respect to the sepulchres of these early Christians, as will be seen hereafter, we have good reason to suppose that they buried their dead and marked the place with a monolith, on which they inscribed the name of the deceased in Ogham character. But I believe that I had the good fortune to be present when a tomb was opened of the transition period, the grave of a Christian buried *more infidelium*. In the Translation of *Nennius*, edited by Dr. Giles and published by Bohn in 1848, in the list of ancient British cities, p. 386, Caerguorcon is identified with "Worren or Woran in Pembrokeshire." The reason for this I do not know, as Caerguorcon† is usually supposed by Welsh scholars to have occupied the site of Llantwit Major, in Glamorgan. If there was any tradition of a town at Warren, Fenton had not heard of it. He mentions the Bullibur camp, which he attributes to Danes, but that is all he has to say about the neighbourhood. However, the remains still existing prove that a very large number of persons were once buried in this neighbourhood.

In 1880 Colonel Lambton drew my attention to a large tumulus close to his house at Brownslade and about half-a-mile from Warren Church. This we opened. The tump stands in a sandy field known as "Church ways," on the edge of the burrows; it is circular, with a diameter of 75ft., and rather flat, not being raised more than some 8ft. in the centre. From its shape and construction, a careless observer would pass it by as one of those natural hillocks of blown sand which abound on the burrows in the neighbourhood; but, on closer inspection, the surface is found to be strewn with bones, mostly human, which the rabbits have thrown out from their holes. We commenced operations on the south-eastern side, where the bones seemed thickest, and found that this portion of the barrow consists of blown sand, in which skeletons of men, women and children are packed in tiers at least three deep, like pigeons in a pie. Some of the bodies were protected by an enclosure of long water-worn stones about the





size of ninepins, but without any covering; others lay in the bare sand; they were all oriented. With these bones we found a piece of fine bronze, which might have been an earring, or a

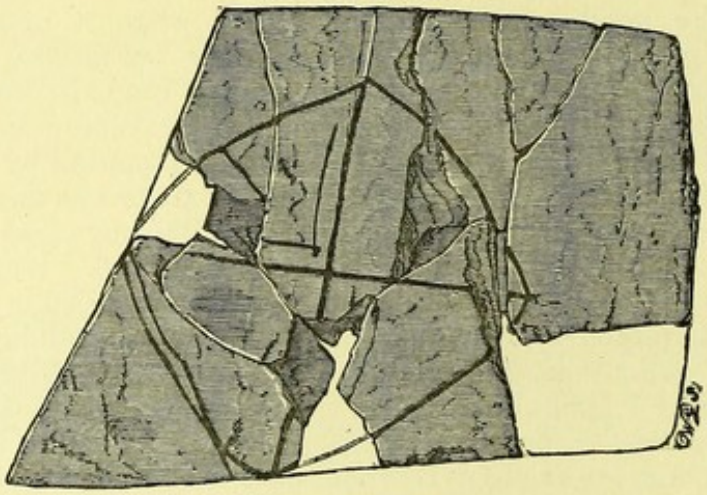
* In both cases they were near the sea-shore, one on Skomer Island (where they exist in hundreds), the other on St. David's Head.

† Or Caerworgon.

finger ring, I think the former; and a small brass ring with a rude pattern of spots pounced on it. On the following day, a small stoup, roughly hewn out of a block of red sandstone, 14in. by 8in., was found in this part of the tumulus. Mixed with the human bones were small quantities of bones of oxen (*bos longifrons*), and sheep or goats, with a few limpet-shells, and a flint flake; but as these occur on the burrows it might be accidental.

We then laid bare a place rather to the north of where we had been digging hitherto, and found a skeleton oriented, and surrounded by made ground [clay] and rough, dry masonry, but without any covering. With this body there was a horse's nipper, a calf's tooth, and the jaw of a sheep or goat, with some shells of oyster and limpet.

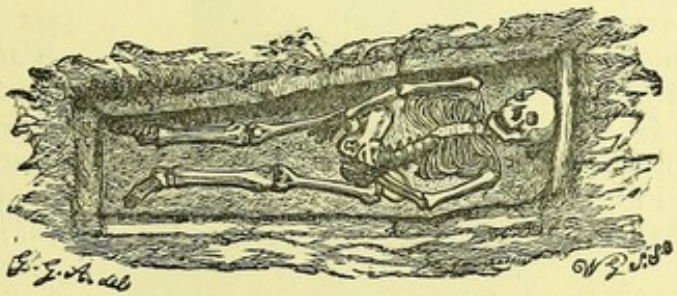
By this time we had accumulated so many human bones, that decency suggested we should proceed to reinterment. For this purpose we selected the centre of the barrow, and had not sunk more than 3ft. when we struck on a large slab (flat stones had hitherto been conspicuous by their absence). It proved, as we anticipated it to be, the covering stone of a kistvaen, measuring about 4ft. by 3ft. In it we found portions of a human skeleton much decayed, mixed with charred bones and animal bones, and apparently of an older date than the others, which were all as well preserved as recent bones. In the kistvaen there were bones of oxen (*bos longifrons*), sheep or goat, and roe-buck; a well burned, wheel-turned potsherd, which resembled those discovered by Colonel Lambton in the adjacent camp, and not like such as are usually found in barrows in Pembrokeshire; and along with these was a piece of chert about the size of half a brick,



with a cup bored on each side, the borings being immediately opposite to each other, with a diameter of 2in., and the same depth, the inside of them being as highly polished as though they had just left the lapidary's hand. Then we came on a block of red sandstone, 2ft. long and 6in. wide; on it were scratches like Vs and Ys, resembling those known as mason's marks. The last and most curious discovery was a flat piece of limestone, 7in. wide by 10in. long, on which was roughly inscribed a cross within a circle, with a V or arrow-head in one segment. We found nothing more, although we dug down to the sand; still we discovered that although the privilege of burial in this mound was so appreciated that in places the dead were laid in four tiers, no interments had taken place near the kistvaen.

Having reserved three skulls for the inspection of the late Professor Rolleston, we put the other bones in the pit and covered them up. We then began to look about the surroundings of our tumulus, and found adjoining, the remains of a wall, enclosing a space of about an eighth of an acre, and, at the further end of the tumulus, two small buildings; one of them has, in the memory of man, been used as a cottage; the other the labourers declared was the ruins of a chapel, some saying that they could remember an east window. It is very tiny, being only 16ft. by 12ft., and is pitched with water-worn stones; it stands east and west. The native legend about it is, "That *they* tried to build a church, but *the other people* would not let them, and pulled it down again." So far for fact, now for deduction.

There can be no question that the central interment in the covered chamber of the tumulus was of an earlier date than either that in the clay and stone grave, or those in the blown sand. I believe that it was the primary interment of the barrow. But, first, as regards the oriented bodies, this arrangement suggests Christianity, which the neighbourhood of the church corroborates, and Professor Rolleston, to whom I sent the skulls, decided, without knowing their history, that they were not "*priscan crania*, and not older than the Romano-British period." But, if Christian, they are the bones of folks who appear to have feasted by the open graves of their friends, and occasionally eaten horseflesh. We calculated that, if the whole tump is as thickly packed with bodies as the portion we examined, it must contain the remains of at least 250 persons; and people are scarce near Bullibur now-a-days. The bronze earring (?) we found in this portion of the barrow was a fine piece of ancient metal; the brass ring, a trumpery thing one would not be astonished to see lying in the street any day. The stoup, I expect, came from the little chapel, and had at some time been thrown into a rabbit's hole. It is with the central interment the difficulties arise. Here we find a body buried in a kistvaen in the squatting attitude affected by the stone age peoples; with it are interred the stones inscribed with mason's marks. The socketed stone was the bed in which some pivot had turned; perhaps that of a door or gate, though I apprehend it had some connection with early Christian ritual, for the Rev. J. Davies, while restoring the very ancient church of Llanmadoc in Gower, found a similar stone put in as an arch-stone over a window.† But the slab inscribed with the cross within the circle leaves little doubt as to the faith of the dead. This surely was the grave of a Christian man.



Miss Stokes, in her admirable work on *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, says, "The cross within the circle is found on the oldest stones in Ireland;" and I am disposed to think that this man, buried with Christian symbols in a heathen kistvaen, and who collected such a concourse of early Christian dead around him, must have been one of those Irish missionaries who were the evangelists of Wales. I say, Irish, because he seems to have stood on the borderland of heathendom and Christendom, which is the position of Irish missionaries.*

In 1884 the British Archæological Association during their Tenby Congress visited Brownslade, when Colonel Lambton again opened the barrow on the western side and exposed several skeletons; one of these was drawn, and through the courtesy of the Society is given above.

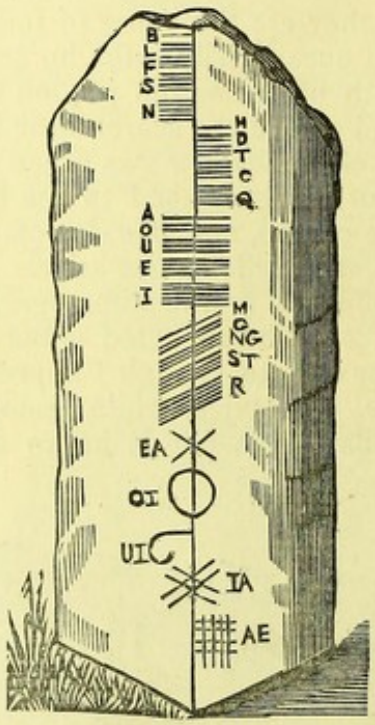
The most important relics left in Pembrokeshire by its Gaelic occupants are memorial stones, inscribed in the so-called Ogham character. These so greatly abound in this district that Professor Rhys in his *Celtic Britain*, p. 247, thinks that

(The Ogham character) would seem to have been invented by a Goidelic native of Siluria or Demetia (*i. e.*, Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Cardigan, or Pembroke), who having acquired a knowledge of the Roman alphabet, and some practice in a simple system of scoring numbers, elaborated the latter into an alphabet of his own fitted for cutting on stone or wood. Thence, we presume, it was propagated to Ireland, especially the South and South-

* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 49. † *History of West Gower*, part ii., p. 80.

West; and on the other hand to Devon, but hardly at all so far as one can discover to Cornwall, and only sparingly to North Wales, while the Oghams of Scotland need not be discussed, as they seem to be of later introduction, showing traces of the influence of manuscript writing on parchment.

What this Ogham character is like will be understood from the accompanying sketch. Ogham inscriptions have been commented on by the curious ever since the beginning of the last century, but their meaning was not revealed until the Right Rev. Dr. Graves in 1848 worked out a method of deciphering them. In the first place he copied all the inscriptions he could find. He then arranged the characters in order of the frequency of their occurrence; afterwards making a list of most common sounds in ancient Keltic languages, and finally compared the two together. The correctness of his results was proved by a bilingual inscription at St. Dogmael's, Pembrokeshire, which ran "Sagrani Fili Cunotami," in Latin; "Sagramni Maqui Cunatami," in Ogham. Other keys are to be found in treatises on the Ogham character in Irish MS. books of Ballymote, Lecan, and Leinster. Very frequently the Ogham stones have inscriptions in Roman characters by the side of the Oghams, the one legend being in Keltic, the other in Latin.



IMAGINARY STONE INSCRIBED WITH OGHAM ALPHABET AND ROMAN EQUIVALENTS.

The following is a list of the Pembrokeshire Oghams, kindly prepared for me by Mr. J. R. Allen, from Professor Westwood's *Lapidarium Walliæ;* Professor Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh Philology;* Hübner's *Christian Inscriptions;* and Brash's *Monuments of the Gaedhil*:—

BILINGUAL AND BILETERAL.

Cilgerran—Lat.: Trenegussi Fili Macutreni hic jacit." Ogham: "Trenagusu maqui Maquitreni."—(Rhys.)
Little Treffgarne.—Lat.: "Hogtivis Fili Demeti." Ogham: "Ogtens," or "Nogtene."
Caldy Island.—Lat.: "Et signo crucis in illam finxi rogo omnibus ambulantibus ibi exorent pro anima Catuoconi." Ogham: Magolite Bar-cene."—(Rhys.)
Cwm Gloyne.—Lat.: Vitaliani Emeret . ." Ogham: "Vitaliani."—(Rhys.)
St. Dogmael's.—Lat.: Sagrani Fili Cunotami." Ogham: "Sagramni Maqui Cunatami."
Dugoed nr. Clydai.—Lat.: "Dobuni fili Evolenci." Ogham: "Dufot maqui s . . . ."
Clydai.—Lat.: "Etterni Fili Victor." Ogham: "Ettern (i) . . . V (ic) tor."
Steynton.—Lat.: (?). Ogham: "Glendili."
Castle Villa.—Ogham only (two stones).
Bridell.—Ogham only: "Nettasagru maqui Mucoi Breci."

LATIN ONLY.

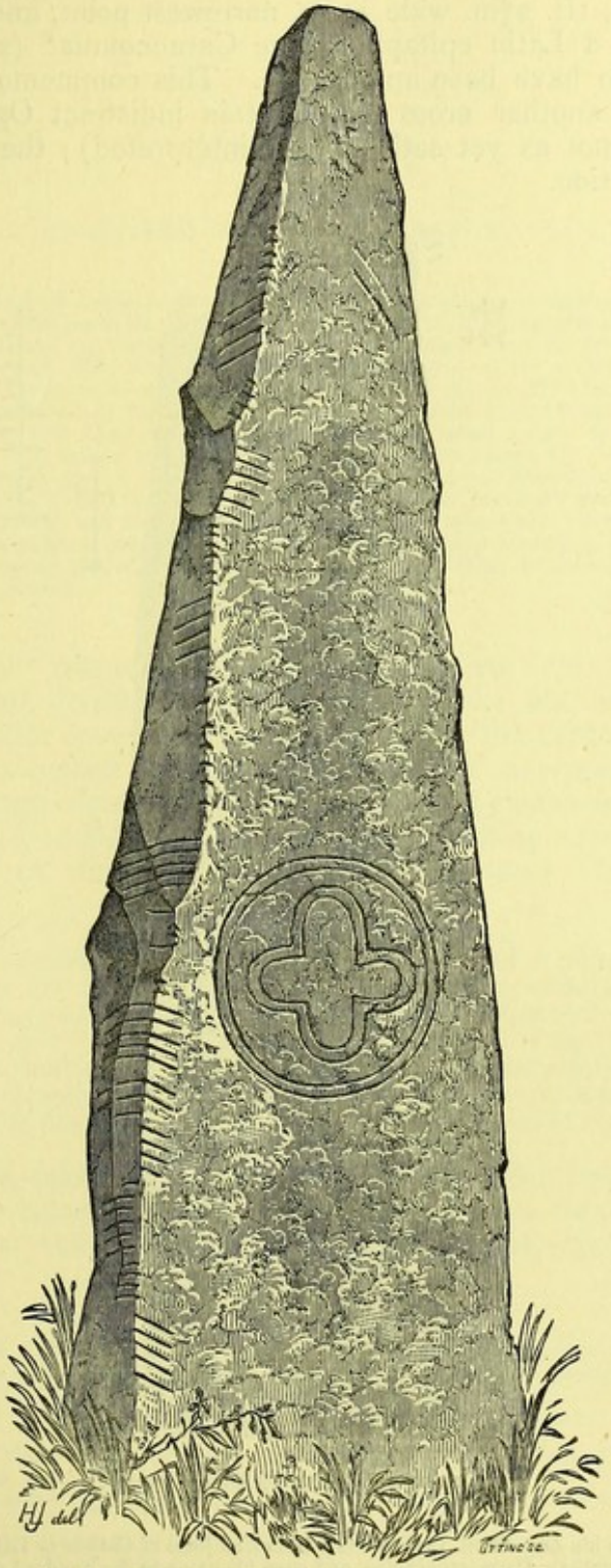
Spittal.—"Evali fili Denocuni ovende mater ejus."
Cheriton.—"Camu . . orisi fili Fannuci."

Llandyssilio.—"Clutorigi fili Paulini Mirinilatio." No. 2., Evolenus fili Litogeni hic jacit." *Clydai.*—"Solini filius Vendoni." *St. Nicholas.*—"Tunc Cetace uxor Daari hic jacit."

Ogham stones are undoubtedly of Christian origin, indeed very many of them are marked with a cross. Scholars who have made these inscriptions their *specialité* are unanimous in ascribing the Pembrokeshire specimens to the 5th and 6th centuries. Perhaps we may assume that the presence of Ogham inscriptions indicates districts which were inhabited more or less exclusively by a Gaelic population during the period in which these monuments were erected. Thus from an ethnological as well as a philological point of view the disposition of Ogham inscriptions is an interesting study. We have seen above that Professor Rhys deems they originated in Demetia or Siluria. From thence they spread in the following proportions :—

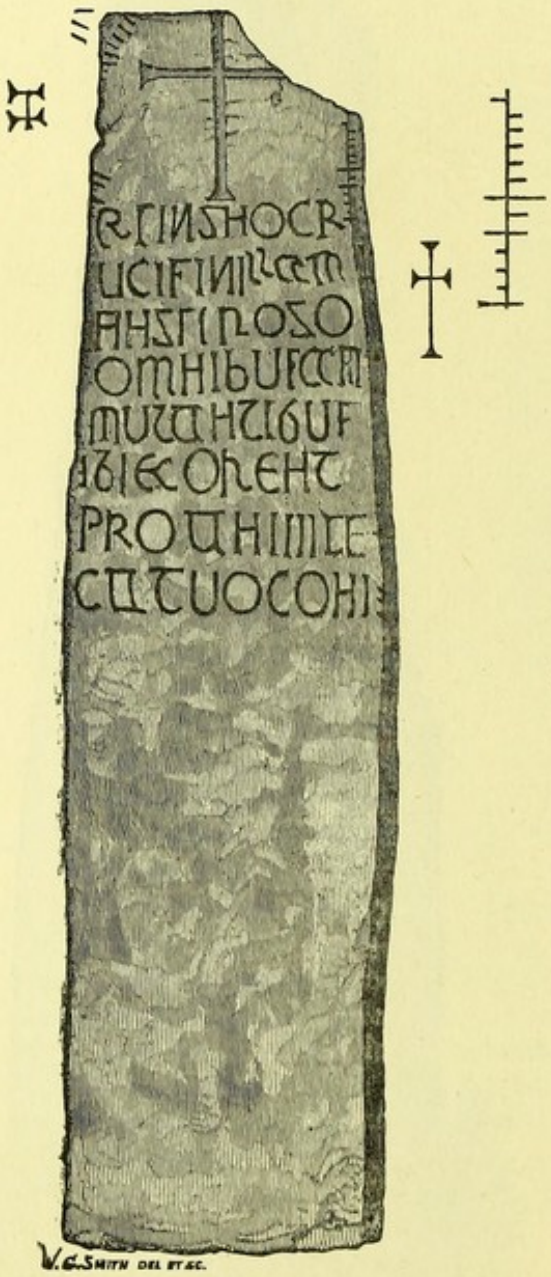
Pembroke	7.
Carmarthen	3.
Glamorgan	3.
Brecon	1.
Cardigan	1.
Denbigh	1.

Since this list was compiled by Professor Rhys, and published by him in his *Welsh Philology*, four more have been found in Pembrokshire. They passed into Ireland (in the south-west they are exceptionally plentiful), into Devon, and Cornwall also, for in these counties two and one have been respectively recorded. It may be asked why is this character termed Ogham. An Irish tradition ascribes its invention to one Ogma, who is said to have been the son of Tuatha de Danaan. "Whence, it is very clear," says Rhys, in his *Welsh Philology*, p. 312, "he is as mythical a character as Irish legend could well make him, and from Mr. Atkinson's paper being called Ogma the Sun-faced it seems probable he was of Solar origin." Mr. Rhys considers we get a trace of the word Ogham in the Welsh *ofydd*, which originally meant a man of letters, but has been degraded into an eisteddfod graduate who is neither druid or bard, but *ovate*. In the druidical mythological school represented by good Mr. Davies this same ovate plays an important part, but now-a-days folks will have none of him in that shape. On many of these early monumental stones the epitaphs are in Latin (generally very provincial, for instance jacet is I *think* invariably spelt *jacit*),



OGHAM STONE AT BRIDELL INSCRIBED WITH CROSS.

sometimes Latin only appears, sometimes Latin and Ogham together. One of the finest of these biliteral stones in Pembrokeshire may be seen on Caldy Island. It is a slab of old red sandstone 5ft. 10½in. long, 1ft. 2¾in. wide at its narrowest point, and 4in. deep. On one face is an inscribed cross with a Latin epitaph to one Catuocomus* (see p. 60) and an Ogham inscription which seems to have been an addition. This commemorates Magolite Bar Cene. On the opposite side is another cross with certain indistinct Oghams, discovered by Mr. Worthington Smith (and not as yet satisfactorily interpreted); these are figured by him on the accompanying illustration.



INSCRIBED STONE ON CALDY ISLAND.

* Professor Westwood suggests in his *Lap. Wall.* that this is a Latinized form of Cathen or Cathan. He was the son of Cawdraf ap Caradoc Fraichfras; he founded Llangathen, Carmarthenshire, and gave his name to the hundred of Catheiniog in the same county; he lived in the last half of the 7th century.—Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 280.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KYMRO AND THE SCANDINAVIAN.

Gildas—Vortiporios or Guortepir, tyrant of Demetia—Invaders of several nationalities—Englishmen said to have killed St. Dogvan in the 5th century—West Saxons did not reach the Western Coast of England till the last quarter of the 6th century—Pembrokeshire Saints crossed to Damnonia—Saxons in South Wales in 720—Kymry alter Demetia into Dyfed—Scandinavians raid, 775—Saxons, 810—Danish Colony formed, 833—Rhodri Monarch of Wales, 843—Gives a Constitution—Danish Marauders, 860—Hinguar Halfdene and Hubba—The Dannebrog—Hubba winters in Milford Haven, 877—Description of Scandinavian War-ship—Norwegians colonize Iceland, Scotch Islands, Man, Ireland, and Wales—Rhodri divides Wales between his Sons—Asser—Hemeid, Regulus of Dyfed, makes a Treaty with King Ælfred, 921—King Eadward sends a force to Milford Haven—Hywel King of all Wales—Kymric raids in Dyfed—Dywallon, the Regulus, slain—Servile war among the Gaels in North Wales—Fugitives seek refuge in Dyfed and join the Danes—Saxon pest (sweating sickness) breaks out, 994—Glamorgan men, with whom were Danes, burn Narberth and kill the Bishop of St. David's—Olaf Haroldson ravages Pembroke and destroys St. David's—Scandinavian Colony in Pembrokeshire, their Morals and Manners—Norse names—Place names and words still extant in Pembrokeshire—No Scandinavian architectural or sepulchral remains—Palace of a Kymric King—Dwelling of Freeman and small Freeholder—Description of interior of a dwelling of the latter—Kymry did not build stone houses—Inscribed Crosses at Carew, Nevern, Penally, &c.—Roadside Cross at Nevern.

THE earliest British author* whose writings are extant is one Gildas, a Welsh monk who lived in the 6th century. Great doubts have been cast on the authenticity of his work, which consists of a history (of little or no value) and a lecture to the contemporary rulers. The best authorities are now more disposed to believe that this book may possibly have been written in the 6th century. The kings whom Gildas addresses are Constantine of Damnonia,† Aurelius Conanus,‡ Vortiporios King of Demetia, Cuneglasos,‖ and Magoclune.¶ Gildas has very little to say in favour of any of these potentates. He addresses Vortiporios (or Guortepir in Welsh)* as follows:—

> Thou also, who like to the spotted leopard, art diverse in manners, and in mischief, whose head now is growing grey, who art seated on a throne full of deceits, and from the bottom even to the top art stained with murders and adulteries, thou naughty son of a good king like Manasses sprung from Ezechiah, Vortipore thou foolish tyrant of the Demetians, why art thou so stiff? What! do not such violent gulphs of sin (which thou dost swallow up like pleasant wine, nay rather which swallow thee up) as yet satisfy thee, especially since the end of thy life is daily now approaching? Why dost thou heavily clog thy miserable soul with the sin of lust, which is fouler than any other, by putting away thy wife and after her honourable death by the base practices of thy shameless daughter?†

If this exhortation may be taken as an example the clergy had free liberty of speech. They seem practically to have ruled Pembrokeshire for some two hundred years, probably very much to the advantage of that land. Hitherto the ethnical waves broke on the shores of

* Welshmen assert that Aneurin, Taliesin and Llywarch lived and wrote in the 6th century, but as their works were added to in the 12th century no one seems to be able to say within six centuries when any particular passage was written.—Stephens's *Literature of the Kymry*, c. i.

† Supposed to have been Kystennyn, King of Cornwall.

‡ Gildas does not mention his kingdom, but Professor Rhys suggests it was the territory "which happened to be still in the possession of the Brythons east of the Severn Sea."—*Celtic Britain*, p. 106.

‖ No territory is apportioned to this King. According to the Iolo MS. there was a Cynlas who was Lord of Glamorgan and father of St. Cadoc.—P. 171.

¶ Probably Maelgwn, King of Gwynedd or North Wales, and overking of Britain.

* *Celtic Britain*, p. 120.

† *Works of Gildas*, Bohn's Translation, p. 316.

Western Wales in well defined order—Silurian, Gael, Roman, Kymro.* But now we arrive at a period when several conflicting nationalities appear on the stage together. As mentioned in the last chapter the English could not have harried Demetia to any appreciable extent for several generations after their arrival in Britain, although there is a tradition preserved in the Silurian MSS.† that a holy man named Dogfan was slain by pagan Saxons at Merthyr Dogfan in Pembrokeshire, a place which cannot be identified; this murder is supposed to have occurred in the 5th century. If this story be true the heathen slayers of the saint must have been a wandering band of pirates, for it was not until the last quarter of the 6th century (577) that the West Saxons

> Crossing the central watershed of England, near Chippenham, descended upon the broken valley of the Bath Avon, and found themselves the first Englishmen which reached any of the basins which point westward toward the Atlantic seaboard.‡

But if the men of Western Wales had little or no intercourse with the English during the 5th and 6th centuries they appear to have had certain communication with the country we call England. We find missionaries passing and repassing from Ireland to Pembrokeshire, and thence to Cornwall, Devon and Somerset. Pedrog, a Cornishman of the 6th century, according to Bonedd y Saint, went to Ireland for instruction, where he remained for twenty years. Subsequently he founded churches at St. Petrox, Pembroke; St. Petrock's, Exeter; Petrockstow, Devon; and Padstow, Cornwall. Again Degeman, whom Cressy says was

> Born of noble parents in the south-western parts of Wales, forsaking his country the more freely to give himself to mortification and devotion, passed the river Severn upon a hurdle of rods, and retired into a mountainous solitude covered with scrub and briars, where he spent his life in contemplation, till in the end he was slain by a murderer.

Camden states that the place of his martyrdom was St. Decombe's, Somerset. He is the patron saint of Rhoscrowther, Pembroke, and is said to have suffered martyrdom in 706. We may feel assured that it was not only the missionaries who crossed Severn Sea and St. George's Channel, they simply followed in the wake of commerce.

In the year 720‖ Saxon armies overran South Wales

> And the unbelievers broke many of the churches of Llandav, Menevia and Llanbadarn, and killed Aidan Bishop of Llandav, and many of the learned men of his see.

This was probably a Mercian raid under Æthelbald (716–755), but though the invaders appear to have slain the priests and destroyed the churches they were not "unbelievers," but Christians of a sort. We have hitherto found South-western Wales spoken of as Demetia, which seems to have been a Romanized form of the name by which the old Gaelic inhabitants called their land.§ The Kymry altered the appellation into Dyfed, or Dyved, by which it is still known among the Welsh.

In the year 795 a new and terrible misfortune commenced:—

> "For now the Heathen of the Northern Sea
> Begin to slay the folk and spoil the land."

* Perhaps this apparent order is in reality due to our ignorance. Other interlopers may have appeared and vanished, leaving no mark behind them.

† Rees's *Welsh Saints*, p. 145. ‡ Grant Allen's *Anglo Saxon Britain*, p. 51. ‖ *Brut y Tywysogion.*

§ On the Ogham stone at Little Treffgarn is the word "Demeti," apparently the genitive of "Demet."

The black pagans first came to the isle of Britain from Denmark and made great ravages in England, afterwards they entered Glamorgan and there killed and burnt much; but at last the Kymry conquered them, driving them into the sea and killing many of them; thence they went to Ireland.*

Whether these birds of ill-omen landed in Pembrokeshire is not stated, but they must have sailed along its coast.

In 810 the Saxons paid a second visit to St. David's, which they again burnt.† This was probably the work of Ecgberht's men, for in 809 he was warring against the Britons of Cornwall and Devon, so it is not improbable that some of his forces crossed the Severn Sea and harried the Welsh coast. Bad times were setting in. In 833 the Danes‡ began to ravage England far and wide. The raid lasted for three years, and in this work of mischief they were assisted by the West Welsh‖ (these latter were not however the men of Pembroke, but Cornishmen). The allies were beaten, and the Norsemen retired into Wales, where they were received with open arms as the enemies of the hated Saxon. This perhaps was the period when the foundation of a Scandinavian colony was laid in Pembrokeshire. A golden chance occurred for Wales at this time. Rhodri, the son of Mervyn the Freckled, King of Mona, inherited the kingdom of North Wales as the representative of his mother's house in 843. He married Angharad, heiress of Meurig King of Dyved and Cardigan. These adjacent states were now ruled by one lord, but from the subsequent history Dyved appears to take the lead, so the fusion could hardly have been the result of conquest. Rhodri also became possessed of Powis, or South-eastern Wales in right of his grandmother; he was thus practically monarch of Wales. If Rhodri had wisely welded his little kingdom into a solid whole Wales might have enjoyed a happier future. But instead of making any attempt at centralization he kept the three divisions distinct from each other. He gave Wales a constitution, but the estates varied slightly in each province. In Dyved they consisted of (1), King; (2), Lords of Court and Throne; (3), Heads of Kindred. In North Wales: (1), King; (2), Heads of the Fifteen Tribes; (3), Justices of the Court. In Powis: (1), King; (2), Heads of Kindred; (3), Judges named by the King. Thus in each province there were two chambers, one of which was appointed by the King, the other being composed of the hereditary heads of the tribes. This constitution would not perhaps be considered a very liberal one now-a-days, but for the 9th century it certainly was excellent.

The "Heads of Kindred" were the representatives of the various families or clans. Each representative was bound to be "a perfect freeman," that is one whose family had enjoyed all the privileges of enfranchisement for nine generations lineally and collaterally; he was to be neither blind, dumb, deaf or lame; neither mad or imbecile; not of strange tongue; not unskilled or unlearned; he must not have married a foreigner; he must not be a convicted criminal or coward; not under claim of retribution for murder or insult; one who knew the usages and prerogatives of the Island of Britain and the privileges of a freeborn Kymro. He was then entitled to claim a seat in the supreme council of sovereignty, in all courts of country and kindred, and in all courts of law and judgment. He stood in the position of father to every orphan of his tribe; it appertained to him to correct all transgressions in his tribe without subjecting himself to any penalties. He could convoke a jury and raise a gathering of country or kindred on any lawful occasion, and no authority could counteract such proceeding, "for the integrity of sovereignty depends on 'Heads of Kindred,'" to whom

* *Brut y Tywysogion.*

† *Brut y Tywysogion.*

‡ The Welsh chroniclers, like their Saxon contemporaries, called all these Scandinavian hordes "Danes," and as it is impossible to say in most instances from what land the pirates originally set sail, the word Dane has been generally used in the text.

‖ *Anglo Saxon Chron.*

should be presented every appeal against wrong and illegality inflicted on any of their kindred.*

The customs of each province differed. In the north an oppressive villeinage was in force, the older races were reduced to perpetual serfdom, being in fact captives of the Kymric spear and bow. In North Wales, moreover, the fifteen tribes formed an aristocracy of blood, dating perhaps from Kunedda's conquest. In Powis the same caste existed under another name. But in Dyved and Glamorgan more power rested in the hands of the people, no class were *perpetual slaves*, enfranchisement was open to all. The reason seems to be that in the south-western counties the Gaelic population was never so entirely subdued as in the north and east.

This latter half of the 9th century was no doubt Cambria's day of grace. The Kymro was supreme, in the north Silurian and Gael were reduced to slavery, in the south they were powerless. The Saxon had not as yet effected a footing in the Principality, and the Scandinavian was but hovering like his own raven round the coast. By the peaceful process of inheritance the reins of power had fallen into the hands of one man, Rhodri. Had the ruler been a statesman, and the ruled anything but Kelts, who can say what the result might not have been? But Rhodri looked on his kingdoms simply as entailed estates, while the people with the fatal instincts of the Keltic race, though Saxon and Scandinavian were thundering at their gates, found cohesion impossible. The Kymro spent his energy in cutting Kymric throats. Ruler rose against ruler, brother deposed brother, and was in turn superseded by his cousin. Murders, blindings, mutilations, castrations and all the horrors of a low semi-civilization were every-day occurrences. The Welshman proved himself incapable of autonomy, and was by natural law eventually reduced to order and subserviency by a stronger and more loyal race.

In 860 a band of Danish vikings raided Gower, from whence they were expelled with great slaughter.† In the year 866 three brethren, Hinguar, Halfdene and Hubba, landed with a great army of Danes on the eastern coast of England, and from thence organized an expedition that lasted for fourteen years, sweeping the land from Tyne to Exe, from Medway to Milford Haven; nor was it only the seaboard which suffered. Nottingham, York, Reading, Cambridge, Exeter, Cirencester, Rochester and London became in turn the headquarters of these marauders. Hinguar and Hubba sent King Eadmund to join the noble army of martyrs. In the year 877 Halfdene was in Exeter, Hinguar in Northumberland, and Hubba in Dyved. We can even form a notion as to the exact place in which he wintered. Hubba's tun is still to be found on the Ordnance Map in two places: one on the western shore of Milford Haven, the other on the opposite side near Angle. In one or both of these places the viking probably spent some time in the year 877, and with him must have been the *elite* of the Scandinavian force, for though he only appears to have been in command of twenty-three war-ships, yet he had charge of the Dannebrog, that mystic banner which had been woven in one day by his three sisters, King Lodbrog's daughters. When this standard went into action if the Danes were to win, then Odin's great raven, which was embroidered in the centre, seemed imbued with life and fluttered forward towards the foe. But if the day was to prove adverse to the Danes, then the flag drooped down dead and motionless. This story was believed both by Danes, and Saxons. ‡

During the winter of 877 Hubba and his merry men wintered in the Haven, after making great slaughter of the Christians. Thanks to the Danish war-ship found at Sandefjord, Norway, in 1880‖ we can form a notion as to the appearance and build of Hubba's ships.

* Iolo MSS., p. 406. † *Brut y Tywysogion.* ‡ Asser's *Life of Alfred.*

‖ See paper read by Mr. J. Harris Stone at the meeting of the British Association held at York 1881.

This vessel had been dragged ashore, and a sepulchral chamber of a tent-like form built amidships for its dead owner; the chamber was made of logs leaning and meeting on a ridge pole running parallel with the main axis of the ship. The whole ship was then covered with a tumulus, and as the tump happened to be made of blue clay the wood-work has been preserved for our information. The vessel was 77ft. 11in. long and 16ft. 11in. across at its widest part. From the top of the keel to the gunwale, 5ft. 9in. She would probably draw 4ft. of water. She had twenty ribs, and was clinker built, *i. e.*, her planks overlapped like the slates of a house. The planks and timbers of the frame were fastened with withes or roots; the timbers seem to be naturally grown, and not artificially bent. The boards of the side are about an inch-and-a-half thick, of good, sound, well-seasoned oak. They were smoothly planed and well fastened with iron rivet, clenched on each side. There were also a few oaken bolts near the upper parts. No saw marks could be traced; the edges of the planks were moulded with indented lines running the length of the planks. She must have been a smart, trim-looking craft, built on beautiful lines, and admirably adapted for speed and seaworthiness. Bow and stern were the same shape; they were pointed, and must have risen for a considerable distance out of the water, the top of each was, however, unfortunately missing. The keel was deep and made of thick oaken beams; whether any metal keel had been fastened to the bottom was doubtful. An iron anchor was found with the ship, but too much rusted for preservation. There were neither deck or seats for rowers in the galley, probably they had been removed. The flooring could be lifted in order to bail out the ship. The oars were 20ft. long, and the oar holes, sixteen on each side, had slits towards the stem of the vessel to allow the blade to pass through towards the side. The rudder was especially interesting; it was on the starboard side, a foot or two from the stern (starboard is a corruption of steer board). This rudder was a large oar consisting chiefly of blade with a short handle; it was fixed, not to the side of the boat directly, but to a piece of conical wood which projected about a foot from the vessel. The wood was bored down its length, and no doubt a rope passing through it secured it to the ship's side. The steering was effected by a tiller fixed in a hole in the upper end of the handle portion, and probably by a rope fastened to the lower end of the blade. The vessel had one mast. Portions of small boats the same shape as the galley were found, but not much else, as the tumulus had been rifled. In the chamber were a few human bones, and the bones and feathers of a peacock, the skeleton of a little dog, some fish-hooks, and several bronze and leaden buckles and mountings to belts or harness. Round about on the outside of the ship were skeletons of nine or ten horses and dogs, a well made copper caldron, a few bedsteads like those now used in Norway, some drinking cups and tubs, some wooden shields apparently for ornament, some pieces of carved and painted wood (use unknown), and a landing plank carved ornamentally to prevent the foot slipping while walking to and from the vessel. On the whole the galleys in the Bayeux tapestry seem exactly to resemble this ancient war-ship.

On board such a craft as this one day in the year 878 viking Hubba dropped down the Haven and sailed away across channel to meet his doom on the banks of the Taw, where he and his twelve hundred pirates were routed and slain by Ælfred's men at Cynuits Castle,* who thus avenged the martyr of Edmundsbury. Though Dyved at length got quit of Hubba and his vikings, in all probability a considerable and increasing Norse settlement remained. In the year 874 Harold Fairhair, King of Norway, first bent, then broke the aristocracy of that land. An immense number of the nobles and their retainers, rather than yield to the King, went into exile. This early pagan edition of the Pilgrim Fathers colonized Iceland, the

* Asser's *Life of Alfred* and Camden's *Britannia*, p. 35.

Scotch Islands, Man, the east coast of Ireland, a district in South-western Wales, and Normandy.

To return to the Kymry. In 871 "Einion, of noble descent, Bishop of Menevia, died, and Hubert the Saxon was made bishop in his room,"* which proves that the Englishman as well as the Norseman had begun to meddle in the affairs of Western Wales. Whether this was due to the policy of Rhodri it is impossible to say. After a reign of thirty years this monarch fell beneath the Saxon sword one Sunday in the Isle of Anglesey. This disastrous fight so roused the fury of the Kymry that the very women took up arms, and either by their valor or example rallied the men and expelled the invaders; this occurred in 873. In pursuance of his parochial policy Rhodri divided Wales among his three sons. To Cadell the eldest† he gave Cardigan and the palace of Dinevwr. It is observable that no mention is made of Dyved. To Anarawd he gave the north, while Mervyn the youngest son had Powis. Cadell was lord paramount, which dignity was in future to be held by the eldest reigning prince. In case of dispute between any two of the princes the third was to act as arbitrator. Rhodri apparently foresaw that this arrangement was not sufficiently solid to withstand the Saxon, and so he ordained that the Kymric princes should acknowledge the suzerainty of the King of London, and that each should pay him tribute. The prince of South Wales was to give four tons of honey; Powis four tons of oatmeal; North Wales £20 in gold.‡ This arrangement as may be supposed did not work well. Cadell dispossessed his brother Mervyn of Powis, and Anarawd devastated Cardigan, burning all the houses and corn he could find in Teivyside and Pembrokeshire, while the men of Dyved disgusted by the violence of Rhodri's sons submitted themselves to English Ælfred with their regulus Hemeid at their head, Bishop Hubert no doubt assenting. Possibly a monk of St. David's, Asser by name, may have aided in bringing round this arrangement. About the year 880, King Ælfred hearing a favourable account of Asser's learning and piety, invited him to the English Court, where he resided for the remainder of Ælfred's life, and was created by his patron Bishop of Sherburn; in return for benefits received he wrote *Annales Rerum Gestarum Aelfredi Magni.* It is possible, as stated above, that Asser's hand is to be traced in the compact between the great King of England and the regulus of Dyved. But on the other hand Hemeid had no respect for priests, whom he occasionally plundered without mercy. Perhaps the men of Dyved finding themselves between the hammer and the anvil, the sons of Rhodri on one side and the Scandinavians on the other, turned for succour to Ælfred who had conquered the Danes in England, and Asser their countryman acted as go-between. He is said to have been born in the little hamlet of Tref Asser, about four miles from Fishguard.§ About the same time the Danes plundered Caer Wysg, and the Saxonized Britons who dwelt therein. The remnant of the latter went to Glamorgan with their families, "and they are the English of Gower."‖

In the Welsh Annals (*Brut y Tywysogion*) we read that in the year 406 Uthyr and Rhalt the Red devastated Menevia; and again in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 918, that Ohtor and Rhoald came from Lidwiccas (France) with a great fleet to the mouth of the Severn, spoiling the North Welsh by the coast everywhere they pleased.* They landed at Severn mouth and took Bishop Camelear prisoner. King Eadward ransomed him for £40,

* *Brut y Tywysogion.*

† Eldest according to *Brut y Tywysogion;* second if other authorities are to be believed. Welsh historians have expended much ink and ingenuity on this question.

‡ Iolo MSS., p. 450. § Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 26. ‖ *Brut y Tywysogion*, A.D. 897.

* By the North Welsh are meant those whom now we call the South Welsh in distinction to the Cornishmen.

and the men of Hereford and Gloster defeated the vikings, killing Rhoald and a brother of Ohtor's. Ohtor himself went into camp, where he was besieged and had to capitulate. He gave hostages to the King, undertaking to leave the country. Eadward had not much faith in these promises, so he garrisoned the coast lying between the Welsh boundary and the Avon. The King's suspicions were justified, for Ohtor landed at Watchet and Porlock, but was beaten off in both places. He then took refuge in the Flat Holms, where the Danes stayed until famine obliged them to retire to Dyved; from thence they went on to Ireland. This was in harvest time. Dyved would seem now to have become such a nest of pirates that in the year 921 King Eadward sent an expedition to "Deepestowe," as the Saxons called Milford Haven (Simeon of Durham), and built a fort which he named Gladmuth or Cleddy's mouth.* Meanwhile the sons of Rhodri had proved among themselves which was fittest to survive. Again Wales was ruled by a monarch, for Hywel, Cadell's son, Rhodri's grandson, was King of Wales; he is known as Hywel the Good. Like his grandfather Rhodri, he was a legislator: anxious to obtain the best information procurable on jurisprudence, in the year 926 he made a journey to Rome that he might study the Justinian code, and took with him the Bishops of Menevia, Bangor, and Teilaw. We have no evidence as to the reception these pilgrims received at the court of Pope John X., what route they took, or what adventures they met with; the King's diary, had he kept one, would be strange reading.

On his return Hywel convened a council at Whitland, and the result of their deliberation was a code of laws which governed Wales until Edward I. of England annexed the whole Principality. Hywel, not quite satisfied, returned to Rome in order to obtain further advice. So we must suppose the Pontifical court had received him well, although of course he was outside their pale, as the Welsh Church had not acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope. While Hywel was law-making, Æthelstan obliged Wales to acknowledge his supremacy. In 948 Hywel died and the Kymric law of succession again plunged Wales into a vortex of anarchy and bloodshed. Owain, Hywel's son, obtained Cardigan and Dyved, but forthwith his cousins from North Wales invaded Pembrokeshire, and for two successive years committed unspeakable atrocities on its unfortunate inhabitants, slaying among other folks "Dywallon the King of Dyved." It is worthy of notice that a sub-king or regulus always seemed to be recognized. In 952 Owain invaded North Wales, and in 953 the North Welsh returned the compliment, and so the wearisome game went on.

Owain had four sons: Einion, Cadwallon, Meredydd, and Lywarch. In 966 a sort of servile war broke out among the Gaelic dwellers in North Wales, and one of the Kymric Princes was slain. On this, Aberfraw, which seems to have been inhabited by Gaels, was utterly destroyed, Anglesey was cleared of them, and they were expelled from Lleyn Arvon and Llandudwy. So complete was the expulsion that "they never afterwards formed a nation in Gwynedd."† These unfortunate exiles had been for so many generations strangers to Ireland—(if in truth they *ever* had any connection with that island)—that they preferred seeking hospitality from the Welsh Gaels residing in Cardigan, Pembroke and Glamorgan, to crossing the sea. This immigration was very unpalatable to the Kymric ruler of these counties. It would seem that the Gaelic interest was so strong in Cardigan and Dyved that Owain did not dare to meddle with the strangers in these parts; so he sent his son Einion to Gower with orders to expel the immigrants from thence, which at length he partially succeeded in doing, although they were aided by the men of Denmark." At the end of the same year he made a second expedition to Gower to ravage the houses and lands of those who had

* Saxon words and works took but little hold on the men of Pembroke; the town is now known as Haverford (Havard's fjördr), the estuary as Milford (Midfjördr).

† *Brut y Tywysogion.*

"succoured the Gaels and unbelieving Danes." In 967 Einion made a third expedition to Gower. This continued persecution led the regulus of Glamorgan to invoke aid from Eadgar the English king, who coming with an army from Bristol made Owain swear fealty to him and pay tribute. Eadgar died in 975 and the following year Einion again raided Gower. He was ignominiously expelled.

In 981 the Danes invaded Dyved and destroyed St. David's, but were defeated by Einion,* and the following year this turbulent prince was slain in a foray by his old enemies the men of Glamorgan. Cadwallon was already dead, and Lywarch had the misfortune to get his eyes torn out by his North Welsh cousins, so Meredydd took the command of his father's forces. Old Owain himself died in 983. Then Meredydd assumed the crown, although his elder brother Einion had left two sons. Meredydd reigned for eleven years, and bitter bad ones they were for his subjects; he was constantly at war with the North Welsh, his own nephews (Einion's sons), the Danes, the Saxons, and the Glamorgan men. In addition to this Pembroke suffered from "the Saxon pest, or sweating sickness, from cattle plague, and from famine," so that when Meredydd died in 994 the old chronicler seems to breathe more freely, and adds that this "was the occasion of better times for peace and government in Wales." On Meredydd's death the inhabitants of South-western Wales shook off the yoke and freed themselves from these sons of Rhodri, who had brought little but misfortune during their rule of a century and a half. Meredydd's only surviving child, Angharad, was married to a boy of fourteen, who was a pretender to the throne of North Wales, and which he eventually obtained. But Dyved fell to the lot of a regulus of another stock.

The hideous and interminable wars that devastated unhappy Wales under the house of Rhodri were due rather to the senseless law of succession instituted by the founder of the dynasty than to individual wickedness and folly, for in addition to the tripartite division of the Principality, it seemed to be left an open question whether the succession devolved on the eldest prince of the blood, as in Mussulman countries, or on the representative of the senior branch as in European states. The result was that it would have been better for the people had they chosen one man as their sovereign, entailing the throne on him and his heirs for ever, even had he stipulated for "Grand Customs" and a lake of blood as is the mode in modern Coomassie. Republicans may well doubt if Wales could have suffered more had she altogether denied herself the honours of Royalty. On Meredydd's death his old enemies, the Glamorgan men, under their king Aeddan, invaded Pembroke, and with them were a large body of Danes; they burnt Narberth, and the next year treated St. David's in the same fashion, killing the Bishop Morgeneu. He was the first prelate of Menevia who had eaten flesh, and this evil end was considered by his flock to be a judgment on his greediness.

In 1021 Olaf Haroldson, the great King of Norway, ravaged Dyved and spoiled the church of St. David's, "saint" though he was called. From this time forward we hear very little of the Danes, but it must not be supposed that their connection with Pembroke ceased. We read of their raids in the old chronicles, and are too apt to fancy they always landed, plundered, and then sailed away. This was not the case in Pembrokeshire, else how do we find the Ordnance Map still studded with Danish names, and the inhabitants of "Little England beyond Wales" still bearing patronymics which were given to their forefathers in the Scandinavian peninsula.

The Norseman when on a viking cruise carried his cattle, his household stuff, &c., with him; the chieftain may have been followed by Gudruna or Thorgerda, perchance by both, for polygamy was a Scandinavian custom; but the simple viking was well content to carry off

* Jones's *History of Wales.*

some Gaelic "Graine" or Kymric "Gwenllian," and make her his "frilla." Doubtless there was wild wooing after a foray, but as the Norseman was good to women, we may fairly fancy that often the poor frightened slave ere long enslaved her captor, and ruling his house made it her own, so that his people became her people, his gods her gods. She forsook St. David's, and worshipped at Freyr's thorp (Freysthrop), was reminded of Odin at Asgard (Hasguard), and of the Christian's God at Godscar (Goscar). She brought up her young barbarians to dare the Atlantic swell as it broke on Stakr, or Sker, or Ness, to know the ins and outs of every Holm and every Ey, Skokholm and Grasholm, Caldy and Lundy; in a word to know as viking should, every wick or wich from Goodwick to Hellwick. To love the sword play with Gael, Kymro, or Saxon churl, ay even to cut the war eagle on a Norseman's quivering back. Such households we may fancy established by Havard at Haverford; by Harald at Haroldston; Hammil at Ambleston; Grim at Creamstone; Hiarn at Hearston; Lambi at Lambston; Thorni at Thornston; Thor at Thurston; Wulf at Wolfscastle; Eric at Erickshill; Gunnarf at Gumfreston.

Tradition ascribes the numerous neolithic cliff castles which dot our coast to the vikings; this idea, if not started by Fenton, was adopted by him, but he does not adduce one tittle of evidence in support. That these entrenchments were used in neolithic days has been abundantly proved; that the Danes ever utilized them is extremely doubtful. Most of the cliff castles are perched on the top of beetling precipices; it is not probable that invaders who were dependent on their war-ships should have chosen positions in which their vessels must have been docked elsewhere at a distance from headquarters, and so exposed to danger from native hostility, or dashed to pieces beneath their eyes on the iron-bound environs of their camp. Perhaps, nay probably, the Scandinavian did use some of the inland earthworks which are such a common feature in Pembrokeshire scenery, but we have no evidence, for neither Rune nor Saga tells of his doings in West Wales, and nothing has been disinterred from grave or camp which in any way throws light on the matter; indeed had he not given names to places, persons, and things, which have stood the wear and tear of a thousand years, and in many instances are identical with those given in Iceland, by the same people, at the same period, all recollection of the Norse colony planted in West Wales must have perished.

A list of names still to be found on the Ordnance Map of Pembrokeshire proves the importance and persistence of this settlement.

PEMBROKESHIRE PLACE NAMES DERIVED FROM THE NORSE:

Angle.—Angel, a hook.
Asgard.—As, a god; garðr, an enclosure. The Scandinavian Olympus (also a farm in Western Iceland).
Barnslake.—Barna, a child; lækr, a brook.
Barry.—Berr, bare; ey, isle.
Bletherston.—Blaðr, to bleat; tún, an enclosure; literally a hedge.
Caldy.—Kald, cold; ey, isle.
Coleby.—Kollr, a hill-top; by a house.
Crackwell (*a street in Tenby and a farm in the neighbourhood.*)—Kraka, a crow.
Dale.—Dalr, a valley.
Derby.—Dyr, a deer; by a house.
Drusselton.—þrostr, a thrush (German, drossel); tún, a close.
Dumpledale (?).—Dalr, a valley.
Fishguard.—Fiski, fish; garðr, enclosure.
Frayneslake. — Frain, glittering; lækr, brook.
Freysthrop.—Freyr, the god of fertility; thorp, village.
Gander's Nest.—Gandir, a mythical monster; nes, a point.
Gateholm.—Gata, a passage; hólmi, an island.
Gelliswick.—Vík, a bay.
Goodwick.—Gud, good; vík, a bay.

Giltar.—Geul, a bay; tar (?), a rock.
Goscar.—Goð, God; skera, a ploughshare-shaped rock.
Goulthrop.—Geul, a bay; thorp, a village.
Grasholm.—Gras, grass; hólmi, an island. Grasholm is mentioned in the *Mabinogion*, where it is called Gwales. Owen, 16th century, terms it Walleyes.
Greenala.—Grun, green; hóllr, a slope.
Hellswick.—Helli, a cave; vík, a bay.
Knock.—Knok, a mound.
Little Haven.— . . .; havn, a harbour.
Little Wick.— . . .; vík, a bay.
Lundy.—Lundi, a puffin; ey, an isle.
Marloes.—Mar, sea; loe, a tump (?).
Milford Haven. — Mið, middle; fjördr, firth; havn, harbour.
Mireston.—Myrr, a moor; tún, a close.
Musselwick.—Mos, moss; fell, a fell; vík, a bay. There is a Mosfellsheath in Iceland.
Naze.—Nes, a nose or promontory.
Ness.—Ditto.
Newton Ness.—Ditto.
Newgale.— . . .; giel, a hollow.
Ramsey.—Rammr, a ram; ey, island.
Rinderston.—Rinda, earth's crust; tún, a close.
Sandy Haven. — Sandr, sand; havn, a harbour.
Scar Rock.—Skera, a ploughshare.
Scalmey (*alias of Scomer*).—Skjel, a piece cut off; ey, an island.
Skerries.—Skera, a plough-share.
Skerryback.—Ditto; and bakki, a bank.
Skerryford.—Ditto. Ford is *not* from fjördr in this name.
Skokholm.—Skógar, a copse; hólmi, an island. Owen calls it Stockholm. Stokkr means a shipbuilding yard.
Scomer, commonly called Scormer.—Skera, a ploughshare. See Scalmey.
Snailston, old name of Woodfield.—Snjallr, a piece clean cut off; tún, a close.
Skrinkle.—Kringla, a circle. (*Here are prehistoric remains.*)
Stack Rock.—Stakr, a stack.
Stack Island.—Ditto.
St. Bride's Stack.—Ditto.
Stackpole.—Ditto; pollr, a pool; or perhaps from pwll, a bay (Welsh).
Steynton.—Stein, a stone tún.
Tenby, formerly Denby.—Deni, Dane; by a house.
Throstle Mill.—þrostra, a thrush. (*N.B.—Thrushes are called "grey birds" in Pembrokeshire, not throstles.*)
Temperness.—Timbr, timber; nes, a point.
Wathwick.—Vað, wade; vík, bay.
Worm's Head.—Ormr, a snake.
Wolfsdale.—Ulfr, a wolf; dalr, a valley.
Whitesand.—Hvíta, white; sandr, sand.

PLACE NAMES DERIVED FROM NORSE PERSONAL NAMES:

Ambleston.—Hammil.
Brimaston (?).
Brandy Brook.—Brandr.
Brotherhill.—Broðir, a brother, used as surname.
Buckston.—Bokki.
Butterhill, *Butterland* } Buðar, same as Broðir.
Creamston.—Grim.
Erickshill.—Erík.
Gumfreston.—Guðmar or Gunarf
Haking.—Hákon, a batchelor, used as surname.
Harding's Hill.—Hardingr.
Harmston.—Hermodr, son of Odin. (See Streatfeild's *Danes in Lincolnshire*, p. 67)
Haroldston (?).—Harold.
Haverford.—Havardr's fjörda; or perhaps Hafn fjörda, the haven of the frith, as there is a place so called in Iceland.
Hearston.—Hiarn.
Herbrandston.—Herbrandr.
Honeyhill, *Honeyboro* } Hogni.
Hubberston.—Hubba.
Lammaston.—Lambi.
Lambston.—Ditto.

Lamboro.—Ditto.
Rowston.—Hrolfr.
Silverhill.—Sölvaar.
Solva.—Ditto.
Studda.—Studda.
Studdock.—Ditto; dokk, a pit.
Swanlake.—Svanr; lækr, brook.
Thorney.—Thorn; ey, isle.
Thurston.—Thor's tún,* close.
Wolfscastle.—Ulfr.

A FEW PURELY NORSE SURNAMES ARE STILL EXTANT IN THE COUNTY:

Athoe.—Æthoe, the isle of the eider ducks.
Codd.—Koddi, a pillow.
Cole.—Kollr, a hill.
Coleby.—Hill-house.
Havard.—Havarðr.
Protheroe.—Broðiroe, brodir or brothers' island.
Scall.—Scald, a poet, a minstrel.
Scourfield, pronounced Scurfield.—Sker, fel; rock, fell.
Stubbs.—Stubbi, stake.
Skyrme.—Skrœmi, name of a giant.
Tasker.—Taska, a pocket.

A certain number of Norse words are to be found as provincialisms in the mouths of Pembrokeshire folk. Running water is still called a lake, lækr. Clom, or glom (the mixture of clay and straw with which houses and walls used to be built), is derived from klam, dirt. Bakki a bank, and votn a valley, appear as back and bottom. Creel, a basket, comes from krili. Skep, primarily a measure, then the basket-work used for bee-hives, chairs, &c., skeppi. A ditch is a gripe, from grip. A manure heap is a mixen, from myki, dung. A haggard comes from haygarðr; and every thing is "main," from megn, strong. While reading these names and words it should be borne in remembrance that in Norse á=ow in cow; æ=a in lake; ei=ai in hair; ey is pronounced in the same way; hv=wh in white; í=i in hill; j=y; ó=o in note; ö=aw in saw; ð=th soft, as in father; þ=th hard, as in think.

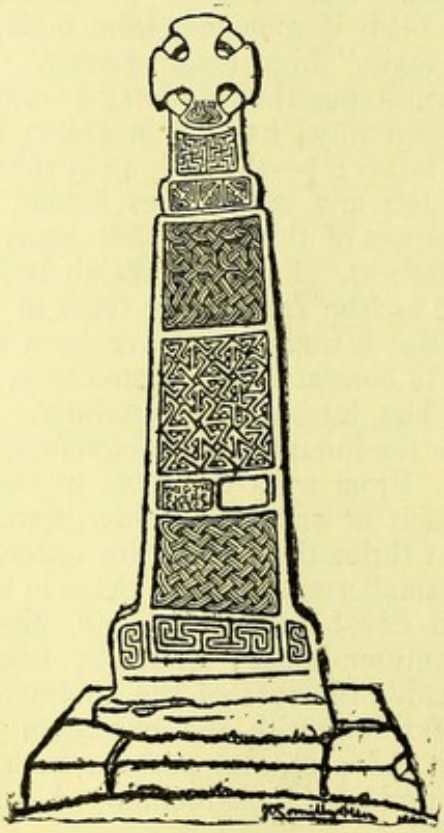
The early Kymro has not left any more relics behind him than did his Scandinavian persecutor, but the later generations of this stock left many traditions more or less valuable as to the daily life of their forefathers. From the Welsh laws we find that a king paramount had the power of calling on one artisan from every town in the Principality to assist in the erection of his llys or palace. But it would not have been necessary to trouble many townships, for the palace was by law to consist of nine rooms only, viz.: the hall, the royal chamber, the pantry, stable, kennel, barn, kiln, latrine, and dormitory. From this we must suppose that the King did not find lodging for the innumerable hangers-on, male and female, who according to regulation formed his court. From what we glean in the Welsh laws the houses of the uchelwr or freeholder, and the aillt or small freeholder, were always built on the same lines, though the former was valued at thrice the rate of the latter. A hall standing on six pillars was surrounded by a number of smaller apartments; these in the case of the aillt and probably in that of the uchelwr included cow-house, sheep-cote, pig-stye and barn, as well as bed-chamber, summer-house and autumn-house; what the use of this latter building was is doubtful, but it was valued at twice the rate of the summer-house. The grandee was most likely housed in very similar fashion, with the exception that he was surrounded by his retainers instead of sheep, oxen and pigs, and perhaps from a sanitary point of view he had not much reason for congratulation on the distinction. A capital description of a Welsh low

* It will be noticed that many of these names end in *ton*. Now although tún is good Icelandic, and means an enclosure, it does not seem to be used as a terminal in that island, or in East Anglia. How comes it then we find such combinations as Rinderston, Scoveston and Hubbaston in Pembrokeshire? Are they attributable to a contemporaneous or a subsequent immigration of Englishmen?

class interior is to be found in the *Mabinogi of the Dream of Rhonabwy*, probably written about the 12th century. It runs as follows:—

And when they came near to the house (of Hellyn the red, the son of Cadwgan ap Iddon) they saw an old hall, very black, having an upright gable whence issued a great smoke, and on entering they found the floor full of puddles and mounds, and it was difficult to stand thereon so slippery was it with the dung of cattle. And where the puddles were, a man might go up to his ankles in water and dirt, and there were boughs of holly spread over the floor whereof the cattle had browsed off the sprigs. When they came to the hall of the house they beheld cells full of dust, very gloomy, and on one side an old hag making a fire, and whenever she felt cold she cast a lap full of chaff upon the fire and raised such a smoke that it was scarcely to be borne as it rose up the nostrils, and on the other side was a yellow calf-skin on the floor—a main privilege was it for anyone who should get on that hide. And when they sat down they asked the hag where the people of the house were, and the hag spoke not but muttered. Thereupon behold the people of the house entered. A ruddy, clownish, curly-headed man, with a burthen of faggots on his back, and a pale, slender woman, also carrying a bundle under her arm; and they barely welcomed the men, and kindled a fire with the boughs, and the woman cooked something and gave them to eat barley bread and cheese and milk and water. And there arose a storm of wind and rain so that it was hardly possible to go forth with safety, and being weary with their journey they laid themselves down and sought to sleep; and when they looked at the couch it seemed to be made up of a little coarse straw, full of dust and vermin, with the stems of boughs sticking up these through, for the cattle had eaten all the straw that was placed at the head and foot; and upon it was stretched an old russet coloured rug threadbare and ragged, and a coarse sheet was upon the rug full of slits, and an ill-stuffed pillow and a worn-out cover on the sheet; and after much suffering from the vermin, and from the discomfort of their couch, a heavy sleep fell on Rhonabwy's comrades, But Rhonabwy not being able to sleep or rest thought he should suffer less if he went to lie upon the yellow calf-skin that was stretched upon the floor, and there he slept.—Translation (1877) by Lady C. Guest, p. 300.

It is more than doubtful if the Kymry built with stone or brick during the period which elapsed between the Roman exodus and the Norman advent. At all events none of their erections have survived, while the old Roman work is as strong as ever. It is curious that a mythical hero was called Calchwynnydd=the white-washer. He is said to have lived after the Angles had invaded England, and is celebrated as the inventor of lime-burning and white-washing, while his son Lywarch invented building with stone.* The only stone-work now existing in Pembrokeshire which can with safety be ascribed to this period consists of certain crosses adorned with an interlaced ornament. If these were constructed by Kymric hands (which is at least doubtful), they were in all probability devised by Gaelic brains. The magnificent roadside cross at Carew is admittedly the finest specimen of these works of art in the county. Mr. J. R. Allen believes



CAREW CROSS (WESTERN FACE).

From certain peculiarities in the ornament that it was designed by the same artist who decorated the cross at Samson at Llantwit Major in Glamorgan, Eiudon at Golden Grove in Carmarthen, and Nevern in Pembrokeshire. Three typical forms of ornament occur on all four crosses.

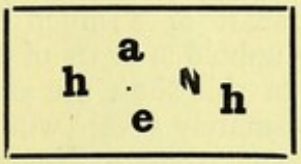
* Iolo MSS., p. 338.

First, a square divided diagonally and filled in with a L shaped fret; second, two oval rings interlaced crosswise; third, a square with four Ts arranged like a Chinese Swastica. In addition to these peculiarities, which I do not think can be accidental, the inscriptions are in all cases placed in small panels in a way which does not appear on any other of the Welsh stones. I therefore consider all these four crosses to be of the same age, probably of the 9th century.†

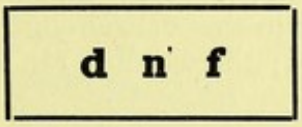


It will be seen from the above description that the ornamentation of the crosses at Carew and Nevern is almost the same. The road in front of the Carew Cross having been lowered in 1826, the cross now stands on a sort of stone base, which was built round its foundations for protection. From the surface of this masonry to the top of the shaft is 10ft.; the cross itself, 3ft. 11in; in all, 13ft. 11in.

Nevern Cross measures from the surface of the soil to the top of the shaft, 10ft.; narrow neck of shaft, 10in.; cross itself, 2ft. and half an inch; in all, 12ft. 10½in. The inscriptions (there are two) are easily read, but no one has yet interpreted them.



On the eastern face.



On the western.

The Carew inscription is difficult to read, but the interpretations are many. Professor Westwood (*Lap. Wall.*, p. 120) deciphers it:



or **eutre**

Professors Rhys and Sayce read it



Margiteut Decett
fecit crucem.

† *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xli., p. 339.

Mr. Walter De Grey Birch, F.S.A., Hon. Sec. of the British Archæological Association,



Which he renders: [The cross] of the son of Ilteut [the son] of Ecett. When doctors thus disagree what shall we say?

Penally was exceedingly rich in these crosses, and a very pretty slender one in good preservation yet exists, much resembling in its lace-work the more important specimens at Carew and Nevern, but a conventional flower pattern is introduced which seems to mark a later period. It is 7ft. high, 1ft. 1in. by 4½in. to 8in. by 3½in.; the wheel-shaped head is 1ft. 3in. in diameter. The complete shaft of a much larger cross stands near; this is rounded at the top and so must have upheld a cross of the wheel type like the slender one which still remains. The dimensions of this shaft are 5ft. 3in. high by 2ft. 0in. by 1ft. 2in., tapering to 1ft. 9in. by 1ft 0in. Unfortunately severe winters have told much on the carved work, which is rapidly shaling off. From Professor Westwood's careful drawing on the 55th plate of his *Lap. Wall.* it appears to have exhibited (so far as Pembrokeshire is concerned) an unique instance of the introduction of mythical monsters. Alas! these are now scarcely to be traced. There was a third cross in this church-yard of which a fragment containing an imperfect inscription existed until lately; the wording ran as follows:

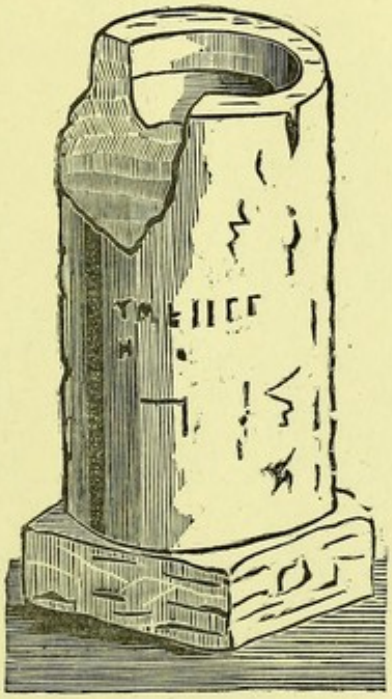
Hec est crux quam œdifica
Vit mail domnac

This stone was unfortunately brought into Tenby for exhibition during a congress of the Cambrian Archæological Association in 1851 and then and there disappeared.

On a farm called Pen Arthur, near St. David's, is a well which probably was held sacred long before the advent of Christianity, and dedicated by the missionary priests to some saint. Round this holy well were ranged three small inscribed stones which were once used as sepulchral slabs,* and as another was used for a gate-post not far off, that perhaps once bore them company. On these the lace-work somewhat resembles the crosses already described. The detached stone is inscribed with the name Gurmarc, below the cross. On the right hand side, above it, are some letters which Professor Westwood reads A et Ω $\overline{\text{ihs}}$, on the left hand side is the $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$. The Professor, writing in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, January, 1886, states that this form "is of the greatest rarity in our Christian lapidary monuments, and there is *no other* instance of the employment of the Alpha and Omega in conjunction with the $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ and $\overline{\chi\rho\varsigma}$ in Wales." In Ireland *one* at Glendalough. "On the reverse side of the stone is an incised cross formed with the four limbs of nearly equal length, and of double incised lines, united by a double circular bar in the manner of the Irish crosses, the extremity of each

* Mr. J. R. Allen reminds me that these slabs greatly resemble those which exist in such numbers at Clonmacnois in Ireland.

limb of the cross extending beyond the outer circle." Through the loving care of Dean Allen these stones are now safely housed in the Cathedral. Within this building there are fragments of two other crosses apparently of the same period. One seems of peculiar interest. It consists of a column resting on a rectangular base, in all about 3ft. high. The column is hollowed out at the top, part of the edge of the depression is broken off, there are slight remains of lettering on one side and very faint traces of interlaced work on the other, but so faint are these that they have been overlooked by many, and so closely does the stone in its present shape simulate a Roman altar that good judges have been deceived (see p. 41), but if Professor Westwood's illustration (p. 65, figures 3 and 4, *Lap . Wall.*) be consulted it is evident that this stone is part of a broken cross from which a stoup of the Saxon type has been constructed. In the accompanying cut the lacework unfortunately is not shown. How came it about then that a very valuable interlaced cross (these crosses must have been very valuable) was broken up to make a plain Saxon stoup; the two things are of about the same date. Peradventure the cross was destroyed by Norsemen or some other iconoclasts, and subsequently this stoup was constructed by reverential hands out of the fragments as a memorial of the disaster. Besides these interlaced crosses, there are many others in Pembrokeshire whose age it is hopeless even to guess at.



STOUP CONSTRUCTED FROM THE BASE OF AN INSCRIBED CROSS.

From the days when Gaelic missionaries inscribed their Ogham gravestones with the sacred symbol, down to the time of iconoclastic Bishop Barlow, each succeeding generation of Pembrokeshire men erected or inscribed crosses in their towns, market-places, villages, churchyards, and cross roads; but as these later stones had neither inscription, founder's name, or distinctive workmanship, we cannot say when they were erected.

In addition to the cross at Nevern already described, is a wayside cross which appears to be extremely archaic. Mr. Barnwell writing in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in 1873, says:—

> It (Nevern) has one relic of former times which is probably unique in Wales, namely a cross in relief cut in the face of the rock, with a corresponding hollow below cut out to serve as a kneeling place. The accompanying view from a drawing of Mr. J. T. Blight, made in 1866, gives an accurate representation of it. Whether this cross was an ordinary wayside one, or a kind of appendage to the church, the interest attached to it is much the same; but the greater probability seems to be that it was a wayside cross, and that the present blocked road over which it hangs was the ancient road to St. David's. Mr. Bowen mentions the curious circumstance that there are other kneeling recesses or platforms on the road which are probably not unconnected with the one underneath the cross.

There is also a very remarkable cross built into the outside wall of Llawhaden Church; this is quite plain, but clearly of early date.



ROADSIDE CROSS, NEVERN, PEMBROKESHIRE.

CHAPTER VII.

PEMBROKESHIRE MYTHS.

Little England "made" before the creation of Welsh Literature—Interpolations in Welsh Writings, some accidental, others intentional—Pembrokeshire the scene of Kymric Fairy Tales—Dyved was Gwlâd yr Hûd, the land of Phantasie chosen by the Authors of *Mabinogion* as the background for their tales—Pwyll, Manawyddan, and Math's old *Mabinogion*.—All refer to Pembrokeshire.—Professor Rhy's Hibbert Lectures.—These *Mabinogion* are the Sacred Books of Wales.—Keltic Gods transformed to heroes.—Members of Pwyll's Family have left traces of their names on the Ordnance Map, and are not forgotten by the people—Plot of Mabinogi—Pwyll story continued in Manawyddan and concluded in Math—Another account of the introduction of Swine into Pembrokeshire—Coll, son of Collvrewi—Wealth in Wales represented by Swine—Hunting of the Boar Trwyth through Pembrokeshire—Traditions of Kilhwch near Fishguard—Gwales (Grasholm) visited by Pryderi and Manawyddan—Bedd Avanc in Precelly Mountains.

THE history of Southern Pembrokeshire is but indirectly affected by Welsh literature, for the Kymry had been permanently expelled from Little England beyond Wales by Scandinavians and Teutons before they were sufficiently advanced in civilization to boast of anything worthy of the name. There are indeed certain fragmentary works dating it is said from the 6th century which have come down to us, but these appear to have been amplified and altered at some subsequent period. It seems almost certain that the earliest Welsh poems were not committed to writing by their authors, but handed down from generation to generation by bards and story-tellers, so it is scarcely to be expected that the *ipsissima verba* of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch, Myrddin, &c., should have reached the 12th century scribes by whom they were first edited. In addition to the corruption of text which sprang from this source, interpolations were subsequently made for a specific purpose.

Early Kymric song was set to two tunes. It either told the praise of patriot chieftains who had with more or less success battled against encroaching England, or claiming second sight glorified the unborn warriors of a future age who were to free their fatherland from the detested invader. The racial struggle lasted nigh on a thousand years, for it cannot be said to have ended until the victory of Bosworth Field placed the crown of England on a Kymric head. During this terrible war, as each crisis arose, an old poem or prophecy was produced, which by a little careful manipulation was made exactly to fit in with current events. And we find that this forgery did to a certain extent answer the purpose intended by its authors, for Englishmen as well as Welsh believed that the ancient Kymric prophets were really endued with the power of vaticination.* This weapon was directed against the English colony in Pembrokeshire as well as their mother country. But the legendary lore of Wales somewhat influenced Little England from another point. The authors or restorers of certain myths chose Pembrokeshire for the background of their stories. If the "once upon a time" of fairyland can be said to have a date, some of these tales, in the shape we find them, refer to a period when Gaelic supremacy was yielding to Kymric saints and warriors. Concerning the effect produced on the Kymric mind by a distant view of North-western Wales while it was still a Gaelic possession, the Bishop of St. David's eloquently writes:—

* So lately as 1531 Rhys ap Grufudd was sent to the block by Henry VIII. A Welsh seer had foretold that "the Raven and the Red hand should conquer England." As Rhys bore the Raven for his crest he was singled out for vengeance.

It is clear to the inhabitants of the south, Gwynedd was an unknown land. Their imagination filled it with giants, fairies, monsters and magicians. The inhabitants exercised strange arts. They had cauldrons of like virtue with that which renewed the youth of Æfon; a red dragon and a white were buried as the palladium of their metropolis. Among their monarchs was a veritable cat and the offspring of a wandering sow. Their chief philosopher was of gigantic stature, and sat on a mountain peak to watch the stars. Their wizard monarch Gwydion had the power of effecting the strangest metamorphoses. The simple peasant dwelling on the shores of Dyved beheld across the sea those shadowy mountain summits pierce the air, guardians as it seemed of some unearthly region. Thence came the mist and storm, thence flashed aloft the northern streamers, thence rose through the silent sky the starry path of Gwydion.*

If by "the simple peasant dwelling on the shores of Dyved" his Lordship means the Kymric inhabitant of Cardigan, he was indeed encircled by uncanny neighbours, for to the north was Gwynedd, with all its supernatural terrors, and to the south lay Demetia, the last stronghold of the Gael, an enchanted land bounded by the ghostly moorlands of Precelly, and a fantastic inhospitable coast, inhabited by an alien race of idolatrous magicians. To the Christian Kymro it was "Gwlâd yr Húd," the land of phantasie; it was wrapped in "Llengêl," the veil of mystery," and no tale was too strange for credence, provided only it was said to have occurred in this wild region. The most indubitably Demetian of these legends are to be found in the *Mabinogion*. Lady Charlotte Guest in the preface to her translation of this work says,—

So greatly do these Mabinogion differ in character that they may be considered as forming two distinct classes, one of which generally celebrates heroes of the Arthurian Cyclus, while the other refer to personages and events of an earlier period.

The late Mr. Stephens, too, in his *Literature of the Kymry*, quoting the above, writes:—

Those of the non-Arthurian class appear to be the earliest in point of time. They make no mention of Arthur at all, and treat of personages who lived much earlier. In the earlier tales of Kymric origin, the machinery is invariably supernatural. The Mabinogion of Pwyll, Branwen, Math, and Manawyddan are evidences of this; the marvellous and moving power is seldom, indeed we may say never, personal courage, but invariably magic, and the same appears in the verse as the prose legends. Nothing could be more remote from Kymric conception than knight errantry. The spirit of adventure has no place even in our national character, and whenever that appears in our literature we shall not greatly err in assigning to it a foreign origin. It is not easy to fix a date for these tales; perhaps they are not in their present form older than the 12th century, but they were evidently in circulation years if not centuries before. There had been for hundreds of years traditions floating, and therefore when the general awakening took place it was a natural desire that these should be connected, arranged and written. This was the origin of the Mabinogion, tales written to wile away the time of young chieftains, to be repeated at the fire-side, and ultimately to react very powerfully upon the national literature and character.

Of these stories Mr. Stephens selects four which undoubtedly bear the marks of great antiquity; namely, Pwyll, Math, Manawyddan, and Branwen; the three former relate the adventures of a dynasty of Pembrokeshire chieftains, and in Branwen some of these appear again. Mr. Davies, in *Mythology of the Druids*, gives the pedigree of the actors as follows:—

Pryderi, called also Gwynvardd Dyved, was the son of Pwyll Lord of Dyved, the son of Meurig, the son of Aircol with the long hand, the son of Pyr or Pur of the East, the son of Llion the ancient.†

* *Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd*, p. 56.

† In the *Nennian Genealogies* Triphun, who traces back to Dimet, is the father of Aircol, whose son is Guortepir. Triphun and his sons are said to have been Lords of Demetia about the time of St. David's birth. Professor Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 254) considers that Dimet, whether a real ancestor or the eponymus of the people of Demetia, connects this family unmistakably with the Goidels (Gaels) of that region, or else with the non-Celtic aborigines who gave its name of Moni Iudeorum to Mynyw or St. David's; at the same time he considers Triphun a non-Gaelic name, and deems Aircol to be a Welsh reduction of the Latin Agricola. Guortepir, who seems to represent Pir, was the Vortiporios addressed by Gildas.—(See p. 63.) According to Fenton (p. 36) this regulus used to live at Llech Trufin, or Turfin, near St. David's.

Professor Rhys, in his *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, threw a new light on these ancient stories. Like Lady C. Guest and Mr. Stephens, Professor Rhys marked off Pwyll, Branwen, Math, and Manawyddan from the other tales; nay, he says that these four are branches of one Mabinogi, and in fact all that is left us of the Keltic pantheon. These were the Sacred Books of Wales, and are the most important exponents *extant* of Welsh mythology.

Irish history spoke sparingly of Pagan deities, Welsh literature hardly ever; and Keltic gods in the course of their transmission through a Christian channel, have been reduced to the status of men more or less heroic. For instance, the *Mabinogion* hero Gwydion, son of Dôn,* was the Keltic Culture god. Keridwen, the goddess invoked by bards. Llew (Gaelic, Lug), son of Arianrod, by her brother Gwydion, was the Keltic Sun god, and so on. An idea prevails that any Welsh tale of respectable antiquity might be called a Mabinogi. This is an error. Of the eleven stories in Lady C. Guest's charming volumes, four only are entitled to be called *Mabinogion*, more strictly speaking they are not *Mabinogion*, but four branches of one Mabinogi; these are Pwyll, Bronwen, Manawyddan, and Math. *Mabinogion* is a word derived from Mabinog, which was a technical term belonging to the bardic system, meaning a sort of literary apprentice, a young man who was qualifying himself to become a bard but had not as yet acquired the art of verse-making, who was in fact only a story-teller, and the Mabinogi was the Mabinog's stock-in-trade.

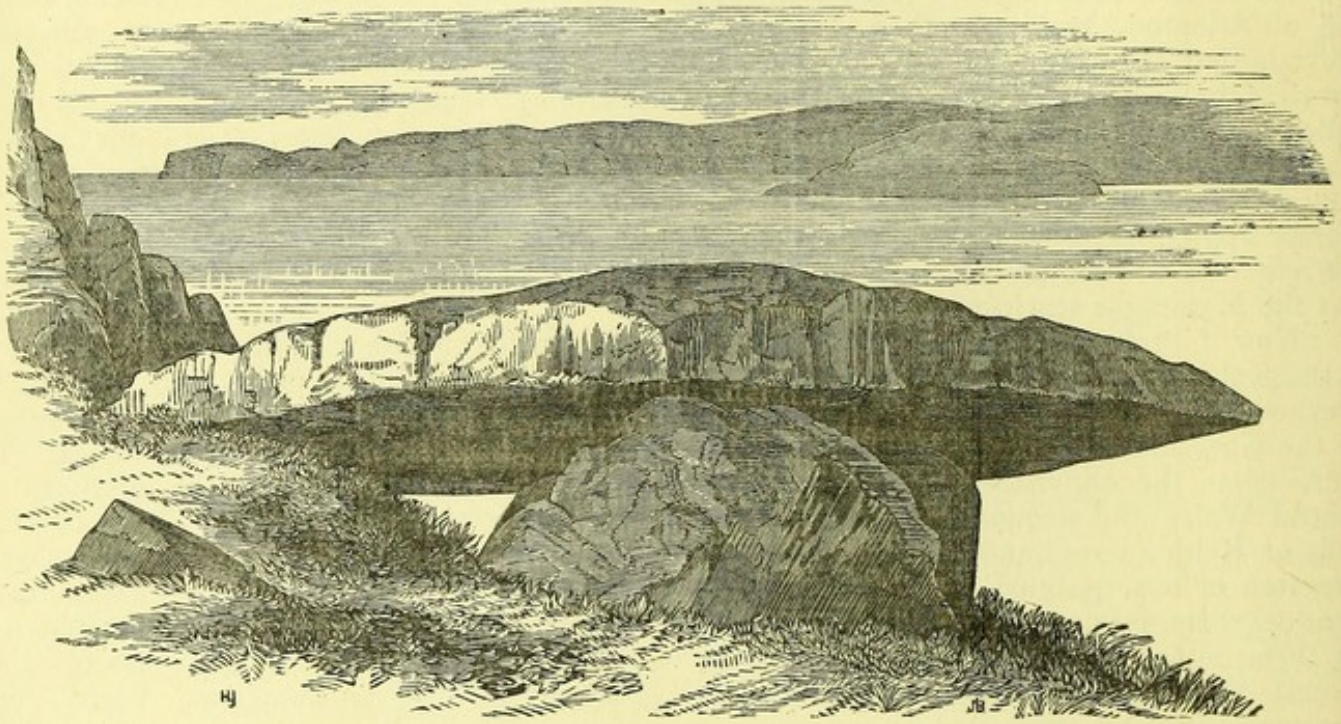
Now if Professor Rhys is correct in his supposition that these four tales are "the wreck of the Keltic pantheon," it is noteworthy that the scene of their plots is pretty well confined to Gwynedd and Demetia, for this is just what we might have anticipated. The gods worshipped by the Gael and Brython may for all practical purposes be considered the same deities. To these came the christianized Kymry from the north, who quickly overran the Brythons of central Wales and penned the Gaels up in Gwynedd, Demetia, and Gower. Thus the old gods of Keltica were honoured and worshipped in these regions when they had become a half forgotten odious tradition in the rest of Wales, and it came about that the gods gradually were degraded into petty local chieftains of these western regions, and a pedigree was invented for them, introducing post Roman heroes as the ancestors of deities perhaps worshipped in central Asia by the aboriginal Aryans. This is a very strange phenomenon. Pretty constantly we find ancestors, real or imaginary, promoted to the dignity of gods, but here exactly the converse arrangement took place, for ancestral gods are degraded to the rank of reguli, who were deemed to have lived and reigned some few hundred years before the story-tellers' day.

The legends telling of these reguli seem to be the only stories connected with the ancient history of the land which have left behind them any trace in the English-speaking populations of Pembrokeshire. One would have supposed that there would have been some remembrance of the many fierce battles fought between Englishmen and the Welsh princes in historic days, and that these would have survived in legend and place name, but it is not so. On the other hand we have Manorbier, derived from Maen y Pir, Pir stone; Bullibur, from Pwll y Pir, Pir bay; Caldy in Giraldus's time was known among the Welsh as Ynys y pir, Pir island; the ruin of a small Edwardian manor house at Lydstep† used to be pointed out as the Llys or palace of Aircol Llawhir. In a field behind this house may be traced the scanty remains of a ruined cromlech; perhaps Aircol Llawhir's name in some way connected itself with this neolithic structure, and from thence got transferred to the house hard by. In the *Myv. Arch.*, p. 82, it is stated that Aircol Llawhir lies buried in Dyved.

* Dôn was the Death goddess, after the Pictish fashion. Gwydion's father is not named.

† Formerly Ludsop (Lwyd Swp, the grey mound?)

In a work which attempts to give the history of a district, such legends, whether they are in truth last relics of an extinct mythology, or mere folk-lore, demand a place. A sketch plot of the Demetian portion of the four *Mabinogion* will be found below, Lady C. Guest's translation being the authority. It is told simply as a story, and no attempt is made to distinguish gods from heroes in the tangled web. The story is introduced at this period because it seems likely that the *Mabinogion* crystallized into their present form about the 10th century, though they were not perhaps committed to paper until long afterwards.



MANORBIER CROMLECH (MAEN Y PIR, OR PYR'S STONE?)

STORY OF PWŶLL, PRINCE OF DYVED.*

Pwyll, Prince of the seven cantrevs of Dyved, was residing in his city of Arberth.† He determined to hold a royal hunt, and fixed on Glyn Cuch,‡ in the Precelly mountains, as his rendezvous. The first night he slept at Lwyn Diarwyd,§ and starting early the next morning reached the valley of the Cuch. The hunt commenced. By-and-by Pwyll lost his field, and listening heard another pack in full cry, but their note was different to the bay of his own hounds, and they were running in a different direction. On looking up a glade he saw the

* Pwyll may be translated Reason, Discretion, Prudence, or Patience.—Davies's *Mythology of the Druids*, p. 415.

† In the immediate neighbourhood of Narberth are several earthworks. Close to Llandewi Velfry Church are two known respectively as Caerau Gaer and Pen y Gaer; in the former neolithic implements have been discovered. By Lampeter Velfry Church there is a large entrenchment, and by Grove House another; perhaps a fifth occupied the site of Narberth Castle. Any of these may have been Pwyll's town; but as the word Arberth means high wood, and the story requires an extensive view, Caerau Gaer seems best to fit.

‡ Cuch, or Cych, is a stream which falls into Teivy between Cenarth and Llechryd; it forms the boundary between Pembroke and Carmarthen.

§ This place has not been identified.

hunted stag closely pressed, and whipping off the strange hounds laid on his own pack, which quickly pulled down the quarry. He then noticed that these other hounds had an uncanny look, their bodies were white but their ears blood red. Presently a stranger riding a grey horse, clad in grey woollen homespun, with a bugle slung round his neck, rode up. The stranger rebuked the King for his want of courtesy in the matter of the stag. Doubtless the Saxon reader fancies that this prelude is leading up to a Welsh chevy-chase, and that

"The child unborn shall rue
The hunting of that day."

Not a bit. As Mr. Stevens said, Welsh story hinges on magic and devildom, not on personal courage. King Pwyll at once apologizes, and simply asks the poaching stranger's name and rank. He is informed that Arawn the King of Annwvyn, or hell, is before him. Naturally startled, Pwyll asks what he can do to atone for his unintentional slight to the infernal potentate. Arawn suggests that if he really wishes to be of service, one Havgan (summer shine)* is a great nuisance to the powers of darkness, and that if he (Pwyll) will only slay this obtrusive luminary he will confer a lasting benefit on the kingdom of hell.

"But how is the deed to be done?"

"In this wise," answered Arawn. "We will enter into a solemn league and covenant: thou shalt go down to hell in my stead, and I will put my form on thee, and thou shalt find the fairest lady that ever thou didst see (Pwyll was a bachelor), and yet neither she nor any of my courtiers shall guess that thou art not Arawn their king; and thou shalt remain in hell for a year and a day, and to-morrow twelve-month we will meet here."

"But how shall I find this King Havgan of whom thou didst speak?"

"One year from this night thou shalt meet him at a ford, for that is the time fixed between us; and thou shalt strike him one blow and no more, not though he begs thee to do so, for when I did he recovered and fought me again next year."

"And what about my fair kingdom of Dyved?" asked Pwyll.

"I, Arawn, will go to thy court in thy stead, and no one shall know that I am not Pwyll. So come and I will lead thee to thy new kingdom."

Then Arawn led the King to the confines of the kingdom of hell, and giving him absolute command over every thing, left him. Pwyll went on and found a most magnificent palace, with halls, and chambers, and sleeping apartments. Servants on every side saluted him, some of them taking off his hunting clothes arrayed him in garments of silk embroidered with gold, and led him into the hall, and then the Queen appeared; she was wondrous fair and garbed in yellow satin. The Queen's name is not mentioned in the Mabinogion, but in other tales the Welsh Persephone is called Malt y nos, or Midnight Matilda. If Pwyll's friend was the same, the witch Queen appears to greater advantage at home than abroad, for she turned out a most amiable lady. Then they went to table, and the Queen sat on one side of him, and a great lord who was grand enough to have been an earl on the other side, while the plate, the dinner, and the wine was simply the best Pwyll had ever seen. The year passed merrily in hunting, music, feasting, games, and pleasant talk, and at last to Pwyll's regret the fated night arrived. Every soul in hell knew all about it, so the deputy king accompanied by all his lords went down to the ford. They had not to wait, for King Havgan was there already on the ground. Then up rose a knight and said: "My lords, this is a royal quarrel between two kings and between them alone; each claims the other's land, so let us stand aside and leave them to fight it out."

* "Æstiva Regio, the Summer land, which was at first doubtless a mythic name, has been fixed in the form of Somersetshire, for the county in which Glastonbury is situate."—Rhy's *Sixth Hibbert Lecture, 1886.*

Then the two kings charged each other, and Pwyll's lance struck Havgan's shield fair on the boss, broke in the shield, and unhorsed its owner. "Oh! chieftain," cried Havgan, "why hast thou slain me, as I never injured thee in any wise; but since thou hast so cruelly wounded me, for the love of heaven give me the *coup de grâce*."

"Nay," said Pwyll, "peradventure I may repent me; so slay thee who will, I will not."

"Bear me home," said Havgan, "my time has come. No longer can I defend you, my trusty friends."

Then Pwyll said to the assembled multitude: "Advise among you and take counsel who of ye are my subjects." And with one consent they cried: "We are all thy subjects, for thou art to be King of Annwvyn."

Then Pwyll answered, "It is well: those who humbly come should be received graciously, but the obdurate must be subdued with the sword." Pwyll would seem to have had a classical education, and remembered *Parcere subjectis sed debellare superbos*. By the next day at noon, having received homage from the whole land, he returned to Glyn Cuch where he met the true King of Hell, who had already heard the news and proved most grateful. "Heaven reward thee for thy friendship, Pwyll," he cried; "when thou arrivest at Arberth thou wilt see what I have done for thee."

Then Arawn took back his own form and Pwyll again was Pwyll of Dyved. But when he returned to Arberth no one knew that he had been absent, so he began to ask what folks thought of his administration during the past year, and with one consent they said: "Never was thy wisdom so great or thy generosity so magnificent, or thy justice so impartial, as in this last year."

And he said "I should not be praised, another was in my place, and to him is the credit due."

And his nobles said: "Of a truth thou shouldest thank heaven for such a friend, and withhold not from us the government he has instituted." And Pwyll swore a royal oath that so it should be.

Clearly the devil is not so black as he is painted, for the friendship remained firm between the kings, and they exchanged horses and jewels, and hounds and hawks, and Arawn gave Pwyll a famous breed of pigs. In those days pigs were pigs, and Pwyll was known henceforth as Pwyll Pendaren of Arawn. This would seem to have been more than brevet rank, for he and his son Pryderi are often spoken of as kings, or guardians of hell.

Pwyll after his return from the nether world held a great feast at his royal town of Arberth. When the banquet was over the king went for a walk to the Gorsedd that overlooked the palace. Then came a courtier, who, pointing out a plot of raised turf, said to the king, "Lord! see yonder mound; it is called Gorsedd Arberth; whosoever sits on it cannot go thence until he has received a wound, or viewed a wonder."

"Among so many friends," said the king, "I fear no wound; but as I would fain view a wonder, I will take my seat."

And forthwith he sat upon the mound. Then, looking down the valley, he saw a great white horse slowly approaching, on which was mounted a lady clad in cloth of gold.

"Who is yonder damsel?" inquired the king, but none could answer.

"Go," said he to a warrior, "and inquire."

The soldier ran down, but the lady passed him by, though her horse never broke its walk: yet the faster the man ran the further he was left behind. At last, quite exhausted, he returned to his master, who bade him take the best horse in camp, and follow her; but it was in vain, so he again returned.

King Pwyll said: "This is a wonder. Let us go down to the palace," and they went. The night was spent in revel, for King Pwyll was restless from thoughts of the lady fair. The

next morning they again went up to Gorsedd Arberth, and again the king sat on the mound, and saw the lady, and sent a messenger. This time he was mounted, yet it availed nought, though the soldier spurred fast and the white horse seemed only to walk. Then they returned to the palace; but though the maidens sang, and the metheglin flowed fast, King Pwyll had neither peace nor sleep for thoughts of the stranger lady.

On the third day they again went up to Gorsedd Arberth, but on this occasion Pwyll put on his royal apparel, hung the golden torque of kingship round his neck, and a page led his charger. No sooner had the king taken a seat on the Gorsedd than the mysterious lady appeared once more. Pwyll vaulted into the saddle, and hastened towards the dame; but it fared no better with the king than with his servants, for though he spurred until the good horse reeled in his stride, the king did not gain on the strange white steed. Then Pwyll, in despair, cried out:

"Oh! maiden, I adjure thee, in the name of him thou lovest best, stay for me."

"Gladly," she said, "and it would have been better for thy horse hadst thou spoken sooner."

Having so said, she threw back her veil, and fixed her dark eyes on the king, who answered:—"Lady! whence comest thou, and whither does thy journey tend?"

"I go about my own business, but it greatly rejoices me to see thee."

King Pwyll thought this strange damsel the fairest of women.

"Wilt thou not tell me then concerning that business?"

"I will; for it is with thee."

"I am before thee, lady: wilt thou not tell me thy name?"

"I am Rhiannon, old Hevydd's* daughter. They desire that I should marry against my will, but I love thee, and no husband can I take until King Pwyll has rejected me. To obtain thine answer is my business."

"By high Heaven, my answer is, if I might choose among all the women in the world, my choice would fall on thee, Rhiannon."

"If this be so, king, pledge thy royal word to meet me ere I am given to another."

"The sooner I can do so the more pleasing to me, and wheresoever thou wilt, there will I be."

"Then I bid thee meet me on this day twelvemonth, in the palace of my father Hevydd."

"I will keep tryst."

And so they parted.

In a twelvemonth's time King Pwyll, and a hundred picked men, arrived at Hevydd's palace in Glamorgan, and were welcomed by high and low. A great feast was prepared, and the venerable king received Pwyll with honour as his future son-in-law. All went merry as a marriage bell, but in the middle of the feast a tall, fair-haired youth, of noble mien, entered the hall and saluted King Pwyll, who bade him sit down to the feast.

"Nay, my lord," said the stranger, "I come as a suitor to thee."

"Whatever boon thou askest of me, if it is mine, 'tis thine."

"The lady of my love, King Pwyll, is to be thy bride this night. I ask *her* of thee, and that this *thy* marriage feast may be *mine*."

Pwyll was silent.

Then the fair Rhiannon, who sat beside her royal lover, whispered, "Be silent as long as thou wilt, for never did man make worse use of his tongue than thou. This is my rejected

* Hevydd, or Hyvaidd, was said to have been the son of Bleiddig Sant, of Glamorgan, who is identified with Lupus, the Missionary Bishop of Troyes, who accompanied Garmon to Wales in the 5th century. Hevydd by others is called the son Caradawg with the brawny arm; if the latter, he was a Cornish prince.

lover, Gwawl,* Clud's son. Thou hast pledged thy royal word and thou canst not draw back."

"Never will I give thee up while I live," cried the king.

"Bestow me on him," said she, "but fear not, I shall never be his."

"How canst thou avoid him?"

"Take this bag," said the lady, giving him a little wallet, "and thus and thus shalt thou do. As for me, I will promise to be his wife this day twelvemonth."

At length Gwawl said, "My lord, it is fitting that thou shouldst give me an answer."

King Pwyll replied, "I promised that aught of mine thou didst ask of me, that I would give; to this pledge I hold."

Then Rhiannon addressed Gwawl: "The feast was mine; I gave it to our guests from Dyved, it never belonged to King Pwyll, so he cannot give it to thee. I, hapless one, *am* his; but if thou desirest, I engage to be thy wife this day twelvemonth."

So Gwawl went back rejoicing to his father's city, and Pwyll, with a sad heart, returned to Arberth.

In a twelvemonth's time another marriage feast was prepared in Hevydd's hall, but on this occasion it was Gwawl who sat in the bridegroom's seat. The feast was merrily proceeding when a ragged beggar man strolled into the hall. Having humbly saluted the company he said, "Lord Gwawl, it is but fitting of thy plenty, that on this thy marriage day thou shouldst relieve the poor. Fill, then, this little wallet for me, from thy feast."

"A very reasonable request indeed," said Gwawl, mentally comparing it with his demand of a twelvemonth back. "Bring him food."

And they brought food, and placed it in the little bag; venison and wild boar, beef and mutton followed each other into this satchel, but did not fill it. At length the guests began to grumble, for all the feast seemed likely to be swallowed up in the beggar's sack.

"Will thy bag never be full?" asked Gwawl.

"No," said the beggar man; "not until some worthy lord stands with both feet in it and cries, 'Enough.'"

Then Rhiannon, turning to Gwawl, said, "If thou art a worthy lord, rise up and tread down the bag."

So Gwawl put his two feet into the magic sack, which the beggar man slipped up over his head and tied in a trice. Then throwing off his rags the stranger stood before them, Pwyll of Arberth, decked in royal robes. He blew a blast on his hunting horn, and in a moment the hall was filled with the men of Dyved, who were waiting without. As each warrior entered he smote the bag with the flat of his sword, asking, "What is in the sack?" King Pwyll answered, "There is a badger in the bag," and Gwawl at length cried out for mercy. 'Twas the first time they played the game of "The badger in the bag." Then said Hevydd, "'Tis a pity to slay him in a bag."

King Pwyll answered, "Let Rhiannon say what shall be done."

"My advice is this," said she, "that he give sureties to pay the expenses of the feast, to resign all claim to me, and to forbear vengeance for the trick that has been played on him."

Gwawl agreed; and the sureties were forthcoming, so he was let out of the bag and returned disconsolate. But King Pwyll and Queen Rhiannon set forth to Dyved, and journeyed to the palace of Arberth, where feasts and joy awaited them.

Never was there a more beautiful or more generous queen, but for all that she was not popular; she was a foreigner, which was then as now an unpardonable crime in Pembrokeshire. After three years had passed the nobles assembled in Precelly, and pointing out to Pwyll that he had no heir, and was not so young as he used to be, insisted he should put away Rhiannon

* Gwawl was also a woman's name; perhaps it represented the Roman Julius and Julia. Clud was the founder of Dumbarton.

and take another wife. The king begged for a year longer. This was granted. Within that year a son was born in the palace of Arberth. Six midwives attended, but during the night mother and attendants all slept; when the latter awoke the child was gone. As may be supposed they were in a terrible fright, thinking the least that could happen to them would be that they would be burnt alive. One more clever and more wicked than the rest, seeing a litter of staghound puppies in the room, slew them, daubing the face of the sleeping queen with their blood, and strewing their bones on her bed. When poor Rhiannon awoke they all with one consent declared that the foreigner had slain and eaten her child. Then the chieftains demanded again that Pwyll should put Rhiannon away and take another wife. But he refused, saying, "I promised if my wife proved barren I would put her away; but she has born a son. If she has done amiss let her do penance for her crime." So Rhiannon was condemned for seven years to sit by the horse-block outside the palace of Arberth, and to tell her tale to every stranger who entered, and to offer the guests and strangers, if they would permit her, to carry them on her back into the palace.* But to their credit not many allowed her to do so.

Now Teirnyon Twryo Vliant was the Lord of Gwent Iscoed in Monmouth. He was the best man in the world, and had a mare that was the best of mares. This invaluable animal brought a foal each year on the 1st of May, and each year the foal mysteriously disappeared. Vliant determined to find out how it came about; so on the night the foal was expected he took his sword and repaired to the stable. In due time a fine foal was born. Vlaint waited, and lo! a huge claw like an eagle's was thrust through the window; the claw seized the foal, and Vliant, drawing his hanger, chopped off the claw.

There was a terrible to-do outside; Vliant rushed out, but could see nothing. When he returned to the stable he found a baby boy wrapped in swaddling clothes, covered with a satin mantle. This boy he took to his wife, and the worthy couple kept the child for four years, who by this time was such a lusty lad that he could ride the colt whose history was so curiously mixed up with his own. Then Vliant heard the tale of Rhiannon, and having once served under Pwyll, was much moved by it. Suddenly it struck him that this lad was wondrous like the King of Dyved. So he and his good wife journeyed to the town of Arberth with the boy, who rode his colt. When they arrived, Rhiannon told her tale, and offered to carry them pick-a-back. This they declined, but calling the people round declared that they had brought back the missing child to confound the wicked midwives, appealing to all to say if he was not the very moral of his father. This was conclusive. He was admitted to be the lost heir; and Rhiannon cried, "then there is an end to trouble."

"Pryderi" (trouble), "we will call him," cried his sire.

After that Pwyll lived very happily till he died, and Pryderi reigned in his stead.

STORY CONTINUED IN THE MABINOGI OF MANAWYDDAN THE SON OF LLYR.

Pryderi added greatly to the extent of his dominion, and married a lovely lady, by name Kicva. But being somewhat of a rover persuaded a friend of his, one Manawyddan, to marry his mother, Rhiannon, and take charge of the kingdom of Dyved. Some time after the

* This penance tends to show our tale is of Gaelic origin. Such a penalty was unknown among the Kymry, but we find a very similar penance occasionally in force among the Gaels. For instance, it is recorded in the *Irish Chronicles* that, when Mathgamhain, King of Munster, and his brother Brian Borumha, together with Cathal son of Federach, stormed Limerick in 965 and drove out the Scandinavians, they took a number of Danish women prisoners; these they arranged in a great circle on the hills of Saingell, and obliging them to assume a stooping position with their hands on the ground, mounted on their backs the gillies of the army. This exhibition was termed "The races of the son of Federach," and was performed for the benefit of the souls of the foreigners killed in battle.

wedding, Pryderi and Kicva, Manawyddan and Rhiannon held a feast at Arberth, for these four were the dearest friends. After the feast was over they went up to the mystic mound, Gorsedd Arberth, and sat down thereon, and their retinue with them. And as they sat a clap of thunder seemed to break just over head, and a thick mist enveloped them. So thick was the mist that they could not see one another, and when the mist cleared off, behold the country indeed was the same. Precelly loomed against the northern sky, the Severn sea spread to the left, and Milford Haven glanced like a sword in the summer sun to the right, while before them lay the land of Dyved. But it was a waste; man and his works had vanished, neither smoke, nor domesticated beast was to be seen; the houses, indeed, remained, but they were deserted.

For two years these four lived on the game they killed, and on the honey of the wild bees. At length becoming weary of this monotonous life, they determined to leave the desert land, and journey into England. They rode to Hereford, and by way of obtaining a livelihood betook themselves to the making of saddles. So successful were they that the saddlers of Hereford, becoming jealous, drove them out. So they went to another city and made shields, but the same evil fortune followed them at the hands of the shield makers. They passed on to another town and made shoes, but they were again expelled. So they determined to return to Dyved and support themselves by the chase. They made Arberth their head-quarters. One day, while hunting, the hounds went into a small covert, but came out hastily with their manes bristling up greatly.

"Let us go into the bush and see what game they have found," quoth Pryderi.

As he entered the thicket a huge wild boar rushed by him, white as driven snow. The dogs, urged on by the men, pursued the boar, which turned to bay. When the hunters came up however, it again fled, and they all merrily followed their game, which after a while led them to a vast and lofty castle into which it ran, the hounds following. This caused great wonder to the princes, for they knew the place well, and had never seen a castle there before. Fearing enchantment they did not enter, but stood listening for the hounds. Not a sound did they hear. Pryderi said, "I will go into the castle."

"Nay," cried Manawyddan, "forbear. There is some magic here. Whoever has cast a spell over the land built this castle; therefore do not thou enter."

"Of a truth," said Pryderi, "I cannot afford to lose my hounds," so he went in. No sign of hounds or boar were to be seen, nor any evidence of human occupation, except that in the middle of the hall there was a marble fountain, on which rested a golden dipping dish, beautifully chased. Pryderi took up the bowl, but his hands adhered to the dish, his feet stuck to the marble slab, and he was struck dumb. Manawyddan remained without until close of day, fearing to enter the castle, yet dreading to return with such tidings to Rhiannon and Kicva. At length he went back to Arberth.

"Where is thy companion, and where are the hounds?" asked Rhiannon.

Then Manawyddan told the story.

"A poor friend thou has proved," said she, "to the best friend man ever had," and without another word she went out, and sought the castle. She entered, and saw Pryderi standing silently, holding the bowl.

"Why dost thou stand thus, my son?" she said, and took the bowl in her hand. Then her hand adhered to the bowl, and her feet to the pavement, and she became dumb. A great mist fell on the castle, thunder rumbled, lightnings flashed, and the castle, with all its occupants, vanished into thin air.

When Kicva heard this she wept and bewailed, but Manawyddan said, "Let us go hence; I will be to you a father, and you shall be to me a daughter."

So they went again to England and Manawyddan made shoes. Kicva hated to see a

prince turn cobbler, and the other shoemakers conspired against them, so she persuaded him to obtain some seed wheat, and return to Arberth. Never was he better pleased than when he saw Arberth again, and the land where he had been wont to hunt with Pryderi and Rhiannon. For a while they subsisted on deer's flesh and salmon. With the seed corn Manawyddan sowed three small patches, and never was there better corn. At length the harvest time came, and Manawyddan went to reap the most forward of his plots, but something had cut off the ears and nothing but the straw remained. The other two plots were untouched, so he determined to reap them on the morrow. But when the morrow came the second plot was spoiled, as had been the first. The third was safe, and better wheat never was seen. Said Manawyddan, "Some one will come to-night to treat this as they have done the other. I will watch." And so he did.

About midnight there was a mighty rushing sound, and a huge army of mice appeared. Each running up a stalk, nipped off the wheat ear and carried it away at full speed. Manawyddan, in despair, ran after them, and at length succeeded in catching one, which he put into his glove, and carried home.

"What hast thou there?" said Kicva.

"A robber," he replied.

"A robber in thy glove?"

"Yes, and to-morrow I will hang it."

Then Manawyddan told her all. She tried to dissuade him from hanging a mouse, but he would not be turned from his purpose. So the next day they went up to the Gorsedd Arberth, that ill-omened spot from whence all their troubles had arisen. And he put up two forked sticks on the highest part of the mound, while he had the mouse still in his glove. On looking up he saw a man approaching, the first he had seen these four years in Dyved, save only Pryderi. The stranger approached. He was a scholar. "My greeting to thee, lord," said the stranger.

"Whence dost thou come?" said Manawyddan.

"From singing in England; but why dost thou inquire, my lord?"

"For four long years I have seen no man in Dyved."

"Oh! I am passing through, on the road to my home, but what art thou doing?"

"I am about to hang a mouse."

"Hang a mouse! Dost thou think it befitting a man in thy position to meddle with such a vermin? Let the creature go."

"I will not; I will hang it."

"I will give thee a pound which was given me in alms if thou wilt let it go."

"Nay, I will hang it."

So the scholar went his way. Then a priest came by. He too sought to ransom the mouse, but in vain, so the priest went his way.

Then Manawyddan put the noose round the mouse's neck, and was about to fasten it to the cross stick, when lo! and behold a bishop and his retinue came riding by. And the bishop offered Manawyddan seven pounds as ransom for the mouse, then twenty-four pounds, then he offered him all the horses and baggage of his retinue. But still Manawyddan refused. "Then," said the bishop, "for what wilt thou sell the mouse?"

"Give me back Rhiannon and Pryderi," said Manawyddan.

"Thou shalt have them. Give me the mouse."

"Not so fast," said Manawyddan. "Remove the charm from Dyved."

"I will," said the bishop. "Give me the mouse."

"Tell me first, who is the mouse."

"She is my wife," said the bishop.

"Ho! ho!" said Manawyddan; "and why, pray, did she come to me?"

"To despoil thee. I am Llwyd of Kilcoed, and Gwawl of Dumbarton is my friend; it was to avenge the insult played on him by thy wife Rhiannon that I laid a spell on Dyved, carried off Rhiannon and her son, and destroyed thy wheat fields. To do this last I and my household became mice, and thou didst catch my wife, whom I adjure thee to set free."

"Nay! nay! not until Rhiannon and Pryderi have been restored.

"He looked up and his wife and step-son were before him. Then Manawyddan, having bound Llwyd that no spells should ever again be laid on Dyved, or on Pryderi, Rhiannon, Kicva, or himself, handed over the mouse to Llwyd, who waving a wand over it changed her back into a lovely woman. Dyved was forthwith repeopled, and the corn waved and the cattle lowed, and the sheep bleated as aforetime. But the odd thing was, that no one knew besides these four that aught had occurred, and to the four, now it seemed like an evil dream. Pryderi prospered exceedingly, and besides the seven cantrevs of Dyved, the four cantrevs of Cardigan, and the three cantrevs of Ystrad Tywi, he became lord of the seven cantrevs of Morganwc, and no prince was like unto him in South Wales.

CONCLUDED FROM THE MABINOGI OF MATH, THE SON OF MATHONWY.

Now Math, the son of Mathonwy, was lord of Gwynedd, and it was told unto him that there were in South Wales some beasts such as never were known in this island before; small animals indeed, but their flesh was better than the flesh of oxen; that they were given by Arawn, King of Annwvyn, to Pwyll, and that they now belonged to Pryderi. Mathonwy desired the pigs greatly. In his court was a great wizard, known as Gwydion, and this wizard promised to get the swine for his master by hook or by crook.

So Gwydion came to Pryderi's palace in Teivi side, where he was at that time living. And Pryderi received him well, and made a great feast for him and his retainers. In the evening Gwydion asked Pryderi to give his master, Mathonwy, the swine that came from Annwvyn.

"Nay," said Pryderi, "there is a compact between me and my people, that until they are doubled in number none shall leave the land."

"Do not refuse me, lord, until thou shalt see what I will offer in exchange."

Then Gwydion by his magic arts created twelve chargers fully caparisoned, and the trappings were of pure gold. To these he added twelve black greyhounds, and each greyhound had a white breast, and round its neck was a collar and a leash of gold. Now these things he had made out of toad-stools, and to these he added twelve gilded shields, When Pryderi saw these magnificent presents he was over-persuaded and let Gwydion have the swine. The wizard did not wait long after that, but hurried off with the pigs until he got to the Snowdon range, where he concealed them while he went and reported the result to his master.

But long before this Pryderi found he had been tricked. The horses, hounds, shields and trappings resolved themselves into their original fungoid shapes. Then Pryderi raised a great host and invaded Gwynedd. The two forces met in Arvon, where Pryderi was defeated with great loss and was forced to give hostages to Mathonwy. But the North Welshmen even then harried the retreating Southerners, whereupon Pryderi sent a message begging Mathonwy to stop the slaughter of his unoffending men and allow a single combat between Gwydion and himself to decide their respective fortunes. Thus it was arranged, and they fought, but Gwydion, by his strength, fierceness, magic and charms slew Pryderi, and he was buried at Abergenoli, where the wave still sings a dirge over his grave.

The Triads give another account respecting the introduction of swine into Pembrokeshire. This narrative is certainly later than the story of Pwyll, but if possible more wildly impossible.

COLL THE SON OF COLLVREWI

was chief swine-herd to Dallwyr Dallben of Cornwall. Now one of his sows called Henwen (old lady) was in pig. It had been prophesied by some one or other that this apparently insignificant fact would bring dire evils on the island of Britain. So King Arthur raised a force and marched against the sow, but she retreated to the Land's End and there took to the water, from hence she swam to Monmouthshire, Coll holding on by her bristles all the time. At Maesgwenith (Wheatfield), in Gwent, she left three grains of wheat and three bees. Gwent has since been famous for wheat and honey. From Gwent she went to Pembrokeshire, and at Llonnio Llonwen (Llanion, near Pembroke?) left a grain of barley and a little pig.* Henceforth Pembroke became renowned for pigs and barley to feed them on. From Pembroke she went to Caernarvon, where she left a grain of rye. By the cliff of Cyverthwch she dropped a wolf cub and an eaglet. St. Bernach had the eagle, while Menwaed, lord of Arllechwedd, had the wolf. But the old lady's last and worst gift was a kitten which she dropped under the Black Stone in Arvon. Coll suddenly awaking to a sense of his responsibility threw the little beast into the Menai Straits. But the sons of Palug, who lived in Anglesey, fished out the kitten and reared it to their sorrow, for it became the dread Palug cat, one of the three plagues of Anglesea, the other two being Daronwy and Edwin of Northumbria. Who Coll was and what the sow may have been it is impossible to say. Whether in truth they were but the wild imaginings of a story-teller's brain, or a leader and people of some foreign race or religion, or only a captain and his ship, no man can tell. From the story it appears they came from the south, and that their gifts gradually depreciated in value, the good being bestowed on the people of South Wales while the evil ones were reserved for the nobles and priests of the north. For Brynach the Irishman was that same St. Bernach spoken of in the last chapter, and Menwaed was said to have been a "battle knight" of King Arthur's. Coll himself is elsewhere said to have been a potent wizard who had power of rendering himself invisible at will.

One of the strange points in these stories is the fancy that swine were a late importation to Britain. This of course we know is a fallacy, for their bones are found in nearly all neolithic deposits, and although palæolithic man did not keep them in a domestic state, yet we have good reason to suppose that he feasted on their wild congeners. The domestic *sus scrofa* seems to have arrived in Europe under the charge of the Turanian or Iberian race, which preceded our Arian forefathers. Perhaps the reason of the mystery connected with swine in the old Welsh myths is the enormous importance the Kymry attached to their pigs. In truth Welshmen ought to have taken the hog rather than the goat for their totem. In the old bardic literature the poet addresses his audience as Hoianau (little pigs) much as in Holy Writ preachers called on their "flocks" of sheep and lambs. In both cases the national wealth was represented by domestic animals. In Palestine sheep were specie, in Wales pigs took their place, while in Italy cattle (pecus) gave us our word "pecuniary." Pigs being thus valuable, it seemed only likely that some mystery should attach to their origin. Hence perhaps the tales of the Hell King's breed and Coll's magic sow. Wild swine contributed their share to these tales, for we find in the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen that a certain wild boar known as Trwyth had between its ears a comb and scissors, and that it was

* *Myv. Arch.*

necessary for Kilhwch the hero to obtain these before he might marry Olwen the heroine. King Arthur and his company came to the rescue and hunted the beast until it swam into the sea. It landed, however, at Porthcleis by St. David's, and running south slew man and beast in Abergleddau (*i. e.*, the country in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest). When disturbed by the hunters who were on his trail he ran north towards the hills and came to bay at Cwm Kerwyn by Precelly top; from thence the hunt passed on into Cardiganshire.

A friend of mine, a tenant farmer, who certainly had never read the *Mabinogion*, told me that a tradition was still extant in his neighbourhood (Fishguard) that Kilhwch after he had obtained the comb and scissors and married Olwen landed in Pwllcrochan Bay. Fenton (p. 22) says in his time there was a legend of a town named Tref Culhwch which once stood near Capel Degan, but my informant had not heard of this tale. The further adventures of Pryderi, Manawyddan and Rhiannon are related in the Mabinogi of Bronwen, daughter of Llyr, but their doughty deeds were not performed within the confines of Pembrokeshire; it is stated that when Pryderi, Manawyddan, and five others carried the head of one Bendigeid Vran from Harlech to the White Mount in London, they rested for no less than four score years at Gwales in Penvro,* a fair and regal spot everlooking ocean, and a spacious hall was therein.

Whether Bedd avanc on the Precelly range marks the reputed resting-place of the lacustrine monster dragged out of Lake Llyn by the oxen of Hu Gadarn I do not know, there is I believe no legend on the subject; indeed I believe that those mentioned above are all that have been preserved of this folklore.

* "The Celts of Britain seemed to have regarded as homes of the departed the island of Grasholm, and that of Bardsey, while ancient Glastonbury was put in the same category; and even the peninsula of Gower, on the Welsh side of the Bristol Channel, appears to have had the same reputation among the inhabitants of Cornwall."—Rhy's *Sixth Hibbert Lecture, 1886.* Grasholm was called "Walleyes" in the 16th century, according to George Owen.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Kymric usurpers—Restoration of the House of Rhodri—William I. visits St. David's—Normans and Norsemen, strong resemblance between—Rhys again driven into exile, but returns and conquers the rebels at St. Dogmael's—Mic Dynbych—Death of Rhys ap Tewdwr—The conquest of Glamorgan—Martin de Turribus lands at Fishguard and conquers Cemaes—St. Dogmael's Priory founded—Cemaes, a typical march—Why it did not become Anglicized—Pedigree of Sir Marteine Lloyd—Kilgerran fortified by the Belesme family—Arnulph de Montgomery seizes Pembroke and builds a castle, which he hands over to Gerald de Windsor—The Welsh overrun Dyved and Cardigan, but cannot win Pembroke—Siege of Pembroke in 1092—William II. comes into Wales Returns to England, but comes back—Talks of conquering Ireland—The Church of St. Nicholas at Pembroke—Rufus orders castles to be built—Divisions of Pembrokeshire in his time—The Belesme rebellion—Arnulph and Gerald removed from Pembroke—Saher created Castellan—Gerald marries Nesta and is reinstated as Castellan of Pembroke—Builds Carew Castle—Buildings in Pembrokeshire at the beginning of the 12th century—Norman families.

As we have seen, at a very early date Englishmen began to interest themselves in the affairs of Western Wales. First of all as pirates they robbed and murdered its inhabitants, then we find King Ælfred called in to protect the land from Danes and Kymry. Saxon bishops sat on Dewi's throne, and Ædward the elder founded a military station on the site of Haverfordwest; but for all that we may feel assured that the Scandinavian element exceeded the Teutonic, and though the Saxon visited and the Kymry nominally ruled Dyved during the 9th and 10th centuries, that land with its Gaelic substratum and Norse colonists must have rather resembled Eastern Ireland than the rest of Wales.

Scarcely any matter of interest to posterity occurred between the fall of Rhodri's dynasty in 994 and its re-establishment in 1077. Though to the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire these were no doubt painfully stirring times. As before stated (see p. 76) Aeddan of Glamorgan succeeded Meredydd as lord of Western Wales, and although he consorted with Scandinavians and was responsible for the death of Bishop Morgeneu, does not appear to have been a bad ruler. He is reported to have reformed laws and rebuilt churches. When he had consolidated his power in South Wales he invaded Gwynedd, where he defeated and slew Kynan the northern usurper and for a short time reigned as monarch of Wales. But in 1015 Llewelyn ap Seissyllt the representative of the northern branch of Rhodri's family conquered and killed Aeddan.*

Then another Glamorganshire chieftain named Rhydderch obtained the sovereignty of South Wales, which he kept by force of arms for ten years. In 1031 the brothers Hywel and Meredydd, who were the representatives of Rhodri and Hywel Dda, engaged a force of Irish Gaels, by whose aid they defeated and slew Rhydderch. The brothers then reigned jointly for a few months when Meredydd was slain and Hywel driven into exile by Grufudd, prince of Gwynedd. Through the aid of the Danes Hywel carried on the war with varying success until 1043, when he was slain near Abertywi. Jestyn, lord of Glamorgan, then assumed the sovereignty of South Wales, and in 1050 Caradoc and Rhys, grandsons of Jestin, fought a battle with Grufudd of North Wales, which is described in the *Chronicle of the Princes* as

* Price Hanes's *Cymru*, p. 428.

Dissimilar to any that ever occurred, except the battle of Camlan; so many were slain on both sides that the two armies were obliged to return without its being possible to say that either was victorious, so bloody was the fight.

In 1060 English Harold invaded and conquered Grufudd, who was slain by treachery. Harold then established Meredydd, Owain's son, on the throne of South Wales. Nine years later Caradoc and Grufudd, sons of Rhydderch, with the assistance of a band of Normans, defeated and slew Meredydd.

In 1074 one Rhys ap Owain rebelled against his liege lord, Bleddyn of North Wales, and slew him. He then turned his arms against Rhydderch; the latter feeling he was not strong enough to oppose him made terms, these were that they should reign as joint kings for life, the monarchy falling to the survivor. The heirs of Rhydderch naturally objecting to this arrangement, slew him; but Rhys was too closely pressed to reap any advantage from the deed, for he was opposed by the people of the north, and eventually conquered and beheaded on Goodwick Marsh, near Fishguard, in 1074.

If the reader has had patience to wade through this weary tale of senseless bloodshed, he will probably be inclined to ask what object has been attained by its record. From one point of view, and one only, is this chronicle of crime valuable; it most conclusively proves that the Kymric Kelts were incapable of self-government. The dynasty of Rhodri proved themselves futile, and were expelled; but affairs nowise mended, for the several chieftains who in turn usurped the sovereignty of South Wales proved quite as incompetent as their legitimate predecessors. At length the Almighty embodiment of order, in mercy to the blood-stained land, called in a stronger race to save this foolish folk from their own folly.

As shown above, in less than three years after the battle of Hastings certain Normans assisted the sons of Rhydderch to overthrow Meredydd, King Harold's nominee. This would seem to have been a private speculation on the part of the Norman soldiers, a mere act of filibustering, and we must turn back to Kymric history if we wish to understand how the Norman conquest of South Wales came about.

In the year 1077 Rhys ap Tewdwr, who was the representative of Cadell, Rhodri's eldest son and therefore the lawful prince, came across the sea from Brittany, where he had been in banishment, and laid claim to his Principality. Grufudd ap Kynan, the representative of Anarawd, Rhodri's second son and the legitimate prince of North Wales, landed a large body of Irish in Pembrokeshire and joined Rhys. The allies defeated Rhys ap Owain's conquerors on the hills of Carnau, in Cardiganshire, and divided the Principality between them. Rhys took the south, Grufudd the north. Rhys ap Tewdwr's power seems to have extended only over the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen, for Pembroke, Glamorgan, Brecon, Monmouth and Hereford still remained under the rule of their respective reguli (according to Vaughan of Hengwrt), though these probably did acknowledge the descendant of Rhodri as their suzerain.

In the year 1081 there was excitement at St. David's and through the land of Dyved, for a mighty pilgrim was on his road to the holy shrine. Arlotta's son, the Conqueror, came and with him a force the like of which had not been seen in Pembrokeshire since Roman days. His progress seems to have been a triumphal march. Kymro and Gael looked on him as an instrument of God in that he had crushed the accursed Saxon, while the Norseman saw in him a cousin and the grandest viking of his day. Normans and Norsemen of course were one and the same race, but the former had exchanged their Dansk tunga for French and were no doubt somewhat further advanced in civilization than the colonists of such outlying districts as South Wales; but if we refer to the Bayeux tapestry we shall find that the arms and accoutrements of the Norman host represented in that invaluable contemporary picture are absolutely identical with those of the Danes as they appear in an illustrated manuscript of the time of King Cnut, which is preserved in the British Museum. Therefore we may believe that when William the

Conqueror rode into the little village of St. David's 805 years ago, to the Norsemen of South Pembrokeshire he appeared in light of brother in nowise differing from the innumerable Norse captains who had previously visited the land; and I think it is partly to this brotherhood between Norsemen and Normans that we must attribute the ease with which South Pembroke detached itself from Kymru and became Little England beyond Wales.

King William's host at St. David's, Bishop Sulien, known as Ddoeth (the Wise), was a very remarkable man. Elected to the episcopate in 1070, after five years' experience he found his pirate-haunted see an intolerable burthen; he therefore resigned in favour of one Abraham, who was almost immediately murdered by Norse pirates. Pressed by his flock, Sulien resumed the mitre, which he wore until 1088, when he was succeeded by his son Rhyddmarch. Sulien seems to have gladly welcomed the great Norman, who was a devoted son of the Church; indeed it is rather strange that such a stickler for relics and ritual as William should have made a pilgrimage to St. David's, a shrine where the supremacy of the Pope was denied, and in which it was possible for the Metropolitan to be succeeded by his *son*. Perhaps in this, as in other matters of religious observance, the Conqueror proved himself rather a politician than a devotee.

So lately as 1816 tradition connected William's name with a prehistoric earthwork near St. David's, now known as the Monk's Dyke. This foss was then called "Ffordd Brennin William," or King William's way. Possibly the Normans may have camped behind this work with their face to their Welsh hosts and their backs to the sea. When William the Conqueror paid his vows at St. David's shrine the nominal lord of Pembrokeshire was Rhys ap Tewdwr, but the real power was vested in a regulus, one Cadivor, Colwyn's son. From subsequent events we may suppose that Cadivor viewed with jealousy the claims of suzerainty raised by Rhys (claims which had been in abeyance for so many years), and was perhaps in consequence well disposed towards the strangers, thinking peradventure that a Norman king who held court in London would prove a less exacting lord than a Kymric prince residing at Dynevor. So friendly seem to have been the relations between Cadivor and William that Einion, brother to the former, took service in the Norman host. This feeling of friendliness towards the Conqueror was not confined to Pembrokeshire, for Jestyn the regulus of Glamorgan also made a treaty with William based on the same terms as those which had been formed between his predecessors and the Saxon kings. This arrangement was probably aimed at Rhys.



PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY.

In the year 1087 William the Bastard died. Cadwgan, Madog and Rhirid came with a great host of North Welshmen and drove Rhys ap Tewdwr again into banishment. Jestyn of Glamorgan, taking advantage of his neighbour's troubles, harried Carmarthenshire. Rhys retired into Ireland, where from his long residence he had many friends, and these rallying round the Welsh prince raised a considerable force, invaded Pembrokeshire, and in a bloody fight at Llechryd routed and slew Madog and Rhirid; Cadwgan escaped with life, but his power was broken and he had to go into hiding. About this time we are told that the shrine of St. David, and the gold and silver plate of the cathedral, were stolen by an unknown thief. Perhaps some of Rhys's Irish friends could have thrown light on this transaction had they been so minded.

In 1088 Cadivor was gathered to his fathers, and his two sons, Llewelyn and Einion, with their uncle Einion, the same who had joined the Norman army, stirred up war against Rhys ap Tewdwr. A furious battle was fought at St. Dogmael's in North Pembrokeshire, in which the two Pembrokeshire princes were defeated and slain, their uncle Einion, the soldier of fortune, flying to Jestyn the king of Glamorgan, who was Rhys ap Tewdwr's enemy.

There is a strange mystic poem to be found in the *Myv. Arch.* termed "Mic Dinbych: or the Eulogy of Tenby," which the late Mr. Stephens believes has reference to this battle. It is very difficult, and has been interpreted in many ways; but it is so curious that I venture to give his translation as a specimen of old Welsh verse:—

I.

I will address a prayer to God, the Church-delivering,
Owner of Heaven and Earth, all-wise rewarder!
There is a pleasant fort on the face of the ocean,
Merry is the brilliant hurrying about on the calend (Jan. 1st)
And when the sea performs great feats,
The crowns of bards are wont to be above mead vessels.
A wave comes in haste, may it speed,
It promises them (obscure) to the green spot from Clas Ffichti (Ireland).
Mayest thou, O God! sanction my prayer,
When with Thee I keep an appointment of conciliation.

II.

There is a pleasant fort on a broad lake,
An impregnable city, sea surrounded.
Conspicuous house of Britain! Where is there one so fair?
Before the lake of Erbin's son (Erbin, king of Devon) may there be extensive debarkation.
There were retinues, and mellow songs,
And an eagle in the sky, and a path of pale faces,
Before a governing, enemy repulsing,
Praise-spread Lord and General, they marshalled themselves.

III.

There is a pleasing fort on the ninth wave;
Pleasant are its denizens, in defending themselves;
They have not maintained it so long through demerit.
"It is not their custom to be severe;"
I will not speak falsely, by my (bardic) privilege—
The serfs of Dyved are better than the aillts of Deudraeth.*
Host of free feast deliverers!
There is harmony between every two: best of people.

IV.

There is a pleasant city, made complete
By mead, and praise, and loud birds.
Smooth are its songs on calend-days,
Around an intelligent Lord, a brilliant distributor.
Before he went to be left at the church,
He gave me mead and wine from a tall glass.

V.

There is a pleasant fort in the gulf; †
Pleasantly is given to each his share.
I know in Tenby the white sea-mew,
A gentle multitude, a supreme chief.
It was my custom on New Year's Eve,
To receive a "lleddfawd"‡ from the war-lustrous chief,
And a green veil, and the possession of a court,
As my tongue is supreme over the bards of Britain.

VI.

There is a pleasant fort, treasure supported,
Mine were its fords, in which I delighted.
I will not describe the judicial journey I took;
He deserves no calend-gifts who knows not
Britain's record of royal meditation.
When the waves ebbed in their encircling course,
I penetrated delightedly far into a cave.

VII.

There is a pleasant fort exalting itself.
I enjoyed its mead and skilful praise.
Pleasing on its mound was the outpouring of nobles;
The long-winged (heron?) suffered from the bristles (falcon?)
Anger propelled a stone to the hoarse screaming (bird);
(And) wrathfully destined, it pierced the rocky portal.
A hoary wolf, the best of sport,
Burthened him who received the cup of honour.
The blessing of the governor of heaven's high harmonies
Be upon them: may he make them subjects to the great grandson of Owen.

* Deudraeth = "the two shores," is at the upper part of Cardigan Bay, and includes the conjoining portions of Carnarvon and Merioneth, being so named from the two shores, the Traeth Bach and the Traeth Mawr. In this case it may stand for North Wales.—T. Stephens.

† Perhaps the "pleasant fort in the gulph" was on St. Catherine's Island. At some time or other a considerable population must have inhabited this rock, for the north-west point was one great kitchen midden formed of the bones of domestic animals, ox, sheep or goat, and pig. These have now been displaced by gardening operations; but I carefully examined them before the fort was inhabited.—E. L.

‡ Lleddfawd; the meaning is obscure; Lleddf = crooked, perhaps Lleddfu was to make obeisance, and Lleddfawd the gift thereon.—T. Stephens.

VIII.

There is a pleasant fort on the flood shore,
Pleasantly is given to each his desire.
I address thee in departing, mayest thou prosper;
The spears of nobles are launched forth.
On Wednesday I saw men in mutual enjoyment;
On Thursday disgrace befell the cause they defended.
And there were crimsoned heads, and a woeful clamour.
There were funereal processions the day they came;
Shields were broken at Kevn Llech Vaelwy;*
And there fell at the Kevn a host of kindred.

According to the old story Jestyn received the adventurer Einion with open arms, and suggested he should go to England and raise recruits among his old Norman comrades for the war against Rhys promising him the hand of his daughter Nesta if all went well. Encouraged by these promises Einion sought one Fitz Hamon, a relative of the king and an old friend of his own. These two arranged a filibustering expedition to South Wales, and Fitz Hamon persuaded eleven other men of position to join him. Rhys ap Tewdwr had no chance against these war-trained paladins. Among the undisciplined Welsh clansmen he was reckoned a master in the art of war, but the Norman veterans utterly routed him in the first engagement at Hirwaen Wrgant, in Brecon. He was pursued and taken in Glyn Rhoddnai, and beheaded at a place called from that day Pen Rhys. Rhys was a very old man, according to the tale upwards of ninety, and his eldest son died with him; but he left another son (Grufudd), a mere child, and a daughter (Nesta), both of whom we shall hear of again. So far our tale may be true enough, but now comes a romantic episode which seems to have been concocted by the Norman conqueror.

When Rhys was overthrown Jestyn paid his mercenaries their due, and they like honest men at once retired to their ships and actually weighed anchor. But Jestyn did not treat Einion so well. He refused to ratify his promise as to Nesta, and in fact told him to be off about his business. The Pembrokeshire prince burning with rage hurried after his Norman friends, and was just in time to signal them back again. He recited his woes and they nothing loth returned. Jestyn being unprepared for the assault was even more easily disposed of than Rhys. He escaped with his life, but his kingdom was forthwith divided among his conquerors. The Welsh point out that Einion had the poorest share, but as Nesta was thrown in we must trust that he was satisfied. Besides, Miskin, which is the name of Einion's portion, abounds with coal and iron, so his remote heirs may have done better than those of his Norman comrades. For himself we can only hope that Nesta brought with her some of Jestyn's personal property,

The Pembrokeshire men were now indeed as sheep without a shepherd. The only survivor of regulus Cadivor's family was the traitor Einion, and he was an exile who dare not leave the Norman camp. Suzerain Rhys was dead too, leaving only an infant son and a daughter. With Cadivor's family ended the sub-kingdom of Pembroke. Their names and probably their blood was Kymric, yet they represented that Gaelic power which conquered the land under Nial of the Seven Hostages, and evangelized it under the banner of Brychan's sainted sons, if in truth they did not win it from the old Euskarian Silures long ages before. Pembrokeshire having been thus bereft of its natural defenders was left as a prey to the spoiler, and very soon he appeared in the person of a Norman, one Martin de Turribus, which is translated as "of Tours," though perhaps "of the Towers" would be the better rendering. Martin was a man of might and had been rewarded with broad lands in Somerset and Devon for valiant deeds done in England. He landed at Abergwayn, or Fish-

* Cadivor's sons met Rhys in the vicinity of Llandydoch, St. Dogmael's. Cefn Llech Vaelwy may possibly be connected with St. Dogmael's. There is a Llech Meiler between Fishguard and St. David's, and a Rhiw Vaelor, Allt Vaelwr, or Vaelwr, or Moel Vaelawr, somewhere in Cardiganshire.—T. Stephens.

guard,* with a considerable following and pitched his camp at Cronllwyn,† a hill on the banks of the Gwayn, about two miles from the shore and well adapted for his purpose, as its base was protected by a morass, while its summit commands an extensive view over the surrounding country. The Norman force remained in camp for some days unassailed by the Welsh. Martin then moved towards the hills where the enemy was reported to be massing. He came up with the natives at Morvill, and repulsed them in a sharp skirmish. Martin then followed the Welsh across Precelly. On the further side the men of Meline, Nantgwyn and Eglwyswrw came out to meet him; but what could these poor villagers do against Norman veterans. Seized by a sudden panic they laid down their arms without striking a blow. This surrender concluded the war, and the hundred of Cemaes yielded without further bloodshed, becoming a March,‡ with Martin and his successors as Lords Marcher. He took up his quarters at Nevern, where he appropriated the stronghold previously occupied by Cuhelyn, a regulus of Dyved. This was subsequently strengthened by successive members of Martin's family, though as will be seen they made Newport the capital of their barony. Nothing more than the foundations of Nevern Castle remain; from these it appears to have been a square building with a bastion at each corner. Probably when Martin took possession it was merely a mound defended by foss and vallum, with a building of some sort on the apex. According to Fenton Fishguard was settled by a part of Martin's followers under Jordan de Cantington. The latter tiring of his acquisition, or desiring to propitiate heaven, gave it as an endowment to the monks of Dogmael's Priory, which was founded by Martin as a resting-place for his own body, which is said to lie in the middle choir. The building though commenced by Martin was not finished in his day. What remains of it is certainly later;§ indeed we are informed that Martin's son Robert completed his father's work. St. Dogmael's was a Benedictine priory.

The settlement made in Northern Pembrokeshire by Martin de Turribus was a typical Lordship March. A feudal chieftain, without aid or advice from the king, collected a band of followers and at his own cost conquered a district in Wales. Having done so he was recognized by the sovereign as a Lord Marcher and a Lord of Parliament. He used and executed *jura regalia* within his lordship, had power of life and death, gave a charter to his town of Newport, took subsidies of his tenants as though he were a king, and these tenants held their lands direct from him and not from the king, a state of things only to be found in

* According to the local tradition Martin docked his little fleet in the harbour at Fishguard, but the natives in the night rolled great rocks down on them and so damaged the vessels that next day, having repaired them as well as he could, the Norman leader sailed on to Newport, where the harbour is on the flat and safe from projectiles from above.

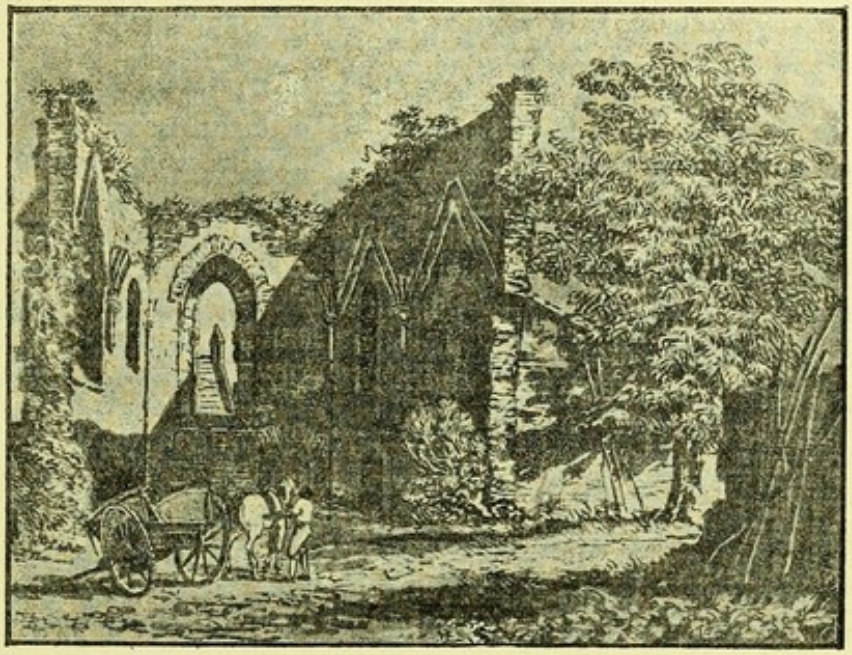
† Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 522.

‡ The limits of the lordship of Cemaes are given as follows in a note by George Owen, Esq. (16th century), which is in the possession of Sir Marteine Lloyd, Bart., of Bronwydd, who represents the old lords of that March:—"The lordship of Cemaes bordereth on the shires, places and lordships following: From the fall of the brook Bryan into the Teivy below Cilgerran to the sea at the headland called Pen Cemaes, four miles, all bordering on Cardiganshire. From Pen Cemaes all bordering on the sea-coast to Manarnawan, fourteen miles and a half. From Manarnawan to St. Dogmells by a landsker bordering on the lordship of Dewisland, six miles. From St. Dogmells to the river Syvyney above Llys y Vrân, where the brook passing Poll Tax Inn falls into that river bordering on Dangleddau lordship, three miles. From Syvyney by a landsker to Cleddau ddu at the fall of a brook into that river between Llandeilo and Maenclochog, where Cemaes meets with Carmarthenshire, four miles—all bordering on the parishes of Moat and Llankevgn, parcell of the episcopal lordship of Llawhaden. Then all along the river Cleddau till the fall of a brook called Bray, two miles, and one mile along that brook, and by the spring of that brook by a land landsker that goeth over to the river Tâv above Eglwysfairgyrig, one mile and a half, bordering all on Carmarthenshire unto four miles and a half. Then up along Tâv side two miles to a brook that falleth into Tâv, called Aber Elwyn; and then along that brook towards Llanwinnio church, where the lordships of Cemaes, of Cilgerran and Carmarthenshire meet together, two miles; all this from the first time it met with Carmarthenshire at the fall of Bray into Cleddau ddu it bordereth on Carmarthenshire for the space of eight miles and a half. Then from Llanwinnio the lordship of Cemaes adjoineth Cilgerran six miles to St. Meigan's and then by land landskers between it and the lordship of Cilgerran till it comes to the fall of Bryan into Teivy, seven miles; in all fifty-three miles."—See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. viii., p. 134.

§ Fenton in his *Tour in Pembrokeshire* (p. 513) states:—A field near the camp known as Caerau, and a mile from the ruins of St. Dogmael's Priory, is known as Yr hen Vanachlog, the old monastery, and thinks this must have been the site of the building destroyed by Danes, according to the *Welsh Chronicle*, in 1087, and termed therein Llandydoch.

the Marches; he had the goods of all intestates; in fact was absolute in the district he had conquered, only recognizing the king as his suzerain.*

Cemaes was one of the earliest marches formed in Wales. It appears to have been well governed, and its inhabitants led a moderately peaceful life; yet we find that this district was never Anglicized, but is as Kymric to-day as it was when Martin arrived in the 11th century. On the other hand South Pembrokeshire, which was conquered about the same time by Normans and English, and subsequently colonized by Flemings, is as English in language and thought as Kent or Yorkshire. Why this difference? The reason may I think be discovered by an examination of the Ordnance Map. Here we shall find that with the exception of Goodwick and Fishguard there are no place names of Norse derivation in Cemaes. In South Pembrokeshire these abound, disappearing so soon as English ceases to be the spoken language. What the number and nationality of Martin's force may have been we cannot tell, but men



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ST. DOGMAEL'S.

called Cantington,† De Hoda,‡ Cole, Young, and Mathias § appear to have followed him, so probably a fair proportion of English fought under Martin's flag. Whether these filibusters brought women with them we do not know; if so they were probably few in number, and many of the men must have married Welsh women, and in succeeding generations *all* must have taken to themselves the daughters of the land. This is hardly a matter for conjecture. It so happens that the descendants of Martin de Turribus are still among us, and they have carefully preserved their pedigrees, from which it will be seen that the lords at all events married Welsh women, an example pretty certain to be imitated by the knights, squires, and men-at-arms.

* *Baronia de Kemeys*, p. 37; *Archæologia Cambresis*, 3rd Series, vol. viii.

† Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 570. ‡ Or Hood.—*Baronia de Kemeys*, Lloyd's pedigree.

§ Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 535. Mathias sounds Flemish.

In a very few generations the English strain would die out, and the descendants of the conqueror would be indistinguishable from the conquered.*

The invaders of Southern Pembroke were also probably wifeless. Some of their leaders married Welsh princesses from motives of policy, but the bulk of the invaders must have taken wives from the inhabitants of the district, and there can be little doubt that these were chiefly Norse. The Scandinavian women would readily pick up English, which was a cognate tongue, while very many of the men must have had some acquaintance with Dansk, which was spoken more or less in many parts of England. This I think is the reason that Cemaes is Welsh and Pembroke English.

While matters were thus proceeding in the north of the county, Arnulph de Montgomery,

* PEDIGREE OF SIR MARTEINE OWEN MOWBRAY LLOYD, BART.

(Epitomized from emblazoned pedigree on vellum at Bronwydd, drawn up in 1677 and brought down to 1886).—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. viii.

Martin de Turribus (conquered Kemeys in Pembrokeshire, *circa* 1094)=. . . . .

Sir Robert Fitz Martin=Maud Peverel

Sir William Martin=Angharad, d. of the Lord Rhys of South Wales

Nicholas=Maud, d. of Guy de Brien

Richard de Hoda, or Hood, of Kemeys=Nesta

Philip ap Richard=Nesta, d. of Llewelyn of Henllys

Philip Vychan (the small)=Leolithia, d. of Griffith hir Sais of Trewyllym

Philip Yscolhaig=Lleyky, d. of Gurgency ap Rees Chwith, Esquire of the body to Edward I.

Jevan ap Philip=Dythgu d. and h. to Gwyllym Jordan of Berllan

Gwilym Dhu=Lleykie, d. to Reese ap Rhudderch of Pen y benglog

Owen ap Gwyllym=Lleykie, d. to Perkin de Hoda

Jevan ap Owen=Alice, d. of Meredith ap Jevan of Iscoed

Owen Vychan=Gwenllian, d. to Jevan ap Griffith of Madoc

Rees Owen=Jane, d. to Owen Elliot of Earewere

William Owen=Elizabeth, d. to Sir George Herbert of Swansea

George Owen, the Historian of Pembrokeshire (Lord of Kemes, 1591)=Elizabeth, d. to William Phillips of Picton

Alban Owen=Joan, d. of William Bradshaw of St. Dogmaels

David Owen=Anne, d. of Robert Corbet of Ynys y Maengwyn

William Owen=1, Anne, d. Sir Gilbert Gerrard; 2, Anne, d. of John Mathias of Llwyn Gwarin

Thomas Lloyd of Henllys=Anne

William Owen o. v. p. s. p.

William Lloyd=Joan, d. of Owen Ford of Bury, co. Pembroke, ob. 1772

Thomas Lloyd of Bronwydd, co Cardigan=Anne

Thomas Lloyd (Colonel, Lord of Kemes)=Mary, d. of John Jones of Haverfordwest, M.D.

Thomas Lloyd=Anne Davies, d. of John Thomas of Llwyd Coed, Llanon, co. Caerm.

Sir Thomas Davies Lloyd, Bart., Lord of Kemes=Henrietta Mary, daughter of George Reid, Esq., Bunker's Hill, Jamaica

Sir Marteine Owen Mowbray Lloyd, Bart., Lord of Kemes=Katherine Helena, d. of Alexander Dennistoun, Esq., Golf Hill, Lanark

son of Roger the great Earl of Shrewsbury, arrived on its southern shores. From Arnulph's father the Welsh Montgomery takes its name, though the castle was built by one Baldwin in the Conqueror's time. But Roger retook it from the Welsh in 1090 and named it after the Norman seat of his family. He was perhaps the most influential and turbulent baron in Europe, and had married Mabel (the wicked daughter of wicked William Talvas), heiress of the grand old house of Belesme. This evil dame bore him five sons:

1. The notorious Robert; who assumed the title and lands of Belesme when his mother was murdered in her bath.
2. William, a clerk.
3. Hugh of Chester, called by the Welsh, "Goch" (the Red), and slain by them in 1098.
4. Robert of Poitou.
5. Arnulph, who seized Southern Pembrokeshire.

A sister, Mabel, married Fitz Hamon the conqueror of Glamorgan.

Of this family Henry of Huntingdon says that their sins were enough to frighten the devils themselves. *Gens ipsis dæmonibus horrenda.*

Subsequently to the foundation of Montgomery Roger de Belesme is said to have erected a fortress of some kind at Kilgerran. Perhaps Roger's object in so doing was to form a depôt accessible by water, in which he might collect troops and stores for further operations against the Welsh. If this was the intention, finding Kilgerran was not well adapted for such a purpose, his son Robert determined to seize a station on Milford Haven, which would be nearer England and dominate the whole land of Dyved; besides this his neighbours would be Scandinavians whom, judging from subsequent events, we may believe were not hostile to their Norman kinsmen.

Robert sent his brother Arnulph to prospect, and the latter sailed up the Haven to a fortified camp which there can be little doubt stood on the site of Pembroke Castle. Here, according to Giraldus Cambrensis, he threw up an earthwork which he surrounded with a palisade. When the little camp or castle was thus strengthened, Arnulph handed it over to Gerald de Windsor, the son of Walter Fitz Other, who, at the time of the Conqueror's survey, was castellan of Windsor, warden of Berkshire, and owner of several lordships in Middlesex, Hants and Bucks; these latter had been in the family since the Confessor's days. Arnulph's castle must have been erected about 1090. In 1092 the Welsh overran all Dyved and Caredigion with the solitary exceptions of Rhyd y Gors near Carmarthen, and Pembroke; they besieged the latter. In addition to the violence of the Welsh, Gerald had to deal with treason amongst his own followers, for we are told that fifteen knights deserted and endeavoured to escape from the castle in a small boat. Giraldus Cambrensis* informs us that on the following morning Gerald de Windsor knighted the armour-bearers of these fifteen traitors and invested them with the arms and estates of their late masters. The Welsh were evidently very anxious to gain possession of Pembroke, and so to rid Dyved completely of the foreign foe; for contrary to their usual custom they laid regular siege to the place, and in consequence food became very scarce within the walls. Only four pigs were left; these Gerald cut in pieces and threw contemptuously to the Welsh host as a hint that meat was more plentiful within than without, but the enemy was not deceived; so on the following day he contrived that a letter addressed to Arnulph de Montgomery should be dropped before the Bishop of St. David's house; in it he stated that neither food or reinforcement would be necessary for four months. This trick seems to have convinced the Welsh, who raised the siege. The bishop's name was Wilfrid, and his house stood no doubt on the site of the episcopal palace at Lamphey, distant

* *Itin.*, c. xii.

two miles. From the bishop's name it would seem at first sight that he was a Saxon, but Jones and Freeman * quote Simeon of Durham as "positive proof that he was Welsh," and state that very likely his name was Grufudd, Wilfrid being only an Englishman's rendering of the same. So no doubt the bishop was Gerald's enemy (indeed we find them at war shortly after), and his house was selected for dropping the letter because it was the only place in the neighbourhood where a reader would certainly be found.

In 1094 the Welsh again were in arms against the Normans, but Gerald held his own though the foreigners were defeated in every direction, and Cadwgan penetrated as far as Worcester. This brought the Red King into Wales, but he did little, the enemy melting like snow before his heavy armed troops to fall like an avalanche on the stragglers. Encouraged by this success the North Welsh invaded Pembroke the next year (1095),† on which occasion the priests of St. David's seem to have joined in the popular movement, for we hear that Gerald de Windsor, the castellan of Arnulph's fortress at Pembroke, devastated the bounds of Menevia, but had to retire before the Welsh. Again Rufus appeared in Wales, and this no doubt was the occasion on which he visited St. David's as reported by Giraldus, coming rather as an enemy than a pilgrim; indeed the second William was somewhat of a Gallio and "cared for none of these things." The priests by this time must have seen that Norman rule meant not only a loss of national independence, but a destruction of the old Keltic Church. "Coming events cast their shadows before them." Arnulph had already built the church of St. Nicholas ‡ within his walls at Pembroke, which in 1098 he presented with twenty carucates of land to the abbey of Sayes in Normandy. Rome as well as England was invading Wales. While William was in St. David's he cast longing glances at Ireland, which he saw looming up like a blue cloud in the distance. So narrow did the Straits appear that the king declared he would make a bridge of boats across. When Murchard, Prince of Leinster heard this boast, knowing that William was somewhat of a free thinker, he asked if the reprobate French king had added to this mighty threat "If God please," and on hearing that this was not the case, opined all would be well, for the quick witted Irishman knew his native seas better than this Frenchman, and was well satisfied that no pontoon could stretch across those wild waters unless God performed as great a miracle for the red-headed reprobate as He had done for the Hebrew leader of old. An interference with the laws of nature the Irishman evidently considered extremely improbable.

Rufus seems to have gained as little by this second expedition as by the first. Before leaving Wales he directed his Norman subjects to erect castles, by means of which they might bridle the unruly Welsh. Whether indeed this order was sound policy is doubtful. The castle no doubt would dominate the land; but the Norman, born man-ruler as he was, would in time lead the people; then the castle would prove a danger to the king. This state of things might have occurred to William, for a few years before Roger, Arnulph's father, had been in arms for Robert Courthose with an army of Welsh at his back.—(1088, Roger of Wendover.) Very shortly after his return the king met his doom from Walter Tyrrel's arrow. Fitz Hamon is said to have been one of the hunting party on that fatal day. When William died Pembroke was divided into four distinct portions. Lord Marcher Martin governed Cemaes as a semi-independent ruler. Kilgerran lordship, on the borders of Cardigan, had been seized by Roger

* *History of St. David's*, p. 269.

† *Florence of Worcester*, vol. ii., p. 39; *Walter de Flemingburgh*, vol. i., p. 28.

‡ There is some doubt as to the exact site of the church of St. Nicholas. Mr. G. T. Clark in his *Earls and Earldom of Pembroke* (p. 122) says that *possibly* the oblong building *south-west* of and probably connected with the hall, extending from near it to the keep, represents the church of St. Nicholas. Mr. Cobb, on the other hand, who has expended much care and time in excavating the foundations of the castle, is of opinion that it is likely to have been the once gabled building *north* of the western hall.—(*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 55, p. 199). Arnulph subsequently shifted the endowment to his new foundation of Monkton. It is clear that when this church was built within the walls they must have been composed of some more substantial material than mere turfs.

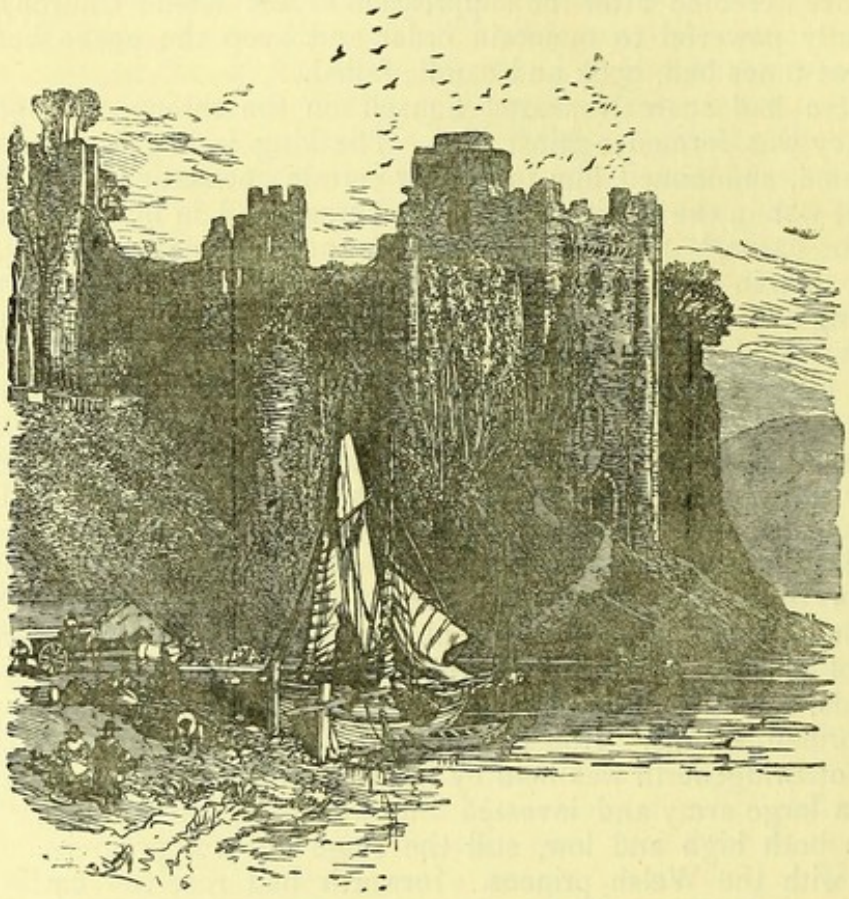
de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury, father of Arnulph. This seems still to have gone with the Montgomery barony and been held from the Crown. Arnulph of Pembroke was also indebted directly to the king for the important province under his charge, which extended over the hundreds of Castlemartin, Narberth, Rôs and Daugleddau. In Dewsland the bishop was still supreme. It must be remembered that he was metropolitan of the Kymric branch of the Keltic Church and therefore in a different position to ordinary bishops. Arnulph appears to have recognized his authority and the bishop retained his manors of Lamphey and Llawhaden, although they were situated in the Norman district. St. David's had been so frequently harried with fire and sword that no buildings worthy of notice could have existed. There never were any castles in Dewsland (with the exception of the little turret known as Roch, which must have been erected after the suppression of the Keltic Church), the priest being considered sufficiently powerful to maintain order and keep the peace between Kymro and Norman; however at times bell, book and candle failed.

Henry Beauclerc had scarcely seated himself on the throne of England when a most dangerous conspiracy was formed against him. The king feeling ill-assured as to the loyalty of Robert de Belesme, summoned him to answer certain accusations; of these there were no scarcity, for Robert was in the habit of doing what was good in his own eyes without thought of king, or priest, or baron.* Belesme temporized and then defied Henry. War broke out, first in Normandy, then in England. Now the danger of those Welsh fortresses which Rufus had called into being became apparent. Built as a bridle for the Welsh they became a whip for the king's back. Wales was dominated by castles, and these fortifications were in the hands of Belesme, his relations and friends. With the tact of his race he forthwith appeased the natives and took up the *rôle* of ally and defender of the Kymric people. Henry seized Arundel castle, which belonged to Belesme, and was a convenient stepping-stone between Normandy and the baron's English and Welsh possessions. The rebel earl then fell back on Shrewsbury. Meanwhile his brother Arnulph, having strengthened Pembroke, sent his castellan, Gerald de Windsor, to ask aid from the Irish, proposing to wed King Murtarch's daughter. Magnus the Dane, too, was invited to assist the allies. The Welsh princes, Cadwgan and Grufudd, willingly joined their old enemies, while Iorworth and Meredydd were cajoled with gifts of money, cattle, and Spanish horses. Welsh and Irish marauders cruelly harried the Midlands, and it looked very much as if the Norman-Keltic party would hold their own against the Norman-Saxons. Robert de Belesme lay in his own town of Shrewsbury, and the strong fortress of Bridgenorth was held by his adherents.

Henry raised a large army and invested Shrewsbury. Fortunately for the king, Belesme was unpopular with both high and low, still the siege did not progress. Then King Henry began an intrigue with the Welsh princes. Iorworth had received cattle and horses from rebels but the king promised him land to keep them on; he should have Powys, Caredigion, and South Pembroke; Tivyside, Kidwelly, and Gower. The other portion had been already promised to the son of that Baldwin who had founded Montgomery. From this we are led to think that Robert, Martin's son, with his Cemaes men had joined the rebels. The magnificent bribe was too much for the Welsh, who abandoned Belesme and joined the king. On their desertion it became necessary for the rebels to seek aid elsewhere. Arnulph was sent off in hot haste to look for the Irish fleet which was to have brought not only reinforcements, but a bride for himself. Some other messenger was despatched to press the viking Magnus. The Norseman was hovering round the Isle of Man. But fortune did not favour the rebels; neither embassy availed aught; indeed some chroniclers say that Magnus stole the bride.

* *Ord. Vit.*

Shrewsbury was closely invested, and at length Robert seeing resistance was useless, and being unable to obtain terms, yielded at discretion. There was a strong inclination on the part of the English barons to destroy the evil brood of Montgomery; all the brethren were very odious to the people on account of their crimes. But Henry considering that their family connections were too powerful, contented himself by banishing Robert de Belesme and his brother Arnulph; the latter went to Ireland, where he remained. Twenty years afterwards he obtained his promised bride, but did not long enjoy her society for he died the following day.* As was but natural Gerald de Windsor shared in the misfortunes of his master; he lost his



PEMBROKE CASTLE FROM THE N.E.

command at Pembroke, and a knight named Saher was made castellan in his place. The traitor Iorworth did not receive the wages of his treason, as so far from gaining any territory the king threw him into prison, where he had an opportunity of reflecting on the folly of putting his trust in princes. Saher did not long enjoy the appointment of castellan at Pembroke, his dismissal came about in the following manner. Old Rhys ap Tewdwr left two children—a son Grufudd and a daughter Nesta; the latter was the most beautiful woman in Wales. King Henry had made her acquaintance, and the result of this intimacy was the birth of a son, afterwards known as Fitz Henry. Although the *liaison* appears to have been of a

* For an account of this episode see Freeman's *William Rufus*.

temporary nature, the king seems to have retained a kindly feeling for his paramour, so when she announced her engagement to marry Gerald, the late castellan of Pembroke, her influence with Henry was still strong enough not only to obtain his recall from banishment, but his reinstatement in the old command. Gerald also obtained Carew as a dower with his wife. Whether this was given by Henry or her brother Grufudd is unknown. According to the *Brut* Gerald removed Pembroke Castle at this time* to a place called Little Cenarch. But we have seen a castle was already standing of sufficient dimensions to contain the Church of St. Nicholas within its walls. Surely that must have been the fortress which still broods over Pembroke town, and Little Cenarch but another name for Caerau (the camps). One of these camps may still be traced on the opposite side of the creek; Cenarch Vychan was, perhaps, the name of the other, on the site of which Gerald built his Castle of Caerau, or Carew.

It was but natural that Gerald should as a married man wish to have a house of his own in which his children might be born and from which they might take their names. Pembroke was only his official residence, from whence he was liable to be turned out, as he but too well knew. Pembroke Castle has through many ages been modified to meet the requirements of the day, but the outline was bound to remain the same; indeed if we take up our stand on the shores of the creek to the north of Pembroke and look up across the water, the scene that meets our eye can have been but very little altered since Gerald's day. We see before us what is apparently a magnificent water-gate. This is in reality the Woogan cavern, the entrance being closed in with masonry 8ft. thick, and the live rock above it cased for the sake of uniformity. Mr. Cobb points out in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 55, p. 198, that

> The lower part of the face wall of the cavern, and the ruined wall dividing the two wards being of a very peculiar open jointed herring-bone work, may be Roman, and must (he thinks) be taken as pre-Norman.

In this face wall the openings are the round-headed 10ft. wide doorway to the Woogan, near which are two loops; above and near the roof of the cave is another door, also round-headed, which Mr. Clark† says was connected with an interior platform, and used to take in stores when times were too perilous to open the lower door. A window opened in 1881 by Mr. Cobb, which had previously been built up flush, has lancet lights, which however appear to be later insertions let into a Norman frame. To the west, in a sort of buttress half cut out of the live rock, half built with masonry, is the staircase, which leads from the Woogan (in which there was formerly a well)‡ to the great hall above; this it enters through a round-topped doorway. In the hall are two windows looking north, two lights in each with a foliated circle over, these are of course later than Gerald's time. Mr. Clark deems that the hall was the work of the Mareschals, 1189–1245.

But in the Norman castle there must have been some building on the top of the well staircase, and of this early building we probably still have the outside northern wall. Above the hall we catch a glimpse of the great donjon. This, the crown and glory of Pembroke, was wanting in Gerald's day. What Gerald built at Carew we do not know, and the castle he afterwards erected at Manorbier has been been very nearly, if not altogether, improved away. Probably at the end of the 11th century Pembroke was the only stone-built fortress in Pembrokeshire. The other castles at Haverfordwest, Narberth, &c., being only earthen

* It has been thought by some that certain faint remains of earthworks, about 200 yards to the south of Monkton Church, are the site of the first castle of Pembroke. It seems to me that these must have been thrown up as a battery during the siege of Pembroke under Cromwell in 1648.

† *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 130.

‡ Why does not Mr. Cobb re-open the well, as he did with such interesting results at Manorbier?

mounds defended by a palisade. There is a good specimen of this sort of fortress at St. Clears. The family name of Windsor clung to the county for three centuries, and is still to be found on the map as a place name: there is a Windsor farm near Pembroke, and another in Lamphey parish two miles off. The Normans have not left much mark on the personal nomenclature of Pembrokeshire; we find Oriel now exclusively confined to the peasantry, though as Fenton suggests it is probable that Orielton takes its name from one of the earlier Norman settlers, seeing that in the time of Henry II. this property was held by a family of Wyrriots. The grand old family of Perrot springs from Sir Stephen Perrot, a Norman "advena," who is supposed to have founded Narberth Castle. The history of this family is intimately connected with that of the county, but the name is now only found among the lower classes and is very frequently degraded into Parrot.* The Bonville family founded Bonville's Court; the name is now only to be found among the bourgeoisie. The Malefants, former owners of Upton Castle, seem now to be extinct in Pembrokeshire, though not many years ago the name was to be found among the peasantry.† Roch alone of these Norman surnames is still borne by members of the landowning class. The reason of this scarcity of Norman names is not far to seek. Most of the first settlers came here bearing a Christian name and a territorial appellation, as Martin de Turribus; Arnulph de Montgomery; Gerald de Windsor; and so on. The children of these men born in Pembrokeshire assumed the names of the places in which they were born, and we find such titles as Richard de Huscard (Asgard); Robert de Hwlfordd (Kymric corruption of Havard's fjord); William de Karrio (Caerau); Alexander de Rudepac (Rudbaxton, or the ton by the rhyd bach); Robert de Vale (Dalr); Elidur de Stackpole (Stakr pollr); and so on. Some very few place names are Norman. We find Orielton, Stackpole Elidur, Morville, Egremont, Granston. Clarbeston (pronounced Clareston); Clarborough; Clarydale, after the Clare family. These with Roch seem to exhaust the list. But from the habit of the Norman race we should not expect them to hand down their names either to descendants by blood, or to the lands on which they dwelt. Their relics must be sought rather in the discipline they imposed on the people and the military and the ecclesiastical ‡ buildings with which they strengthened and adorned the land.

* See *Perrot Notes*, by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell.

† See Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*.

‡ A chapter must be devoted to the consideration of Pembrokeshire churches.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FLEMISH IMMIGRATION.

Encroachment of the Sea in Flanders, 1107—Quotations from Authors noticing the Immigration of Flemings into West Wales—Hollingshead—Caradoc of Llancavan—William of Malmesbury—Doubts thrown on this Immigration—No trace of Flemish Language in West Wales—Noticed by John Trevis, 1387, and George Owen, 1603—Low Dutch and English very similar in the 12th century—Cadwgan ap Blethyn holds an Eisteddfod in Cardiganshire (1108)—His son Owen steals Nesta, Gerald de Windsor's wife—Henry drives Cadwgan and Owain into exile—They return, and Owain kills a Flemish Bishop—The King sends Gilbert de Clare into West Wales, and creates him Earl of Pembroke—He renovates Kilgerran Castle and builds that of Haverfordwest—Story of the Robber and the Earl's son—Griffri, Bishop of St. David's, dies 1112—Henry nominates a Norman, Bernard—Nesta, Gerald de Windsor's wife—Her brother, Gruffudd ap Rhys, asserts his claims—Henry bribes Gruffudd ap Kynan, Prince of North Wales, to kill Gruffudd ap Rhys—He escapes and raises his standard—A second batch of Flemings imported—Gerald de Windsor slays Owain, Cadwgan's son, though he is fighting for the English—Henry leads an army against Grufudd with no result—1121, a peace concluded—Robert Courthose dies 1134—War breaks out again—Henry dies—Stephen summons Grufudd, who allies himself with Grufudd ap Kynan—Gwenllian, Gruffudd's wife, killed at Kidwelly—Grufudd victorious through West Wales—Richard de Clare killed—His widow besieged in Caerwedros—Grufudd defeats Stephen of Cardigan and Robert Fitz Martin of Cemaes at Cardigan Bridge, where the Foreign Colony is almost exterminated—The division of Rhos with Haverford Castle retaken by the Welsh—Grufudd dies, the wisest and best of the Welsh Princes—Most of the Flemish remnant left the country—Their doings in England—Gilbert de Clare created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen—Cadell wounded by Flemings while hunting—His brothers Maredudd and Rhys destroy Tenby as a reprisal—Improvements in Agriculture—Pestilence in 1147—The Bishop dies—Henry II. ascends the throne—Collects all the Flemings he can lay hands on and despatches them to Pembrokeshire—Gerald de Barri's account of the Flemings—Traditions of them still extant—Flemish chimneys—Flemish soothsayers—Flemish names—the long-handled shovel Flemish—Rubenesque women.

ABOUT the year 1107, owing either to a slight depression of the earth's surface, or a tidal wave, some portion of the Flemish seaboard was overwhelmed. Flanders was then, as now, a thickly populated country, and the survivors of the disaster, deprived of home and land, determined to emigrate. England was at this period of the world's history an Eldorado for adventurers; it had been noised through Europe that every ne'er-do-weel who trailed a pike after William the Bastard was rewarded with honours and broad acres; so to this happy land the Flemings passed over. Here they found a considerable number of their countrymen already established, through the favour of the Conqueror's queen, Matilda of Flanders. According to Hollingshed:

> At the first they were appointed to the country lieing east of the Tweed, but within four years after they were removed into a corner by the sea-side in Wales called Pembrokeshire, to the end that they might be a defense against the unquiet Welsh.

Caradoc of Llancarvan, who was a contemporaneous writer, states:

> In the year 1108 the rage of the sea did overflow and drowne a great part of the lowe countrie of Flanders in such sort that the inhabitants were driven to seek themselves other dwelling places, who came to King Henrie and desired him to give them some void place to remain in, who being verie liberall of that which was not his owne, gave them the land of Ros in Dyvet, or West Wales, where Pembroke, Tenby and Haverford are now built, and where they remaine to this daie, as may well be perceived by their speach and condition farre differing from the rest of the countrie.*

William of Malmesbury, also a contemporary, writes that

* *The History of Cambria written in the Brytish Language*, by Caradoc of Llancarvan, translated by H. Lloyd, and re-edited by Powel.

King Henry removed all the Flemings in England into Wales. England contained so many of these Flemings, who had come over in his father's time from national relationship to his mother, that the country was overburthened with them. Wherefore with the two-fold intent of clearing the land, and repressing the brutal audacity of the foe, he settled them with all their property and goods in Ros, a Welsh province.

Doubts have been thrown out as to the reality of this Flemish immigration, but nothing in history seems much better accredited than the introduction of Flemings into West Wales in the 12th century. It has been objected that we find no remains of their language in Pembrokeshire or the adjoining district of Gower. We find John Trevis* in his description of Britain (1387) writes:

Both the Flemynges that woneth in the west side of Wales. Nabbeth y left here strange speech, and speketh Saxon lych y now.

George Owen in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, c. iii. (1604), says:

As for the Flemings there is no show of any remnant of them left, for if any of their progenie be remayning, yet is the memorial thereof with their language quite forgotten.

As they were a minority, and (if tradition is to be trusted) did not hold a high social position, this is scarcely to be wondered at, more especially when we call to mind that in the 12th century Flemish did not differ much more from English than does the *patois* of Lancashire from that of Somerset in the 19th.† The foreign men-at-arms found plenty of employment ready to their hand. They could not have been fairly settled in their new homes before a desperate quarrel broke out between Gerald and his Welsh neighbours.

During the Christmas holidays of 1108 Cadwgan ap Blethyn, Prince of Powys, held an eisteddfod in Cardigan. To this entertainment every man of position throughout Wales was invited. Bards sang their songs, the mead passed round, the revelry was fast and furious; then one of these wandering minstrels told of Nesta, the fairest of the fair, old Rhys's daughter, royal Grufudd's sister; told how she had enslaved the English king, and now was wife to the robber chief Gerald of Windsor, he who had seized on the Kymro's land and had perched like a foul bird on Penvro Crag. Fired by this song Owain, Blethyn's son, determined to wrest the Kymric Helen from her foreign lord. When the feast was over Owain collected a number of his friends together and sallied forth to Pembrokeshire. Claiming kinship with Nesta, he was well received by her husband Gerald, and left the castle lust mad. That night he returned with a considerable following, and having in some way obtained an entrance, laid siege to the room in which Nesta and her husband lay. The latter finding resistance hopeless was persuaded by his wife to escape through a garderobe, she herself letting him down with a rope and thus saving his life. Meanwhile the ruffian Owain burst in the door, seized Nesta, her two boys, and two other children (the illegitimate offspring of her husband), fired the castle, and carried off his prisoners into Powys.‡

Cadwgan either from right feeling, or from fear of the English, seems to have done all in his power to persuade his reprobate son to restore Nesta to her husband, and so far succeeded

* John Trevis, erroneously called John of Trevisa, was born in Cornwall, entered Exeter College, Oxford, became fellow of Queen's, vicar of Berkeley, chaplain to the fourth Lord Berkeley, and canon of Westbury.

† I am reminded by a friend that the Pembrokeshire words dysel (a thistle), and hagglestone (a hailstone), indubitably represent the German *distel* and *hagel*; and Drusselton, as already shown on page 71, may take its name from German *drossel* (a thrush).

‡ It has generally been supposed that this rascally deed was perpetrated in Pembroke Castle, but it seems strange that a band of Welshmen should have beeu able to gain admittance at dead of night into the principal English fortress of West Wales. Is it not more probable that Gerald and his wife lay in the new castle of Carew? According to the *Annales Cambriæ* the castle was burnt in 1106.

that the four children were returned.* At last King Henry intervened, and held the father responsible for his son's crimes. Cadwgan went into exile and Owain fled to Ireland, leaving Nesta to find her way home as best she might. Cadwgan had not much difficulty in proving his innocence to the king, but he had scarcely obtained pardon before Owain turned up again, determined to seek forgiveness from Henry in person. Unfortunately on his road to Court he came across a Flemish bishop (doubtless one of the immigrants) whom he incontinently murdered. After this adventure it was of course useless for Owain to pursue his journey. Henry's wrath was at last thoroughly aroused, and feeling that Gerald was too weak to cope with this sacrilegious adulterer, the king looked round for a stronger man. His choice fell on Gilbert or Gislebert de Clare,† a Norman nobleman who took his cognomen from a village in Suffolk. Gilbert's great grandfather was the illegitimate son of Richard Duke of Normandy; his grandmother is said to have been Arlotta, the Conqueror's mother. His father Richard had already made an inroad into Cardigan, and met his death while returning from that expedition. From his father, Gilbert had inherited Striguil in Gwent, from which place he is often, though irregularly, called Earl of Striguil.

Gilbert de Clare‡ invaded Cardigan by sea, and conquered the land between Ystwith and Teivi. He built the castles of Aberystwith and Cardigan, and renovated Kilgerran, which had been built by Robert de Belesme some twenty-two years before. But without doubt the most important act of Gilbert de Clare during his short term of rule in Pembrokeshire was the erection of Haverfordwest Castle. It stands on a rocky knoll commanding the river and the lower town, was surrounded by an embattled wall entered by four gates, three of which were perfect in Fenton's time.‖ They were situated in Bridge Street, Shut Street, and St. Martin's; the fourth, which had been previously demolished, was in Market Street. Gilbert de Clare appointed Richard Fitz Tancred§ governor of the new castle, and if Giraldus Cambrensis is to be credited, entrusted him with the care of his children; for Giraldus states¶ that a son of the Earl of Clare, together with a son and grandson of the Governor of Haverfordwest, sent thither for education, were in the habit of visiting a brigand who was confined in that castle. The prisoner used to make arrows for the boys. One day in the absence of the gaoler the boys begged that the prisoner might be brought out of his dungeon and taken to the room they occupied. Seeing his chance the man bolted the door, seized an axe, and vowed he would kill the children unless indemnity and security were assured him in the most ample manner. One rather wonders if faith was kept with this vagabond. Gilbert, who had been created Earl of Pembroke, died of consumption in 1115,** and was succeeded by his second son Gilbert, afterwards known as Strongbow.††

Griffri, Bishop of St. David's, died in 1112. He had succeeded his brother Rhyddmarch, and these two bishops were the sons of their predecessor Sulien, a pretty clear proof that celibacy of the clergy was not a dogma of the Kymric Church. Griffri, or as he was called by Normans and Saxons Wilfred, or Geoffrey, had purchased peace from Gerald de Windsor by

* *Welsh Chronicle*, p. 146.

† Perhaps it was when he sent Gilbert de Clare into West Wales that Henry I. granted a charter to the town of Pembroke, for we find that Henry II., in his charter to that borough, "confirms to my Burgesses of Pembroke all their liberties, communities, and free customs, as freely and fully as they have had them in the time of King Henry, my grandfather." The original charters of the borough of Pembroke are unfortunately missing; but W. Hulm, Esq., the Town Clerk, possesses a copy, which he kindly lent to the writer February 2, 1879.

‡ For an account of Gilbert and his family see Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 10.

‖ Fenton's *Tour in Pembrokeshire*, p. 204.

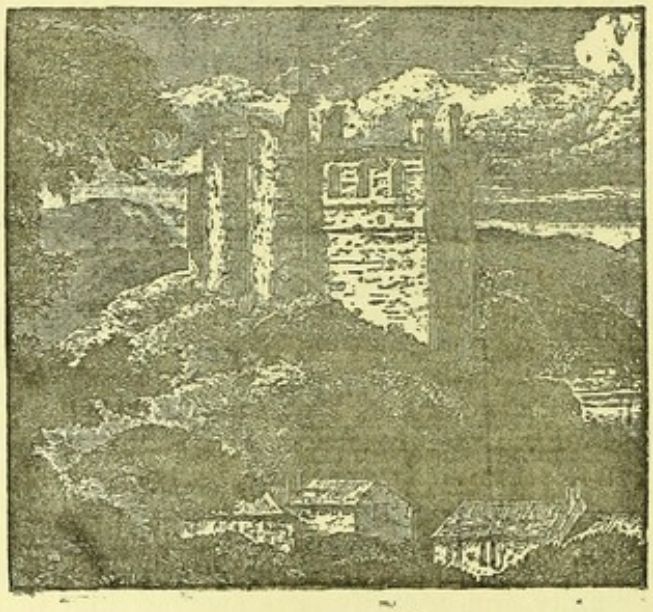
§ Perhaps Tankerson, in Hay's Castle parish, takes its name from this man.

¶ *Itinerary through Wales*, c. xi.

** *Powel*, p. 151.

†† Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 13.

yielding up Llanrian in Dewisland, Cenarth Mawr in Emlyn, Lawrenny and Ucceton. Messrs. Jones and Freeman think this may have been the offence for which he was suspended by Anselm of Canterbury. At Griffri's death the clergy elected a third son of old Bishop Sulien's, one Daniel. The office of metropolitan of the Kymric Church seemed likely to become hereditary. But King Henry stepped in. He nominated a layman to the see, one Bernard, a honorary chancellor to the queen; "he was ordained on a Saturday and consecrated bishop the next day."* The Welsh were naturally indignant, for not only was their new bishop a foreign layman, ignorant alike of their language and their customs, but it was evident that by his appointment the last shadow of independence was swept away from the Kymric Church. Wales henceforth was under the rule of the Roman pontiff.† Whether this grievance was the cause we cannot tell, but just about that time a strong reactionary movement set in through South Wales, which was fostered by Nesta, Gerald's wife.



J. Smith delt S. Atkins fecit.

HAVERFORDWEST CASTLE (FROM AN OLD UNDATED PRINT).

This remarkable character, who is almost the only Welsh woman who has inscribed her name on the pages of history, deserves more notice than she has received. We first find her the royal daughter of a ruined house; by her beauty she won the love of Henry Beauclerc, and one‡ if not more children are the result of their *liaison*. It is stated in the *Brut y Tywysogion* that the celebrated Robert of Gloucester was Nesta's son, but there is no evidence to prove this assertion. Robert was born at Caen; and his mother, according to Mr. Freeman, was most likely a French woman. In thinking of this amour we should not look at Nesta from the standpoint of the 19th century. In earlier days a concubine did not lose her position, and if Henry's father has been stamped to all time as the Bastard it was rather because his mother Arlotta was the tanner's daughter, than because she was not Robert le Diable's wife. When Nesta's connection with Henry ceased we find she marries Gerald, and raising him from disgrace makes him the foremost man in West Wales. Then comes the romantic episode of her capture by Owain. Afterwards she raises her brother Grufudd, and eventually marries Stephen the Castellan of Cardigan. But perhaps it was as the foundress of families she is most worthy of notice. From Nesta descend the Fitz Geralds, the Carews and Careys of Ireland, Devon, and Somerset. Her children and grand-children, as we shall see, conquered Ireland, thus bestowing a doubtful blessing on the English people. Nesta's brother Grufudd had been an exile in Ireland ever since his father's (Rhys) death. About the time of Bernard's election to the bishopric of St. David's he returned to Wales, and his sister seems to have persuaded her husband to aid him in the endeavour to recover his principality. Grufudd ap Rhys came first to Pembroke and from thence went to the court of father-in-law Grufudd ap Kynan, Prince of

* Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 270.

† It seems not unlikely that Owain's victim, the unfortunate Flemish prelate, had been slain lest he should aspire to authority in Wales.

‡ Called Fitz Henry.

North Wales. King Henry took alarm and forthwith invited the northern Grufudd to visit him in London. The English king gave the Welsh chieftain plate and jewels, and many promises, and then pointing out how inconvenient both to North Wales and to England the restoration of a southern principality would prove, begged his guest to nip the movement in the bud. Grufudd ap Kynan was beguiled, and promised on his return that he would send his son-in-law either dead or alive to the king.

Fortunately for the southern prince, Grufudd ap Kynan got very drunk on Henry's strong wines, and while in this maudlin condition boasted of what the king was to do for him, and he for the king. A relative of Gerald's heard the Welshman's talk, and despatched a special messenger to Pembroke with the news. Gerald in his turn sent off by express to his brother-in-law Grufudd ap Rhys bidding him take sanctuary, and this he forthwith proceeded to do. Grufudd ap Kynan found him and his brother Hywel in Aberdaron church. The northern prince demanded that the priests should give up the fugitives, which they refused to do, and while the dispute was going on a ship from Pembroke arrived and carried off Grufudd ap Rhys and his brother, landing them safely in Cardigan. Then Grufudd raised the standard of revolt, nor did he sheath his sword until the power of the Norman intruder was broken. Grufudd's first operations were directed against Clare's territory in Cardigan and that of the Lord Marcher of Cemaes. He then attempted to take Swansea Castle; but failing in this endeavour, burnt the suburbs, and retired through Gowerland. His next movement was against Carmarthen, which he utterly destroyed. This expedition brought much plunder and many recruits. Pestilence and murrain were so scourging man and beast in England, that Henry found it impossible to raise an adequate force for service in Wales. Playing therefore on the jealousy natural to the Kymric character, he persuaded several of the chieftains to take arms against Grufudd ap Rhys. But these traitors to their fatherland made little way, so the king of England imported a second batch of Flemings from the same district as the last, for the sea continued to encroach where the sand-hills had been washed away eight years before. These foreigners King Henry

> Sent to his castellans and officers, and the Frenchmen and Welsh who were well affected to him, with a command to receive the Flemings and give them means of subsistence, under condition that they should take arms when required by the king and those faithful to him. And so it was. And those strangers had Rhos and Penfro in Dyved, and settled there as loyal men to the king. And he placed English among them to teach them the English language, and they are now English, and the plague of Dyved and South Wales on account of their deceit and lies, in which they exceeded any settlers in any part of the Island of Britain.*

This new introduction of foreigners seems to have roused the native Welsh to frenzy. The Cardigan district rose in Grufudd's favour, and in Carmarthenshire he wrested the strong castle of Kidwelly from William de Londres. Henry was still prevented from sending English troops, so he offered forgiveness and countenance to any Welshmen who would serve against Grufudd. Among the other scoundrels who responded to this appeal was Owain, Cadwgan's son, the captor of Nesta. After he was outlawed for the murder of the Flemish bishop, he turned robber, then went to Normandy, and in 1112 made his peace with Henry and returned with him to Wales. Since that time he seemed to have betaken himself to his old trade of bandit; at all events he now appeared as an adherent of the English, and took the field against Grufudd. When Gerald de Windsor heard that his bitter enemy and the abductor of his wife was fighting for Henry against Nesta's brother, he threw all scruples to the winds, and sallied

* *Brut y Tywysogion.* Year 1113.

forth at the head of his men to seek for the adulterer.* We can easily imagine what were the arguments Nesta used to goad her husband into this act of treason. We do not know exactly where the injured husband met his foe, but it was somewhere in the county of Cardigan. At the first onset an arrow struck Owain and cut short his evil life. In Welsh history he is held up as a typical ruffian, and there can be no doubt that his notoriety was well earned. Still others who appears to us equally culpable are passed over without comment. Perhaps the fact that the Mawddy band of robbers, of whom Owain was the founder, preyed upon Welshmen, accounts for his unpopularity in the Principality.

We hear no more of Gerald de Windsor after this exploit. Whether he threw in his fortunes with Grufudd; or more likely, having satisfied his vengeance, returned to his allegiance, we do not know; nor is it told us how he died, or where he was buried. His widow married Stephen, the Castellan of Cardigan, and his children wrote their names in large character on the pages of history. A family bearing his name held a good position in Pembrokeshire so late as Richard II., when "Sir William de Windsor appears by an inquisition to hold the lordship of Manorbeer, and the castle (?) and manor of Penally."—(Inquisition p.m. iii. 69.)†

While Gerald was avenging his private quarrels, Grufudd was subjugating the county of Cardigan. He was however repulsed before Aberystwith with loss. Robert, Henry's illegitimate son, came against him with a strong force from Glamorgan, but the Welsh portion deserted to the enemy. Then King Henry fearing a repetition of the Belesme troubles, when Norman and Welshman formed a coalition against the Crown, came to West Wales in person, but apparently with no result. A desultory warfare was carried on between the Welsh patriot prince and the English king until the year 1121, when a peace was patched up between them, the terms of which appear not to have been unfavourable to Grufudd. He had certain territories handed over to him (part of Cardigan among others), and acknowledged Henry as suzerain. But Grufudd was not satisfied with this arrangement, and when Robert Courthose died at Cardiff, in 1134, the Welsh again became aggressive. On King Henry's death in the following year, the country was ripe for war.

Stephen had no sooner settled himself on the throne than he summoned Grufudd to answer complaints made against him by the Norman and Flemish settlers. Instead of repairing to the English Court the prince retired into North Wales, and undeterred by former treachery, sought assistance from his father-in-law Grufudd ap Kynan. Meanwhile Gwenllian, wife of the southern prince and daughter of the northern one, cut the Gordian knot. She raised a considerable force, and accompanied by her two sons, Morgan and Maelgwyn, laid siege to Kidwelly Castle, the stronghold of Maurice of London. The Welshmen were defeated with great loss, Morgan ap Grufudd slain in fight, Gwenllian and Maelgwyn taken prisoners and beheaded in a field close to the castle which is still known as Maes Gwenllian. Florence of Worcester states that the dead of both sides, 516 in number, were left on the field until the wolves collected and devoured them. The execution of Gwenllian bound her father's Notherners and her husband's Southerners in a common league of vengeance. The allies invaded Cardigan and northern Pembroke and were everywhere successful, the Norman and Flemish settlers flying before them. These fugitives were met by the Welshmen of Glamorgan in Neath Valley, where 3000 were massacred, the remnant running for their lives to the castles in Gower. Among the victims of this uprising was Richard, eldest son of Gilbert de Clare the conqueror of Cardigan. His widow, the daughter of Ranulph Earl of Chester, a young lady

* It seems not improbable that there had been some sort of understanding between the brothers-in-law, for we find that although Cardigan, Carmarthen, Gowerland and Cemaes were raided in turn, Grufudd spared South Pembrokeshire.

† Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 8.

celebrated for her beauty, was besieged by a ruthless mob of savage Welshmen in her castle of Caerwedros (the bloody fort), near Llandissilio Gogo (a moated tump still marks the site). The Welsh like wolves were howling round the little castle, threatening the poor countess and her ladies with the horrors that awaited them. Gwenllian's fate was the least of the evils they expected. But in their hour of need unexpected succour arrived. Milo Fitz Walter with a devoted band of horsemen had ridden day and night, like Arthurian knights, to rescue these damsels in distress. The heroes cut their way through overwhelming numbers and bore off the ladies in safety.

Grufudd and his allies were now opposed by the entire body of Normans and Flemings settled in West Wales, under the command of Stephen the Castellan of Cardigan (who had married Nesta, Gerald de Windsor's widow), with his step-sons and Robert Fitz Martin, son of the conqueror of Cemaes. A great battle was fought at Cardigan in October, 1136. The Welsh were completely victorious. According to Florence of Worcester (vol. iii. p. 97), the slaughter was so great that besides the male prisoners there were 10,000 widows captured, whose husbands had either been slain in battle, burnt in the town, or drowned in the Teivi. Apparently the whole foreign population had collected at Cardigan for safety. The bridge indeed had been broken down, but the river was so choked with the carcasses of men and horses that folks passed over dry footed. The Norman power in South Wales was for the time utterly broken, and the English king had perforce to leave the Welsh to their own devices. Then Grufudd retook the district of Rhos, in which was the town of Haverfordwest. He spared Pembroke, either from consideration to the children of his sister Nesta, or because he considered the castle impregnable. Grufudd, at the conclusion of this glorious war, as a visible sign of triumph, gave an entertainment in Ystrad Towy that lasted forty days, and to which he invited every Kymro who would come in peace. Grufudd ap Kynan and his sons honoured the southern prince with their presence, and all the beauty and chivalry of Wales flocked to Carmarthen.

> Every dainty meat and drink, every disputation in wisdom, and every amusement of vocal and instrumental music was provided. He welcomed bards and minstrels, and maintained all games of phantasy and illusion.†

After the feast was over Grufudd ap Rhys and Grufudd ap Kynan took counsel together and established a new system of jurisdiction through Wales, creating a court in every cantrev or hundred, and a sub-court in every commot. The foreigners who had settled in Wales of course viewed these Kymric sessions with abhorrence, and forthwith appealed to King Stephen, who was however too much occupied with his own affairs even to vouchsafe a reply.

The following year Grufudd died, in the flower of his age and reputation, slain (according to Florence of Worcester, vol. ii. p. 98) by the treachery of his wife. This must either have been a second wife or a concubine, for as we have seen Gwenllian pre-deceased him. By the latter he had six sons: Morgan and Maelgwyn, (who died with their mother); and Anerawd, Cadell, Maredudd, and Rhys. Grufudd was succeeded by his surviving sons. The four brothers appear to have jointly ruled their father's kingdom, and strange to say agreed among themselves, moved thereto perhaps by the memory of the heroic Grufudd

† *Brut y Tywysogion.*—Mr. Stephens, quoting the above (*Literature of the Kymry*, p. 79,) says:—"I have as yet seen no attempt to explain what is meant by these words; but that others may not be compelled to stumble in the dark as I have done, an attempt will be here made to throw a ray of light upon the subject. It seems to me that these exhibitions were similar to the plays known as masks and mysteries, or the still earlier miracle plays among other nations; and this opinion is confirmed by the facts, that in the writings of the bards we find frequent mention of "miragl" in connexions which forbid our supposing they refer to the miracles of Scripture."

who stands out a grand example of a Welsh prince. Bound up in fatherland and forgetful of self, he fought the foreigner and drove him out, but we hear of no jealousy or domestic treachery; no tearing out of eyes or mutilation of relatives, horrors which in those days were too common in Wales. Caradoc of Llancarvan, in chronicling the death of Grufudd ap Rhys, says "he was the bravest, wisest, most merciful, liberal, and just of all the princes." Nor does this praise appear one wit excessive. Grufudd excelled as a warrior and a politician, but he was above all a patriot. He attached his people to him, and taught them that their duty was to stand shoulder to shoulder and drive out the foreigner, while they in return believed and trusted implicitly in his bravery and wisdom. According to Giraldus the very fowls of the air were loyal to Grufudd. He relates a legend to this effect. Grufudd ap Rhys, Milo of Hereford (he who rescued the Lady Clare), and Payne Fitz John were riding together by the lake of Brecheinoc, when Milo, by way of drawing Grufudd, said jocularly:—

"It is an ancient saying in Wales that if the natural prince of this country, coming to this lake, shall order the birds to sing, they will immediately obey him." To which Grufudd, richer in mind than gold, answered: "Do you therefore who now hold the dominion of this land first give the command." Milo and Payne having in vain commanded, Grufudd dismounted from his horse, and falling on his knees towards the east, as if he had been about to engage in battle, prostrate on the ground with eyes and hands uplifted to heaven, poured forth devout prayers to the Lord. At length rising up and signing his face and forehead with the figure of the cross, thus spake aloud:— "Almighty God and Lord Jesus Christ, who knowest all things, declare here this day Thy power. If Thou hast caused me to descend lineally from the natural princes of Wales, I command these birds in Thy name to declare it." And immediately the birds, beating the water with their wings, began to cry aloud and proclaim him. The king on hearing this singular occurrence is said to have replied: "By the death of Christ" (an oath he was accustomed to use) "it is not a matter of so much wonder; for although by our great authority we commit acts of violence and wrong against these people, yet they are known to be the rightful inheritors of this land."

Such were the tales told of Grufudd by succeeding generations. The cause for which he fought so gallantly was a hopeless one, but what man could do for the independence of Wales was done by Rhys's heroic son, perhaps the greatest and best of the Kymric race.

During the remainder of Stephen's reign the English were too busy fighting their own battles to interfere much with Wales, but the Kymry instead of attending to Welsh affairs and completing the expulsion of the foreigners, shed their blood some for Stephen and some for Maud, while the Normans on their part gradually recovered lost ground in South Wales. A very considerable portion of the Flemings who escaped from the slaughter at Cardigan in 1136 seem to have joined other recruits who came over from the Netherlands and engaged themselves as mercenaries in the civil war, fighting sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and occasionally for themselves. We read in the *Acts of King Stephen*, book i., of one "Robert Fitz Herbert, a man of Flemish extraction, who, as is said of the judge in the Gospel, feared neither God or man." This scoundrel, while professedly fighting under Robert Earl of Gloucester for Maud, seized the castle of Devizes, and drawing about him a band of his own people, got possession of the country round; then boldly asserting that he had taken the castle for his own benefit and not for the purpose of giving it up to either party, defied them both. By treachery such as this the Flemings made themselves as odious to the English as they already were to the Welsh.

In the year 1138 Gilbert de Clare (son of the first earl and brother of Richard, who had been slain in the war with Grufudd) rebuilt Carmarthen, and having been created earl by King Stephen, was nominally lord of Pembroke and Carmarthenshire. He was a strong partisan of the king. Nesta's children both by Gerald and her second husband (Stephen of Cardigan) were members of the same faction. But Robert of Gloucester was the right hand of his half-sister, the Empress Maud. When the Welsh had settled down peacefully after the battle of Cardigan these various leaders persuaded them to join the factions. In 1142 Anerawd,

Grufudd's son, was murdered in North Wales. In 1145 Cadell and Rhys retook Carmarthen, Dynevor, and Llanstephan from the Norman, English, and Flemish retainers of the Earl of Pembroke. A great number of foreigners were killed, but they rallied and besieged the two brothers in the last-named fortress. Maredudd ap Grufudd came to the rescue, relieved his brothers, and again repulsed the Normans with heavy loss. In 1150 Cadell was hunting in the great forest of Coedrath, which lay between Saundersfoot and Pendine, when he was set on by certain Flemings from the neighbouring town of Tenby,* who grievously wounded him. His brothers Maredudd and Rhys quickly avenged the wrong by taking Tenby and putting its defenders to death. William, the son of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta, was governor.† Cadell was so injured that he went abroad, and does not appear again in Welsh history. Maredudd seems to have died about this time, for henceforth we only hear of Rhys.

Even in the gloomy murderous days of Stephen civilization did not stand still. In Wales it appears to have taken a step forward, for we find that Robert Earl of Gloucester, just before his death, brought over from France artisans of various sorts to teach the Welsh their crafts. "Before that every man in Wales was his own workman, except in the privileged guilds of smiths, architects, and scholars."‡ As we find no remains of metal work or buildings, and but slight remnants of the scholars' lore, even these must have enjoyed something approaching a sinecure.

A pestilence broke out in Pembrokeshire in the year 1147, and Bernard, the foreign Bishop of St. David's, was one of the victims. He was succeeded by David, a son of Gerald and Nesta. This selection appears to have satisfied all parties.

When Henry Plantagenet succeeded his cousin Stephen in 1155, one of his first acts was collect all the Flemish *condottieri* he could lay his hands on and send them into West Wales, where he deemed they would be out of the way, surrounded as they would be by the Welsh and the sea. Henry had no great love for the Flemings, or the district he banished them to. Rhys ap Grufudd, the native prince, was his avowed enemy. De Clare, Earl of Pembroke, and Gerald's descendants, had been opposed to him. Perhaps he would not have greatly grieved had the three parties—Welsh, Norman-Welsh, and Flemings—exterminated each other.

Before concluding this chapter it will be well to consider what these Flemings were like, and what relics they have left behind them in Pembrokeshire. Giraldus de Barri, called Cambrensis, was a boy at the time of this last immigration, having been born in 1146 at Manorbier Castle. He knew them well. From his *Itinerary Through Wales* we find he considered the Flemings were brave and doughty, hating and hated by the Welsh, well versed in commerce, clever manufacturers of woollen goods; adventurers, ever on the look out for the main chance, and willing in the pursuit of it to undergo fatigue and danger by land or sea; in a word, excellent colonists.

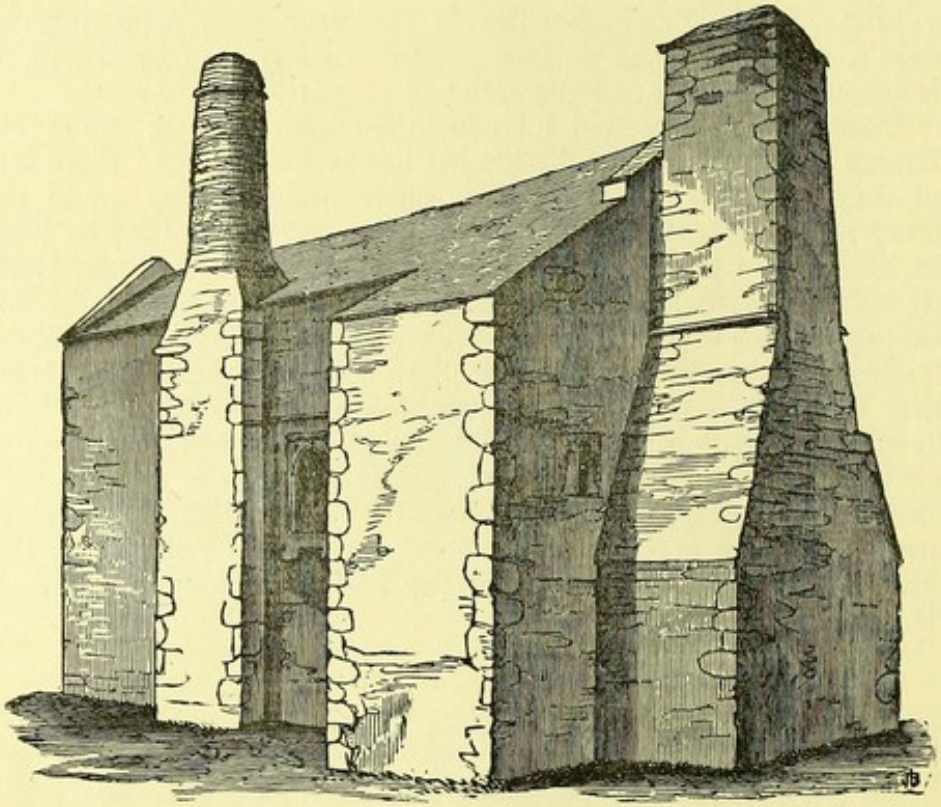
* This is the earliest direct mention we find of Tenby town in history. From the coin and ware they left behind there can be little doubt that the Romans had a station in this place, but the name by which they called it is utterly forgotten. Whether it was christened Dynbych y Pyscoed by Kymry, or Daneby by Scandinavians, will continue to be a matter of opinion. We have seen that Mr. Stephens thought the poem called "Mic Dinbych" refers to this town, and was written about 1088; but at last we have a clear statement that in the year 1150 Tenby was a town held by Flemish soldiery.

† This is the account given in *Annales Cambriæ*. In *Brut y Tywysogion* the story varies somewhat. Under the year 1150 it is stated: "While Cadell ap Grufudd was hunting in Dyved some of the English of Gower set an ambush to kill him; and having set upon him and put his companions to flight, they assaulted him: but he being a brave and powerful man, maintained his post and killed some of his foes, and put the rest to flight. But he received a severe wound of which he languished a long time. And when his brothers Meredudd and Rhys saw that, they entered Gower with their forces and demanded the ambuscaders; and on not obtaining them, they attacked the country and devastated it, and rendered the castle of Aber Llychwr a heap of ruins, burnt the castle of Llan Khedran, and took great spoil with them to the castle of Dinevwr, and strengthened that castle and put a faithful garrison in it." Under the year 1151 it is added that "they (Meredudd and Rhys ap Grufudd) took the castle of Tinbych by surprise, and slew the garrison; for those who had lain in ambush to kill their brother Cadell had flown to that town."

‡ *Brut y Tywysogion.*

We really know nothing more of this people. From traditions which have lingered in the land it seems as if the Flemings had peculiarly affected the neighbourhood of Tenby. At Pembroke and Haverfordwest among the lower order, recollection of immigration seems nearly to have died out, but at Tenby all classes claim the Flemings for their forbears. Perhaps we may assume that Flemish masons first fortified Tenby. In the middle of the 12th century Haverfordwest and Pembroke were both fortresses. As we have seen, in 1150 the Welsh had no difficulty in carrying Tenby Castle, but when they repeated the attempt thirty-eight years later a regular siege seems to have been required. Most likely the Castle Hill and St. Catharine's Island were crowned with gaers, and huts were dotted about on the cliffs, for as we have seen there must have been a town of some sort here as early as Roman times. That the Flemings had two woollen factories, one on the Castle Hill, another in Chimney Park, is a tradition implicitly believed by the Tenby folk. St. Catharine, who has given her name to the little island, was the patroness of the weavers (she claimed this office as being a wheel bearer), and to the eye of these workmen the waves as they rolled in ceaseless spume over a reef in Tenby bay resembled freshly carded wood, so they called the rocks the Wool-house.*

The so-called Flemish chimneys are greatly cherished by Tenby men. These massive erections, some angular, some round, standing on a round or square base, are found



OLD HOUSE IN BRIDGE STREET, TENBY, WITH SO-CALLED FLEMISH CHIMNEYS.

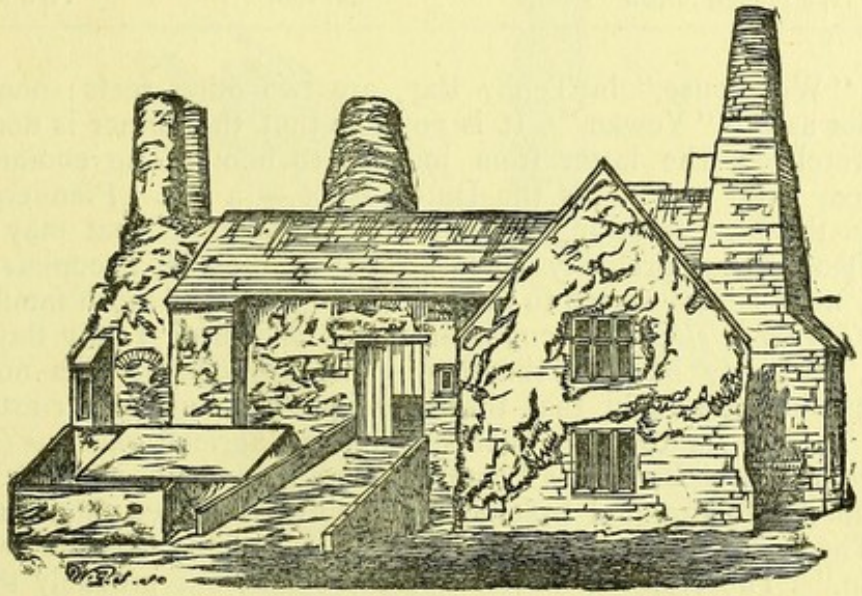
attached to old buildings of all sorts, ranging from the labourer's cottage to the baronial hall and the episcopal palace, but so far no structure of which these chimneys form part has been proved to be of earlier date than the 14th century. Again, nothing resembling them exists in the low countries. The late Mr. Norris, author of *Etchings of Tenby* and other works, like the

* A rock immediately facing Skomer Island is called "The Tucker," the weaver; and the adjacent headland and bay, "Wooltuck Point," and "Wooltuck" or "Woollack Bay." Woolhouse (Wolhuis) *may* be Flemish; Tucker certainly is not.

good Tenby man he was, had no doubt as to the authenticity of the Flemish chimney. He points out that

> On the banks of Coniston Lake in Cumberland are situated the remains of Coniston Hall, a family mansion belonging to the Le Flemings. This house, and many of the neighbouring farm-houses and cottages, exactly resemble the most ancient buildings in Tenby and its vicinity. Conformity of style is chiefly remarkable in their chimneys, which are so substantially constructed as frequently to out-live every other part. The people by whom these edifices were erected originally came over to the assistance of William the Conqueror under their leader Sir Michael Le Fleming. They were sent some years afterwards to oppose the Scots, where for their good services they had a district allotted to them.*

It is very many years since the writer was at Coniston, and he has no recollection of "the neighbouring farm-houses and cottages," but his impression regarding Coniston Hall is that it appeared to be a late Tudor building, and this rather dim reminiscence is confirmed by the accompanying wood-cut, drawn by the Rev. W. Osborn Allen, and kindly lent by the British Archæological Association. The reader has now all the pros and cons of the "Flemish chimney" dispute before him and must draw his own deductions.† The writer's conclusion is



CONISTON HALL, CUMBERLAND.

that this theory was hatched not very long ago by some local antiquarian, who noticed that all old houses (in this neighbourhood) had gigantic chimneys, and also recollected that Flemings were old inhabitants of the land, hence he argued that Flemings must have built the old chimneys.‡

* *Etchings of Tenby*, p. 12.

† Mr. Romilly Allen tells me he has frequently observed the so-called Flemish chimneys in the purely Welsh districts of Wales, especially in the neighbourhood of Llandeilo.

‡ George Owen (1601) elaborately describes the architecture of Pembrokeshire, and constantly refers to the Flemings, but does not mention their chimneys. This deficiency is not supplied by his commentator, John Lewis, of Manarnawan, nor does Fenton in his *Historical Tour* (1811) say a word about them. The late Mr. Norris I rather expect evolved the Flemish chimney out of his own inner consciousness.

In addition to "dystel," a thistle, and "hagelstone," a hailstone (referred to on page 108), we may, I think, attribute the following Pembrokeshire words with more or less certainty to a Flemish origin :—

PEMBROKESHIRE.	ENGLISH.	DUTCH.	ENGLISH.
*Coglin ..	small stone with which children play a game called "dandies" in Pembrokeshire; "dibs" elsewhere ..	kogelkin {archaic / diminutive}	a little ball
To clap ..	to tell tales ..	klappen ..	to gossip
Drang ..	a narrow alley ..	drang ..	a crowd
Knappan ..	old Pembrokeshire game, a combination of polo and hockey. Hockey is still called nabban ..	knappen ..	to crack, to snap, to catch
Scud ..	a boon companion ..	schudde ..	a scamp, a shark
Vang ..	to save water from wasting ..	vang ..	to catch
Velge ..	a fallow ..	vaal ..	fallow
Voor ..	a plough furrow ..	voor ..	a furrow

Not far from the "Woolhouse," in Tenby Bay, are two other reefs; one is known as the "Spaniel," the other as the "Yowan." It is possible that the former is derived from *spanzel* (that which is stretched), the latter from jouwen, to hoot. The common Pembrokeshire surname Noot† most likely represents the Dutch Noot = a nut. Prendergast, too, may be Flemish, and mean the gast or stranger from Prender, wherever that may be.‡ Flemington (and perhaps Flimstone) were probably called after their Flemish occupiers. The great cave of Hoyle's Mouth, near Tenby, seems to take its name from a Flemish family.—(See page 5).

The bivalve *(Lutraria elliptica)*, common on the shores of Tenby Bay, is locally known as the "Fleming," possibly because the immigrants appreciated this not very toothsome delicacy. There can be little doubt that these foreigners brought other arts besides weaving into the county. They seem to have been eminent as agriculturalists. The long handled heart-shaped shovel, *par excellence* the Pembrokeshire implement, is so far as I know only to be seen in this county, Belgium, and Ireland. It doubtless reached the latter country through Pembrokeshire. Then again a common stone drain for carrying off surface water is still known as a "French drain." The Norman master got the credit, but probably the Flemish farmer introduced the improvement.

Giraldus says that the Flemings of his day were notable soothsayers, drawing their auguries from the scapula of a sheep from which the flesh had been removed by boiling. He gives some instances of their vaticinations, which do not speak very highly either for their

* Mr. Purnell, *Cambrian Journal*, 1859, p. 304, gives this word "*crogling*," deriving it from the Welsh "*crogen*," a shell; but there is no doubt that the form *coglin* is in use.

† This seems to be the same name which Giraldus renders Not in c. xxv. *Conquest of Ireland*, where he states that William "Not" greatly distinguished himself when Fitz Stephen was besieged in Carrig Fort. "Not" approximates to the old English form—

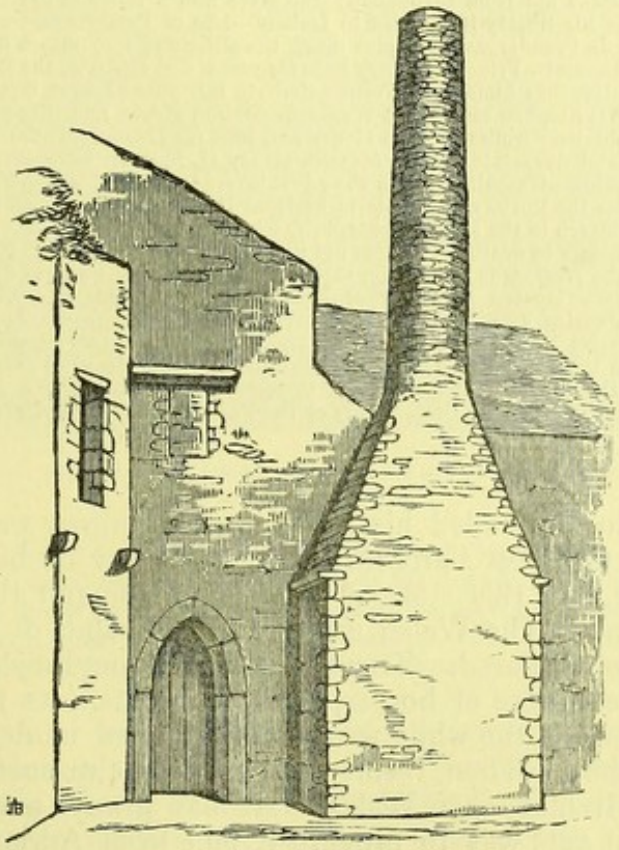
"Note muge to put in ale,
Whether it be moist or stale."

—Chaucer's *Rime of Sire Thopas*, v. 13693.

‡ The name of Prendergast appears amongst the officers of William the Conqueror's army on the roll of Battle Abbey. Probably the Prendergasts were Flemings, for the name in composition and character resembles certain names which are found in the preface to the Salic Law. According to M. Guizot, the preface is supposed to be 6th century, and was written in mixed Latin and German. Those who compiled the Salic Law are Wisagast, Arigast, Salegast, Windegast.—(Guizot's *Cours d' Histoire Moderne*, vol. i., p. 279.)

morals or manners.* In these stories he mentions "Mangunel" as a Flemish name. It is now extinct in Pembrokeshire.

Perhaps the most permanent mark left by the Flemings in West Wales is to be found in the physique of the people. Go into any fair or market in South Pembrokeshire, and it will be strange if you do not observe certain fair haired, light eyed women, considerably inclined to *enbonpoint*. If young, many of them have a complexion of strawberries and cream, and might have come direct from Antwerp, or for the matter of that stepped out of a picture drawn by Peter Paul Rubens. Such to my fancy are the prettiest relics left by the Flemish immigrants for our delectation.



CHIMNEY IN MONKTON HALL, PEMBROKE.

* It seems very doubtful if the Flemings did introduce this method of divination, for so thoroughly Gaelic is it that the Scotch Highlanders have a word to express the idea, "sleinanachd" = to read the speal.—(Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii., p. 339.) The Irish seem formerly to have prophecied in the same fashion.—(Gough's *Camden*, 1789, vol. iii., p. 659.) Of course it is possible that the superstition may have been introduced into Ireland from Pembroke. It is, however, clear that the notion was prevalent over a large area, for we find from "The Scholemaster of St. Alban's Chronicle," in Caxton's *Description of England* (1500): "In the boon of a wether's right sholder, when the fleshe is soden away and not rosted, they knowe what have be done, is done, and shall be done.

CHAPTER X.

CONQUEST OF IRELAND BY THE DESCENDANTS OF NESTA.

The Lord Rhys and Henry II. make peace, which is broken by the Earl of Pembroke—Henry arrives in Pembroke—Rhys submits and again revolts—He takes Fitz Stephen prisoner—Dermot, King of Leinster, exiled—Seeks aid from Henry and gets a permit to recruit—Dermot goes to Bristol, seeks aid from Strongbow, who gives him a letter to the Fitz Geralds—Dermot proceeds to St. David's—Rhys offers Fitz Stephen his liberty if he goes to Ireland—List of Pembrokeshire leaders who join him—They land at Banne and are joined by Maurice de Prendergast—Dermot meets the allies and they march on Wexford—The town yields—March into Ossory—Brutal behaviour of Dermot—Prince of Ossory begs for peace, and Roderic, the Lord Paramount, proclaims war against the adventurers—Fitz Stephen entrenches himself at Ferns—Roderic intrigues—Secret treaty with Dermot, which is afterwards broken—The march on Dublin—Fitz Stephen remains at Wexford—Dublin yields, and Fitz Stephen takes Limerick—Dermot again applies to Strongbow—The Earl obtains permission from Henry and sails for Ireland—Takes Waterford, marries Eva, and marches on Dublin—They storm the town and devastate County Meath—Henry II. bids the adventurers return, and forbids his subjects to aid them—Raymond sent to the King—Hasculf besieges the adventurers in Dublin, where he is taken prisoner and put to death—Gudrod, Olaf's son, then blockades the town, while Roderic besieges it by land—Fitz Stephen also besieged in Carrig—The Pembroke men drive off Roderic and march to the rescue of Stephen, who is deceived and yields at discretion—The Irish notify to the Earl that they will put their prisoners to death if he does not halt—Strongbow returns to England to meet the King—Henry sails from Angle, is well received by the Irish, who bring him their prisoners—Henry forgives Fitz Stephen and proceeds to Dublin—Returns to St. David's—Strongbow created Governor of Ireland—Raymond marries Strongbow's sister, and is nominated Commander-in-Chief—William, Maurice Fitz Gerald's son, marries Alyne, Strongbow's daughter—Maurice Fitz Gerald receives Offaly—Hervey Montmaurice marries Nesta, Maurice's daughter—Meyler Fitz Henry created a Lord of the March—Strongbow dies and is buried in Dublin—He is succeeded by William Fitz Aldhelm, who does not favour the Pembrokeshire men—Hugo de Lacy succeeds him—A grant of the kingdom of Cork made to Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan—Hervey Montmaurice turns Monk—Pembrokeshire names in Ireland—Descendants of the Pembrokeshire adventurers become Irish—Pedigree of Nesta's descendants.

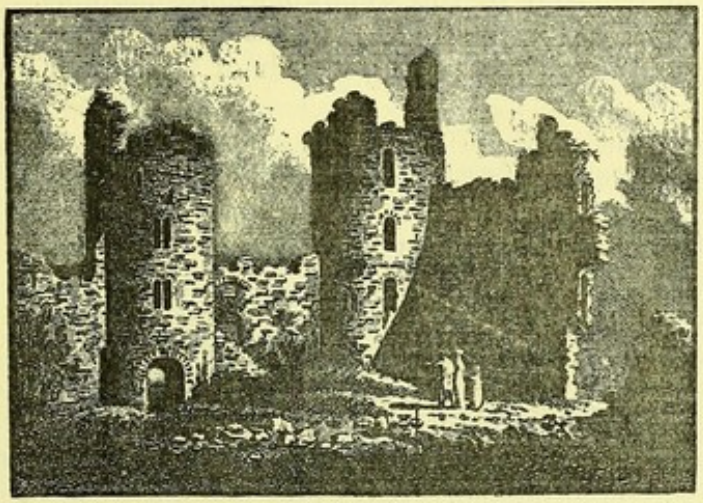
THE Lord Rhys, as the English called him, carried on desultory war with Henry Plantagenet, which was marked by the grossest barbarities and treachery on both sides.* In 1157 Rhys and the king made peace, but this state of things did not suit the Earl of Pembroke, who forthwith raided Rhys's land. The Welsh under the leadership of Einion, Anerawd's son and Rhys's nephew, promptly retaliated. They captured Humphrey's Castle, near Llandyssil, slew the garrison, took great store of horses, arms, and catapults for throwing stones against fortified places. Rhys himself the while was busily engaged in destroying the foreigners and their castles in Cardiganshire. Then Henry appeared on the scene; but it seems probable that his object was rather Ireland than Wales. He had always aimed at the conquest of the island, and one of his first acts was to procure a bull from Adrian Brakespear, the English Pope, granting him the sovereignty. If then Ireland was his goal, either he considered the time unfitting, or his preparations were incomplete, for the king did not cross St. George's Channel. The royal "corrody" was conveyed to Pembroke "in one ship," for the hire of which Roger, the constable, received the moderate *solatium* of £4.† Powell says that a new batch of Flemings were introduced at the time of the royal visit. In 1162 Rhys sought the king, who was on the Welsh border, and ostentatiously did him homage; then straightway going home laid waste the Norman lands in North Pembrokeshire and Cardigan. Einion, his nephew, who was a hostage, was either murdered or put to death by

* *Brut y Tywysogion*

† "Pipe Roll, 108."—Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 11.

the Earl of Gloucester. The following year King Henry arrived to call the Welsh prince to account.* According to Kymric story he was defeated, and in revenge slew Kynrig and Meredudd, Rhys's two sons, also two children of the Prince of North Wales whom he held as hostages. The tale goes on to say that Henry with his own hand blinded three hundred prisoners of war. For the sake of poor humanity we must trust that this improbable story is a lie. At any rate the English king gained no good from his expedition, for Rhys pressed the Normans hard. He seized Kilgerran Castle, and took Robert Fitz Stephen prisoner. This was a most important capture, and it roused all the Geraldines of Pembroke to attempt the rescue of their kinsman, for Robert was Nesta's son by the Castellan of Cardigan; but the attempt was of no avail, Rhys held his prisoner (who was also his first-cousin, Nesta being his father's sister) and drove the foreigners back to Pembroke. †

In the year 1169, Dermot McCarty More, King of Leinster, having succeeded in making himself odious to his subjects, and obnoxious to the neighbouring potentates, filled up the cup of his iniquities by carrying off Devorghil, wife of Tiernan O'Ruarc, Lord of Meath, and was in consequence expelled from Ireland. Dermot sought Henry, who was then in Poictevin, and asked him for assistance. The king, who received the Irish chieftain kindly, evinced no disposition to meddle personally in Irish affairs, but eventually gave him a document to the following effect:



INTERIOR OF KILGERRAN CASTLE, FROM A DRAWING BY SIR S. MEYRICK.

Henry, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all his liegemen, English, Normans, Welsh, and Scots, and to all other nations subject to his dominion, sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our letters shall come unto you, know ye that we have received Dermitius, Prince of Leinster, into our favour and grace. Wherefore, whosoever within the bounds of our territories shall be willing to give him aid, as our vassal and liegeman, in recovering his territories, let him be assured of our favour and license on that behalf.‡

Armed with this instrument the Irish Pretender returned to England, and took up his quarters at Bristol, doubtless considering that city to be a convenient station for the double purpose of intriguing in Ireland and negotiating an alliance with the English barons.

Bristolians were well used to seeing Irishmen in their streets, for a trade in English slaves had been carried on between the South of Ireland and their port time out of mind; but there can be no doubt that they crowded to gaze on this barbarian king as he passed, mounted on a bare-backed unbridled charger, battle-axe in hand, clad in a flowing plaid trews and brogues, his long hair covered with a hood a cubit long, making their narrow streets resound with his raucous voice, which it was said had lost its tone through screaming his war cry in unnumbered fights.‖ Dermot lived like a king, spending his substance freely. He caused the royal letter to be read frequently in the public places, but for some time with no effect, for

* *Brut y Tywysogion.*

† Giraldus Cambrensis's *Conquest of Ireland* is the authority quoted for the adventures of the Pembrokeshire chieftains in that island.

‡ Giraldus Cambrensis's *Conquest of Ireland*, c. i.

‖ Giraldus Cambrensis's *Conquest of Ireland*, c. vi.

though the Bristolians seem to have been willing enough to drink his usquebaugh, no one appeared disposed to take up his cause. At length Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke and Lord of Striguil, nicknamed Strongbow, had a conference with him. The earl was influential but very poor, for having espoused Stephen's side in the civil wars, had lost his patrimony and was in ill odour at Court. Dermot was desperate, and Pembroke needy, so the latter drove a hard bargain for his proffered aid. The terms were, that if the kingdom of Leinster was recovered by the assistance of Strongbow, then the latter was to receive in marriage Eva, Dermot's daughter, and the reversion of the kingdom. Dermot longed for instant action, but the earl proposed an expedition the following year, arguing reasonably enough, that a filibustering raid of this nature would require organization. To pacify the fiery Irishman Strongbow gave him letters of introduction to the Fitz Geralds of Pembroke; with these credentials he sought West Wales and was hospitably received by the Pembrokeshire captains. Dermot seems to have especially affected St. David's, partly through a friendship he contracted with David Fitz Gerald the bishop, partly because from the high lands of Carn Llidi he had

> The no small consolation of sometimes feasting his eyes with the sight of his own land, though the distance was such that it was difficult to distinguish between mountains and clouds.*

It may have been at St. David's that he met Rhys ap Grufudd. Now Lord Rhys, the Welsh prince, was under peculiar obligations to the Kings of Leinster, for it was by their aid that his father Grufudd, and his grandfather Rhys, had been restored to their patrimony. An idea struck him that it would be possible to repay this debt and at the same time rid himself of numerous and powerful enemies. As already stated, Rhys had taken his Norman first-cousin, Robert Fitz Stephen, prisoner at Kilgerran, and still held him in bonds. Fitz Stephen had been offered his freedom if he would throw in his fortunes with his mother's folks, but this was declined on principle. Rhys now made a fresh proposition, that he should raise a band from among his Norman relatives and the Anglicized Welsh, lead them over to Ireland and replace Dermot on his throne. Fitz Stephen eagerly accepted freedom on these terms.

Among the youths who were qualifying themselves for the priesthood at St. David's was one Gerald de Barri, nephew of the bishop. His grandfather seems to have been one of the conquering band who followed Fitz Hamon into Glamorgan, and having married Angharad, daughter of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta, received Manorbier for her portion. In this castle Gerald de Barri was born. According to some accounts, Gerald de Barri was son of Gerald, a son of Gerald de Windsor.† He was at the time of the invasion about sixteen years old, and subsequently became a literary man; was employed by Henry II. in diplomatic negotiations with the Welsh, appointed chaplain and preceptor to Prince John, and with the latter visited Ireland in the quality of secretary. It is to his writings we look chiefly for information as to the doings of this period, and as a cadet of the conquering family he had exceptionally good opportunities for obtaining it. Gerald de Barri, or Cambrensis as he is usually called, tells us that Robert Fitz Stephen mustered thirty gentlemen-at-arms, mostly of them his own kindred; these were mounted and armed *cap-à-pie;* "sixty men in half armour; and about three hundred archers and foot soldiers, the flower of the youth of Wales." Among the gentlemen claiming descent from Nesta, who followed Robert Fitz Stephen, we find his son Ralph; Henry, Robert, and Meyler Fitz Henry (three grand-children of King Henry I. and Nesta); Griffith, son of William Fitz Gerald, the eldest son of Gerald de

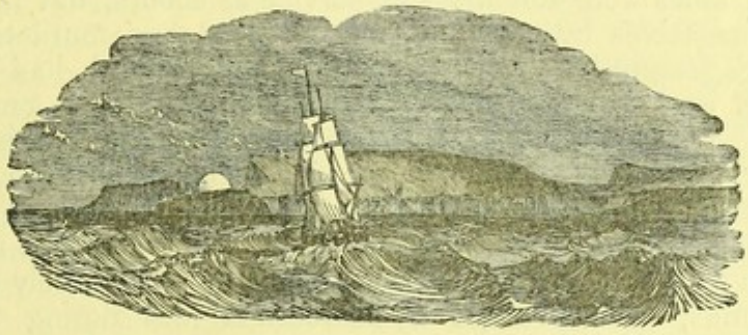
* *Conquest of Ireland*, c. ii.

† See Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 8.

Windsor and Nesta; and David Welch, his sister's son. Robert and Philip de Barri, sons of Angharad, and brother of Gerald Cambrensis; Robert de Barri the younger, Philip's son; Milo, and Richard de Cogan,* sons of another daughter of Nesta. From this stock sprang the Geraldines of Ireland; the Carews and Careys were another stem from the same root, but emigrated later on. Such was the leader and such the men who sailed from Pembrokeshire in April, 1170, to lay the foundation of the English dominion in Ireland. What the Welsh thought of this expedition may be seen from a prophecy attributed to Merlin, and probably written at this period. It is translated by the late Mr. Stephens as follows:

> Hear O little pig! it was necessary to pray,
> For fear of five chieftains from Normandy;
> And the fifth going across the salt sea,
> To conquer Ireland of gentle towns;
> There to create war and confusion,
> And a fighting of son against father—the country knows it:
> (They will) also be going to the Lloegrians of falling cities,
> And they will never go back to Normandy.†

Whether they embarked from St. David's, or the Haven, we do not know; but their three ships arrived at a place called Banne on the 1st of May, and on the following day Maurice de Prendergast joined them, having sailed from Milford with ten gentlemen-at-arms and a considerable number of archers. The identification of Banne is not very easy. Some Irish archæologists consider Bannow to be the Banne of Giraldus, but tradition declares a small headland called Baganbun,‡ on the Wexford coast, to be the spot on which the invaders landed and in corroboration point out a cleft in the rocks which still bears the name of "Fitz Stephen's stride."‖



BAGANBUN POINT, COUNTY WEXFORD.

Dermot had returned to Ireland the preceding August, but seems to have been obliged to take sanctuary at Ferns. To him Fitz Stephen sent word of his arrival, and the foreigners were joined by five hundred Irish sympathisers of Dermot's, under the command of his natural son Duvenald. The headland of Baganbun runs nearly north and south, while a spur about two hundred yards long stretches towards the east, forming a natural breakwater, which is rendered more secure by a cluster of rocks outside. From hence to Carnsore Point there is a long stretch of sand. On the summit of the cliff is a hollow which has the appearance of a foundation of some building, and on the promontory are earthworks, perhaps raised by Fitz Stephen, but probably dug out by some earlier race. The combined forces then marched towards the neighbouring town of Wexford, which (like other seaports on the eastern coast) was held by men of Scandinavian origin. The inhabitants to the number of two thousand men, advancing to meet the invaders, were disconcerted by the appearance of the heavy

* Perhaps from Cogan in Glamorganshire.

† *Literature of the Kymry*, p. 252.

‡ Holinshed in his *Chronicles* states that there were certain monuments erected to commemorate the invasion "and were named the Banna and the Boenne, which were the names (as common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the English arrived."

‖ Wright's *History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 71.

cavalry, and having burnt their own suburbs retired within their walls to await the event. The Pembrokeshire force then assaulted the town. Fitz Stephen having chosen his storming party from among the gentlemen-at-arms, was beaten off with loss, the Wexfordians throwing great stones and other missiles on them from the walls. Young Robert de Barri was one of the first men wounded. Fitz Stephen thus baffled, burnt the shipping in the harbour, and retired for the night. On the morrow he was agreeably surprised to find that the citizens were prepared to submit and give hostages as proof of their good faith, the clergy, who all through the transaction appear to have favoured Dermot, having persuaded them. The Irish king well pleased with his success, granted the town of Wexford and its environs to Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice de Prendergast, while he rewarded Hervey de Montmaurice (Earl Strongbow's uncle) with lands lying between Wexford and Waterford. The invading army then turned their faces northward, and their real difficulties commenced, for quaking bog and mountain jungle were more dangerous enemies to the heavy cavalry than the degenerate descendants of the vikings, or the half-naked Irish; so long as these latter stuck close to the rough land they were safe, but if flushed by their apparent success they ventured into the open country, the Pembroke men caught and massacred them without mercy.

Fitz Stephen had been reinforced by a considerable number of Wexfordians, who either were partisans of Dermot, or else followed what they considered the stronger party in hopes of plunder. These Irish allies were doubtless of service as scouts, but in battle seem chiefly to have distinguished themselves by murdering the wounded and mutilating the dead. On one occasion, after an engagement in which two hundred of the Irish had been slain, their heads were cut off and laid at Dermot's feet. "He turned them over one by one, in order to recognize them, thrice lifting his hands to heaven in the excess of his joy, and with a loud voice returned thanks to God Most High."* But the pious king discovering the gory head of one whom he more especially hated, seizing the blood-stained trophy by the ears, worried it like a dog, tearing off nose and lips with his teeth. Such was the man Fitz Stephen was assisting to regain his throne, and such were the allies he had to rely on. Disgusted by the conduct of their friends, and harassed by barbarous foes during the day, superstitious panics were added to their troubles during the night. Spectral warriors rattled their arms around the invader's camp, and these doughty warriors, who had no fear of the living, fled in terror from the dead. There were, however, some exceptions, for whether the enemy to be encountered was man or goblin, Meyler Fitz Henry and Robert de Barri were always to the front. At length the Prince of Ossory finding his province desolated, and his people slain, sued for peace, which was readily granted. But about the same time Roderic O'Connor, Prince of Connaught and Lord Paramount of Ireland, proclaimed war against Dermot and his foreign allies. Fitz Stephen retreated on Ferns, and entrenched himself behind felled trees and laced underwood. He then threw up earthworks and dug pitfalls round his camp. Into this strong position he withdrew his troops and awaited the advent of the Irish king. But Roderic hesitated to attack. He first appealed to Fitz Stephen, and offered him great rewards if he would retire from Ireland, a land in which he had no interest, and cease to aid that despicable scoundrel Dermot M'Carty More. This offer did not at all meet the views of the Pembrokeshire filibusters. Roderic having failed with the foreigner applied to Dermot himself, and offered to re-establish him peacefully on his throne, provided that he would join his Irish brethren in exterminating these mail-clad Welshmen. Dermot also declined his offer, thinking perhaps that his life would not be worth much if the Pembrokeshire men left him to the mercy of his enraged subjects. Roderic had no stomach for the encounter with these iron-coated strangers, who still lay in their strong nest near Ferns, so he made yet another offer to Dermot

* *Conquest of Ireland*, c. iv.

in the following terms: Dermot to be installed king of Leinster and acknowledge Roderic as his liege lord, sending his illegitimate son into Connaught as a hostage. If the terms of the agreement were duly kept, then this young man should receive Roderic's daughter in marriage. In the said terms was embodied a secret clause, viz., that no more foreign mercenaries should be imported and that those already in Ireland should be sent away as soon as possible.

This pact was no sooner made than it was broken, for Maurice Fitz Gerald (Nesta's second son by Gerald de Windsor) immediately afterwards landed at Wexford with ten gentlemen-at-arms and their retainers, and some hundred archers and foot soldiers, whom he had brought from Pembroke in two ships. Dermot was delighted, and forthwith planned an expedition against Dublin, notwithstanding his treaty with Roderic. Fitz Stephen was engaged in superintending the construction of a fort on Carrig Rock near Wexford, so the traitor Dermot led the army, Maurice Fitz Gerald and the other Pembrokeshire gentlemen serving under him. They laid waste the country round Dublin with fire and sword, and in a short time the city capitulated. Fortune favoured the invaders, for at this critical period discord broke out among the Irish chieftains, and O'Donnel the Prince of Limerick, joined the foreigners through hatred of his liege lord Roderic. Meanwhile Fitz Stephen easily drove the Connaught men out of Limerick.

With this continuous run of success Dermot's ambition grew larger. Since his Pembrokeshire allies had already obtained for him so much, why should they not conquer the whole island and make him Lord Paramount in lieu of Roderic? The traitor proposed to Robert Fitz Stephen and Maurice Fitz Gerald that fresh bands of adventurers should be enlisted and in order to spur them on to new exertions, offered his inevitable heiress and the succession to either of them. Unfortunately for the fair Eva and her rascally father, both of these good men were already provided with wives, and what perhaps was a matter of even more importance to Dermot, they had already strained their fortunes to the uttermost and were unable to procure any more men for his service. Under these circumstances they advised the Irish king to apply once more to Richard de Clare, Earl of Striguil and Pembroke. This Dermot did and according to Giraldus Cambrensis, in the most grandiose style. The earl, however, hesitated, though he was somewhat tempted by Fitz Stephen's success. He went so far as to crave permission of the king to seek his fortune beyond the seas, if indeed it was impossible that he could be reinstated in those broad lands which he had forfeited to the Crown. Henry treated this application as an idle begging petition, and sent him word that he was at liberty to do as he pleased. On receiving this contemptuous message, Earl Richard sent a young esquire from his own household to Ireland, with a force of ten gentlemen-at-arms, their retainers, and seventy archers. The new commander was one Raymond.* This fresh batch of adventurers landed at Dundonolph, a rocky headland between Wexford and Waterford, where they threw up a fortification, and were joined by Hervey Montmaurice, the earl's bastard uncle. The citizens of Waterford took the initiative and attacked. The Irish force numbered three thousand men, and the filibusters were driven back into camp, but bravely rallying, they in their turn became the assailants. The Norsemen and Irish were checked, then the check became a panic, and they fled a helpless mob before the Pembrokeshire troopers, who pursued and massacred them until five hundred men lay dead on the field; the little band then returned to their camp, bringing with them seventy persons, chief men of the city.

* From other sources we find he was the second son of William Fitz Gerald (eldest son of Gerald de Windsor and Nesta), and was nick-named "Le Gros."

Raymond* proposed that their friends should be permitted to ransom these prisoners of war, as was the custom of the day; but Hervey called for their lives. Said he: "We are so few in number that if these seventy men mutiny and we are simultaneously attacked from within and from without, not one soul of us will be left alive to enjoy the ransom you speak of." Hervey's advice carried the day, and the seventy prisoners of war, whose only sin was that of defending their fatherland from invasion, were barbarously murdered in cold blood, their limbs being broken, and their bodies cast over the iron-bound cliffs into the yawning tide beneath. First fruits of the bloody work which has been in progress from that day to this. Earl Richard having satisfied himself that the Irish would prove an easy prey, at length moved in earnest. He marched through South Wales, from Chepstow to St. David's, along the coast road by Cardiff, Cowbridge, Bridgend, Aberavon, Swansea, Llanelly, Carmarthen, and thence by the Pilgrim's Way to St. David's, picking up recruits as he went. When all was in readiness he proceeded to the Haven and embarked about two hundred gentlemen-at-arms and their retainers, with other troops, numbering in all not less than one thousand. He landed at Waterford on 23rd August, 1171, and found Raymond laying siege to the town. The latter had already been twice repulsed in his attempts to storm. Encouraged by the reinforcement, Raymond assaulted the town again, and this time with success. He had noticed a wooden redoubt, supported by a post, and sent men in armour to hew it down. This at length they managed to do, and the little watch tower fell, dragging with it a portion of wall; the assailants then mounted the breach and after a very bloody street fight captured the town and proceeded to massacre the inhabitants; fortunately for these, Dermot and Fitz Stephen arrived and persuaded the earl's men to spare the vanquished, though many victims had already been sacrificed. The names of the captives and the slain prove how thoroughly Scandinavian was the population of Waterford in the 12th century, for we find that the two Sygtres† were taken in Regnald's tower, while Regnald himself was saved by the interposition of Dermot and Fitz Stephen. Among the smoking blood-bespattered ruins, Dermot's daughter Eva was given in marriage to Earl Richard. No sooner was the wedding over, than leaving a garrison in the captured town, the army marched on Dublin, a town that was peculiarly odious to Dermot, for its citizens had slain his father and buried a dead dog with the corpse. All Ireland was at length roused to action, for the news spread that the foreigners were in full march on the capital. Bands of men hastened to its defence from all parts of the island, every ford and pass was guarded; but Dermot, who knew the country like a mountain fox, led his allies by by-paths through the highlands of Wexford and Wicklow in safety to the vale of Glendalough, from whence they marched to the city and prepared to beleaguer it. These doughty warriors had established such a scare by their bravery and cruelty that the Bishop of Dublin was sent out to Dermot and a truce agreed on until some terms for definite peace should be settled. This was not pleasing to the Pembrokeshire filibusters. Raymond le Gros and Milo de Cogan, lusting for blood and loot, treacherously assaulted the city at two points simultaneously, and after a desperate fight took the place, and slew many of its citizens. Hasculf the Scandinavian king with some of his followers managed to get to his vessels, in which they sailed off in safety to the islands. Milo de Cogan was left as governor, with a garrison to hold Dublin, while the Earl and Dermot devastated County Meath with the remainder of the army. Then Roderic, the Lord Paramount, sent a message to Dermot reproaching him with his breach of faith in bringing over more foreign mercenaries, and reminding him that he held his son as a hostage. To this Dermot

* *Conquest of Ireland*, c. xiv., xvi., xx. The Author's sympathies were clearly with Raymond.

† Giraldus calls them "Sytaraci."—*Conquest of Ireland*, book i. cap. xvi.

sent an insolent reply, to the effect that by-and-by he would take Connaught too. Roderic was so enraged that he forthwith put the hostage to death.

The Pembrokeshire filibusters now held the towns of Waterford, Wexford and Dublin, with the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, Wicklow, Dublin and Meath; had they been let alone in all probability the whole of Ireland would have been conquered by these adventurers and in time have been built up by them into an independent kingdom. But the wolfish pack were disturbed by the lion's roar. Henry Plantagenet, hearing that Earl Richard of Striguil and Pembroke was likely to be crowned King Richard of Ireland, became jealous and forbade any ship sailing from his dominions to carry supplies to the force in Ireland. He further directed all his subjects then in Ireland to quit that country before Easter, on pain of forfeiture and outlawry. This proclamation fell like a thunder-bolt on the filibusters. No more supplies; no more reinforcements; while the Norsemen and Irish, whom they had so cruelly oppressed, were encouraged to strike another blow, feeling that these adventurers were a mere band of bandits and not soldiers of the King of England. Earl Richard immediately despatched Raymond le Gros to seek the king in Aquitaine, with instructions to make full submission to him, and assure him in the earl's name that any conquests that had been made were held by the victors only as feudatories of the English Crown and to remind Henry that before the earl sailed for Ireland he had obtained the king's permission to carve out a heritance in that land. At this critical period the traitor Dermot died, so that in right of his wife Earl Richard de Clare was now Lord of Leinster.

Meanwhile Hasculf, the Scandinavian king of Dublin, had not been idle. He had collected a strong force of his kinsfolk from the islands off the Scotch coast and the Isle of Man, and returned to Dublin with sixty ships manned by vikings, some having long breast-plates, others shirts of mail, their shields being round, painted red and bound with iron, "iron-hearted as well as iron armed." So keen were their long axes, that Gerald de Barri declares in one instance a man's leg was lopped off at a single blow though cased in iron armour. One John le Woode, a Berserker, led them. These formidable foes drove Milo and his followers within the walls, and encamped before the eastern gate preparatory to laying regular siege to the town. The Pembrokeshire men were now in great straits. Within, there was a large and hostile population; without, an army of Scandinavian warriors as brave and cruel as themselves; while all Ireland was arming against them. At this juncture they were saved by the bravery and stragetic ability of Richard de Cogan, Milo's brother. With a forlorn hope he sallied from the postern gate on the eastern side of the city and falling on the besiegers' rear with wild shouts, threw the viking force into confusion. Profiting by this, Milo made a desperate *sortie*, and the Norsemen thus taken in front and rear were defeated with great slaughter. John the Berserker was slain and King Hasculf taken prisoner. Milo intended to reserve him for ransom, but he with undaunted courage called out to the citizens not to despond; "We are come now," he cried, "with a little band, but this is only the beginning, for if I live a much greater armament will follow." Milo perceiving the effect of this speech on the men of Dublin, ordered his gallant prisoner's head to be lopped off. But this cruel action was of no great avail, for notwithstanding the defeat of the Norsemen Henry's royal proclamation began to bear fruit. No more supplies or reinforcements were forthcoming from England or Wales, and the Pembroke men began to get very anxious as to the future. Then Roderic of Connaught took courage and sent an embassy to Gudrod Olafson, king of Man, and other island chieftains, begging them to assist in driving the aliens from Dublin, and avenging Hasculf's cruel death. Gudrod and the rest were ready enough to join, feeling that if Ireland was subdued by the English there would be little hope for their own petty kingdoms.

Very soon thirty long ships of war, crowded with warriors were lying in Dublin Bay. The whole available force of united Ireland was encamped on the land side. Then a new trouble

appeared. One of Dermot's illegitimate sons arrived from Kinsale with the news that the men of Kinsale and Wexford were besieging Robert Fitz Stephen in his fort at Carrig, and that unless he was relieved within three days he, his wife, children and followers would have to yield at discretion. Within the walls of Dublin the garrison was in sorry plight. Earl Richard had returned after the last siege had been raised, and with him were Maurice Fitz Gerald, Milo de Cogan, Maurice de Prendergast and other Pembrokeshire chieftains. To them came Raymond, who had returned from the Continent with the bad news that Henry was still implacable, so there was nothing to be done but to trust to their own right arms and attack the enemy before the provisions failed, for no succour or fresh supplies could be expected from beyond the seas, while nothing could be obtained by *sorties*, since they themselves had devastated the environs of the city. They determined on a surprise and left the town. Milo de Cogan led the centre, with him were thirty gentlemen-at-arms and their retainers; Maurice Fitz Gerald with forty more brought up the rear; the wings were composed of a few horsemen and citizens, while the earl's men remained to garrison the town and awe the citizens who were of course ripe for rebellion. Raymond, ever impetuous, rushed single-handed on the foe and had transfixed two men on his lance before his own men overtook him. Meyler, Gerald and Alexander Fitz Gerald, though they belonged to the rear guard, forced their way to the van. The enemy taken by surprise, and staggered by this furious charge, hesitated, turned and fled. The slaughter was prodigious, and was carried on through the live long day. The victors, glutted with blood, turned to plunder, and returned in the evening flushed with triumph and loaded with spoil. All their trouble was forgotten, and every man felt as though he could single-handed defeat a world in arms. Roderic escaped with difficulty, for he was surprised while bathing, his army melted like snow in summer, as is usual with undisciplined crowds after defeat; the Islesmen also seem to have sailed away.

On the morrow the earl in all haste led his army to rescue Robert Fitz Stephen, leaving behind only sufficient men to garrison the city. But they were too late. The Irish, unable to storm the little fort of Carrig resorted to treachery. Certain ecclesiastics the Bishops of Wexford and Kinsalé, asked for a parley with Robert, and informed him that the earl and his men had been annihilated, that Roderic and the Islesmen were marching on Carrig, and added that they were anxious to save Fitz Stephen's life. If he submitted he should be allowed to embark in his ships and sail back to Milford with all his men unhurt. It did not occur to Fitz Stephen that an ecclesiastic could lie; the thought of his wife and children in the hands of the justly exasperated Irish savages was unbearable. He yielded up the fort and found he had been tricked. Considering the times and the people, the citizens did not behave much amiss to their captives; some few were slain, others severely beaten, but this in all probability was done because they would not give up their arms, for we can fancy that these bold filibusters would not very readily yield to the men they had been driving before them like sheep. During the defence of Carrig fort they had fought like paladins. The citizens of Wexford, after Fitz Stephen's surrender, burnt their own city and retired to Holy Island, taking with them their prisoners chained. When Earl Richard arrived in the low lands near Wexford he was met by envoys who informed him that Robert Fitz Stephen and his men were prisoners, and that the Irish held them as hostages, for if he and his army advanced one step further, they had resolved to cut off the prisoners' heads and send them to him. Fitz Stephen was very popular both with the officers and men, it was felt impossible to peril his safety, so with a heavy heart the earl turned aside and passed on to Waterford, where he found his uncle Henry Montmaurice, who had just returned from England, and was the bearer of good news. King Henry invited the earl to come to England and explain the situation.

Strongbow lost no time, and taking ship at once met the king at Newnham, near Gloucester, where Henry lay with a large force he had collected preparatory to an invasion of

Ireland on his own account. The king at first professed great indignation that Earl Richard should have dared to wage war as an independent sovereign; he had been permitted to assist Dermot to recover his kingdom, but no permission had been given him as Dermot's heir to attempt the conquest of Ireland. At length, chiefly through the diplomatic address of Hervey Montmaurice, the king forgave the earl on condition that he renewed his oath of fealty and surrendered Dublin, its environs, all the towns on the seaboard and the fortresses, to the Crown, he and his heirs holding the remainder of the conquered land from the king as their feudal lord. The king then passed on to Pembroke, where he threatened the chief men with his direst displeasure for daring to aid the filibusters in Ireland. Probably Odo de Carew (progenitor of the Carews), Raymond's elder brother, came in for his share of the royal wrath. But if Henry was displeased with the men of Pembroke he was charmed with their hawks, for one day as the king was out hawking near the cliffs he chanced to see a peregrine falcon sitting, as they often do, on a crag. The king was carrying on his wrist a valuable Norwegian gerfalcon, which he forthwith flew at the wild bird. But the native hawk managed to rise above the gigantic foreigner, and swooping struck it dead at Henry's feet. Henceforth Pembrokeshire had the honour of supplying the royal mews with falcons. The king also paid his devotions at the shrine of St. David's. At length a great flotilla having assembled in Milford Haven, King Henry set sail with 500 gentlemen-at-arms and their retainers, and a large body of horsemen and archers. This took place on October 18, 1172, and about two years and a half after Robert Fitz Stephen had sailed from the same port on the same errand. Tradition says that the king sailed from Angle, on the southern side of the Haven's mouth, and landed at Hook near Waterford.

Since the earl had been away the little garrison in Dublin, which was commanded by Milo de Cogan, had been furiously assaulted by the Irish, but managed to beat them off. King Henry must have been somewhat astonished by the reception he met with. The native chieftains flocked to his camp, outvying each other in their anxiety to do him homage; they appealed to Cæsar to save them from the cruel Pembrokeshire warriors. The first to approach Henry were the men of Wexford bringing with them their prisoner Fitz Stephen, loaded with fetters, whom they handed over to the king, alleging that he was nothing better than a bandit, having made private war without the consent of his feudal lord. Henry agreed with them and soundly rated Fitz Stephen, chained him to another prisoner, and sent them both to a strong tower in Wexford. Then a number of chieftains craved an audience with the mighty English monarch, Dermot of Cork, O'Donnel of Limerick, another O'Donnel of Ossory, M'Laughlin of Ophelan, and others. King Henry at length sent for Robert Fitz Stephen, forgave him, and took him into his favour, giving back to him the lands he had conquered, with the exception of Wexford town and its environs, which had already been ceded to the crown by Earl Richard.

The king having placed his own garrison in Waterford, Cork and Limerick, proceeded to Dublin, many of the native chieftains meeting him on the way and doing obeisance. Roderic sent envoys, who met the king's representatives on the banks of the Shannon, between Meath and Connaught; they, in the name of the Lord Paramount, acknowledged Henry as the supreme Lord of Ireland, offered tribute, and bound themselves in Roderic's name by the most solemn oaths of fealty. With the sole exception of Ulster the whole of Ireland now acknowledged the King of England as its lord. Henry kept his Christmas at Dublin with great magnificence, entertaining such of the chieftains as visited him with extreme hospitality. The luxury of the English monarch caused vast astonishment among the simple folk, and among other matters which seemed strange to them was the sight of herons on the royal table, for these birds were in their eyes simply carrion. To gratify their host they tasted this new dish, and professed themselves satisfied with the experiment. In all probability they were still of

the opinion that though the noble bird afforded an excellent quarry for the trained hawks to fly at, he was sadly out of place on a dinner table. Having learned from experience the great power of the Church, Henry called a synod of the episcopal representatives of his new dominions at Cashel, and was formally acknowledged by them as their secular lord. In Easter week of 1173 the king set sail from Wexford and in a few hours landed at St. David's. He was probably vastly astonished by the reception accorded to him in Ireland, and had the astute Plantagenet been informed that after a period of English rule extending over more than 700 years Ireland would still remain a chaos of murderous rebellion, he would peradventure have somewhat disputed the diplomatic talent of the generations who were to come. Though King Henry came to Ireland vowing vengeance against the Pembrokeshire pirates, who had so wickedly made war on a friendly island, the inhabitants of that said island did not find matters much improved by his visit, for notwithstanding that the independent rule of Earl Richard de Clare and the Fitz Gerald family ceased, yet these same men were nominated as representatives of the King of England. Strongbow was created Governor of Ireland, and Raymond le Gros being recalled from Wales where he had retired, married Bassilia, the earl's sister, and was employed as commander-in-chief of the forces. Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan having been taken into favour by the king, followed his fortunes and joined the army then fighting in France. William Fitz Gerald (Maurice's eldest son) married Alyne, the earl's illegitimate daughter. Maurice himself had returned to Pembroke, but was tempted back to Ireland by the grant of Offaly. Henry Montmaurice (the earl's uncle) married Nesta, Maurice's daughter, and Meyler Fitz Henry was created a Lord Marcher.

During the summer of 1176 Raymond, who was waging war against Limerick, received a letter by messenger from his wife Bassilia, who was with her brother the earl in Dublin. The messenger, we are informed, did not know the contents of the despatch, "it was therefore read to Raymond by a certain confidential clerk of his household." Evidently the commander-in-chief of King Henry's forces in Ireland was unable to read. Bassilia's letter ran as follows:—

To Raymond, her well-beloved lord and husband, his Bassilia wisheth health as to herself. Be it known to your sincere love that the great jaw tooth which used to give me so much uneasiness has fallen out. Wherefore if you have any care or regard for me, or even for yourself, return with all speed.

Most probably Bassilia's education was on a par with that of her lord, and this enigmatic epistle had been indited by a professional scribe; but it answered the purpose. Raymond understood that the "jaw tooth" meant Earl Strongbow, whose health was in a precarious state when the expedition left Dublin. Raymond called together some of his most trusted comrades, to whom he disclosed the loss they had all suffered by their leader's death. It was decided that the army must at once fall back on Dublin, and the city of Limerick which they had taken must be evacuated.

Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke had died on the 1st of June, 1177, it is said from mortification of the foot; his death had been kept a secret for fear of the Irish and his funeral did not take place until Raymond's return. He was buried in Christ Church, Dublin, an edifice which he himself had partly built.

By his wife Eva, Strongbow left an infant daughter named Isabel. The earl was succeeded in his governorship by William Fitz Aldhelm; Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan returned to Ireland, but the new governor did not favour Pembrokeshire men. Whether this was the cause or not it is impossible to say, at any rate he did not prove a success. Aldhelm was recalled, and Hugh de Lacy promoted in his stead. Robert Poer being joined in the commission, Robert Fitz Stephen and Milo de Cogan received the kingdom of Cork westward of Lismore, and Ralph Fitz Stephen Robert's son, married Milo's daughter, but Milo and

Ralph were soon afterwards slain by the Irish, and Robert was expelled and replaced by his old comrade Raymond. He seems soon afterwards to have died. Hervey Montmaurice turned monk and retired to Canterbury. Maurice de Prendergast's son married the heiress of De Quency, Earl Richard's standard bearer, and acquired lands in Wexford and Connaught.*

Richard de Clare's bones are supposed to lie under a tomb in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on which is an effigy and an inscription to the following effect :—



THIS : AUNCYENT : MONVMENT : OF :
RYCHARD : STANGBOWE : CALLED :
COMES : STRANGULENSIS : LORD :
OF : CHEPSTO : AND : OGNY : THE :
FIRST : AND : PRINCIPALL :
INVADER : OF : IRELAND : 1169 : QVI :
OBIIT : 1177 : THE : MONYMENT : WAS :
BROKEN : BY : THE : FALL : OF : THE
ROFF : AND : BODYE : OF : CRYSTES :
CHVRCHE : IN : AN : 1562 : AND :
SET : UP : AGAYN : AT : THE :
CHARGYS : OF : THE : RIGHT :
HONORABLE : SR : HENIRI :
SIDNEY : KNYGHT : OF : THE :
NOBLE : ORDER : L : PRESIDEN :
WAILES : L : DEPVTY : OF : IRLAND :
1570

Meyler is still a common name in Wexford, and its bearers claim Henry Beauclerc as their progenitor. The Wogans, both of Ireland and of Wiston Castle, Pembrokeshire, are supposed to have sprung from the De Cogans. The Irish Barrys claim cousinship with our author Gerald. The Stackpoles of co. Clare, there can be little doubt, are descended from Robert de Stackpole, a brother of Sir Elidur de Stackpole of Stackpole, Pembroke. The Carews and Careys are offshoots of the Fitz Geralds. There are Roches in Wexford and Rochs in Pembroke. Keatings and Cantons are to be found in both countries. The Hays, who once owned Dunbrody Abbey, are supposed to have originally sprung from Hay's Castle, Pembrokeshire. The village of Bosherston Pembroke, and the Wexford Boshers, take their name from the same man. The Nangles of Meath look to the village on Milford Haven as their original nest. Castlemartin was a good old Meath name, and is also the appellation of a hundred in the county of Pembroke. There were Stantons in Pembroke, taking their name from the village of Steynton, and Stantons in Mayo. The Irish Huskards came from that Hasguard on the banks of Milford Haven which the Norse vikings christened Asgard. Harolds were found at Haroldston, Pembroke, and in co. Dublin; there were Benegers at

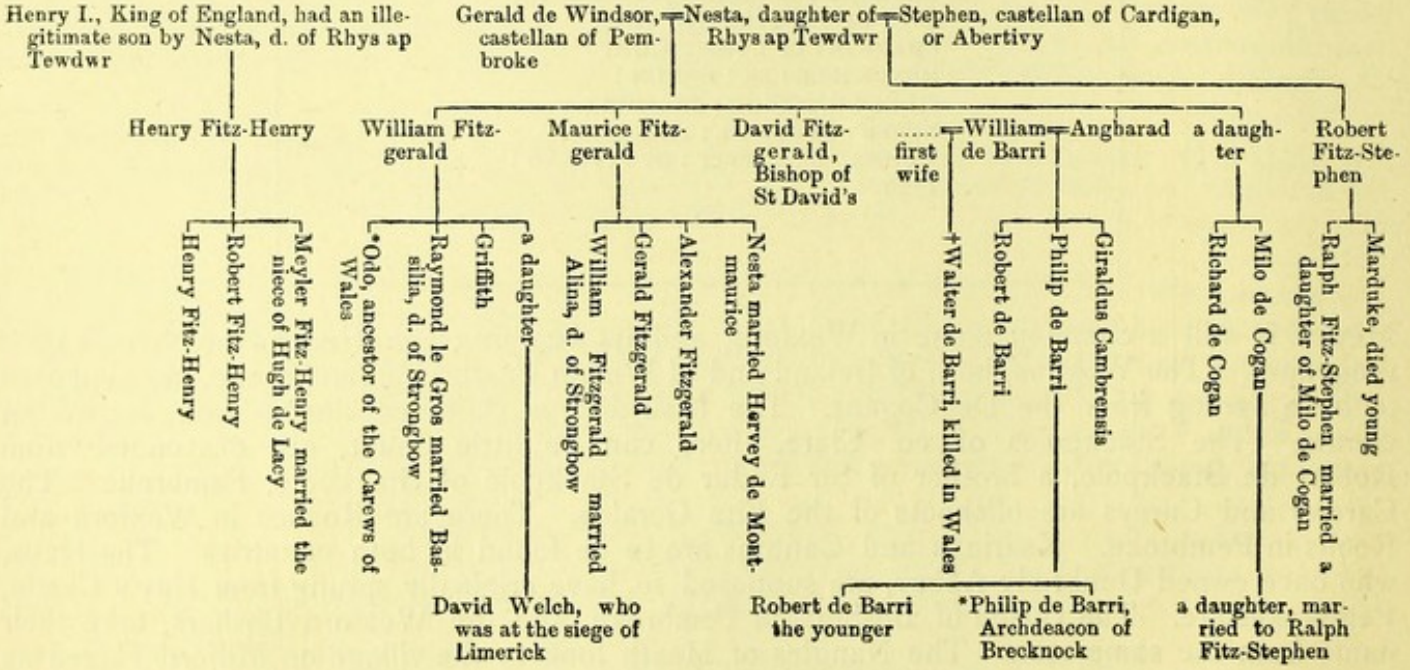
* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 135.

Bangeston, Pembroke, and in many parts of Ireland. The Bonvilles of Bonville's Court, near Tenby, sent cadets into the sister isle. Synnet is still a common name in Tenby, and Synnets are to be found in Wexford. Flemings, too, are plentiful in both countries.*

The Pembrokeshire conquerors of Ireland in many respects remind one of the Spanish *conquistadores* of America, but there was one important difference. The Spaniard conquered by his valour and wits a land inhabited by an inferior race, unacquainted with European weapons and modes of warfare. The Pembroke men were met by vikings or their descendants and Irishmen. These one would suppose were a fair match for the Norman-Welsh adventurers from West Wales. Perhaps the most wonderful part of this invasion and for the matter of that, also of those which preceded and succeeded it, was the absorption of the conquerors by the conquered. Not to go back further than Norse times, Robert Fitz Stephen found the children of vikings fighting against him as Irishmen. Ere long the Geraldines were Irish of the Irish. The Cromwellian interlopers are now the implacable enemies of England. How is this to be accounted for? The answer is not far to seek. The conquerors have invariably been conquered in their turn by the fair daughters of Erin, whose strong racial persistence in a very few generations entirely obliterates the alien blood of their mates.

PEDIGREE

Of the descendants of Nesta, daughter of Rhys, Prince of South Wales, the family who were the first adventurers in the Conquest of Ireland in the time of Henry II. Compiled from the *History of Giraldus Cambrensis*, by Thomas Forester, Esq., M.A., and attached to his *Translation of the History of the Conquest of Ireland*, H. G. Bohn, 1863.



* This list is but an incomplete one, and is taken from a paper read at Tenby before the Cambrian Archæological Society, in 1852, by Mr. Hore, of Sole Hore, Wexford.

† In the first line of descent Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen. In the second and third all members excepting those marked (*) took part in the Conquest of Ireland.

CHAPTER XI.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND HIS TIMES.

Gerald born at Manorbier—His description of that place—Very little 12th century work in present Castle—Gerald's relatives influential in West Wales—His uncle, David Fitz Gerald, Bishop of St. David's—Gerald's description of King Henry II.—Rhys ap Grufudd acknowledges the supremacy of the King—Scene in the Cathedral Close—Gerald as a reformer is appointed Legate by the Archbishop of Canterbury—He admonishes the Archdeacon of Brecon, who is removed, and Gerald installed in his place; also appointed to the livings of Llanwnda, Tenby and Angle—Bishop David dies 1176—The Clergy wish to elect Gerald—They submit the names of their four Canons but omit to obtain a *congé d'élire*—The King orders the Chapter to proceed to Winchester—He obliges them to accept his nominee, Peter de Leiâ, Prior of Wenlock—Gerald retires to Paris—Henry holds a Council at Gloucester—The Chieftains of South Wales attend and are favourably received, being confirmed in the possession of their lands—Henry calls on them to pledge themselves to mutual support—The English illtreat their Welsh neighbours—War breaks out 1179—Henry arrives and is convinced by Rhys that the English are in the wrong—Gerald returns and is nominated tutor to John, the King's son—He accompanies the Prince to Ireland—The Pembrokeshire Chieftains not esteemed in that island—Gerald popular with the Court party is offered the Bishopric of Ferns and Leighlin and the Archbishopric of Cashel—He declines these—He reads his works in public at Oxford—Religious enthusiasm throughout Europe in 1188—The Archbishop of Canterbury preaches the crusade through Wales and is accompanied by Gerald—They are welcomed by the Lord Rhys and the Bishop of St. David's—A fracas at St. Clear's—The Crusading Mission visits Llawhaden and Haverfordwest—St. Caradoc—The Bishop and Gerald preach at Haverfordwest—Miracles at that place—Diablerie at Orielton and Stackpole—Cellars at Stackpole Court—Gerald inexact as to distance—The missionaries proceed by Camros and Newgale to St. David's, where they are received by the Bishop—No mention of the new Cathedral—Proceed through Cemaes—Man worried by toads—Unlucky treasure trove—The Archbishop waits for Gerald at St. Dogmael's, where they are met by the Lord Rhys and his sons—A great preachment at Cardigan Bridge—Kynvrig, a son of Rhys, promises to take the cross—Gerald joins the King in France—The Archbishop dies at Acre—Tombstone of a Palmer in the Church of St. Thomas, Haverfordwest.

UNTIL society threw off the feudal system but two modes of life were open to men of gentle birth; they could bear arms or take orders. As we have seen the children and grand-children of Nesta generally selected the former profession; but there were two exceptions. David, her third son by Gerald de Windsor, having entered the Church, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1147; and Gerald de Barri, youngest son of Angharad, the bishop's sister, also took holy orders. Under the appellation of Giraldus Cambrensis he became a well-known writer, and it is to his prolific pen we owe the history of the conquest of Ireland by his relatives. In addition to this there is much local lore to be found in his works. He was essentially a gossiping author, credulous to a degree (which was rather the fault of his time than an individual failing), and not very exact in details; but for all that an instructive and most amusing pamphleteer. He was born in 1146 in the castle of Manorbier, where his boyish days were spent. How great was the love he bore his old home is shown in the description he gives of

> The castle called Maenor Pyrr (that is the mansion of Pyrr, who also owned the island of Chaldey, which the Welsh call Inys Pyrr or Pyrr's island*) is excellently well defended by towers and outworks (*turribus et propugnaculis*) and is situated on the summit of a hill, extending on the western side towards the sea port, having on the northern and southern sides a fine fish-pond under the walls, as conspicuous for its grand appearance as for the depth of its waters, and a beautiful orchard on the same side, inclosed on one part by a vineyard and the other by a

* A good deal of heavy banter has been expended on our author for this simple statement of a tradition. It has been assumed by his commentators that the eponymous Pyrrus mentioned by Giraldus must have been the Epirot king, but surely had that been the case the word would have been written Pyrrhus not Pyrrus. There can be little doubt that Giraldus intended "Pyrr," a Welsh mythical hero, thought by some to be identical with the Guortipir of Gildas.—See page 80.

wood, remarkable for the projection of its rocks and the height of its hazel trees. To the right of the promontory between the castle and the church, near the site of a very large lake and mill, a rivulet of never-failing water flows through a valley, rendered sandy by the violence of the winds.*

Although Manorbier is a well-preserved ruin (thanks to the fostering care of J. R. Cobb, Esq.), very few of those "towers and outworks" praised by Giraldus remain. What we see to-day is *nearly* all of later date. But the masonry on the right hand side of the entrance appears to be of an earlier period than the rest of the edifice; moreover it is not bonded to the gate tower, and may well have been a part of Gerald de Barri's old home. The site of the northern fish-pond can be readily traced; the southern one must, I think, have been that same sheet of water afterwards mentioned as lying between the castle and the church, and have been situated up the valley from which the little rivulet flows. Probably the mill was on this, the south-western, and not where it now is on the north-western side. The rocks and hazel trees remain, but neither of them are particularly remarkable for their height.

Towards the west the Severn Sea bending its course to Ireland enters a hollow bay at some distance from the castle, and the southern rocks if more extended towards the north would render it an admirable harbour for shipping. From this point you may see almost all the ships from Greater Britain, which the east wind drives towards Ireland. The land is well supplied with corn, sea-fish, and wines purchased abroad, and what is of more importance from its neighbourhood to Ireland it enjoys a mild climate. Dimetia therefore with its seven hundreds is the most beautiful as well as the most powerful district in Wales. Penbroch, the finest part of the Province of Dimetia, and the place I have just described the most beautiful part of Penbroch.

So Gerald writes of his birth-place. His childhood was spent in stormy times, when the sense of security afforded by a strong castle was perhaps the greatest comfort man could desire, for in those days England was desolated alternately by the partisans of Maud and Stephen, while a ruthless war of races devoured Gerald's native county. In this war his grandfather Gerald de Windsor, had led the Norman interlopers, while his mother's first cousin Rhys ap Grufudd, was the champion of the native Welsh. About the time of his birth David Fitz Gerald his uncle, was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, so it was impossible for a young man to have more powerful kinsfolk than fell to the lot of Gerald de Barri. When a mere child he showed an aptitude for letters, and was sent to St. David's to be educated for the priesthood under the bishop's eye. Here he remained until somewhere about the year 1169, when he went to Paris and passed three years in the divinity schools studying and lecturing. On his return in 1172 Gerald found his family in dire disgrace. They had overrun eastern Ireland in conjunction with the Earl of Pembroke and roused the jealousy of the king. During this year Henry was in Pembrokeshire threatening with his severest indignation the princes and lords of South Wales for having allowed Earl Richard to take his passage from thence to Ireland. Although the king might bluster and scold the laity, it is probable that on his visit to St. David's he appeared to better advantage, for Henry was still haunted by dread of vengeance for the murdered archbishop, and was most desirous to keep on good terms with the Church.

It must have been during this visit to St. David's that Gerald first saw Henry Plantagenet. He tells us that the king was of moderate height, and had a large, round head which he somewhat bent forward. He had a swarthy complexion and his grey eyes were bloodshot. His voice was tremulous, his chest broad, and his arms muscular. Moreover he was very corpulent. This could not have been from excess, "for considering he was a prince he was remarkably abstemious," and took an enormous amount of exercise during war (which was

* *Itinerary through Wales*, book i., c. xii.

his normal condition), while in peace he spent the day from dawn to dark in hunting and hawking. On his return from the chase he seldom sat down before supper was served, and no sooner was it over than he was again on his legs, wearing out his courtiers by keeping them continually standing. But nature at length avenged them, for the overworked royal legs gave way.

If the king was annoyed with the Norman party in Pembroke, he must have been gratified by the reception he met with from the Welsh. Rhys ap Grufudd entertained the English king at Whitland, acknowledged him as his superior, and accepted at his hand the office of Chief Justice of South Wales, thus admitting himself Henry's subject and no longer an independent prince. Most likely Gerald was still with his uncle at St. David's, when Henry returned from Ireland the following spring and was an eye witness of the extraordinary scene on the bridge over the little river Alun, which he so graphically describes:

On Monday of Easter Week (1173) at sunrise he (Henry) took boat, and getting on board ship in the outer harbour of Wexford, reached St. David's bay about noon, after a quick voyage, a strong wind blowing from the westward. Having landed, the king proceeded to St. David's with great devotion in the guise of a pilgrim on foot, staff in hand, and was met by the canons of the cathedral in solemn procession, who received him with due honour and reverence at the White gate.* While the procession was orderly passing onwards a Welsh woman suddenly threw herself at the king's feet and made some complaint against the bishop of the diocese,† which was explained to the king by an interpreter. Receiving however no redress the woman became abusive. Raising her voice, and loudly clapping her hands, she repeatedly shouted in the presence of all the company: "Avenge us this day, Llechlawer, avenge our race and nation on this man." Being stopped and thrust forth by the people of the country who understood British, she still continued to vociferate the same words with increased violence, alluding to a prophecy of Merlin's current among the vulgar to the purport that a king of England, returning through Menevia after the conquest of Ireland, where he had been wounded by a man with a bloody hand, should die on Llechlawer. For this was the name given to a stone which was placed across the stream dividing the cemetery of St. David's from the north side of the church, to form a bridge. The stone was of beautiful marble, and the surface worn smooth by the feet of those that passed over it. Its length was ten feet, its breadth six, and it was one foot thick. In the British language the word Llechlawer‡ means "the speaking stone," for there is an ancient tradition that on some occasion when a corpse was carried over it the stone spoke at that very moment, but in the effort cracked in the middle, which crack is still to be seen. This gave rise to a barbarous superstition which from that time to the present day forbids any dead bodies being carried to their burial over the bridge. The king coming to the stone paused a moment, having perhaps heard the prophecy mentioned; but having glanced keenly at it, he summoned up his resolution, and without further delay walked across. Then turning back and looking at the stone, he said with some indignation, "Who now will have any faith in that liar Merlin," and so entered the church.

This is the account Gerald gives of the story in his *Conquest of Ireland*, chap. xxxvii., book i. He repeats the tale in chap. i., book ii., of his *Itinerary*, and in this second account adds that one standing by being jealous for Merlin's fame cried out with a loud voice, "Thou art not the king by whom Ireland is to be conquered, or of whom Merlin prophesied." This man certainly spoke the truth, so that the conqueror of Ireland when he comes must yet beware of Llechlawer.

Henry then supped at St. David's and passed on to Haverfordwest Castle. From thence he proceeded to Laugharne, where he was received by Rhys ap Grufudd, who paid him the customary homage as vassal. From henceforth Rhys and his heirs lost the title of prince and were called lords.‖ Gerald's first piece of preferment was the rectory of Chesterton, Oxford,

* This was the western entrance to the Close. There are now no remains of it in existence.

† David Fitz Gerald, the author's uncle.

‡ Llechlawer, the talking stone, was perhaps a relic of a faith which preceded St. David. When it disappeared is not known, but John Hooker, *alias* Vowell, in a note to Holinshed's *Chronicle of Ireland*, p. 25, writes:—"The writer hereof (of verie purpose) in the year 1575 went to the aforesaid place to see the said stone, but there was none such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie is now an arched bridge under which fleeteth the brooke."—Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 221.

‖ See Lhuyd's *Breviary*, p. 75.

and very soon afterwards he was appointed Canon of Hereford. His uncle does not appear to have been particularly anxious to see him settled in Pembrokeshire, and the reason is not far to seek. With the installation of Bishop Bernard in 1115 the shadowy claim of the Bishop of St. David's to the primacy of Wales vanished; but in several particulars the clergy of the diocese refused to conform to the discipline of Rome. The marriage of priests if not actually legalized was a recognized custom, and Bishop David Fitz Gerald himself had a wife and family, a state of things peculiarly abhorrent to young Gerald. Indeed, to remove this scandal and bring his countrymen into accord with the Roman Church was the one object of his life; but at the same time he desired, while effecting this object, to relieve them from the yoke of Canterbury. Even at an early age he posed as a reformer, so we can easily imagine Bishop David, his married *confrères* and their respective wives and children, were not over anxious for the company of young Gerald. However, he was not to be shelved, but boldly laid the case of the married priests before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was by the primate appointed legate for the purpose of rectifying abuses in Wales. His first victim was one Jordan, Archdeacon of Brecon and Prebendary of Mathry. This unfortunate old gentleman had been archdeacon for twenty-five years and made no secret of the fact that he was a married man. Legate Gerald admonished him with no result; the admonition was repeated; then the archdeacon, worried beyond bearing, abused both Gerald and his master the archbishop. The result was that Jordan was removed and Gerald inducted as Archdeacon of Brecon and Prebendary of Mathry; moreover he received the livings of Llanwnda, Tenby and Angle. On the whole he seems by fear or favour to have won over the leading men of the diocese, for on his uncle's death in 1176 the clergy wished him to be appointed to the see. They submitted the names of four candidates to the king. These were their four canons, but it was an open secret that Gerald was the man of their choice. The chapter had however neglected to obtain a *congé d'élire*, and the king taking a stand on his prerogative ordered the canons to proceed to Winchester and there hold a new chapter in the royal presence. Henry simply passed over the names submitted to him and obliged these very men to accept his own nominee, Peter de Leiâ, Prior of Wenlock, whose chief qualification seems to have been his insignificance. The king had made up his mind he would have no independent church in Wales, and no Welshman or Norman with Welsh proclivities for bishop. It was part and parcel of the same policy which strangled the attempt of Earl Strongbow and the Fitz Geralds to found a semi-independent state in Ireland. The great Plantagenet was fully determined that so far as in him lay the religious, civil and military authority should be exercised throughout his dominions by his own nominees. Peter de Leiâ took the oath of allegiance and Gerald retired to Paris in great dudgeon.

In the year 1176 Henry II. and his eldest son Henry, whom he had crowned as joint king, held a council at Gloucester to settle the affairs of South Wales and the Marches. Rhys ap Grufudd, who had kept his pact with the English king attended, and with him came the principal chieftains of South Wales. The latter made their submission to the king and were received with favour and confirmed in the possession of their lands. Then Henry called on the assembled nobles, English and Welsh, to take a solemn oath to the effect that in case one of them should be attacked by any power in Wales, the others should hasten to defend him. This wise measure would perhaps have led to the quiet absorption of Wales, but the lawless English settlers treated the native Kymry so badly that reprisals constantly occurred. In 1179 matters became so serious that actual war broke out on the Gloucestershire border, and the English king arrived again at the head of a considerable force. Rhys, however, convinced him that it was not he or his countrymen who were in fault. So Henry went away, but took unfortunately no means to curb the licentious settlers; they were too strong even for the great Plantagenet. About this time Gerald de Barri returned to Wales. Bishop Peter de

Leiâ had managed to make himself extremely unpopular in his diocese, more especially with the Welsh. In 1185 Gerald was chosen by the king as tutor to his son John, and in that capacity attended during the expedition to Ireland. While there he prepared the *Conquest of Ireland.* The early portion of the work has already been examined. The latter part deals with the expedition under Prince John, and with it Pembrokeshire men had little to do. Indeed our author says:

> Our people (*i. e.*, the followers of Prince John) consisted of men of three different races: Normans, English, and our own folk (Pembrokeshire men), whom we found in Ireland. With the first we were most intimate and esteemed best, the second were thought less of, and the third were considered of no account whatever. The veteran soldiers by whose enterprise the way into the island was opened were treated with suspicion and neglect. They (the veterans) kept aloof and gave no help to those who did not ask it, the others had but little success in their undertakings. The Irish may be said to have four prophets: Molingus, Braccanus, Patrick and Columkil, whose books written in Irish are still extant; and all these, speaking of this conquest, agree in declaring that it will be attended with frequent conflicts, with long wars continued for several generations, and much bloodshed. Indeed they scarcely promise complete victory to the English, and that the whole island shall be subdued, and castles built from sea to sea, much before Dooms-day.

Gerald personally was popular enough with the Court party. He was offered a choice of the sees of Ferns and Leighlin. These he declined; nor was he tempted by the archbishopric of Cashel to abandon the great object of his life, which was to rule a free Kymric church as Archbishop of St. David's.

On his return from Ireland Gerald completed the two works he had in hand on the history of that country, and then proceeding to Oxford called together the *élite* of the literary world to sit in judgment on them. He divided his story into three portions and devoted one day to each, reading them publicly. In order to ameliorate the rancour of critics, on each day he feasted one division of his audience in the schools. The first day the poor of Oxford were invited; the second day was devoted to the doctors and scholars; the third day more scholars, knights and the freemen of the city were his guests. No contemporary mentions this strange feast of reason and baked meats. The host at all events was satisfied with the result. He terms it "a magnificent affair, a return of the golden age, an unparalleled event in England at all events." So we must suppose that the guests expressed themselves to be satisfied with the *pabulum* offered both mental and culinary. This was perhaps the happiest week that dear old Gerald ever spent. He seems to have evolved the idea out of a mixture of Greek and Welsh usages. Amongst the former race authors read their productions in public; amongst the latter, chieftains collected authors together, heard their works read or sung, feasted and rewarded them.

In the year 1188 Christendom was trembling in a paroxysm of religious fury, for the previous July Salah-Ed-Din the great Sultan of Egypt had conquered the champions of the cross by the Lake of Tiberias and taken the King of Jerusalem prisoner, in October he actually captured the Holy City. Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, cut to the quick by these sad disasters, determined to see if the spirit that had animated Europe a hundred years before was dead, for in those days, according to William of Malmesbury, so zealous were men for the crusade that

> The most distant islands and savage countries were inspired with ardent passion: the Welshman left his hunting, the Scotchman his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking bout, the Norwegian his raw fish.

The archbishop journeyed through Wales and great success attended his mission. People naturally religious longed to strike a blow for their Redeemer, but in addition to these enthusiasts there were others who took the cross from less orthodox motives; for instance

a young man named Grufudd, related to the Lord Rhys, readily joined the crusaders, saying "What man of spirit can refuse to undertake this journey, since amongst all imaginable inconveniences nothing worse can happen to any one than to return." Arriving at New Radnor the Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard de Granville, Justiciary of England, were met by Rhys ap Grufudd, Peter de Leiâ the Bishop of St. David's, Gerald de Barri and other leading men in South Wales. Not only did our author preach in this expedition, but kept a diary, which is very valuable to the local historian, and gives some curious specimens of the tone of thought prevalent during the last quarter of the 12th century.

The Bishop of St. David's cordially welcomed the archbishop and Gerald, but certain of the canons appealed to Rhys begging him to deny Archbishop Baldwin permission to enter Wales, and more especially to forbid his pilgrimage to St. David's, fearing that in case

> He should continue his intended journey the Church would in future experience great prejudice and with difficulty would recover its ancient dignity and honour.

These obstructionists were doubtless Gerald's own friends and adherents; but in this particular instance he appears to have disassociated himself from them and taken sides with the Archbishop of Canterbury. Rhys declined to interfere. The crusaders then passed on through Hays and Brecon, Llanthony, Abergavenny, Usk, Caerleon, Newport, Cardiff, Llandaff, Margam, Neath Abbey, Swansea, Gower, Kidwelly; then they crossed the Towy, leaving Llanstephen and Laugharne on their left, visited Carmarthen, and from thence to Whitland Abbey. While on the road between these two places they came across the corpse of an unfortunate young Welshman who, while journeying to meet them, had been murdered by a dozen archers from St. Clear's Castle. Baldwin ordered the body to be covered over with his almoner's cloak and prayerfully commended the soul of the slain man to heaven. Next day the twelve murderers, as a penalty for their crime, were adjudged to take the cross. The party then journeyed on past the episcopal palace of Lanwaden (Llawhaden) to Haverfordwest. The castellan at this place was an old man, Richard son of one Tankard who had in his day held the same office. In the life of St. Caradoc of St. Ishmael's in Haroldston parish, near Haverfordwest, this Tankard is mentioned as an oppressor of the Church, or at all events the Kymric branch of it. For some reason he seized St. Caradoc's corpse, although the saint had bequeathed it to the Cathedral Church of St. David's. The wicked governor was in consequence taken very ill; he let the body go, and immediately recovered. He seized it again and was again taken ill. This having occurred a third time, the holy corpse was at length permitted to depart on its last journey in peace; but wonders still attended it, for while passing over Niwegal (Newgale) Sands a heavy storm drenched the country and obliged the bearers to seek shelter. When the shower was over the mourners were astounded to find the silken pall dry and unspotted with rain. They proceeded rejoicing and laid the corpse in the left aisle opposite St. Stephen's altar. As may be supposed Tankard came to a bad end. After seeing all his children but one die, he fell over a cliff while in the pursuit of a deer and broke his neck. Richard the one surviving child was castellan during the visit of the crusaders to Haverfordwest. This Richard had been from his earliest youth an example of piety, and had ingratiated himself with St. Caradoc by sundry and judicious presents. Gerald says these gifts were sent by the parents, which must be a mistake, for the father, Tankard, is not likely to have given much to the holy man. At all events the saint often blessed the boy and promised that his brethren should die young and that he should inherit their patrimony. This scampish saint had formerly been huntsman to Grufudd ap Rhys, but having carelessly lost two valuable deerhounds was threatened by his angry master. On this Caradoc forthwith vowed himself to God, and

the prince was fain to let him go in peace. For a time he wandered about Wales and eventually settled at St. Ishmael's, Haroldston parish, near Haverfordwest. He started a holy well on Portfield common, and a pleasure fair is held at this place in remembrance of the saint who died in 1124.*

On the arrival of the missionaries at Haverfordwest Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald preached to the people, raising recruits for the crusading army from among the soldiers and civilians of the town. Our author with great *naiveté* remarks that although he himself preached in Latin and French, yet oddly enough many of the men who were converted by his discourses could understand neither of these languages. But if this was astounding, even greater miracles were done in those days; for instance a blind woman from the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest received her sight by rubbing her eyes and mouth with a turf on which the archbishop had stood while preaching. Our author breaks off at this point to give a description of Pembroke district and Manorbier Castle. He states that unclean spirits (which appear to have closely resembled the familiars of modern spiritualists) were in the habit of manifesting themselves in this neighbourhood. At the house of Stephen Wiriet (presumably Orielton), and at the dwelling of one William Not the "spirits" threw dirt at the householders and even cut holes in their woollen and linen garments spite of bolts and locks. In Wiriet's house the "spirits" took to talking and upbraided folks openly with every wicked or foolish thing that they had done from their youth up. Gerald remarks that such manifestations as these were generally considered to foretell a change of fortune, either from bad to good or the reverse, and that the sign proved true in these cases. Whence the Wiriet family came we do not know, but as they held their own at Orielton for some five hundred years from this date, the omen must have been favourable to them. Respecting William Not unfortunately there is no evidence.† Again in the house of Elidore de Stakepole a very tangible spirit appeared in the shape of a red-headed young man called Simon. He forthwith constituted himself steward and took possession of the keys. Even the most enthusiastic of modern spiritualists would have been a trifle anxious at this manifestation. But Simon did not betray the trust reposed in him. He managed all things prudently and providently, and whatever the master or mistress in their innermost thoughts desired for dinner that they always found on the table. He knew all their secret hiding places and very properly scolded them for the foolish way in which they hoarded their money, advising them to enjoy it while they could. Simon must have been a particularly popular character in the kitchen, for he gave the choicest meats to the servants, remarking that "those persons should be abundantly supplied by whose labours the provision is provided." Whatever he deemed right was done without consulting master or mistress. He would not sleep in the house or go to church, nor did he ever utter one catholic word. He held nightly converse near a mill and a pool of water. When this was discovered he was summoned before the master and mistress and forthwith received his discharge, for what it is rather hard to say. He took it quietly and handed up the keys which he had held for forty days. He also announced that he was the son of a peasant woman in the parish, begotten by a demon in the shape of her husband. This fact was in no way denied by the woman in

* Caradoc, the last of the Welsh Saints, was a Brecon man. When he first quarrelled with his master he set up as hermit near Llandaff, then moved to one of the islands (which is uncertain), from thence he was driven by pirates, and at the instigation of the bishop established himself near St. Ishmael's. At his decease he was canonized through the instrumentality of Giraldus. Many years after death his body was discovered to have escaped decomposition, and as William of Malmesbury the chronicler was cutting off one of the fingers as a relic the deceased saint angrily drew away his hand. "Cradock's Well" was close to the little Merlin stream on the extreme edge of Portfield, near Haverfordwest. When this common was enclosed in 1842 a road was made over the well, the overflow being carried down to the stream in a culvert. This holy well was the *raison d'être* of Portfield fair.

† Noot is still a common name. See p. 188.

question. Indeed peasant women do occasionally even in these latter days have children by demons in the shape of their husbands; but alas, they do not generally turn out such willing useful devils as poor Simon seems to have been.

If we may judge from his nomenclature Simon was probably descended from a French or Flemish man-at-arms. This name seems scarcely to have been naturalized in England so early as the 12th century. In his master's case De Stakepole was of course territorial (see page 72). Elidore may have been a rendering of the Welsh Elidr; it is stated the De Stakepoles were related to Robert Fitz Stephen, and that Robert, Elidore's younger brother, was a captain of archers in the division of the army commanded by that leader in Ireland.* In Throsby's and another county history of Leicestershire it seems to be indicated in connection with the title Zouche that the Stackpoles were known under the designation of Mont Valai prior to their settlement in Pembrokeshire.† In the church of Stackpole Elidur on an altar tomb lies the effigy of a knight in armour, mail and plate combined. This effigy is figured in Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* and described as representing the Elidore de Stakepole of Gerald's history, which belief still prevails in the neigbourhood, but the tradition cannot be correct for a mixture of mail and plate did not come into vogue until the latter half of the 13th century, so could not have been worn by the elder brother of a man who was old enough to command a company of archers in the year 1168. Indeed it seems doubtful if the effigy represents a Stackpole at all, for

> From him (Elidore) not more than two descents were cast before the great possessions of this family fell amongst daughters the coheiresses of Sir Richard Stackpole, one of whom Joan, who had Stackpool to her share, married Sir Richard Vernon of Hodnet in Staffordshire, in which family it remained certainly until 1536.‡

Although unfortunately it is impossible that the effigy in Stackpole Church can represent Elidore de Stakepole, one room yet exists in which this chieftain may have been served by his demon servant. The basement of the old castle of Stackpole has been utilized as cellaring in the modern mansion, and one portion of the ancient structure is covered with a curiously irregular ribbed barrel-vault. In this chamber the original windows have been replaced by modern square insertions. The fire-places also have disappeared, though the vaulting is pierced for two chimneys. There is no doubt the room was a very handsome one, and may well have been used as the hall in Elidore's time. In Pembrokeshire plain vaulted rooms are exceedingly common, and are to be found in manor houses, castles and churches alike. But groined roofs are decidedly scarce and mostly exist in the castles. They may be observed in Carew, Newport and Picton, as well as in Stackpole. The most beautiful specimen remaining is however in the old hall at Monkton; with this Stackpole cannot be compared, for the latter is comparatively rough and irregular.

From Haverfordwest the crusading mission proceeded to St. David's, which Gerald states to be a journey of about twelve miles (in reality a long sixteen). It is a peculiarity of our author always to underestimate distance; for instance he says Manorbier is three miles

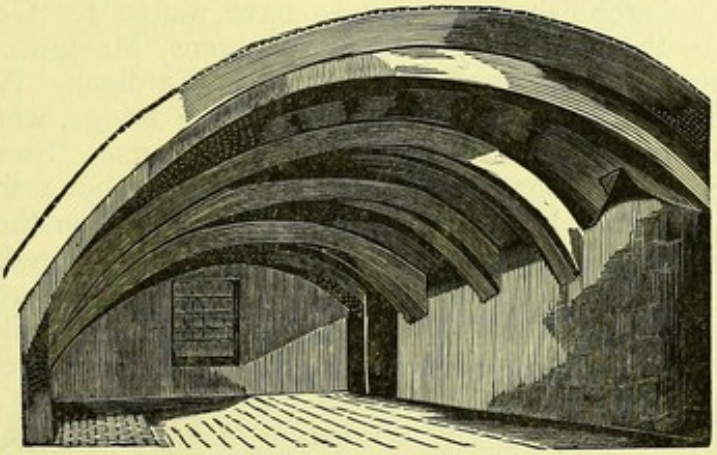
* "Robert the youngest son encouraged by his cousin Robert Fitz Stephen went to Ireland with Richard Earl of Striguile, known by the name of Strongbow, and was captain of archers in that division of the army that Fitz Stephen commanded under Strongbow in the year 1168, the 14th year of King Henry II. This said Robert Stackpoole settled in Ireland and his lineal descandant has a large property in the co. of Clare in that kingdom."—Note in Powell's *History of Wales* (1812). The edition of Caradoc of Llancarvan published in 1774 has the same passage *verbatim*, but in those published in 1584 and 1697 it is absent.

† The Stacpooles of co. Clare claim descent from the aforementioned Robert Stackpole, and the traditions of the family record more than one emigration from Wales to Ireland. So late as 1507 a Stackpole passed over with his wife, one Gennet Gwyn, to co. Clare and took with him a letter of confraternity from the superior of the Friars Eremite, which letter was found with a number of old decrees, deeds, &c., under the old Brehon laws, all relating to co. Clare. For this information I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Mahon of Charleswood, Ann Arbour, Michigan, U.S. Stackpoles and Stacpooles are both extinct in Pembrokeshire.

‡ See Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 421.

from Pembroke, whereas it is five. Now one would suppose if there were any two roads he should have known well, they would have been those leading from Manorbier (the home of his childhood) to Pembroke (where his relatives resided), and from St. David's, the village in which he spent his boyish days, to Haverfordwest. No doubt in the 12th century roads were mere bridle tracks and went pretty well as the crow flies, excepting when it was necessary to make a *detour* to avoid swamps or to meet fords, so that the length of journeys depended on the whims of individual travellers; but even making full allowance for this Gerald did not understand distance. The missionaries passed by Camros (the crooked moor); the present road lies over a mile to the south-west of the village. Here it seems during the troubled reign of Stephen one of those long forgotten border feuds took place. A certain Gerald, William's son, was slain by the Welsh, and the Normans exacted a bloody retribution. Who Gerald was we do not know. This neighbourhood lying on the border land between the Welsh and the Englishry was no doubt the scene of many forays.* Our party leaving Camros passed over Niwegal (Newgale) Sands, and Gerald mentions the "sunken forest,† the trees of which are still to be seen at low tides.

On reaching St. David's the missionaries were well lodged by Bishop Peter de Leiâ who had accompanied them all the way. He and Gerald appear to have forgotten their feud, for not only did our author desire that the archbishop should visit the bishop at St. David's against the wishes of the Kymric church party, but actually states that the latter was a liberal man and lodged them well. Oddly enough no mention is made of the great works which were in progress at St. David's. Bishop Peter was at this very time engaged in an entire reconstruction of the cathedral. The archbishop celebrated early mass before the high altar, and then leaving Gerald to preach the crusade hastened on through Cemaes to meet Rhys ap Grufudd at Cardigan. Gerald now enjoys a little gossip about the wonders of Cemaes. He tells how a young Welshman named Sisillus Esceirhir, or Setsylt with the long legs, was worried to death by toads, notwithstanding that his friends put him in a sack and hung him up in a tree; and that another anonymous person was treated in like fashion by rats. Now-a-days we are disposed to diagnose *delirium tremens* as the cause of death in such cases. Gerald says they died by the sudden and never unjust will of God. It is clear that our author did not invent this tale, and that the fate of the unfortunates made a great impression on the popular mind, for a farm in Cemaes is still known as Treliffan, *i. e.*, Toadston; and more than that, over a



CELLAR UNDER STACKPOLE COURT.‡

* The village of Rudbaxton is a curious instance of a compound name derived from Welsh and English. The ton or homestead of "Rhyd bach," or "little ford."

† For this sketch I am indebted to the clever pencil of Miss F. Mousley.

‡ See page 13. Giraldus states "the strokes of the hatchet on the trees appeared as if made only yesterday." This was decidedly a mistake on our author's part, but he goes on to say that they date "from the time of the deluge, or not long after, certainly in very remote ages being by degrees consumed and swallowed up by the violence and encroachments of the sea." Gerald evidently had not heard of the "Cantrev y Gwaelod," or we should certainly had a version of that myth introduced.

chimney-piece in the house there is a toad sculptured in marble, which is reported to have been brought from Italy at some unknown period as an outward and visible sign of faith in Gerald's tale. He also gives us a story about a wealthy man who lived on the northern slope of the Precelly hills and who dreamt on three successive nights that he would find a golden torque hidden under a stone by St. Bernard's holy well.* When this dreamer of dreams sought to recover the treasure trove, and thrust his arm into a hole he found by the well, a viper which had taken refuge there gave him a deadly bite. Gerald applies the following moral to his story: "As it appears that many treasures have been discovered through dreams, it seems to me probable that with respect to rumours in the same manner as to dreams some ought and some ought not to be believed." The difficulty then, as now, seems to have been to know which was which. In these days Lanhever, or Nevern, was the chief stronghold in Cemaes. Martin de Turribus having won it with his good right hand had passed it on to his son and grandson. The latter following the custom of his family endeavoured to strengthen his position by an alliance with the native princes. He married the daughter of Rhys ap Grufudd. But the plan proved ineffectual in his case, for his father-in-law instead of giving a dower, under some pretext seized Nevern Castle. This seems to have occurred just about the time of the pilgrimage and was the forerunner of many troubles for Pembrokeshire. The archbishop appears to have waited for Gerald at St. Dogmael's, where they were met by the Lord Rhys and his two sons, Maelgwn and Grufudd, and well entertained, as they were also on the following day at Cardigan. A vast number of people assembled on the Pembrokeshire side of the river by the bridge, where a great preachment took place, both the archbishop and Gerald giving a discourse. So struck were the folks by their eloquence that not only did many of them take the cross, but a site was forthwith marked out for a memorial chapel, the altar of which should be placed on the very spot from whence the archbishop addressed the people. The chapel has disappeared, but the place is still known as Parc-y-Cappell, *i. e.*, chapel field. Gerald mentions two recruits whom they obtained for the holy war. The first was the only son and sole support of his aged mother, but far from trying to dissuade him from going she cried: "O most beloved Lord Jesus Christ, I return Thee hearty thanks for having conferred on me the blessing of bringing forth a son whom Thou mayest think worthy of Thy service." Another Cardigan woman however held different views, for "she publicly and audaciously prevented him (her husband) from going to the archbishop to take the cross," and journey in this wild goose chase to Syria, but that very night she dreamed that she heard an awful voice cry: "Thou hast taken away my servant from me, therefore what thou most lovest shall be taken away from thee." In her fright she overlaid and smothered her little boy. Of a truth the mediæval God was a jealous God. The next day the husband took the cross, and in grief and despair the penitent wife herself sewed it on his arm. The crusaders then journeyed on past Kilgerran towards North Wales. Beyond Lampeter, or Pont Stephen, another son of the Lord Rhys joined them, Kynvrig by name. Gerald says:

> This young man was tall and handsome, clothed only according to the custom of his country, with a thin cloak and inner garment; his legs and feet, regardless of thorns and thistles, being bare.

A sermon was preached to the young princes Grufudd, Maelgwn and Kynvrig, and Maelgwn agreed to follow the archbishop to the king's court, and then if Henry did not object assume the cross. The Bishop of St. David's, the Lord Rhys and his sons, with the exception of Maelgwn, left the party on the shores of the Dovey, which was the boundary of their diocese

* Said to have been situated not far from Castell Henry.

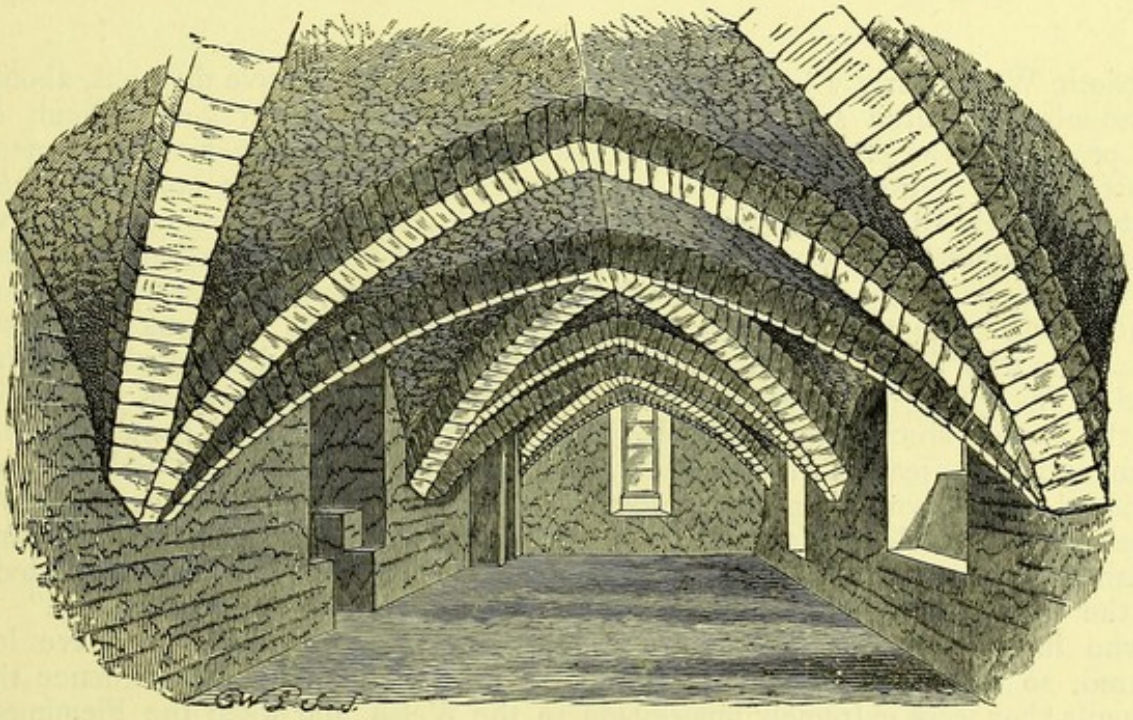
and principality. The crusading mission passed on and after a most successful tour separated at Hereford, having described an irregular circle. Gerald joined the king's court in France, Maelgwn returned home to brew mischief.

The archbishop during his journey collected about 3000 men "well skilled in the use of arrows and lances and versed in military matters." These he sent to the Holy Land and shortly afterwards followed. Preaching his way through France, he embarked at Marseilles and landed at Acre while the siege was in progress. Here the good man overcome with his labours, sickened and died.

There is preserved in the church of St. Thomas, Haverfordwest, a tombstone which seems to be of this period.* It consists of a coffin-shaped slab, on which is a cross terminating in two trefoils. On the left hand side there is an object resembling the sheath of a sword,† and above the cross is an egg-shaped excrescence, all that is left of a portrait of the deceased. A legend runs along one edge of the stone:

F. RICARD : LE PAUMER : GIT : ICI : DEV : DE SAALME : EIT : MERCI : AMEN.

Possibly Brother Richard, the Palmer who is commemorated by this stone, was one of the recruits raised by Baldwin and happier than his chief, returned home to die.



BASEMENT OF OLD HALL AT MONKTON.

* It is described and figured in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. ii., p. 283.

† Said to be a palm branch.

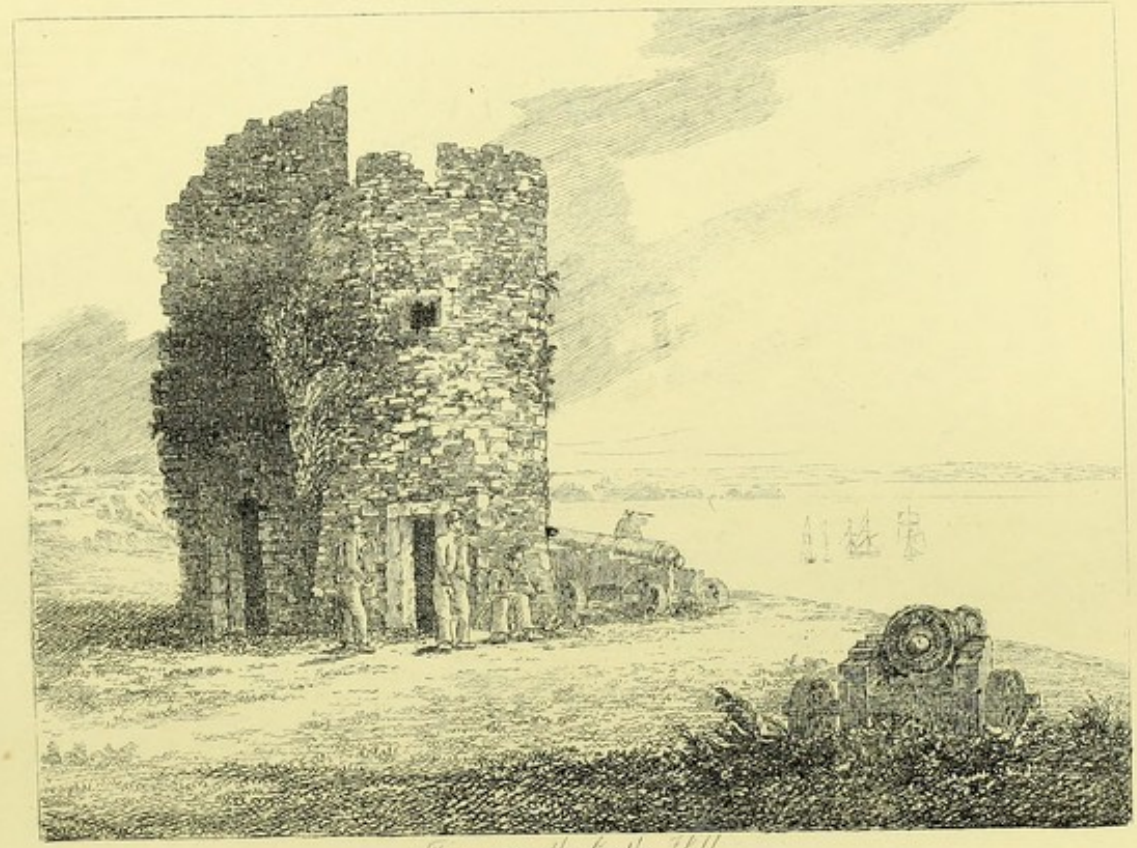
CHAPTER XII.

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS AND HIS TIMES.—(CONTINUED.)

Migration of Englishmen into West Wales—The Welsh rise against them and destroy Tenby—Tower on the Castle Hill—Tenby in the 12th century—Henry dies (1189)—Rhys declares war against the English—He seizes Llawhaden and imprisons his son Maelgwn—War between Rhys and his sons, the former taken prisoner and confined in Nevern Castle—He is released and returns to Dynevawr, imprisons his sons and carries on the war against the English—Takes Carmarthen—The Bishop visits Dynevawr and is insulted by the sons of Rhys—He excommunicates the family—Rhys dies, his body is castigated as a penance, and then buried at St. David's—Gerald returns to Wales—De Leiâ quits his Diocese and Gerald is appointed Administrator of St. David's and Coadjutor in the Regency of the Realm—He declines the Bishoprics of Bangor and Llandaff—Retires to Lincoln—Bishop de Leiâ dies (1199)—The Cathedral as now existing planned by him—Gerald and three others nominated by the Chapter as candidates for the Bishopric—The Archbishop nominates Geoffrey de Henelawe, Prior of Llanthony—The Chapter declines him—They appeal to the King—Richard I. dies—Gerald is elected and appeals to the Pope—John directs the Chapter to elect Geoffrey in his presence—The Chapter appeal to the Pope—Gerald proceeds to Rome—The Pope promises a Commission—Gerald returns to St. David's as Administrator of the Diocese—Geoffrey is consecrated Bishop—Gerald again appeals—The Pope quashes both elections and orders a Commission (1203)—Geoffrey is elected and Gerald retires into private life—Geoffrey dies (1214) and Iorworth, Abbot of Talley, elected Bishop—Gerald dies (1220)—His remarks on the manners and customs of his Welsh contemporaries.

THE patriotic Welsh party which seemed at one time almost to have died out, about the year 1185 gradually recovered strength. The Lord Rhys, who under very difficult conditions kept his promise to the king, found it impossible entirely to restrain his countrymen; for the English continued to treat the Welsh with studied contumely as a conquered people, and though they considered no engagement binding on themselves exacted most cruel vengeance in all cases of reprisal. It was unlikely that a warlike hot-tempered nation would long remain tranquil under such a rule. It became a mere question of opportunity when war should again burst out between the races. Rhys himself as a friend of the foreigner lost caste among his own people who began to look to his sons to take up that leadership which their sire had abdicated. The young men seem to have combined in their own persons all the virtues and vices of the ancient stock from which they sprang. They were brave, generous, intolerant of foreigners, ambitious, jealous of each other, and barbarously cruel. Grufudd was perhaps the most civilized; Maelgwn, though a madman, the most influential.* In 1186 there seems to have been a considerable immigration of Englishmen into Pembrokeshire. It is unmentioned by English historians, but the Welsh speak of them as "vagabonds who had existed in every part of the island of Britain, skulking in woods and plundering the country." The free lances who had served in the wars between Stephen and Maud must have long since disappeared, so that we have no clue as to who these men were or from whence they came. At all events they were extremely unwelcome to the Welsh, and when the Flemings of lower Pembroke and Gower gave them succour and shelter Maelgwn attacked both. The vagabond Englishmen were hunted out of Pembrokeshire, or driven into Gower, from whence they returned to their native land. It was during this foray that Maelgwn "brought his power against Tenbye, and by plaine force and wan the towne, and spoiling the same he burned it to

* In 1183 an illegitimate son of the Lord Rhys named Cadwaladwr was slain by the Normans or Flemings in a brawl, and buried at Whitland Abbey.—*Brut y Tywysogion.*



Tower on the Castle Hill.

ashes."* The *Brut y Tywysogion* makes no mention of Tenby, simply stating that in 1186 Maelgwn, "son of Rhys son of Grufudd, attacked them (the English), burnt the houses they were in to the ground, and pursued them to Gower." George Owen states that Tenby Church was not restored after the burning of the town until the days of Warren de Montchensey (*circa* 1245).†

Tenby in the 12th century was either an open town or its fortifications were of such a primitive type that the defenders were unable to resist the Welsh hordes when they attacked in force. As might have been expected the Flemish immigrants had erected a fortress of some sort,‡ but there is no evidence to show that Maelgwn carried this work. If any remains of the 12th century Tenby Castle still exist they must be sought on the Castle Hill. The little round tower which crowns its summit may perhaps be of this date. It is about 25ft. high and on the northern side is covered by a square tower, clearly an addition of later times. The round tower is divided into a basement and a single chamber. The basement is now entered from a low square doorway (looking towards the south-west) formed of two stone jambs and a stone lintel, which are evidently insertions. The original doorway seems to have been situated on the north-east side, and closed at an early period, perhaps when the square tower was built. The basement is covered with a plain pointed vault roof, apparently original, and must have been used as a store. The only means of access to the room above is by a stone staircase in the square tower, which leads to a narrow pointed doorway. On passing through we find a little chamber lighted by a loop looking to the north-east and two windows, one facing south, the other south-west. The remains of a double lancet light is shown by Norris in his *Etchings* (1812) in the latter; it has now disappeared. The former seems at one time to have contained a tall narrow single lancet, which was subsequently converted into a low broad window of some sort, probably such an one as is figured by Norris. The chamber is covered by a conical vault resembling the roof of Pembroke donjon, if we may compare small things with great. Passing upward by the square tower we arrive on the battlements which surround this conical vault. The most remarkable feature in the little tower seems to be the want of interior communication, for until the square tower was built there was no means of access from within either to the upper chamber or the battlements; these must have been approached by an outer staircase or a ladder. The little tower was probably used as a look-out, and possibly a burning cresset was hung from the battlements as a signal when required. This building appears to be the oldest piece of masonry remaining in Tenby. If we may judge from the localities in which early coins (Roman and one silver penny of Henry II.) have been found, it seems probable that the first civilized inhabitants of Tenby dwelt on St. Catherine's Island, the Castle Hill, and spread themselves along the southern cliffs some little distance beyond the mediæval Town Walls, apparently neglecting the northern side of the little peninsula.

In the 12th century it seems likely that the Church stood pretty nearly on the north-west boundary of the town. The existing fabric does not offer us any very decisive evidences as to date. However, on the eastern side of the north door we find a tomb to a lady which is evidently early 14th century work (of course it may have been removed from an earlier church). We also have evidence that the edifice now standing is certainly not the first church built in Tenby, for

An examination of the plinths of the pillars, where vestiges of earlier buildings often lurk, shows that a Norman

* Powel's *History of Wales.*

† *Description of Pembrokeshire in General* (1603), book i., c. ii.; *Harleian MSS.* British Museum.

‡ Rhys according to the *Brut y Tywysogion* took the *castle* of Tenby by surprise in 1151.

or Early English building of no less conspicuous size occupied the same site. It had certainly aisles, and probably transepts; its length could have been little if any less than that of the present fabric, though across the aisles it wa doubtless much narrower.†

This church which is revealed to us only by the remains of its foundation appears to be the edifice of which Gerald de Barri was rector, and Maelgwn ap Rhys destroyer.

In 1189 Henry II. died and then Rhys deeming that he owed no further allegiance to England, forthwith proceeded to make war on the settlers. He snatched Laugharne, St. Clear's and Llanstephen from the enemy, and having learned the value of fortifications made Kidwelly one of the strongest fortresses in Wales, and he retook Dynevawr the old royal seat of his ancestors. Waxing bolder he seized Llawhaden Castle, the stronghold of Peter de Leiâ the detested Bishop of St. David's, and reduced the country thereabouts. Tenby was in ruins and of Narberth we hear nothing; Carmarthen still held out, as did Haverfordwest, Pembroke, Wiston, Manorbier, Lamphey and Carew, but with these exceptions all West Wales from Gower to St. David's seems to have been recovered by the Welsh. Then as usual dissensions broke out among them, and so violent was Maelgwn that Rhys confined him as a lunatic. He escaped and with his friends seized Ystrad from his father's party. Hywel who supported Rhys took Gwys, or Wiston, from the English. Another brother Anarawd, who was in rebellion against his father, joined Maelgwn. They seized their two brothers, Hywel and Madoc, and tore out their eyes in the real old Welsh fashion. The rebels then attacked Rhys himself, and taking him prisoner confined him in Nevern Castle. This unnatural conduct on the part of his sons seems at length to have caused a reaction among the Welsh in favour of their prince, he was released from Nevern and brought back in triumph to Dynevawr, while his rebellious sons were cast into prison. Rhys then pressed on the war against the English, seized and razed the castle and town of Carmarthen, which was a very strong situation, being still in part defended by the old Roman work,† and turning eastward to the Marches took the castles of Clun and Radnor, and defeated Roger Mortimer and Hugh de Saye in a pitched battle.

In the year 1197 one of those terrible epidemics which were of such common occurrence in mediæval times desolated north-western Europe; nor did Wales escape, as the following story will show. According to the *Annales de Winton* Bishop Peter de Leiâ visited "King Res to remonstrate with him for disturbing the peace of Holy Church and of his master the King of England." Rhys and his graceless sons laughed at the holy prelate, who retired in a rage. Then it seems these wicked young men followed the unfortunate bishop to his chamber, pulled him out of bed and dragged him into a neighbouring wood. Common folks in those days retired to rest in *puris naturalibus*, but it appears the bishop was not quite naked, for he had on drawers and a stamen, or woollen under garment, affected by the monks. This was no great protection for an elderly man on a chilly April night, so the bishop was no doubt much relieved when some of the retainers of William de Braose hearing the disturbance came up and rescued him from the hands of his tormentors. De Braose had married a daughter of Rhys, which accounts for his presence at Dynevawr. Next day the bishop departed, and having summoned the archdeacons and presbyters of the diocese, solemnly anathematizing Rhys ap Grufudd and his wicked sons, laid the land under an interdict. By one of those strange coincidences which have so often tended to rivet the bonds of superstition on man, Rhys ap Grufudd forthwith sickened of the plague and died. Then indeed his sons saw the enormity of their offence. Grufudd the eldest, attended by his brethren, sought the bishop

† Freeman's *Architectural Antiquities of Pembrokeshire. Arch. Camb.*, 3rd Series, vol. iii, p. 187.

† Giraldus's *Itinerary*, book i., c. x. *Hæc urbs antiqua coctilibus muris partim adhuc extantibus.*

and humbly implored pardon for past offences. The bishop was obdurate, and the most they could obtain from him was a promise that he would refer this matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Rhys's body being excommunicated could not be buried. In due course an answer came from England.

If the children of Rhys had really awakened to the enormity of their offence Holy Church was as ever ready to receive sinners back into her bosom, but penance must be exacted.

The penalty awarded was that the children of Rhys should be scourged, and the same discipline applied to the unburied but now mouldering corpse of their father. When this punishment had been duly inflicted the Lord Rhys was absolved from his sins and buried.*

Rhys ap Gruffyd married Gwenllian, daughter of Madoc ap Meredudd Prince of Powis, and had by her four sons and two daughters:† Grufudd, Cadogan, Rhys Gryg and Meredudd; one daughter Gwenllian married Edwyfed Fychan, counsellor to Llewellyn ap Iorworth Prince of North Wales, by whom she was mother of Grono ap Edwyfed the great-great-great grandfather of Owen Tudor, grandfather of Henry VII.; the other daughter, either Anne or Agnes, married Rhodri ap Owen, from whom spring the Wynnes of Gwyder. So far for the legitimate stock; but he had in addition to these an immense family of bastards by a perfect harem of concubines: Maelgwn, Kynvrig, Cadwaladwr, Meredith the blind, Morgan, Howel Sais,‡ Meredith, Owen Caerwedws, Anarawd, Madoc, one daughter who married Sir William Martyn of Kemmaes, another who married William de Braose, and many more. The mothers of these bastards were the noblest in the land, and the children appear to have been received on an equal footing with the legitimate offspring. Marriage ties were but little considered in the 12th and 13th centuries; Normans, English and Welsh were equally careless in this particular. Rhys ap Grufudd was succeeded by his eldest legitimate son Grufudd.

We must now return to De Barri. On Henry's death he came back to Wales as an ardent preacher of the crusade. He was in high favour with Richard I. and was appointed administrator of the diocese of St. David's, in which Bishop Peter de Leiâ found it impossible to reside owing to the hostility of the Welsh. Gerald was also named a coadjutor of William de Longchamps in the regency and offered a choice of bishoprics. He might have had either Bangor or Llandaff, but he declined them both. Having carried out certain reforms in the diocese of St. David's, and quarreled irreconcilably with the bishop, he retired to Lincoln and gave himself up to literary pursuits.

In 1199 Gerald was recalled to Wales by the death of Bishop Peter de Leiâ, who as we

* In St. David's Cathedral under the second arch from the east, on the south side of the Presbytery, is a tomb on which there is a recumbent figure in the armour of the latter part of the 14th century. The head, which has the conical basenet and camaille, is reclining upon a casque surmounted by the crest, on a chapeau a lion sejant. The body armour is covered by a jupon, on the back and breast of which are embordered the wearer's arms [gules] within a bordure engrailed [or] a lion rampant [of the second]. It is not quite clear whether the jupon, which falls in a fringe round the hips, is meant to have sleeves, or whether the figure has a hauberk with short sleeves, those of the tunic appearing beneath them. The hands are clasped; there is a richly decorated belt and sword. The legs have complete plate armour, with grenouilleres; the feet have spurs and rest on a lion. Above it is a screen and canopy of late Perpendicular work in character resembling those over the stalls. Immediately opposite to it on the corresponding arch on the north side, there is a figure similar in nearly every respect; the head however reclines on a double cushion, and the heraldic bearings on the jupon are differenced by a label of three points. The arms are protected by plate armour, with elbow-joints and round plates at the elbows; the hands are broken off but were originally clasped in prayer. Both these figures are extremely well sculptured in a fine oolite, and it is evident that they both represent members of the same family.—Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 114. Browne Willis and Manby assign these tombs respectively to Rhys ap Grufudd and his son Rhys Grug. but as Jones and Freeman point out the monuments are from a century to a century and a half too late; however, Messrs. Jones and Freeman are, on the whole, disposed to agree with the older archæologists and suggest that these effigies were placed over the tombs by some member of the Talbot family, which claimed to be the representatives of the Princes of South Wales at the latter end of the 14th century.

† York's *Royal Tribes*, p. 42.

‡ From the name Sais we may assume that his mother was English.

have seen was forced on the episcopal throne in opposition to the clearly expressed wish of the clergy of the diocese. He was unpopular with Normans and Flemings, and peculiarly odious to the Welsh, not only as an embodiment of foreign rule, but also as an oppressor. But he was no weakling, and though at times as we have seen grossly insulted, nay actually driven from the diocese, he fought on to the end. It is to this bishop we owe the existing cathedral. Such poor buildings as may have escaped the incendiary fires of Gael, Scandinavian and Saxon he demolished, and what he substituted

Appears to have exactly answered to the present main fabric of the cathedral. The nave, choir and transepts, with their aisles, but exclusive of the subordinate chapels. Of these the nave and western arch of the lantern still exist, and the remainder appears to have been rebuilt on his plan, and to a great extent in imitation of his structure. Goodwin therefore is fairly justified in saying that he may in some sort be said to have built the church which now standeth.*

The building of a new cathedral must have been an expensive work for such a poor war-stricken country as the district which formed the diocese of St. David's in the 12th century, and there is reason to believe that the exactions perpetrated by Bishop Peter de Leiâ for this object were in a great measure the cause of his unpopularity.

When the direction of the works fell into the hands of Gerald he found such difficulty in raising the requisite funds that he applied to John Anagninus, the Cardinal Legate, for aid, and as a reward for his zeal as a crusading missionary obtained an order to the effect that any person who from conscientious or other motives felt bound to serve in the crusading army, might in lieu of such service pay a subscription towards the building of the new cathedral at St. David's.† The Chapter of St. David's undeterred by former rebuffs, on the decease of Bishop Peter nominated four candidates for the vacant see, namely: Gerald de Barri, Walter, Abbot of St. Dogmael's; Peter, Abbot of Whitland; and Reginald Folliot, Canon of St. David's and nephew of Peter de Leiâ. The archbishop being well acquainted with Gerald's separatist principles, and foreseeing his election would re-open a controversy which had now slumbered for over twenty years, distinctly declined to accept him as a candidate. Gerald retorted that he was perfectly prepared to waive his claim if a good bishop was selected, but not such an one as will "bring scandal and shame on our poor church by making begging tours through England and always lusting after the lucre of an English see." This was scarcely fair on the late bishop, as doubtless the begging tours were made in order to find money for the new cathedral, and if he did desire translation to another see one cannot blame him very much seeing that he was so unpopular his people would not let him live in his own. "Above all," added Gerald, "I will have no black-hooded beasts."‡ "This last remark," observe Messrs. Jones and Freeman, "was designed as a slight tribute to the memory of the late bishop, a monk of the Cluniac order." In answer to this challenge the archbishop nominated Geoffrey de Henelawe the Prior of Llanthony; and a monk named Alexander. These the Chapter of St. David's declined. Matters being thus at a dead lock, the chapter were directed to send four of their body to Normandy and hold their election before the king. Gerald and three of his party were deputed and got as far as London, when the death of Richard caused the matter to be postponed. Gerald returned to St. David's, was elected, and appealed to the Pope to consecrate him. This bold stroke raised the royal ire. An order came directing the chapter forthwith to elect Geoffrey de Henelawe in the presence of the archbishop, and warning them that unless they complied forthwith the archbishop would proceed to consecrate him without further delay. The chapter then appealed to

* Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 141. † *Ang. Sac.* ii., 495. ‡ *Ang. Sac.*, ii., 503.



St DAVID'S.

the Pope, and Gerald started for Rome in 1199. The question was argued and re-argued before the Pope. Innocent seeming to favour Gerald at length promised a commission and sent him back to St. David's as administrator of the diocese.

The tide had turned in his absence and to his disgust he found that the chapter had nominated the Abbot of St. Dogmael's. Gerald however was not to be beaten. In the following spring he journeyed to Rome a second time. For two months the controversy dragged on without result. Gerald again sought his native land. Inquiries and commissions proceeded, and at length the case was definitely settled against him at St. Alban's. So fierce had the controversy become that Nicholas Avenel, the King's Bailiff of Pembroke, and William Martin, Lord Marcher of Cemaes, invaded the episcopal district of Dewisland. Gerald in despair once more proceeded to Rome and sought the Pope's aid. Innocent quashed both these elections and directed the Bishops of the province of York to try the case as to the jurisdiction of Canterbury over St. David's. His Holiness then awarded Gerald half the costs of his long suit and reinstated him as administrator of the diocese. Gerald started with a heavy heart and a light purse. Duns from Rome pursued him to Bologna, and as the members of that University would give him no help, he threw himself on the generosity of his creditors, and the man to whom he was most indebted lent him sufficient to pay off the rest and cover the expenses of his journey until he could obtain remittances from home. He was again stopped at Chatillon in Burgundy. Having escaped this danger he made his way through Paris to Rouen where King John then was. On his arrival in Wales he found bailiffs in his house at Llandewi, his goods stolen and his cause irretrievably lost. The canons not only had abandoned him, but in their shame fled his presence.



SEAL OF GEOFFREY DE HENELAWE, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S 1203–1214.

On the 10th of November, 1203, Geoffrey de Henelawe was finally chosen Bishop of St. David's, and the object for which Gerald de Barri had striven through these long years was rendered unattainable. He retired entirely from ecclesiastical matters, resigned his archdeaconry to his nephew William de Barri, and devoted his whole attention to his books. Gerald lived to see the see of St. David's again vacant, for in 1214 Geoffrey de Henelawe died. He seems to have been a better physician than bishop, for he had obtained considerable celebrity in this profession while at Llanthony. If Gerald's evidence is to be accepted he kept a very firm hand on his clergy, and turned his attention chiefly to money making during his episcopate; indeed he was not over scrupulous as to how it was made; his moral character too seems not to have been above reproach. But in a time when the great majority of priests lived in a state of concubinage, and in the diocese of St. David's a semi-wedlock was recognised, while among the laity of north-western Europe the marriage tie was scarcely esteemed at all, perhaps Geoffrey de Henelawe must not be deemed worse than his compeers. After Geoffrey's death Gerald again had hopes of the bishopric, but his name was not even mentioned, a full-blooded Welshman, Iorworth Abbot of Talley, having been selected. Where Gerald passed his latter days is not known. As he was eventually buried in the Cathedral

of St. David's it is most likely that he resided in the county of Pembroke. The following is a list of his works as drawn up by himself:—

*Chronographia et Cosmographia Metrica; Topographia Hibernica; Expugnatio Hiberniæ; De Legendis Sanctorum; Vita Sti Davidis; Vita Sti Caradoci; Vita Sti Ethelberti; Vita Sti Remigii; Vita Sti Hugonis; Liber de Promotionibus et Persecutionibus; Gaufredi Ebor Api; Symbolorum Electorum; Liber Invectionum; Speculum Duorum Commonitorium et Consolatorium; Gemma Ecclesiastica; Itinerarum Cambriæ; Cambriæ Topographia; De fidei Fructu; De Principis Instructione; De Gestis Giraldi laboreosis.**

Gerald de Barri's character is not a difficult one to read. He was a typical man. In him as in his contemporaries faith ran riot, a miracle had ceased to be miraculous. It was what might be anticipated every day, in the ordinary course of events. With him, as with them, sin came under two heads, offences against the church, and those committed against God and man. For instance a girl was raped in Foure Mill, co. Meath, and the vengeance of heaven overtakes the criminal *because* the ground on which the offence was committed had been consecrated by St. Fechin.† Again Rhys ap Grufudd was imprisoned by his sons in Nevern Castle, a place where according to Gerald he had committed an act of most consummate baseness; but he adds "I think it also worthy to be remembered that at the time this misfortune befell him he had concealed in his possession at Dynevawr the collar of St. Canauc of Brecknock, *for which* by divine vengeance he merited to be taken prisoner and confined."‡

A love for the land of his birth, and the welfare of his church, were Gerald's most pleasing characteristics; through all that weary suit regarding the succession to the see of St. David's, self with him was certainly second. He had proved again and again that he did not care to be a bishop, but he did long with all his soul to regenerate an independent Kymric church. Had he succeeded we might have felt the result of his work to the present day. Peradventure the Welsh Church might then have gained and retained the affection of the Welsh people. Grufudd ap Rhys himself was not more enthusiastic in his love of country than was Gerald, but in all probability the latter never understood one word of Kymraeg. He was distinctly an Englishman of Little England, and while admitting their many virtues looked on his Kymric neighbours and kinsmen as an inferior race. His description of their manners and customs is extremely interesting. He states in his *Description of Wales* that not only the chieftains but the whole people were born soldiers, the husbandman leaving his plough for war as readily as the courtier his court; they were light armed, wearing small coats of mail, helmets, and occasionally greaves plated with iron, carrying lances, shields and bundles of arrows. The upper class only were mounted. They either went barefooted or wore high brogues made of untanned hide. It seems they took but one regular meal, and that in the evening; oat cake, milk, cheese and butter were their staple food; they also used a thin broad cake of bread,§ fresh baked every day, and sometimes chopped meat and broth. The Welsh were extremely hospitable; strangers walked into their houses as a matter of course and were forthwith offered water to wash their feet. If this was declined the hosts at once understood that their visitors required refreshment and not lodging. In a house of any standing young women and harpists were retained for the enter-

* But this is not a complete list. He wrote a *Life of Henry II.*, and a *History of King John*, an *English Chronicle*, *The Praises of Wales*, *A Metrical Version of his Cambrian Topography*. Powell published his Welsh works in 1585; Camden the Irish ones in 1602. Wharton embodied many of them in his *Anglia Sacra*. Sir R. C. Hoare published an excellent edition, also a translation with notes, in 1806; in which will be found a list of the MSS. and the places where they may be found.

† *Topography of Ireland*, book i., c. lii.

‡ *Itinerary through Wales*, book ii., c. ii.

§ Gerald states that this was termed *Lagana* in the old writings. It is still made and called "plank-cake" in Pembrokeshire.

tainment of guests.* The houses being unfurnished with tables, cloths or napkins, the guests were told off in companies of three. They then squatted on the rush covered floor, trenchers were placed before them, the host and hostess waiting on them and taking no food until the guests were satisfied. When the repast was over a shake down of rushes was placed along the side of the room and covered with woollen cloth called "brychan," manufactured in the country. On this all slept in common, wearing the same dress in use by day, a thin cloak *(pallium)*, and an under garment. They kept a fire burning in the hall all night, which with the animal heat given out by their neighbours took the place of bed-clothes. Gerald adds, "when the under side tires with the hardness of the couch and the upper one chills with cold, they leap up and go to the fire and so relieve themselves of these inconveniences, then returning to their couch they expose their ribs alternately to the cold and the hardness of the bed." Men and women cut their hair short to the eyes and ears; the men wore no hair on their face but a moustache; the women covered their heads with a long white veil "folded like a crown." Probably Gerald means turban fashion. Both sexes were constant in their attention to the teeth, rubbing them with green hazel † and wiping them with a woollen cloth. They were very musical and played three instruments: the harp, the flute or pipe, and the chorus.‡ They were also very fond of vocal music, more especially part singing. Perhaps in consequence of the promiscuous sleeping arrangements morality was at a very low ebb. Couples appear always to have cohabited before marriage in order to test the disposition and fecundity of their intended partner, and parents were in the habit of hiring out their daughters for a given price with a stipulated fine in case the connection should be relinquished. Gerald also accuses the Welsh of incest, but he seems rather to mean marrying within the prohibited degrees than what we understand by the word.

Such were the customs of the Welsh inhabitants of Pembrokeshire in the 12th century, and had our author left us nothing but these notices he would have deserved well of his country. Gerald de Barri is said to have died in 1220, aged 74 years, and to have been buried in the cathedral church of St. David's, where for many generations a tomb has been shown supposed to mark his resting-place, but Messrs. Jones and Freeman, the historians of St. David's, without hesitation ascribe it to Bishop Gower's era.—*History of St. David's*, p. 123.

* Gerald here notes that no people were more jealous than the Irish, or less so than the Welsh, while in both races a knowledge of the harp was deemed preferable to other learning.

† This method of scrubbing the teeth with a chewed stick is still common in parts of India.

‡ By "chorus" Gerald probably means the crwth. This instrument resembled a violin with the upper part of the bridge flat, so all the strings were necessarily sounded at once.

CHAPTER XIII.

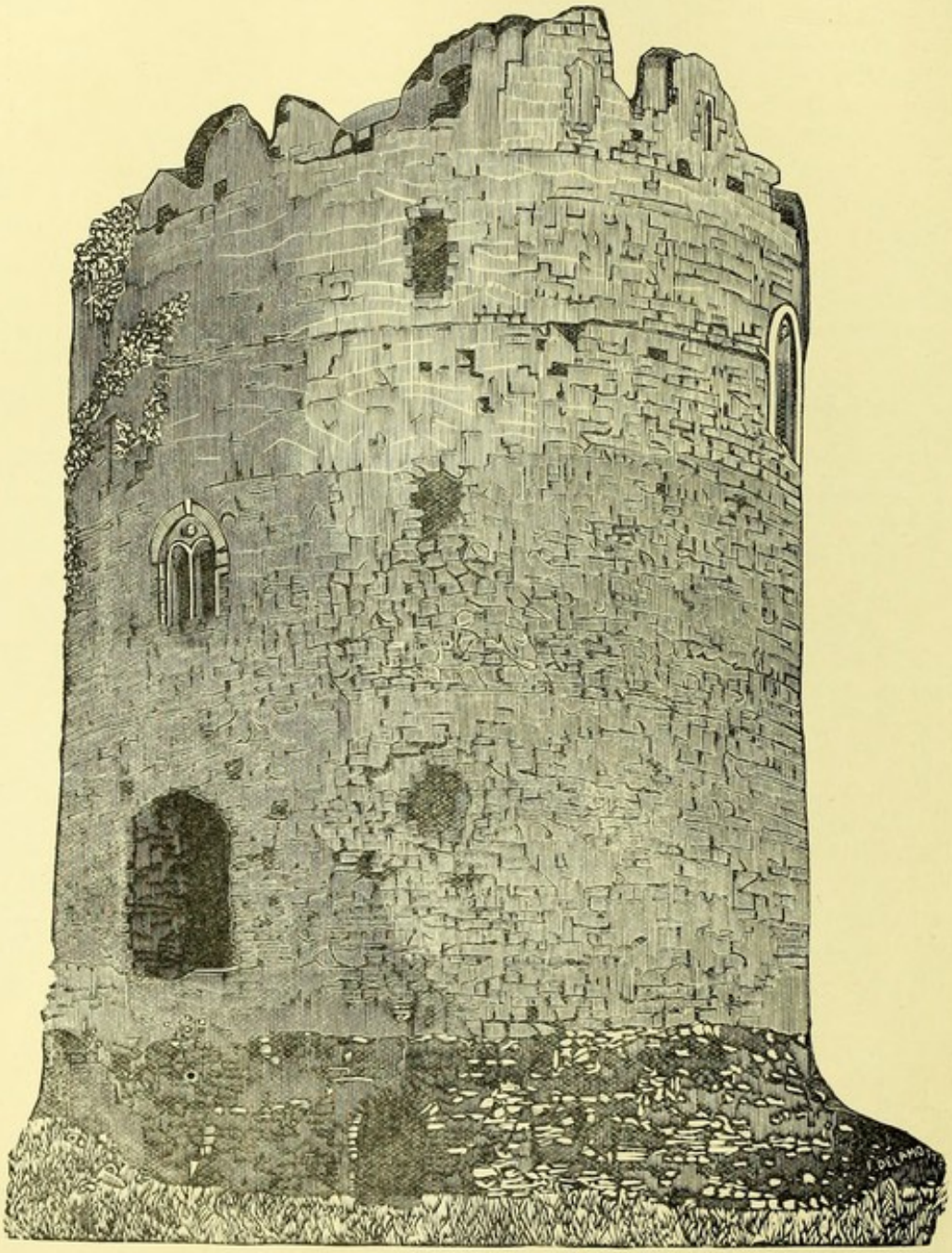
PEMBROKE UNDER THE EARLS MARESCHAL.

Isabel the daughter of Strongbow and Eva marries William Mareschal, who is created Earl of Pembroke—Sees little of the County—Builds Pembroke Keep—Description of that tower—William de Braose and Gwenwynwyn—Grufudd, son of Lord Rhys, wages war with his brothers—John cedes the four Cardigan Cantrevs, Kilgerran and Emlyn, to Maelgwn, the latter surrendering Cardigan Castle to the King—John gives a charter to Pembroke—Grants Pembroke Mill to the Templars—King John visits Pembroke in 1210—Reviews the Flemish soldiers at Holy Cross by Pembroke—Armour in the 13th century—Effigy at Nash—King John captures Maud de Braose—John makes war on Llewelyn ap Iorworth—The Welsh take Carmarthen, Llanstephan, Laugharne, St. Clear's, Newcastle, Nevern, Newport, Cardigan and Kilgerran—Llewelyn divides Pembrokeshire among the sons of Lord Rhys—John dies—The Earl chosen guardian of King and Kingdom—Bishop Iorworth yields up Haverfordwest to Llewelyn—Peace between the Earl and Llewelyn, who gives up his conquests, retaining as Bailiff Cardigan and Carmarthen Castles—The Earl dies—Is forbidden sepulchre in Ireland—Buried in the Temple—Leaves tithes of Pembroke, Tenby and Castlemartin Mills to the Pembroke Monks—Mills and Querns—Poetical biography of W. Mareschal—Men of Pembroke rebel against Llewelyn—He raids the County—Using Irish auxiliaries they destroy Narberth and Wiston Castles and Haverfordwest town—Llewelyn announces he is acting for the King—Henry disavows him—Great Tower of St. David's Cathedral falls down—William Marshal (2nd) crosses over from Ireland and with Irish auxiliaries takes Carmarthen and Cardigan—Destroys the Churches—Peace between the Prince and Earl—The latter restores Cardigan and Carmarthen—Pembroke men again seize Cardigan—Llewelyn retakes it and Kilgerran—Earl retakes Cardigan, Kilgerran and Carmarthen—Grufudd, Llewelyn's son, fights a pitched battle with the Earl at Carmarthen Bridge and is defeated with loss—The Earl strengthens Kilgerran—Henry summon Llewelyn and the Earl to Ludlow and hands over Cardigan and Carmarthen to the latter—Peace in Pembroke—The Earl dies 1231—Succeeded by his brother Richard, who is refused admittance to Pembroke Castle—The Earl prepares to besiege, but the defenders at once capitulate—Iorworth the Bishop dies 1231 and is succeeded by Anselm de la Grace, a connection of the Earl's—Bishop a King's man—The Earl burns the town of St. David's 1233—The Earl murdered—Succeeded by his brother Gilbert—Llewelyn ap Iorworth dies 1240—Earl thrown from his horse and killed—Succeeded by his brother Walter, who dies 1245, when another brother Anselm becomes Earl and dies in eleven days.

WHEN Strongbow died in 1176 little Isabel, the sole issue of his marriage with the Irish heiress Eva, was but six years old, so the estate and charge of the infant's person devolved on the Crown. Either just before the close of the reign of Henry II., or at the commencement of that of Richard, the young Countess of Pembroke was married to William Mareschal, a rising soldier, whose father and grandfather in turn held the office of Mareschal, or master of the horse to Henry I. and Stephen. William Mareschal had loyally supported Henry II. and been the bosom friend of his eldest son, so as a reward for faithful service he received the hand of Isabel, the earldom of Pembroke, and a grand inheritance. His important duties constrained him to remain continually in the royal presence, consequently he saw little of his earldom, but although an absentee, no man has more indelibly fixed his mark on the county of Pembroke. Earl William, considering that Gerald de Windsor's castle did not satisfy the requirements of the age, not only added the donjon which still broods like a wounded eagle over the little town of Pembroke, but enlarged and strengthened the fortifications. They developed into a fortress which proved impregnable to all assault until war was revolutionized by the introduction of siege trains.

Pembroke in its present form is probably the work of the Mareschals. To the first and greatest of this race, William Mareschal the elder, who held the earldom from 1189 to 1219, may be attributed the keep or donjon tower, and probably the design of the whole building.*

* Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 131.



THE DONJON OF PEMBROKE.

This donjon, "the crowning glory of Pembroke," may without exaggeration be termed the heart of Little England. It is circular in form, 75ft. in height, 60ft. in diameter at the foot and 50 at the crown, closed in with a vaulted dome in the same fashion as the little watch tower on Tenby Castle Hill. Inside, the tower is divided into a basement and three stories. The flooring of these latter was of wood and has disappeared. The live rock forms a rough pavement to the basement, and from this the well stair springs. There can be little doubt that the original approach to the tower was over a draw-bridge and through a doorway in the first floor, which has disappeared, leaving an opening 6ft. 9in. wide. Beside the doorway there are two other openings in this floor which seem to have served the double purpose of loops and lights. As there is a chimney in this chamber it was no doubt used for a living room. In the second floor there are again two of the large loop lights, but it is further lit by a two-light lancet window. Outside of this, on the angle between the two lights, is carved a man's head. In this story is a round-headed doorway leading into the wall; what may be inside is unknown, for it is inaccessible;* there is a fire-place in this chamber. There were no means of heating the third floor, which was lighted by four loops and a window resembling that below. The human head looking out from between the two lights has a sardonic grin with which he still mocks friend and foe in sunshine and storm. This chamber is roofed in by the masonry dome, the sides of which are pierced in three openings for light. The stair comes out through the dome into a porch from which the rampart is approached. The parapet seems to have been about 5ft. high, and looped. Above this again is a second parapet, resting on the dome, which may have been covered in and used as a shelter in bad weather. This seems to have been the portion of the tower alluded to by Leland: "The top of this round towr is gathered into a rose of stone almost *in conum* the top whereof is keverid with a flat mille stone."

In the absence of the great earl, Welsh history for several years centred round the names of two chieftains in Powys, one a Norman William de Braose, the other a Welshman Gwenwynwyn, son of Owain Kyveiliog; both were evil examples of an evil age. The Welsh portion of Pembrokeshire had lapsed again into anarchy. After the Lord Rhys died in 1197 Grufudd, his eldest legitimate son, proceeded to the English court, and having done homage to the king returned in order to take possession of his lands. His brother Maelgwn had rebelled and in Grufudd's absence formed an alliance with Gwenwynwyn of Powys. These two at the head of a considerable force invaded Cardigan, captured Aberystwith and shortly afterwards took Grufudd prisoner. Gwenwynwyn, who was at war with the English, exchanged his prisoner with them for the castle of Carreg Heiva. Although Grufudd had done homage to the king and so far as we know committed no subsequent offence, instead of obtaining his freedom was relegated to Corfe Castle and kept there in close confinement. Maelgwn having thus disposed of the legitimate lord of South Wales, completed the conquest of Cardigan, while his younger brothers took Dynevawr. Gwenwynwyn flushed by success turned his arms against his neighbour and enemy, William de Braose. The latter was besieged in Pains Castle, and finding himself unable to cope with the victorious Welsh begged for aid from England. Then Grufudd was liberated from Corfe Castle and sent with a strong English force to the assistance of his kinsman William de Braose. Grufudd had espoused De Braose's daughter Mallt or Maud, the child of the celebrated Moll Wawbee. A large body of his own friends also joined him, and the combined force of English and Welsh defeated Gwenwynwyn with a loss of 3700 slain besides prisoners, only one Englishman being killed and that by accident.† The conquerors then fell to fighting amongst themselves, for the Welsh naturally concluded that after a victory there ought to be some looting, while the English with at least equal reason considered that if William de Braose's retainers were to be plundered by

* Probably the door leads to a *garde robe*.

† Roger Wendover's *Flowers of History*.

Grufudd's Welshmen, it was hardly worth while to have saved them from those of Gwenwynwyn. The English prevailed and Grufudd retired into Cardigan, where he overthrew the usurper Maelgwn, wrested all that county from him excepting Cardigan Castle and Ystrad Meuric, Maelgwn solemnly swearing to yield up the former, an oath he did not keep. Then Maelgwn took Dynevawr from his brother, who recouped himself by seizing Kilgerran from the English.

This was the state of matters in West Wales when John came to the throne 1199. The usurper Maelgwn being in evil plight turned to the new king for aid, and for the sum of two hundred marks sold him Cardigan Castle, which he had solemnly pledged himself to restore to his brother Grufudd. In return for this friendly act King John, who was then at Poictiers, on the

3rd of December in the first year of his reign (1199) concedes to his beloved and faithful Maelgwn, son of Res, for his homage and faithful service, the four cantreds which are called Kaerdigan, together with Kilgerran and Emelin, as well those of them which he has already acquired as those which are yet to be acquired from the king's enemies, so that Maelgwn should serve him faithfully and remain faithful to him against all men. And Maelgwn for himself and his heirs gives up and quit claims to the king and his heirs for ever the castle of Kaerdigan with a certain commot adjacent to the said castle.*

This grant was confirmed a few months afterwards, and in the later document Maelgwn obtains the four cantreds of Cardigan except Cardigan Castle and the commot called Bisbic which was adjacent to the same. This charter is dated from Worcester 11th April, 1200, and witnessed among others by William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke.† The document seems to have given rise to some communications between Grufudd and the English king, for the latter received a summons to the Court which was then sitting at Chelsworth, for which purpose a safe conduct through Rhos and Pembroke was granted to him. Whether he ever availed himself of this invitation is uncertain, for he seems to have been in ill health and died the following year. He was buried in the abbey of Strata Florida.‡

John in the first year of his reign granted a new charter to the Borough of Pembroke confirming the grant made by his father in 1154, in which Henry II. assured

To the burgesses all their liberties so to be holders as fully honourably and quietly as they held the same in the time of Henry, grandfather of the aforesaid king, as concerning the ships which do come with merchandise to Milford, that they may come to Pembroke as they were accustomed to come in the time of Henry I., and when they should have so arrived they might buy and sell at their pleasure rendering the lawful customs.

To these original liberties John added free toll, being a discharge from the tolls of

Stallage, passage, pontage, and from all other customs belonging to the king, and of one fair every year to be holden and to continue on the eve on the day and the morrow of St. John Baptist, unless it should be to the detriment of the neighbouring fairs.§

The king also gave Pembroke Castle mill to the Knights Templars. It stood on a bridge over an arm of the sea, and a flour mill still occupies the site. Mr. G. T. Clark‖ thinks both these grants were made at the instance of the earl. Maelgwn and his brother Rhys, nicknamed Gryg (the hoarse), dispossessed the sons of their dead brother Grufudd.

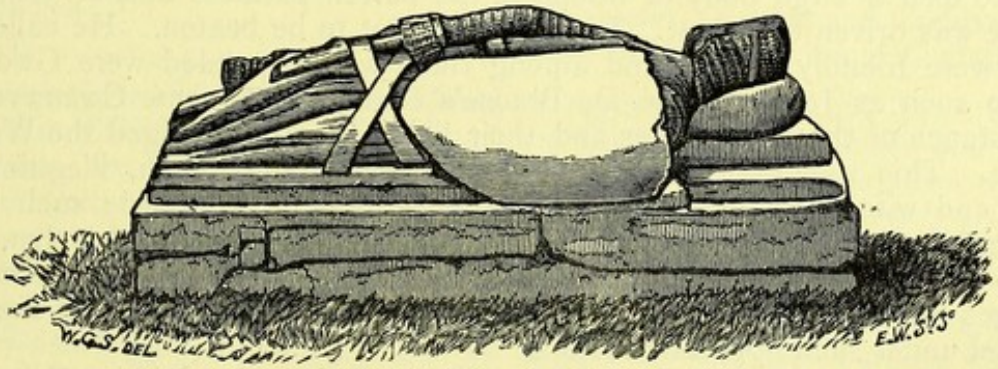
In 1210 King John appeared at Pembroke, having previously sent there by sea a large force. He summoned the Flemish soldiery of South Pembrokeshire to meet him at Holy Cross,

* *Rot. Chart.*, a° i., Joh. Memb. † Bridgeman's *Princes of South Wales*, p. 75. ‡ *Enwogion Cymru.*

§ Mr. Hulm's MS. ‖ Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, pp. 28, 29.

*apud crucem subtus Pembroke.** Probably this was the cross which stood outside the east gate of the town, near a hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, called in Fenton's time Marlan's Chapel.† About a quarter of a mile from the site of this cross is King's Bridge, which perhaps was named on that June day in 1210. The earl, his brother Richard and Gilbert de Clare‡ were present. The question naturally arises, what manner of men were these Flemish defenders of Little England who mustered at Pembroke six hundred and seventy-six years ago? Although plate armour was not yet introduced, fashion had somewhat altered since King William's warriors marched to St. David's. The conical helmet with its curious nose-piece was supplanted by a head-covering of chain sewn on to leather, while the quaint haubergeon, having tunic and breeches in one piece, had fallen into disuse, and the mail-clad forms of the knights almost covered with surcoats and jupons, gaily emblazoned with heraldic ensignia, must have made a brave show.

Lying among the nettles on the north side of Nash church-yard is the mutilated effigy of a knight clad in the fighting gear of this period, the oldest monument of its kind in Pembrokeshire, if not in Wales. Of its history we know next to nothing. Fenton states § it "originally lay on a bench at the north end of the dilapidated aisle," and tradition states the warrior represented was a gigantic admiral who died abroad, and that his body was landed at Cosheston Pill.‖



EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT IN NASH CHURCH-YARD. (NOT LATER THAN FIRST HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY.)

John appears to have made this expedition into Wales to crush William de Braose, who was cruising off the Welsh coast. This turbulent baron offered the king 40,000 marks as the price of his pardon, which however was not accepted. The king scornfully answered he might join in the expedition to Ireland (an expedition directed against his own wife), but the offer was not accepted; so the king sailed for Waterford shortly afterwards, captured Mallt or Maud de Braose, and sent her and her eldest son to Windsor, where it is said they were starved to death. Maud de Braose, *nèe* Maud de St. Valeri, was a virago who is still

* *Liberate Roll*, 172; Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 33.

† This building was pulled down by one of the Adams family early in the present century. He used the material to build a dwelling-house, which he called Holyland, to commemorate the act of spoliation.

‡ *Liberate Roll*, 72; Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 33.

§ Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 428.

‖ The monument is described by Mr. Barnwell in a Paper on "Pembrokeshire Antiquities," *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 47.

remembered as Moll Wawbee. She was peculiarly odious to the king. De Braose, her husband, escaped to France and died the next year in exile. Having thus accomplished his object the king sailed from Dublin and was at Fishguard on the 26th of August; next day he passed on to Haverford and Kidwelly, thence by stages to Bristol, which place he reached by the 1st of September.† It is noticeable that the king did not visit St. David's. John hated the priests with all his soul. A characteristic tale is told of him by Roger de Wendover. One day a Welsh marauder was brought before him. The prisoner was charged with murder and that of the worst kind—he had slain a priest. "He hath slain an enemy of mine so let him go free," said the king. It is remarkable what very long journeys John occomplished. When we remember the state of the roads, or rather the absence of anything but bridle paths, the rapidity with which this king moved about the country is wonderful. Take this expedition as an example. We find such marches as the following, Swansea to Haverfordwest, Fishguard to Kidwelly, distances of 48 and 34 miles respectively as the crow flies. If we consider the state of the roads, and that the royal traveller probably wore armour, these stages are enormous. Such journeys as these were common with John, and whatever his shortcomings may have been slothfulness was not among them.

The following year, 1211, John marched against Llewelyn ap Iorworth, Prince of North Wales. The Welshmen followed the traditional tactics of their race, flying to the mountains, from which they emerged to cut off in detail small detachments and stragglers, thus making it impossible to feed a large body of troops in the barren pathless hills of Wales. As usual the royal force was driven to retreat. But John was not to be beaten. He called out such of the Welsh as were friendly to him, and among those who responded were Gwenwynwyn and Maelgwn. So soon as John became De Braose's enemy, he became Gwenwynwyn's friend. With the assistance of these renegades and their like King John obliged the Welsh prince to sue for peace. This was granted through the intercession of Joan, illegitimate daughter of the victor, and wife of the vanquished, but the terms were very hard; such large cessions of territory were demanded that nothing but the sea coast was left to Llewelyn, and even for this he had to do homage. Then an indemnity of 40 horses and 20,000 cattle had to be paid, and 28 hostages were taken as security. It was scarcely to be expected that the Welsh would remain peaceful under such oppressive terms.

In 1212 they had an opportunity which was not neglected. John's affairs were then in hopeless confusion, and Llewelyn, having called together all the leaders in Wales, begged them for once to forget everything but fatherland. Strange to say he was successful in his appeal and unanimously chosen to command the forces of united Wales. Indeed, if they were to be led by a chieftain of the old royal stock (and no Welshman would follow anyone else), this selection of Llewelyn was a foregone conclusion, for the abdication of his independence by the Lord Rhys and the internecine warfare carried on by his children had destroyed the chance of any leader from the southern stock, while the character of Gwenwynwyn rendered his candidature hopeless, even had he been strong enough to have claimed the honour. So for once Welshmen were unanimous, and Llewelyn ap Iorworth led the bowmen of the south and the javelin men of the north against their foe. The English castles fell like card houses, and their garrisons were slaughtered like sheep. The tide swept eastward until they arrived on the English borders of Powys. Then the king arrived at the head of a large army, the Welshmen melted away only to reassemble as soon as his back was turned. John in his fury ordered the twenty-eight hostages to be hanged, and among them was a son of Maelgwn, a little lad not yet seven years old. This poor child was hung in cold

† Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 34.

blood at Shrewsbury. Such a slaughter of innocents still further inflamed the Welsh, who were at this critical juncture joined by the English barons now in revolt.

In 1215, Llewelyn having cleared North Wales and Powys of the invader, turned his face to the south-west. He invested Carmarthen, and after a siege of five days took the castle, which he razed. Llanstephan, Laugharne and St. Clear's suffered the same fate. Leaving the strongholds of Castlemartin, he turned north, and took the Newcastle in Emlyn; marching into Cemaes he captured Nevern and Newport; then having seized Cardigan and Kilgerran he returned in triumph to the north, without meddling with the territory of the great earl, who though he had not joined the barons, was considered by them to be a friend to their cause.

The following year Llewelyn returned to Pembrokeshire to adjudicate as suzerain on the the inheritance left by the Lord Rhys, which had been the cause of so much bloodshed. Maelgwn received all Pembrokeshire, except such portions as were included in the earldom.

The county was divided into eight cantrevs, these were :—

1. Arberth,	containing the commots of		Ruryn, Estrolef and Talacharn.
2. Daugleddau	,,	,,	Amgoed, Pennant and Iselfre.
3. Y Coed	,,	,,	Llanhauaden and Castell Gwys.
4. Penfro	,,	,,	Coed yr Haf, Maenor Byrr and Penfro.
5. Rhos	,,	,,	Hwllford, Castell Gwalchmai and Y Garn.*
6. Pybidioc	,,	,,	Mynyw, Pencaer and Pybidioc.
7. Kemmaes	,,	,,	Uch nefer, Is nefer and Trefdraeth.
8. Emlyn	,,	,,	Uch Euch, Is Euch and Lleffethr.

Nos. 6, 7, 8 were given by Llewelyn to Maelgwn, together with Ystrad Tywi, Llandovery, and five commots in Cardigan. Rhys Gryg had the Carmarthenshire lands and Gruffyd's sons Rhys and Owen, the Cardiganshire domains. Gwenwynwyn, who was never to be trusted, at this juncture broke away and made his peace with the king. Llewelyn sent a body of churchmen to remonstrate with the recalcitrant but without avail, so the Welsh forces entered Powys, laid it waste and drove the traitor into exile.

Louis the French Dauphin now joined the league and miserable John tried in vain to detach the Welsh from it. Failing in this he harried the Marches, burning Radnor, Hay and Oswestry, and then died hating and hated by the human race. In 1216, on November 11th, the Earl of Pembroke held a council at Bristol, where he was chosen guardian of the king (young Henry III.) and the kingdom. The following year, 1217, Reginald de Braose seceded from the confederacy and made his peace with the Earl Mareschal and the royalist party. Then Llewelyn sent against him Rhys and Owain, Grufudd's sons, and followed in person with an army of North Welshmen. The Brecknock men yielded forthwith, and on the intercession of young Rhys were allowed to pay an indemnity, and spared the usual fate of the vanquished in those days. But Llewelyn and his army determining not to be balked of blood and plunder, marched through Gower to Cevn Cynwarchan,† where they were met by Flemish emissaries who begged for peace; Llewelyn however would not receive them, and pushing on to Haverfordwest prepared for a regular siege. Young Rhys at the head of a storming party forded the Cleddy, but on arriving under the walls found these manned not by mail-clad warriors as he expected, but by Iorworth Bishop of St. David's and a number of priests, who begged for peace, offering even better terms than the Flemish emissaries were charged with. After some haggling the following was the arrangement arrived at :—

* These five were held by the Earl's men.

† Query, was this Carew Castle? See p. 105 *ante*.

1st.—Twenty men of the noblest houses in Rhos and Pembroke were handed over to Llewelyn as hostages.

2nd.—Before Michaelmas 1000 marks were to be paid to the Welsh Prince, or should the burghers of Haverfordwest be unable to pay by that time, then they should do homage to Llewelyn and remain his vassals for ever.*

Since Arnulph de Montgomery first laid his iron hand on South Pembrokeshire the foreign colonists had not been brought to such a pass; they had often been in evil plight, but never before been obliged to buy off the foe, much less admit the possibility of becoming vassals of the hated and despised Welsh Princes. But so strong was Llewelyn and so weak were they, that had not his poverty persuaded him to accept the bribe, he could no doubt have purged his land of foreigners. At this low ebb in the affairs of "Little England beyond Wales" the tide turned again in its favour. The earl compelled the dauphin and his Frenchmen to retire, and obliged so many of the insurgent barons to submit to the royal authority, that Llewelyn perceived it was necessary to give up his conquests in the south if he wished to preserve his real strength in the north. The prince met the earl at Worcester, where was also the Legate Regent. He yielded up to them the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan, and promised to restore the remainder of the southern fortresses he had taken from the English; in return the Regent constituted him Bailiff of Cardigan and Carmarthen Castles during the royal minority,† an appointment so galling to the English colony that peace was impossible in the border until it was quashed.

This was the last important action of the great Earl William Mareschal; he died at Caversham in the April following. An unseemly squabble took place over the corpse, for the Irish Bishop of Ferns declared that the earl had robbed him of two manors, for which sin he had been excommunicated; therefore as the dead body could not be buried, it was sewn up in a bull's hide. At this juncture the king intervened and obtained a provisional absolution, which was pronounced over the dead man in the following terms:

> O, William, that here liest wrapped in the bonds of excommunication, if that thou hast injuriously taken away be restored by the king, or thy heirs, or thy friends, with competent satisfaction, I absolve thee. Otherwise I ratify thy sentence, that being wrapped in thy sins thou mayest remain damned in hell for ever.‡

This being considered a sufficient warrant the body was removed to London and buried in the Temple Church, where a monument of a mailed knight cross-legged, with his feet resting on a lion couchant, with a rampant lion on his shield, is pointed out as covering the remains of William Mareschal (I.) Earl of Pembroke. When the dead earl was laid safely in his last home, William Mareschal (II.) the new earl laughed the Irish bishop to scorn and kept his hold on the manors. The churchman feeling he had been grievously imposed on, cursed the family of Mareschal, prophesying that each son in turn should go to his grave childless and that a stranger should claim their heritage.

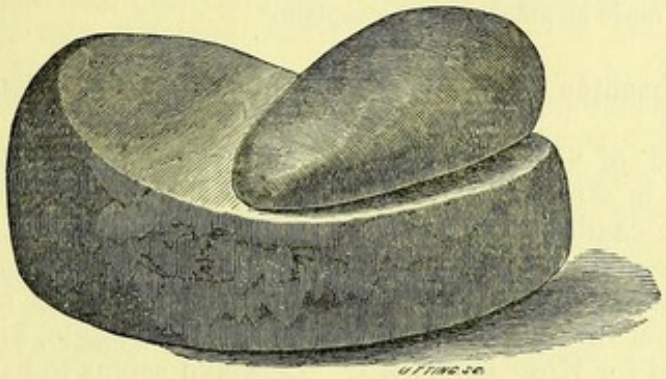
If Earl William believed in the disendowment of the Irish Church he seems to have had regard for the holy men in Wales. Among other legacies he left to the monks of Pembroke a tithe of the mills at Pembroke,§ Tenby (Causey Mill?) and Castlemartin (King's Mill). To appreciate the value of such grants it must be remembered that corn-grinding was a strict monopoly and therefore a very profitable business. Tenants were bound by feudal custom to

* *Brut y Tywysogion.* † Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 41.

‡ *Liber. Hibern.*, 17; Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 45.

§ *Cole Documents*, 297; Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 44.

take all grist to their lord's mill and pay toll on the same; indeed it was unlawful for them to be in possession of hand-mills. Such hand-mills, commonly called querns, if found were broken and their reputed owners punished. Probably it is in consequence of this regulation we so often find querns hidden in out-of-the-way places. For instance there are three of these mediæval hand-mills preserved in the Tenby Museum. One was found in a neolithic camp near Popton, another sunk in Esgarn Bog near Fishguard, the third buried on the cliffs near Strumble Head. In each case the querns must undoubtedly have been brought very considerable distances, for there never could have been houses in the immediate neighbourhood of these places. In mediæval times three distinct hand-mills seem to have been in use in West Wales.

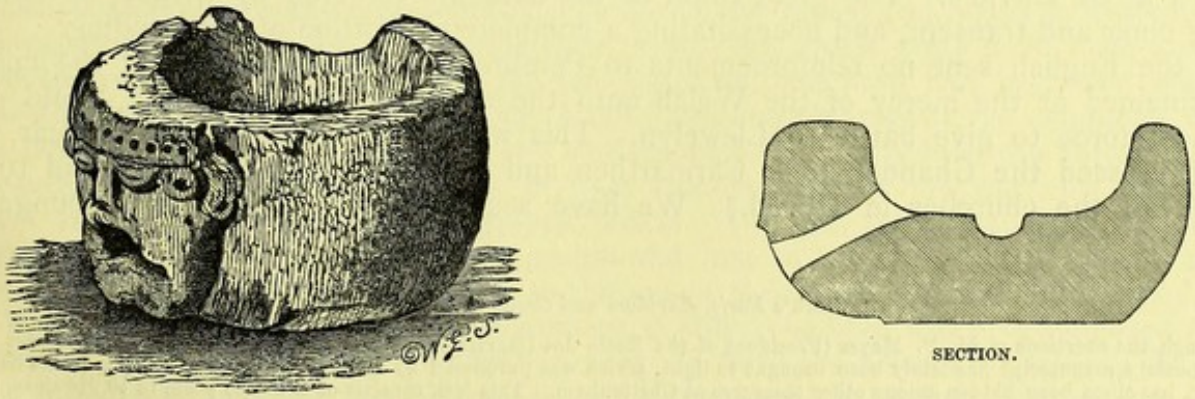


SADDLE-BACK QUERN.

First: the saddle-back, which was an improvement of the neolithic flat stone-and-muller arrangement. I have never been lucky enough to secure a specimen of a saddle-backed mill, though I have seen fragments which appeared to me once to have formed portions of a quern of this nature.

Second: the mortar quern which is very common; there is an example preserved in Tenby Museum and another in Manorbier Castle. Whether the pestle in use was of stone or metal I do not know. These mortar querns are liable to be confounded with stoups by the unwary.

Third: the pot quern was the most perfect arrangement of hand-mill invented before metal grinders were discovered. These seem to have been tolerably common in Pembrokeshire, but are generally mutilated, excepting where they have been hidden in out-of-the-way places. The only decorated example I have seen is the extremely rare specimen found near Popton, and presented to the Tenby Museum by Colonel Lambton; this is considered by Mr. Barnwell to be the most interesting quern in Wales. The meal escaped through the open mouth of a human head and the upper stone revolved in a socket. The method of working



SECTION.

HUMAN HEADED QUERN FOUND NEAR POPTON (NOW IN THE TENBY MUSEUM).

these mills is well shown in a wood-cut from Pennant's *Scotland*, which forms the tail-piece of this chapter.

To return to the earl, there can be little doubt that William Mareschal was the greatest statesman of his day, certainly in England, probably in the world. According to Matthew of Paris the following epitaph was written on the great earl :—

"Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hibernia; Solem"
"Anglia; Mercurium Normannia; Gallia Martem."

He had indeed been to Ireland an exterminator, to England a glory and an honour, in Normandy a subtle and successful negotiator, and in France an able and brave captain.*

He was generally an absentee from his earldom, though doubtless the effect of his wise counsel was felt therein.†

Llewelyn's command of Cardigan and Carmarthen soon led to disturbances, and the Welsh Prince appeared in August, 1220, to punish the Flemish offenders. He took and afterwards destroyed the castles of Narberth and Wiston, and burnt Haverfordwest up to the castle walls.‡ He devastated the whole province of Pembroke, destroying not only its human inhabitants, but the flocks and herds, driving the wretched beasts into the houses and then burning them.§ A number of Irish auxiliaries fell in this struggle, and its cost is said to have exceeded the ransom paid for King Richard I. Llewelyn seems to have handed over Cardigan to Maelgwn and kept Carmarthen for himself, a proceeding which gave offence to young Rhys who seceded. This private war between the Welsh and Earl Mareschal's retainers caused much annoyance to King Henry, the more so as the Welsh Prince asserted that he acted under the royal sanction in punishing the Pembrokeshire peace breakers, and ordered an indemnity of 100 marks should be paid either to himself or the king. Whether Llewelyn acted in good faith, supposing as he had received the custody of the castles he would be permitted to defend them, or thought he might manage to create discord between the king and earl, it is impossible to say. The king disavowed all connection with the Welsh and wrote to the knights and tenants of Pembroke informing them that Llewelyn had not acted by his orders, and directing them to pay fealty to their earl as aforetime, and to assist him in rebuilding the castles of Narberth and Wiston which had been destroyed, not to pay the 100 marks or consider themselves under the guardianship either of the English Crown or the Welsh Prince, but to remain faithful retainers of the Earl Mareschal. While the Welsh were harrying the land a misfortune, which in those days no doubt was looked on as a portent, happened at St. David's. The great tower of the cathedral erected by Bishop de Leiâ fell, crushing choir and transept, and necessitating a complete renovation of the building.

As the English sent no reinforcements to Pembroke to the assistance of the colonists these remained at the mercy of the Welsh until the earl, who was in Ireland, could gather a sufficient force to give battle to Llewelyn. This was not until the following year, 1221, when he crossed the Channel, took Carmarthen and Cardigan; his allies are said to have despoiled all the churches in Dyved.‖ We have seen that Earl William the younger had

* Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke.*

† Through the exertions of M. P. Meyer (President of the Ecole des Chartes and one of the founders of the Société des Anciens Textes Francais) a manuscript has lately been brought to light, which was purchased by the late Sir Thomas Phillips at the Savile sale in 1861, and has since been hidden among other treasures at Cheltenham. This MS. consists of a heroic poem in 19,214 lines, giving a biography of William Mareschal the elder. The poem is in 13th century French and seems to have been written by a Norman under the supervision of William Mareschal the younger. It is much to be desired that a good English translation of this treasure should be made by some competent hand.

‡ *Brut y Tywysogion.* § *Annales de Dunstaplia*, p. 61.

‖ *Annales Cambriæ.*

no great dread of ecclesiastical censure, still we can hardly suppose that he would have permitted the destruction of churches built by his own people without good reason; but when it is remembered that nearly every tower in South Pembrokeshire was built to stand siege, and many of them were doubtless held by the Welsh, it stands to reason that the buildings must have suffered ere the intruders were ejected. Most likely some churches were actually destroyed in the process.

Henry then patched up a peace between the earl and the prince, the latter receiving again the castles of Carmarthen and Cardigan. Moreover, young Rhys dying this year the king directed Llewelyn to take his land and hold it under the crown. Llewelyn divided it between the dead man's brother Owain and his uncle Maelgwn.* The king might persuade the earl to make peace with the Welsh, but the men of Pembroke had made up their minds that there could be no security for them so long as the two keys of Pembrokeshire, Cardigan and Carmarthen, were held by the Kymric spearmen; so no sooner had the earl returned to Ireland than the Pembroke men again seized Cardigan. Then Llewelyn came down with a strong force, took Cardigan and Kilgerran Castles, put their defenders to death, and ravaged the land. On hearing of this raid the earl returned bringing with him a number of cavalry, and landed at St. David's on Palm Sunday. On Easter Monday Cardigan was given up to him, and on appearing before Carmarthen that too yielded without a blow. For some reason Llewelyn did not this time meet his opponent, but sent his son Grufudd with an army against the earl,† who was making his way to Kidwelly. Grufudd attended by all the chivalry of Wales marched on Carmarthen and burned the town, then the earl forded the Towy and held Carmarthen Bridge. The Welsh attacked the English and the battle raged all day, but the Welsh failed to break through the line, and returned to their tents after immense loss. According to Dugdale 9000 men fell. The next day Grufudd being in want of provision retired, leaving the earl master of the field, who at once set about repairing Carmarthen and strengthening Kilgerran, which seems to have yielded. Perhaps the earl felt that if a really strong fortress was built on the Pembrokeshire side of the Tivy it would neutralise Cardigan when in the hands of an enemy, and greatly strengthen it when held by the Pembroke colony.

The king at this juncture sent a summons to both earl and prince, hoping to discover for them some *modus vivendi*. The earl having left instructions that the new castle of Kilgerran should be built with all speed, fearing no doubt that Cardigan would be again handed over to the Welsh, proceeded to Ludlow where he met the king and Llewelyn. This time Henry found it impossible to reconcile the representatives of the hostile races, and finally in despair handed over the custody of Cardigan and Carmarthen to the earl, which must have been a source of triumph to the men of Pembroke, for the two gates of their land had been won not by the valor or diplomacy of earls and kings, but by the bull-dog tenacity of the commons, who had proved that there could be no peace on the borders until the colony held the border fortresses. The result proved that they were right in their calculations, for the war now rolled to the eastward and Pembroke for a while enjoyed peace. The earl drove out Maelgwn from his possessions, but at the request of the king allowed him to return. This turbulent chieftain died in 1231, and the earl followed him to the grave the same year and was buried by his father in the Temple Church, where a monument is still to be seen which is supposed to cover his remains. He was married twice: first in 1203, to Alice the heiress of Baldwin de Betune, Earl of Albemarle; secondly, to Eleanor second daughter of King John; by neither of these

* Bridgeman's *Princes of South Wales*, p. 100.

† Bridgeman's *Princes of South Wales*, p. 104.

ladies had he any issue. His death was a great source of joy to the Welsh. Earl William was succeeded by his brother Richard, who was in ill favour at Court. Through the instigation of the king he was refused entrance into his castle of Pembroke, and the custody of Cardigan and Carmarthen were made over to Hugh de Burgh, who had married Margaret sister of King Alexander of Scotland. Earl Richard forthwith laid siege to Pembroke, which seems to have yielded at once, the opposition being only nominal.

As the Earl Mareschal was constantly at war with the king the Welsh looked on him as a friend, and left the land of Pembroke in peace during his lifetime. Indeed the only operations we hear of in West Wales during Earl Richard's rule were carried out under his directions: viz., the siege of Pembroke, and secondly the destruction of St. David's. Bishop Iorworth died in 1231 and was succeeded by Anselm de la Grace, a relative of the Earl Mareschal.* Probably this appointment was arranged during the lifetime of Earl William (II.) The bishop seems to have taken the king's side in the troubles that rent England, while Earl Richard supported the Barons. In 1233 the earl and other discontented lords withdrew into Wales and made a league with Llewelyn. The king then sent his defiance to the earl, and the Bishop of St. David's was the bearer. On this the earl in conjunction with the Welsh avenged themselves on the town of St. David's, which they burnt, slaying the garrison who were royalists. In the year 1234 Earl Richard was in Ireland, and a royal proclamation was issued by the Bishop of Winchester promising the earl's Irish lands to whomsoever should take him dead or alive. The result was that he was stabbed with a skean or anlace (a long dagger) and taken prisoner. After languishing for a fortnight he died, either from the effects of the wound or from poison. Such a feeling of disgust was expressed by the nobility at this dastardly outrage that the king was obliged to disavow the proclamation, and the bishop fled for sanctuary to his own cathedral at Winchester, while Maurice Fitz Gerald the Justiciary of Ireland was obliged to take oath that he was totally ignorant of the plot which terminated in the earl's death. Earl Richard died a bachelor and was succeeded by his brother Gilbert in April, 1234. Partly because the late earl's murder had tended to increase the king's unpopularity, and partly because the new earl was an inoffensive man, he inherited without any disturbance from the Court party. During his time there was peace in Pembrokeshire. Llewelyn the great Welsh prince had become old and infirm and his children quarrelled after Welsh fashion.

Llewelyn died in 1240. After his death Davydd the new prince seems to have had designs on Cardigan Castle, and this caused Earl Gilbert to visit West Wales. He took possession of the castle and strengthened it.† The earl had for some time intended to proceed to the Holy Land, and in 1241 his preparations being complete he determined to hold a farewell tournament at Hertford. As this was illegal it was termed "a Fortune," but his fortune in the matter proved bad, for while spurring and checking his Italian charger he was thrown and dragged. His injuries were so severe that he died the same evening. He was buried in the Temple Church and left no issue.

The earl was succeeded by his brother Walter in 1241. During his rule Pembroke enjoyed peace. He died at Gooderich Castle in 1245 without issue, and was in turn succeeded by his brother Anselm, who only enjoyed the honour for eleven days when he died also without issue, and was buried by his brother Walter in Tintern Abbey. With the exception of "John Mareschal, a younger son of Gilbert, the last earl's great grandfather," Anselm was the last male in direct descent from Isabel, daughter of Strongbow and Eva; his great possessions were divided among the daughters of Earl William (I.) as follows:—

* *Ang. Sac.* i., p. 488. † Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 62.

1. Maud married, 1st, Hugh le Bigod, Earl of Norfolk; 2nd, William Warren, Earl of Surrey. She received Carlow in Ireland; Hampstead Mareschal, Berks; the custody of Striguil Castle; the "Mareschal's rod;" and power to sit by deputy in the Exchequer.
2. Joan married Warine de Munchensy. She had the Pembrokeshire lands and the Lordship of Wexford.
3. Isabel, who was celebrated for her beautiful hair, married, 1st, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester; 2nd, Richard Earl of Cornwall, a son of King John. She had Kilkenny.
4. Eva married William de Braose, Lord of Brecknock. She had the castle of Haverfordwest and the Lordship of Ossory.
5. Sybil married William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby. She had Kildare and the Manor of Luton.
6. Ela married John Mowbray.*



WOMEN WORKING QUERN. (FROM PENNANT.)

* This list is taken from Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 69.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SUBJUGATION OF WALES.

Earl Anselm's Pembrokeshire Estates fall to Warine de Munchensy—The Earldom not revived—Munchensy and his wife visit Pembrokeshire and rebuild Tenby Church—Llewelyn ap Iorworth succeeded by Davydd, who is followed by Llewelyn and Owain—Wales scourged with Plague and Famine—St. David's Cathedral injured by an Earthquake (1248)—Bishop Anselm succeeded by Thomas the Welshman, who is followed by Richard de Carew—Warine de Munchensy succeeded by William de Valence, who is made Earl of Pembroke—Llewelyn deposes Owain and makes war on the English—The Monks of Whitland intrigue and are punished by the Pembrokeshire leaders—Llewelyn ap Grufudd raids Carmarthenshire and Gower—De Bauzun's unfortunate expedition into Carmarthenshire—Llanstephan, Laugharne, Narberth and Maen Castles destroyed—Also the Pembrokeshire Salt-works—Expedition into Cemaes—The Pembroke men repulsed—Llewelyn raids Carmarthen and Cardigan, beleaguers Kidwelly—Henry makes truce with Llewelyn—Pembroke men treacherously attack the Welsh at Kilgerran and are repulsed, Lord Patrick de Canton being killed—Llewelyn plunders and destroys Tenby—Battle of Evesham fatal to Welsh independence—Henry III. dies 1272—Llewelyn allies himself with France—War declared against Llewelyn—Henry Lord of Kidwelly slain—Pagan de Cadurcis conquers the King's enemies in South Wales—Llewelyn makes peace 1277—Famine and Pestilence—War breaks out again (1282)—Young Willam de Valence killed—Llewelyn ravages Cardigan and marches to Builth—Thomas Beck succeeds Bishop Carew—Beck revives the agitation for a Welsh Church—Archbishop Peckham arrives at St. David's to investigate—News brought to the Archbishop that Llewelyn is dead—Davydd nominated Prince of North Wales—William de Valence takes his Castle of Bere—Davydd captured and executed at Shrewsbury—Abortive insurrections—Dispute between the Earl and the Lord of Cemaes—Tenby the only place in South Pembrokeshire which suffered during the war—Outer line of Castles: Dale, Benton, Haverford, Picton, Wiston, Llawhaden, Narberth, St. Clear's, Llanstephan, Laugharne—Outposts: Cardigan, Kilgerran and Carmarthen—Fortified Churches and Houses: Lamphey Palace, Stackpole, Orielton, Bonville's Court, so-called Rectory at Angle—Political status of Little England in 13th century.

WHEN Earl Anselm's eleven days' rule was closed by death in 1245, his great estates were divided between his sisters. The Pembrokeshire property fell to Warine de Munchensy, who had married Joan, second daughter of William Mareschal (I.) The new lord represented a powerful line whose lands lay in Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent and Sussex,* and though he succeeded to the domains of Pembroke the earldom was not revived in his favour. Munchensy appears to have interested himself in the well-being of his tenants, for we find he came

> Into Pembrokeshire with his wife Joan, repaired ruinous places and caused ye church of Tenby to be perfected, which ever since the burning of the town till then was not restored; he also bestowed great store of jewels on ye said church.†

We hear nothing of the walls, and as Munchensy was not responsible as earl for the safety of the district, it is unlikely that he fortified the town. Llewelyn ap Iorworth fcllowing the custom of his age and race was a polygamist. He married a Welsh woman named Tanywystl besides Joan, King John's daughter. The former seems to have been his earliest love, but the Englishwoman took rank as first wife in acknowledgment of her superior rank, and Davydd Joan's son, was designated heir to the exclusion of Grufudd the first-born.

Davydd ap Llewelyn handed over his elder brother as a hostage to the King of England, and this unlucky prince broke his neck in an attempt to escape from the Tower of London in the year 1244. Davydd himself died without issue in 1246 and was succeeded by Grufudd's

* Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 76.

† George Owen's *History*, c. ii.; *Hail MSS.*

son Owain, and Llewelyn as joint sovereigns of North Wales. Matthew of Paris describes the state of Wales at this period as very pitiable. Davydd had played into the hands of his uncle King Henry, so any advantages that had been gained in the incessant warrings of Llewelyn ap Iorworth were now lost. Famine scourged the land, followed by its common sequel, pestilence. For some reason or other the churchmen seem to have been in very low spirits.

> The harp of the churchmen is changed into sorrow and lamentation, the glory of their proud and ancient nobility is faded away.

In other words the people and their rulers being poor could not subsidize either priests or bards as they had been wont to do. The Bishop of Llandaff is said to have wept himself blind. Bangor and St. Asaph were so reduced that they were obliged to beg their bread, and the Bishop of St. David's actually died of grief.* In his case there may well have been another reason. As we have seen the cathedral which had been erected with loving care and vast expenditure of treasure by De Leiâ and his successors, collapsed in 1220, and the whole work had to be recommenced. In 1248 this new edifice was rent asunder by an earthquake, and we may well fancy that the shock caused by such a misfortune might have brought about the death of an elderly man such as was Bishop Anselm.

> Possibly the tower, or part of it, may have again fallen on the roof of the choir, as it can hardly fail to be at this time that the clearstory of that portion was altered. The alterations in the side windows were made even at so late a period in strict imitation of the former work; but at the east end, where the architect was less fettered by precedent, he produced a design in the usual fashion of the age.†

Bishop Thomas, surnamed the Welshman, who was Anselm's successor, probably commenced if he did not complete these restorations; but in truth little is known of this prelate beyond his name. The condition of Pembrokeshire seems to have been tranquil enough during the episcopate of Thomas Wallensis, which only lasted until 1255, when he was succeeded by Richard de Carew, whom we must suppose to have been a descendant of Gerald de Windsor. Warine de Munchensy died the same year as the bishop, his eldest son John having predeceased him. For some reason his second son William was passed over and the Pembrokeshire lands fell to his daughter Joan, who had married William de Valence (whose mother was Isabel the dowager queen). De Valence was created Earl of Pembroke by his half-brother the king.

In 1256 Llewelyn ap Grufudd deposed his brother Owain, made himself sole ruler of North Wales, and declared war against England. He carried all before him in Gwynedd, but the south was slow to rise. The first movement appears to have originated among the monks of Whitland Abbey, for on February 5, 1257, Stephen de Bauzun of Pembroke, Nicholas Lord of Cemaes, and Patrick Canton seneschal of Carmarthen, with many other knights visited Whitland, and

> Did great despite to God and all his saints, for they beat the monks and robbed the convent, carried off all the horses and the spoils of the abbey and church, and in the cemetery they wickedly slew one of the servitors of the convent.‡

If any proof was required that these holy friars were in league with the Welsh it was supplied by the prompt vengeance taken by Llewelyn ap Grufudd. Before the month of February was out he had ravaged Canton's land about Kidwelly, Carnwyllion, Gower, and the

* Matthew of Paris. † Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 151. ‡ *Annales Cambriæ.*

the neighbourhood of Carmarthen with fire and sword, and returned to Gwynedd loaded with plunder. The Welsh prince does not appear to have meddled with Pembrokeshire, but to have satisfied himself by raiding the more exposed outlying portions of the English colony, his object being to avenge the insult offered to his friends at Whitland and rouse the spirit of the southern Welsh. This Llewelyn succeeded in doing, for we find that towards the latter end of May De Bauzun found it necessary to take the field. He marched at the head of all the chivalry of Pembroke and camped in Carmarthen on the 29th. Next day he proceeded to Llandeilo, wasting the country as he went, but a body of Welshmen commanded by Meredudd (Rhys Gryg's son) caused him great annoyance; they hung on his flank, and taking advantage of every bush and stone, harassed the English incessantly. On the 2nd of June De Bauzun's Welsh guide absconded, and it was determined to push on without delay to Cardigan; but from daylight to noon the Welsh, who held the wooded hills, poured on them an unceasing shower of arrows. Then having lost their way the heavy horsemen got bogged, and the leaders decided that the only hope of safety was to retrace their steps and seek safety in Carmarthen. During this retreat the English force fell into an ambush at "Kemereu in Strathtewy," from which scarce a single man escaped. De Bauzun himself and 3000 of his men are said to have perished, while the victorious Welsh carried off great booty in arms and horses, and what was perhaps of greater import to both parties, a conviction that they were at least the equals of these iron-clad knights who had robbed them of their fatherland.* The very next day the Welsh in Gower rose and massacred 194 Englishmen and six women; the latter were presumably slain to make the number even. Meredudd with his victorious Welshmen marched into Pembrokeshire, and destroyed the castles of Llanstephan, Laugharne, Arberth, and Maen (Maenclochog?).† It seems to have been in this raid that the Welsh plundered the Pembrokeshire salt-works.‡ As there are no saline springs in the county these works must have been on the coast, perhaps somewhere between Laugharne and Saundersfoot; but there is so far as I know neither remnant or tradition of this industry. The salt proved valuable plunder to the Welsh, as King Henry had destroyed the Welsh brine-works some time previously.

After the terrible defeat and death of De Bauzun we may well suppose that Patrick de Canton, who succeeded to his command, had quite enough to do to maintain peace in his own county. The spirit of disaffection was spreading among the Welsh. In March, 1253, so presumptuous had the natives become that it was necessary to send a force into Cemaes, the oldest settlement in the colony. Soldiers from Pembroke and Rhos entered the hundred, put two rebel chieftains to death, and collected a considerable amount of plunder; but the Welsh rose and drove them off with the loss of many men, horses and all the loot. Henry Wygan (Wogan), constable of Arberth, was among the slain.§ While all was going well with the

* Sir Stephen Bauzun, Bazun, Bawson, Bawcen, Bacon, or Baiocis (for his name is thus variously spelt), slain at the battle of Kemereu, was the son of Hugh de Baiocis, lord of that barony in the county of Lincoln, and brother and heir of John de Baiocis who died in 1248. Besides his lands in Wales he held of the king *in capite*, lands in the counties of Lincoln, Dorset and Northampton. Meyrick says that Sir Stephen Bawson had a grant of Brigan in Llansannor from Richard Earl of Gloucester, and built a house there; he certainly held one-and-a-half knights fees in "Hemingstrasse," county Pembroke; after his death (in 1257) his widow, Agnes, had a lease from the king in that year for a term of six years of the vill and hundred of Walton, county Oxon.—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, vol. v. original documents. In the *Annals of Tewkesbury* it is stated that the only two who survived this battle were Nicholas de St. Martin and Roger de Leyboune, of whom the former was taken prisoner.—Bridgeman's *Princes of South Wales*, p. 133. Stephen de Bauzun's disastrous death made a very great impression, for we find from a charter of King Edward dated at Westminster May 15, 1290. (thirty four years later), that he concedes to the canons serving God in the Church of St. John the Apostle and Theulacus of Caermarthen one acre of land adjacent to the cemetery of the Church of Ebernant, together with the advowson of the same church, and the Chapel of Conwell, so that the aforesaid canons should find one of their fraternity to celebrate Divine service daily for ever in their said Church of Caermarthen for the souls of Stephen Bauzun and Richard Giffard and other faithful men who had been slain in those parts in the service of the king or his predecessors.—Carmarthen *Chartulary*.

† Lhuyd's *Hist.* ‡ Matthew of Paris. § *Annales Cambriæ.*

Welsh, Meredudd (Rhys Gryg's son) chose to make peace with the English, impelled thereto by some jealous quarrel, an event which had so often proved fatal to the interests of Wales. This defection brought Llewelyn again to the south at the head of his northern heroes. He ravaged Ystrad Tywy, the traitor's land, and drove him into Kidwelly Castle, where he was forced to seek the protection of Lord Patrick Canton's retainers. The Welshmen swarmed round the castle like angry bees, they burnt the little town, and seemed disposed to lay a regular siege to the fortress, which we may suppose was not victualled sufficiently to provide for its own garrison and Meredudd's men, so the Englishmen and their Welsh guests sallied forth and cut their way through the beleaguers. They reached Carmarthen, but many men were slain during the retreat, Meredudd himself being wounded.

King Henry had plenty to employ his energies at home, for the Baron's League bore heavily on him; still he remembered his faithful colonists in Wales and complained bitterly to a Parliament which he held in London of the little thought which was given to their welfare. He appealed to the Church for aid, but the bishops had no money to give and ascribed the disasters to treachery, boldly naming the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester as the delinquents. After much bitter recrimination it was determined to offer a truce to Llewelyn. This was ratified at Oxford during the sitting of the "Mad Parliament." The terms of the truce were that it was to last from June 26th, 1258, to August 1st, 1259. Each party was to hold what he had obtained; neither was to enter the other's territory without permission; fords and passes were not to be obstructed; the garrisons of certain castles were to be kept up to their complement in case of sickness or death; and lastly, any violations of the truce were to be immediately amended.* This latter clause was an exceedingly wise provision, for the ink with which it was written could scarce have dried before the truce was broken. Lord Patrick de Canton the seneschal of Carmarthen and Meredudd were directed to act as a sort of commission for the rectification of abuses. The commissioners requested Llewelyn to send some responsible persons to confer with them on certain points in dispute between the English and Welsh of their district. In answer to this request Prince Davydd and other chieftains, under a strong escort, came south. On the 3rd of September they camped near Kilgerran. Lord Patrick and Meredudd with a strong force from Kidwelly, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Rhos and Cemaes were at Cardigan. A conference (and possibly a dispute) took place between the commissioners and the Welsh delegates, when an English knight cried out:

"You, Lord Patrick, are a great baron of the king's and are our leader and patron; the Lord has delivered these Welsh into your hands; we are more and better men than they, attack them suddenly and take them, they will be a most acceptable present to the king; victory must be ours. If you do not I will charge you before the king with remissness in his service."

Lord Patrick and his officers were persuaded by this infamous oration, and forming their troops marched against the unsuspecting Welsh.† Many of them were slain by the English in the furious onslaught, and the remainder fled in despair; but Prince Davydd rallied his scattered force which was now reinforced by the country people and returned. After a short fight the Englishmen were utterly routed. Lord Patrick himself was slain, and with him Walter Malefiant‡ and Hugo de Vynes bit the dust. Meredudd managed to get into Kilgerran Castle, while the anonymous scoundrel to whose infamous advice the disaster was owing rode off in safety.§ No particular notice appears to have been taken of this piece of treachery, but virtues and vices are weighed in different scales by different generations. The

* Woodward's *History of Wales.*

† This account is given not by a Welsh chronicler, but by Matthew of Paris.

‡ Probably of Upton Castle.

§ *Welsh Chron.*; Matthew of Paris.

following year, 1259, Llewelyn managed to get hold of Meredudd the traitor and tried him before a court composed of the notables of Wales. The sentence was imprisonment for seven months, and the deprivation of two castles; he had moreover to give his son as a hostage for good behaviour. This does not seem a very harsh decision when we remember the treachery in which this man had been implicated.

In January, 1260, Llewelyn was at Builth with an unusually strong force, and although suffering from no particular provocation so far as we know made a forced march on Tenby, which he plundered and destroyed.* This was indeed driving the iron home, the Welsh had not been so far south in Pembroke since the year 1185. This breach of the truce was brought before Parliament by King Henry during the following month, and Llewelyn was summoned to give his account of the matter. But meanwhile the English colonists had burnt "Trefetland," which was considered to balance the account. So time dragged on. On the 9th of August there was a fight at Llawhaden. Whether this was a blow aimed by the Welsh at Bishop Richard Carew, or simply a chance *mélée* between the hostile races, it is hard to say; many of the Welsh were slain, but on the whole the English seem to have got the worst of the encounter. The Barons' war was now raging furiously and we have no chronicle of the affairs of West Wales. In 1263 Llewelyn entered into some compact with Simon de Montfort which seems to have alarmed the Lords of the Marches. In the battle of Lewes the Earl of Pembroke commanded one division of the king's men, and being beaten went into exile. Pembroke Castle and the estates appertaining, were then delivered over to the Earl of Gloucester; this was in 1264. The following year Earl William de Valence with a force of 150 knights landed at Pembroke, and retook the castle, where no doubt he was well received by the colonists, for he was not only their lord, but the determined foe of Llewelyn and the Welsh people.

In August of the same year the decisive battle of Evesham was fought; the earl was present and with him doubtless were many men from Little England. Independent Wales was smitten down by the same stroke that slew Simon de Montfort. Henry II. had practically conquered the Principality, and it would no doubt have been absorbed by the English in his son's reign had not the Barons' war broken out. The Welsh chieftains cleverly availed themselves of England's intestine troubles, and by identifying their cause with that of the rebel lords managed to prolong a precarious independence. When we think of Edward's conquest this should be remembered. We look on Llewelyn ap Grufudd as a patriot prince fighting for his hearth and altar. The English king deemed him a partisan of the late Simon de Montfort, and a possible nucleus for fresh trouble. Of course Edward also was thoroughly impressed with the importance of centralization, which was indeed the chief motive of his reign, so he could not well avoid reiterating—"Censeo Walliam esse delendam." The last contest did not follow immediately on Evesham fight. When King Henry died in 1272 Llewelyn refused both homage and the unpaid portion of the fine agreed to five years before, yet war did not break out at once. Earl Simon of Leicester had as protector of England made a treaty with Llewelyn, one of the agreements being that his daughter Eleanor should marry the Welsh prince. After Simon's fall this arrangement seems to have been forgotten by both parties and Eleanor retired into France with her widowed mother. But now that Llewelyn was preparing to renew the war with England, he bethought him of his promised bride and appealed to the King of France as the lady's guardian to sanction the union, at the same time offering to conclude a treaty. Both offers were accepted and the lady was despatched in 1276.

Edward was of course greatly annoyed by this proceeding; first, that Llewelyn should

* *Annales Cambriæ.*

ally himself with Simon's daughter; secondly, that he should have applied to the King of France as her guardian rather than to himself; thirdly, that he should have allied himself to France. The English king sent out a fleet, and meeting the French convoy off the Scillys, captured it and the lady. War was declared against Llewelyn on the 12th of November, but nothing seems to have immediately taken place. In South Wales the first blow was struck between the men of Ystrad Tywy and Henry the Lord of Kidwelly; the latter was slain in the engagement that took place. This was considered so disastrous a beginning that Pagan de Cadurcis, a leader of known ability, was sent to take the command at Carmarthen. He soon reduced the counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen, forcing all the barons of South Wales to do homage to King Edward, who was in person vigorously carrying on the war in Gwynedd.

On Christmas Day, 1277, peace was again concluded. Llewelyn did homage to the king and received as his reward the hand of Eleanor de Montfort. But although Wales enjoyed the blessings of peace her borders were scourged with famine and the sickness which usually accompanies deprivation of necessaries. The scarcity was not confined to cereals, for great mortality existed among the flocks and herds; indeed all the sheep in Glamorgan are said to have died. The Pembroke border-land was now in the hands of the Crown, for the king had exchanged certain castles in England with his brother Edmund for the fortresses of Cardigan and Carmarthen. Edward seems carefully to have studied the welfare of his Welsh subjects. We find him ordering a committee consisting of Richard de Carew, Bishop of St. David's, and others to examine the ancient laws and customs of Wales and the Marches so that these might be the laws of the land.* In the summer of 1281 Eleanor Princess of Wales died in giving birth to a daughter, and in the March following, war again burst forth. Among its first victims was young William de Valence, heir to the earldom of Pembroke. The Welsh seem to have carried on hostilities in the most ruthless fashion. According to Matthew of Westminster none were spared, old and young, women and sucking children were alike slaughtered in cold blood. Llewelyn managing to hold his own pretty fairly in the north marched south, and finding it unprotected, as the Earl of Gloucester had withdrawn, ravaged Cardiganshire and then passed on to Builth. Now it happened that John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was in Pembrokeshire this year. Bishop Richard de Carew had died in 1280 and been succeeded by Thomas Beck, a man of higher standing than the prelates who had of late years filled the throne of St. David. He held office as Lord Treasurer, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe, and during King Edward's absence in 1279 had charge of the Great Seal.† Such a man when he entered on his new duties must of course have seen that the days of Welsh independence were drawing very fast to their end. No one knew what was to follow. Bishop Beck thought that this was an opportune moment to renew the old claim for independence; peradventure he considered Edward would keep the Principality quite distinct from the remainder of his dominion with a separate establishment, and that he (Beck) being a *persona grata* at Court might be selected to rule the Welsh Church. At any rate he claimed independence from the jurisdiction of Canterbury. Archbishop Peckham was much interested in Wales. He had been diligently employed in attempting to reconcile his royal master and the Kymric nobles, and was therefore in all probability well posted in Welsh ecclesiastical matters. No sooner did the Bishop of St. David's make his claim than the Archbishop proceeded to Pembrokeshire and held a visitation. He forthwith demolished the claim to independence, and so completely that it has never been heard of since. He then proceeded to draw attention to certain irregularities attributed to the clergy of this diocese, the gravest charge against them being that of

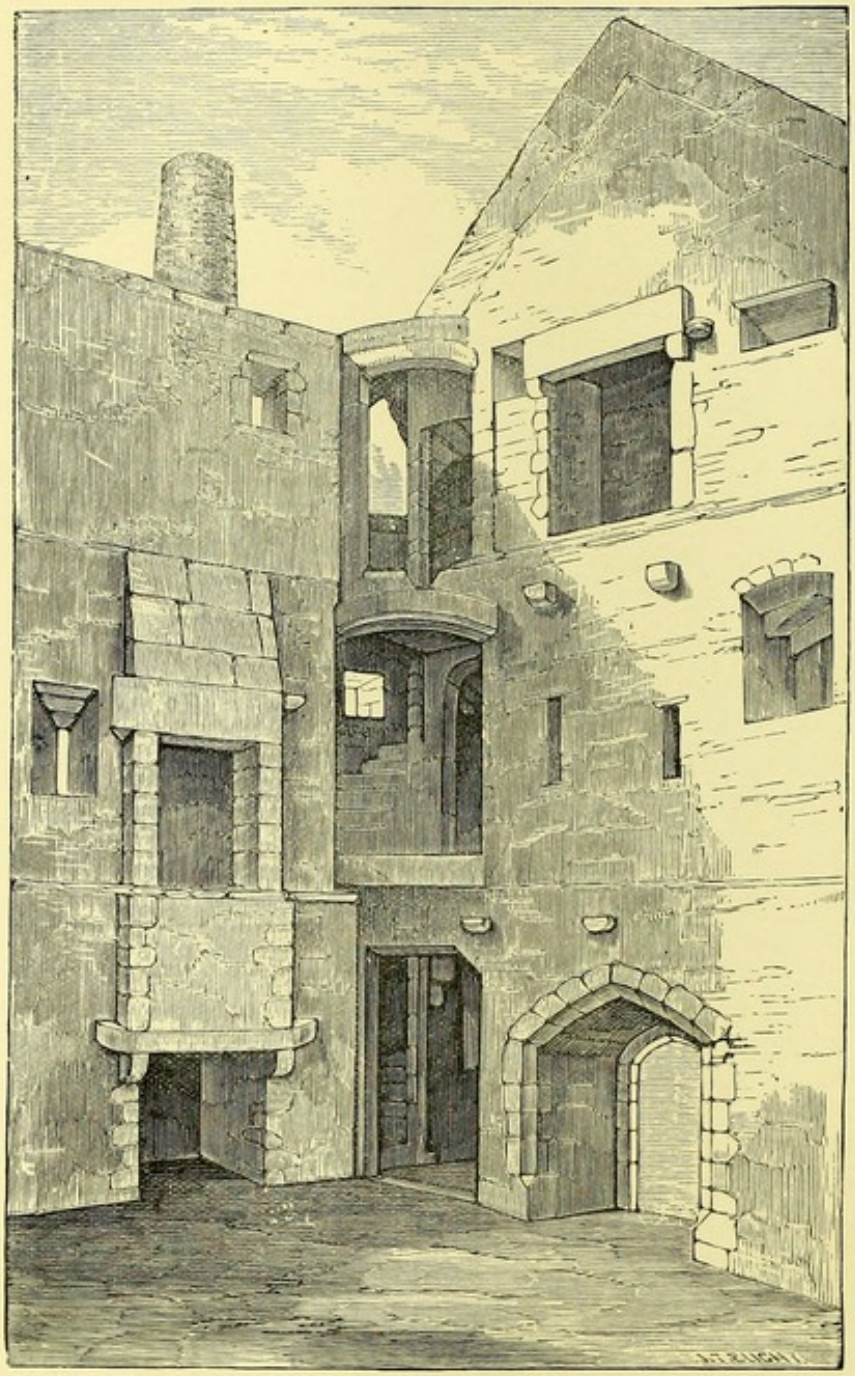
* Woodward's *History of Wales*, p. 488.

† Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 294.

incontinence. The same system of concubinage which had raised the ire of Gerald de Barri more than a hundred years before was still in vogue, and that in high places, for the archbishop directed that when canons were caught tripping they should forthwith be deprived of their canonries.* After holding this visitation the archbishop still tarried in Pembrokeshire. One day a messenger arrived in hot haste bringing strange news for his grace and relics to prove the truth thereof. The news was that Llewelyn ap Grufudd had been slain in a skirmish near Builth, and the relics were the prince's seal and a list of names which were in some sort of cypher. Just before the skirmish an English knight, Adam de Francton, had come across a solitary Welshman whom he had run through with his lance. After the fight was over Francton returned to strip his victim, but on reaching the man found him still breathing, and was informed that he had asked for a priest. Then Francton looking carefully at the wounded soldier, recognized Llewelyn and forthwith lopped off his head. This trophy was sent to King Edward and gibbeted on the tower. Our archbishop had scarcely digested these strange tidings when another messenger arrived. This time the sender was a fair lady, Maud de Longepée. Though she was wife of John Giffard, who was one of the commanders in the skirmish during which the Welsh prince lost his life, she was also related to Llewelyn. The message she sent related to her dead relative. It appeared that when the archbishop failed to make peace between Llewelyn and the king, he excommunicated the former, and now his foes having slain, decapitated and stripped the prince, declared that the body of an excommunicate could not receive burial rites, therefore Llewelyn's carcass must remain where it fell till carried off by the corbie crows and foxes. This sadly troubled the gentle heart of Maud Longepée. Therefore she sent to the archbishop and begged mercy for her dead kinsman. To his credit be it said that John Peckham removed the ban on the somewhat trifling plea that Llewelyn had desired to have the service of a priest in his death agony. After the death of his brother Llewelyn, Davydd called together the chieftains of North Wales, and was by them nominated prince, but his reign was short. The Earl of Warwick defeated his partisans near Snowdon, and William de Valence Earl of Pembroke took his chief fortress the castle of Bere. Davydd then fled to the woods, but was captured about midsummer, sent in chains to Rhuddlan, whence he was despatched to Shrewsbury, hanged drawn and quartered. His head was forwarded to London and placed by that of his brother, while the arms went to Winchester and York, the legs to Bristol and Northampton.

Thus in 1283 died the last Kymric prince of Wales. Rhys the son of Meredudd, Rhys Gryg's heir, having always aided the English was in favour, but other members of his family were imprisoned in the Tower, viz., old Howel, Rhys Gryg's son; Grufudd and Llewelyn, his great-grandsons; and Maelgwn's grandson,† Rhys. West Wales was all the quieter for the seclusion of this princely family. The next trouble we hear of is the rebellion of the one loyal member of the royal house of South Wales. Rhys ap Meredudd had like his father always favoured the English, and as a reward obtained not only his patrimony, but a fair slice of that belonging to the other members of his family. He did not however receive what he considered his rights, and appealed to the sword in 1287. In the first instance he seems to have waged war not against the king, but against the king's justiciary, which to us in these latter days appears to be a distinction without a difference. But King Edward was willing to make excuses for the hot-headed Welshman who had formerly done him good service; he wrote most graciously to Rhys promising that his grievances should receive attention, but commanding him at once to cease from warring against the justiciary. Rhys ap Meredudd taking no notice of this appeal, proceeded to overrun central Wales. He took the castles of

* Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 299. † *Annales Cambriæ.*



INTERIOR OF OLD RECTORY (?) AT ANGLE.

Dynevawr and Carreg Cennen, burnt Swansea town, and ravaged Carmarthen up to the castle walls. Then the Earl of Gloucester was sent against him, and Rhys was besieged in Drwysllyn, where a sad mishap befell the besiegers who had mined the walls. Sir William Munchensy (Joan Mareschal's son) with certain of his men imprudently entered the mine, which fell in and buried them alive.* In the confusion Rhys escaped and took refuge in his new castle at Emlyn. Here finding the English were too strong he capitulated and was forgiven. This was about Michaelmas. In less than six weeks he had again raised the standard of revolt and recaptured Newcastle Emlyn, in which he held out during the winter months; but in the spring his enemy Robert Tybetot captured the castle and drove him from the country. He took refuge in Ireland and for a while there was peace.

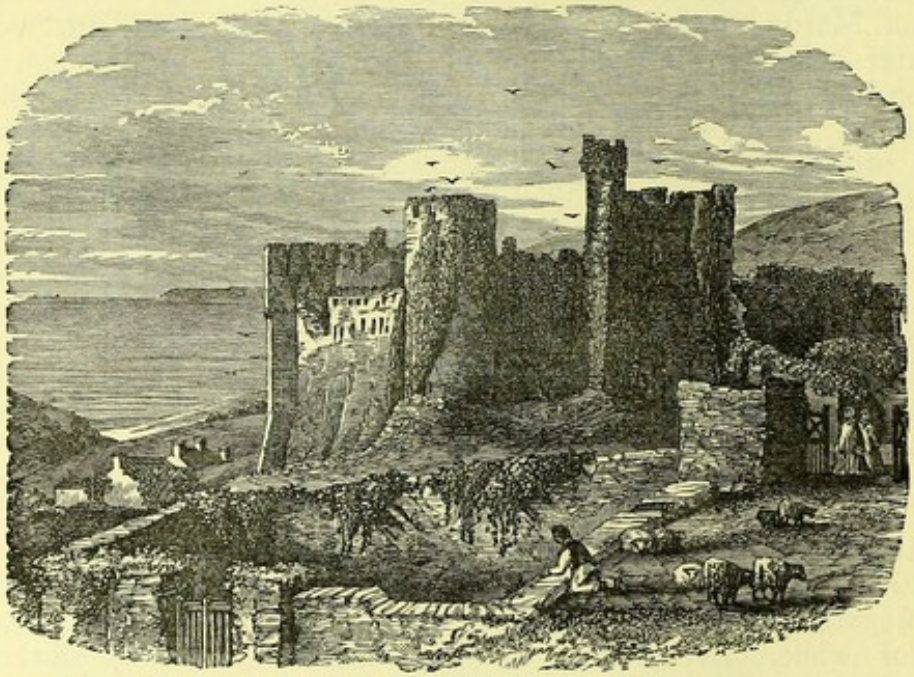
Taking advantage of this unusual state of things the English colony had a dispute among themselves. Queen Eleanor died in 1290. She had enjoyed the lordship of Haverfordwest, an appointment which the Earl of Pembroke looked on as his by right. At the queen's death he claimed jurisdiction not only over Haverfordwest, but the port of Milford and the barony of Cemaes. William Martin, a descendant of the old filibuster De Turribus, protested and brought the matter before the queen's seneschal, Hugh de Cressingham, in his court at Haverford. Then John Wogan and fifty armed men entered the court and in the earl's name stopped proceedings. Moreover they plundered the town. How the matter of William Martin ended is proved by the fact that his descendants remained independent. The earl certainly did not gain Haverfordwest, for after William Wallace had made a scabbard out of Hugh de Cressingham's skin, the custody of Haverfordwest was committed to Walter de Pederton for a period of four years, he paying the queen's executors £620 per annum for the same.†

In 1292 Rhys ap Meredudd returned from Ireland, and having collected a large force gave battle to his enemy Justiciary Tybetot, but was defeated with a loss of 4000 men, taken prisoner, sent to York, and executed with the usual barbarous accompaniments. The descendant of Rhys Gryg having been thus disposed of, the representative of old Maelgwn ap Rhys, called Vychan, determined to try his fate. In the year 1294 a dangerous conspiracy was organized. Edward was at war with France and considered that as Wales was now a portion of the kingdom, it was only fair her inhabitants should bear their share in the burden of imperial taxation. Commissions were appointed to raise the tax, Edward supposing all would be well prepared for his French expedition. But this taxation awoke bitter feelings that had slept for awhile. Even had the Welsh been willing to assist Edward in his designs on France, it is more than likely very great difficulty would have been experienced in raising the necessary sum from a poor nation that had just been beaten down in a life and death struggle for existence. However the Welsh rulers had no such desire. Madog ap Morgan, who whether truly or not, declared that Llewelyn and not Morgan was his sire, raised North Wales, while Maelgwn Vychan stirred up the South and carried fire and sword not only through Carmarthen and Cardigan, but into the heart of Pembroke. Simultaneously with these two uprisings one Morgan drove the Earl of Gloucester out of Caerleon, so once more Wales was in arms. The English invaders were beleaguered from Usk to Dee, from Penmaenmawr to St. David's Head. Edmund Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, was defeated near Denbigh, and the Earl of Lincoln fared no better. Edward raised an army, rushed to the rescue, and compelled Madog to retire on Snowdon. Heavy rains and spring tides obstructed the English army in their passage of the Conway river. Edward and the van had passed in safety to the western side, but the bulk of his force with all the

* Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 74.

† Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke.*

supplies were still on the eastern shore. Madog swept down from the heights of Snowdon and drove Edward into Aber Conwy Castle, where he besieged him so closely that the king was reduced to eating the coarsest meat and drinking honey and water. In his adversity he behaved like the hero he was, sharing everything with his soldiers. In the end as the swollen river subsided the remainder of the English crossed and raised the siege; but no less than a thousand men perished before this could be done. Madog held out until August, 1295, when some authors say he was taken prisoner, others that he voluntarily submitted, while a third division declare he was given up to the king by his own men, sent to the Tower, and imprisoned until his death.* Powell on the other hand says he was pardoned on condition that he subdued Morgan. Which account is true matters little; the result was that his revolt was ineffective. Maelgwn Vychan had not managed to hold the field so long as his confederates. He had already been taken prisoner and sent to Hereford, where he was dragged at a horse's tail to the gallows and hung like a thief. With him ended the house of Rhys ap



MANORBIER CASTLE.

Tewdwr. For two hundred years the family had waged a bitter war, varied by short truces, with the foreign colony of Pembroke; thousands of lives had been lost and misery untold created by this war of races; at length it was over, the weakest had gone to the wall.

From a strategic point of view the peninsula formed by Milford Haven and the Bristol Channel was of immense importance to the invaders of Wales in the 12th and 13th centuries. The great difficulty English commanders had to contend with in Welsh wars was an absence of roads; but the sea offered an easy line of communication between Pembrokeshire and Bristol which, since the Welsh never attempted naval operations, was not liable to interference from the enemy. Using Milford Haven as a base the foreign invader could at pleasure throw an army into the heart of Wales. Perceiving its value the English rendered lower Pembrokeshire well nigh impregnable to assault from any force at the disposition of the Welsh princes. The district was dominated by a great quadrilateral formed by Pembroke, Carew, Manorbier and

* *Welsh Chron.*, p. 381.

Tenby, and it was girdled by a chain of castles: Dale, Benton, Haverfordwest, Picton, Wiston, Llawhaden, Narberth, St. Clear's, Llanstephan and Laugharne; while beyond were the very important outposts of Cardigan backed by Kilgerran, and Carmarthen with its satellite Rhyd-y-Gors. These castles differed greatly in form and strength, varying from the huge fortress overlooking Pembroke town to simple earthworks such as those to be seen at St. Clear's. Many of the edifices we now admire were probably only in course of construction when peace was concluded, while others were strengthened and enlarged as a precautionary measure after the conquest of Wales; but the lines then existing were so strong that lower Pembrokeshire (if we except Tenby), seems to have escaped molestation during the long war which ended in the destruction of Welsh independence.* Tenby was no doubt weak in position and construction, and a cause of anxiety to the district, for it was taken by Meredudd and Rhys, sons of Grufudd, in 1150; by Maelgwn ap Rhys in 1186; and again by Llewelyn ap Grufudd in 1260. The shore line must have been a source of danger during low spring tides, for a body of men might steal along unperceived right up to the castle walls if they could manage to cross over from Carmarthenshire, and under such circumstances it seems strange that the little town itself was not more strongly fortified at an earlier period, for probably the walls were erected subsequently to Edward's conquest.

At the end of the war Manorbier and Carew castles still remained in the hands of the descendants of Gerald de Windsor. The former seems to have been entirely reconstructed about this period. The castle we see to-day was apparently built about the end of the 13th century. Carew too, no doubt, underwent very great changes, the west front seems to be like Manorbier, Edwardian, but Sir Rhys ap Thomas and Sir John Perrot so modified the remainder in Tudor times that it is hard to say what the extent of the 13th century castle may have been. Pembroke had become pretty much what we now see. Into this quadrilateral the Welsh did not dare to penetrate. On the several occasions when Tenby was destroyed they immediately retired.

A few words concerning the encircling chain of castles seems required. To begin with Dale. Though there are no remains to show us what form the original fortress may have taken, nor indeed any reference to the building, yet there must have been a castle of some sort on the old Scandinavian ground of Dale, for we find on December 5, 1293, Robertus de Vale had a charter for a weekly market at his Manor of Vale, in the county of Pembroke,† so that although Dale castle is a modern mansion, and we have no record of the house on the site of which it stands before the 15th century, yet we may feel assured that the encircling chain began at the Haven's mouth. Following up the estuary we come to Benton, another "subordinate castle" as Mr Clark terms it.‡ A mere round tower surrounded by an octagonal battlement probably of later date. This tower was originally divided into three stories, but as the floors were of wood they have disappeared. There seem to have been no fire-places nor are there any remains of stairs, so that the various chambers must have been approached by a ladder. The tower could not have been much more than a look-out, and place of refuge in times of extreme danger for the detachment of troops who dwelt in a plot of ground which surrounded the castle, and was in its turn surrounded by earthworks. Next in the line comes Haverford, which after Pembroke was the most important fortress in Little England. That must have been then much as it is now. Wiston or Castle Gwys was probably an earthwork. What Llawhaden may have been we can-

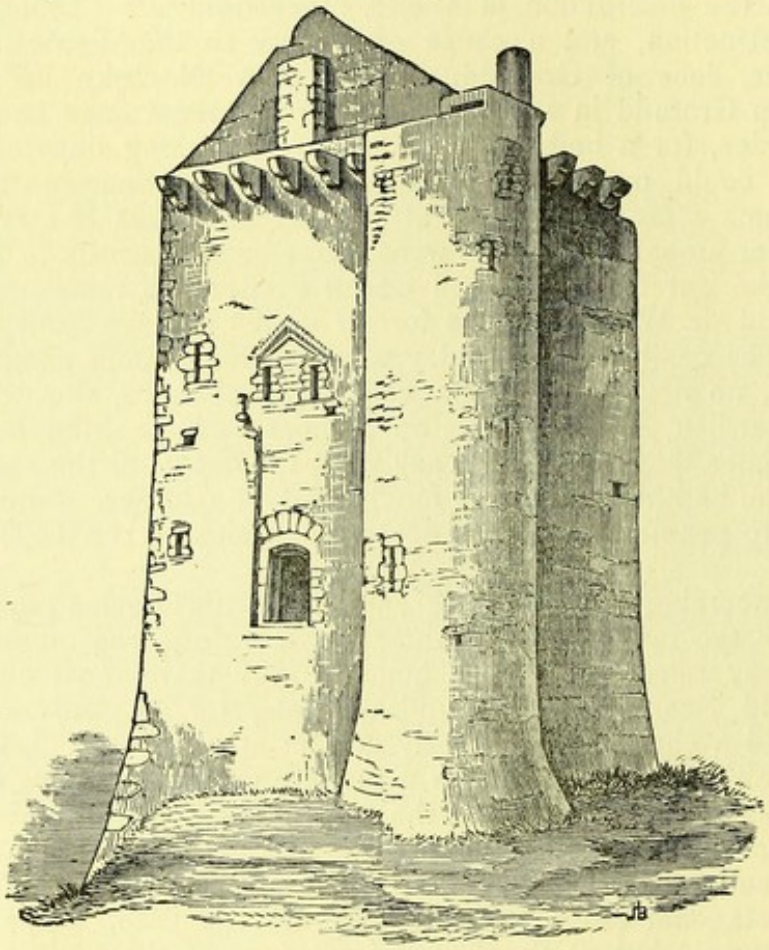
* Without indeed Llewelyn ap Iorworth on his march from Gower to Haverfordwest in the year 1217 passed by Carew Castle which seems scarcely possible.

† Rot Chart a. °22 Edw. I. pars unica, No. 33.

‡ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, January, 1865.

not tell. The present castle probably was built by Bishop Beck who as we have seen filled the throne at this very period. Narberth castle is said to have been erected by Sir Andrew Perrot, son of Sir Stephen Perrot. The latter settled in Pembrokeshire in 1112 according to Meyrick.* The remains are slight and must have been wonderfully altered since Sir Andrew Perrot's days. St. Clear's is a fine specimen of an earthen castle, a circular tapering tumulus of great size. Llanstephan and Laugharne, or Talacharn, are important Edwardian fortresses, but being outside the boundary of the county do not come within our scope.

Such was the rampart of detached fortresses which encircled Little England beyond



SO-CALLED OLD RECTORY, ANGLE.

Wales. Nearly all of these in turn fell, but they answered their purpose for the Kymry did not dare to overstep the boundary marked by this line. It must not however be supposed that South Pembrokeshire was entirely dependent on the quadrilateral and the chain of castles. Every church tower was a stronghold, and many smaller fortresses dotted the land. Besides Llawhaden castle the Bishop of St. David's had a fortified house at Lamphey; what it was like we do not know, for the existing palace was reconstructed if not built by Bishop Gower. The Vernons and the Wiriets had strong houses respectively at Stackpole and Orielton, while Upton the stronghold of the Malephant family covered Carew on the Haven side. Near

* *Visitations of Lewys Dwnn*, vol. I., p. 89.

Saundersfoot is an ancient fortified manor-house called Bonville's Court, after the family of that name; these were all important mansions. Besides these well-known houses were little castles such as that strange square Piel tower at Angle known as "The Rectory," which is "unique as regards the whole of Wales" according to Mr. Barnwell. The basement of the tower is covered with vaulted roof, and the first floor by a stair-case partly in and partly out of the building, which is continued by a newel stair leading to the second and third story; there is no other vaulting except in the passage in the walls, on level of second story, which leads to a *garde robe;* in each story is a fire-place.*

In the 13th century the political situation in Little England was not at all complicated. From the great earl down to the roughest rascal that trailed a pike all were royalists. The colonists deemed the reforming barons a cabal of traitors, Magna Charta an exceedingly dangerous instrument, and no doubt talked of the days when "good King John" reviewed the local troops by Pembroke Cross, for their political sympathies were swayed by the ever present Welsh question. The Earls of Pembroke were king's men† by family tradition, and as royalists hated the Kymry who were continually intriguing against the Crown. The commonalty arrived at the same conclusion by a different road. They were members of the absolutist party and loved the king *because* he was an irreconcilable foe to their detested and despised Welsh neighbours.

* See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. xiv., p. 75.

† Every rule has its exception. Earl William Mareschal (II.) was a member of the baronial party before he succeeded to his earldom; his brother Richard was a consistent upholder of the league, and sealed that consistency with his blood.

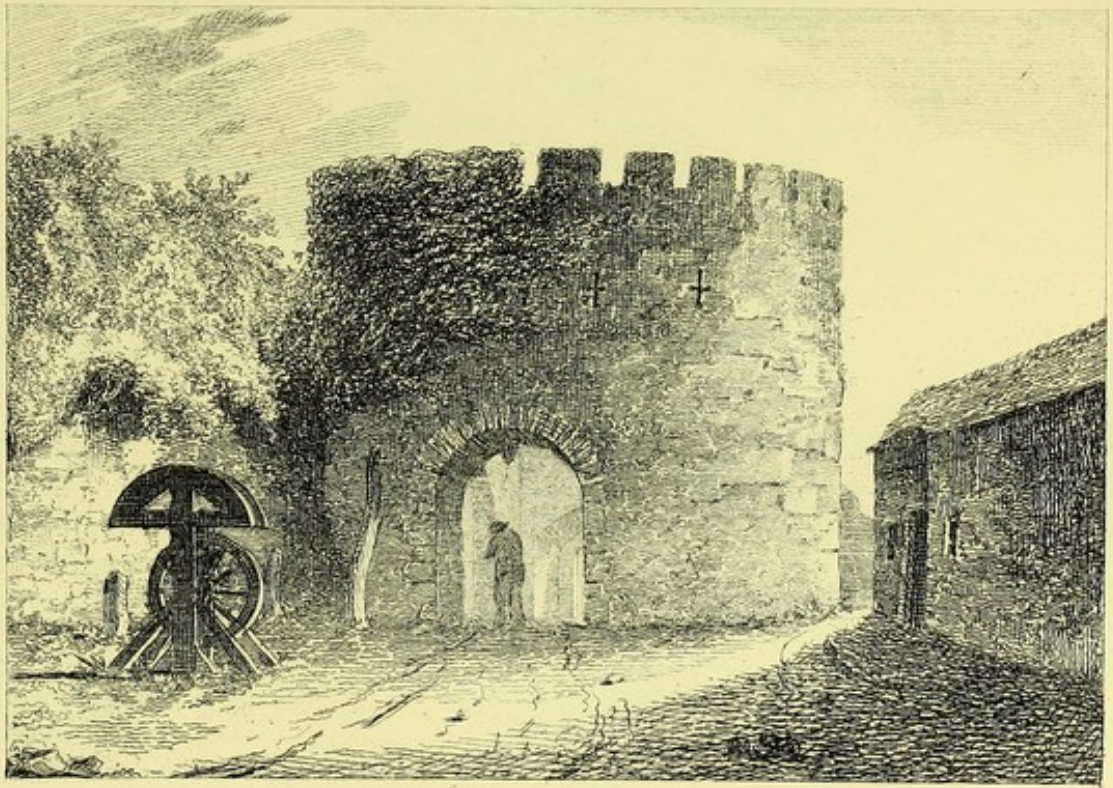
CHAPTER XV.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' PEACE.

Edward stops the creation of new Lordships of the March—Pembroke divided between the Lord Marcher of Cemaes and the Earl of Pembroke who acted as Count Palatine—Disputes between the Marcher and the Earl, and between the Earl and the Crown—Bishop Beck rebuilds Llawhaden and erects a *hospitium* at that place, founds collegiate establishments at Llangadoc and Llandewi Brefi—The Earl founds a *hospitium* at Tenby, gives a charter to that town, probably builds the walls—Fortification of towns an advance in civilization—William de Valence dies 1296—Aymer does not succeed until the death of his mother, 1307—List of Jurors' names—Monumental effigies—Bishop Beck dies (1293) and is succeeded by David Martin—Earl Aymer de Valence and his wives die in 1324—Fulling Mills mentioned at Pelkham and Lewelston in the inquisition taken after his death—Aymer de Valence confirms his father's charter to Tenby—Is succeeded by his nephew Laurence de Hastings, who again confirms that charter—Bishop Martin supposed to have built the gate tower to the Cathedral Close at St. David's and completed the Cathedral Church—Died in 1328—Succeeded by Henry Gower, who completed the Cathedral and built the Episcopal Palaces at St. David's and Lamphey—Gower dies 1347 and is succeeded by John Thoresby, Reginald Brian, and Thomas Fastolph (1352)—Freelances from Wales fight in Scotland and Wales—John de Hastings leads Welsh troops in Edward III. French and Spanish Wars—Story of Evan of Wales and John Lambe—King Edward dies in the arms of Dame Alice Perrers, lady of Manorbier—Richard popular in Wales—Richard sails from Haverford to Ireland (1397)—Returns in nine months, his army mutinies, and he flies to North Wales—John de Hastings succeeded by his son John; the latter by a cousin, Sir Edward Hastings—The King assumes the Earldom and grants it to Queen Isabel—Unfortified mansions built—Lydstep—Carswell—The Welsh resume importance in South Pembrokeshire—Jestynton—Trefgarn—Wages of workmen in the 14th century.

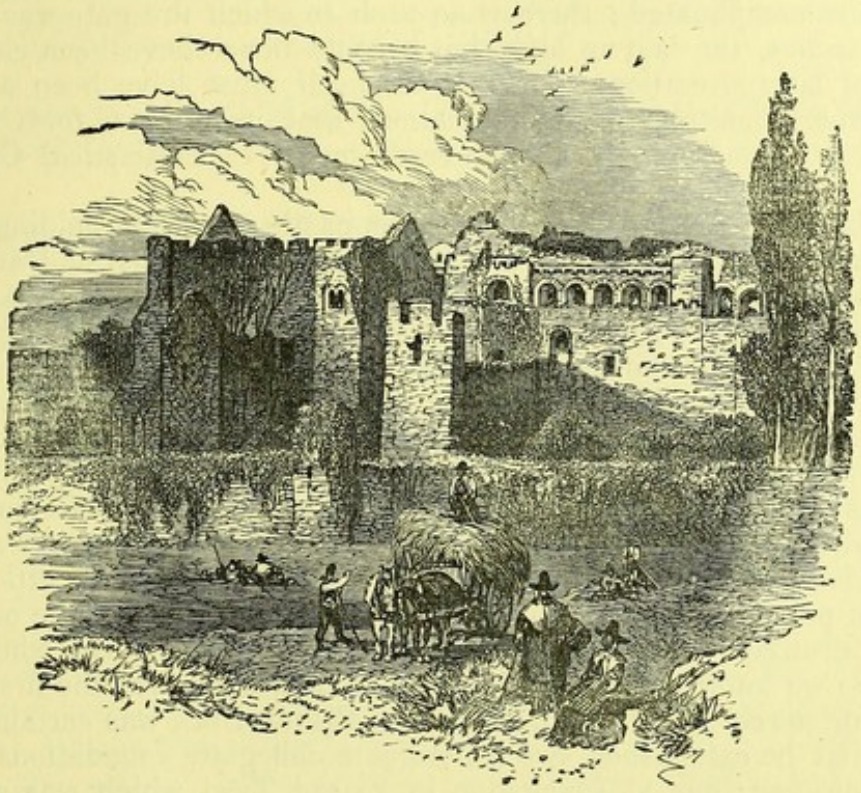
WELSH folks naturally do but scant justice to the memory of Edward I.; yet he gave them peace, God's most precious blessing—a blessing unknown in Wales since the Roman legionaries marched out of Caerleon. Edward indeed strangled national independence in his iron grasp, but he also most effectually disposed of the innumerable petty chieftains whose claims had led to massacre and misery ever since the dim dawn of Keltic history Another boon conferred on the Principality by the conqueror was the abrogation of the right to create new Lordships of the March. Henceforth Wales belonged to the king, and ceased to be a territory from which any feudal filibuster might carve himself a domain. Had Edward abolished the twenty-one Lordships of the March then in existence he would no doubt have conferred a still greater blessing on the Welsh people, but this was a task beyond his power. The turbulent spirit of the English Barons was scotched not killed, and had the vested rights of their order been assailed, all those troubles which had shaken England to her centre for half-a-century would have immediately recurred.

On the 7th of March, 1283, were passed the Statutes of Rhuddlan, in which it is stated that the king had examined the laws and customs up to that period valid in Wales, and that he abolished some of them, corrected others, and confirmed the rest, adding thereto certain enactments for the government of the country, by viscounts, crown officers and bailiffs, setting out the jurisdiction of these various authorities. The new code affected only such portions of the land as had been wrested from the Kymry in their last struggle, viz.: Anglesey, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Denbigh, Carmarthen, and Cardigan. The districts previously conquered remained under the jurisdiction of their several lords. This was the case with Little England. Pembrokeshire came under two heads. First, Cemaes was administered by a Lord Marcher who was the lineal descendant of Martin de Turribus. Second, Pembroke on



South Gate

the other hand was ruled by the Earl in all respects as a Count Palatine, for we find King Henry III. directing the inhabitants to obey their earl and not the king.* The palatinate was however actually created during the earldom of Laurence de Hastings, 1323 to 1347, and it afterwards lapsed to the Crown. We find that Edward V., Richard III., Henry VII. and Henry VIII. acted as Kings of England and Counts of Pembroke,† and so important an adjunct was the palatinate deemed that Henry VII. signed *Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ rex Dominus Hiberniæ Comes Penbrock omnibus*, &c. There were in all five counties



LAMPHEY PALACE.

palatine—Chester, Lancaster, Durham, Hexhamshire and Pembroke. They were termed palatine, *a palatio* in which the count had *jura regalia* as fully as the king hath in his palace—*regalem potestatem in omnibus.*‡ He might pardon treason, murder and felony; he appointed all judges and justices of the peace; all writs and indictments ran in his name, and all offences were said to be done against his peace. The palatinate of Pembroke was abolished in 27th of Henry VIII.

For some reason the De Valence family would not recognize Cemaes as a March, or its lord as a Marcher. This dispute remained unsettled until the reign of Edward III., who finally decided against the earl. The lordship of Haverfordwest was also a bone of contention at this period between king and earl. The latter part of the 13th and the whole of the 14th

* See page 160.

† "*Simul et semel;*" George Owen's *History of Pembroke*, cap. xxiv.; *Harl. MSS.*, no. 6250.

‡ *Bracton*, lib. iii., cap. viii.

centuries were a period of progress in Little England. Many castles were reconstructed about the time of the conclusion of the Welsh war, and the English success seems to have added vigour to the movement. We have good reason to suppose that Bishop Beck rebuilt his castle of Llawhaden about this date. As this episcopal fortress is the most recent of the Pembrokeshire castles, we are not surprised to find that in some respects it differs from all other military buildings in the county. For instance at Llawhaden the walls are cased with ashlar, Pembrokeshire castles being generally of rubble work, showing perhaps that they were erected under pressure of time. The bishop's strong house on the contrary was completed in days of peace. The great gate tower is very peculiar; it consists of two bastions connected by an apartment which is lighted by a handsome window with stone labels, as are the two towers; the entrance gate is complicated; there is an arch to which the gate was hung, and above this are two other arches, the last so high that it could never have been closed in; probably this is the result of later alterations. The castle itself must have been a formidable work, but has been so grossly maltreated for generations that its original form is not very easily made out. Its present condition reflects no credit on the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who are the owners.

In the immediate neighbourhood of Llawhaden castle is a little building, all that remains of a *hospitium* erected by Bishop Beck; it has a door at the east end and another on the north, two side windows, and is roofed in with a conical vault. In it is a piscina, so most likely this was the chapel of the hospital, though Fenton considered it might have been the refectorium. A plain not to say mean apartment, yet it marks an epoch in the history of the land. Holy men had preached Christ's gospel and wrangled over doctrinal points; mighty men had dug out earthworks or raised great castles to preserve their bodies, and founded fair churches to save their souls, but it remained for good Thomas Beck to discover that in the year 1287 there was not in the wide bishopric of St. David's either guest-house or orphanage. To avoid that dread condemnation of his Lord, "*Hospes fui et non suscepistis me*," the bishop founded and endowed from his own lands in his "villa de Llewhadyn a little *hospitium* which he dedicated to the poor and needy," so that strangers, poor orphans, the old, the infirm, the debilitated, weak strangers and weary wayfarers might receive the shelter they greatly needed.* So far as we know this little *hospitium* at Llawhaden was the first building erected in Little England for purely charitable purposes.† Bishop Beck was certainly active in good works. We find that he established two subordinate collegiate foundations in the neglected extremities of his diocese: one at Llangadoc in Ystrad Tywi, which was shortly afterwards removed to Abergwili; the other at Llanddewi Brefi. The historians of St. David's point out that as it is recorded of Bishop Beck in the *Welsh Chronicle* that he "sang a mass at Strata Florida, and this was the first mass sung in the diocese," it is most probable that a more ornate ritual was introduced at this period, which may well have been one of the motives which produced the collegiate churches of Llangadoc and Llanddewi.‡

The good bishop's example was not thrown away, for George Owen informs us ‖ that

* *Stat. Menev.* It was endowed with lands at Cotlande, others in Kilvayne, the advowson of Kevyn, and four acres in Llawhaden, which various tenements were either purchased by Bishop Beck, or acquired for the purpose by exchange.—Fenton's *Historical Tour*, p. 311.

† It is only fair to point out that Gilbert Mareschal, about the year 1236, erected a leper house near the bottom of Heywood Hill, Tenby, which he dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen. One leper per annum was to be nominated by the auhorities of the town (Fenton's *Historical Tour*, p. 457). There was also at Pembroke a little *hospitium* known as "Marlan's Chapel," and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, which probably answered the same purpose, viz., the segregation of unfortunates suffering from the horrible disease known as *Lepra tuberculosa*, so common in the middle ages.

‡ Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 302. ‖ *History of Pembrokeshire*, cap. xxi.; *Harl. MSS.*

Earl William de Valence and his Countess Joan founded a *hospitium* in Tenby, which they dedicated to St. John. Norris * states that

> About ten years ago (*circa* 1802) a building of venerable appearance occupied the ground on which several modern houses are now built, a little to the westward of the *Globe Inn*, which I conceive to have been the remains of the hospital or chapel dedicated to St. John Baptist, and supposed to have been founded by William de Valence Earl of Pembroke.

Fenton mentions that in those MSS. of Owen's he so often quotes it is stated that

> There was a hospital or free chapel of St. John's, for a priest to say mass at our Lady's and St. John the Baptist's Chapels, and to have as the MS. expresses it, a stipend of nine pounds three shillings and twopence for his pains. Paid to Robert Collins, the last who filled that situation.

By an inquisition taken in the time of Henry IV. it appears that William de Valence and Joan his wife founded this hospital to keep

> Both laity and clerks, and endowed it with much more lands than was found to belong to it at the suppression, the wise burgesses having taken the superflux to themselves to show the heavens more just.

From the above it would appear that Earl William de Valence founded not only the chapel in the centre of the town to which Norris alludes, but also the more important establishment which formerly stood in St. John's Croft near the town well, just to the east of the railway viaduct. Norris gives us a sketch of this building in his *Etchings* from which it would seem that it had been renovated in Tudor times.

Earl William de Valence and his countess seem to have taken a peculiar interest in their town of Tenby. They gave the burgesses a charter which is recited in Queen Elizabeth's confirmation. By it the burgesses are exempt from the duties of stallage (market dues), passage (impost on goods passing through the town), toll (in market or elsewhere), lastage (duty on goods taken from market and on ballast taken from the shore), murage (contributions towards repair of walls), pontage (toll for passing over or contribution for repair of bridges). They were also free from carrying, mowing, binding, and gathering crops on the earl's land, and from all other labours pertaining to his mills, houses, or lands. They were exempt from guards of castles and mills, unless undertaken of their own free will, and the burgesses were also not under obligation to follow any band of horse or foot soldiers to a greater distance than they can return from before sundown. Right of common is granted on the Earl's Tenby lands, after harvest until the feast of the Purification, February 2nd. They were directed to choose two bailiffs out of their common council,† to transact the Earl's business, who were to be subjected to no other labours than the holding of the hundred court and the collection of fines, rents, and tolls in the town and port, and the duties leviable on malt and honey. It is furthermore specified and commanded that no burgess who shall be attached on any occasion, except for felony, shall be taken further than the gate of the castle of Tenby, provided he can find sufficient bail; a fair of three days continuance is established by permission of the Earl.

It seems more than probable that Earl William de Valence girdled his towns of Pembroke and Tenby with walls. Strange to say that although we have four walled towns in Pembrokeshire, with the exception of that which encloses St. David's Close, the date of these forti-

* *Etchings of Tenby*, p. 75.

† From this it would appear that a corporation was already in existence.

fications is a matter of doubt. The late Mr. Hartshorne's paper printed in the *Cambrian Journal*, 1860, draws attention to the close resemblance existing between the walls of Carnarvon and Tenby (he might have added Pembroke).

> Some of the (Tenby) towers exist, though the finest has been considerably injured. The masonry of the curtain, its height and general character, are so like what is to be seen of the town walls of Carnarvon, that the age of both is immediately perceived to be identical. Where such complete uniformity exists it is far from improbable that the entire design may have originated from the same mind. Carnarvon was enclosed in the fourth year of Edward I. At this time Tenby constituted part of the great demesnes of William de Valence.

If the walls standing on the northern and western sides of the town are examined, they at once reveal the fact that they were erected at three different periods. From the foundation up to a height varying from five to twelve feet the work appears to be that of the engineers who originally fortified the town. On this is superimposed masonry of a later date, the whole being crowned by work even more modern. The lines of demarcation are very evident, and the different periods are not bonded into each other. So it seems rather hazardous on the part of Mr. Hartshorne to determine what the original height of the wall may have been; but though the curtain has been altered and re-altered the gates and bastions appear to have been scarcely modified, for they are in some places bonded into the lower strata of the walling, and do not show the lines of comparatively recent work exhibited by the curtain. Though the date of its original construction is a matter of surmise we know of two occasions when Tenby wall was restored. Thomas White being mayor, Jasper Earl of Pembroke having learnt that the walls were unskilfully built and in bad repair, directed that they should be reconstructed. This took place in the year 1457. In the year 1588 (John Gronowe, mayor) the crown granted a lease of various tenements in the town of Tenby to the mayor and burgesses for a period of sixty years, they on their part paying a rental of £51 10s.; and repairing certain edifices which had decayed. From a tablet on the wall we find the fortifications were also restored at this period.

Pembroke wall appears from what still remains, from the description of Leland, and the rough sketch on John Steed's map, to have very closely resembled that of Tenby. We find the same admixture of round and square bastions; some gates are semicircular, others square. The east gate was defended "by a portcolys *ex solido ferro*."* As regards the wall which formerly surrounded Haverfordwest we are uninformed. Though it does not seem possible to give an exact date for these several fortifications, we shall not be far wrong in assigning them to the Edwardian period.

It seems somewhat paradoxical to describe urban fortification as any indication of any advance in the arts of peace, yet in the colony of Little England this seems to have been the case. The great castles being sufficient to hold the fighting men with their provision, no care was taken for the mere camp followers, whose dwellings clustered round the base of the fortressses. When an enemy appeared these latter ran for dear life's sake and sought the shelter of the castle wall, leaving their paltry household goods as a prey to the spoiler. But when trade and tradesmen began to assert their importance this primitive system ceased to work; the wealthy *bourgeoisie* demanded protection for their property as well as their lives, and to supply this new want town walls were erected, and charters were granted exempting the burghers and their apprentices from any feudal service extending beyond their own immediate neighbourhood.

* Referring to the north gate at Tenby, Leland writes: "But that gate that ledeth to Cairmairdin ward is most semeliest, as circuled without with an embattled but open rofid Towr, after the Fascion of the Eastgate of Pembroke."



Walls of Tenby from the N.W. Tenby

William de Valence died abroad in 1296, and his corpse was deposited in St. Edmund's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Aymer, but the latter did not obtain the earldom until the death of his mother, and

It is remarkable that Pembroke Castle, the Caput Baroniæ, was included in the dower, no doubt on account of her being the heiress.*

Countess Joan died in 1307, an inquisition was made at Tenby on account of the king, and it was then sworn that at the time of her death she held in *capite* in that town twenty acres of land worth one shilling per acre, a windmill and a water mill, six burgages, twenty quit rents, prise of ale toll and perquisites of court.† As Mr. Hartshorne pointed out the names of the jurors on this inquisition are very instructive. The accuracy of the estimates is attested on the oath of:—1. Johannis Jacob; 2. Wilielmi Godwin; 3. Adæ Wader; 4. Walter Horwood; 5. Stephani Clerici; 6. Johannis de Esse; 7. Wyardi Le Taylur; 8. Walteri Peverel;‡ 9. Walteri Hun; 10. Johannis Eder; 11. Johannis Telagh; 12. David Reymund. We must suppose that these twelve men were leading citizens of Tenby at the commencement of the 14th century. If so this is the earliest sample we have of names prevalent in Little England. It is observable that all enjoy both christian and surnames, nor do these appear to have been derived from occupation or place of residence, except in cases 5, 7, and 11. Whether Stephen (5) was himself a priest or the issue of one of the irregular marriages we have heard so much of it is impossible to say. Wyard Le Taylur has an extremely mixed look. The christian name is connected perhaps with the Dutch words Wyde = consecrated, and Aarde = ground. The surname seems to be derived from the fact that he or his progenitor was a French cutter, either of stone or cloth. John Telagh (11) appears to claim Welsh origin. Perhaps he sprang from Talacharn, an old name for Laugharne. John de Esse (6) sounds Norman; 9 and 10 have a Norse appearance. Can they be corrupt forms of Edda (proper name of the great Scandinavian poem) and Húna, a bear's cub? John Jacob (1) I suppose would now be termed John James. The remaining five are good English names; indeed nomenclature cannot be said to have improved in Tenby during the last six hundred years. John and Walter seem to have been favourite Christian names.

To this Valentian period we must ascribe most of the early monumental effigies which adorn our South Pembrokeshire churches, the armour worn by the knights being an admixture of mail and plate. Examples are to be found in Stackpole Elidur, Manorbier, and Upton.‖ At Penally a knight and dame are shown, but as these are only represented by medallion portraits we have no clue from armour; yet the lady wears the square cap of this period.§ The Carew knight seems to be of an earlier date, as does the figure in chain armour (popularly supposed to represent one of the Wogan family) which reposes in St. David's Cathedral, on the north side of the chapel, reconstructed by Bishop Gower.¶ Ladies dressed in the neat close fitting garments of this date are to be found at Stackpole Elidur and Upton, and are figured by Fenton in his *Historical Tour*, page 249. On the north side of

* Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 94.

† Inquis., 1 Edward II., No. 58.

‡ Robert Fitz Martin (son of Martin de Turribus, the conqueror of Cemaes) married a Maud Peverel. See p. 100.

‖ The Upton knight was in all probability a Malephant. Can it be that "Walter Malefiant," who was slain at Kilgerran with Lord Patrick de Canton, is here represented?

§ The legend on this tomb runs: "Wm de Raymoor et Isemay sa femme, virgo beatæ Maria Ayt Merci. Amen."

¶ Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 120.

Tenby Church is a female figure apparently representing either widow or nun, as it wears the "barbe," or chin-cloth. This lady is clothed in short sleeved robes, differing from the dames of Upton and Stackpole, but still not much later. The effigy is covered by a cinque-foiled canopy.

Bishop Beck died in 1293, was buried in his cathedral, and succeeded by David Martin, "otherwise known as David of St. Edmund's, who had been like his predecessor Chancellor of the University of Oxford."* Earl Aymer de Valence was one of the leading spirits of the day. He served in France and in the Scotch wars of Edward I. and II. His conduct during the reign of the latter was creditable to himself and his order, but he was an absentee from his barony of Pembroke. He married twice, if not three times. First, Beatrix, daughter of Kaone de Claremont, Constable of France, who died childless in 1320. Secondly, (on what Mr Clark deems weak authority) he is said to have married a daughter of the Earl of Barr. Thirdly, Mary de Chatillon. On his last wedding day he was either murdered or accidentally slain in a tournament near Compiegne. This took place in June, 1324. Like so many of his predecessors Aymer died childless, and like them was buried in the Abbey Church of Westminster. From the inquisition taken after his death it appears that the earl at the time of his death was in possession of the castle, commote and town of Pembroke, with members; the castles and towns of Tenby and Haverford; the commotes of Coedrath Ostrelowe with a water mill and £19 rents; the church and rents of Rhoscrowther; the manors of St. Florence, Castlemartin and Tregair; the Grange of Kingswood, with a messuage, two carucates of land, five acres of meadow, two acres of pasture, and Pembroke Ferry; the hills of Corston with 46s. and 8d. rents; of Angelo, with 18s.; of Luna (Linney) with 20d. Also lands in Kingsdown, Stockholm, Skalingeye (Skomer), Middleholm island with 55s. rent of pasture; Ismael with £11 7s. rent and a water mill; Kameros with 103s. 1d. and a mill; Pelkham 64s. 4d., and Lewelston 64s. rent; each of these had a fulling mill.† The mention of fulling mills shows that the woollen trade introduced by the Flemings was flourishing. Whether Pelkam was the place bearing that name near Narberth, or East or West Pelcombe near Haverfordwest, it is impossible to say; at the Narberth Pelcombe there is still a Tucking Mill, and at Camros which is near to East and West Pelcombe, is a place bearing the same name; can Lewelston be the modern Leweston? In confirmation of his father's charter to the town of Tenby, Aymer de Valence granted a weekly market to be held on Wednesday. As no provision was made for the safeguard of folks attending, it must be supposed the country had settled down, for when Henry II. granted a market to the neighbouring town of Pembroke, he decreed

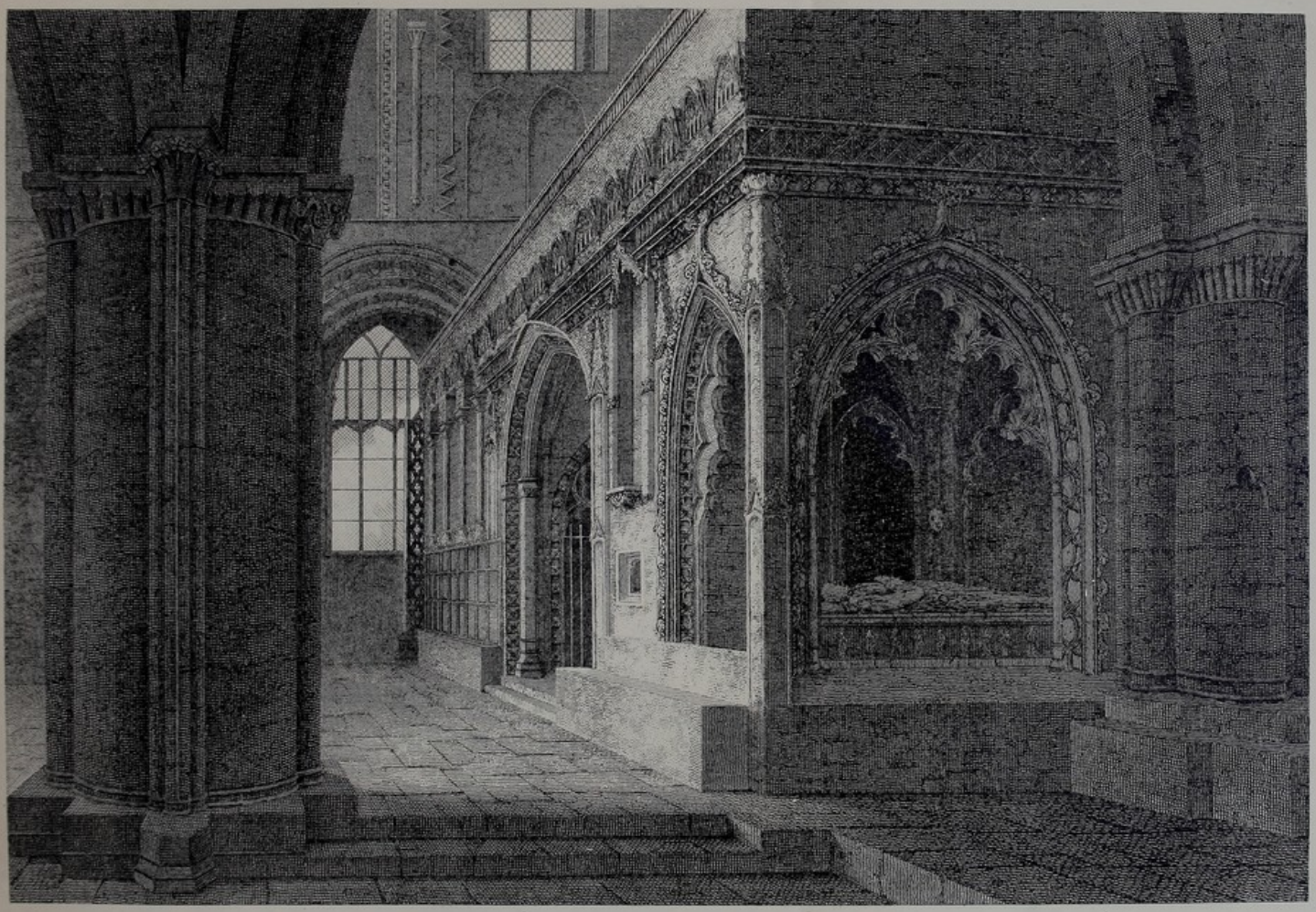
That all persons who do come to my market at Pembroke shall have full security from the ford of Lantesy *(Lamphey)*, and from Stentebrigge *(Stembridge by Corston?)*, and from the great ditch by Pentecoyte *(Coit's Water)*, and from the passage *(Pembroke Ferry)*, from sunrising on Saturday to the setting of the same on Monday, if they do not break my peace.—Mr. Hulm's MS.

The earl died childless, so his honours passed to the representatives of his elder sister, Isabel de Valence, who married John de Hastings, and had issue Laurence the first earl of that family. It is observable as times became more peaceful the personal connection between the earls and their barony appears to have weakened. Laurence de Hastings confirmed the charter given by his uncle Aymer to the town of Tenby, which is so far as I know the only proof he exhibited of interest in the county.

Bishop David Martin like his predecessors carried on building operations at St. David's.

* Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 302.

† I p m i. 313; Clark's *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 110.



THE SCREEN.

It seems probable that he altered if he did not erect the gate towers at the entrance to the cathedral yard, and as the historians of St. David's state "completed the cathedral," for subsequent benefactors "did little more than remodel the works of their predecessors."* The work of this bishop was eclipsed by the labours of his successor. Bishop Martin died 1328, and Henry Gower was elected in his place. Leland states the new bishop was a member of the ancient family founded by Grufudd Gwyr, and a native of Swansea or the immediate neighbourhood,† an assertion borne out by the great interest he took in that town. To this day Swansea castle shows indubitable marks of his handiwork. Possibly John Gower the poet, who was our bishop's contemporary, may have also been his relative, for he is reported by Caxton to have been a Welshman. Gower was a typical building bishop; he adorned his diocese with architectural work such as hitherto had not been seen in Wales. This "Menevian Wykeham" as he has been termed, almost remodelled the cathedral church, carrying the Decorated style throughout the building, bringing the aisles and chapels from chaos into regularity. But his grandest work was no doubt the Episcopal Palace. Messrs. Jones and Freeman fix the date of this edifice about 1342. In its ruin it is a building once seen never to be forgotten; but as a habitation it proved somewhat of a white elephant to Bishop Gower's successors, who seem to have made but little use of the splendid palace bequeathed to them, preferring to reside either at Lamphey or Llawhaden, as is evidenced by letters, &c., dated from these places. Whether King Edward and his consort were present at the bishop's house-warming is more than doubtful; but their statues until very lately adorned the niches above the doorway of the chief porch. The non-architectural visitor to the palace will be struck by two circumstances: *first*, that everything seems to be built in duplicate; this was in order that the bishop and his friends might not be inconvenienced by the troops of pilgrims whom he entertained; *secondly*, by the terrible dens in which the palace servitors are reported to have been lodged. Gower is also credited with the Bishop's Palace at Lamphey. It has the same singular parapet which finishes off the building of St. David's; but the work is much coarser, and constructed of rubble in lieu of ashlar. Perhaps in this latter case our bishop only repaired an old building, and as it required a new roof added the parapet as an adornment; indeed, as one who knows Lamphey very well, the writer fancies there are slight traces of a line of demarcation to be seen between the parapet and the work below it. At Swansea Gower's work is much more elaborate, but not so effective as the better known St. David's parapet. The building bishop died in 1347, and was buried under an altar tomb in the southern compartment of the rood screen which he had re-made. His effigy is clad

In eucharistic vestments with a mitre, a pastoral staff veiled in the left hand, and the right, which is broken, was originally raised in benediction: the head is on a double cushion supported by angels, and there is a lion at the feet; it is much mutilated and was formerly protected by a brass railing, on which was the inscription:—"Henricus Gower, Episcopalis Palatü, constructor."‡

On the anniversary of his death a mass was said at the high altar for the rest of Gower's soul and that of his successors and the canons. Let us hope that the priests' endeavours were successful, and that the spirit of the great builder rests in peace. Gower was succeeded by John Thoresby, who was translated to Worcester two years afterwards, then came Reginald Brian, who succeeded him also in Worcester and was followed by Thomas Fastolph. So far as Little England is concerned they were all nonentities.

It must not be supposed that the old war instincts fostered by custom for centuries had died out among the Pembrokeshire men. Peace indeed reigned in West Wales, but her

* Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 156. † Leland, *Coll.* i., p. 415. ‡ Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 110.

children continued to make war their trade. Scotland and the continent of Europe offered an arena in which the colonists and their hereditary Kymric foes found vent for their energies. We find that free-lances from the Principality were at this period continually fighting for and against England. Laurence de Hastings had been succeeded by his son John, who on attaining manhood joined in King Edward's French and Spanish wars, and the wild Welsh troops associated with their equally wild Cornish cousins did such bloody work at Crécy with their long knives among the French earls, barons, knights and squires, that according to Froissart, Edward himself was disgusted at the butchery. This chronicler states that on one occasion the Earl of Pembroke was sent on an embassy to Henry of Spain, and while at St. Andeio received a summons to do homage for his earldom to one Yvan, a self-styled prince of Wales. This adventurer was no ordinary man. His name is not mentioned by Welsh writers, so most likely he was of obscure birth. Froissart says that for some reason his father was put to death by King Edward; after this Yvan seems to have collected a band of Kymric free-lances and offered his services to the enemies of England. He was a skilful commander by land and sea. He defeated the English squadron off the island of Guernsey, captured La Rochelle, and was besieging Mortain Sur-mer when he met his death in a peculiarly Welsh fashion. While the siege was proceeding Yvan was joined by one John Lambe, a squire from the Welsh Marches; this villain declared in Welsh to Yvan that he had left his home in order to follow Yvan's fortunes. The Welsh chieftain took Lambe into his service and confidence, making him his chamberlain. Yvan's custom was to rise early and sitting before the castle, to have his hair combed and curled, like the heroes we read of in the *Mabinogion*. One morning Yvan forgot his comb, and sitting on the trunk of a tree said to John Lambe, "Go and fetch my comb, it will refresh me," for the heat of the night had kept him awake. John replied, "Willingly, my lord." Instead of the comb, however, he brought a short, broad Spanish dagger, which he thrust into Yvan's body, so that he fell dead. The murderer then leaving the dagger in the corpse fled into the besieged town and reported to Souldich de l'Estrade the governor what he had done. Souldich shook his head, declaring he deserved to lose his life, and added he would have cut off his head had not the result been so advantageous. Greater folks did not even reprove the murderer; indeed, according to the *Fœdera* for 1381 it appears that the scoundrel received one hundred francs for the crime, which in all probability he was hired to commit. Let us hope John Lambe was not a member of the Pembrokeshire colony. But we cannot forget that Lambe is a Pembrokeshire name (derived probably from the old viking who christened Lambston), and that the earl who was now dead had a grudge against Yvan.

On the 28th of June, 1377, Edward the king died miserably, the despised thrall of Dame Alice, whose husband William de Wyndsore was lord of Manorbier Castle.* Richard a lad eleven years old succeeded his grandfather. The government was vested in a council of twelve, from which the three princes of the blood—John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster; the Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York; and the Earl of Buckingham, afterwards Duke of Gloucester—were ostentatiously excluded, though in reality John of Gaunt for many years

* The De Barris held Manorbier until the 1st of Edward III., when there was a very violent dispute between Richard de Barri and his nephew David de Barri as to the inheritance. Roger de Mortimer, who at this time administered the affairs of Earl Laurence de Hastings, who was a minor, seized the manor in the name of the Crown. David de Barri petitioned the king for restitution of rights, averring that he had been grievously wronged by Roger de Mortimer, who had seized his lordship on a plea that he was a partisan of Rhys ap Grufudd. As the historic Rhys ap Grufudd died in 1196 this must have been a most outrageous assertion; perhaps, however, the person intended was some forgotten leader of a forgotten *emeute*. The king issued a writ of inquiry, 5 Edward III., the result of which was that Richard and not David obtained the property for life, and his widow enjoyed it after his decease; when she died David de Barri was put in possession, and eventually it fell into the hands of William de Wyndesor, Alice Perrer's husband, who claimed direct descent from William Lord of Stanwell, eldest son of Walter Fitz Other, father of Gerald de Windsor, who had given the castle with his daughter Angharad to William de Barri in the 12th century. Possibly conjugal complaisancy strengthened his hereditary claims.—See paper by Sir G. Duckett, Bart., *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 51.

ruled the realm. This is a most interesting period to the student of English history, as the old order was changing, yielding place to new, chivalry had passed its prime, and society began to inquire the *raison d'être* of feudal power. The Commons obtained control over the taxes, and the peasants demanded their freedom. The leaven of Lollardism was seething in the Church. The great nobles were the while as turbulent and impracticable as of yore. Under such exceptionally difficult conditions a clear head and strong hand were requisites in the sovereign if the royal prerogative was to be upheld. Richard lacked both qualifications. His reign was one long blunder, and he became utterly despicable in the eyes of his English subjects, but strangely enough more popular in Wales than either of his predecessors. His good-natured extravagance and love of display gratified the Keltic notion of what a king should be, while luckless Richard pleased to be appreciated by some one, favoured his Welsh subjects. When worried beyond endurance by his English nobles, he frequently retired into Wales for rest, where he hunted and feasted with the chieftains. This apparently unimportant episode in the private life of a weak and worthless sovereign brought about great results in after years both to England and the Principality.

Bishop Fastolph had been succeeded in 1361 by Adam Houghton, a native of Dewsland. This prelate was not only an excellent bishop, but appears to have been somewhat of an archæologist; at all events he looked up the records of his diocese, and among other treasures (which are lost to us) discovered the only copy of the charter of Pembroke extant. He caused it to be transcribed and added the following preface:—

Adam by Divine permission Bishop of St. David's to all to whom these presents shall come greeting. We repute it worthy, and we trust to do a profitable service and pleasing to Almighty God, if by our means the noble exploits of kings, and particularly useful to the state of our diocese, which have been long buried in oblivion, be discovered and brought to light. We have found in our Treasury and among the archives of our Cathedral Church of St. David's, amongst other old writings in a certain old book, the perfect tenours of charters of the old text, free from all fault and suspicion granted by Henry of famous memory King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to the town of burgesses of Pembroke and Haverford. The tenour of which grants to the town and burgesses of Pembroke word for word, nothing being added or diminished such tenour is this. Henry by the grace of God, &c., &c., &c. In witness whereof we have caused our seals to be put. Dated at our Manor of Lantesy, the 7th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1368, and in the eight year of our consecration.*

The document appears to have been put aside for ten years, but on Richard's accession Bishop Houghton's copy of the Pembroke charter was taken to Winchester, duly inspected and confirmed in the following words:—

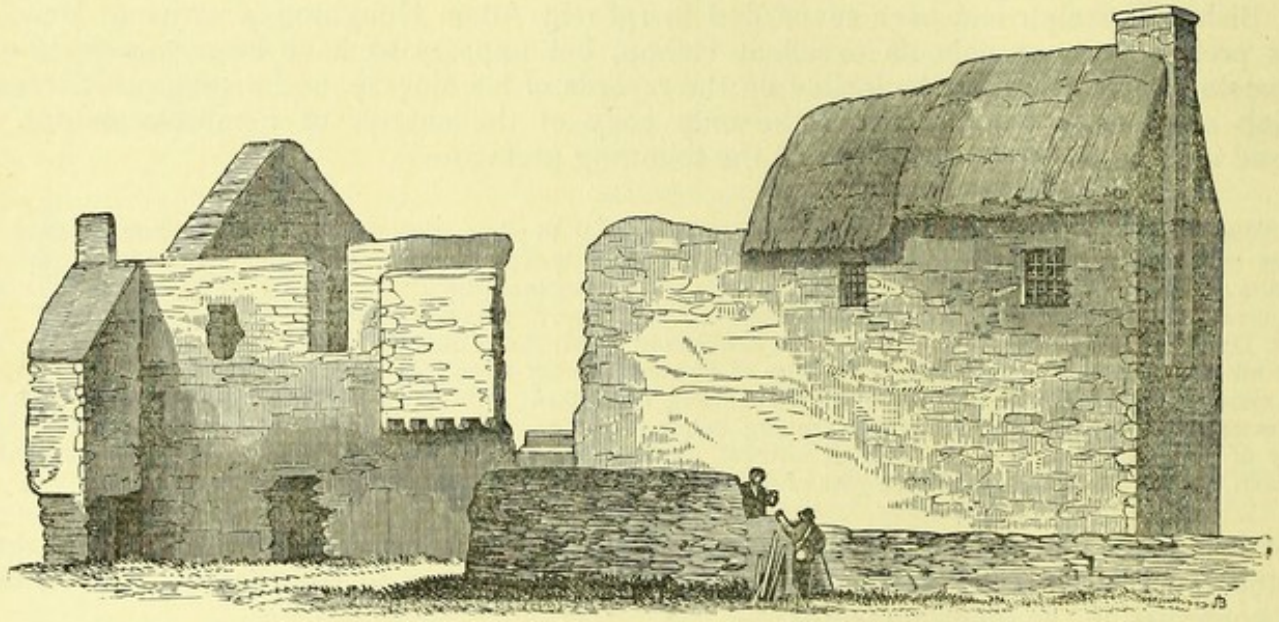
Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland. To all whom these presents shall come. Greeting! We have inspected the letters patent, and exemplifications, under the seal of the late Father Adam, late Bishop of St. David's. We therefore having perused the tenour of the exemplification of the aforesaid bishop at the request of the now burgesses of Pembroke now made unto us. The tenour of these patents we have caused to be exemplified. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Winchester the 6th day of the month Feby., in the 1st year of our reign.†

The dates of this document are somewhat confusing; first we find the bishop copied the ancient charter of Pembroke at his manor of Lamphey on the 7th of March, 1368. No notice appears to have been taken of it until it was confirmed by the king 6th of February in the first year of his reign, 1378; but oddly enough Richard speaks of Adam as the *late* bishop, whereas Adam survived until 1388—twenty years after he had copied the charter, and ten after the king was said to have confirmed it. Can it be that this document was laid aside in 1378 and

* Mr. Hulm's MSS.

† Mr. Hulm's MSS.

not brought forward till Richard seized the Earldom of Pembroke some ten years later, just the time of Adam Houghton's decease, and that the charter was then presented to the burgesses of Pembroke as a pledge of favour from their new royal earl, King Richard; for Richard's arbitrary rule effected a great change in the affairs of our Pembrokeshire colony. John Hastings the younger died in France in 1375, when his heir, also named John, was but three years old; fifteen years later this lad was killed in a tournament at Woodstock, and his inheritance went to a kinsman, Sir Edward Hastings, whom Richard threw into prison, where he died without issue: then the Earldom and Palatinate of Pembroke fell to the king, who instead of granting it to a subject administered himself for eight years, and in 1397 presented it to his queen Isabel, Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester acting in her name. Perhaps the Pembrokeshire colonists felt uneasy at this change, fearing as the earldom and palatinate were merged in the Crown, they being subjects of a Welsh loving king, would lose privileges their fathers had gained when fighting England's battle against the fierce Kymric warriors. If a rumour to this effect reached the king, may be he ordered that this forgotten charter should be



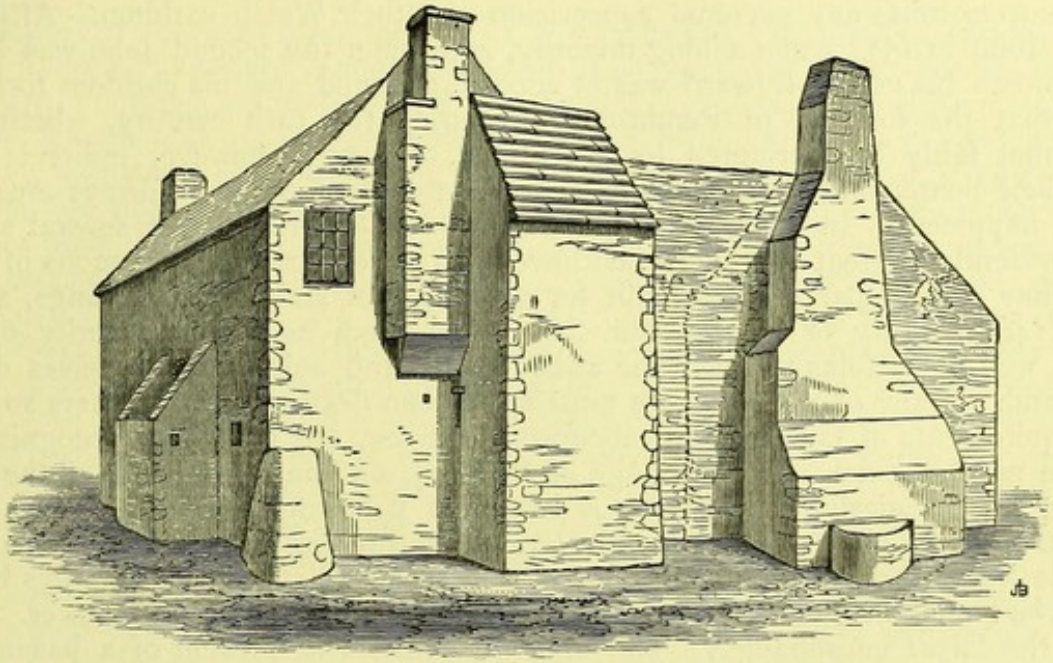
THE PALACE, LYDSTEP.

forthwith sent to Pembroke, and as Adam Houghton was gathered to his fathers, a new copy was made and the word *late* attached to the bishop's name. In the earlier days of Richard's reign Adam Houghton must have been a *persona grata* at Court, for we find that the king's all-powerful uncle John of Gaunt, and his duchess, were joint founders of St. Mary's College in the cathedral precincts, with the good bishop, but that would have been no recommendation in 1398. Richard paid considerable attention to Ireland; in 1394 he made an expedition thither in person; again, on the death of Roger Mortimer, heir-presumptive to the throne of England and Governor of Ireland in the year 1397, the king led an army to quell the revolt which had broken out there, although England itself was in a state of scarcely veiled rebellion. The army consisted of three divisions: one sailed from Holyhead, another from Bristol, and the third, led by Richard, embarked from Haverfordwest. The king remained about nine months in Ireland, during which time he brought it into subjection, the four native kings having submitted themselves to him. But treason was rife among his soldiery and rebellion rampant at home; so he embarked with his army and landed at Milford Haven. Utterly mistrusting

the soldiery, Richard at once left them and fled to North Wales, where he was informed that a force of 40,000 Welshmen awaited his arrival; but these had either disbanded or never assembled. Richard found that picnicking in empty Welsh castles was a different matter to those pleasant old days when his retinue and *batterie de cuisine* attended him. One of his followers, De Marque, gives us an account of his adventure. The castles he says

Were totally unfurnished, and Richard had to sleep on straw during his sojourn in Wales; he endured this inconvenience for five or six nights, but in truth a farthing's worth of victuals was not to be found in any of the castles. Certes, I cannot tell the misery of the king's train even at Carnarvon; he then returned to Conway.

From thence the hunted king made his way to Flint, where he yielded himself up to Henry Bolingbroke, who had made a forced march at the head of 60,000 Londoners. These on their march back to the capital were harassed by a Welsh force led by one Owain Glyndwr, a squire of the body to King Richard, of whom we shall hear again, but the result was



PLACE OF ARMS, LYDSTEP.

nil, and Richard so far as Welsh history is concerned vanished from the scene. Meanwhile matters fared ill with the mutinous army in Pembrokeshire. After the king's flight De Marque says that

The constable of the forces called them together, saying, "Let us too, since the king is so careful, save ourselves, otherwise we are undone." He ordered the trumpets to sound that every man be ready to move. Marvellous confusion ensued. They carried off all that belonged to the king—robes, jewels, fine gold, pure silver, many capital horses of foreign lands, many a costly and sparkling gem, many a gorgeous mantle and ermine, heavy cloth of gold and stuff of continental design. Sir Thomas Percy† had sole charge of this; he was Lord High Chamberlain. The constable and he conspired together; they took their way straight through Wales. But the Welsh saw what was going on; observing the treason, and forming into companies of one or two thousand, here and there and everywhere, they cried: "Traitors, villains! Wales is no road for you; surrender your gold, your jewels, your plunder; the king never bestowed them on such as you." The Welsh took from them their waggons

† The Earl of Worcester, who was administering the palatinate for Queen Isabel.

and harness, their gold, silver, and all their jewellery. The English were terrified and enraged, and a thousand of them thus spoiled were sent to the Duke of Lancaster barefooted, stripped to their doublet, and nothing but a staff in their hands; the rest who were not mounted were compelled to make known whence they came, whither they were going, and made to pay down their plunder for their ransom, or were instantly put to death. The Welsh were universally indignant at the outrages and wrongs inflicted by the English on the king. What a spirit! God reward them for it! Thus were the English treated by the Welsh, who in fact showed them no mercy, for they poured in countless numbers from the hills. I heard within eight days how the Welsh, who are able soldiers, thus attacked and dispossessed the English of their plunder.

In this case loyalty was its own reward; but perhaps poor Richard would have preferred that these Welsh royalists had kept their rendezvous at Carnarvon and let the mutineers go free. Had he been so fortunate as to have found a Clare, a Mareschal, or a De Valence in Pembroke castle instead of a stranger administering the palatinate for a strange queen, perhaps his enemy Henry Bolingbroke might have found that it complicated the campaign, though eventually the outcome must have been the same, for Richard was unhelpable.

As we have seen, the Hastings earls were either too young or too much occupied in the French wars to exercise any personal supervision over their Welsh earldom. After the death of the first John in 1375 came a long minority, and when the second John was killed at the age of seventeen his cousin Edward was at once imprisoned and his earldom forfeited to the Crown, so that the fortunes of Pembrokeshire during the 14th century, whether for good or evil, cannot fairly be attributed to this family. There is however indirect evidence to show that their lieutenants ruled the land wisely, and security, as it always must, produced wealth and happiness. In South Pembrokeshire we find the remains of several small houses which are evidently of great age, and must have been once occupied by persons of some social standing; they were apparently not built for defence, but simply as dwellings, and seem to be of the 14th century or thereabouts. It would seem as if the security of the times encouraged well-to-do folks to leave the walled towns and build for themselves dwellings on their own land. Many of these houses must have been destroyed, and others so modified to suit the requirements of farmers and labourers, that they are no longer recognizable, still a considerable number exist. In the village of Lydstep, on the right hand of the road going from Tenby, is a peculiarly forlorn ruin. A portion of it has for many years been utilized as a cottage, and the squalor of this comparatively modern dwelling adds to the desolate air of the place. It is known as "The Palace," * and one tradition states it was a llys belonging to Aircol Llawhir! another that it was a hunting lodge occupied by Bishop Gower. The first is impossible, the latter improbable.† The building consists at present of a basement and an upper story; the former is vaulted, and was divided into several compartments; that to the south was provided with a chimney and may have been a kitchen. The upper chamber, approached by an exterior stair, seems to have been a long narrow hall, with a fire-place on the south side; on the north-western angle was a small chamber, also provided with a fire-place. This may have been the bed-chamber of the master and mistress, the rest of the household sleeping in the long hall. The windows and doorways have been utterly destroyed, so that their formation gives us no clue to date; but the probability is that this was a 14th century country house. There is on the western wall of the upper chamber an opening much resembling that in one of the Carswell houses presently to be described, which may have been the entrance to other chambers in the roof now destroyed; if so, approach was from outside

* Mr. Barnwell in his paper on "The Domestic Architecture of South Pembrokeshire (*Arch. Camb.*, Oct., 1867), applies the names "Palace" and "Place of Arms" indifferently to the building on the north side of the road; but I was taught many years ago, by my nurse, who was a native of Lydstep, that according to traditional usage the house on the northern side of the road was "The Palace" and that on the southern "The Place of Arms."

† See p. 81.

by a ladder. On the other side of the Lydstep road is a second house known as "The Place of Arms." The basement is vaulted and divided into chambers; the upper story was a long hall, to which a little solar or sleeping apartment was annexed; this had not a chimney as in the Palace. The entrance to the Place of Arms is by a pointed arch, seemingly 14th century work, the only architectural feature providing us with a date for these houses. The door is provided with a porch which though of a considerable age appears to be an addition to the original structure, and was probably built to protect the inmates from the weather. Adjoining is another old house marked out in dotted lines on the drawing; this is of a later date than the "Place of Arms," though by no means a recent dwelling. Fenton treating of Penally writes:

> To the east and south-east of this village on to Ludstep the country was formerly thickly studded with houses above the rank of such as farmers might have been supposed to inhabit, most of them having been surrounded with a court, entered by an arched gateway, and many built on arches.*

These gateways have entirely disappeared. The curious ruins known as Carswell are situated between St. Florence and Tenby, about two miles from the latter town; they are in a strangely secluded spot, standing on a tongue of land which runs out into the morass known as St. Florence Marsh, and are cut off from civilization behind by a succession of ridges and gullies in the limestone rock, some of which are even now filled with dense thickets of stunted trees and undergrowth, and which were doubtless almost impenetrable jungle when Carswell was built. We have evidence of this wooded condition of the neighbourhood in the name of a neighbouring farm, Trellwyn (now corrupted into Trefloyn), "the grove house" Carswell takes its name from a fine spring of water which bursts out from below the limestone rock on the level of the Marsh (Gors.)† Carswell consists of two distinct buildings standing about thirty yards apart; they are not quite in a line, but very nearly, and are much of a size. The house to the north consists of a lower chamber vaulted, and an upper one with a curiously high pitched roof. At least the roof was high pitched some twenty years ago, only the gable ends now remain to tell the story. At the north end is a huge square chimney. To begin with the lower room, one end is almost taken up with the fire-place, in the right side of which is a large recess, larger than would be required for an oven; a man can well stand up in it. On the left hand of the fire-place is a block of masonry; this Mr. Barnwell suggests "was a stone seat, which might also have served for a table."‡ There is a square window over the table which is an evident insertion. Another apartment has been built on to the east side which, as it is not bonded, and the mortar with which it is built is soft, not like "the old castle mortar" used in the other buildings, may safely be put down as later; the doorway faces the fire-place, and is too mutilated to serve as evidence. The upper chamber is reached by an outside stair; here is a fire-place and two small deeply splayed windows; three others have been closed. The second building consists of three stories. There is no sign of an original chimney.§ The lower chamber is vaulted and was lighted by two splayed windows. The vaulting has been cut through for a door, the original of which now leads into another vaulted apartment, which blocks the windows. It must have been owing to this that Mr. Barnwell overlooked them. The first floor is reached by an outer stair and lighted by one

* Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokdshire*, p. 444.

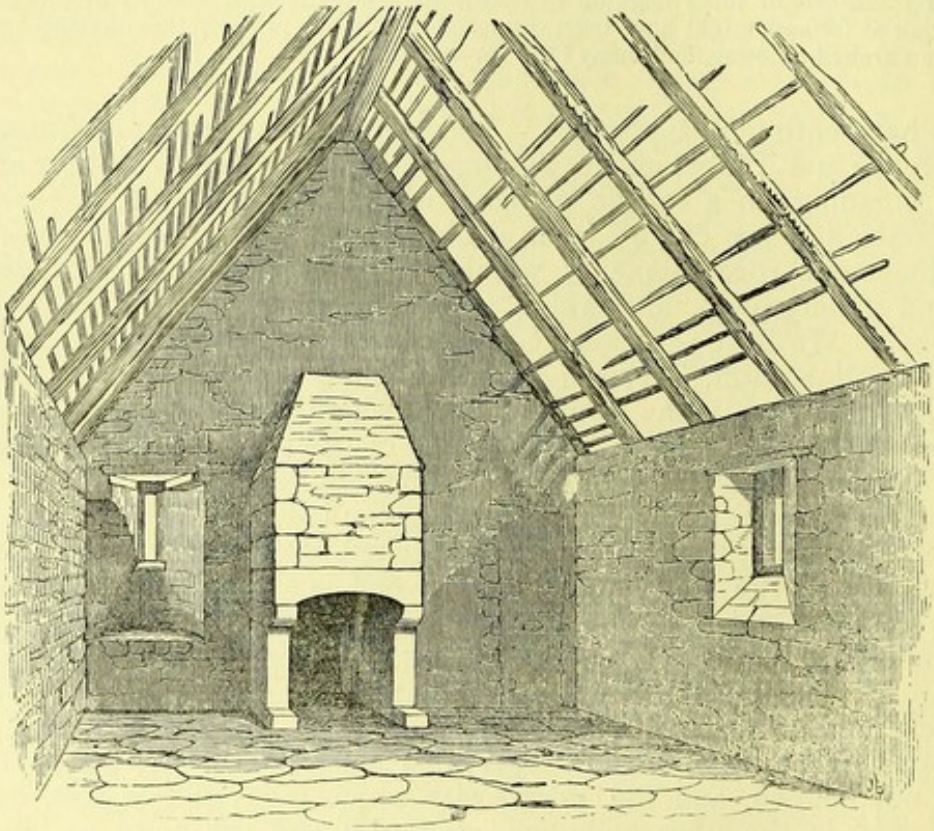
† This Welsh word Gors is usually corrupted by the South Pembrokeshire folk into "Cors;" Corston, Penally Corse, Castlemartin Corse, &c.; in Carswell Gors takes the form of Cars.

‡ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July, 1867.

§ The building has been used as a cottage, and a chimney has been cut in the wall for the first floor; this is clearly recent.

small splayed window and a modern square one. The attic story is approached from the same outside steps; these enter the first floor apartment about half-way to the ceiling, from whence I suppose a ladder reached into the roof. Whether this latter building, which is nearly the same size as the first, served for the servants of the occupant of house number one, or as a separate establishment, it is difficult to say. In later days the farm seems to have always been divided between two proprietors.*

There are signs that race hatred was beginning to give way in Pembrokeshire. Certain Kymric families seem either to have acquired properties, or more probably were first recognized as landowners by their neighbours about this date, and several gentlemen who claim a Welsh descent ascribe the establishment of their families in Pembrokeshire to a 14th century ancestor.



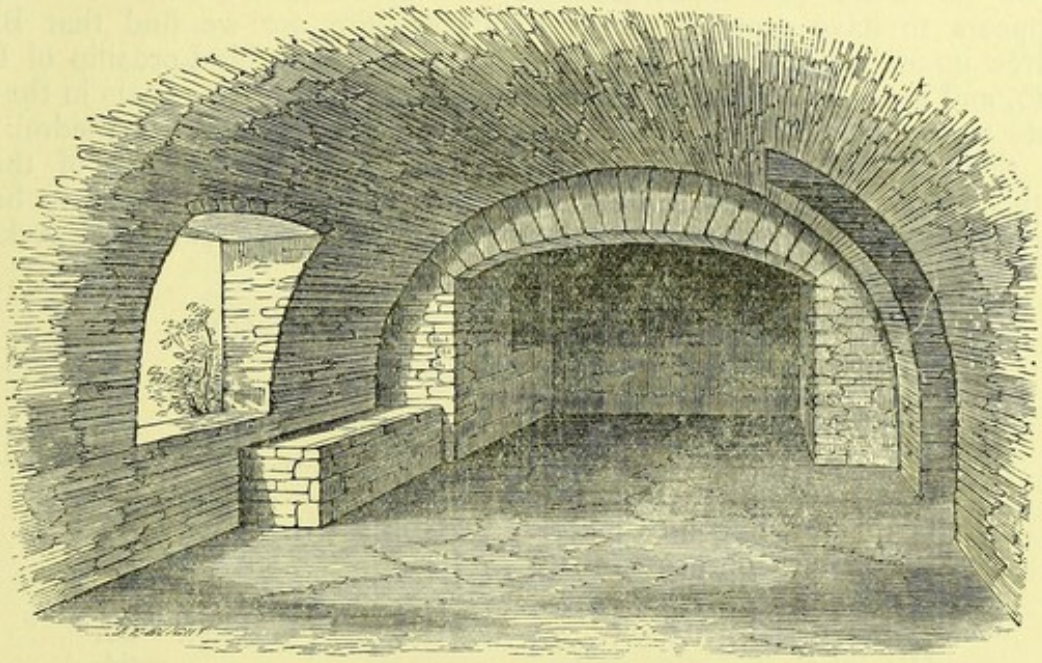
UPPER CHAMBER IN THE NORTHERN HOUSE, CARSWELL.

* I have failed to obtain any information concerning the early proprietorship of Carswell. In the last quarter of the 16th century the property had been divided and the *occupants* were certainly of the yeoman class. To this circumstance we probably owe the conservation of these interesting houses, the good folks being satisfied with the somewhat scanty accommodation provided by their predecessors, who, though enjoying a more exalted rank, were of equally simple habits. On the 28th of October, 1586, "Richard Merydith of the towne of Pembrooke, in the countie of Pembrooke, yoman," sold to his townsman Peter Williams, "merchaunt," that portion of Carswell in the occupation of Elizabeth Nichol, widow, with messuage and garden on the hillside. On the 24th of March, 1601, "The Maior, Bailyffs and Burgesses of Temby" let land at Carswell, their property, to Thomas Bowen of Trefloyn, Esq., Charles Bowen and John Bowen, gentlemen, sons of the aforesaid, for their mutual lives. On the 6th of May, 1649, the above mentioned lease having apparently expired, the Maior, &c., let their land to Thomas Williams of "Gomfreston" house, and 18 acres for 21 years. On May 14, 1686, the Maior, &c., let on lease to Owen Williams, butcher, of Temby, for 26 years. On the 16th of June, 1686, "Griffith Dawes, of Banaston, in the parishe of Nangle, Esq.; Thomas Lort, of Eastmoor, in the parish of Manorbior, Esq.; Francis Dawes, of the towne of Pembroke, gent.; Devereux Hammond, James Lloyd, and Francis Smith, of the towne of Tenbie, gents., as representatives of Abra Bowen, spinster, of the city of Gloucester, purchased from Thomas Williams, of St. Florence" (apparently the representative of Peter Williams, of Pembroke, who purchased in 1586), "for £290 10s., a messuage and lands at Carswell, then in the occupation of one Richard Rowe, for the relief of the poor and aged of the towne of Tenbie, £40 10s. of the purchase money being provided out of the 'Poor Store.'" The farm maintains its dual ownership to the present day—one portion belonging to the Trustees of the Tenby Charities, the other to the Rector and Churchwardens of St. Mary's, Tenby.—These notes are taken from indentures in possession of the Charity Trustees.

For instance we find from *The Book of Golden Grove*, that one Llewelyn y Coed, son of Owen ap Robert, married (43 Edward III.) Nest, daughter of Hywel Fychan, and had issue:

Rhys,	ancestor of the		Owens of Trecwn (extinct)
Ievan,	,,	,,	Bowens of Pentre Ievan
		,,	of Llwyngwair
		,,	of Treffloyn
Philip,	,,	,,	Philipps of Picton
			Lewis of Henllan

Again the Norman advenæ, who were always disposed to take Welsh heiresses to wife, seem now to have been prepared to give their daughters in marriage to Kymric neighbours. For instance, there was an ancient family named Perrot which was destined to become one of the foremost in the land. They were at this date established at Jestynton in



BASEMENT OF THE NORTHERN HOUSE, CARSWELL.

the parish of Rhoscrowther; the old house, which is assigned by Mr. J. H. Parker to the 13th century, still remains. Stephen Perrot was head of this house. He gave one daughter Lettys to John ap Gronwy of Kil y sant; another Catherine to Evan ap Gwylym of Cemaes.* One Pembrokeshire household could boast the very best blood in Wales. Thomas ap Llewelyn, who was directly descended from the Princes of South Wales, resided at Trefgarn near Haverfordwest. He had married Elinor the Red, grand-daughter of Llewelyn ap Grufudd, last Prince of South Wales. These blue blooded folks had a daughter Elen who married Grufudd Vychan, and was the mother of Owain Glyndwr. Elen's celebrated son is reported to have been born in his grandfather's house at Trefgarn.

Trefgarn, a place in Pembrokeshire, South Wales, formerly a gentleman's residence, but now converted into a

* *Perrot Notes*, p. 11.

farm-house. I know not whether it is in Rhos or Pebediog, being the place where Owain Glyndwr was born and the house of Thomas ap Llewelyn ap Owain.*

Thomas ap Llewelyn's house is supposed to have been Little Trefgarn, and a long narrow building still stands, though in a very ruinous state, which may have served as a gentleman's residence in the 14th century, for though there are no architectural details such as windows or arches, the masonry appears to be of a very considerable antiquity. This building is now used as a cattle shed. Thomas ap Llewelyn must have been a Church tenant, for we find that Richard de Carew granted the manor of Trefgarn to the Precentors of St. David's in 1259. This manor was withdrawn by Bishop Houghton, who gave in exchange a charge of £20 on Cilycwm, but it was subsequently restored. Of Owain Glyndwr we shall hear again.

We do not find that any immigration of foreigners troubled Pembrokeshire during the 14th century, but Greater England suffered from an incursion of Flemings, and so obnoxious did the strangers become to the labouring class that riots broke out in London in 1381. There can be no doubt that these troubles had much to do with the wage question, and that appears to have cropped up in Pembrokeshire, for we find that Bishop Adam Houghton drew up an ordinance for the regulation of wages in his Lordship of Dewisland in the year 1380, and we have further evidence as to the working of this scale in the receipts and disbursements to be found in the *Liber Communis* of St. David's Cathedral. Jones and Freeman in their *History of St. David's* printed *in extenso* so much of this document as refers to the pre-Reformation period.† From this we find the following to have been the scale of wages paid to the labourers and artisans employed on the cathedral works in 1384:—

Labourer	per diem	3d.
Boy	,,	1d.
Mason	,,	4d.
Mason, Journeyman	,,	3d.
Carpenter, Head	,,	8d.‡
Carpenter	,,	6d.
Carpenter, Second Class	,,	5d.
Carpenter, Journeyman	,,	3d.
Blacksmith	,,	6d.
Glazier	,,	6d.
Hire of Cart	,,	6d.
Riding Horse	,,	6d.

The bishop in his ordinance directed that when barley was 6d. per bushel or less, ale should be sold at 1d. per gallon; when between 6d. and 10d. ale should not exceed 1½d.; when between 10d. and 16d. it should not exceed 2d. In 1384 the price of ale at St. David's was 2d. per gallon, so barley fetched from 10d. to 16d. per bushel. The expense of a man and horse (horse hire excluded) on a journey to Tenby and back, lasting three days, was 2s. To

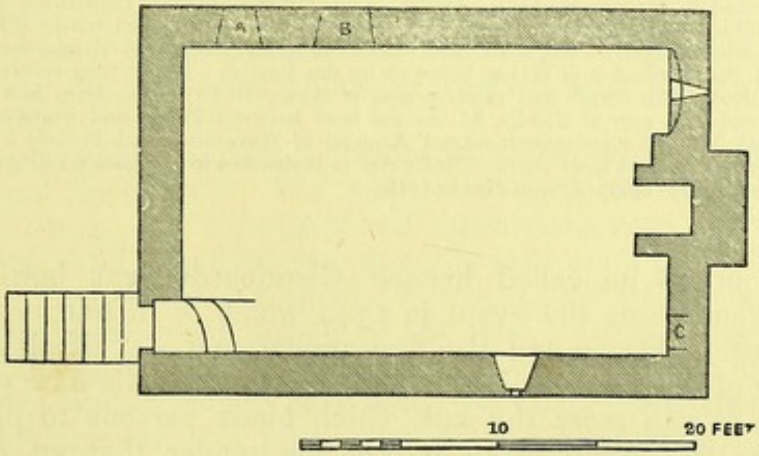
* MSS. of the late Rev. Mr. Pugh, Tygwyn, Denbighshire, given to the late Rev. Thomas Thomas by Edward Jones, Esq. (Bard to the king), and quoted by Thomas in his *Memoirs of Owain Glyndwr*, p. 48.

† *History and Antiquities of St. David's*, p. 369; see also a charming paper read by Bishop Jones at Tenby in 1851, and printed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January 1854.

‡ This individual seems to have occupied the position of clerk of the works; he is sent to Pembroke and Tenby to purchase material, and is styled "Magister Johannes Carpentarius."

Haverfordwest and back, for the same period, 1s. 6d. Limestone was delivered at Porthclais for 22s. per ton. Coals cost 2d. a bushel. Iron and lead came from Tenby, and were worth at that place 7½d. and 9d. a stone respectively. Five cart loads of timber cut in Carmarthenshire, and delivered by water at Porthclais, cost the cathedral authorities 11s. 8d.

From this old account book we learn the price of a few articles in common use. For instance, an axe cost 8d.; a pail, 1d.; a sieve, 4d.; 27 great nails, 13d.; 16 lesser ones, 4d. When we take into consideration the price of iron (7½d. per stone at Tenby), and the wages earned by the blacksmiths of St. David's, nails seem to have been dear. Of course in comparing these prices the reader will bear in mind the difference in value of money during the 14th and 19th centuries, what that exactly was is a very difficult question to answer.



GROUND PLAN OF UPPER STORY IN THE NORTH HOUSE, CARSWELL.*

* It will be noticed that the closed windows A, B, C are not so deeply splayed as those that still remain open. From the arrangement of A and B Mr. Barnwell suggests it is possible that a partition wall once ran across the little apartment.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIFTEEN YEARS' REVOLT.

Owain Glyndwr born at Little Trefgarn—Prodigies at his birth—Studies law and afterwards becomes shield-bearer to the King—Quarrels with Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthyn, and is treated badly by him—Owain destroys Lord Ruthyn's land—The king sends a force against him—Welsh return from England to join Owain—He takes Ruthyn—Henry burns the Franciscan Monastery of Llanfaes—Owain camps on Mynydd Hyddnant with 150 men—Francis à Court, Lord of Pembroke, sends a force of 1500 against him—They beleaguer Owain, who breaks through them, slaying 200—Henry burns Strata Florida—In 1402 a comet appears—Owain captures Reginald Lord de Grey, and marries him to his daughter—Story of Hywel Sele of Nannau—Owain takes Sir Edmund Mortimer prisoner—Ill-treatment of English dead by Welsh women after Brynglas fight—Owain burns Llandaff Cathedral and Cardiff town—Henry assembles three large armies at Shrewsbury, Chester, and Hereford—Coalition between the Percies, Mortimer, Glyndwr, and the Scotch King—Owain crowned Prince of Wales at Machynlleth—Makes an alliance with King Charles VI. of France—Letters from Jankyn Hanard—Sir Nicholas Carew meets Owain near St. Clear's—The latter retreats, but sends out a band of 700 soldiers, whom Sir Nicholas slays to a man—Owain besieges Kidwelly Castle—Percy marches to Shrewsbury and Owain raises the siege of Kidwelly and marches to Oswestry—Henry defeats Percy and Owain retreats—Owners of Castles in Pembrokeshire directed to garrison the same—Bishop of St. David's to repair Llawhaden—Owain defeated with loss at Pwll Melyn and goes into hiding—Henry marches 37,000 men into Wales—12,000 French troops land at Haverfordwest, burn the town and march to Tenby, where Glyndwr lies with 1000 men—The allies proceed to Carmarthen, which they take—The French march to Worcester and then retreat into Wales, followed by the English—The French return to France the following year—Francis à Court makes a treaty with Owain and raises a sum of money to buy peace from him—William Picton, Henry Malefant, and Thomas Perrot collect a sum of £15 2s. 8d. on the land between Picton and Scotsboro, and pay the same to Stephen Perrot of Jestynton and John of Castlemartin—Lord Arundel of Haverford, and Francis à Court of Pembroke, are directed not to permit their vassals to desert their posts—The former is instructed to abrogate all illegal pacts and attack Owain and his followers with the utmost vigour (1409)—Owain dies in 1415.

WHEN Owain Glyndwr, or as he called himself Glendourdy, was born is uncertain. A MS. quoted by Lewis Owen places the event in 1349, which is therein noted as remarkable for two incidents, the birth of Owain and the first appearance of "Black Death" in Wales. Pennant, on the authority of a MS. to which he had access, fixes the date of Glyndwr's birth for May 28th, 1354. In Welsh story the link which binds persons to places is singularly weak; the Kymric writer was satisfied to inform his reader that an event occurred in Gwynedd, or Dyved, while the English chronicler vaguely wrote down Wales. In such a small district as the Principality one might have expected that the very scene of the various dramas enacted would have been clearly mapped out by the historian; but it is not so, and for topographical information we are forced to rely on misty tradition. It might have been supposed that the birth-place of this great guerilla chieftain would have been carefully recorded. He lived in comparatively recent days, and he was the last Kymric warrior who fought in that great racial strife which had been waged for more than a thousand years, but we have to rely on tradition if we seek for his birth-place. As already stated there is reason to believe that it was at Trefgarn in St. Dogvael's parish, near Haverfordwest, that Owain first saw the light, and this report coming to us as it does from North Wales is confirmed by a local tradition, which avers that Glyndwr was born at Little Trefgarn, and that he lived, died and was buried at Wolfscastle, about a mile further up the pass. Another tale states that the great rebel was born at another Trefgarn in Brawdy parish, called after him Trefgarn Owain. The suffix is certainly remarkable, but on the whole Pembrokeshire tradition tends to corroborate the evidence collected in North Wales by Mr. Jones (the king's bard!!!) and Mr.

Pugh, of Tygwyn, Denbighshire, pointing out Little Trefgarn as Owain's birth-place.* So we may deem it was in Trefgarn Pass, one of the most romantic spots in the county of Pembroke, that those weird phenomena occurred which are said to have attended Glyndwr's birth. Holinshed avows that the horses were found standing in the stables up to their bellies in a bath of blood, while a greater than Holinshed makes Glyndwr say,—

> At my birth
> The front of heav'n was full of fiery shapes;
> The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
> Were strangely clamorous in the frighted fields:
> These signs have marked me extraordinary,
> And all the courses of my life do show
> I am not in the roll of common men.

Probably Elen carried her baby soon after birth to her husband's home in Glyndwrdwy, or Dee valley. We hear nothing whatever concerning his boyhood, but taking advantage of the truce then existing between the races, Grufudd Vychan sent his Owain to London, where he studied law in the Inns of Court. He seems to have soon quitted the profession of law, and fallen back on that of arms. King Richard's prejudice in favour of Welshmen stood him good stead, for the handsome well-born young Welshman succeeded in obtaining an introduction to Court, and eventually became squire of the body, and scutifer or shield-bearer, to King Richard. Owain was an ambitious man, and no doubt mapped out for himself a magnificent future; but all these castle in Spain were overthrown by Henry Bolingbroke's *coup d'état.* Glyndwr is said to have been the last man in arms for King Richard, but at length even he was forced to accept the inevitable, which he seems to have done with good grace, making up his mind to retire into private life.†

In Owain's palmy days he had a dispute with his powerful neighbour Reginald de Grey, Lord of Ruthyn and the March. The subject of contention was a certain common known as Croesau, or the Crosses. Lord de Grey had taken possession of this, and Owain profiting by his legal education, and peradventure through favour of the king, recovered it from him by course of law. This defeat had rankled in the Lord Marcher's mind, so when Richard was deposed he forcibly repossessed himself of the land. Owain a second time appealed to the law, but as it appeared that the plaintiff was a partisan of the fallen monarch his suit was dismissed. So far Owain seems to have borne his wrongs in silence. With a view to distract the attention of his new subjects from home affairs, King Henry summoned his barons and their vassals to assemble and assist him in an expedition against King Robert III. of Scotland. Either through accident or design, Lord de Grey did not serve this writ on Owain, and when the latter failed to appear at the rendezvous he was declared recreant and his lands forfeited to De Grey as Lord of the March. Owain again appealed, and on this occasion seems to have been received with a certain amount of attention. At all events there was a debate on his case. John Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph, begged the lords to remember that the Welsh were a very hot-headed race, and that Owain was very popular in the Principality, where he was believed to have been cruelly wronged. Bishop Trevor was a *persona grata* at the Court of Henry, for when the latter had taken Richard prisoner at Flint castle, it was the Bishop of St. Asaph who formally pronounced sentence of deposition against the king. Notwithstanding this service, Trevor could scarcely obtain a hearing, *Se de illis scurris*

* Trefgarn, *Anglice* Rocktown, appears to offer no great difficulties of pronunciation, yet it is always called Trorgan by the Englishry.

† Owain acted for a short time as esquire to the Earl of Arundel.—Leland *Col.*, *tom.* i., p. 310.

*nudipedibus non curamus.** "We do not care for those rascally barefooted folk,"† was the answer given by the Court party, who remembered well that the Welsh were lovers of Richard, and that Owain was not only his favourite, but had been the last man in arms for the murdered king. Glyndwr's appeal was dismissed, and the English army marched triumphantly to Edinburgh. Then the hot Welsh blood which Trevor had spoken of surged through Owain's veins. Calling together his friends he took back his own land by force and made a desert of Lord de Grey's domain.‡

It was the duty of a Lord Marcher to maintain peace within his march, so Henry might very well have left Lord de Grey and Owain to settle their differences as best they might, in which case the disturbance would most likely have been localized, and after a certain amount of fighting one party or the other would have given in. But the king (possibly on account of information he had received concerning the temper of the Welsh) assumed that the blow was dealt against himself, and therefore sent a force under Lord Talbot to aid De Grey in restoring peace, hoping by these strong measures to stamp out Owain and Welsh disaffection. As regards the former he was very nearly successful, for Glyndwr was surprised in his llys and barely escaped capture, and it was only by flying to the densely wooded hills that he eluded his enemies. Meanwhile the friendly bards and other emissaries, bearing in their hands a bent bow as the emblem of war, raised the land, according to Lewis y Glyn.§ Under the pretence of Cymmorthau,‖ meetings were held in every district and Wales roused. From the Dee to the Severn, from the heights of Snowdon to Precelly Top, crowds of fiery and patriotic recruits ranged themselves under Owain's standard. They came not only from every corner of the Principality, but Kymry who had long expatriated themselves and were living in England, abandoned all and returned to their native land to fight for Owain and King Richard.¶ Rumours were afloat that the king was not dead and soon would enjoy his own again. So serious had matters become that on the 19th of September, 1400, Henry who was at Northampton called out the *posse comitatus* of ten counties for service in Wales. This was not done an hour too soon, for on the 20th Owain was proclaimed Prince of Wales, and marching at the head of a considerable force on Ruthyn, captured, plundered and burnt it. Taking advantage of a fair held in the town, his friends filled the streets before the assault and thus rendered its capture easy, for the townsfolk were simultaneously attacked from within and from without. After this exploit the insurgents retreated on the Snowdon range laden with loot. Henry led a large army in pursuit and penetrated as far as Anglesey, devastating the hapless land with fire and sword. He plundered and burnt the Franciscan Monastery of Llanfaes, slaying some of the monks and carrying off the rest. There was however a special reason for this act of severity. The Church, with the exception of the Franciscan order, had declared for Henry. These had remained faithful to Richard,* and were the only priests in

* Leland *Col.*, tom. i., p. 310.

† Wynne's *History of Wales.*

‡ A paper written by a chaplain of King Henry V. states "that the Welsh rose in arms and afterwards chose Owain for their chief."—*MS. Reg.* 13, c. i. Brit. Mus.

§ Thomas's *Memoir of Owain Glyndwr*, p. 166.

‖ The Cymmorth, in mediæval Wales, exactly corresponded to the Bee in modern America. It was an assemblage of friends to assist a neighbour in haymaking, corn harvest, ploughing, carrying fuel, limestone, or the like. It is said that the host found the materials for the leekie porridge on which his guests were to regale themselves, with the exception of that important ingredient the leek itself; this was provided by each guest for his own consumption, and as the custom was for the men to carry it in their hats, the leek became the national badge of Wales.

¶ *Rot. Parl.*, 2 Henry IV., 1400–1401, tom. iii., p. 457.

* In the following year of 1401 eight monks of this order were hanged for an alleged participation in the treason of Sir Roger Clarendon, an illegitimate son of the Black Prince. Their crime was that they had declared "King Richard was still alive."—*The Doom Warning to Judgement*, p. 262; Thomas's *Memoir*, p. 68.

Wales who favoured Owain; indeed, apart from politics, no men who regarded the bards could have been held in estimation by the churchmen, for the old feud between these bodies raged as fiercely as ever. Owain following the traditional tactics of his countrymen declined a general engagement, and on the approach of winter Henry was forced to retreat, having accomplished little or nothing. As a parting shot, on the 8th of November the king granted Owain's estates in North and South Wales to his own brother John, Earl of Somerset, and on the 30th day of the same month offered an amnesty to all who would resort to the city of Chester and submit themselves to his son Prince Henry.

This proclamation was of no avail. During the winter of 1400 and the first half of 1401 Owain remained unmolested by the king. Two announcements indeed were issued in the name of Prince Henry, then a boy of thirteen, and dated respectively May 10th and June 5th. The former offered an amnesty to all rebels in Caernarvon, Anglesey, Flint, Denbigh and Merioneth, and to the inhabitants of Chirkland, Bromfield and Yale, to the hundreds of Oswestry, Ellesmere and Whittington; Owain Rice and William ap Tudor, prisoners already taken, and such as should continue in arms alone excepted. The second proclamation extended the period of the first.* As all North Wales was practically at his feet, Owain turned his attention to the southern portion of the Principality. He fortified Plynlimon, and using this camp as a base sallied forth at the head of a flying column of 120 men. With this band Owain effected great results. He ravaged the district of Montgomery, storming and burning the town of that name, burnt the outskirts of Pool and the Cistercian monastery of Cromhîr, six miles from Rhaiader; took New Radnor with its garrison of sixty men-at-arms; these he put to death and razed the town. Owain then for the first time turned his attention to his native land of Pembroke. He seems to have hung about the Welsh parts of the district, keeping clear of the Englishry and their fortifications. The colonists, however, were thoroughly roused and determined forthwith to take the offensive.

In 1401 the earldom of Pembroke was in the hands of a deputy. When Richard was deposed, Henry deprived the Queen-Countess Isabel and created his own son John Duke of Bedford, Count Palatine of Pembroke; as the new earl was a minor, the palatinate was administered by a commissioner named Francis à Court, who is called Lord of Pembroke and Haverford. From his dealings with Owain, Francis seems to have been rather a politician than a soldier; probably he was much hampered by the paucity of troops at his command. Owing to the long peace Pembrokeshire seems to have been denuded of men-at-arms; besides it was unlikely that when the earldom became vested in the Crown so many soldiers would be maintained at Pembroke, Haverford and Tenby, as in those old days when semi-independent earls made their palatinate a depôt from whence they might draw men for their own private wars in Ireland and elsewhere. Francis despatched a force of 1500 men, who by a forced march surprised Owain and his little band of heroes in their camp on Mynydd Hyddnant, in Cardiganshire.† The Welsh dragon was trapped at last, and all that remained for the Pembrokeshire men was to sit down and patiently starve him out. They had indeed caught Owain, but he proved a Tartar. Hemmed in on every side by overwhelming numbers, the gallant Welshmen burst through the English ranks; two hundred of the foreigners lay dead, the rest fled in confusion.‡ This magnificent action added considerably to Owain's

* Thomas's *Memoir of Owain Glyndwr*, p. 72.

† Hyddnant, or Hyddgen, lies on the Montgomery side of the river Rheidol, and is about three miles north of Plynlimon. The top of Hyddnant is called Y'r Wylfar, or the Watch Tower, and from it a very extensive view may be obtained.—See paper by Mr. T. O. Morgan, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series, vol. ii., p. 30.

‡ Three miles northward from the town of Tregaron there is a prehistoric camp, being the segment of a circle, defended on three sides by a morass: this is known as Castell Flemys, and is said to have been constructed by Flemings, which is very improbable; but it is likely enough that the Pembrokeshire force routed by Glyndwr may have camped in it either during their advance or retreat, and the Welsh called them Flemings.

reputation, and to the anxiety of his foes. Henry forthwith reassembled an army and marched into Cardiganshire, where his chief exploit was the destruction of Strata Florida, one of the most venerable abbeys in Wales, and the resting-place of many of her most distinguished sons. What his object was is not very clear, for Strata Florida was a Cistercian foundation, and was not connected in any way with the Franciscans, who were the Ricardite party in the Church; but the clerical policy of Wales at this period was most enigmatical. The king during his stay seems to have seduced certain of Owain's followers from their allegiance, notably William ap Tudor; a pardon to this man and thirty-one other *quondam* rebels was signed at Westminster on July 8th, 1401. Having marched and counter-marched without striking a single blow at the invisible foe, King Henry, finding that his army was rapidly dwindling through famine and disease, retreated, but had hardly reached England before he raised a second and even larger force for service in Wales. On October 1st the mandred of no less than twenty-three counties was called out, the rendezvous being at Worcester. We have no particulars of this campaign, so we may with probability estimate the results at *nil.* If the English could do so little in July they would scarcely accomplish more in the late autumn among the hills, forests and morasses of mediæval Wales.

In 1402 a brilliant comet hung like a fiery sword athwart the spring skies. The Welsh rejoiced in the omen; it was, they said, Owain's star, and that star was in the ascendant; the bards went so far as to compare it to the Star of Bethlehem. Cheered by these favourable auspices Owain sought out his detested foe Reginald, Lord de Grey, defeated and captured him. Having regard to those sixty men-at-arms taken and beheaded in cold blood at New Radnor, although they were prisoners of war, the Lord of Ruthyn must have expected death if not torture. But this was not to be. Glyndwr with a more refined cruelty married the unfortunate prisoner to his own daughter Joan, took an oath of neutrality, a ransom of ten thousand marks,* and set his new son-in-law free, relegating him to the tender mercies of the bride. Glyndwr then proceeded to wreak vengeance on Welsh partisans of the English king, burning their houses far and wide. Henry had destroyed Llanfaes and Strata Florida. Owain by way of reprisal burnt the cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph. The Cistercian monastery of Cymmer, too, was given to the flames. The Welsh leader does not appear to have put his recalcitrant countrymen to death. There was, however, one notable exception; his own first cousin Hywel Sele of Nannau, Merioneth, proved a strong Lancastrian. The Abbot of Cymmer induced the cousins to meet. Hywel was a noted archer, and during the interview in the park at Nannau a hind passed by, and Glyndwr pointed it out to his cousin. Hywel drew an arrow from his quiver and discharged it, but not at the deer. The shaft struck Owain with full force; the latter wore a suit of chain armour under his clothes, so the arrow fell harmlessly to the ground, the only result being that Nannau was burnt and and Hywel disappeared. The story goes that forty years afterwards a follower of Owain pointed out a hollow tree in Nannau Park in which was found a skeleton. This the old man declared was the remains of Hywel, who had been thrust while yet living into the oak and left as a feast for the kite and carrion crow. Welsh princes were generally somewhat hard on their cousins; certainly in this case there was considerable provocation. According to Mr. T. O. Morgan,† the tree to which the above narrated tradition belongs, an aged oak, was standing until 17th of July, 1818, when it fell. The oak was known as "Denven," or *leubren yr Ellyel*, the goblin's hollow oak tree, and was "The spirit's blasted tree" referred to by Sir Walter Scott in *Marmion.*

* King Henry paid this by levying a fine on absentee Irish landlords.—Thomas's *Memoir.*

† *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series, vol. ii., p. 34.

These severe measures silenced if they did not destroy the English party in North and mid-Wales. Owain then turned his attention to the south-eastern borderland, which was nominally under the government of young Edward Mortimer, the legitimate heir to the throne of England. He was a child of ten years, and jealously watched by Henry, who kept him close in London. During the boy's minority the march was administered by his uncle, Sir Edmund Mortimer. On his arrival in Powys, Owain intrigued with the Welsh and raided the English. Sir Edmund at once raised a force to expel him. It consisted of Herefordshire men and Welsh from the neighbourhood of Melienydd in Radnor; the latter he thought would prove reliable. With this body of men Mortimer went in pursuit of Owain, whom he found camped on Bryn-glas, a hill not far from Knighton. A furious engagement took place on June 22nd, 1402. What the numbers were we do not know, but Mortimer's Welsh troops went over to Owain during the battle, flanking the Hereford men, who were after a very stubborn resistance defeated with a loss of not less than 1100, and Sir Edmund their leader was taken prisoner. Then one of those disgraceful episodes took place which are only too common when a servile population tramples on a dominant caste.

> The noble Mortimer,
> Leading the men of Herefordshire to fight
> Against the irregular and wild Glendower,
> Was by the rude hands of Welshmen taken,
> A thousand of his people butchered,
> And upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
> Such beastly, shameless transformation
> By those Welsh women done, as may not be,
> Without much shame, retold or spoken of.*

This tale is first related by Walsingham, corroborated by Holinshed, and stamped for ever by Shakspeare. There can be no doubt that the Pembroke men lived in daily dread of like treachery and vengeance from their Welsh vassals.

The capture of Mortimer proved of very great importance to Glyndwr. King Henry had himself ransomed De Grey (or rather had obliged the Irish landowners to do so), but he declined to assist Mortimer; indeed went so far as to say that he had played the traitor, and voluntarily surrendered to Owain. Stung by this unjust charge, Sir Edmund began to consider that his own nephew, rather than this ingrate, was the lawful King of England, and that possibly by Glyndwr's aid he might be raised to the throne. Owain encouraged these views, treated his prisoner well, and did not allow the grass to grow under his feet. After the fight on Bryn-glas hill he marched forthwith into Glamorgan, the oldest English colony in Wales. The churchmen of Llandaff first felt his vengeance, the episcopal palace was burnt, and friars black, white and grey rendered houseless. Cardiff town was sacked and committed to the flames, the district of Crockherbtown being alone respected, for this was the property of the Franciscans.† Nearly all the castellated houses of Glamorgan, which had been erected by the Norman conquerors, were destroyed, no opposition apparently being offered to the Welsh insurgents. Meanwhile Henry had summoned three large armies; one was to meet the king at Shrewsbury; young Prince Henry was to command the second with Chester for his base; while the third was to act under Warwick and march from Hereford. These three battalions were to move simultaneously on August 27th and draw Wales like a fox covert. A new complication however arose which added to King Kenry's troubles, for Archibald, Lord Douglas, crossed the Scottish border at the head of upwards of 12,000 men. A fourth

* Henry VI., 1st part, act i., scene 1.

† Thomas's *Memoir*, p. 97.

corps d'armée was raised and sent northward to meet the Scots. But the king and prince considered the reconquest of Wales of such primary importance that they remained with their men in the south. Whether the armies of Shrewsbury, Chester and Hereford ever formed a junction is not known; but we know for certain that their efforts were of no avail. The stars in their courses fought for Owain. The summer of 1402 was long notorious for its inclement weather. "Glyndwr through magicke caused such foul weather of windes, tempest, raine, snow and haile to be raised for the annoiance of the king's armie that the like had not been heard of." So King Henry and his men returned by the way they came baffled for the fifth time. The Scottish marauders however were cut off on their return. Earl Percy caught them on Homildon hill, near Woolmer in Northumberland, on September 15th, 1402, utterly defeated them, and took Earl Douglas prisoner. For this signal victory the Earl of Northumberland received the thanks of Parliament. Percy then proposed to release his prisoner, Earl Douglas, on ransom according to customary usage, but King Henry refused his sanction, deciding that it was necessary to hold the earl as a hostage for the good behaviour of his master the Scottish king. This action on Henry's part gave dire offence, for it upset the whole financial system of feudal warfare. Every man in those days had a recognized fine which was paid by his friends should he be so unfortunate as to be taken prisoner; and vassals were induced to follow their lords to war by the expectation of sharing in this prize money if captors, while on the other hand if captured they expected to be promptly ransomed. King Henry had already in Mortimer's case refused to purchase the liberty of a soldier taken prisoner while fighting for him. He now declined to sanction the ransom of a foreign earl taken in arms while fighting against him. The Percies, father and son, would not pass over this interference with a soldier's privileges. They gave Douglas his liberty without ransom and promised to join him in arms against Henry. They then appealed to Edmund Mortimer and his captor Owain Glyndwr, and a meeting was arranged at the house of the Dean of Bangor, at Aberdaron in Carnarvonshire. Glyndwr in the first place set his prisoner Mortimer at liberty, and the conspirators then proceeded to a division of England and Wales. Mortimer in the name of his nephew claimed the country southward and eastward of Trent and Severn. Northumberland was to take all north of Trent to the Scottish border, while Owain was to receive Wales, the three chieftains joining with each other and the Scotch king in an offensive and defensive alliance. Owain drew their attention to an ancient prophecy concerning a mole, a dragon, a lion and a wolf. Taking up his parable he explained that the mole was King Henry, he himself was the dragon, the Percy cognizance was the lion, and Mortimer no doubt was intended by the wolf. The prophet declared that the mole would suffer many things from these formidable beasts.

Having thus settled the foreign policy of his principality Owain convened the representatives of commots, heads of houses, clergy, and other leading men to a meeting at Machynlleth, and was there formally crowned Prince of Wales. It was at this meeting that David Gam attempted Glyndwr's life. Pennant has stated that Gam was Owain's brother-in-law; the error seems to have arisen from confusing Sir Edward ap Edwyved Gam of Anglesey with Henry's Welshman, David ap Llewellyn ap Howel Vychan of Brecknock. The former married Glyndwr's sister, the latter attempted his life.* The meeting at Aberdaron and the coronation at Machynlleth must have both taken place either in the winter of 1402, or early in 1403. Not satisfied with this strong league Owain looked further afield for an alliance. He sent an embassy to Charles VI. of France, who gladly promised his assistance. Matters now indeed began to look serious, for if this home rule plot had succeeded then

* *Cambrian Journal*, vol. iv., p. 163.

England would have been thrown back six centuries. Having thus settled his home and foreign policy Glyndwr determined to attempt the capture of Carmarthen, which was then the most important town in Wales. What occurred we know from a letter written by the Constable of Dynevor, which is preserved in the British Museum.*

Dure frende i do zow to wetyn that Oweyn Glyndour, Henri Don, Res Duy, Res ap Gr ap Llewellyn, Res Gethin, han ywon the town of Kermerdyn, and Wygmor constable of the Castell hadd yzeld op the Castell of Kermerdyn to Oweyn; and hane y brend the Town, and yslay of men of town mor than L men; and thei budd yn† purpos to Kedweli and a Seche‡ ys y ordeynyd at the Castell that i kepe, and that ys gret peril for me, and al that buth wyddine; for thai han y mad har§ avow that thei well al gat haue owss‖ dede thryn. Wherfor I prei zow that ze nul not bugil¶ ous,* that ze send to ous warning wyth yn schort time whether schull we have eny help or no; and bot ther bn† help comig that we have an answer that we may come bi nizt and stell away to Brecknoc, cause that we faylyth vitels and men, and namlich men. Also Jenkyn ap Ll hath y zeld op the Castell of Emlyn wyth fru wyll; and al so William Gwyn, Thomas ap David ap Gruff, and moni gentils bnn yn person wyth Oweyn. Warning erof I prei that ze send me bi the berer of thus letter. Farydd well yn the nam of the Trinite. Y wryt at Dynevour yn hast and yn dred, yn the fest of Seint Thomas the Martir.

JANKYN HANARD, *Constable de Dynevour.*

This panic stricken epistle seems to have been addressed to the commandant at Brecon; but in all probability a similar letter written in haste and in dread was despatched to the Chevalier Francis à Court in his castle of Pembroke, announcing that as Carmarthen had fallen, and the garrison of Newcastle Emlyn under Jenkyn ap Lloyd had yielded without a blow, it would be impossible for Constable Hanard to hold Dynevour without help, and that disaffection was on the increase, for Henri Don of Kidwelly and many other well-known Welshmen were constantly in Owain's company.

Sir Francis à Court hastily collected a body of troops which he despatched under the command of Sir Nicholas Carew to the Carmarthenshire border. Apparently Sir Nicholas was authorized either to treat or fight with Owain as he thought best. Again we have an account of the result in a letter written by the Constable of Dynevour.‡

Dure frynd, y do zow to wytyng that Oweyn was in porpos to Kedewelly, and the Baron of Carewe was that day comyng with a gret retenu to ward Seint Cler, and so Oweyn changed is purpos and rode to zens§ the Baron, and that nizt a logged hym at Seint Cler and destruid al the contre about. And a tysday they weryn at Tretys al day, and that nizt he logged at the town of Locharn sex myles out of the town of Kermerdyn; thys purpos ys zef so that the Baron and he acordyth in tretys, than a tornyth a zein to Kermerdin for hys part of the godes, and Res Duy is part, and mony of thes gret maistres stont‖ zet in the Castell of Kermerdyn, for they havenot y made her¶ ordinance whether the Castell and the town schall be brend or no, and therfor, zef ther is eny help comyng hast hem with al haste toward ous for they mowe have godes and fytelles plente, for everych hous is full aboute ous of her pultre and zet* wyn and hony y now in the Contre, and whet and ben, and al maner vitelles. And we of the Castell of Dunevor had tretys of ham Monday Tywsday and Wendysday, and now a woll ordeyn for ous to have that Castell for ther a castyth to ben y serkled thince for that was the chef plas in old tyme and Oweyn ys moster a monday was as they seyyn hem selvyn VIII Mill and xij^{xx} spers such as they wer. Other tidyng y not now but God of Hevene sene† zow and ous from al enemyes. Y wryten at Dynevor this Wednesday in hast.

So Sir Nicholas came to terms with Owain, who for the present left Little England in peace and returned to revel in the "pultre, wyn, hony, whet, ben, and all manner of fytelles" that

* *Cotton MS.*, Cleop. F. iii., fo. 3, and printed among Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 14.

† Be in. ‡ Siege. § Their. ‖ Us. ¶ Boggle. * Us. † Been.

‡ *Cotton MS.*, Brit. Mus., Cleop. F. iii., fo. 123b., and printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 15.

§ Against. ‖ Stont, stop. ¶ Their. *Yet. † Sene, send.

were to be found in Carmarthenshire, and also to compass the seizure of the old royal palace of Dynevor, to the dismay of Master Jankyn Hanard. In a third letter written by John Skydmore from Carreg Cennen castle, we get further information of Owain's movements. This is dated 5th of July, and in it he states

> How al Kermerdynschire, Kedewely, Carnwaltham and Yskenyn ben sworyn to Oweyn yesterday, and he lay to nyzt yn the Castel of Drosselan, and on this day he is about the town of Kermerdyn and ther thenketh to abide til he may hav the towne and the Castel, and his purpos ys from thennes into Pembrokeschire.*

Seemingly Jankyn Hanard was either misinformed, or in his terror exaggerated Owain's success, for the town of Carmarthen still held out. The next news we get of Owain's movements is from a letter written for "Le Maire and les Burgeis de Kairlyon to their gode frendes and worschipful burgeis of Monemouth." They say that they had news sent them by the

> Capteyne of the towne of Kadewelly and in the Lettres wer y wrete words that ther was a day of batell y take by twyxt the worthy Baron of Carew and Owein Glyndor, and we do yow to onderstande that thys day of bataill schuld have be do the xii day of Jule and the nyzt before that thys bataill schulde be do, Oweyne wes y purpos to have y voidede ym to the Hull azeinward and for he wold y wete whar his wey wer clere y nowe to passe zyf he hede nede to the Hull he sende VII C of his meine to serche the weyes, and these VII C menne went to serche thys weyes and ther this VII C menne were y mette with the Barons men of Carewe and I slay up every chone that ther was.†

The next paragraph in this letter has perished, but from the few words left it seems as if Owain fell back on Carmarthen, which he had at last captured. This fortunate ambuscade no doubt saved Pembrokeshire, and Sir Nicholas Carew had now avenged that disgraceful escapade of the Pembrokeshire men at Mynydd Hyddnant. We may well believe that the joy bells rang out merrily at Pembroke, Haverford and Tenby.

Just as Owain had received his first check on the Pembrokeshire border the affairs of the league seem to have come to a head in England. From Carmarthen Glyndwr passed on to Kidwelly castle, before which he sat down. The king was at Burton-on-Trent with an army he had assembled to lead against the Scotch. The elder Percy had collected a force at Berwick, which the English imagined was destined for the same service, when instead of awaiting the arrival of Henry these latter unexpectedly marched south under the command of young Percy, nicknamed Hotspur, his father being disabled by illness. A message had been sent by the Northumbrian chief, begging Owain to join him with all the men whom he could collect on the borders of North Wales. This Glyndwr did not care to do, considering his own operations in West Wales of more importance. Like a bad whist player Owain never considered his partner, but played for his own hand and that so badly that the Welsh force dawdled at Kidwelly. However, to save appearances, a body of 4000 men were detached and joined Hotspur. So soon as news came that the Northumbrians were moving southward Henry detected the treason, and in hot haste turned to meet the danger. Owain, too, at length awoke to the importance of the situation. He raised the siege of Kidwelly, hurried eastward to meet his ally, and reached Oswestry. Hotspur was at Shrewsbury. Then Henry, rendered desperate, performed an extremely hazardous operation. He thrust in his little army like a wedge between the Welsh and Northumbrians. This reckless movement proved a success. The Kymry, with their traditional dislike to a general engagement, hung back,

* *Cotton MS.*, Brit. Mus., Cleop. F. iii., fo. 120, Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 18.

† *Cotton MS.*, Brit. Mus., Cleop. F. iii., fo. 116; Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 22.

Mortimer too had not arrived. Then instead of manœuvring to join his allies, or even attempting to communicate with them, Percy flung his Northumbrians on the king's men. A furious battle was fought at Battlefield, near Shrewsbury, in which as is so well known Hotspur was defeated and slain. Even yet the cause was not lost. Henry's men had won a Pyrrhic victory; they had suffered so severely that had Owain, in conjunction with Mortimer and the elder Percy, who had recovered and was bringing up reinforcements, given them battle the probabilities were still greatly in favour of the coalition; but with what seems besotted folly, Owain retreated into his Welsh hills, leaving his allies to their fate. Mortimer was defeated and pardoned, and the Lancastrian king seated more firmly on his throne than ever. But although Glyndwr had thrown away so fair a chance, his force was unbroken, and he



GATEWAY OF LLAWHADEN CASTLE, FROM AN OLD PRINT.

returned to Wales with his power for mischief unimpaired. The English colony prepared to meet him. Chevalier Francis à Court held Pembroke; Sir Nicholas Carew, the doughty champion who defeated the Welsh at St. Clear's, prepared his castle of Carew; Sir John Cornwall was in command at Manorbier; Perrot at Picton; Malefant at Upton; Thomas Lord Arundel had been sent with reinforcements to Haverfordwest; and Sir John Scrope to Laugharne. The constables of such castles as were dismantled received sharp reminders from the Crown; even the Bishop of St. David's, Guy de Mona, Privy Seal and Lord Treasurer of England, in a writ dated Worcester, September 8th, was directed to garrison his castle of Llawhaden and see that it was in a state of thorough repair, on pain of forfeiting the said castle with the manor appertinent. Owain did not however molest Pembroke or its

borders. During the early portion of 1404 he was busily employed in arranging an alliance with Charles VI. of France, and this was signed on May 1st at Dolgelly, and on June 14th in Paris.

Glyndwr then carried the war into Merioneth and Cardigan, where he took the castles of Harlech and Aberystwith. Encouraged by this success he attacked Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who had camped on Cwmdû hill, in Montgomeryshire. In this attack the Welsh were foiled. The defeat was however very soon wiped out by a success at Craigydorth between Monmouth and Chepstow, where the English were utterly routed and driven pell-mell into Monmouth. The year 1404 closed leaving Owain firmly seated on his newly-built throne. In March, 1405, an army of 8000 men, composed of Glamorganshire rebels, had assembled and were wasting the march about Monmouth; they had burnt Grosmont and were proceeding to further extremities when they were attacked and almost exterminated by a small force under Sir Gilbert Talbot. This was on the 11th. Owain hearing of the misfortune pushed up with reinforcements, while Prince Henry making a forced march fell on him at Pwll Melyn in Brecknock. In this engagement English generalship and discipline told. Glyndwr was utterly defeated, and fled leaving 1500 of his followers dead on the field.

The result of these two defeats was almost magical. Within a week the bubble had burst. Owain's undisciplined troops had melted like snow in sunshine. Each man had hurried to his home, while their leader was a fugitive hiding from his pursuers in rocks and caves. The king followed up this unlooked for success by marching an army of 37,000 men into Wales; but the country had been so cruelly wasted by both parties that it could not feed such a host. Then Owain's magic again prevailed. The weather fought for the Welsh, and Henry had to beat a retreat leaving some three score of his baggage waggons behind him. Owain's star was again in the ascendant when winter set in, and the Welsh talked over the repulse of this mighty host. They plucked up spirit and decided to carry on the war. No sooner was this settled than news arrived that Charles VI. was preparing a mighty armada which would sweep the Lancastrian from the English throne and secure the independence of Wales. Though the preparations for a French invasion were not perhaps on such a grand scale as had been reported among the hills of Wales, yet it was quite true that Marshal Jean de Rieux, and Jean de Hanguest, Sire de Hugueville the master of the cross bowmen, had been directed by the King of France to raise 12,000 fighting men for service in Wales.

The Marshal of France, and the Master of the Cross Bows (John de Hangest Lord de Hugueville) by orders from the King of France, and at his expense, collected 12,000 fighting men. They marched to Brest in Brittany to embark thence for the assistance of the Welsh against the English on board six score vessels that were lying there. As the wind was contrary they remained there fifteen days, but when it became favourable they steered for the port of Haverfordwest, which place they took, slaying all the inhabitants, but such as had fled; they wasted the country round and then advanced to the castle of Haverford, wherein was the Earl of Arundel with many other men-at-arms and soldiers. Having burnt the town and suburbs under the castle they marched away, destroying the country round with fire and sword. They came to a town called Tourby (Tenby), situated 18 miles off, where they found the Prince of Wales with 10,000 combatants waiting for them, and thence marched to Carmarthen, 12 miles from Tenby.*

As we hear nothing of siege or slaughter at Tenby we must suppose the place capitulated. Thomas Phelps was Mayor, David Jolle and Thomas Rees Bailiffs. From the name of the latter it would seem the Welsh element was represented at Tenby in 1406. Carmarthen appears to have returned to its allegiance, for when the allied forces arrived under the walls they found the gates closed. The defenders however were not strong enough to defy so

* *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, book i., c. xv.

great a force; they capitulated, and were allowed to march out with their baggage and all the honours of war. The French marshal then boldly turned his face eastward, and crossing the English border, burnt the suburbs of Worcester and intrenched his army in the neighbourhood.

Henry heard of the invasion on August 7th. He issued a writ from Pontefract to the Constable of Hereford, directing him without loss of time to raise a force and put Hereford in a proper state of defence. The king hurried to Worcester to meet the foreign foe, and ordered a fleet under Lord Berkely and Henry Pay to Milford Haven. The latter attacked the French flotilla, burnt thirteen sail and took fourteen transports that were bringing supplies to the invaders. Meanwhile, after some indecisive skirmishes, the Franco-Welsh army, forced probably by want of supplies, suddenly retreated into Wales pursued by Henry. Hale says:—

> He chased the enemy from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could never have them to any advantage. A worlde it was to see his quotidianus removing, his paynfull and busy wandering, his troublesome and uncertain abidying, his continual mocion, his daily peregrinacion, in the desert felles and craggy mountains of that barreine, unfertile, and depopulate country.

At length the king was obliged to give up the pursuit in despair, leaving behind him "certayn carriages laden with vitayle, to his great displeasure, and to the great comfort of the Welch."

The French wintered somewhere in Wales, returning to France the following March. Their losses were wonderfully small, not more than sixty men according to Monstelet; but on the other hand the expedition was entirely barren of result as regarded the war between Owain and Henry. The Pembrokeshire leaders were however impressed; hitherto they had succeeded by force of arms and diplomacy in keeping Owain out of their county and preserving the latter a peaceful oasis in the war stricken desert of Wales. This they had continued to do without any assistance from England. But now the conditions were changed; they had proved themselves capable of holding the Welsh in check, but if they were liable to invasion from France it was useless for the small colony to attempt resistance. In this one disastrous year (1406) they saw their chief town burnt, a large district devastated, and their third town forced to capitulate to the foe. Francis à Court felt that it was absolutely necessary to come to some understanding with Owain, and the latter seems to have been ready enough to make terms which resolved themselves into a matter of money. Owain in the first place gave a truce until the Feast of S. Philip and S. James, *i. e.*, the 1st of May, 1407, and on the 14th of November, 1406, Francis de Court, Chevalier Lord of Pembroke, directed William Picton, Henry Malefant,† and Thomas Perrot ‡ to raise a rate of £15 2s. 8d. on a district lying between Picton Castle and Scotsboro. This seems a small sum, but of course the value of money was very different in the fifteenth century to what it is in the nineteenth, and the quarter even now is a very poor one; perhaps there may have been another reason why these parishes were let off easily. They are in the direct line between Haverfordwest and Tenby, so that peradventure this may have been the country traversed and devastated by the French; if so, the line of march must have passed through the parishes of Minwear,

† Fenton states that the male line of the Pembrokeshire branch of the Malefants of Upton Castle became extinct in Henry; but he is in error, for Henry was succeeded by his son Thomas.—See Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, 1767, p. 218; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series, vol. iii., p. 210.

‡ Thomas Perrot was the founder of the Scotsboro branch, and second son of Stephen Perrot of Jestynton.—See Barnwell's *Perrot Notes*, p. 11.

Yerbeston, Loveston, Reynaldton, Jeffreston, and thence through Gumfreston to Tenby, nearly as straight as one could go; there are however Lawrenny, Coedcanlas and Carew still to be accounted for. These may have been in the line of another division, or perhaps were plundered by the fleet, as they are water-side places lying on the creeks of the Haven. Begelly still remains, but that is likely to have suffered when the Franco-Welsh army marched from Tenby to Carmarthen, as it lies in what must have been their direct route.*

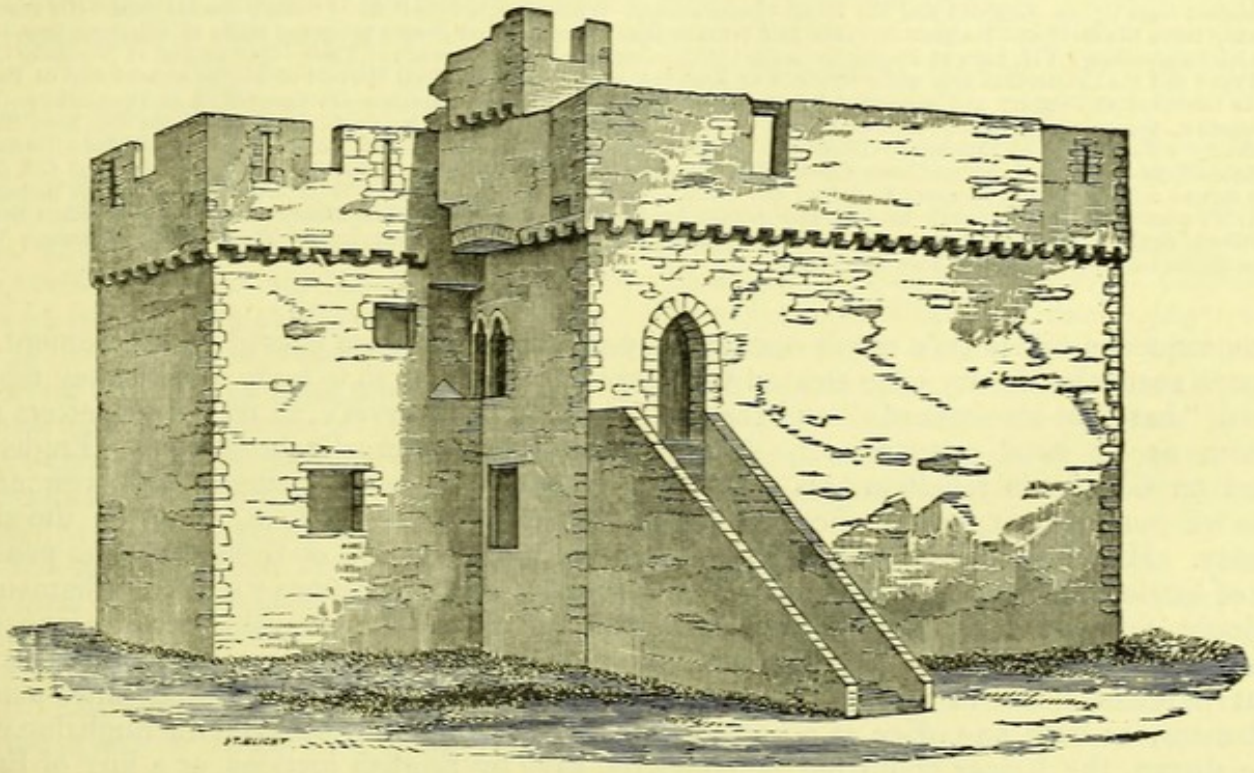
These moneys were to be raised by the aforesaid gentlemen, and by them handed over to Stephen Perrot of Jestynton and John of Castlemartin. We may feel pretty sure that this was not all the money raised. Lord Arundel was a party to the pact, so no doubt black mail was levied on the whole county. At first sight this buying off the enemy appears to have been a pusillanimous act on the part of the Pembrokeshire leaders; but when it is taken into consideration that for a not very high county rate they obtained peace and security for their dependents which could not be had on any other terms (for England was powerless to help them), praise rather than blame seems to be their due, the more so that they and their immediate retainers were safe in their impregnable castles, for the Frenchmen had knocked in vain at the gate of Haverford, while they had not dared to approach the frowning keep of Pembroke. It was the farmer, the cloth weaver and the peasant who were the victims, and safety for these was purchased by money raised from the church, and by an abnegation of knightly honour by the nobles. This sacrifice was made for the common people, a class not over much considered in those days. We do not know much of Francis à Court, except that he ruled the county of Pembroke and did his best to preserve peace in his province in very difficult days, the which is no small credit to his memory. Owain appears to have kept his bargain, and Pembroke continued to pay him black mail; for we find that on May 16, 1409, an order was sent to Lord Arundel and Francis à Court not to permit his vassals to desert their posts (there was no need of such an order before the pact), while later on in the same year "Lord Arundel is bidden to repeal the truce that had been formed of his own authority, and abrogate every illegal compact of the kind, and to pursue and attack Glyndwr and his followers with the utmost vigour."† Whether he obeyed or not we cannot tell, but after the league had been made Owain no more troubled Pembroke; indeed, although he carried on a desultory warfare with England up to the time of his death in 1415, each succeeding year his cause became more hopeless. With him the historian of Pembrokeshire has no further concern; indeed so secure had the county become that the Pembroke men at arms were distinguishing themselves in the van of the English army at Agincourt when Owain Glyndwr was dying an outcast in Herefordshire. Thomas Phaer, a Norfolk physician who settled near Kilgerran in the middle of the 16th century, wrote a metrical life of Owain Glyndwr for a work called *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, which was published in 1559,‡ and the Rev. Thomas Thomas, Rector of Aberporth, a village about five miles from Cardigan, wrote *The Memoirs of Owain Glyndwr*, a painstaking but somewhat confusing work. This was published for the author by Joseph Potter of Haverfordwest in 1822. As Pembrokeshire men are not much given to book making, it is evident that the

* The original document is printed in the Appendix of Fenton's *Tour through Pembrokeshire*, and runs:—"Nostri predicti eis impositam seu imponendam (viz.) pro quolibet feodo militis quadraginta solidos, et pro rectoria S. Marie de Carewe quatuor libras, tresdecim solido et 4d., Rectoria S. Egidii de Picton, tres solidos. Rectoria Eccles: de Laurenny 26s. et 8d. Rectoria de Coedkenles 6s. et 8d. Rectoria de Martletwy 20s. Rectoria de Mynwere 13s. et 4d. Rectoria de Jerbeston 13s. et 4d. Rectoria de Loveston 13s. et 4d. Reinaston 13s. et 4d. Bigelly 26s. et 4d. Jeffreyston 13s. et 4d. Gomfreston 20s."

† Thomas's *Memoria*, p. 155.

‡ This will be found on p. 134, vol. iv., 2nd Series *Archæologia Cambrensis*.

slaughter at Mynydd Hyddnant, the ambuscade at St. Clear's, the sack of Haverford, and the capitulation of Tenby in that last revolt of the Kymry against their English masters, was an abiding memory in the history of the colony.



JESTYNTON.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAMBRIA TRIUMPHANS.

Welshmen held in low esteem by the English at the beginning of the 15th century—Coercive statute not enforced in Pembrokeshire—Perrot family had Welsh connections—Welsh bailiffs at Tenby—Welsh improve their position in the 15th century—Henry Chicheley Bishop 1508—After him the see of St. David's declined in public estimation—Welsh soldiers in France—The Queen Dowager gives birth to children of which Owain Tudor is the father—Owain imprisoned—Edmund, the eldest son, married to Margaret Beaufort, grand-daughter of John of Gaunt and Catherine Swynford—Cabal against Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Pembroke—He is murdered in prison—List of his body guard—Grufudd ap Nicholas—Story of the abduction of Margaret Malefant from Upton—Grufudd and the Royal Commissioner—William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk created Earl—His execution—Henry takes the earldom—He gives it to his half brother Jasper Tudor—Earl Jasper takes the castle of Kilgerran from Grufudd ap Nicholas—Henry VII. born at Pembroke Castle (1456)—Jasper rebuilds the walls of Tenby—Is defeated at Mortimer Cross by Edward and the Carmarthen men under Grufudd ap Nicholas, who is slain—William Herbert of Raglan created Earl of Pembroke—Is beheaded at Banbury and succeeded by his son—Jasper restored to the earldom—Is vanquished at Tewkesbury—Flies to Chepstow, thence to Pembroke—Is besieged by Owen ap Thomas and relieved by David ap Thomas—He flies from Tenby to Brittany with the Earl of Richmond—Thomas ap Grufudd retires to Dijon with his son Rhys—Returns to Wales—His duels and death—Rhys succeeds—Acquires Carew Castle—His character—Intrigues with the Duke of Buckingham—Richard III. demands his son as a hostage—Rhys swears to defend the realm—His letter to Richard—Plot to dethrone Richard—The Bishop of St. David's persuades Rhys to break his oath and declare for Henry—Consults the seers—Henry lands at Brunt—Rhys lies under Mullock Bridge while the Earl passes over—They return to Carew—Divide their forces—Their itinerary through Wales—The Hirlas horn—The battle of Bosworth Field.

In consequence of Owain's revolt certain repressive statutes were passed by Parliament. As we have seen, the Kymry were treated with insolent scorn by that body before they rebelled, termed "barefoot blackguards" and the like, while King Henry IV. in one of his letters refers to them as *de petit reputacion*.* After hostilities had actually broken out, Englishmen looked on Glyndwr's rebellion as a servile war, and when a racial struggle has assumed this phase we must not expect the victor, whether master or *quondam* slave, to err on the side of leniency. However, it should be remarked that the most coercive of these laws was passed in heat of battle, while the fight was actually in progress, and though enacted by Parliament was no doubt demanded by the military authorities as absolutely requisite for the successful prosecution of the campaign. Parliament, sitting in January 1401, decreed that no Welshman might purchase land in any of the towns lying in the Marches, represent any place in Parliament, or hold any office in a corporate body. In litigation between an Englishman and a Welshman, the former could not be convicted save by English justices, or a jury of English burgesses sitting in the English towns or boroughs of the lordship where the suit lay. All Englishmen married to Welsh women were disfranchised, while a Welshman daring to take an English woman to wife was guilty of misdemeanour. Meetings of Welshmen were proclaimed, or could only be held by license of the English lord and in the presence of an English officer deputed by him to attend. No arms or commissariat stores were allowed to pass the border without a permit from the king or council. No Welshman was to have command of a defensible place; no Welshman was to manufacture or carry arms. No Welsh boy was to be apprenticed to a trade in any English town within the realm, or indeed to receive

* Ellis's *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 2.

any education. During the year just passed (1400) King Henry had marched in person against Owain at the head of a force composed of the manhood of no less than ten counties, and had returned baffled. He then offered pardon to all his Welsh enemies who would resort to Chester and there make submission to Henry Prince of Wales. The only result of this proclamation was that some hundreds of Welshmen left peaceful occupations in various parts of the realm and joined "the profligate rebel Owain," aiding him with arms, money and information, so that the inhabitants of English towns and castles throughout Wales were panic stricken, and looked on all their Welsh neighbours as open enemies or secret spies. It was under such circumstances that Parliament fulminated the terrible ordinances which have scarcely been forgiven by Welshmen to this day. How did these laws affect Little England? The evidence we possess on the subject tends to prove that they were either not enforced at all, or that the breach of them was winked at by the authorities.

We cannot suppose that Stephen Perrot of Jestynton (who certainly was not disfranchised) would be very severe on a Welsh misdemeanant who had married an English woman. He would think of those two sons-in-law of his own, John ap Gronwy of Kilysant, and Evan ap Gwylym of Cemaes. As regards the holding of office in corporations, we find that in the year following this statute (1402) King Henry granted a new charter to his town of Tenby at the supplication of the burgesses, in which he allowed them to choose out of their own body a mayor and two bailiffs annually. Now, as the very first bailiff elected bore the name of William Prees (ap Rhys), it must have been an open secret that this good man was Welsh. In 1406 Thomas Rees is elected bailiff, and in 1412 Henry Prees, presumably the son of William aforesaid, fills the same office. Within forty years from the passing of the statute a full-blooded Kymro was custodian of no less than seven castles in Western Wales. Dynevor, the old royal seat, and Kilgerran, the important border fortress, among the number. This same Welshman, with six hundred foot and two hundred horsemen, met a royal commission whom he treated with the grossest contumely. Forty-four years later another Kymro, at the head of two thousand horsemen who were all his own retainers, met a Kymric pretender to the throne who was actually crowned King of England and France, a curious anomaly, seeing that the vindictive statute of Henry IV. was not repealed until the 21st of James I. It is evident that notwithstanding Owain's defeat, through some social change of whose nature we are ignorant, the Welsh people vastly improved their social position during the 15th century, not only in Little England but throughout the realm.

Bishop Guy Mona died in 1408, when the back of the rebellion was broken. He was succeeded by Henry Chicheley, who though one of the most celebrated and worthy prelates that ever adorned the bench of bishops, did not expend his beneficence on the Diocese of St. David's. He was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1414, and was succeeded by John Catterich. The misfortunes of Wales appear to have affected the well-being of the see. The historians of St. David's divide their story into three eras, and state that it is their belief

That as the see advanced in wealth towards the close of the 13th century, so it must certainly have declined in public estimation about the beginning of the 15th. One fact only we will notice as a curious coincidence. Without attempting to trace any connection between it and a problem, which we confess ourselves unable to solve. The transition from the first to the second era nearly synchronizes with the final subjugation of the Principality by Edward I., while the third commences soon after the complete degredation of the Welsh people in consequence of the rebellion of Owen Glyndwr which lasted until their emancipation in the 27th year of Henry VIII.

If the status of the churchman fell, that of the soldier must have improved. No fighting indeed took place in Little England, but we find that the men of West Wales followed their Royal Duke Earl into France.

In the year 1436 English society was shocked by a grave scandal. Katherine De Valois, daughter of the French king, Charles VI., widow of Henry V. and mother of the reigning monarch, gave birth to a child. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle and guardian, ordered an investigation. It was discovered that this was the fourth infant born of the queen since her late husband's death, and it further appeared that the father of her second family was one Owen Tudor, a Welsh soldier, who having distinguished himself in the French wars, had been rewarded with a place about Court, where his eminently handsome person captivated the queen mother's fancy. Whether they were actually wedded or not is a moot point, but it seems likely that an irregular marriage did take place. Duke Humphrey at once sent Katherine to the Abbey of Bermondsey, where her baby daughter died. The other three children he gave in charge of the Abbess of Barking. Owen himself was locked up in Newgate. This Owen Tudor traced his descent from Edwyved Vychan, a chieftain who fought under Llywelyn against Edward I. Edwyved married Gwenllian, grand-daughter of the Lord Rhys, Prince of South Wales. By-and-by, when it became necessary to make the most of his pedigree, Owen was declared to be the descendant of mythical kings, and the representative of the Kymric race; but in the eyes of his contemporaries he seems to have been but a low born soldier of fortune. Katherine died the year after her little daughter's birth, and Owen escaped from Newgate. The young king summoned him to appear before his council. "He willed that Owen Tudor, which dwelled with his mother Queen Katherine, should come into his presence." Owen declined to obey without a written promise that he should be "free to come and free to go." This having been granted he went to London, but still doubting the good faith of the Government took sanctuary at Westminster, from whence unawares he appeared before the council then sitting at Kennington Palace and defended himself. The king, who stood his friend, set him at liberty, and he retired to his home in North Wales; but Humphrey of Gloucester re-arrested him as a prison breaker, confining him first at Wallingford, and then again in Newgate. From this prison he broke out with violence and escaped into the wild mountains of North Wales. The *London Chronicle*, commenting on this transaction, says:

> This year one Owen, a man ne of birth, ne of livelihood, brake out of Newgate at searching time, the which Owen had privily wedded Queen Katherine, and had three or four children thereby, unknown to the common people till she was dead and buried.

Owen remained in hiding, and his three boys were left in the Abbey of Barking until 1440, when Katherine de la Pole, the abbess, applied for money for their sustenance. On this they were removed from Barking and placed under the care of discreet priests to be brought up chastely and virtuously.*

In 1442 the king came of age. Owen was recalled and allotted £40 per annum from the privy purse.† Edmund the eldest son was married to Margaret Beaufort, heiress of the house of Somerset and grand-daughter of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford. Humphrey of Gloucester, regent of England and heir-presumptive to the throne, was the darling of the people, but for many years he had been opposed by Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Suffolk. This opposition party were now joined by a valuable recruit, no less a personage than Margaret of Anjou. The young Queen Margaret was the most beautiful woman of her day, and swayed poor simple Henry at will. She hated Humphrey, as he had done all in his power to prevent her marriage with his nephew. The plot against the Duke of Gloucester

* *Fœdera*, vol. x., p. 828.

† 21st and 22nd Henry VI. *Issue Rolls.*

culminated in February, 1447. A parliament was summoned to Bury St. Edmunds, which the king and queen attended, and the *posse comitatus* of Suffolk was called out to protect their royal persons, as though some danger was apprehended. Humphrey of Gloucester also appeared. As Count Palatine he was in possession of the castles and lordships of Pembroke, Tenby,‡ Kilgerran and Llanstephan, with the commots of Freyne, Estrelaw and St. Clears, from these places and the adjacent neighbourhood it would seem that he drew the body guard which attended him to this fatal Parliament. Popular as he was throughout England in his day of peril he looked to West Wales for his fastest friends; he was accused of coquetting with the Duke of York. On the second day of Parliament the country was shocked to hear that Humphrey was arrested on a charge of high treason. From that hour his fate was sealed. He was in the hand of his implacable enemies, and the king seems never to have forgotten or forgiven his uncle's treatment of Katherine the queen mother. Within a week Humphrey was found dead in prison. There was no mark of violence on the body, but it is shrewdly guessed that he died the same death of torture as Edward II. The officers of his body guard were arrested and disposed of as follows, according to a manuscript roll in the Cottonian Collection printed in *Ellis's Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. i., p. 108:—

Sir Henr. Owgan,*
Thomas Harbert,
Thomas Wyriyot,†
Griffith ap David ap Thomas,
Yevan ap Jankyn, LL., } to London.

Jankyn Thawe,
Jankyn Loyde Wogan,
John Wogan,‡ } to Barkhampstead.

William Wogan,
Evan ap Jankyn ap Rise,
Will. ap John ap David ap Lloyd, } to Redyng.

Will. Wogan,
Will. ap Thomas son of Robert ap Rise,
Henry Wogan, } to Ledys.

Alon appe Meredith ap Philip Madock,
Ries app DD. app Thomas,
Thomas Jankyn app Ries, } to Northwich.

Owen Don,§
Hugo Gunere,
Hugo Bennooth, } to Wallyngford.

John Eynon,
Walter Berthull,
Hugo ap Thomas, } to Gilford.

John app Ries,
Ric. ap Robert,
Will. ap John, } to Southampton.

David ap Thomas,
Hug. ap Thomas,
Griffith ap Nicollasson,‖ } in to the Kings Bench.

Sir Thomas Wer,
Sir Roger Chamberleyn,
Sir John Cheyne, } to Brystowe.

Richard Middleton,¶
Henry Chechilley,*
Arteys,
Richard Nodam, } to Wynchester.

Mogan,
Bokeland,
Melborn, } to Nottyngham.

Bassynghorn,
Wyele,
Shaffield, } to Northampton.

In this list of the duke's bodyguard the name of one very remarkable personage occurs, viz., Griffith ap Nichollasson, *alias* Grufudd ap Nicholas, who was confined in the King's Bench. The history of West Wales for many years centres round this man and his family.† Nicholas ap Philip, Grufudd's father, is said to have claimed descent from Urien Rheged, the conqueror of Gowerland in the 5th century, and his mother, Janet verch Grufudd ap Llewelyn

‡ Humphrey had confirmed the Tenby charter, and obtained exemptions for the inhabitants from taxation "in consequence of great losses and crosses sustained by the burgesses from the king's enemies on the part of France."

* Wogan of Wiston, killed at Banbury. † Of Orielton. ‡ Son of Sir Henry of Wiston. § Kidwelly?
‖ Of Dynevor. ¶ Of Middleton, Carmarthen? * A relative of the late Bishop?

† See a biography, *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 49, the original of which was written early in the reign of James I., apparently by a descendant of this family.

Vychan, traced her pedigree back to Elystan, regulus of Ferlys* in the 10th century. These venerable ancestors, who were probably invented by some sycophant to gratify the vanity of Grufudd, afford us no clue to the origin of his sudden appearance as the foremost man in West Wales. Grufudd's first wife was Mably, daughter of Meredudd Don of Kidwelly; his second was Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Perrot of Scotsboro;† his third a Welsh lady Janet, daughter of Jenkin ap Rhys ap David of Gilvach Wern.

He was also full of welth, and had an estate at lest of seven hundred pound a year, old rent of assize, seaven strong castles, and seaven houses.‡

We can only suppose that for some unknown reason Duke Humphrey must have exceedingly favoured this turbulent Welshman. The earliest notice we have of Grufudd ap Nicholas occurs in the Petition of Margaret—*que fuit uxur Thome Mallefaunt Milit*—18 Henry VI., A.D. 1493.§ She complains that

One Lewse Leyson *alias* Lewse Gethei, late of Glamorgan in the Marches of Wales, who in the lyf of her husband was most tristed of any man ner to him. On Wyt Monday xvi. Henry VI. comes, he with counter fayt letter declaring Griffith ap Nicholas and divers other enemies lay in wait for her; he (Lewse Leyson) conveyed her from Oucheton,‖ co. Pembroke (she not then knowing of her husband's death), engaging to bring the said widow to Jane Asteley, wife of Thomas Asteley and moder of said Margaret. Upon this they set off and travelled at yt day and all the morrow after till evyn that they came by a Park side called ye Park of Prys, wynne¶ the Lordship of Gower, when as yer came out of the same Park a great bushment, yet beying by the assent and ordinaunce of the said Lewse in maner of waire arrayed, and came with swerdes drawen and made a great affray and assaut upon the said Margaret, and yer smoten herr upon hur arme, and yer beaten hur servantes, &c., and had her forth ynte the monteyns, yer kept her without mete or drink till she was nigh dede, seeing that she had wheye to drink att divers places till the wendisday nexte after, at which day he brought her to on Gilbert Turbervoyle is place withynne ye Lordship of Glamorgan, and hur ther kept a prisoner, and her manassed at divers tyme unlesse she would be wedded to the said Lewse.

(This was done) with the working and assent of the said

Gilbert and his wyf and with the governaunce of on Sir Hough, vicar of the churche of Twygeston in Wales, with many mo brought and led the said Margaret, and yer would have make her against her will to take the saide Lewse to husband, the which she ever refused, and after that time had her in to the said Tubervoyle is place att Twygeston aforesaid, and yer hadd hur yn to a chaumbr withyn a strong Towr and yer against hur will ravished hur, an felonly lay by her, she crying at all times after help and socour and none couth have; and in such wise was kept till Friday next after the Fast of St. John Baptist that she with wyse governaunce was hadde fro yennes and came to London to her moder.*

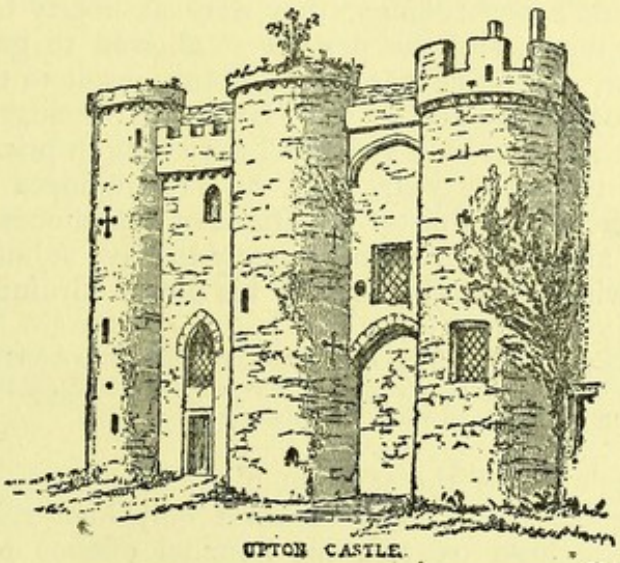
The petition concludes with a prayer that the case may be tried in Somersetshire. Though Grufudd cannot be charged with this piece of rascality, yet it tends to prove he was practically master of the degenerate colony, for "Margaret Mallefaunt," no mean woman, widow (or as the poor soul deemed, wife) of Thomas Malefant, Baron Wenvoe, Lord of St. George co. Glamorgan, and Lord of Upton and Pyle in co. Pembroke, lying in her strong castle of Upton within three miles of Pembroke keep (the Caput Baroniæ) and less than two from the fortress of Carew, surrounded on all sides by castles garrisoned by Englishmen, is so panic stricken by the very name of a Welsh brigand, that without thought of appealing for aid to the authorities she at once proceeds to fly for refuge to her friends in London. The coercive laws seem to have been a dead letter in 1436. If the Malefants of Upton trembled

* The land lying between Wye and Severn. † See p. 205, *ante*. ‡ *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 55. § *Rot. Parl.*, vol. v., p. 14.
‖ Upton. ¶ Park le Bruce. * *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series, vol. iii., p. 211.

at the name of Grufudd, how would it have fared with meaner folk had they dared to cross the great Kymric bandit?* Two years later, in the year 1441, we find that

> Divers of his followers building on his countenance and protection made somewhat bold with those of the marches (a usuall thing betweene the Scotts and English in the borders upon the like disturbances) robbing and stealing from them their cattle, and what else they could lay handes on to the great detriment, losse and endamagement of those neighbouring counties, which Griffith ap Nicholas from time to time passed over and tooke noe notice off. Manie complaintes were made but noe redress.†

Matters arrived at such a pitch that Lord Whittney was sent into Wales by the Government as a commissioner to examine into these abuses. Grufudd met him on the top of a hill a mile or two beyond Llandovery (or as it was then called Lanandeffry), with four or five ill-clad, worse mounted fellows as his followers, and introduced himself to the commissioner. Lord Whittney could not credit that this was the dangerous chieftain he came to seek. However, on reaching Abermarlais castle, Thomas ap Grufudd with a hundred well-appointed men came out and joined the cavalcade; about five miles further they came to Newton, and another son Owen, joined with two hundred men; at Abergwilly the eldest son met them with five hundred men. With these eight hundred men-at-arms Grufudd escorted the commissioner to lodgings at Carmarthen, and left him for the night in charge of his three sons whom he bade take care their guest was well entreated. Lord Whittney naturally suspecting treason sent for the mayor, (Stephen Griffith), and sheriffs of the borough, to whom he read his commission, requiring them by virtue thereof to assist in attaching Grufudd ap Nicholas. On going out from Lord Whittney's presence the mayor and sheriffs told Owen, Grufudd's third son what had happened, and added that the commissioner had put his commission into the sleeve of his cloak. The supper was all that a representative of the king could desire, and the drinking fast and furious. Owen, however, kept studiously sober, and in the course of the evening managed to steal the commission out of his lordship's sleeve. In the morning the commissioner, mayor, and the sheriffs went in state to the Shire Hall, sent



UPTON CASTLE.

* Margaret and her husband were buried in the Church of St. Bartholemew the Less, London, where a monument was erected to their memory, the inscription on which ran as follow :—

HIC . JACENT . THOMAS . MALEFANT . MILES
BARO . DE . WINWERE . ET . DOMINUS . DE S.
GEORGE . IN . COM . GLAMORGAN . ET . DOMINUS .
OKNETON . ET . PYLE . IN . COM . PEMBROKE . IN
WALLIA . QUI . OBIIT . 8o . DIE . MAII . MIVXXXVIII
ET . DOMINA . MARGARETTA UXOR EJUS .
FILIA . THOME . ASTLY . ET . HENRICUS
FILIUS . EORUNDEM . THOME . ET . MARGARETE
QUORUM . ANIMABUS . PROPITIETUR
ALTISSIMUS . AMEN.

—See Weever's *Monuments*. Edition 1769, page 218.

† Biography, *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 59.

for Grufudd ap Nicholas and forthwith arrested him in the king's name. Grufudd most humbly did obeisance, and prayed the court to have the king's commission read publicly so that the proceedings might be in order. Lord Whittney put his hand into his sleeve, the document was missing, nor could it be produced. Then Grufudd rose up and putting on his hat cried to his sons and men-at-arms with an assumed fury: "Have we cozeners and cheaters come hither to abuse the king's majesty's power and to disquiet his true hearted subjects?" Turning to the commissioners, and rapping out a great oath, he swore ere the next evening came he would hang them all as traitors and impostors, and bade his men forthwith lay hands on them and hale them to prison. Then Lord Whitney, fearing the Welsh chieftain would be as good as his word, begged permission either to return or to send for another copy of the document. Grufudd refused. On one condition only would he let them go free, and that was as follows:—If Lord Whittney would put on Grufudd ap Nicholas's livery, assume his cognizance, and take oath that he would go to the king in that attire, acknowledge his own offence, and justify Grufudd's proceedings, they were at liberty to depart. Lord Whittney accepted these degrading terms, and the party were allowed to go in peace. So far as the writer of the memoir knew, no notice was taken of this insult to the king. Then came the expedition to Bury, Humphrey's death, and Grufudd's seclusion in the King's Bench. Grufudd however does not seem to have remained very long in prison, for we are informed by Browne Willis that during this same year, 1447, he was employed by the absentee Bishop of St. David's, John de la Bere, to administer the affairs of the diocese. Strange work for such a character. Churchmen and laymen appear equally to have submitted to this extraordinary individual. The bard, Lewis Glyn Cothi, sang of his patron Grufudd:

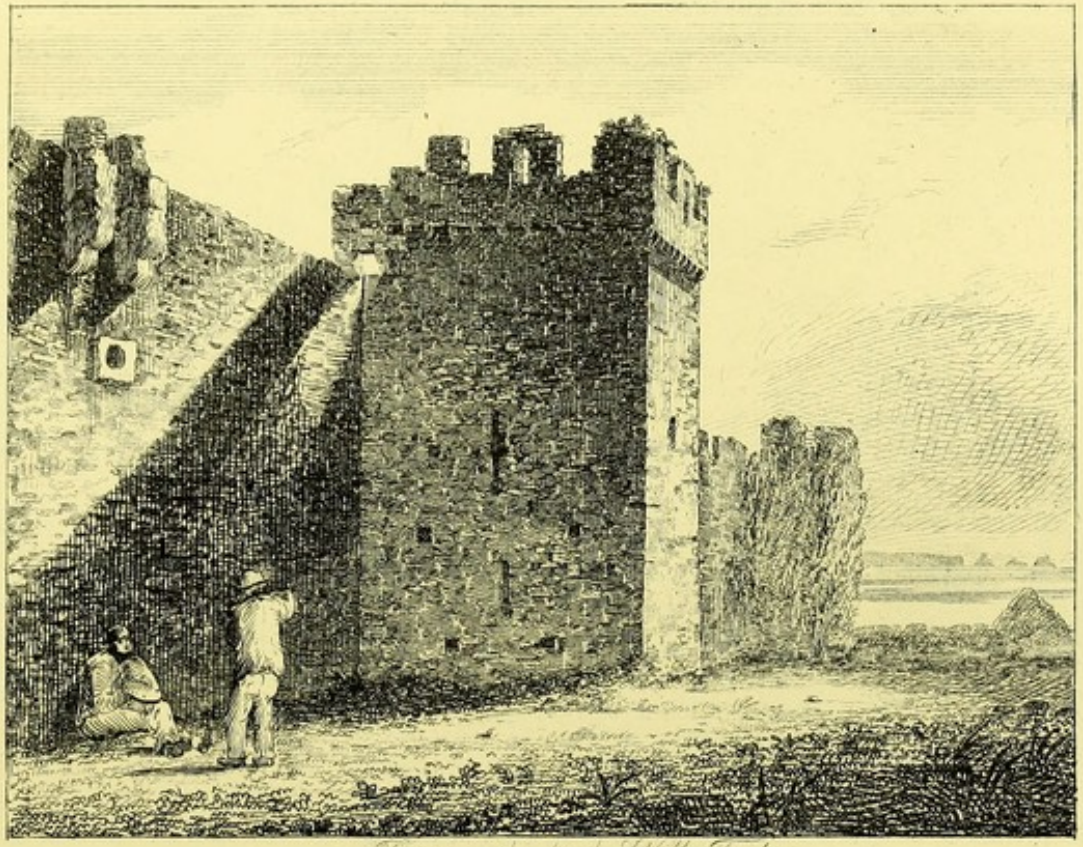
Assuredly he is the eagle of Carmarthen; from Bristol to Pembroke Dale he broods over a hundred eyries; that is his possession to-day. He is owner and justice from the two Gwents to St. David's of Menevia; he is judge of the land of Camber administering justice to all who dwell therein.

After Duke Humphrey's death the earldom of Pembroke was granted to his bitter foe, William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, who however only held it four years. In 1451 this nobleman was charged with high treason, his nominal offence being maladministration in France. Having been found guilty he was sentenced to banishment, and proceeding to Harwich took ship, but was pursued by his foes, captured and landed at Dover, where his head was dragged over the gunwale of a boat, and hacked from his body. The king reserved the earldom of Pembroke until the year 1454, when he created his uterine brother Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond and premier earl, while Jasper the second son of Owain and Queen Catherine was created Earl of Pembroke. When the young Earl arrived in West Wales he at once perceived that Grufudd ap Nicholas was not a fit person to act as custodian of such an important post as the border castle of Kilgerran, and made a report to that effect. Letters patent were forthwith issued revoking the grant from Grufudd and appointing the Earl himself custodian. This affront Grufudd never forgot or forgave. He would perhaps have become a strong Yorkist, but unfortunately had a personal quarrel with the Duke of York, having detained from that nobleman

One half of two plough lands, and a half of land with the appurtenances in Lyesprans and Newhouse lying and being in the marches of Wales in the county of Hereford,* for which the said Duke brought a *præcipe quod reddat* against him to which he refused to appeare, being often call'd upon and warn'd by the Sheriffes summonitors thereunto.†

* Llysyfran and Newhouse, by the county of Hereford, the biographer must mean Haverford; but they are in Pembrokeshire.

† Biography, *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 58.



Tower on the South Wall, Tenby.

So when the remainder of the realm was ranging itself either under the Red or White Rose Grufudd ap Nicholas was already at war with both factions. As if this was not enough, he managed to quarrel with the Duke of Buckingham also; probably this came about through some moss-trooping expedition, but the reason is not given by Grufudd's biographer.

Hitherto Pembroke castle, although the Palatium from which the Counts palatine wielded their *pseudo* regal power, was in truth nothing more than a great defensible barrack, for when the Earls sojourned within its walls their residence had been of a very temporary character. But Earl Jasper made it his home, and his sister-in-law Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, appears to have been his guest in 1456. On the 21st of January she gave birth to a son in Pembroke castle, who was destined to play a great part in the drama of English history. Ten months after the birth of his son Earl Edmund died, perhaps at Pembroke, and was buried at the Grey Friars, Carmarthen. No doubt alterations were made in the old fortress of Pembroke to accommodate Earl Jasper and his noble relatives; but these do not appear to have been structural, probably the internal fittings were improved and additions made to provide apartments for body servants of the gentlemen in the suite of the Earl and his sister-in-law. Concerning the chamber which tradition has assigned to Countess Margaret, and which is pointed out as the birth-place of her son Henry VII., Mr Clark writes:

> At the east end (of a tower on the north wall) a small chamber 18 feet broad by 20 feet long, has been partitioned off from the hall. This room had a good east window, now stripped of its ashlar frame; it had also a south window of two lights near the east end; this room may have been the original chapel, but a slice is taken off its north side and occupied as a large *garde robe*. This room is shown as the birth-place of Henry VII.†

When Leland the antiquary visited Pembroke about eighty years after Henry's birth, he found "the chaumber wher King Henri VII. was borne, in knowledge whereof a chymmeney is new made with the armes and badges of King Henri VII.," in a perfect state. This has all disappeared.

The year following Henry's birth, Thomas White being Mayor of Tenby, Earl Jasper having been informed that the walls of Tenby were unskilfully built and in bad repair, determines for the convenience and strength of his town of Tenby and for the defence of the whole county of Pembroke, that the walls of the town shall be made six feet broad in every part, so that people may be able to walk round them for the purpose of defence, and that no impediment or obstruction may arise from any burgess or freeholder, the mayor and burgesses are enabled to rebuild the walls upon any of the lands, tenements, gardens, cottages, or other buildings belonging to the said burgesses. The mayor, freeholders and burgesses agree to cleanse the moat and make it 30 feet broad in every part. Freeholders adjoining the moat to complete one half, the commonalty the other. The Earl erects the wall upon his own land, and the walls and moats are granted to the mayor, burgesses and freeholders, and their successors for ever.‡ The work done in 1457 (or rather 1458, for the patent is dated 1st of December, 36 Henry VI.) may still be traced, some of the pointed arches which bore the walk yet remaining.

Earl Jasper was himself at Sheene where he entertained the king, while the queen was making a royal progress through Cheshire and the Midlands.§ Sometime about the year 1560 Grufudd ap Nicholas, having prospered in his cattle lifting expeditions, made a journey

* This Thomas ap Grufudd was a younger son named after his elder brother, acçording to the puzzling ways of Wales.

† *Earls, Earldom and Castle of Pembroke*, p. 126.

‡ Norris gives a facsimile of this charter in his *Etchings of Tenby*.

§ *Paston Papers*.

to Hereford to purchase certain goods; here he was seized, thrown into prison, and relieved of £50 in hard cash he had about him, which was escheated to the king. Grufudd himself managed to escape by the help of Sir John Scudamore of Kentchurch, his son-in-law. The insult of the arrest and the loss of his money so rankled in the old Welshman's mind that forthwith he forgave the duke that matter of Llysyfran and Newhouse, and became a pronounced Yorkist, for England was now embroiled in the war of the rival roses. Earl Jasper towards the end of 1460 landed with a strong force in North Wales, and took Denbigh castle; after that, by one of the rapid forced marches for which he was celebrated, nearly captured Edward himself, who was in Flint. But reinforcements coming to the aid of the Yorkists under Sir William Herbert, Jasper retreated and was beaten on the banks of the Alun. Leaving a garrison in Harlech castle, he retired to his stronghold of Pembroke, raised a new force, and in conjunction with his father Owen (whom he had knighted) forthwith started in pursuit of Edward, who now lay at Gloucester.

Grufudd ap Nicholas and his son Owen had already joined the latter, "having seaven or eight hundred men following of him, well armed, well ordered, goodlie of stature, and hartes answerable thereunto."* Edward had left Gloucester and was marching to attack the royal army under Margaret, when he found Jasper "who stood as a block in his way." On a plain near Mortimer's Cross, Herefordshire, the hostile forces met, when the Pembroke men under Jasper were beaten by the Yorkists and their Carmarthenshire allies. Jasper saved himself by flight, but Sir Owen his father was taken prisoner and beheaded in retaliation for the execution of Richard Duke of York at Wakefield. Old Grufudd too closed his turbulent life on the battle field, having had the satisfaction of seeing the Earl of Pembroke flying before Owen and the eight hundred tall men of Carmarthen. This battle was fought on the 1st of February, and Edward was formally crowned King of England in March, 1461. The Lancastrian party were for the time shattered, the leaders were attainted and became fugitives, Jasper's earldom was forfeited to the Crown, and little Richmond was given in custody to Lord William Herbert. How long he remained a prisoner at Raglan is uncertain. In May, 1468, Lord William was rewarded for his faithful services by his grateful king. He was created Earl of Pembroke, a striking instance of Kymric progress, for hitherto no English monarch would have dreamt of adorning a Welsh brow with the Pembroke coronet. In 1469 Earl William was captured by the Lancastrians and beheaded on the field of Banbury. His young son William succeeded to his honours, but the Red Rose was again in the ascendant. King Edward fled the land, and the first to welcome Queen Margaret on her return was Jasper, again Earl of Pembroke. The fitful gleam of success was however extinguished on the field of Tewkesbury, where Jasper was in command, the boy Henry riding by his side. After their defeat they fled to Chepstow, but feeling insecure retired to Pembroke castle (probably by sea), as the county was in the hands of old Grufudd's grandsons. Fortunately for Jasper and his nephew there was a division in the family. One grandson, Morgan, proceeded to beleaguer the Earl in his own stronghold, but succour came in a shape strangely characteristic of the period and locality, for David, another grandson of Grufudd, raised a rabble of two thousand peasants "armed with hooks, and prongs, and glaives, and other rustic weapons,"† attacked his brother Morgan, and obliging him to raise the siege, carried off the two Earls in triumph to Tenby, where he handed them over to good Master Thomas White the mayor of that town, who in turn put them on board a ship of his own and landed them safely in Brittany.

Gerald de Windsor and the Mareschal earls must have turned in their graves when it

* *Cambran Register*, vol. i., p. 63.

† *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 70.

came about that a cross-bred earl (Kymric on the father's side) was besieged in Pembroke castle by a band of Welsh freebooters, and rescued from their vengeance by a rabble rout of Kymric peasants. It would be difficult to find a more convincing proof that the racial strife in Little England had taken a turn in favour of the Kymry. Several causes seem to have conspired to bring about this result. A long peace tended to blend the races. But little fresh blood was introduced from greater England during the 14th and 15th centuries. While the bravest sons of the colony had left their bones to bleach on the battle fields of France, those who remained behind seem to have given up war as a trade. The Welshmen were still fighters and moss-troopers as of yore. Francis à Court's conduct during Glyndwr's revolt had not increased the prestige of Little England, for outnumbered, abandoned by England and invaded by France, he had been obliged to buy off the redoubtable Welshman. In the Rose War politics banded an Anglo-Welsh force against Englishmen and Welshmen; in Western Wales (on both sides) the most skilful leaders and boldest followers were undoubtedly of Kymric blood; in a word the Welsh proved themselves to be the best men in the 15th century and reaped their reward.

The head of the great Carmarthenshire family was absent when Earl Jasper returned to Pembroke as a fugitive from Tewkesbury field, for Thomas, Grufudd's eldest son, and the father of Owen and David, after the fight at Mortimer's Cross disgusted according to his biographer with internecine strife, retired to the Burgundian Court, and left his aforesaid sons in charge of the Welsh estates, taking his youngest boy Rhys with him to the Continent. At this period Dijon under Charles the Bold offered peculiar attractions to an adventurous soldier, more especially if he was English and a White Rose man, for the Duchess of Burgundy was King Edward's sister Margaret. At this Court young Rhys enjoyed peculiar advantages, receiving thereat the education of a gentleman and the training of a soldier; thus it came about when he returned to West Wales it was as an accomplished cosmopolitan, very different in all respects from his provincial ancestors, and well prepared to play the important part reserved for him by destiny. Thomas ap Grufudd and his son appear to have been favourites at the Burgundian Court. After a stay of some five years the father engaged in an intrigue with a lady related to the Duke.† This being discovered a dispensation was obtained from Rome, and although Thomas ap Grufudd had left a wife at home he was married to the fair Burgundian and sent back to Wales. Thomas had not been at home long before he quarrelled with the Earl of Pembroke, William Herbert,‡ and treated him with such disrespect that a follower of his, "one Turberville, would needes combat Thomas ap Grufudd on the earl's behalf; this Turberville was an arrogant cracker and a notable swash-buckler." He sent his cartel of battle to Thomas with a further message that if he did not accept the challenge he would "ferret him out of his cunnie berrie at Abermarlais." Thomas replied, "that if he was tired of his life he wished he would get someone else to kill him." This answer brought Turberville in a rage to Abermarlais, where he found Thomas sitting by the gate dressed in a grey frock, whom he took for the porter, and demanded if Thomas ap Grufudd was within. "Sir," said Thomas, "he is not far off, and if you have ought with him let me receive your commands." "Then prithee fellow," said he, "twirling his mustachoes, sparkling furie and fier from his eyes, tell him one Turberville is here and would speak with him." Thomas hearing his name, and observing his appearance, could hardly help laughing, but managed to

* The biographer states that Thomas had returned before the battle of Granson, 1476.—*Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 65.

† It is not very clear whether this lady was an illegitimate daughter of Philip the Good, the reigning duke's father, or of James de Burgoigne his younger brother.—*Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 65.

‡ This must have been the second of the family, for Thomas ap Grufudd was certainly not at home in 1471, when Tewkesbury was fought and his sons encountered each other before the walls of Pembroke.

say solemnly that he would acquaint his master, and retiring within presently sent some of his servants to introduce Turberville. Without any apology for his mistake the visitor proceeded to correct Thomas for his "sawciness towards so greate a person as the Earle of Pembrocke." "In good time, sirr," said Grufudd's son; but I pray is not my lord of courage sufficient to undertake that office of correction without the help of others?" "Yes, certainly; but you too meane a copesmate for one of his place and dignitie he hath left to my chastisement," said Turberville. "Well then," answered Thomas, "though I might justly except against my tutor, where is it your pleasure to have me to schoole?" "Nay, where thou wilt or darest," said Turberville. "A harsh compliment," said Thomas; "I am not ignorant, as I am defendant, that both time, place and weapons are in my choice, but speaking in the person of a schoole boye (for noe higher account you seem to make of me) I weene 'tis not the fashion for schollers to appoint where their masters shall correct them; yett, seeing you leave it to me, let it be at Arthur's Stone in Herefordshfre, a place indifferent for both (for in Glamorganshire perhaps you may not think it safe for me, and heare in Carmarthenshire I am sure 'tis nott for you); there I will attend with my sword by my side and my lance in my rest on such a day." "A match," cried Turberville, "and soe abruptlie for the present they parted." They met at Arthur's Stone, where Thomas threw Turberville and broke his back. This encounter caused a long feud between the two houses. Thomas was constantly engaged in affairs of this nature. With Henry ap Gwilim alone* he is reported to have fought eight or ten times. He finally lost his own life in consequence of a duel. Having slain his man he lay down on the grass to rest, and was run through the back by a friend of his dead antagonist. Morgan and David ap Thomas seem in the opinion of the biographer to have been country-bred louts and were killed off in some brawls, thus making way for their younger brother Rhys, who succeeded to his father's property. By accident of birth, ability, and superiority of education, there is no doubt that Rhys ap Thomas was the leading spirit in South Wales. Being cosmopolitan, as became a Burgundian soldier of fortune, he was superior to those racial prejudices which had influenced his grandfather;† indeed he rather affected the society of Englishmen, and abandoning his old Carmarthenshire home took up his residence in the heart of the colony.

Sir Edmund Carew, owner of Carew castle and head of the family founded by Gerald de Windsor in the 12th century, feeling perhaps that the colony was retrograding and desirous of renewing the family laurels, determined to seek adventures abroad; but lacking ready money mortgaged his castle and domain of Carew to Rhys ap Thomas in order to procure the requisite outfit.‡ William Herbert had accepted the earldom of Huntingdon in lieu of Pembroke, and King Edward had granted the latter to his young son Prince Edward,§ so that there was no local man in a position to rival Rhys ap Thomas, now Lord of Carew. He was most judicious in the friendships he formed—Thomas Langton Bishop of St. David's, the Abbot of Tally, the Prior of Carmarthen, Morgan of Kidwelly, Arnold Butler of Coedcantlais,‖ all able men. Instead of fighting periodical duels with his neighbour Henry ap Gwilim, as had done his father Thomas, wiser Rhys married Eva the heiress of Court Henry, an arrangement which closed an old blood feud and brought a fortune nearly equal to his own. He was

* Of Court Henry in Carmarthenshire.

† His chief spleene was towards the English in general, to whom he ever boare an implacable hate.—*Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 58.

‡ He was eventually killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Therouaune.—Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 256.

§ He was Lord of Haverfordwest, and in his honour this town was created a county.

‖ A cadet of the Dunraven (Glamorganshire) family, who had obtained the Coedcantlais property by marriage with Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Philip Percival.

economical at home, excepting in the matter of hospitality, but lavish abroad; he built churches, and erected summer-houses where the people met—the men for athletic games, the women for dancing "and other allowable recreation." Rhys mixed with his neighbours at these meetings, "running, quoiting, lepping, wrestling" and dancing sometimes, "but that was seldome and then too with a decent and comelie behaviour." He also made paddocks for horse breeding at Carew, Narberth, Newcastle Emlyn, Abermarlais, Webley, and other of his seats, giving a horse now and then to his tenants, of whom he had between eighteen and nineteen hundred. But besides these pastimes he had a more serious matter in hand; he was drilling and arming a large body of men, and teaching the country squires "fortification, entrenchments, and the ordering of battles." So that he soon had a very different class of man-at-arms to the rustic bumpkins who followed his grandfather to the wars. Another plan he had for increasing his influence was the acquisition of small plots of land all over the country. The result of this policy is still to be seen in the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan in the otherwise unaccountable mixture of property.* What particular object Rhys may have had in view it is impossible to say; but of one thing we may feel sure, the result finally obtained was not the end he proposed. So powerful was he that the bards sang:

All the kingdom is the king's
Save where Rhys doth spread his wings.

Men lost their heads in those days for less treasonable tunes, so Rhys wisely rebuked the singer, who said he had erred, and the proper words of his song were—

The kingdom is the king's I wis,
The skirts of France, and Rhys is his.

The first actual muster of his forces took place about the time of the death of Edward IV., when Rhys quarrelled with the Duke of Buckingham and received a threat from his grace "that unless speedy satisfaction were given he should be cudgelled in his castle of Carmarthen." To this message Rhys replied

That the wayes being mountaynous and craygie, his grace might spare the labour, for that he (Rhys) intended in person shortlie to attend his lordship at Brecknock, there to receive his commands.

Having forwarded this courteous cartel he proceeded to enroll his forces preparatory to an expedition against the duke. Abermarlais castle was the rendezvous, and among the many feudatories and partisans who answered his summons, Edward Lewis, Rhys's old tutor and now physician to the queen dowager, appeared. What arguments the doctor employed it is impossible to say, but the result was a reconciliation between Rhys and Buckingham, which was ratified by a meeting of the two great men at Trecastle.

The biographer thinks the arguments used by Lewis had reference to Henry's claims, but as Edward V. was still alive it seems much more probable that his mother's emissary was preparing the way for that insurrection which broke out in favour of Edward, which cost Buckingham his head and the young king his life. If so Rhys took no part, but Richard evidently suspected him and not without reason, for Buckingham's forces were all drawn from Wales. If the duke did depend for aid from Rhys's four or five thousand trained horse, in all likelihood their absence brought about his overthrow. King Richard was not satisfied. He ordered a commission to proceed to Carmarthen and call on Rhys to take an oath of fidelity

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 79.

and give up his son as a hostage. Rhys readily took the oath but assured the commissioners that a little child of four was too young to be parted from his mother. Then with the assistance of the Abbot of Tally he concocted a letter to his hunchback majesty of England, in which was the following passage:—

Nowe an enemie is declared I hold myself obliged without further looking into the cause, faithfullie to observe the same, by a necessarie relation my obedience hath to your Majestie's commandes to which I deem it not unseasonable to annexe this voluntarie protestation: that whoever ill affected to the State, shall dare to land in those partes of the Wales where I have any emploiment under your Majestie, must resolve with himself to make his entrance and inception over my bellie.

From this letter, which is written at Carmarthen and dated 1484, it is evident that Rhys was aware of some new plot against Richard. The king seems to have been satisfied, for we hear of no further demand for hostages. When Edward V. and his brother were dead, and Richard deemed by many too guilty to reign, men began to consider who was heir apparent to the throne. Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV., represented the white rose. Indeed Richard wished to strengthen his title by marrying her (although she was his own niece), but finally feared further to outrage decency. The house of Lancaster was nearly extinct. The heir in this case too was a woman, Margaret Beaufort, widow of Edmund Tudor and mother of Henry Tudor Earl of Richmond.

A bright thought struck some of Richard's enemies, viz., to join these two claims by marriage, and thus graft the rival roses on one stock! It would have been meet had Henry VII. carried a distaff in lieu of a sceptre, for never did king owe more to the spindle side. His grandfather's boast was that he was descended from Gwenllian, a daughter of the old Princes of South Wales. He (the grandfather) married a daughter of the house of St. Louis. Henry's father wedded the representative of "time-honoured Lancaster," while Henry took to himself the White Rose Elizabeth. The plot to bring about this combination seems to have been common talk for several months, and Rhys must have been acquainted with it when he wrote his letter from Carmarthen, yet from this epistle one can hardly suppose he had then joined the plot, though he could not have remained clear very long after. All his dearest friends were conspiring in favour of Henry: the Bishop of St. David's, the Abbot of Tally, John Morgan of Kidwelly, Arnold Butler of Coedcantlais and the rest. These men had known Jasper of Pembroke and the boy Henry; some had fought for him, some against; but they all looked on him as their countryman, and with that clannishness which has always so strongly influenced West Welshmen, were prejudiced in his favour. Margaret spent much time at Pembroke, and knew this feeling well enough. She perceived that if Rhys could be secured, Milford Haven would be the safest spot on which to unfurl her son's standard. But Rhys was very cautious. He told his friends that he could not get over that oath which he had made to Richard. Then the bishop bade him think of all the holy men who had broken inconvenient promises, and concluded a very long peroration in the following terms:—

As your spirituall and ghostlie father, I heare disenchaine you of these bondes, and give you free absolution, and as touching your letter to that faithless miscreant I know nothing contained therein (and I appeal to my Lord Abbott who drew the same) that you may well dispense with all without any the least impeachment to your honour; and for that particular branch of your letter, where you undertake by oath that none (ill affected) shall enter at Milford without he make his passage over your bellie, my answer is that the Earl of Richmond can be no ill affected man to the State, coming in pursuit of his own right, and withall to release us of our heavy bondage. Or if you bee further scrupulous herein I shall never hold it as any disparagement to your humilitie to lay yourself prostrate on the ground for the true and indubitable lord of us all to make an easy entrance over you.*

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 89.

Rhys seems to have been only half convinced by this sophistry, but eventually gave way, and one Hugh Conway was forthwith sent from the countess to her son with the grateful news that a landing at Milford Haven would now be feasible. By-and-bye information arrived that Henry had started from St. Malo, but this came to nought through bad weather; then again news arrived that the Lancastrian prince was on the sea with a force of two thousand Frenchmen, having left Harfleur bound for Milford Haven.

Rhys hated and distrusted Frenchmen, and that oath of his still troubled him. What could two thousand men, and those French, do against the majesty of England. He evidently wished himself well out of the business. His personal friends were all stanch for Henry, but many of the better class argued in favour of neutrality, quoting the proverb:

> Good riding at two anchors, men have told;
> For if one faile, the other one may hold.

In perplexity Rhys sent for his family prophet, one Robert of Dale, and inquired of him what the issue would be. Robert was a discreet seer, and replied that his particular form of vaticination did not include "the wayes of princes, matters which were dangerous to deal with all." Rhys pressed him, but Robert procrastinated, asking for a night to dream over the question; this was granted. The next morning Robert sang:

> Full well I wend
> That in the end
> Richmond sprung from British race;
> From out this land the boare shall chase.

Rhys saw that all this might be true and he himself none the better, so he pressed his prophet to be rather more particular. Robert then sang:

> Hie thee to the Dale,
> I'll to the vale,
> To drink strong ale;
> And so I pre, have a care of us all.

Nothing more could be squeezed out of the ale-loving prophet. Rhys took the advice given, sent scouts to Dale, and waited himself with his men at Carew for news.

Henry ap Edmund ap Owain ap Meredydd ap Tudyr. Such was the full name of the new claimant to the English throne. Rather cumbersome no doubt, but not more so than many a royal appellation still found in the *Almanach de Gotha*. To his friends and foes he was Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Richard knew full well what a dangerous conspiracy was on foot. The king dreaded not only open enemies, but secret conspirators, the most dangerous of the latter being Lord Hastings, third husband of Margaret Beaufort and step-father of the claimant. Richard lived in daily apprehension of a blow, but knew not from whence it would come. He was obliged to satisfy himself with argument as to Henry's title, and this certainly was open to question. A subservient Parliament had declared in January, 1482, that the issue of the late king was illegitimate. When Edward married Elizabeth Woodville he was supposed to have been the husband of Eleanor Butler, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury,* and Cicely Duchess of York reproached her son with having committed bigamy.

* Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. iii., p. 317.

In June, 1484, Richard issued a proclamation* to the following effect:—

The said rebeles and traitours have chosen to be their capitayne oon Henry Tidder, son of Edmond Tidder, son of Owen Tidder, whiche of his ambitious and insatiable covetise incrocheth and usurpeth upon hym the name and title of royal estate of this Roialme of Englande, whereunto he hath no maner, interest, right, title or colour, as every man wel knoweth; for he is descended of bastard blode, both of the fader side and moder side; for the said Owen, the grandfader, was a bastarde borne, and his moder was doughter under John Duc of Somerset, son unto John Erle of Somerset, son unto dame Kateryne Swynford, and of her in double advoutrow goten; whereby it evidently appereth that noo title can or may be in hym.

Midsummer, 1485, was an anxious time for the guilty king. In the kalends of August (according to Hall), that is to say some time between the 17th of July and the 1st of August, the Earls Henry of Richmond and Jasper of Pembroke set sail from Harfleur, and reached Milford Haven on the 1st of August.† It was just fourteen years since the two earls had last seen the iron-bound coast of Pembroke, as they sped past Giltar Head in good Master White's ship on their way to Brittany. These fourteen years of exile had been little better than imprisonment, for the earls were under constant surveillance and frequently in great danger of being surrendered to their English enemies by the vacillating Duke of Brittany; but the dark days were over, and they were again in their native land. Rhys ap Thomas hastened from Carew castle where he lay, to meet the earls at Dale, mounted on his war horse "Lwyd Baxe" (or Grey Fetterlocks), with drums beating and colours flying. Henry was on the point of landing when Rhys arrived; the latter humbly tendered the services of himself and his followers. Mindful of that unfortunate oath to King Richard, he lay prone on the shore and allowed Henry to step across his body, or according to the tradition of the county, crouched under the arch of Mullock Bridge while the cavalcade passed over it. When this absurdity was concluded, Henry embraced Rhys, and trusted he might never again see him brought so low. Henry then made a speech to the Welshmen, and they cheered him to the echo with cries of "King Henry, King Henry, down with bragging white boar." Jasper too came in for his share of popularity, as was but meet: "Welcome Jasper, for thou hast taken good care of thy nephew," they cried, a well earned compliment to the earl and a sarcastic reflection on the king.‖ Then Rhys responded and they got to business. The 2000 Frenchmen were lying aboard all this while, and when they were landed proved but a sorry lot of half-starved ragamuffins. According to Holinshed§ they were commanded by one Bernard Stewart, a Scotch gentleman:

Wanting both necessarie furniture of armes and other munition, besides that they were verie rawe and ignorant in shooting, handling of their weapons, and discharging the ordinary duty of soldiers, men as it seemed raised out of the refuse of the people and clap'd upon the earl to avoid his further importunities.

* MS. Donat, Brit. Mus. 4616, Art. 98, Ex Bund infra Turr Lond., tem. Ric. III., N. 28.—Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. i., 2nd Series, p. 162.

† *Chronicle of Croyland*, p. 673.

‡ According to local tradition Henry landed at Brunt, close to St. Ann's Head; indeed he is reported to have named the place, saying as he climbed over the rocks, "This is brunt," *i. e.*, hard or difficult. At the present day the word brunt is not to be found in our Pembrokeshire vocabulary; nor can I find that it ever was employed here or elsewhere as an adjective. Probably the place name Brunt existed long before Tudor times. Perhaps Henry was familiar with the name and made a pun on, the brunt of battle, as he was scrambling up the cliff.]

‖ Gough's *History of Myddle*, edited by Sir Thomas Phillipps, and printed at Middle Hill press.

§ *Chronicles of Scotland*, 1486.

Rhys railed against the French king and nation, as was his wont, but notwithstanding promised

To supply them with such things as he could spare, without damage of his owne particular, though in harte he wished them back again in France, there being nott one man of quality among them, to endeere future ages to make mention eyther of his name or service.

There was one guest arrived with these poor starvelings who as yet neither king, nor earl, nor knight wotted of. Pestilence was in their train. To obtain the necessary supplies for the French auxiliaries and to settle other matters, all parties now marched back to Carew castle. With Rhys were Sir Thomas Perrott of Haroldston, Sir John Wogan of Wiston, John Savage, Arnold Butler of Coedcantlais, Richard Griffith, John Morgan of Kidwelly, Rhys's two younger brothers David and John.* From North Wales, too, came many gentlemen among whom was Robert Salisburie, an old ally of Rhys and of his family.

After a banquet at Carew it was settled that Henry and his Frenchmen should march by way of Haverford and Cardigan, while Rhys and the Welshmen went by Carmarthen and Brecon to the rendezvous fixed, on the confines of Salop; Butler, Griffith and Morgan being despatched in order to raise the country and bring in recruits to Henry at different points on the way. According to an Itinerary by Mr. T. O. Morgan,† Henry took the following route:—On August 1st he lay at Carew; at Haverford on the 2nd. Here he was welcomed by the townsmen. Where he camped on the 3rd is not known; on the 4th he arrived at Cardigan; from thence to Lwyn Davydd in Llandisilio parish on the 5th, where he was treated right royally by the owner, Davydd ap Ievan,‡ a service the king did not forget, for on his accession he sent as a present to Davydd a hirlas or drinking horn, mounted in silver, and supported by a greyhound and a dragon. The horn, which now is the property of Lord Cawdor, stands about nine inches high, and is sixteen in length. I have heard a Cardiganshire tradition to the effect that this horn was not presented to Davydd, but sent as a christening present to a grandson of his who was born about nine months after the battle of Bosworth, and who was believed to have Tudor blood in his veins.‖ On the 6th Henry was entertained by Einion ap Dafydd ap Llwyd at Wern Newydd, in the parish of Llanarth close to Llwyn Davydd already mentioned. At least this is the tradition,



THE HIRLAS HORN.

* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 51, p. 235.

† *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, No. 51.

‡ "David ap Evan, a descendant of Tywal Glôff (so named from a wound he received in his knee in a battle near Conway about the year 878, for which service he had Ychelgoed Gwynedd from his brethren, was one of the sons of Roderick the Great), lived at Llwyndafydd in Llandissiliogogo. He entertained Henry Earl of Richmond with his men in his expedition against Richard III., for which kindness he was gratified by ye said earl with several presents, amongst them a drinking horn which was since presented to Richard Earl of Carbery, and is at present (1726) at Golden Grove."—MS. preserved by the Earl of Cawdor.

‖ The late Lord Cawdor, speaking of the Hirlas at a meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held at Llandeilo in 1855, said: "The mounting of the horn is obviously modern, but the stand appears to be genuine. It consists of the same heraldic supporters as are found on the tomb of the royal donor in Westminster Abbey, which is a work of high art, executed by Torrigiano, a contemporary of Michael Angelo. The age of those great artists produced many such works as the specimen before you." It is figured in the frontispiece of Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations*, vol. i.; and in Dr. Nicholas's *Annals of Counties of Wales*, vol. ii., p. 857, will be found an engraving of this relic copied from *The Progress of the Duke of Bedford*, 1684, which differs in having more silver work about the horn than the cut which represents its present condition.

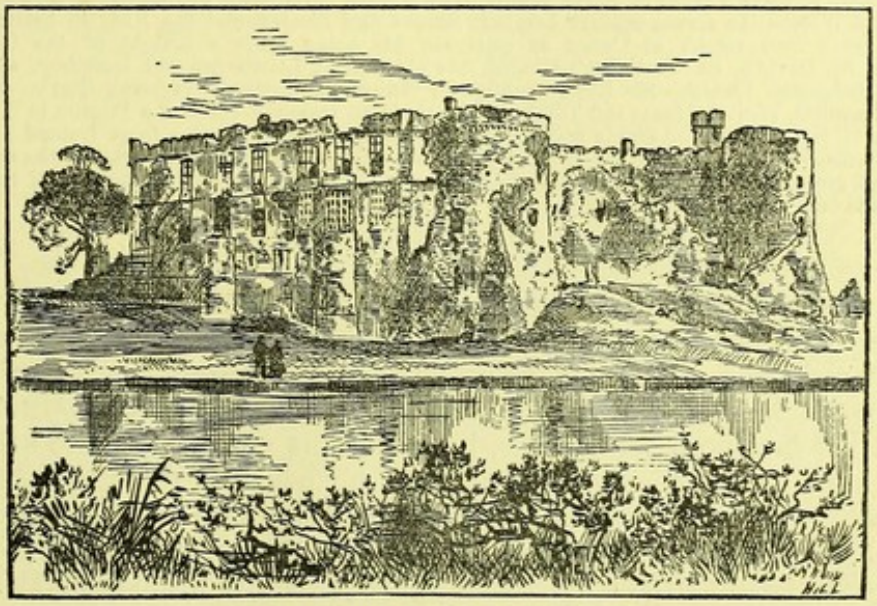
and an inscription on a bedroom wall in that house points out the bed in which the king slept. Moreover a silver flagon is shown which is said to have been a present from the king. But Llwyn Dafydd and Wern Newydd are so close together that one can hardly suppose the invader spent two days in this neighbourhood, the more so as we have no clue to his proceedings on the 7th and 8th. On the 9th the French force reached Mathafarn, the seat of Dafydd Lwydd ap Llewelyn. David was a bard and a prophet, so Henry after the custom of the day consulted the soothsayer, who like his Pembrokeshire brother thought "the wayes of kings were serious" matter for soothsaying, and asked for time to dream the point over, promising an answer in the morning. This was granted, and David in his trouble referred the point to his wife. "Of course you must prophecy smooth things to him," she said. "If they come true, well and good, you will reap your reward; but should they turn out false what matter, Richard's vengeance will stand betwixt you and harm." Davydd acted on the suggestion. On the 10th Henry reached Dolarddyn, and the following day met Rhys and his Welshmen at Mynydd Digoll on the border line of Montgomery and Shropshire. To him also came a body of North Welshmen at the same place. Rhys had considerably recruited his forces in Brecon, getting aid from his old friends the Vaughans and Games who were great men in those parts. The combined forces occupied Montford Bridge on the 12th, and on the 13th camped on Forton Heath, and from thence demanded the surrender of Shrewsbury. The chief magistrate, Thomas Mytton, shut the gates and replied that he knew no king but King Richard. With this unsatisfactory reply the messengers had to return. On the following day another parley took place, and on Henry assuring the inhabitants that their town should be in nowise injured, the gates were opened to him. The Corporation received him with respect, and he was forthwith joined by Sir Richard Corbet of Moreton Corbet, an old Lancastrian, with 800 gentlemen and yeomen. The Corporation of Shrewsbury also found him certain recruits. On the 16th the little army reached Newport, where many Shropshire men fell in: Humphrey Cotes of Woodcote, and Sir Gilbert Talbot uncle of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the latter bringing at his heels 2000 tall men wearing the Shrewsbury badge.

The next day they entered Stafford and then heard that Richard lay at Leicester to block the road to London; on the 19th Henry marched to Tamworth and slept at the castle; on the 20th proceeded to Atherstone; on the morning of the 22nd the hostile forces met on a common well named Redmoor Heath. Some boggy ground lay between them, Richard at once plied the Welshmen with a flight of arrows, Henry's men charged across the morass, and it became a hand to hand tussle, but in the midst of the fight Stanley with his 3000 deserted the king and joined the earl. This naturally caused a panic. Norfolk made a gallant charge on Henry's van, and the fight lasted for three long hours. Henry had somehow got separated from the main body, and at this critical period turned up. The white boar now was indeed at bay; he left his body-guard, and spear in rest charged full at Henry, hoping thus to end the strife in Homeric fashion. Sir William Brandon, who bore Henry's standard, fell before him; one Sir Richard Cheney, a doughty champion, was slain; Henry at last was reached, and met the shock of battle like a soldier, yet the desperate king seemed to be the stronger man. At this juncture some one (and according to Welsh tradition that some one was Rhys ap Thomas himself*) cut down the last of the Plantagenets. The new king knighted Rhys on the field immediately after his impromptu coronation by Stanley, who according to the well-known tale found the golden coronet which had rolled from Richard's helmet lying under a thorn bush.

The field of Bosworth is a spot of peculiar interest to West Welshmen. On Redmoor

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p. 3.

they changed the tenour of English History. On the 22nd of August, 1485, Rhys ap Thomas and his South Welshmen closed the book of Mediæval History, and opened the volume which now lies before us. For had Rhys kept his oath there can be no doubt that the carcasses of Henry and his 2000 starveling Frenchmen would have feasted the ravens and black-backed gulls of Dale, and England would have had no Tudor dynasty. To inquire how this might have affected an unacted history would prove a bootless task; still it is but fair we should remember that to Rhys's perjury we owe Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, with all the blessings and curses that their individuality brought.



CAREW CASTLE FROM THE NORTH EAST.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CAMBRIA TRIUMPHANS (CONTINUED).

Henry VII. creates Jasper Duke of Bedford and promotes Sir Rhys—Invites Sir Thomas Perrot and Sir John Wogan to Court—Thomas White, Mayor of Tenby, receives a grant of Earl's Lands—The French Auxiliaries introduced the Sweating Sickness—Sir Rhys restores order in West Wales—He serves against Lambert Simnel and accompanies the King to France 1492—Captures Perkin Warbeck—Holds a great Tournament at Carew to celebrate his being made a Knight of the Garter—Bishop Vaughan's builds Trinity Chapel St. David's, St. Justinian's Chapel, the Chapels at Llawhaden and Lamphey, and a Grange at the latter place, and restores Hodgeston Church—Sir Rhys transfigures Carew and restores Narberth Castle—Tenby Church—Carmelite Convent, St. John's Hospital, White's House and Tomb—Statuette of St. George—Tomb of a Pilgrim in S. Mary's, Haverfordwest—Sir Rhys a favourite of Henry VIII.—Attends him in the French Wars—Immigration from Ireland into Pembrokeshire—Rhys Gruffyd's letter to Cardinal Wolsey—The King Earl of Pembroke—Rhys died 1527 and buried in the Grey Friars, Carmarthen—He is succeeded by his grandson Rice ap Griffith, who marries Lady Catherine Howard—Is accused of intriguing with the King of Scotland, and beheaded on Tower Hill December 4, 1531.

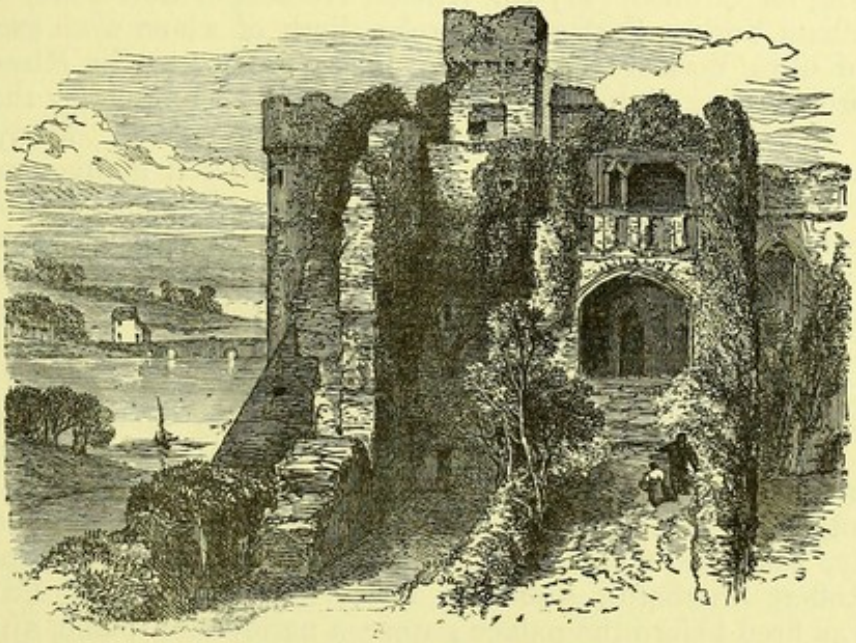
THOUGH Henry never returned to Wales, perhaps he loved the land and its inhabitants as dearly as it lay in his cold-blooded soul to love aught. While in exile the earl seems to have looked on himself rather as a Keltic hero predestined to smite Lloegr than the representative of Lancaster and the heir of England. Nay, after his return, when firmly seated on the throne, he named his first-born son Arthur, hoping in his person again to see a Kymro, Prince of Britain. The king certainly admitted the debt he owed to West Welshmen. He created his uncle Jasper Duke of Bedford, the earldom and palatinate of Pembroke again lapsing to the Crown. Sir Rhys, as previously stated, in one short month became Governor of Wales, Constable of Brecon, Chamberlain of South Wales, and Seneschal of Builth. Sir Thomas Perrott of Haroldston went to Court, where he and his became royal favourites to the third generation. Sir John Wogan of Wiston, too, ceased to be a local celebrity. White, who had rendered such important service to the king after the battle of Tewkesbury, was not forgotten, for he received a grant of all the king's lands in the neighbourhood of Tenby—"a good recompense done to one man, for a goode deede to the whole realme," says George Owen. What became of the 2000 Frenchmen history scorns to report, "there being nott one man of qualitie among them, to endeere future ages to make mention eyther of his name or service." Some no doubt died on the road, some were killed in battle, but a remnant were left, and these few terribly avenged themselves and their brethren on humanity who treated them so scurvily.

In August, 1485, a pestilence broke out in that army which landed with King Henry at Milford; it followed in the train of the victors and entered London in September. For a month it raged, and in that short period slew "many thousand." Two lord mayors and six aldermen died in a single week; "scarce one amongst a hundred that sickened did escape with life."* Men called it the sweating sickness; it was a violent inflammatory fever in which

* Holinshed, vol. iii., p. 482.

pains in the stomach and head were followed by lethargic stupor and fœtid perspiration; the crisis was always over in twenty-four hours after seizure. London was not freed from the fever until New-year's Day, when a terrible tempest occurred and the plague was stayed.

When Sir Rhys ap Thomas returned to his province, after the victorious campaign which placed Henry Tudor on the throne of England, he found South Wales distracted with tumults and private feuds. These disturbances had it seems been fomented by the men-at-arms whom Rhys left in the garrison under the command of his younger brothers David and John.* Rhys put down these troubles with an iron hand; but he had hardly restored order, when hearing of the rebellion in the north fomented by Lords Lovell and Stafford, he posted off again with five hundred horse to the king's aid. Ere he arrived at the seat of disaffection peace had been restored by the politic leniency of Jasper Duke of Bedford. In June, 1487, Rhys commanded a troop of English horse at Stoke in Nottinghamshire, where the impostor Lambert Simnel was defeated. In this fight Sir Rhys was wounded with a skean by an Irish soldier while engaged in single combat with the Earl of Kildare, a partisan of Simnel's, and



CAREW CASTLE (INTERIOR).

had not Lord Shrewsbury come to the rescue, it would have gone hard with our Welshman. When Henry heard of this he said: "How now father Rhys, whether is it better eating leeks in Wales or shamrocks with the Irish?" "Both certainly but coarse fare," said the polite Rhys, "but either would seem a feast with such a companion," pointing to the earl. As Rhys was only thirty-six years old at this time, Henry's appellation of "father" must have been given in badinage. He accompanied Henry to France in 1492 at the head of a Welsh force, and was present at the protracted siege of Boulogne. These Welshmen were highly extolled for their bravery and discipline by their English comrades. Five years later Rhys commanded fifteen hundred horse at the battle of Blackheath, and after the battle mounted

* After the inconvenient custom prevalent in Wales two sons had been christened by the same name; when this was done they were distinguished as the elder and the younger.

on his veteran charger "Grey fetterlocks," and at the head of five hundred picked troopers ran the impostor Perkin Warbeck to earth in the monastery of Beaulieu, Hants, where he had taken sanctuary. For this service Rhys was invested with the garter.* In the preamble to his patent he is styled the pursuer of Perkin Warbeck. He had also taken Lord Audley, one of the rebel leaders, prisoner in the battle, whom he at once handed over to the king, receiving in return a grant of the Audley estates. Moreover the king created him knight banneret.

The Lordship of Narberth was granted him about this period. In the year 1507 Rhys held a tournament at Carew castle. This was celebrated with almost regal pomp in honour of the patron saint of the most noble Order of the Garter. All his old friends rallied round him: Sir Thomas Perrott of Haroldston, Sir William Wogan of Wiston, Arnold Butler of Coedcantlais, Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Griffith Dunn of Kidwelly (this last was chosen one of Diana's champions at the pageant given when Henry VIII. was crowned, and later on was knighted by Sir Edward Howard, High Admiral, for distinguished service against the French). Then came Vaughan, whose grandfather had been beheaded by Earl Jasper in the civil wars. From Glamorgan and Monmouth came Jenkyn Mansell, whose father lost his head fighting for Edward IV.; Sir William Herbert of Colebrook, son of Sir Richard, and nephew of William Yorkist Earl of Pembroke, both of whom were executed at Banbury. These chieftains of ultra Yorkist houses came to do honour to Sir Rhys the champion of Richmond, the representative of the Red Rose, showing how completely that wise marriage of Lancastrian Henry and Yorkist Elizabeth had effaced party feeling. Many notable men from North Wales too were present, in all some five or six hundred gentlemen, for everyone was anxious to be there, as a tournament was a novelty to most of them, such a thing having never before taken place in Wales. Tents were pitched in the park to lodge this large party, for though the castle was extensive it could not have accommodated nearly all the guests, who numbered with their retainers not less than one thousand souls. The festival lasted five days. On the eve of St. George's-eve, the first day of the meeting, Rhys formed the *élite* of his guests into five troops of one hundred men each, naming as captains his brothers David and John, Arnold Butler, Richard Griffiths and John Morgan. Next day being St. George's-eve a grand review was held. On the great day sacred to the patron saint of England, and of the most noble Order of the Garter, the guests were roused at daybreak by a roll of drums and fanfare of trumpets, calling them to arms. Sir Rhys then led the five hundred to the Episcopal palace of Lamphey, some two miles distant, that they may pay their respects to the Bishop of St. David's (Robert Sherborn), Abbot of Talley and the Prior of Carmarthen, who lay there. A salute was fired before the palace gates; a parley took place, after which they were invited within the walls, and heard high mass in the chapel. The beautiful east window which still remains, probably did not exist in those days, for it was most likely added by Bishop Vaughan a few years afterwards.† After mass Rhys and his knights carried their clerical friends back to dinner at Carew. On their return a picture was hung over the entrance gate, representing St. George and St. David embracing each other, with the legend *Nodo plusquam Gordiano* inscribed beneath. In the open court two hundred retainers, in Rhys's blue livery, formed a lane through which the guests passed into a lesser court, where were arranged figures clothed in armour, bearing the escutcheons and coat armour of Rhys's ancestors. Within was the great hall, hung with tapestry and arras; at the upper end was a table covered with crimson velvet for the king (who of course was not present); on each side

* Sir Rhys was not the only commoner created Knight of the Garter by Henry VII. Gilbert Talbot was a mercer, and citizen of London, and notwithstanding that honoured with the Order of the Garter.—Nash's *Worcestershire*.

† Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*.



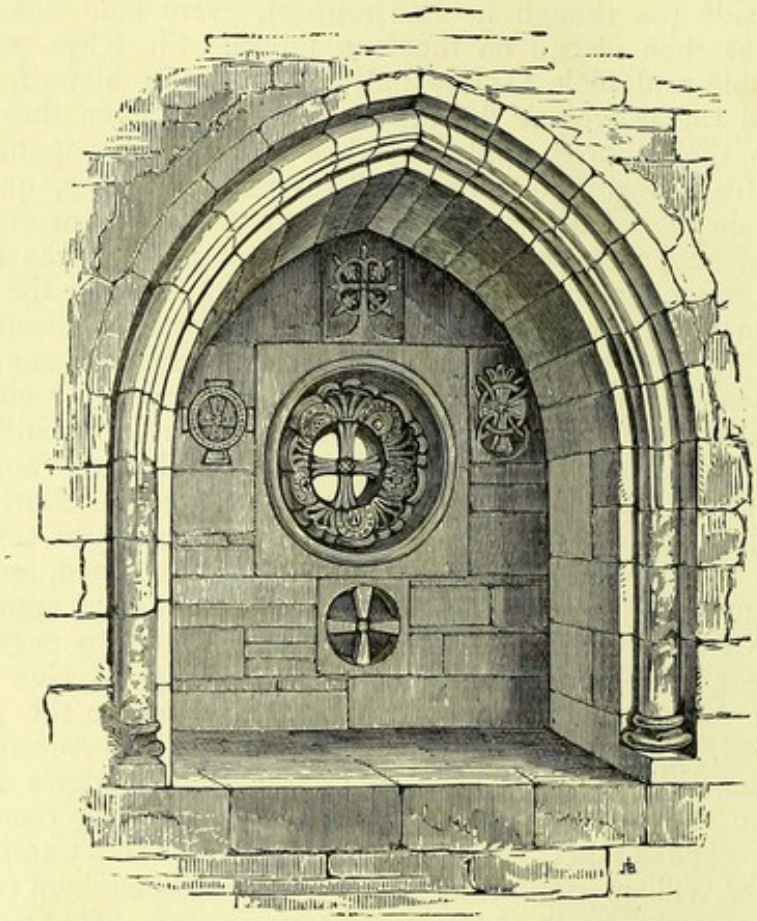
ENTRANCE TO BISHOP VAUGHANS CHAPEL

were two tables running down the length of the hall, one for Sir Rhys alone (surely this was an inhospitable piece of pride or etiquette), the second for certain of the most favoured guests.

Every man stood bareheaded as if in the presence of royalty; then a fanfare of trumpets sounded, the herald called for the king's service, and the gentlemen went to wait upon the server of the day, Griffith, Rhys's only (legitimate) son, being chosen for that responsible office, since he had been brought up at Court, and was therefore well acquainted with the ceremonial. Sir William Herbert was carver, and someone else cup bearer. Whilst the royal meal was being served the bishop stood on the right hand of the king's chair, Sir Rhys on the left. The trumpets blared, the bishop did obeisance, said grace, and then returned to his station. After the food was removed from the velvet table and the king's chair turned aside (as though he had retired), every man was at liberty to put on his hat. The food was then placed on the long tables. Sir Rhys put the bishop at the head of his private table and took a place half-way down for himself, while the remainder of the guests arranged themselves at the other table. Even then these punctilious gentlemen would not begin their dinner until Sir Rhys and the Bishop had finished the first course. At last the feast began in earnest. The health of king, queen and prince was pledged again and again; the bards sang eulogies on those present and on their ancestors to the twang of harps, and so merry were the party that no time was left for jousting that day. When the meal was concluded the guests went for a stroll in the park, while the host retired for a while. On his return he treated them to "a polemical discourse most delectable to the hearers, whoe were all of them professors of armes." Perhaps some of the juniors were somewhat relieved when Sir William Herbert seizing an opportunity challenged all comers, four to four, to break a lance next day for the honour of the ladies. Griffith, Rhys's son, took up the challenge, and chose Robert Salisbury, Jenkyn Mansell, and Vaughan of Tretower, as his comrades in the tourney. Sir William picked out Sir Thomas Perrott, Sir William Wogan and Griffith Dunn; Sir Rhys himself was chosen by acclamation as the judge. They then heard mass, supped in the same wearisome fashion as they had dined, and retired to rest.

On the following morning when the assembly sounded Sir Rhys appeared in a suit of gilt armour, mounted on a richly caparisoned charger, followed by two pages on horseback, and four footmen (two on each side), one hundred retainers wearing his blue livery preceded him, and one hundred followed after. In this order they proceeded to the park, where a tilting-yard had been enclosed, at each end of which there was a tent—one for the appellants, the other for the defendants. Sir Rhys then seated himself in the judge's chair, near the middle of the tilt, opposite to the breaking-places, his servants standing round armed, each with halbert in hand, and good basket hilted sword at thigh. The trumpets blared and the appellants rode up. Sir William Herbert appeared first, preceded by a trumpeter and a page bearing a blank shield with the motto, *Et quæ non fecimus ipsi.* Next came Robert Salisbury of North Wales. On his shield there was as a device, a giant running at a pigmy, and his motto ran, *Pudet congredi cum homine vinci parato.* Jenkyn Mansel's legend was *Perit sine adversario virtus;* while Vaughan of Tretower chose *Ingens gloria calcar habet.* Then the challenged party rode up, Griffith ap Rhys leading the way; his motto was, *Et vinci et vincere pulchrum.* Sir Thomas Perrott followed with the bombastic legend, *Si non invenio singulos pares, pluribus simul objicior.* Sir William Wogan on the other hand chose the humble words, *Profuit hoc vincente capi.* Griffith Dunn brought up the rear with *Industrioso otium pæna.* They then paraded round the tilt, presented arms to Sir Rhys, and ran each their six courses. No sooner had they made an end with the spears, than drawing their swords they fell to tourney all at once. This greatly delighted the spectators, who thoroughly enjoyed the stout blows that were struck and parried by the champions, and who doubtless expected that ere long blood would flow; if so, they were destined to disappointment, for

Sir Rhys had placed men with staves to strike up the swords in case the fight should become too real. Having performed their *devoir* with spear and sword, they embraced all round and standing hand in hand before the judge asked for his award. Sir Rhys decided that it was a drawn match, some having excelled with the spear, others with the sword. He then after his manner made a specch, which concluded with a quotation from *Virgil,* to the effect that when they went home they had best have a care of those fair dames whose honour they had on that day so faithfully maintained. It is rather strange that our biographer* makes no mention of the presence of ladies at this tournament, leaving us in doubt whether they were conspicuous by their absence or not of sufficiently exalted rank to require notice. After the



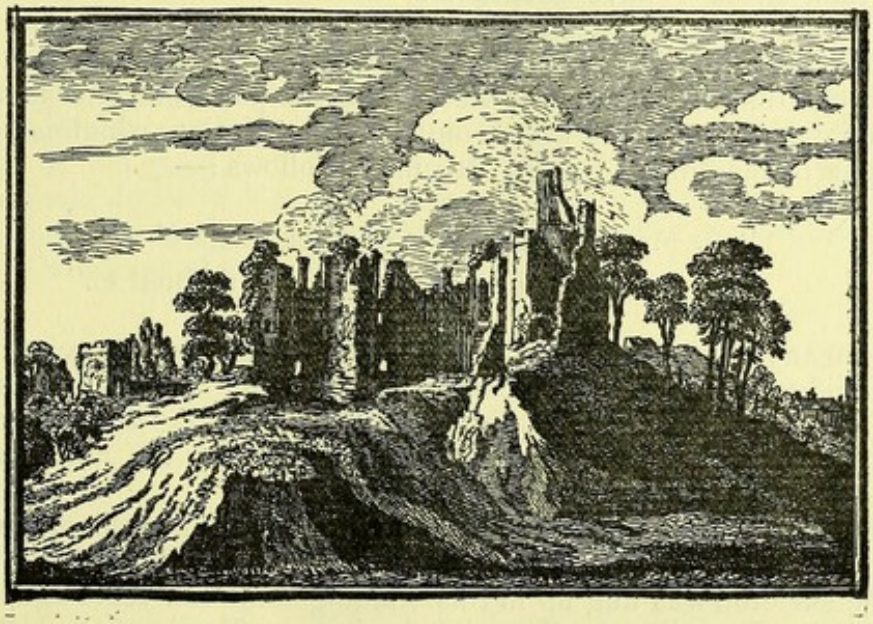
RECESS IN BISHOP VAUGHAN'S CHAPEL, ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

tilting the knights heard mass, and then to dinner. In the afternoon there was wrestling, throwing the bar, quintain, tossing the pike, and other athletic sports. At supper Griffith ap Rhys challenged Sir William Herbert to tilt again on the morrow, and wagered a supper on his success; the supper to be a farewell one, and eaten at Carmarthen. Herbert accepted on condition that the young heirs of Penrhyn and Gwydir might join in the fray. To this at first Rhys would not agree, fearing harm might come to the lads, as the eldest was not yet sixteen; but at last he gave way. The next day they tilted as before, Sir Rhys giving the award against his son's party. In the afternoon they hunted in the park and killed

* The unknown author of the paper printed in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. i.

several bucks, which were sent on to Carmarthen for the supper which Griffith had to give. In the evening theatricals were performed, the retainers playing a comedy, and thus ended this first and last Pembrokeshire tournament. It was long remembered as "St. George's pilgrimage to St. David," and what was deemed most remarkable was the fact that although one thousand men had spent five days in company, not one quarrel, unkind word, or cross look had passed between them.

The bishop on the morrow preached a farewell sermon, taking for his text Ecclesiastes chapter x., verse 20: "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought, and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber, for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter." There was almost a ring of prophecy in the text, though doubtless the preacher was chiefly intent on the glorification of his host. When service was over the principal gentlemen took leave of Sir Rhys, who presented each with a medal on which was a motto, *Nec poterat ferrum*, and above it hand clasped in hand; this he hung round their necks with a piece of blue ribbon and asked them to wear it for his sake; and so commending



NARBERTH CASTLE IN 1740. (S. AND N. BUCK.)

them to the care of his son he bade them adieu, and they rode off to their supper at Carmarthen. The biographer gives the account of this entertainment very fully, and Fenton quotes it at length; it was indeed an important episode, being an outward and visible recognition of the reaction which had again placed a Kymro at the head of Welsh affairs.

The commencement of the Tudor period proved a busy time for the architect and mason in Pembrokeshire. Edward Vaughan, who was consecrated Bishop of St. David's in 1509, revived the traditions of Gower and the earlier building bishops. On a void plot of land which, according to George Owen, had become a disgraceful nuisance, Bishop Vaughan erected the Trinity Chapel which is commonly called after its founder, and is remarkable as the only specimen of good Perpendicular work in the Cathedral. According to Leland this bishop also rebuilt St. Justinian's Chapel near St. David's, a great grange at Lamphey (remains of which still exist at Lamphey Park), the beautiful chapels at the two episcopal palaces of Llawhaden and Lamphey, and it seems most likely that to Vaughan we

owe the beautiful interior decoration of the little church at Hodgeston. The building era was probably initiated by Sir Rhys at Carew castle,* where he introduced the new-fashioned Tudor windows, and entirely transfigured the exterior of the old house of the Carews, while within he seems to have actually rebuilt the inner court. His work at Narberth has nearly disappeared. From what remains it seems only to have been restoration. A good deal of building was in progress at Tenby about this period. In the church we find remains of clerestory windows of the Tudor type in the chancel, which seems to have been lengthened and lighted with square windows on the north and south sides.† The western door is a curious specimen of the architecture of this age—an ogee arch, the inner sweep being inverted, the outer obverted. It is ornamented with Tudor roses, and round the architrave runs the legend *Benedictus Dominus in donis suis.* Opposite to the west front of Tenby Church, though not parallel to it, is a ruined wall in which are two doorways; the same words run round them. In this wall is a very elegant little window.

In the days of Fenton and Norris a building at that time used as a school-room almost blocked the west door of the church. In this was a pointed arch, and a doorway even more highly decorated than those I have mentioned, having on the left side two escutcheons. According to Fenton these were emblazoned with the arms of France and England; Norris says Richmond and England. On the inner side of the arch were two defaced escutcheons, and on its apex both within and without was engraved the portcullis and square label. In the west wall of this building was a stone with a mutilated inscription, which is now fixed safely in the south-eastern pier of the church tower. It runs as follows :—

" . . . . M cū colegio anexo fūda u'
. . . & brigitte a° 1496 (90?) re'buat ei."

Which appears to mean: "Founded with the adjacent college in the year 1496 dedicated to Saints . . . . and Bridget.‡ May it be recompensed to him." Perhaps this was an annex of some kind to the Carmelite house originally founded by John de Swynemore in 1399. Very possibly the west door of the church was a private entrance for the nuns, and either built or rebuilt by them at the same time as these buildings.

Adjoining the *Commercial Hotel* in Frog Street are the four walls of an ancient building in which are a number of architectural fragments, some of which are built into a sham altar tomb. As a female skeleton was dug up in this building some ten years ago, I should suppose it was the chapel of the Carmelites.‖ The sketch given by Norris of St. John's Hospital is so shrouded in ivy that it is difficult to make out much from it; but as the windows are Tudor we may suppose this foundation was also rebuilt in Tudor days. Gumfreston Church seems to have been relighted at this period, the original windows being replaced by square mullioned insertions. In 1808 a ruined house standing close against the northern side of Tenby Church was known as White's house, and attributed by tradition to the family of merchants a member of which (Thomas White) aided the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke to escape

* When he commenced this work we do not know, probably very soon after he became mortgagee in possession.

† These windows were blocked by the subsequent erection of the fine altar steps; during the building of the new vestries (1886) the window on the south side was removed.

‡ Bridget is of course essentially an Irish saint, and this dedication is a curious piece of indirect evidence of the intercourse subsisting between Ireland and the town of Tenby during the latter portion of the 15th and the 16th centuries.

‖ Originally there were no Carmelite nuns, they were first enrolled in 1452; perhaps Bridget's Chapel was built when nuns took over this house from monks.

from Tenby to Brittany after the battle of Tewkesbury, and was in turn rewarded by them with the Earl's lands round Tenby, of which town he was mayor.

White's house was a curious composite building, apparently an old Pembrokeshire dwelling with big chimneys and small windows, into which great square Tudor lights had been introduced, and a bastard Romanesque porch added; this ruin is remarkable (if the tradition attributing it to Thomas White be correct) as representing the ideal mansion of a merchant prince in Tenby's golden days. We cannot greatly admire White's taste. His tomb, however, is a beautiful work of art. The arch on the south side of the chancel of Tenby Church is filled in by two altar tombs—one dedicated to John, the other to Thomas White. Fenton gives an engraving of the recumbent figures; Norris of the side sculpture.* The recumbent figures are dressed as merchants, with purses or gypcières at their girdles; they are smooth shaven, hair rather long and cut straight across the forehead; the heads rest on peacocks, the feet on a cloven footed beast, probably a stag, but the head is gone; the south front of each tomb (they join) is faced with alabaster and divided into four compartments. In the first division, under John, is a female with a child behind her, praying to a saint with a mitre on his head. (Norris says with a crozier in his right hand; this is now gone.) On a shield above the female are the White arms: Party per pale dexter half defaced, sinister a chevron between three stags' heads caboshed. In the second division a female and child in same attire praying to St. Catherine, who tramples on the devil and pierces him with a sword. In the third division a merchant with a purse at his girdle and broad brimmed hat hanging by strings at his back, kneels before a desk in prayer, five children behind him. A shield above the male figure is defaced; Norris says it contained the chevron between three stags' heads caboshed. In the fourth division are three bodies in a sort of crate open at the side above them. On a kind of pillow is written:—

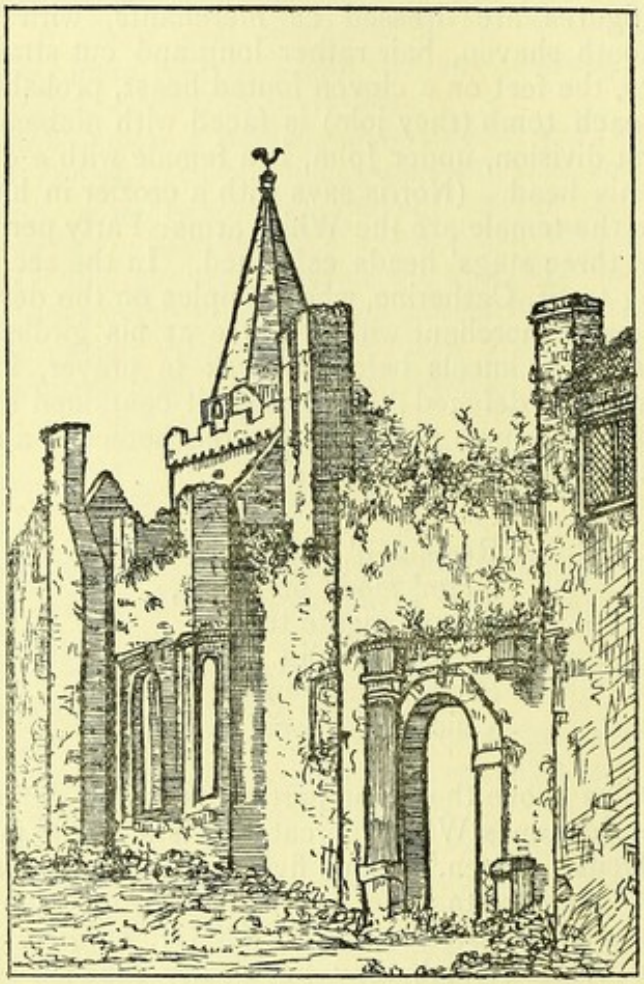
"Respice qⁱ transis
magn' medi' pu an sis,
Recole mente tua
q̄ eris sub tali (. . . . .)
Pro me funde preces
q̄ sic m' sit venie spes."†

The inscription on the cornice above these compartments is now defaced. In Norris's time he made it out as "Hic jacet Johannes White mercator et istius villæ major qui obiit . . . . . cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen." The five last words are all that are now legible. Below runs: "Hic jacet Margaretta Phe et Jestina Eynon uxores Dicti Johannis quæ Margaretta obiit xviii. die anno millessimo CCCCLXXXII. et dicta Jestina obiit." Running along the top of Thomas White's tomb may be clearly read: "Hic jacet Thomas White quondam mercator ac istius villæ major qui obiit viiiº die Mari an millessimo CCCCLXXXXII. cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen." In the first division on this tomb two female figures and a child kneel before a saint with something like a ball in the right hand (Norris says a sacramental cup), and a palm branch in the left. A shield above which is obliterated, Norris says had party per pale dexter half bend between six covered cups, for Butler the second

* It has been suggested to me by Mr. John Leach of this town, that as the steps leading up to the altar are evidently more recent than the tombs, and as these steps hide the northern face of the tombs, it is extremely probable that a series of sculptures are hidden by the wall on the south side of the altar steps.

† Which may be Englished: "Observe who goest by whether thou art great, middle or a boy (?), bear in mind thou wilt be under such a . . . . . pray for me, that thus to me there may be hope of pardon.

wife, sinister a chevron between three stags' heads caboshed. In the second divison a female and child kneel before St. John Baptist, who holds in his right hand a lamb on a book which he points out with his left. The camel's skin cloak has the beast's head attached. Arms party per pale dexter side a chevron below a lion rampant; these are much defaced. The third division closely represents the corresponding one on John's tomb, except that there are here six sons. The fourth lacks the inscription over the crate. Below is the legend: "Hic jacet Johana Howel et Isabella Butler uxores dicti Thomæ quæ Johna obiit xxi. die Septembris anno CCCCLI. et dea Isabel obiit die a° Di M°." It will be observed that the date of death of Thomas White's wives is not entered, and the alabaster is left in relief for



RUINS ON NORTH-WEST SIDE OF TENBY CHURCH.
Known as White's House. Removed in 1808.
(Copied from Norris's *Etchings.*)

their subsequent insertion. Thomas White was Mayor of Tenby six times: in 1457, 1463, 1467, 1472, 1477, 1481. John White seven times: in 1482, 1486, 1490, 1490, 1491, 1494, 1495, 1498. These tombs are well executed and worthy relics of Tenby's golden days. It has been suggested ‡ that the recumbent figures were executed at Burton-on-Trent, where was a manufactory of these tombs in the 15th century, and that the alabaster sides were

‡ By the Rev. H. Haines, author of *A Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses.*—See Mason's *Guide to Tenby*, p. 30.

perhaps foreign. If the latter suggestion is correct, I think a little image may have been imported with these slabs.

About fifty years ago a ruined cottage was pulled down which stood nearly opposite Sion House, Tenby. Embedded in the wall was a small alabaster figure of a mounted St. George slaying a dragon. The late L. Mathias, Esq., of Lamphey Court, secured the statuette, which he eventually presented to the Tenby Museum, where it is now preserved. This little figure appears to me to be of the same date as the White monuments; perhaps it once stood in the niche over the south-west gate looking down St. George's Street, and concealed by some reverential person when the images of saints were demolished.*

In St. Mary's Church, Haverfordwest, is a very interesting monument attributed by Mr. H. M. Bloxam to this date,† and probably unique so far as Wales is concerned, though a similar effigy is preserved at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. From his scallop shells our pilgrim had visited the shrine of St. James of Compostella. Whether he died on another pilgrimage to St. David's, or was an inhabitant of Haverfordwest, we cannot say. His bare head appears to rest on two pillows—one square, the other oblong; he is clad in the pilgrim's gown, bears the staff under his right arm, and the scrip on his left side.

To return to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. When his patron Henry Tudor died of consumption in 1509, predeceased by wife and eldest son, the new King Henry VIII. seems to have been well disposed towards the Welsh chieftain. He was created Justice of South Wales, and indeed according to Camden, became a recognized Court favourite. When Henry invaded France in 1513, both the veteran and his son Griffith received commands under Lord Shrewsbury.

> "Talbotus belliger, audax
> Poiningus, Ricæus Thomas flos Cambro Britannum,
> Et Somersetus,"

sings Christopher Ocland. They landed at Calais. Rhys, commanding light horse and archers, was present at "the Battle the Spurs," where he was lucky enough to take the Duke of Longueville prisoner; he had previously saved a dismounted gun, and was present at the capture of Tournay. So prominent was the Welshman in this campaign, if we are to believe "a worthie gentleman that travayled in those partes," that for near a hundred years the name of Rhys ap Thomas was used "about Terwin as a buggbeare or fire abbaas, such as a Talbott's was in Henrie the Sixt's time, to affright the children from doing shrewd trickes."‡ When this war was over, Rhys now being upwards of sixty years old, hung up his battered arms in Carew castle, and leaving soldiering to younger men occupied himself in his judicial capacity. He and his son Griffith were made respectively seneschal and chancellor of the manors of Haverford and Roos, while to the latter was given the lordship of Dinas. Griffith did not long enjoy his honours, as he predeceased his father. The old warrior spent the evening of his life at Carew castle. Sir Rhys in these latter days must have found an agreeable neighbour at the Palace, for Bishop Vaughan was a talented and "most public spirited man." We can fancy the veteran warrior Rhys riding over to Lamphey to consult with his episcopal friend regarding those alterations of his at Carew, and comparing the fair east window at Lamphey with other stone-work that he had seen in his eventful life. Riding seems to have been his chief

* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 4th Series, No. 56, p. 255.

† This cottage was in the immediate neighbourhood of the old Rectory, and may have been inhabited in the 16th century by some humble servant of the Church.

‡ *Cambrian Register*, vol. i., p.

amusement, but his time was no doubt pretty well taken up by his judicial functions. Whether these closing days were happy ones is, I think, open to question. The loss of his only son must have been a sore trial, and indications are not wanting to show that the storm was brewing that in a few short years overwhelmed his house. Even his adulatory biographer admits that in his latter days "some will not stick to say he grew cruell in his charge." That a certain amount of riot and disturbance took place in the district is proved by a letter written by one R. Gruffithe of Carmarthen to Cardinal Wolsey. Who this man was is not known. The letter is dated viiith day of July only, but from a reference to the Earl of Desmond, who is said to be still in open rebellion, the year must have either been 1523 or 1524. R. Gruffithe's letter runs as follows:—

Pleasith it youre moost noble Grace, my duetie of mooste humble recommendacions hadde unto your Grace, as apperteynyth, sygnyfyinge unto the same your moost noble Grace, that there is so great aboundance of Irisshemen lately comyn within these xij moneths into Pembrokeshire, the Lordship of Haverfordwest, and so alongest the see syde to Saynt Davyes, and within the townes of Haverfordwest, Pembroke and Tenbye, with suche that be comyn theder before and inhabited there, that by estymacion do amounte at the leste to the nomber of twentye thousande persons and above, of all maner sorte, and the mooste parte of the same Raskells be out of the domynyons of the King's Rebellyon therle of Desmonde; and verey fewe of theym out of the Englisshe pale of Ireland. And the King's Towne of Tenbye is almost cleane Irisshe, as well the hedde men and ruelers as the comyns of the said Towne: and of their high presumptuoux myndes do dissobey all maner the King's processe that comythe to theym out of the King's Eschequyer of Pembroke: supposyng that their Charter woll bere theym therein, where of trueth thair charter is nothyng like so large of liberties as they do clayme it to be. And one of theyme caulled Germin Gruffith,* borne under the domynyon of the said Erle, is nowe owner of two great Shipps well appoynted with ordenaunces: and it is dailye proved by experyence that fewe or none of Englysshmen or Welshemen can or be receyvyd amongst theym to any service or wages. And the last yere I herde of a great nowmbre of the same Irisshemen that were cast over lande upon the cost within the said Shere, whereupon I made a preveye watch, and in two little parisshes in one nyght I gadered of theym above two hunderde that were newe comyn, besids as monye that were comyn there before; and all the same new Company I did sende to See agayne. Albeit, sythyn, they be comyn agen with monye moo: and every on that comythe dothe clayme kynred to one or other of the same shire, townes, and countre fore said. And ever sythyn that I expulsed the said new comyn Irisshemen out of the countre as before, the rest do grudge agaynst me. And of truethe in all the said circuete there be foure Irysshe agaynst one Englisshe or Welshe: and therefore after my power mynde, it were expedyent and necessarye that King's Highenes with his moost honorable Counsaill shulde ponder the same, and devise some order to be takyn, wel for th' advoiding of vise of the moost parte of theym, as alsoe that noo man within that parties shall reteigne any that shall come out of Irelande thider at any tyme herafter into thair service upon a certayne penaltye: and ells they shall never be woren out but increas more and more, and furder sygnyfying unto your moost noble Grace that the Mayor† and Towne of Tenby have commytted, and don mony great ryotts, rowtes, and unlefull assembles agaynst the King's lawes, his peax, crowne, and dignyte, with diverse extorcions, as shall appere by divers indictaments remaynyng agaynst theym in the King's Records of Pembroke. And also it shal be duely proved, that they have ayded and vyttailed the Kyng's enymyes at sundrye tymes, and that as shalle pleas the Kyng's Highenes and your most noble Grace to commaunde me to do, concernyng any order that shal be takyn concernyng the premyssis, shal be accomplisshed with all diligence to the uttremost of my little power: as knoweth God who ever preserve your moost noble Grace in felisetie. From Carmerden the viiith daye of this July, &c.

Your humble servant,

To my Lorde Legatis moost noble Grace. R. GRUFFITHE.‡

About this period a social revolution took place in Ireland. The Keltic chieftains, returning from the highlands to which their ancestors had been driven, pounced down on the lowlands, unresisted by the Anglo-Irish leaders, who sought their aid, and welcomed them as allies in the rebellion they were carrying on against the King of England. The Anglo-Irish yeomen and small tenants, abandoned by their natural protectors and remorselessly expelled by their Keltic enemies, were the miserable victims of this movement.

* He was Bailiff of Tenby in 1526. † In 1523 Harry Tyllor; in 1524, John Lloyd Vargan.

‡ MS. Cotton Titus, B. xi., Col. 416, printed in Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st Series, vol. i., p. 191.

What common folk in all this world is so poor, so feeble, so evil beseen in town and field, so bestial, so greatly oppressed and trodden under foot, fares so evil, with so great misery, and with so wretched life as the common folk of Ireland.*

These were the wretched immigrants who sought safety in Pembrokeshire. They had probably very little if any Gaelic blood in their veins, but were the descendants of the Pembrokeshire host who overran Ireland in the 12th century under the leadership of Fitz Stephen. The new comers seem to have been quite justified when they "claymed kynred to one or other of the same shire, townes, and countre foresaid."

Gruffithe's complaint is twofold:—1st. That a dangerous immigration of disaffected persons was pouring into Pembrokeshire, and that these persons were in correspondence with the Irish rebels through the connivance of the inhabitants of Tenby. 2nd. That the Mayor and Burgesses of Tenby relying on their charters, violently and riotously disobeyed the king's processes from his exchequer at Pembroke. R. Gruffithe was probably a commissioner appointed to administer the affairs of the Palatinate. At this date the king was Earl of Pembroke, all business appertaining to the Earldom passing under the seal of the Palatinate and not under the great seal of England. When Jasper Tudor died without issue his nephew the King as next of kin inherited the Earldom. In the eleventh year of his reign he granted this dignity with its emoluments to his second son Henry, Duke of York, appending a condition that in case the recipient became heir to the throne during his father's lifetime, he should then vacate the Earldom of Pembroke in favour of his said father. This actually occurred, and at the death of Prince Arthur the Earldom of Pembroke relapsed to King Henry VII. On ascending the throne King Henry VIII. became Earl for the second time, and it was during this period that R. Gruffithe wrote to Wolsey, then Lord Chancellor, respecting the internal condition of the County Palatine of Pembroke. Sir Rhys of course had nothing to do with the Earldom, but unless Gruffithe's description was a gross exaggeration, it indicated a state of affairs which must have caused anxiety to the veteran.

Edward Vaughan the bishop died in 1523, and was succeeded by Richard Rawlins, a very different man. However, good or bad, a bishop was a bishop to our old knight, whose last hours were soothed by this broken down courtier. Sir Rhys died in 1527 at the age of seventy-six, and was buried in the church of Gray Friars, Carmarthen.† "He was never more than a knight," says Fuller, "yet little less than a prince in his native country." He had been married twice:—1st, to Eva, daughter and heiress of Henry ap Gwilym of Court Henry, and by her he had issue one son Griffith, who died before him, leaving one son Rice who succeeded his grandfather. 2ndly, to Janet, daughter of Thomas Mathews, Esq., of Radyr, Glamorgan, and widow of Thomas Stradling, Esq. By her he had no issue. She died at Picton Castle, February 5, 1535, and was buried at Carmarthen by the side of her husband. He had many illegitimate children, all of whom he seems to have recognized. By Gwenllian,

* State Papers, vol. ii., p. 14. Quoted by Froude, *History of England*, v. 2, chap. viii., q. v.

† When the monastery was dissolved the remains of Sir Rhys and his wife were moved from Gray Friars, Carmarthen, to St. Peter's Church in the same town. The biographer who lived in the reign of James I. laments the decayed condition of the tomb in his time, subsequently it became ruinous. Lord Dynevor, Sir Rhys's descendant, determined to repair it, and in September, 1865, the carved panels having been carefully detached, the block of masonry supporting the recumbent figures of Sir Rhys and his lady were removed stone by stone and minutely examined. Immediately under the effigies was a small collection of bones, including a piece of skull, thigh bone measuring 12in., ulna 9½in., and a few vertebræ. Considerably lower down, in an oblong cavity formed by the separation of two portions of a large flag, level with the ancient tesselated pavement of the chancel, carefully protected by stones placed over the hollow, were several bones of a larger person, including the skull, two thigh bones 19½in. long, tibia 16in., humerus 14in., radius and fibulæ, parts of pelvis, clavicle, and other bones. The skull measured 22in. in circumference and was nearly entire, having sustained a fracture at an early period, probably on the occasion of its first removal.—From the *Carmarthen Chronicle*, October, 1865, a copy of which was placed in the restored tomb.

the sister of the Abbot of Talley, there were no less than ten children—a strange commentary on ecclesiastical morality—two Margarets and two Ellens; Maud; William, who settled at Sandy Haven, and was Sheriff of Pembrokeshire; two Davids, the elder married Alison, heiress of Arnold Martin of Richardson, whose son John married Catherine Perrot, heiress of Scotsboro, the younger David settled at Taliaris, Carmarthenshire; Thomas and Philip were the remainder of the brood. By Janet, daughter of Meredydd Vychan of Talley, he had one daughter Gwenllian, christened so out of honour to his other mistress perhaps. She married Lewis Sutton of Haythog. By Elizabeth, daughter of John Mortimer, Lord of Coedmor, Cardigan, he had one daughter Jane. The lady of Coedmor was frail when discovered by Rhys, for she had already borne a son to Griffith Vaughan, governor of Kilgerran castle. By Alice Kyffin of Montgomeryshire he had a daughter; and lastly, by a daughter of Howel ap Jenkyn of Ynysymaengwyn, in Merioneth, he had one daughter Anne, who was his darling. He married her to Henry Wirriott of Orielton, and her only daughter married Sir Hugh Owen of Bodowen, in Anglesey, the first of the family who settled in Pembroke.

Rice ap Griffith, old Rhys's heir, was nineteen years of age when his grandfather died. He seems to have been a studious retiring lad "wholie given to his booke."* He married Lady Katherine Howard, daughter of Thomas Duke of Norfolk. The king took him into favour, as he had done his father and grandfather, and offered him the earldom of Essex, which he in all humility refused. About the year 1531, when Rice was three and twenty, it seems that a dispute took place between the retainers of Lord Ferrers of Chartley and those of Lady Katherine. In the fray some five or six of the lord's men and three or four of the lady's were killed. Where this happened is not known, but Rice was not present. The king ordered an investigation and summoned Rice to London. He obeyed and lodged in Islington, but what the upshot of the inquiry may have been we do not know. Now it happened that one James ap Griffith, a servant of Rice's, had been arrested by his master on a charge of fraudulently counterfeiting the Great Seal, sent up in custody to the Lords of Council, and by them lodged in the Tower of London. A certain treasonable communication was found in this man's possession, signed by Rice ap Griffith. Indeed it would seem that James ap Griffith, from motives of revenge, voluntarily produced the document. Rice and two other of his servants, Edward Flloyd and William Hughes, were arrested. The indictment against them ran thus:—

1st. That Rice Griffith, lying at Islington in the county of Middlesex, did there plot and conspire with Edward Flloyd and William Hughes, two of his servants, for the deposing of Henry 8th, and putting his crown on the head of James 5th, King of Scotland.

2nd. That there was at that time a prophecy in Wales which gave encouragement to this their practice, viz., James of Scotland, with the red hand and the raven (being Rice his crest), should conquer England.

3rd. That Rice Griffith did divers times employ Edward Flloyd his clerk (to go) to one James ap Griffith, prisoner at the Tower, there persuading him to come into this conspiracie, and that he would receive the sacrament of the eucharist, in token of a secure and faithful covenant between them for the performance of the premises.

4th. That the said Rice to convey himself secretlie into Scotland, did mortgage his lordships of Carewe and Narberth, to one Robert White, citizen and clothier of London, for two thousand pounds.

5th. That the said Rice tooke upon him a new name (viz.), Rice ap Griffith Fitz Urien, to the intent that under this fair pretence and title he might more worthily obteyne the principallitie of Wales, which was the marke he assigned at after the conquest.†

Rice pleaded not guilty, and charged Griffith and Flloyd with forgery, stating that he had some time before given to James ap Griffith a blank paper endorsed with his signature, in order that Flloyd his clerk might fill it in with a recommendation to some gentleman in North

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 272.

† *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 270.

Wales to let James ap Griffith a farm, and that treasonable matter had been transcribed on the blank sheet by these two men. He pointed out that peace existed at this time between Henry and his nephew, the King of Scotland. He denied that such a prophecy existed—that the red hand (King of Scotland) and the raven (Rice) should conquer England. He denied that he had ever sent Flloyd on such an errand. He denied that he had mortgaged Carew and Narberth to Robert White for £2000, having no need of such a sum (on his attainder his chattels were valued at £30,000, his annual rental at £1000, besides a year of old rent of assize). The name Fitz Urien he asserted belonged to him of right, as lineal descendant of the conqueror of Gower. The result was that according to Holinshed:—"On the fourth of December (1531), Sir Rees Griffin was beheaded at the Tower Hill, and his man named John Hewes was drawne to Tiburne and there hanged and quartered." Edward Flloyd and James ap Griffith having turned king's evidence were pardoned. The best account we have of this trial consists of a paper printed in the 2nd vol. of the *Cambrian Register*, p. 270, entitled—"Objections against Rice Griffith in his indictment, with the answers thereunto." It is apparently by the same hand as the biography of Sir Rhys, previously referred to, and is avowedly favourable to the defendant. The writer answers the charges *seriatim*. With regard to number one, he declares that as Henry VIII. and his nephew James V. of Scotland were at this period good friends, the charge breaks down. But we know when Henry himself impugned the legitimacy of his only child, the Princess Mary, his nephew James V., King of Scotland, next heir in blood, very naturally claimed recognition; although these pretensions were fiercely repudiated by Henry, and the Parliament of England, who declared they would resist any attempt on the part of the Scottish king to the uttermost of their power.* In pursuance of this claim James was constantly intriguing with the enemies of England; one instance of these conspiracies which is on record, perhaps throws a side light on the affairs of Rice Griffith. In the report of Gonzalo Fernandes (chaplain to the Emperor Charles V.), dated April 25, 1529, concerning a visit of his to the Earl of Desmond, there is a statement made by the Earl (in Latin), in which the following passage occurs:—

> Moreover, I, the aforesaid James Earl of Desmond, do make known to the majesty of Cæsar August, that there is an alliance between me and the King of Scotland, and by frequent embassies we understand each other's purpose and intentions.†—(Translation.)

Now we know that Rice's Pembrokeshire neighbours (unless greatly maligned) were in correspondence with this rebel Irish Earl who boasted of the alliance between himself and the King of Scotland. Nay, it seems by no means improbable that "Germin Gruffith borne under the dominion of the said erle" and bailiff of Tenby in 1526, may have carried despatches between Desmond and James of Scotland in those "two great shipps well appoynted with ordenaunces." If this was the case Rice, if ever so innocent, would probably be suspected of complicity. In the second charge Rice is accused of encouraging the propagation of a treasonable prophecy. That such vaticinations were common in the 16th century and used for political purposes is notorious. The biographer gives us an anecdote which seems to prove that Rice's ravens were a well known and suspected cognizance. He states that

> The king one daie at Wandsworth hawking at the brooke, his faulcon being seized of a fowle, there came by accident a raven that put his faulcon from the quarry whereat the king chafed exceedinglie. One standing by (as malice is ever watchful to do mischief) stepps to the king and whispers him in the eare, saying: "Sir, you see how preremptorie this raven is growne, therefore it is high tyme to pull him down, thereby to secure your majestie and

* 28th Henry VIII., c. 24; quoted by Froude in *History of England*, vol. i., c. 2.

† This account is among the archives at Brussels, and is quoted at length in Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 282.

prevent his insolencies." These wordes (the king's heart already full of suspition) amazed him straight as a presage of his own fortune; so that from that time forward he was never att peace till he had removed as he thought the disturber of his peace, and this is a story of the Earl of Nottinghame's, the only man of note now living who came nearest those times.*

Regarding the third charge the biographer avows that James ap Griffith was under an accusation of counterfeiting the Great Seal, and was charged by Rice himself. One would like to know what seal this was. Was it the Great Seal of England, that of the Palatinate, or Rice's own, as Governor of South Wales? It is not impossible that the charge against James ap Griffith bore on the accusation against his master. The tale about the signature on a blank sheet of paper for the purpose of obtaining a lease in North Wales appears singularly feeble. A wealthy man might well have required ready money before embarking on so costly an undertaking as civil war. The change of names seems scarcely to bear on its face any significance, for it was just at this period that Welshmen began to drop their cumbersome Kymric appellations in favour of permanent surnames, so what more natural than that young Rice should select to be called Fitz Urien after the mythical founder of his family. Whether Rice Griffith was the victim of perjury, at this date it is impossible to say; but that evidence (and strong evidence) of treason was forthcoming I think there can be no doubt. Who pressed the charge of treason against Rice Griffith we do not know, but one thing is clear, Sir Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, the nobleman whose retainers quarreled with Lady Catherine's servants, immediately stepped into that leading position in Pembrokeshire which had formerly appertained to the grandson of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.

Carew castle, with the princely property which Rice Griffith had inherited, fell to the Crown, and was in due course granted to strangers, so the recollection of old Sir Rhys and his ravens gradually faded out from the land. However, great sympathy was expressed for young Rice's sad fate, not only in Wales but throughout the realm. Whether this arose in truth from doubts as to his guilt, or simply from pity for his youth and terrible fall, it is hard to say. Some certainly did not hesitate to describe his execution as a judicial murder, and among the number was his widow Lady Katherine. Writing of this lady the biographer says:

> Of Edward Floyd the Ladie Katherine Howard did take much pains to be trulie informed; who knowing in her own heart her husband's innocencie, and fearing the ruyne of herself and children, left no stone unmoved whereby this practice might be discovered. Att length (by the help of friends and God's direction) shee found out, that this man was corrupted with a reward of ffive hundred marks to betraye his maister, and this also was proved by divers others; soe that I hope no credit shall be given to him in this case.

But the proofs which satisfied poor Lady Katherine are not laid before us, and I fancy did not immediately benefit the widow or orphan.

One member of Rhys ap Thomas's family carried on the quarrel. "Brancetor, an uncle of young Rice," attached himself to the fortunes of Reginald Pole, and probably through the interest of the latter obtained a place in the household of the Emperor Charles. From this point of vantage he became the recognised political agent of all enemies of England. Henry VIII. considered the proceedings of this man so important that he was attainted in 1539, and in 1540 the King actually despatched Sir Thomas Wyatt to Paris to demand the extradition of Brancetor. At Wyatt's request the French Provost Marshal arrested the refugee, who appealed to the Emperor Charles, then in Paris, and who was extremely angry. "The man had been in his service for years" said he, "and it was ill done to arrest a member of his household without paying him the courtesy of a first application on the subject. Treaty

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 274.

or no treaty a servant of his own should pass free." And so he did. Brancetor, who is said to have quitted England in the first place on account of debt, was most probably an illegitimate son of Sir Rhys ap Thomas.*

Under Elizabeth, Griffith Rice, the son of Rice Griffith, was at last forgiven, and though the Pembrokeshire property was irretrievably lost, from thenceforward the "Ravens of Rhys" flourished in the neighbouring county of Carmarthen. In 1780 George Rice, Esq., of Newton, M.P. for the county, married Cicely, only daughter of the first Earl of Talbot, and this nobleman was created Baron Dynevor with remainder to his daughter and her issue male. From this lady and her husband the Right Honourable Arthur de Cardonnel Rice 6th Baron Dynevor is directly descended.



EFFIGY OF A PILGRIM (15TH CENTURY), ST. MARY'S CHURCH, HAVERFORDWEST.

* Froude's *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 458.

CHAPTER XIX.

ABOLITION OF THE PALATINATE AND MONASTERIES.

Henry VIII. fortifies Milford Haven– Bishop Rawlins—Anne Boleyn created Marchioness of Pembroke—William Barlow Prior of the Black Canons of Haverford—Roger Barlow explored South America, created Vice Admiral by Henry VIII.—Barlow's letter of recantation—Struggle between Reformers and Romanists—Feelings of the Laity in Pembrokeshire—Morganatic marriage of the Clergy—The Black Friar of Haverfordwest makes a charge against Barlow—Seal of the "Prior Provincial in England of the Preaching Friars"—Bishop Rawlins refers the matter to the Court of Arches—Cromwell protects Barlow—The Bishop arrests Barlow's servant and two women, who are charged with heresy and summoned before the Mayor of Tenby; no evidence being forthcoming they are discharged—Barlow appeals to Cromwell for protection and is removed to the Priory of Bisham, Berks—Petition for the Union of Wales with England—The King nominates Justices—Statute for the judicial incorporation of Wales with England—Haverfordwest, Kilgerran, Llansteffan, Laugharne, Walwyn's Castle, Dewisland, Llawhaden, Lamphey, Narberth, Slebech, Rhosmarket, Castellan, and Landifleur are annexed to the County of Pembroke—Withdrawal of troops and dismissal of officials ensuing on the union disastrous to the colony—Changes effected in the administration of justice—Commission directed to inquire into the condition of Monasteries in England and Wales, 1535—Parliament directs the dissolution of all Monasteries whose incomes do not exceed £200 per annum—Rawlins dies—Barlow nominated Bishop; had been on a Scotch embassy—Barlow s letters to Cromwell—Intrigues for the translation of St. David's to Carmarthen—Destroys the roofs of the Great Hall in the Palace of St. David's and the Castle of Llawhaden; said to have appropriated the lead to the dowering of his daughters; their names—Richard Suffragan of Dover arrives in Wales to enforce the Act passed for dissolution of smaller Monasteries—Dissolves Grey Friars, Carmarthen—Removes remains of Edmund Tudor to St. David's Cathedral; of Sir Rhys ap Thomas to St. Peter's, Carmarthen—Monasteries in Pembrokeshire—Augustinian: Haverfordwest and Newport—Benedictine: St. Dogmael's, Caldy, Pill and Monkton—Dominican: House in Haverfordwest—Carmelite: Tenby—Houses of unknown fraternities at Cresswell, Warren and Manorbier.

WHEN Rice Griffith expiated treason by death the axe stroke which severed his neck destroyed Keltic supremacy in Pembrokeshire. The Welsh indeed retained their social equality, but no Kymric leader stepped into the position vacated by Rhys ap Thomas's grandson. It seems not improbable that we owe a picturesque ruin at Angle to this episode. Rice and his dreams had vanished, but the great haven of Milford still offered its hospitable shelter to all comers irrespective of race or politics. Men remembered that the French mercenaries of Glyndwr and Henry Tudor had landed on its shores. It was here that the hapless Rice hoped to see the veterans of the Emperor Charles disembark from Spanish galleons to aid in building up the autonomy of Wales, and though this scheme proved abortive the danger to England remained. Henry eventually directed measures should be taken to secure Milford Haven from foreign or domestic invasion. Two castles or block houses were erected near the harbour's mouth, one at Dale the other on Angle cliff. The ruins of the latter still remain. That this was built during the reign of Henry VIII. there can be little doubt, for George Owen our very accurate county historian in a MS. quoted by Fenton* gives the date, and as he lived in Elizabeth's day is not likely to be mistaken. Though it is pretty clear that Henry VIII. erected these earliest fortifications of the Haven and not improbably in consequence of Rice's intrigues, it seems likely they were built some years after the death of the latter, when the king, enriched by plunder obtained from the monasteries, strewed the southern coast of England with castles of a like description. Good Bishop Vaughan died in 1522. He was

* Fenton's *Historical Tour*, page 403.

succeeded on the episcopal throne by a person of very different type. Richard Rawlins appears to have been a man about court; he followed the king into France in the war time, and was probably a *protegé* of the great Cardinals, for when the latter was promoted to the Archbishopric of York Richard Rawlins was nominated Lord Almoner. This was in 1516. The next we hear of him is as warden of Merton College, Oxford. Anthony a Wood informs us that he was removed from this appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury "for many unworthy misdemeanors," and strangely enough this disgraceful *exposé* was the cause of his introduction to St. David's, whither he was sent "soon after because he should not be a loser."* Rawlins no doubt consoled himself for banishment to an out-of-the-way diocese by the thought that at any rate he would be his own master at St. David's, and so he seems to have been for many years, during which period he either mended his manners or became more careful, for we hear of no repetition of the Merton scandals, and Rawlins would probably have completed his somewhat useless career in peace and obscurity if a red hot reformer in the shape of William Barlow had not arrived in Pembrokeshire.

On the 1st of September, 1532, King Henry VIII. delared that "since a monarch ought to surround his throne with many peers of the worthiest of both sexes, especially those who are of the blood royal, we by consent of the nobility of our kingdom present do make, create, and ennoble our cousin Anne Rochford, one of the daughters of our well beloved cousin Thomas Earl of Wiltshire, and of Ormond, keeper of our privy seal, to be Marchioness of Pembroke." Anne Rochford was no other than Anne Boleyn, the first peeress created by an English king.† This honour was but a prelude to her coronation as queen consort, which took place on May 19, 1534. One of the earliest appointments made by the new Marchioness of Pembroke seems to have been that of William Barlow, whom she nominated Prior of Black Canons on the foundation dedicated to St. Mary and St. Thomas the Martyr. The ruins of their house still stand by the river side near the walls of Haverfordwest. Barlow was a man of good family. His father owned Barlow Hall near Colchester, but as he had been committed to the Tower in the reign of Henry VII. and his property confiscated, the sons were forced to seek their own fortunes. This they managed to do very successfully. Roger, the eldest, went to Spain and was employed by the Emperor Charles in exploring the coasts of South America. Returning from this voyage he was introduced to Sir Thomas Boleyn, then English ambassador at Madrid, who recommended the adventurous sailor to King Henry VIII. Roger Barlow was in consequence created vice-admiral under Lord Seymour.‡ There can be little doubt that William Barlow owed his promotion to his brother Roger's interest with the Boleyn family. Still he was by no means an unknown man, having proved himself a red-hot reformer from boyhood, in so much that he had on more than one occasion got into difficulties through ultra zeal. Barlow had been a Canon of St. Osythe's, Essex; in 1509 he held preferment at Blakemore; in 1514 a pamphlet of his termed *The Burial of the Mass* was prohibited;§ in 1527 he was acting as Prior of Bromhole and Cressingham, Norwich, and it seems probable that from this place he addressed a letter to the king in the following terms:—

Prayse be to God who of hys infinyte goodnes and mercye inestimable hath brought me owt of darcknes into lyght, and from deadly ignoraunce unto the quicke knowledge of bothe, from the which through the fendes instygacyon and fals perswasyones I have greatly swerved wrappynge my selfe in many-folde erroures and detestable heresyes agaynst the doctryne of Chryst and determynacyon of holy churche, in so moche that I have made certayne bookes and have suffred thym to be emprynted as "The Treatyse of the Buryall of the Masse;" "A Dyaloge betwene a Gentyllman and Husbandman;" "The clymbyng up of Friars and Religious Persones portred with

* *Athen. Oxon.*, 1, p. 671.

† Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. iv., p. 222.

‡ Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire.*

§ Note to Foxe's *Martyrs;* edition 1583.

figures;" A descripcion of Gode's worde compared to the lyght." Also a convycious dyaloge without any title inveyne specially agaynst Saynt Thomas of Canterbury, which as yet was never printed nor publysshed openly. In thes treatyses I perceyve and aknowledge my self grevously to have erred, namely, agaynst the blyssed sacrament of the altare, dysallowynge the masse, and denyinge purgatorye with slawnderous infamye of the pope, and my Lorde Cardynall, and outrageous raylynge agaynst the clergye, which I have forsaken and utterly renownced. Wherefore I beynge lately informed of your hignes endued with so excellent learnynge and syngler jugement of the bothe, which endevored not only to chase awaye and extyrpe all heresyes, but also to se a reformacyone of slawderous lyvynge, for the restraynte of vyce in all estates, to the furtherauce of vertue to and avauncement of Godes word also considerynge the pyteous favour, voyde of vygour, and mercye abhorrynge cruelte, which your highnes hath used towarde other of your subjettes fallen into soche lyke heresyes as have submitted themselves humbly unto your grace. I have made sute by all meanes possyble, freely without mocion of any man to come and present myself afore your highnes fet, to submit myselfe unto your mercyfull pleasure besechynge your gracyous pardone, also as ferr forthe as I have knowlege in all thinges to ascertayne your grace, unfaynedly whatsoever your hyghnes shall vouche save to demaunde of me your unworthye subjett and oratour,

WILLIAM BARLO.*

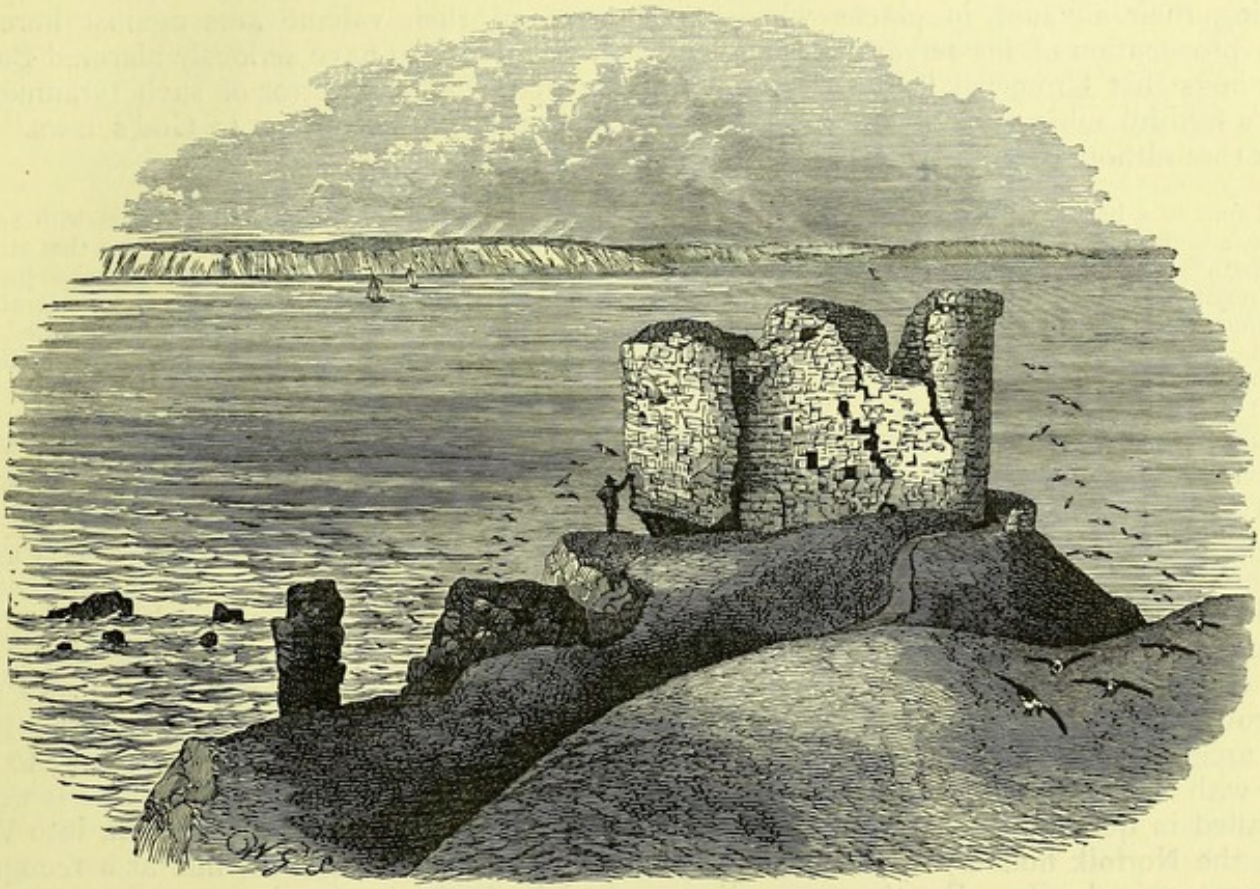
About 1533 William Barlow was sent into the west by Anne Boleyn and Cromwell, who led the anti-clerical party. If their object was to stir up strife in the diocese of St. David's the selection was excellent, for the new prior, though a red-hot reformer, had proved himself quite amenable to discipline when his personal interests were at stake. Such tools are invaluable to political factions; the public admire their fearless honesty, but with a better knowledge their masters trust implicitly to their grovelling selfishness.

Dewi's shrine at holy Menevia was defended by Richard Rawlins, the dissolute bishop, the outcast from Merton. In his struggle he was supported by the sympathy of every man in the diocese who valued the creed of his fathers, venerated holy things and places deemed sacred for more than thirty generations. William Barlow, the self-seeking prior, was the assailant. Behind him stood Anne Marchioness of Pembroke, Queen of England, incestuous adulteress. Each champion averred he fought for God's glory and man's welfare. When the struggle commenced there can be no doubt that both the clergy and the laity of West Wales sympathised with their bishop, and were not attracted by the reformer's programme. Living as they did in the immediate neighbourhood of a shrine which year by year drew great flocks of pilgrims from all parts, and benefiting as doubtless they did by these pilgrims, their attachment to the older ritual was but natural. Another matter probably tended locally to minimize those scandals which had destroyed the respect once felt by Englishmen for the religious fraternities. Ever since the introduction of Christianity the ecclesiastics of St. David's Diocese enjoyed the privilege of morganatic marriages. Legally their wives were but concubines; socially they seem to have been accepted as the successors of those honourable women who espoused bishops of the old Keltic Church, and whose sons as matter of course inherited their father's mitre. The ecclesiastical authorities in Rome and England continually condemned this system, but the priests of West Wales went on marrying and giving in marriage as their fathers had done. This circumstance no doubt saved the priesthood in Little England from certain odious charges brought against it elsewhere.

Prior Barlow opened the campaign by preaching a series of sermons against Antichrist—(the Pope)—and all his confederate adherents, the bishop and clergy of the diocese. The

* MS. Cott. Cleop. E iv. fol. 121.—This letter from William Barlow to the king was printed in the collection of documents relating to the suppression of the Monasteries, edited by the late Mr. Thomas Wright for the Camden Society, and referred by him to the year 1533, which however seems to me an error, for Wolsey died November 29th, 1529, and in 1533 Henry would have endorsed nearly every word that Barlow had written against pope and priest. Surely the letter must have been indited in 1527, when a systematic persecution of the Reformers was undertaken by the State, Latimer summoned before the Cardinal, Barnes committed to the Fleet and obliged to sign an abjuration drawn up by Wolsey, and that quaint *auto da fe* arranged on Shrove Sunday, when a pile of Tyndall's tracts and translations were solemnly burnt before the northern door of old St. Paul's, while Dr. Barnes and five stillyard men did penance, the former admitting "he was more charitably handled than he deserved, his heresies were so heinous and detestable." Surely this must have been the date of Barlow's letter.

episcopal party not unnaturally "conceived a malevolent mind against him" and preached back. Finding however that hard words break no bones, they brought certain definite charges against him, the complainant being "the Black Friar of Haverfordwest." Barlow declared these accusations were falsely contrived, and related to a matter of surmise. He referred the question to Cromwell, who of course decided in his favour; but "the bishop and his unghostly spiritual officers continued to support the Friar, the former rewarding him before his departure."* Bishop Rawlins then sent letters to the Dean of Arches and Dr. Hughes, requesting that Barlow might be suppressed, but finding that he "being under the favour of Cromwell's righteous equity they could not prevail," the Palace party changed their



BLOCKHOUSE AT ANGLE.

mode of attack. It appears that Barlow, who for some reason was out of the county, sent a servant home about certain business. On this man's arrival he was summoned to appear in the Bishop's Court; his house was searched, he was obliged to deliver up certain books, viz., an English Testament, an Exposition of the IVth, Vth and VIth chapters of Matthew, the

* In the letter from Barlow to Cromwell, MS. Cotton, Cleop. E iv., coll. 107, from which the above extracts are taken, we are not informed what were the charges made against Barlow. May be they referred to his relations with Agatha Welbourne, for though the bishop's party were many of them married after a fashion, they would be pretty sure to strike at this weak place in their adversary's harness? The Black Friar seems to have been a member of the Fraternity of Friar Preachers who had an establishment in Bridge Street, Haverfordwest. Some years ago during the demolition of ruinous premises in Monkton, Pembroke, a seal was discovered. It fell into the hands of Lord Cawdor, who kindly presented it to the Tenby Museum. According to the legend this seal was "the seal of the Prior Provincial in England of the Preaching Friars." It is indubitably a piece of 16th century work. Is it possible that this seal belonged to Barlow's adversary, who being on a tour of inspection crossed swords with the reforming champion "before departing," and lost his seal while visiting at Pembroke?

Commandments and the Epistle of John. The Court detained the books and seem to have dismissed the man "with vehement reproaches and clamorous exclamations against heretics, as if to have the Testament in English were horrible heresy." The Episcopal Court apparently felt uncertain of their power to punish Barlow's servant, so the complainants appealed to the temporal power. Under a penalty of 500 marks they charged the Mayor of Tenby to apprehend this man and his wife, "and a certain honest widow of inculpable fame with whom they were at enmity,* laying certain articles to their charge which they never thought nor spake. After spreading shameful rumours to their defamation, to the slanderous wonderment of the town, no evidence was offered against them, nor any compensation made," but bidding his worship the mayor "do with the prisoners as he lusted, the bishop's officers departed making their advaunt in places where they came, of their valiant acts against heretics." This prosecution of his servant and the two women appears to have seriously alarmed Barlow, who begs that Cromwell "will provide a redress, that from the terror of such tyrannies the king's faithful subjects, your poor orators, may peaceably live according to God's laws." He adds that although in the Diocese of St. David's

> There is a bishop, a suffragan, archdeacons, deans, commissaries, and other bishoplike officers with spiritual names, a multitude of monks, canons, friars and secular priests, yet among them all there is not one that sincerely preacheth God's word, nor scarce any that heartily favoureth it, but all are utter enemies there, against whose stubborn resistance, cannot be without froward rebellion against the king's gracious acts established, and concerning the enormous vices, the fraudulent exactions, the misordered living, and heathen idolatry shamefully supported under the clergy's jurisdiction no diocese is I suppose more corrupted, nor none so far out of frame, without hope of reformation.

He offers to bring incontestable proof of the truth of these allegations, and concludes with a prayer for protection "without the which neither can I without peril repair home, nor there in safety continue among so odious adversaries of Christ's doctrine."

Whether Barlow was called on to give evidence, or whether he returned as Prior to Haverfordwest, we do not know; seemingly Cromwell decided to remove him from the Diocese of St. David's, and give him the Priory of Bisham in Berkshire. This appointment appears to have been made in 1534. The bishop in the long run proved too strong for the prior. He was evidently prepared with a charge or charges which the latter would have found great difficulty in meeting. What these were we cannot tell; perhaps Barlow in his reforming zeal had again exceeded the limits permitted by the king. Indeed, it was not very easy to keep time with the royal reformer. Or it might have been that Barlow's domestic relations were to be called in question, since in all probability Agatha Welbourne had followed him into Wales from the Norfolk nunnery of which she was abbess, and was living with him as a recognized or unrecognized wife. Ere the commotion excited by Barlow's abortive crusade against the Romanist party in Pembrokeshire had time to subside, other matters of great importance thrust themselves before the public. Sir John Price of Brecon, Knight, one of the King's Council in the Court of the Marches, presented a petition to the king from the people of Wales, craving that they might "be received and adopted into the same laws and privileges which other subjects enjoy." Sir John was a Court favourite, and there is reason to believe he had received a hint that a petition of this nature would be acceptable to the king. Legislation for Wales was at once commenced. First a statute was passed (27 Henry VIII. c. 24) that no person shall nominate justices except the king,—

> But that all such officers and ministers shall be made by letters patent under the king's great seal in the name and authority of the king's highness and his heirs, kings of this realm, and in all shires, counties, counties palatine,

* Is it possible that this was Mrs. Agatha Barlow, *née* Welbourne.

and other places of this realm, Wales, or the marches of the same, or any other his dominions at their pleasure and wills, in such manner and form as justices of eyre, justices of assize, justices of the peace, and justices of jail delivery are commonly made in every shire of this realm, any grants, usages, prescriptions, allowances, act or acts of Parliament, or any other thing or things to the contrary notwithstanding. That no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition, soever they be from the said 1st day of July, 1536, shall have any power or authority to make justices of eyre, justices of assize, justices of the peace, or justices of jail delivery.

This Act of Parliament was of course leveled at the power of the Lords Marcher. It was followed by another statute (27 Henry VIII.) which dealt exhaustively with the whole question of Welsh legislation.

His highness of a singular zeal, love and favour that he beareth toward his subjects of his said dominion of Wales, minding and intending to reduce them to the perfect order, routine and knowledge of his laws of this his realm, and utterly to extirp all and singular the sinister usages and customs differing from the same, and to bring the said subjects of this his realm, and of his said dominion of Wales, to an amiable concord and unity, hath by the deliberate advice, consent, and agreement of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same ordained, enacted and established, that his said country or dominion of Wales shall be, stand, and continue for ever from henceforth incorporated, united and annexed to and with this his realm of England.

All his Welsh subjects were to enjoy equal privileges with his subjects inhabiting elsewhere, and their inheritances should descend after the manner of England, without division or partition, and not after any tenure or form of Welsh laws or customs.

For as much as there be many and divers lordships marches within the said county or dominion of Wales lying between the shires, and the shires of the said county or dominion of Wales, and being no parcel of any other shires where the laws and due correction is used and had, and that in them and the counties to them adjoining manifold murders, robberies, felonies and the like have been done, contrary to all law and justice, because the offenders, making their refuge from one lordship marcher to another, were continued without punishment or correction. Therefore it is enacted that the said lordships marcher shall be united, annexed and joined to divers shires.

The statute then proceeds to annex the lordships marchers to counties already constituted, to direct that courts shall be held in the same in which the English language only is to be used, to interdict all persons from holding office throughout the king's realm unless they adopted English speech. The statute reserved their pecuniary rights to the Lords Marcher. They were to enjoy the profits of their tenants which they have been used to receive; and were bidden to hold and keep within the precincts of their lordships, courts baron, courts leet, law-days, and all and everything to the same courts belonging; and also shall have waif, stray, in-fangthef, out-fangthef, treasure trove, deodand, goods and chattels of felons, wreck de mer, wharfage, and customs of strangers, as they had in times past, as though such privileges were granted them by point of royal charter.

The lordships, towns, parishes, commotes, hundreds and cantreds of Haverfordwest,* Kilgarran, Llansteffan, Langeharne, called Tallangeharne, Walwynscastle, Dewysland, Lannehadein, Herberth, Slebeche, Rosmarket, Lanfeth, Castellan and Llandeflowe in the said country of Wales, and every one of them shall stand and be guidable for ever, from and after the said fast of All Saints, and shall be united, annexed and joined to, and with, the said county of Pembroke.

* By a statute passed 34 Henry VIII. the above was repealed, and it was enacted "that the king's majesty is contented and pleased notwithstanding the statute made in this 27th year of his reigne, when there hath been but 12 shires in Wales, the town of Haverfordwest shall be a countie in itself as it hath been before this tyme at the will and pleasure of the king's said majesty, and that it shall be separated from the countie of Pembroke at the king's pleasure. And that the king's high justice of the said countie of Pembroke shall be high justice of the said countie and towne of Haverfordwest, and shall have like power and authoritie to and for the administration of justice, within the said towne and countie of Haverfordwest as is limited and appointed to the said justice to and for the administration of justice in the said countie of Pembroke."

The list of names given in this rectification of frontier is interesting. It is worthy of notice that no mention is made of the pseudo Lordship March of Cemaes, so we must suppose that the representatives of Martin de Turribus had withdrawn their pretensions. The Lordship of Haverfordwest, which had been another bone of contention between the Earl and the Crown, appears to have been retained by the latter to the end. Dewisland, said to have been granted to the Church by Rhys ap Tewdwr, Prince of South Wales, in 1082,* but as the historians of St. David's remark, "may have been regarded as the patrimony of St. David's from a very early period,"† had up to this date retained its episcopal governor; and the Manor of Lamphey, whose bishop lord we found siding with the Welsh against the colonists in their neighbouring town of Pembroke in 1092, was still independent of the latter. Llawhaden too had maintained its episcopal jurisdiction. Though the governorship of Kilgerran had been vested in Jasper Tudor, it had not merged into his earldom; Narberth, which had been founded by the Perrots and strengthened by Sir Rhys ap Thomas, always remained Crown land. Slebech, as a commandery, was probably governed by the powerful Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Llanstephan and Laugharne were beyond the borders of the Palatinate and did not long remain attached to the shire. Why Rosmarket and Walwin's Castle were exempt from the authority of the Earl I have failed to discover; nor can I identify Castellan and Llandofloure. It will be seen that the administration of justice must have been fearfully complicated by the existence of these concurrent and occasionally antagonistic authorities. Still the advantages gained by their abolition were dearly paid for. The colony had always maintained its military character, and could never have been self-supporting. The great castles which were the centres of these lordships (with the exception perhaps of St. David's Palace, Lamphey Court, Carew and Picton) were not hospitable mansions of wealthy men, but simply defensible barracks. The garrisons of these castles had already been greatly reduced, and after the union seem to have been absolutely withdrawn. Again, the various courts must under the Palatinate have employed a vast number of somewhat useless personages, who had hitherto been bound to spend their lives and money in the county of Pembroke. Most of these now found their occupation gone, and the result was necessarily disastrous to farmers and traders who got their living by supplying the daily needs of these governors, officials and men-at-arms. George Owen, the Elizabethan historian of Pembrokeshire, who was born about the date of the union, gives us an account of the changes effected in the administration of justice by the statutes 27 Henry VIII. He states that since the days of the first Earl of Pembroke, in the time of King Henry I., the laws of England had been fully and absolutely practised and used in the county Palatine without alteration or diminution, and that under 27 Henry VIII.

> In order to bring our neighbour sheers more English, we were forced to become more Welsh, and truly this hath bredd and still doth foster inconveniences to us of Pembrokeshire in the administration of lawes, fitter to be concealed than opened in this place.

His grievance seems to have been that in certain particulars the new administration followed the Statutæ Walliæ of Edward I. But George Owen declines in his capacity of author to point out any blots in the law he was bound to administer as Justice of the Peace. He goes on to demonstrate that Pembrokeshire had become subject to the High Court of Parliament, in which it now had place and voice, sending one knight of the shire, and one burgess for the boroughs of the shire, whereas in England each shire had two knights to each shire and two burgesses to each borough. Pembrokeshire was subject to the authority of the Courts of Star

* Men. Sac. i., p. 30. † Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 269.

Chamber, Chancery, and the Court of Requests at Westminster. Our author adds "by what means I know not, *quia non fuit sic ab initio*, neither are there any words in these statutes to that effect." In lieu of the Palatinate Court of Exchequer formerly held in Pembroke, an Exchequer Court was formed for each three shires in Wales. This local court was held at Pembroke, where "officers were appointed for the king's receipts, and adwarding furth of processe against all farmers, accountants and debtors of the king's to appear before them in their exchequer." Pembrokeshire men were subject to the Court of King's Bench and Common Pleas in some matters only. Like the remaining twelve shires of Wales, and four shires of the Marches, Pembrokeshire was under the immediate jurisdiction of the Lord President and Council of the Marches, and as these had authority to act for the Courts of Star Chamber and Chancery, "in some things yielded great ease and benefit to the subject of Wales, although in some other things they feele grief." All pleas of the Crown appeals, indictments for murder, rape, felonies, trespasses, &c., and civil causes, were tried at the great sessions in the shire; over these the courts sitting in Westminster had no authority, errors only excepted, which in criminal cases came before the Court of King's Bench; the Court of Marches settled civil matters in error. Before 1535 the High Sheriff was nominated for life, he was now chosen annually by king in council.* The Justices of the Peace were selected from the gentlemen of the shire by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, on recommendation from the Lord President and Council and Justices of Assizes of Wales, They held commissions under the Great Seal of England. As in the other Welsh counties there were two coroners and an escheator who were chosen by the Commons. These officials appear to have been elected annually, for George Owen remarks that before Pembrokeshire was shire ground they held their offices of the Sheriff for life. Petty constables were appointed in every parish according to ancient custom, not mentioned in the new statutes of Henry VIII. The shire was divided into lordships in which courts baron and leet courts were held for trial of petty matters. The towns had their Courts of Record for trial of personal actions, and from all these lesser courts suits might be removed by writ *corpus cum causa*, *certiorari*, *recordare* or error, as the case required, to the Court of Great Sessions, but not elsewhere. Special justices of Oyer and Terminer held sessions for the trial of matters maritime. Matters ecclesiastical were in charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of the Diocese, the latter nominating commissioners who heard and determined causes of tithe, matrimonial and testamentary cases, and had power to punish incest, adultery, fornication, heresy, simony, usury, perjury, and such like offences against the laws civil and canon. In the Welsh counties of Cardigan and Carmarthen land had hitherto passed by surrender in the Lord's Court according to Welsh law, so that in these counties no deeds referring to real property were in existence prior to 27 Henry VIII. But in Pembrokeshire land passed from hand to hand as

In tymes past the greatest number were tenants at will, and few sought leases, for most commonly the landlord made rather suite for a good tenant to take his land, than the tenant to the landlord. Such was the scarcity of good tenants in those days that glad was the landlord to hitt on a good thriftie and husbandlie tenant, and as for fynes to be paid it was not a thing known amongst them 100 years† past saving onley an earnest peny at the bargaine making, which the plaine men called a God's pennie, and within this 60 years the poor tenantes were wont to say that the paying of fynes was an ill custom raysed among them of late . . . . and now the world is so altered with the poore tenant that he standeth soe in bodily feare of his greedy neighbour that two or three years ere his lease ende he must bow to his lord for a new lese, and must pinche it out many years before to heap money together, soe that in this age it is as easie for a poore tenant to marie two of his daughters to his neighbours sonnes, as to match himselfe to a good farme from his landlord.

* Before 27 Henry VIII. there were no J.P.'s in Wales, Stewards of Lordships royally acting as such either by precept or Sheriff's writ.

† Beginning of 16th century.

in England by fines and recoveries, feoffments and livery of seisin, save in a few lordships where copyhold had been introduced.

The tenants at will had however acquired certain privileges by custom. For instance, they were not removable without two warnings, one to be given on the eve of Lady-day, the other on the eve of May-day; the tenant was then obliged to give up the "hall house" at midsummer, the pasture being common between old and new tenant till Michaelmas. Having received warning he would not have put any land under corn. If the tenant however let his houses, hedges and buildings become ruinous, the landlord could empannel a jury of six tenants of like tenure to fix on a sum to be given as compensation; and if the landlord was dissatisfied with their verdict he might appeal to a second jury of six. The question of repair did not affect slate roofs, these were to be kept up by the landlord; thatch was the tenant's business. In the matter of tithe there were some curious customs. Dairies gave nine cheeses, three for May, three for June, three for July, paying nothing for milk or butter "as by law is due." They also escaped tithe on calves and colts, but for a yearling bullock, heifer or filly they paid "ob;"* for a horse colt of that age one penny. A pig out of every farrow after the first, be they few or many; one goose and one kid of every man owning more than two.

Such appear to have been the principal changes effected by the abolition of the Palatinate. But further and exceedingly important revolutions were about to take place in West Wales. Among other important consequences which ensued from Henry's breach with the Papal court, was an examination into the condition of religious fraternities. In the summer of 1535 Cromwell, as vicar-general of the king in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction,† directed a commission to visit the religious houses, universities and other ecclesiastical corporations then existing in England and Wales, and to make a report on the same. Drs. Leigh and Leyton were appointed to go the round of English counties. Wales was handed over to Ap Rice. The report made by these men, and known as the Black Book, no longer exists, for Queen Mary commanded Bishop Bonner to destroy all copies of this work on which he could lay hands. This destruction is not perhaps to be regretted, for when the commissioners had completed their task, and Parliament taken action on the evidence collected, this book could only tend to foster religious hatred in generations yet unborn. Enough however remains to prove that in the interests of morality a dissolution of the monasteries was imperatively necessary. An eminent historian dealing with this episode, says:—

> If I am to relate the suppression of the monasteries I should relate also why they were suppressed. If I were to tell the truth I should have first to warn all modest eyes to close the book and read no further.‡

In March, 1536, Parliament decreed that

> Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys and priories, and other religious houses, when the congregation of such religious houses is under the number of twelve . . . . without such small houses be utterly suppressed and the religious persons therein committed to the great and honourable monasteries of this realm, there can be no reformation in this behalf.

The statute goes on to decree that the lands of all monasteries whose income did not touch £200 per annum should be given to the king. Every monastery in Pembrokeshire came within this definition, for the wealthiest foundation in the county, that of the Augustinians at Haverfordwest, was only valued at £133 11s. 1d. This was the house in which William Barlow had formerly acted as Prior.

* Query, *obolus*—halfpenny. † Foxe's *Injunctions to the Clergy*, vol. v., p. 165. ‡ Froude's *History of England*, vol. 2, p. 445.



THE PALACE.

At this critical juncture in ecclesiastical history Richard Rawlins, the Bishop of St. David's, died. Cromwell at once nominated William Barlow as his successor. On quitting Wales two years before this man had been presented to the Priorship of Bisham in Berkshire, but so thorough a partisan was too valuable to be wasted on a county monastery, and his master gave him an important embassy to the Court of Edinburgh. Henry was most anxious to persuade his nephew, James V., to break with Rome, and it was Barlow's mission to prove that the usurped authority of the Papacy was alike an encroachment on the rights of sovereigns, and a grievous wrong to their subjects. The Scottish king seems to have been somewhat unprepared; but accepted an invitation to meet Henry at York, an appointment he did not however keep, an insult which ended in war between the nations. Though this journey of Barlow's proved fruitless, no blame seems to have been attached to the ambassador; on his return he was promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph, and when St. David's became vacant he was translated to that See. It must have been with very strange feelings that William Barlow first entered his cathedral church as Bishop. He had been driven from the diocese two years before, loathing the very soil on which it stood, despising its most venerable traditions, hating the clergy who ministered within its walls. Now he returned as master. His old enemy Bishop Rawlins was dead, and he (William Barlow) the despised fanatic sat on his throne. Those Canons and Friars who had successfully opposed him lay under sentence of disendowment and expatriation; even the civil courts in which he was sued had been revolutionized. If such were the feelings of the Bishop his flock too must have dreaded the out-look; for all it was indeed an evil one.

What first steps Barlow took for the good of the church and the annoyance of his enemies we cannot tell, as concerning the first two years of his reign we have no information, but in 1538 he wrote a series of letters to Cromwell. These fortunately have been preserved and throw a considerable light on the affairs of the diocese. Early in the year 1538 the king issued an ordinance bidding each parish priest "provide one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English and set up the same in some convenient place in the church." He also directed that "all images which had been abused by pilgrimages or offerings should be taken down." The correspondence between Cromwell and Barlow seems in part to have arisen from this injunction, for in a letter dated March 31st, and written from Carmarthen, the Bishop, after thanking Cromwell for his kindness in giving further time to pay certain sums of money in which he (Barlow) was indebted to the king's* highness, goes on to say

> Concerning your lordship's letters addressed for the taper of Haverfordwest, ere the receipt of them I had done reformacyone and openlye detected the abuse thereof, all parties which before time refussed, penitentlie reconciled."

He then goes on to tell of a miraculous taper he had seized in Cardigan, and which he had forwarded to London. He adds

> I admonished the Canons of St. David's according to the king's injunctyon, in no wis to set forth feigned relicks for to allure people to superstycion, neither to advaunce the vain observation of unnecessary holy dayes abrogated by the king's supreme authority. On St. David's Day the people wilfully solemnized the feast, certaine relicks were set forthe, which I caused to be sequestered and taken awaie detaining them in my custody until I maye be advertised of your lordship's pleasure. The parcels of ye relicks are these: two heads of silver plate enclosing two rotten skulls stuffed withe putrified cloutes; *item* two arme bones, and a worm-eaten book covered with silver plate. Of the Canon's slumbering negligence towarde the preferment of Gode's word, and what an ungodly, disgraced sermon was preached in the cathedral churche in the Feast of Innocents last past, there being present with an auditory of three or four hundred persons, this hearer, a minister of the same churche, shall further declare having part of the said sermon in writing appearent to be showed.

* What this debt was I cannot discover.

He then goes on to press on Cromwell the expediency of translating the See from St. David's to Cardigan.

Considering that a better deed for the Commonwealth, and due reformacyone of the whole disordered diocese cannot be purposed, as wel for the preferment of Gode's worde as for the abolishing of all anti-Christian superstycion . . . . . and the cause partlie that moveth me thus with importune instance to be urgent in my suite, is the oversumptuous expenses that the Canons have enterprised in reedifyinge the body of their Cathedral Church, which ere it be fullie finished, will utterlie consume the smal residue of the Church treasure remaining in their custody without any probable effect saving to nourish clattering conventicles of barbarous rural persons, the deformed habitacyones of the poor colegians* in such beggarly ruyne, and so wretchedlie decayed, that honestie will abhor to behold them. Which to remedye pleaseth the king's highnes of his gracious bounty to grant the Grey Friars place at Kairmardin where his most gracious progenitor and grandfather lyeth honourably intered, licensing the see thither to be translated, which (his grace's plesure condescending) may be performed withoute anie chargeable difficultie and not only the poor colegians but alsoe the Canons residentiary mought be there pleasantly inhabited with aboundaunt provision of all necessarie commodityes continualy having opportune occasion to profit the king's subgettes. Whereas at St. David's lurking in a desolate corner they that be best minded can do very little goode . . . . . and concerning the Friars† that they neither should be aggrieved with any prejudice. I doubt not but under the king's highnes favour of such preferments as I have of his Grace sufficientlie to provide for everie one of them that shall be found an able minister of Christ's Churche in competent learning and honest conversation.

Almost before the bearer of this epistle could have commenced his long journey to London, Barlow on his return to St. David's found another letter from Cromwell. Some one had complained of the bishop's high handed proceedings. Barlow replies:—

After moste humble recommendacyons, pleaseth your lordship to be advised, that immediately upon receipt of your honorable letters, I made delivery of such goodes of the Chaunter's‡ of St. David's as remained in my custody; and where it was suggested that I visited his house and tooke away all his goodes and chattels, to certifie your lordship unfeignedlie of the truth, I caused noting to be removed thence but certain chests, wherein was perceived to be his plate aud monie, which after his voluntary submiscyon I did upon considerations; because part of the contry was riotouslie rased and for the menacing rumours of Mr. Richard Devourax§ hither coming, as this bearer my brother‖ with the whole circumstance of the Chanters far abused demeanour and intolerabel fascyon. Wherein doing my duty, though I have not exceded equitie and concience, yet is there such valiante bearing, contrarie to all justice, that unless your good lordship be my favourable defence in right I shall not escape confusion. For what by much monie and many mightie frendes my adversaries as they make their advaunt doubt nothing to prevaile, and of this partial bearers the principal procurers are two of my richest Canons (other laud I cannot give them) sworne chaplains to my Lord Ferrers,¶ Mr. Gryffyth ap Owen and Mr. John Lewis, Treasurer of St. David's,* who upon displeasure cause lesse in this matter to hindre my fame and to elevate my hatred, have since absented themseles contrarie to the king's actes, idly sojourninge in Kairmairdin, and now fulley purposed without occasion of grief to be plaintiff againste me, whome I never aggrieved in no case, except they accounte it for a griefe because in the late seditious season having notification that certaine of the rebellious letters were amongst the Canons, severally examining theym I tried to find out that the treasurer had a coppie which I requiring him to deliver, he made excuse that he had lost it, whereof I wrote to my brother then being at London to certifie your lordship, which came not to his handes, but as I am informed were since delivered to Mr. William Popley.† Concerning the other Mr. Lewis Gryffyth ap Owen in my late visitation, it was presented and found that he had kept a certain woman having divers children by her, and caused (as she affirmeth, forced) her to contract matrimonie with a servante of his owne, and since by the space of

* Of St. Mary's College which was not as yet under sentence of dissolution. † These were the Augustinian Grey Friars of Carmarthen.

‡ William Vaughan, Chancellor of St. David's from 1510 to 1547, seems to have been the victim of Barlow's cupidity or ill considered zeal. The south transept of the Cathedral was called the Chanter's Chapel. It has been conjectured with great probability to be a corruption of the Chancellor's Chapel—who was enjoined to expound Holy Scripture for the benefit of the Cathedral clergy.—Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 97.

§ Eldest son of Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers' Chief Justice of South Wales.

‖ Thomas Barlow, Friar, on the establishment of Friar Preachers at Haverfordwest.

¶ Walter Devereux, Chief Justice of Wales. * From 1525 to 1541; who Gryffyth ap Owen was I cannot discover.

† It is not very clear what the rebellious letters were about, nor when were the seditious times, but it would almost seem as if Barlow when Prior of Haverford had been employed by Cromwell to search out the accomplices of Rice Griffith who was beheaded in 1531.

two yeares hath suffered her dailie frequenting his house to accompanie another Canon, one of his next neighbors (by whom she hath one childe, and is readye to be delivered of another), which with like necessarie matters of reformation I charitably laid to their charge. And as for any other causes of griefe I know none that they can lawfully allege against me, except they be aggrieved with my continualle preachyne and sincere settinge fourth of the king's gracious articles to the reproach of ungodly superstition, abominable idolatry, which with horrible blasphemy against Gode, and detestable delusion of the king's subgettes have been here shamefully supported, as by apparent evidence at your lordship's pleasure ready to be showed, shall manifestly appear. And yet in all these things, notwithstanding their obstinate repugnance, I have used such attempered moderacyon, that if they can justly convince me of any rash inordinate extremitie I will never desire to be favoured of your lordship, which as I have always found without any demerit, so I trust never by no misdemeanour to lose, as knoweth Christe Who have your good lordship in His keeping. From St. David's, the fifth day of April.

Your lordship's to command,

W. MENEVEN.

After this there seems to have been a break in the correspondence between Cromwell and the Bishop. We find that the last letter in the collection was written by Barlow from Lamphey, on the 16th of August, and is in answer to "your letters lately received," signifying

The king's hyghnes plesure for the removinge of idolatrous abused images, where with this county horribly did abound . . . . . have diligently done my endeavour and that quietlie everywhere within my diocese unresisted without tumult, commocyon or disturbance. . . . . The people now sensibly seeing the longe obscured veritie manifestly to display her brightness, whereby their accustomed inveterate superstition apparently detected, all popish delucyon shall soon be effaced.

He then returns to his petition for the translation of the See to Carmarthen, for St. David's

Hath been always esteemed a delicate daughter of Rome, naturallie resembling her mother in shameless confusion, and like qualified with other perverse properties of excrable malignities of ungodlie image service, abominable idolatory and licentious liberty of dishonest lyvynge, popish pilgrimages, deceitful pardones, and feigned indulgencies, in whose laud it is written: "Roma semel quantum dat bis Menevia tantum."

In the Bishop's opinion there was only one remedy for this sad state of things:—

Rome with all her popish pageants (praised be God) through the king's most prudent provision is exiled forthe from Englande. The unfeigned fidelitie of mine allegiance enforceth me to wish all memorial monuments of her puppetry in like manner to be banished out of Wales, which hithertoe remaining in the territorie of St. David unneth (scarcely) may be extinct without translation of the See.*

In his fruitless struggle to uproot and transplant the See of St. David, the comparatively harmless process of letter writing did not content Bishop Barlow. There were two strong arguments which told against his scheme—the fair palace built by Bishop Gower at St. David's, and the grand baronial stronghold erected at Llawhaden by Bishop Beck. Where would such princely dwellings be found for future Bishops if the See was translated to Carmarthen. Not improbably both these mansions were out of repair. St. David's never was a favourite residence of the Bishops. Its very magnificence condemned it, for the See was a poor one. Llawhaden too had fallen into disuse since amity had been established between the races. Lamphey, standing in convenient proximity to Pembroke (which had lately been the seat of Government), gradually became the favourite residence of the Bishops. Thus on the one hand, the very existence of these palaces argued against Barlow's scheme to remove the See from Pembrokeshire; on the other, so far from being of value to him they

* These letters with the one quoted on page 243 are among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.—Cleop. E IV., Collections 107, 117, 262 and 260 respectively. They throw so much light not only on the condition of the See of St. David's, but on Church matters generally, that they have been included in the series of letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries, edited for the Camden Society by the late Thomas Wright.

served only to drain his ill-filled purse. Instead of repairing he decided to unroof the great hall at St. David's and the castle of Llawhaden. Browne Willis estimated that twelve years of episcopal revenue would not have repaired the mischief done at the former place alone, and he adds it was done for "lucre of the lead."* Local tradition goes even further, avowing that the said lead was appropriated by the Bishop to the dowering of his five daughters. According to his own grand nephew,† William Barlow met his wife Agatha Welbourne in Norfolk, where he was Prior of Cressingham, and she abbess of a neighbouring nunnery. This must have been about 1527. So if their eldest child was born in 1528 it would have been twenty years of age when its father was translated from St. David's to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1548. From this it is evident that the Bishop *may* have had one or two marriageable daughters before he quitted Pembrokeshire, whether indeed they carried the produce of the lead roofs to their spouses it is impossible to say. They married as follows:—

ANNE married: 1st, Austin Bradbridge of Chichester, a fellow of New College, Oxford; 2nd, Herbert Westphaling, Bishop of Hereford.

ELIZABETH married W. Day, Dean of Windsor, subsequently Bishop of Winchester.

MARGARET married William Overton, Bishop of Lichfield.

FRANCES married: 1st, Matt Parker, son of the Archbishop of Canterbury; 2nd, Tobie Matthew, Archbishop of York.

ANTONIA married William Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester.

WILLIAM "was born as it seems in Pembrokeshire while his father was Bishop of St. David's. He became a commoner of Balliol about 1560, and four years after took a degree in Arts."‡

On August 27th, just eleven days after Bishop Barlow's letter had been forwarded from Lamphey to the Vicar-General, a despatch was sent to the latter from Richard, Suffragan Bishop of Dover, who had been commissioned to enforce throughout Wales and the south-western counties of England, the act passed in March, 1536, for the Dissolution of the Smaller Monasteries. He forwarded to Cromwell some of the spoils collected in his journeyings; among other specimens was "Malchus's ear that Peter struck off." He states:

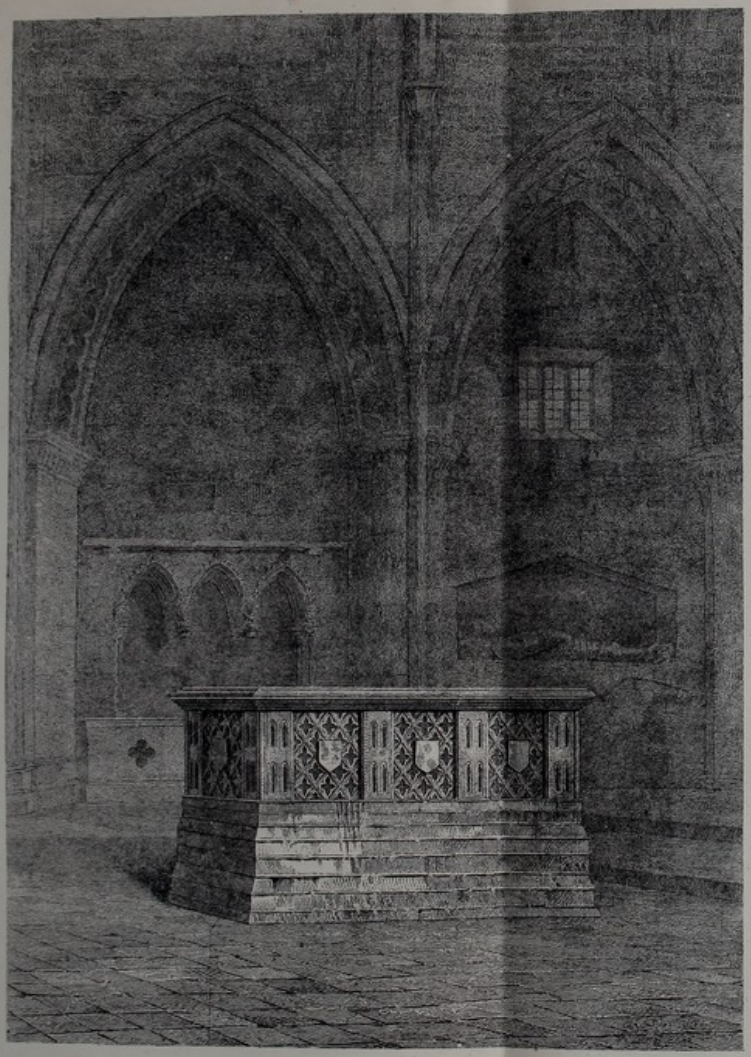
I am now at Harford East;§ and this day I ride to Brecknock, and so to Carmarthen, and to Haverfordwest, and so over to Michael's Mount, and so bring all Cornwall and Devonshire with me,

When at Carmarthen the Bishop of Dover demolished Barlow's scheme for a translation of the See by granting the monastery of the Grey Friars to Thomas Lloyd, and directing that the remains of Edmund Tudor, the king's grandfather, with the tomb that covered them should be removed to St. David's Cathedral, where they still are.‖ During the demolition of the church belonging to this fraternity other illustrious dead were disturbed. The remains of Sir Rhys ap Thomas were removed to St. Peter's Church. Unfortunately we have no record as to the doings of the Bishop of Dover in Pembrokeshire; even the list of the monasteries dissolved is

* *Browne Willis*, p. 49. † See Barlow's MS. quoted in Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 431.

‡ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* § Hereford.

‖ According to Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, p. 113, the priory was not actually suppressed until July, 1539.



TOMB OF THE EARL OF RICHMOND.



St DAVID'S SHRINE.

incomplete, and has to be filled up rather by the archæologist than the historian. However a certain amount of information we do possess. Augustinians, Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans, and Knights of St. John of Jerusalem all owned houses in Pembrokeshire. The last named for the present were left in peace, as their establishments were not affected by the act for the suppression of the smaller Monasteries. The Bishop of Dover had to deal with the following fraternities:—

AUGUSTINIANS.

The Augustinian Canons Regular, or as they were commonly called Black Canons, owned the most valuable monastery in Pembrokeshire. Its ruins still remain on the banks of the western Cleddau, just outside the town of Haverfordwest. This religious house was founded by Robert de Hwlfordd, son of Richard Fitz Tancred, about the end of the 12th century. It was dedicated to SS. Mary and Thomas the Martyr, and was valued 26 Henry VIII. at £133 11s. 1d. according to Dugdale, £135 6s. 1d. according to Speed. The ruins have suffered and continue to suffer at the hands of ignorant and greedy men. The cruciform church was 160 feet from east to west; transepts 88 feet; nave and chancel 26 feet broad and transepts the same. The central tower stood on four pointed arches. This was the house William Barlow served as Prior on his first appearance in Pembrokeshire. Besides their fair priory at Haverford the Augustinians possessed a house at Newport.* The discipline of this fraternity was not severe. They resided under one roof, had a common dormitory and refectory. Their habit was a long cassock with a white rochet over it, covered by a black hood or cloak, from which garment they took their name of Black Canons.

BENEDICTINES.

These who were commonly known as the Black Monks had an ancient house at St. Dogmael's,† which belonged to the strict sub order of *Cella Cœnovii Teronensis*. According to a MS. in the Benet Library, Cambridge, it consisted of five monks. Browne Willis states there was an abbot and eight monks. It is said to have been founded by Martin de Turribus about 1090, and was by him dedicated to St. Mary. The annual value of St. Dogmael's was £87 8s. 6d. according to Dugdale. On Caldy Island are the remains of a fine monastery which was a cell of St. Dogmael's. Its founder is unknown, but as an Ogham stone is in its immediate neighbourhood we may safely say that the sanctity of the place stretches back into prehistoric days.‡ The value of Caldy was £5 10s. 11d. Another subordinate Benedictine house stood on the shores of Milford Haven, at Pill. It was founded by De Rupe in honour of St. Mary and St. Budoc, and was valued at £67 15s. 3d., though as there were some charges on it the actual value was only £52 2s. 5d.§ Monkton Priory, dedicated to St. Nicholas, near Pembroke, was also a Benedictine house. Originally this foundation seems to have been within the castle walls. According to Fenton‖ Monkton itself was founded by

* Speed.

† See p. 99 *ante*.

‡ Some years ago an alabaster reliquary was found on Caldy by Mr. Kynaston the then proprietor. He was digging a wild cat out from a cleft in the rocks facing Tenby which has since then been quarried away. "The reliquary was made to represent an altar tomb, the base or tomb consisting of an irregular or four-sided piece of alabaster, the ends being beveled off so as to show a three-sided front, while on the top lay a mutilated figure."—Article by Albert Way, *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1870. This reliquary, which is about eight inches long by two-and-a-half deep, and is attributed by Mr. Way to the 15th century, was not improbably hidden in the days of Barlow.

§ Tanner's *Notilia Monastica*.

‖ *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 373.

William Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, and made a cell to the Abbey of Sayes. Edward III. when at war with France seized it. In the reign of Henry VI. it was made subsidiary to St. Alban's Abbey. The value was according to Dugdale £57 9s. 3d.; Speed says £113 2s. 6d. Probably it was heavily charged to St. Alban's. The Benedictines prided themselves on superior culture and refined manners. Among them were included many scions of illustrious houses; they vowed to preserve a grave demeanour, abjured private property, and obeyed their superior absolutely. Their habit was a long black gown and cowl, with a scapulary or scarf across the shoulders.

DOMINICANS.

The Dominicans, or Friar Preachers, had a house in the town of Haverfordwest. It stood near the wall in Bridge Street, and Thomas Barlow, a brother of the bishop, was one of the brethren. They vowed poverty. Their garb was a white frock resembling that worn by the Carthusians, with a black cloak and pointed cowl. They were commonly called the Black Friars.

CARMELITES.

In addition to the above we are informed by Fenton (and Norris who copied him) that the buildings still remaining on the western side of Tenby Church represent the College of St. Mary's, a *convent* of Carmelite *Friars*, founded by John de Swynemore in 1399.‡ The Carmelites had no *convents* until 1452, and as we find a chapel was built to St. Bridget somewhere within the precincts of St. Mary's Church, Tenby, in the year 1496, it seems not improbable that at this date the monks gave way to nuns.* Nothing is known as to the value or fate of the Carmelite convent, which seems to have been the only nunnery in Pembrokeshire.

The above is by no means a complete list of religious houses in Pembrokeshire. There were of course the commandery of the Knights of St. John at Slebech, and St. Mary's College at St. David's, besides hospitals and chantries which had for the present escaped dissolution; but in addition to these there were certain small monasteries of which all record has perished. Notably one on the upper shores of the Haven, by Cresswell Bridge. Here are the somewhat extensive ruins of a religious foundation of which absolutely nothing is known. Again there is a tradition that some fraternity had a foundation at Warren, while by Manorbier Church there are certainly indications of a religious house. But enough has been proved to show that Henry's plunder in Pembrokeshire alone was considerable. He seems to have held the property in his own hands for awhile, and then the unfortunate occupiers were allowed to attach themselves to the greater monasteries, go abroad, or cast off their religious obligations. They were, from a monetary point of view, not illiberally treated, the brethren receiving from £4 to £8 per annum (that is to say the ordinary income of a parish priest), while in many cases the principals obtained as much as £70 or £80.† The

‡ Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 457. He probably obtained this information from a MS. of George Owen.

* About the year 1870 human remains were exhumed during some building operations in Frog Street, Tenby. The ancient structure in which these were discovered stands on a piece of land known as "The Convent Garden." The bones were pronounced by the late Professor Rolleston to be those of a young woman. From fragments of tombs discovered in the building there can be but little doubt it was a chapel, and from its position that it was the Carmelite chapel; if so the female bones go far to prove that the tradition is correct describing this establishment as a nunnery.

† Froude's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 469.

closing of the religious houses must have been severely felt in a small community such as Pembrokeshire, and though when these properties passed into lay hands the evil may have been partially remedied, there can I think be no doubt that the dissolution of the monasteries was one of several concurrent misfortunes which tended to drag down the foreign colony in West Wales from riches to poverty.



IMPRESSION OF THE SEAL OF THE PREACHING FRIARS, FROM A MATRIX FOUND AT MONKTON AND NOW IN THE TENBY MUSEUM.

CHAPTER XX.

ODIUM THEOLOGICUM.

John Leland visits Pembrokeshire—His journey from Whitland to Lamphey—Carew Castle—Pembroke Town and Castle—Manorbier in ruins—Tenby—Coal-pits—Pembrokeshire Islands haunted by Pirates—Red deer at Llawhaden—Roche Castle—Fall of Cromwell—The Six Articles—Division of the Monastic Lands in Pembrokeshire—Bishop Barlow yields up the Manor of Lamphey to the Crown, by whom it is granted to Richard Devereux, Lord Ferrers' heir—St. Mary's College dissolved—Barlow translated to Bath and Wells—His family—Robert Ferrar succeeds to the See of St. David's—Formerly a disciple of Anthony de la Bere—Joined Barlow in the Scotch Mission—Was Cranmer's Chaplain—Thomas Yong leads a coalition against Ferrar—Charge of "Folly" brought against the Bishop, who was found guilty and thrown into prison, when the Marian persecution commenced was tried by the Ecclesiastical Commission sitting at St. Mary Overy for Heresy—Sent to Carmarthen—Tried by Henry Morgan, found guilty, and handed over to the Civil power—Is burnt—Legend as to Corpse Lights—Morgan nominated Bishop—William Nichol burnt at Haverfordwest—Deprivation and death of Henry Morgan—Thomas Yong elected Bishop of St. David's.

IT is a relief to quit the storm tossed region of controversial theology and join John Leland in an achæological excursion he made through West Wales some time between 1538 and 1544. The worthy antiquary's *Itinerary* may be divided into two portions, one of which was compiled from information imparted to him by others, the second and more valuable series of notes being the result of his own personal investigation. In these latter he throws so much light on the state of Little England that it will be well to give the short journal kept by him during his tour in South Pembrokeshire.*

Folio 70.—From Whitland passing toward Llanfeth, half a mile out of Whitland, I passid over the litle Broke of Marleis, and so continuing my journey by meane Hills and Dales came to Llanfeth, wherby the Bishop of St. David's hath a place of Stoone after Castel Fascion, stonding on . . . . Brooke that goeth to the salt water by Pembroke. Betwixt Whitland and Llanfeth is xii. Walsche miles, conteining about 18 English miles. Al the way betwixt Whitland and Llanfeth is almost hethy, yet on everi side sumwhat distant I saw in vallies and on hill sides good corn. But the ground is sumwhat baren of Wood as al Pembrokeshire almost is except wher a few Parks be. But the ground in various parts of Pembrokeshire bereth se coles wherewith communely the people make fier with firres, as they do also about Cairmardine, though there be better plenti of wood. Bi one of these cole pittes, being four miles from Llanfeth, I came. Also almost in the middle way betwixt Whitland and Llanfeth I saw a place on the right honde, as it wer a castel, distant by estimacion a iii. miles, and within a ii. miles of Llanfeth on the Right Hand I saw the Castel of Carew, repairid or magnificently buildid by Rhese ap Thomas. It stondeth by a creke of Milford Haven.

At Lamphey John Leland rested. Whether Bishop Barlow was at home or not we do not hear; if such was the case there can have been but little in common between guest and host, between the gentle antiquary whose pilgrimage was induced by a disinterested love for the past, and the iconoclastic hot gospeller Barlow, who appeared to rejoice in the destruction of everything that had been venerated by his forefathers. From the text it would seem that Leland performed the journey from Whitland to Lamphey either alone, or under the charge of

* The title of Leland's *Itinerary* runs as follows:—The | Laborious Journey and Serche of | John Leland | for | England's Antiquities. | Given by hym as a Newe Yeare's Gyfte | to King Henry the VIII. in the XXXVII. | yeare of his Rayne. | Begun about 1538 sparing nothing | Labor nor costes by the space of these VI. | yeres past.

a Welsh guide unable to speak English. After passing Marlas he seems to have passed to the eastward of Narberth, making no mention of that town, though there can be little doubt that the castle he saw three miles off was that of Narberth. In that part of his account of Pembrokeshire which is apparently compiled from hearsay evidence, he writes :—

Folio 28.—Narbarthe, a litle preati Pile of old Syr Rhese's, given unto him by King Henry VIII. Ther is a poore Village. Narbarth (in the statute called Herberthe)* Lordship cummeth almost from Est or Lower Gledy, and so by Est, nere onto Whitland, where Tave water divideth it from Cairmairdinshire. By Narbarth is a little Forest caulled Narbarth Forest. Griffith Nicholas, grandfather to Syr Rise, boute it of the Duke of York, but after loste.

The coal-pit which Leland passed must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Cresselly. Leland was obliged to pass to the eastward of Carew in order to cross the water. His mention of the castle is but brief; still it seems probable that he inspected the interior. From Lamphey he proceeded to Pembroke.

Pembroke standith upon an arme of Milford, the which about a mile beyonde the towne creketh in so that it almost peninsulateth the Toune that standith on a veri main Rokki ground. The toune is well waullid and hath iii. gates by Est, West, and North, of which the Est gate is fairest and strongest, having afore it a compasid Tour not rofid in, the entering whereof is a Portcolys *ex solide ferro*. The Castel stondeth hard by the waul on a hard Rokke, and is veri large and strong, being doble wardid. In the utterwards I saw the chaumbre wher King Henri the VII. was borne, in knowledge whereof a chymmeney is new made with the armes and Badges of King Henri VII. In the botom of the greate stronge Tower in the inner warde is a mervelous vault called the Hogan. The Toppe of this round Towr is gatherid with a Rose of Stone almost *in conum*. The top whereof is keverid with a flatte mille stone. In the toune be two paroshe chirchis, and one in the suburbe. Montain, a cell of Blakke monkes in the suburb, is suppressid. The toune hath bene well build, and the Est suburb hath bene almost as great as the Toun, but now is totally in ruine.

This last statement of the ruinous condition of the east end of Pembroke in the middle of the 16th century in interesting, and may in part be attributable to the abolition of the Palatinate. From Pembroke Leland returned to Lamphey.

Cumming from Llanfeth towarde Tinbighe I rode by a ruinous waulle of a Parke, sumtime longging to Syr Rhese, now voide of Dere. In the Parke is veri litle or no hye woode, but Shrubbes and Fyrris like as is in the ii. Parkes about Carew waullid with stones. The chirch of St. Florein and Tounlet is in a Botom by the Parke. A litle beyond this, as more then half way betwixt Pembroke and Tinbigh, apperid the Castel of Mainor purhe, a mile of on the righte hande. It standith as it were betwixt to pointing Hillettes, betwene the wich the Severne Se gulfith in almost the length of a quarter of a mile. Thens to Tinbigh.

In his notes elsewhere Leland again refers to Manorbier.

Mansio Pirrhi is now communely cawlled Manober, a Towne of Housbondry, the Parsonage whereof is impropered to Christe's College in Cambridge. The Ruines of Pirrhus Castel there; many walles yet standing hole do openly appere. This place is iii. miles fro Tinbigh and almost as much from Pembrook, but not in the Hyeway, for it standith nere the Shore of the Severn Se, and against this Towne, or betwixt yt and Tinbigh, lyeth Inis pir, *i. e.*, Insula Pirrhi, *alias* Caldy.

From the above it would appear that Manorbier Castle was ruinous at the period of Leland's visit. He seems to have passed along the Ridgeway to Park Walls, looked down across the old deer park on to St. Florence, then turned off to visit Manorbier.

Tinbigh Town standith on a main Rokke but not veri hy, and the Severn Se so gulfith in about hit that at the ful Se almost the third part of the toun is inclosid with water; the toun is strongeli waullid and well gatid, everi

* Stowe omits these words.

gate having his Port collis *ex solide ferro*. But that gate that ledeth to Cairmairdin ward is most semeliest, as circulid without with embattled but open rofid Tour after the Fascion of the East gate of Pembroke. Without this gate is a pretti suburbe. In the middes of the toun is a faire Paroche chirch. The Toun itself lakketh fresch water whereof *utuntur importata*.

In the other series of notes our author writes respecting Tenby.

Folio 26.—Tinbigh ys a waulled Towne hard on the Severn Se yn Pembrookeshire. There is a *sinus* and a Peere made for Shyppes. The Towne is very welthe by Marchaundyse. But yt is not very bygge, having but one Paroche chyrche. One thinge is to be merveled at, there is no Welle yn the Towne yt is said, whereby they be forced to fesh theyre water a S. John's withowt the Towne.

As Tenby stands on mountain limestone water has always been a difficulty. It seems to have been introduced by pipes sometime in the 17th century. The well referred to by our author is that by the side of the road in Windpipe Lane. So late as the reign of Charles II. Tenby Pier was the only one existing in South Wales.

From Tinbigh I went to the cole Pittes on a Hille toppe ii. miles of, not far from the Severne shore, and a good mile beyond them I roode through a Wood not veri greate but yet the fairest that I remember that I saw in Pembrokeshire. Thens I entered again into Whitland way.

John Leland then appears to have left the county. The coal-pits he inspected must have been those in Road Wood, and the fair wood was no doubt a remnant of the forest of Coedrath. Leland's Pembrokeshire notes are chiefly topographical, but in the hearsay portion besides notices of Narberth, Manorbier and Tenby, already quoted, we find other interesting matter; for instance, we are informed that the islands of the western coast of Pembroke were uninhabited.

Propter piratas et celi inclementiam . . . . . Ramsey conteineth iii. islettes, whereof the Bishop of St. David's is owner of the greatest, the Cantor of St. David's claymeth anyther, the Archidiacon of Cairmairdin the third. . . . . In Dueglevi be few or none notable buildings.* By Llauwhadain was a forest of redde deere caullid Lloydarth. Dewysland was bare of wood and meately plentiful of barlycorne, and reasonably of al other corn. Roche Castel longed to Lord Ferrers and old Langeville Knight of Buckinghamshire.† It is without fail in Rouseland.

In 1539 the overbearing Lutheran party at last went too far. King and country turned against them. Cromwell paid the penalty; as he had meted unto others so it was measured

* Picton castle seems at this period to have been of slight account.

† Roche Castle is said to have been erected by Adam de Rupe, founder of Pill Priory. Referring to this place Fenton, page 147, writes:—"At what time it was inhabited I never could learn, but it must have been prior to the reign of Henry the sixth, about which time the great possessors of the family of De la Roche, the lords of this castle, fell between co-heiresses, one of whom married Lord Ferrers, the other Sir Thomas Longeville, who soon after sold the property." There must be some mistake in the above, for from Leland's note "old Langville, Knight of Buckinghamshire," was part owner about 130 years after the death of Henry VI., while it is certain that Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, did not marry into the De la Roche family. In the year 1864 the Cambrian Archæological Association visited Roche Castle, on which occasion Mr G. T. Clark described the ruin to them in the following words:—"It is built on one horn of a double upburst of igneous rock, and consists of a D shaped tower with prolonged sides, and may be of the reign of Henry III., or more probably early in the following one. The tower floor was probably a barrack, although filled up to one quarter of its area by a mass of rock *in situ*, which must have been very inconvenient. A straight staircase marked by some broken steps and the rake of the loops led from the floor past a gard-robe to the front floor and the chapel. The principal room occupied the square part of the floor with three large openings to the west, north and east. South of this was a second room, and beyond this was an oratory, which consisted of a small vaulted ground chamber, occupying a projection from the south, or convex face of the tower. Above it is another such chamber vaulted, but now inaccessible. The floors seem to have been of timber. Each stage had a fire place. The stairs were enclosed in the thickness of the wall, but the inner shell had fallen. The exterior door had no portcullis, but was some little height from the ground. Certain bonding stones in the tower indicate that it was at one time intended to enclose the other portion of the rock in a kind of court, but that had never been carried into effect. At the foot of the rock are a double bank and ditch enclosing a base court or paddock. There are certain Tudor windows and other later alterations. "The Tudor windows would lead us to suppose that the tower was inhabited in Tudor times, as described by Leland, whose concluding remark seems to hint of a claim set up by Barlow to the ownership of this fortress."

unto him. But Barlow, whose influence had proved so fatal to his chief, by trimming craft, and cat-like luck so characteristic of the man, escaped disaster. A strange dual committee was directed to draw up a scheme of Church discipline, in which both parties were equally represented. On the Protestant side was the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely and St. David's, and Sir William Petre. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, with Dr. Tregonwell, were the delegates of the Romanizing Conservative party. Each side handed in a report, and the rival schemes were laid before Parliament; a long discussion took place, the result being that the Estates of the Realm utterly rejected the Lutheran report and supported the reactionary Catholics, whose scheme became law and is known as the Six Articles. They were as follows:—

1. In the Eucharist there is no longer bread and wine, but the natural body and blood of Christ.
2. That communion in both kinds is not necessary.
3. That priests may not marry.
4. That vows of chastity ought not to be dispensed with.
5. That the uses of private masses ought to be continued.
6. That auricular confession is expedient, necessary, and to be retained.

Those who spoke, preached or wrote against the first article were to be burned as heretics; nor were they permitted to save themselves by recantation. Men preaching or obstinately disputing the other five were to be hanged as felons. Men casually speaking against them were to be imprisoned. Married priests were forthwith to leave their wives, or hang as felons, the wives to suffer the like penalty. Men speaking disparagingly of, or absenting themselves from confession, or the sacrament of the altar, were for the first offence to suffer fine or imprisonment, for the second to hang as felons. This ferocious law was passed at Westminster on the 28th of April, 1540, and Thomas Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill July 28th the same year.

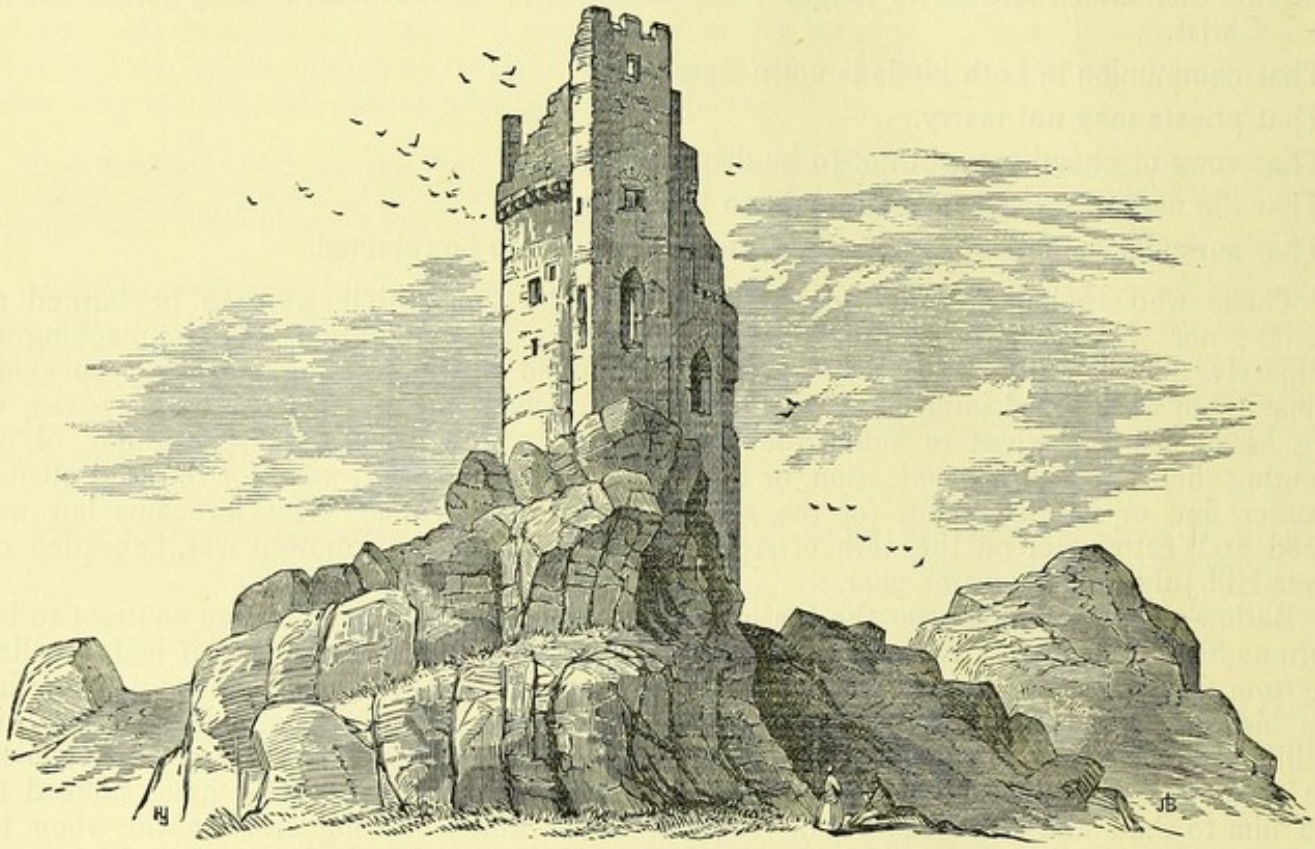
Barlow's coming home after the session of 1540 must have been a strange contrast to his return as bishop in 1536. Then he came back in triumph to rule over those who had expelled him from the diocese two short years before; now he returned after ignominious defeat, with all a bishop's responsibilities, but lacking necessary authority to maintain discipline in his rebellious diocese. Pope's men, King's men, Anglicans and Catholics, all were his enemies. One of those old Lutheran sermons which were the joy of his heart would have sufficed to send him to the stake without power of recantation. A stolen meeting with the wife whom he appears to have dearly loved might have condemned both to a felon's death. His life's work was undone. Those superstitious usages which to him appeared unspeakably dreadful were again protected by law. In the day of his power Barlow rode roughshod over the sentiments and prejudices of his people; now in his adversity he was surrounded by enemies and spies; yet he held his own: though the man had rendered himself so detestable that even to this day his name is a bye-word in the diocese, it is impossible not to sympathise with his indomitable pluck.

While Bishop Barlow's interest at court was declining, his brothers, Roger and Thomas, were reaping a golden harvest. As already stated, Roger Barlow had served under Lord Seymour, the king's brother-in-law, of whom Latimer said "the Admiral was a man furthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England."* If a bad man Lord Seymour

* Latimer's *Sermons before King Edward.*

seems to have proved a good friend, for we can scarcely doubt that it was rather by his aid than the Bishop's that Roger Barlow built up a great estate in Pembrokeshire out of the spoils of the Church.

The lesser monasteries appear to have remained in the hands of the Crown for some years after their dissolution. According to Fenton* Christ's Well (Cresswell) was granted to Roger Barlow 35 Henry VIII. The same year John Bradshaw obtained the Benedictine House of St. Dogmael's with a clear income of £87 8s. 6d.,† and purchased Caldy Island and its Priory from Government‡ valued at £5 10s. per annum. In 1545 an act was passed giving the property of all colleges, free chapels, chantries, hospitals, fraternities and guilds to the king to be dealt with by the Court of Augmentation. We find the Benedictine Priory of Monkton



ROCHE CASTLE.

was granted to John Vaughan and Catherine his wife. The value according to Speed was £113 2s. 6d., to Dugdale, £57 9s. The next year Roger and Thomas Barlow obtained the house of the Black Canons with lands £133 11s. 1d. (Speed), or £135 6s. According to Speed the Benedictine foundation at Pill £52 2s. 5d. clear, and the Black Friar's House within the walls of Haverfordwest, of which the value is not stated. Their most valuable acquisition was undoubtedly the Slebech property. A commandery of the Knights Hospitallers had been founded in this place soon after the establishment of the Order, in the 12th century, though

* *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, page 274. Where he obtained his information concerning this obscure foundation I cannot say, perhaps from the Barlow papers to which he had access.

† Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.

‡ George Owen's *History*, cap xii.

the exact date and the name of the founder seems to be lost,* The Commanders of Slebech filled some of the highest offices under the Crown and Earls of Pembroke. The value of this property according to Tanner, was £211 9s. 11d. or £184 10s. 11d. per annum clear. It is impossible to trace out who were the fortunate purchasers or donors of the various small hospitals and chantries.† The College of St. Mary, at St. David's, was spared for the present. While Roger and Thomas Barlow were thus occupied in acquiring church lands, their brother William, the Bishop, was dealing with the same form of property, but after a fashion neither profitable or pleasant to himself. As we have seen partly from greed, partly from the fanatical hatred he bore to Menevia Barlow had, so far as in him lay, ruined the episcopal palaces built by his predecessors at St. David's and Llawhaden. This piece of Vandalism did not affect his personal comfort, for Lamphey, his favourite residence yet remained intact, but in 38 Henry VIII., when the scramble for church lands in Pembrokeshire was at its height, some one among Barlow's numerous enemies drew attention to the fact that the Bishop of St. David's was living in concubinage.‡ There can be little doubt that his companion was Agatha Welbourne, who like a true woman, disregarding the ferocious six articles, danger and shame, had returned to her husband's side in these his evil days. When this matter was reported to the king His Majesty's tender conscience was shocked; but it was intimated to the Bishop pardon might be purchased. If Barlow was prepared to cede his palace and manor of Lamphey to the Crown then his irregularities might be overlooked. The result was that William by divine permission Bishop of Menevia, of his own free will by consent of the precentor (Thomas Lloyd) and the chapter of St. David's, for certain sufficient reasons and considerations, gave and yielded to that excellent prince and lord, Henry VIII., by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, and in the land of England and Ireland supreme Head of the Church, his lordship and manor of Lamphey with all its appurtenances.

The king forthwith granted the same to Richard Devereux, Esq., eldest son of Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, that same gentleman with whose displeasure the Bishop had been threatened in Cromwell's days.§ Richard Devereux did not long enjoy his acquisition. He attended the coronation of Edward VI., when he was created Knight of the Bath and died the same year, 1547. There can be little doubt that Barlow's cession of Lamphey to the Crown was involuntary.‖

At two o'clock in the morning of January 28, 1547, Henry was gathered to his fathers, and the boy Edward reigned in his stead. Lord Hertford was nominated Protector of the Realm and created Duke of Somerset, while his brother the Admiral became Lord Seymour of Sudeley. This was important news for Pembrokeshire Churchmen. The party which advocated revolution in clerical affairs was again in power, and their Bishop doughty as in Cromwell's day. Availing himself of this welcome change Barlow proceeded to London and preached one of those "sincere" discourses for which he was famous, at Paul's Cross. Concerning this sermon Gardiner wrote to the Protector: "If my brother of St. David's may

* Dugdale ascribes its foundation to Wizo and Walter his son (presumably from Wiston); but Fenton, who had access to the Slebech documents, professionally as barrister and privately as a friend of the then proprietor, John Symmons, Esq., considered that Wizo and Walter were benefactors not founders. Mr Symmons pulled down the old house when he built the modern mansion early in the present century, and since that date the church has been most unfortunately destroyed.

† We find from Lewis Dwn that in 1597 the Hospital of St. John, near Tenby, was the property and residence of the Recorde family, but it by no means follows that they were the immediate successors of the brethren.

‡ *Men. Sac.* 1 p. 76. § See p. *ante* 252.

‖ Among many other evil deeds Barlow has been accused of jobbery in this transaction, because Richard Devereux was his godson. How this could have been it is difficult to see, for when that gentleman died in 1547 he left four children, so he himself is not likely to have been christened later than say 1524, many years before Barlow was in Pembrokeshire. The bishop's godson is more likely to have been Richard's son Walter, who subsequently became the first Devereux Earl of Essex.

like a champion with a sword in his hand make entry for the rest, the door of license is opened." This was about two months after Henry's death. What little remnant of property still appertained to the ecclesiastical corporations was confiscated by the Crown this same year, and St. Mary's College at St. David's disendowed and ruined, a foundation so useful and harmless that it had found favour even with Barlow.*

Adam (Houghton), Bishop of St. David's, and John of Gaunt, with his wife Blanch, perceiving that the service of God was ill performed in the cathedral of St. David's, which had been formerly metropolitan, because there were few priests who could sing well, founded a chapel or chantry of one master and seven priests by way of a college, who were to reside there continually and serve God, on the north side of the said church. And the said bishop built them houses and a cloister, between the cathedral and the chapel; and for their maintenance assigned them the right of patronage of churches in his diocese, St. Ismael and Longonore, acquired of the aforesaid Duke of Lancaster and Blanch his wife; the church of Malios of the noble Guido Berjenan; the church of Haroldston near the sea in Ros, of Master John the Lord of Haroldston; and the church of Nevern in Kemeys, of Nicholas Audely Lord of Kemeys; then patrons of the said churches, He also made statutes and ordinances for them, the purport whereof was, that the master and priests should live in community; that they should at their admittance swear to observe these statutes, that they should daily sing all the hours, and high mass; say certain prayers for the dead, and say their private masses; that they should be clothed like the vicars of the cathedral, and perform divine service there on certain days; that none should be absent from any part of the divine service without leave, and upon some very lawful occasion, and that none of them should go into the town of St. David's, or into a tavern or ale-house, without leave of the master, or with one of his brethren, and upon some very lawful occasion; and if the master or any priest were convicted of incontinency, he should be severely punished the first time, more grievously the second, and be expelled the third without hope of ever being restored; the same if any be quarrelsome or insufferable; and that the precentor of the cathedral and master inquire every week or fortnight into the misbehaviour of the priests, and correct the same, and if the precentor be absent, sick or negligent, then the treasurer do the same; that they be all modestly clothed alike once a year, none of them to wear any dagger or long knife; one to be monthly chosen steward of the house; that the master be chosen by the brethren; that they pay reverence to the canons of the cathedral; that no women be ever admitted to serve in their house; that one of them be chosen sacrist to take care of all belonging to the chapel; that £40 be laid up in the common chest under three keys; and all above the said £40 and the maintenance of the master and chaplains to be at the disposal of the bishop for increasing the number of chaplains; and that the master receive all the revenues and be accountable yearly to the bishop; and that the common seal be kept under three seals as well as the money.

Such is the account given by Dugdale of this hard worked and hard disciplined fraternity, the last surviving monastic establishment in Pembrokeshire.

The translation so ardently desired by Bishop Barlow came at last. In 1548 he was appointed to the see of Bath and Wells. When the Marian persecutions commenced Barlow, who was not formed of the material from which martyrs are made, escaped to Switzerland, from whence he returned in time to assist at the consecration of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, and in recognition of this service Queen Elizabeth translated our Bishop to Chichester, where he died and was buried, though no monument to his memory exists in the cathedral. During his residence in Pembrokeshire Barlow carried on a life and death struggle with the Catholic party, and though it seems very doubtful if he succeeded in converting a single Papist, most assuredly he succeeded in weakening the ties that bound West Wales to Rome. But in exposing superstition he made religion itself ridiculous. Barlow's Lutheran plough broke up the country and the land lay fallow awaiting that blood of martyrs which we are told is the seed of the Church.

Mistress Agatha's matrimonial troubles were set at rest by the repeal of the six articles in 1547. She lived to see her husband installed at Chichester, her five daughters established as wives of their five episcopal spouses, and her son William seated in a prebendal stall at Winchester. This latter talented man was chaplain to Robert Devereux (1), Earl of Essex. He turned his attention to magnetism, and was the first

* See page *ante* 252.



St MARY'S COLLEGE.

English author who treated of the loadstone. He greatly improved the mariner's compass, and was the first who made the inclinatory instrument transparent and pendant. William Barlow, junior, died in extreme old age at Easton, near Winchester, in 1625. Roger Barlow was to have attempted the discovery of the north-western passage, and three men-of-war were ordered to Milford Haven for that purpose; but the death of King Henry and perhaps the cares of landed property interfered with the expedition, which fell through.* He settled down quietly and founded a county family which for many generations resided at Slebech. What Roger's religious convictions may have been it is impossible to say, but his descendants were ardent Catholics and held the memory of Bishop William in but slight esteem. The Bishop's great nephew, John Barlow, whose property was confiscated for loyalty to Charles I., writes of his ancestor as follows :—

William Barlow, my grandfather's youngest brother, Canon Regular and Prior of Bisham, was the first Protestant bishop who, contrary to the Canons of the Apostles, violated his faith, assumed a wife, and being given to sensuality, drunkenness and lasciviousness, broke his vow by contracting matrimony with a lady abbess named Agatha Wellsburn, who lived in a nunnery not far distant from his priory in Norfolk. See the fruits of the new gospel! In St. David's he raised down the great hall of the palace, the leads whereof he sold; and the manor of Lanfey, the chief house of the bishopric, he passed away to his godson.†

The commandery and the old church have both disappeared, but in a crypt under the modern church are preserved certain monuments, among which is to be found that figured by Fenton and ascribed by him to Roger Barlow.‡ Thomas Barlow, the brother and partner of the above, retired to Oxford, where he appears to have spent his time in writing polemical tracts.§ The fortunes of this family have been traced at length, since they considerably influenced the history of Little England. William Barlow introduced that turn of religious thought which now prevails. Roger Barlow founded a great family, and his blood yet runs in the veins of some of our best born men.

On Barlow's translation to Bath and Wells, the Protector nominated Robert Ferrar as his successor to the See of St. David's. The new bishop, who was by birth a Yorkshire man and in some way connected with Lord Ferrers.‖ He had been one of the Canons of St. Mary's, Oxford, and in early life was mixed up with Anthony de la Bere (1526) in the dissemination of Protestant books at Oxford, for which he was said to have been condemned to do penance; this however he denied. He was moreover associated with Barlow in the Scotch mission and was Cranmer's chaplain; so from the first it must have been evident to all concerned that Ferrars' policy in his diocese would be identical with that pursued by his predecessor; he therefore inherited that legacy of hatred which had been accumulating during Barlow's episcopate. In personal character the two men greatly differed. Robert Ferrar seems to have been a kind hearted gentleman. indued with common sense to a considerable degree, but not remarkable either for learning or eloquence. As an honest, straightforward man, he considered that the temporalities as well as the spiritualities of his See were a sacred trust;

* Fenton, p. 292.

† MS. of John Barlow, 1640, lent by Hon. C. Greville to Fenton, and printed by him in his *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 471.

‡ *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 294. § Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

‖ On a tombstone in the church-yard to the south-east of St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, is the following inscription :—"Here lieth the body of Ferrar Howell, the son of Robert Howell of Trenewydd (Newton) in Pembrokeshire, gent., lineally descended from Dr. Robert Farrar, Bp. of St. David's, who was of the family of the Ld. Ferrars of Rutlandshire, and in the reign Qn. Mary died at the stake in this town of Carmarthen a Martyr for our Best Reformed Religion, Aug. 5th, 1722. For the Comfort of Parents our Holy Mother declares in her Rubric, 'tis certain by God's Word that children baptised dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved."—Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, p. 202. Notwithstanding the assertion made in this epitaph, I have failed to connect Lord Ferrers in any way with the county of Rutland. He owned Wakefield and Sandal Parks and the four parks of Middleham in Yorkshire, which Walter Earl of Essex sold for £5200 in 1576 to cover the expenses of his Irish adventures.

but probity of conduct actually increased his unpopularity. For very evident reasons William Barlow could not afford to look too closely into the peculations of his subordinates, so Ferrar became actually more odious that his predecessor. A coalition was formed against the bishop, the Catholic party allowing Thomas Yong,† the Protestant precentor, to lead the opposition. So long as the Protector was in power the bishop managed to hold this combined party in check, but when Somerset fell in 1551, the fact that Ferrar had been a favourite of the fallen ruler was sufficient to make him odious in the eyes of Northumberland. It was perceived by his enemies that this would be an excellent season to strike the Bishop of St. David's; to accuse him as a Protestant under Edward VI. would be useless, even if Yong's friends consented, but to point him out to Northumberland as a financial reformer might serve their purpose, and would be agreeable alike to the Catholic and Protestant party at St. David's. One of the most extraordinary charges ever trumped up against an innocent man was framed. Robert Ferrar was indicted of Folly. "It was declared that he neglected books and preaching, and spent his time in surveying the lands of the See and opening up mines; that he was not hospitable as a bishop was bound to be, but dined at the same table as his servants; that his talk was not of godliness but of worldly matters, such as baking, brewing, inclosing, ploughing, mining, millstones, discharging of tenants, and the like. To declare his folly in riding he useth a bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurs, a Scottish pad, with a little staff three-quarters of a yard long. Moveover, he said he would go to Parliament on foot, and to his friends dissuading him and alleging that it was not meet for a man in his place, he answered, "I care not for that, it is no sin." Having a son, he went before the midwife to the church, presenting the child to the priest and giving the name of Samuel, with a solemn interpretation of the name; appointing two godfathers and two godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his son a monster and himself a laughing stock. He daily useth whistling of his child, and saith he understood his whistle when he was but three years old, and being advertised of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered that "they whistled their horses and dogs, they might also be contented that I whistle my child," and so whistleth him daily, friendly admonition neglected. In his visitation, among other surveys he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a seal fish tumbling, and he crept down to the rocks by the water's edge, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, persuading the company (that laughed fast at him) that he made the fish to tarry there. Speaking of the scarcity of herrings he laid the fault to the covetousness of fishers, who in time of plenty took so many that they destroyed the breeders. Speaking of the alteration of coin, he wished that what metal soever it was made of, the penny should be "in weight worth a penny of the same metal."

It seems incredible that any answer should have been required to such trash; but the feeling of the Government was against the bishop and he was called on for his defence. He replied that he "dined with his servants because the hall of the palace was in ruins," and for their comfort he allowed them to eat in his room; for his hospitality he appealed to the neighbourhood, and for his conversation he suited it to his hearers. He talked of religion to religious men; to men of the world he talked of honest worldly things with godly interest." He could see no folly in having his horse decently appointed; as to walking to Parliament, it was indifferent to him whether he walked or rode. God had given him a child, after lawful prayer, begotten in honest marriage; he had therefore named him Samuel, and presented him to the minister as a poor member of Christ's Church, it was done openly in the cathedral without offending any one. The crime of whistling he admitted, thinking it better to bring up his son with loving entertainment to encourage him to receive afterwards more serious lessons.

† Thomas Yong was born at Hodgeston, near Lamphey.—George Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, cap. 23.



PART OF THE PALACE FROM THE NORTH EAST.

He had whistled to the seal, and such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. He had said that the destruction of the fry destroyed the take of fish because he believed it to be true.*

To his eternal disgrace Thomas Yong, Precentor of St. David's, drew up this scandalous accusation. Surely never before or since was such a foolish charge of folly brought into court, but it answered its wicked purpose, and Bishop Robert Ferrar was thrown into prison by the Royal Commissioners.† Who administered the See during Ferrar's seclusion is not very clear, probably Precentor Yong. Ferrar lay in prison until the King's death and the reactionary religious persecution instituted by Queen Mary. In December, 1554, Parliament re-enacted the statute *De Heretico Comburendo* originally passed for the suppression of Lollards under Henry IV. and legislative powers were restored to the Church. In January, 1555, an ecclesiastical court sat in St. Mary Overies Church, Southwark, with Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, Bonner Bishop of London, Tunstal of Durham, and Heath Bishop Worcester, at the table as inquisitors. The Bishop of Rochester, Sir Richard Southwell, Mr. Secretary Bourne, and others stood at the table's end. The Bishops of Gloucester and St. David's, with Rogers a Canon of St. Paul's, were summoned to appear before this tribunal. On February 4th Ferrar was brought into court.

The Lord Chancellor thus addressed him :—

GARDINER: "Now, sir, have you heard how the world goes here?"
FERRAR: "If it please your honour, I know not."
GARDINER: "What say you. Do you not know things abroad though you are a prisoner?"
FERRAR: "No, my lord, I know not."
GARDINER: "Lo, what a froward fellow this is!!"
FERRAR: "If it should please your lordship, how should I know anything abroad being a prisoner?"
WINCHESTER: "Have you not heard of the coming in of the Lord Cardinal?"
FERRAR: "I know not my Lord Cardinal, but I heard that a cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."
WORCESTER: "I pray your lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."
WINCHESTER: The Queen's Majesty and the Parliament, have restored religion to the same state it was at the beginning of the reign of our King Henry VIII. Ye are in the Queen's debt, and her Majesty will be good to you, if you will return to the Catholic Church."
FERRAR: In what state I am concerning my debts to the Queen's Majesty, in the Court of Exchequer, my Lord Treasurer knows, and the last time I was before your honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath, never to consent or agree, that the Bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm, and further I need not rehearse to your lordship you know it well enough."
BOURNE: "You once abjured for heresy in Oxford."
FERRAR: "I did not."
BOURNE: "You did."
FERRAR: "Never. It is not true."
BOURNE: "You went from St. David's to Scotland."
FERRAR: "I did not."
BOURNE: "You did."
FERRAR: "I never did, but I went from York to Scotland."
BOURNE: "Ah, so I said, you went with Barlow."
FERRAR: "That is true, but never from St. David's."
BOURNE: "You carried books out of Oxford to the Archbishop of York."
FERRAR: "I did not."
BOURNE: "You did."
FERRAR: "I did not, but I carried old books from Oswald to the Bishop of York."
BOURNE: "You supplanted your master."
FERRAR: "I never did in my life."
BOURNE: "By my father you did."
FERRAR: "I did not, never in my life; but I did shield and save my master from danger, and I obtained it from King Henry VIII. for my true service. I thank God for it."

* See Froude's *History of England*, vol. vi., p. 338. † Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

BOURNE: "My lord, he has as ill name in Wales, as ever any man had."
FERRAR: "That is not so, whoever saith so shall never be able to prove it."
BOURNE: "He hath defrauded the Queen in several sums of money."
FERRAR: "That is utterly untrue, I never defrauded King or Queen, of one penny in my life and you shall never be able to prove what you say."
WINCHESTER: "Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up, for previously he knelt, and said,

"No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King Henry VII. I served King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. truly, and have served the Queen's Majesty truly with my poor heart and word, more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be by the grace of God."
GARDINER: "How sayest thou, wilt thou be reformable."
FERRAR: "My lord, if it please your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry VIII. and to King Edward VI. and to the Queen's Majesty, which I can never break while I live, were I to die for it."
DURHAM: "You have made another oath before?"
FERRAR: "No, my lord, I never made another oath before."
DURHAM: "You made a vow."
FERRAR: "I did not."
DURHAM: "You made a profession to live without a wife."
FERRAR: "No, my lord; if it please your honour I never did. I made a profession to live chaste, but not without a wife."
WINCHESTER: "You were sworn to him that was head of your house."
FERRAR: "I never was."
WINCHESTER "Well, you are are a froward knave, we will have no more to do with you. We will be short with yon, and you shall know within this week.
FERRAR: "I am as it pleases your honour to call me, but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave example, which confirmed my conscience. I can never break that oath whilst I live."
DURHAM: "Well he stands upon his oath; call another."
THE LORD CHANCELLOR then rang a little bell.
FERRAR: "I pray God save the King and Queen's Majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and comfort, and to the comfort of the whole realm, and I pray God save all your honours," and so departed.

Such is the account given by Foxe of this remarkable trial, for surely it was a remarkable one, even though it was held before an ecclesiastical court in the 16th century. Robert Ferrar was sent to Carmarthen, and on the 14th of February, 1555, brought before Henry Morgan, Chancellor of Llandaff, a native of Dewisland, who appears to have acted *pro tem.* as Bishop of St. David's, as he was consecrated to that See the following year. Henry Morgan, though a zealot, seems to have been at heart a gentleman; he intimated to Ferrar that in case he would submit himself to the laws of the realm all would be well. Ferrar demanded to see Morgan's commission and declined to answer. Then he was thrown into prison until the 28th, on which day Morgan sent him certain interrogatories in writing. Ferrar still declined to answer until he saw a lawful commission. Then Morgan pronounced him contumacious and dealt with him as though he had pleaded guilty, remanding him until the 4th of March. On this day Ferrar submitted to Morgan's authority and humbly asked for a copy of the articles requiring an answer, and a competent time to answer them, this was granted him; he was given until the next Thursday. The articles were to the following effect:—

1.—That he required him, being a priest, to renounce matrimony.

2.—To grant the natural presence of Christ in the Sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

3.—That the Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

4.—That the General Councils lawfully congregated never did or can err.

5.—That men are not justified before God by Faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

6.—That the Catholic Church which alone has authority to expound the Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible and like to a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand.

When this document was offered to Ferrar for subscription he positively declined to sign, affirming that these dogmas were invented by man and pertained not to the Catholic faith. Then Morgan handed him a copy of the articles, and gave him until the following Monday for further consideration. On the Monday Ferrar handed in a written refusal. Morgan again remanded him until Wednesday, warning him that on that day judgment would be given. On the Wednesday Morgan demanded whether Ferrar was prepared "to renounce and recant his heresies, schisms and errors, and to subscribe to the Catholic articles. Ferrar replied by again challenging Morgan's authority, and appealing to Cardinal Pole. From Foxe's description it would seem on this Morgan lost his temper (it must be remembered that Ferrar had already admitted his jurisdiction), and forthwith pronouncing him to be an excommunicated heretic, ordered that he should be delivered to the secular power for execution.

Griffith David Leyson, Principal of St. Edward's Hall, Oxford, a pervert from Protestantism, Morgan's personal friend and successor at Llandaff, was High Sheriff for Carmarthenshire. To one visiting him while in prison the Bishop offered to test the truth of the Protestant faith by the degree of patience under torture granted to him by heaven in the day of his trial. "Note," said he, "if you see me writhe, and if so, give no credit to the doctrine I have upheld at the cost of life." On Saturday, March 30th, Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, was led out to die. Mr. Sheriff refused the prisoner permission to address the spectators, so he was forthwith chained to a pole, which was fastened into a stone socket; then wood, or more probably furze, being piled round he was burnt to death. Ferrar stood perfectly still in the midst of the flames until "one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head and struck him down." Was Richard Gravell simply a savage ruffian, or was his blow in truth a *cóup de grâce?* According to Foxe this hideous scene was enacted "in the Market Place at the south side of the Market Cross." In Speed's map of Carmarthen (1610) one cross is marked in Priory Street as standing between the Priory and St. Peter's Church, and a second nearly opposite the main entrance to the Castle in what is now called Nott Square. A pillory is figured by Speed alongside of this cross, so there can be little doubt it was the place of punishment, and near this spot stood for many years the stone socket which supported the stake to which the martyr was chained. This stone was removed to Lammas Square when the cross was destroyed, and in 1843 fixed as a finial on to the spire of Abergwili Church.* The same year a tablet was affixed to the walls of St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, on which is inscribed the words:

Sacred to the memory of Robert Ferrar, D.D., Bishop of St. David's, burnt in the Market Place of Carmarthen, 30th March, 1555, for adhering to the Protestant religion.
"The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance."—Psalm cxii., v. 6.
This monument was erected A.D. 1843, as a tribute of pious respect to the memory of the Martyr'd Bishop of this Diocese.

When the bishop lay in prison he was consoled by the visit of a friend as stated above. This gentleman was Mr. Richard Johnes of Cwmgwili, son of Sir Thomas Johnes of Abermarlais, first knight of the shire for the county of Pembroke; nor was this the only friendship contracted by Ferrar among the well-born members of his flock, for we find his children marrying with some of the best families in West Wales, and if he failed to found a county

* Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, p. 17.

family as did the Barlows, the reason appears to be that his son Samuel, whom he had asked of the Lord, died without issue, probably in infancy.* But it was not only his equals who were impressed by Ferrars simple life and tragic death. The fishermen of Tenby, the miners of Begelly, the farmers of Castlemartin, remembered with a pitiful regret a bishop whose discourse varied so strangely from what prelates were wont to say. This man told no impossible legends of saints, as did the Catholic Churchmen; nor did he confuse their brains with senseless jargon of the Divinity schools, but spake of matters within the cognizance of each: he advised the fisherman to observe a close season if he desired a plentiful catch; he bade the farmer drain his sour water-logged land; the miner found that the bishop could calculate the out-put of a coal-pit more closely than could his captain; so these simple folk being superstitious canonized the murdered bishop after their own fashion, inventing miracles for the glorification of his memory. They told with bated breath how the martyr prayed to God, if in very truth his profession and sacrifice was acceptable to heaven that the Almighty would give a sign, and that the sign might be that when the Angel of Fate marked a man for death a phantom torch might traverse the road by which the yet living body should be borne to its resting-place.† They told how Divine vengeance dogged the steps of Henry Morgan, the martyr's unjust judge, and how at last nature refused longer to sustain his murderous carcass, so that he miserably starved in the midst of plenty.

Hugh Rawlins, a prior, probably a relative of the old bishop's, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to George Constantine, Archdeacon of Carmarthen, had busied themselves to destroy the bishop. The following year Henry Morgan was formally consecrated Bishop of St. David's. We hear no more of the theological war until 1558. Queen Mary, who fancied herself with child, when disillusionized came to the conclusion that her disappointment was sent as a manifestation of God's wrath against England, in that the rulers allowed heretics still to dwell within the realm. An edict went forth that human sacrifices should again be offered to offended heaven. Now it happened there was at that time living in Haverfordwest a poor half-witted creature, who amused himself by delivering orations at the street corners to mocking boys. These discourses very frequently assumed a theological form, and as their crack-brained author naturally preferred to be in opposition to the authorities, were as Protestant as Barlow himself could have desired. Bishop Morgan was directed to choose a burnt offering, so he selected this poor man. In April, 1558,

> William Nichol in Haverfordwest
> Was tryed with their fiery fan.‡

Thys William Nicol (says Foxe) was so simple a good soule that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was we know not, but thys we are sure of—he dyed a good man and in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruell and tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance therefore if it be hys blessed will. Amen and Amen.

Formerly a stone stood in the High Street, Haverfordwest, near its junction with Dark Street, and about fifty yards below St. Mary's Church. This stone is reported to have marked

* Bishop Ferrar's last surviving child and heiress married Lewis Williams, Rector of Narberth, from whom the Williams's of Ivy Tower were descended.

† Howel's *Cambrian Superstitions*, p. 6. The belief in corpse lights, called by Welshmen "Canwyll corpt," is still prevalent in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. Whether the origin of this superstition was the reported prayer of Robert Ferrar as related by Howel it is impossible to say, but I can find no reference to this earlier than the 17th century, and but one out of West Wales. Sacheverell in his *Account of the Isle of Man* states that Captain Leather, Chief Magistrate of Belfast, in 1690 related that when he was shipwrecked on that island and lost thirteen of his crew, he was told thirteen corpse lights had previously been seen travelling from the shore to the church-yard.—Brand's *Antiquities*, vol. iii., Bohn's edition. Pembrokeshire folks still (1887) see corpse lights, but seem to have lost sight of the traditionary origin of these manifestations.

‡ Bryce's (Ap Rhys?) *Select Poetry*, published by the Parker Society.

the spot where William Nichol suffered martyrdom. For some unknown reason the Town Council removed it about forty years ago, and the late Mr. Lloyd-Philipps of Dale Castle, in order to preserve the stone, purchased it from the workmen, and fixed it on his lawn, where it now remains. This stone has no socket, nor is there any trace of the action of fire on its surface.

On the 16th of November, 1558, the Queen died of fever, to be remembered as "Bloody Mary" so long as English is a spoken tongue. Parliament met in January, 1559, and passed "An Act for restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and civil." On May 15th the Lords Spiritual were summoned before Queen Elizabeth, reminded of the law lately passed, and invited to conform thereto and retain their Sees; as a test they were required to take the oath lately enacted in the Supremacy Statute. This they declined to do, and were in consequence deprived, Henry Morgan of St. David's among the rest. He retired to Godstow House, near Oxford, the residence of his friend, R. Owen, where he died the following December of some affection of the stomach. He left his scarlet chimere* to Mrs. Mary Owen, and certain legacies to Morgan Philips of Oriel College, Oxford.† He was buried at Wolvercot. Thomas Yong, Ferrar's Protestant persecutor, was then elected to the vacant See. He was Precentor of St. David's, a Prebend of Brecon, and Rector of his native parish of Hodgeston, all of which he held *in commendam* with the See.‡ He was translated the following year to York, and Richard Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph, took his place.



ROBERT FERRAR, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

* The upper robe to which a Bishop's lawn sleeves are attached. Since the time of Elizabeth these have been of black satin, excepting when assembled in Convocation or attending the Sovereign in Parliament.

† Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

‡ Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, p. 331.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LORDS OF LAMPHEY AND CAREW.

The Devereux Family—Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers Chief Justice of South Wales, obtains some of Rice Griffiths's lands—Is a reformer, not a bigot—Barlow sponsor to his grandson Walter—Lamphey, home of the Devereux family—Lord Ferrers created Viscount Hereford—Perrots of Haroldston—Sir John Perrot, illegitimate son of Henry VIII., received by Edward VI., imprisoned under Mary for harbouring heretics at his house in Wales, created Governor of Carew Castle, carried Canopy of State at Elizabeth's Coronation—Walter Devereux succeeds his grandfather as Viscount Hereford—Marries Lettice Knollys and is created Earl of Essex—John Perrot made President of Munster—Essex and Perrot unfriendly—Perrot resigns and retires to Carew—Essex volunteers for service in Ireland—Agreement with the Queen—Cabals against the Earl—Cruel warfare—Troops without food—The agreement revised—Earl and Queen quarrel—Governorship of Ulster cancelled—Massacre on Rathlin Island—Countess of Essex and the Earl of Leicester—Essex returns to Wales, sells land to pay his debts, is created Marshal of Ireland and returns to Dublin, where he dies—Suspicions of poison—Body landed at Pwlhelli and buried at Carmarthen—The Earls will—Robert Devereux Earl of Essex enters at Cambridge—Expenses there—Goes to Court—Lady Penelope Devereux marries—Lord Essex takes his degree—Resides at Lamphey—Gilly Meyrick—Sir John Perrot commands a fleet, is accused by Thomas Wyrriott of Orielton, and acquitted—Is then accused by Griffith White of Tenby, and again acquitted—Appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland—Lady Dorothy Devereux clandestinely marries Sir Thomas the Lord Deputy's son Sir Thomas Perrot—Leicester takes command of the Army in Holland—Essex, General of the Horse, present at Zutphen—Expedition returns—Essex appoints Meyrick Steward of his Household—Sir John Perrot's rule in Ireland—He insults the Queen and is recalled—Retires to Pembrokeshire and rebuilds Carew Castle—Exchanges Pill Priory for Haverford Priory with Barlow of Slebech—Essex joins Drake's expedition to Portugal—Walter Devereux and Meyrick present—The Earl marries clandestinely Frances, daughter of Walsingham and widow of Sir Philip Sydney—Receives the command of a force sent to aid Henry IV.—Walter Devereux and Meyrick present—Walter killed before Rouen—Elizabeth recalls Essex, but allows him to return—The Siege of Rouen—Essex returns—Funeral of Walter Devereux—Goods borrowed from Carew Castle—Sir John Perrot arrested on a charge of treason, and claims to be tried by Peers of the Realm—The claim disallowed—He is found guilty and committed to the Tower—Sir John Perrot condemned to death—Elizabeth refuses to sign warrant—Perrot dies in the Tower—Inventory of his goods at Carew Castle—Essex appointed Governor of Carew—Sir Thomas dies—George Devereux and Gilly Meyrick knighted at Cadiz by the Earl—Lord Howard created Earl of Nottingham and Lord Steward of the Household—Earl of Essex Earl Marshal of England—Essex opposes the peace party—His apology—His quarrel with the Queen—Appointed Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland—His instructions—A disastrous campaign—Concludes a truce with Tyrone—The Queen's letter—Essex deserts his post—Interview with the Queen—Arrested, tried by the Court of Star Chamber, and pardoned—The Queen refuses to see him—His conspiracy, trial, and execution—Gilly Meyrick tried, convicted, and hung at Tyburn—Bearing of these matters on the History of Little England—Cryptogram on a window in the Temple.

WHEN the Kymric renaissance perished with Rice Griffith in 1531, Sir Walter Devereux, K.G., assumed the leadership of West Wales. He represented a very ancient and distinguished family, and was connected by marriage with the best blood in England. On his shield he quartered the arms of

Devereux,	Bourchier,	Woodstock,	De Bohun,
Milo,	Mandeville,	Louvain,	Woodville,
Crophull,	Verdon,	Bigod,	Mareschal,
Ferrers,	Chester,	Quincie,	Blanchmain.*

Sir Walter was descended from Robert D'Evreux (second son of Count Rosmar and Mantelake), who with his elder brother Edward, followed their relative the Conqueror into England. Edward was rewarded for his services with the Lordship of Salisbury and took therefrom the name of De Sarisburie. His branch of the family died out in the 13th century. Robert D'Evreux, the younger brother, settled in the Marches of Wales, and his descendants not

* See *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 3.

only distinguished themselves in the stirring events which were constantly occurring in that unhappy district, but took part in very many of those contests which made England great. One D'Evreux was slain at Evesham fighting against Henry III.; another was present at Crecy; a third died by Richard's side on Bosworth field. But perhaps the sons of the house of Devereux owed more to their noble ancestresses than to the valour of their doughty sires. Sir Walter Devereux *temp.* Richard II. married the heiress of Crophull, Vernon and Bigod; his grandson, that Sir Walter who was slain at Bosworth, married the heiress of Lord Ferrers of Chartley, whose son John Devereux, Lord Ferrers, married Cicely heiress of the noble houses of Bourchier and De Bohun, their son being that Sir Walter who was the first of his family interested in the county of Pembroke.

Following in the steps of his forefathers Lord Ferrers devoted his life to the service of king and country. So conspicuous was his gallantry in the naval engagement fought off Conquet in 1523 that he was rewarded with the Garter and the Chief Justiceship of South Wales. When the Pembrokeshire property of Rice Griffith was dispersed after the death of the latter, a portion fell to Lord Ferrers, though the Perrots of Haroldston seem to have obtained the lion's share. Lord Ferrers married: first, Mary daughter of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had a son Richard, with other children; at her death he espoused Mary daughter of Robert Garnish, Esq., of Kenton, Suffolk, and left issue; from this second family Lord Hereford is descended. The nobility with that conservatism which has ever been a characteristic of their caste, were unfavourably disposed to the new religion,* but the Devereux family proved an exception to the rule, and were interested on the reformers side before Henry bribed the great landowners with Church spoils. Lord Ferrers and his son Richard Devereux were not however hot-headed enthusiasts, and they offered Barlow no encouragement during his ill-judged campaign. Indeed Mr. Gryffyth ap Owen and Mr. John Lewis (Treasurer of St. David's), the sworn chaplains of Lord Ferrers, were "plaintiffs" against Bishop Barlow, and among those who threatened him with Mr. Richard "Devourax" displeasure.† Sir Richard Devereux married Dorothy, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, and had issue Walter, George, Elizabeth, and Anne. It has been asserted on the authority of a MS. note written by John Barlow of Slebech,‡ that William Barlow stood sponsor to Richard Devereux; but dates make it improbable, for since William Barlow first appeared in Pembrokeshire as Prior of Haverfordwest about 1533, and Richard's son Walter was born at Carmarthen about 1540, it seems more likely that the future Earl of Essex was godson to the iconoclastic bishop; if so, the feud was not very bitter, Chaplains Lewis and Ap Owen notwithstanding. For many years the old episcopal manor house was the home of the Devereux family, and it was from thence they acquired such an influence over Pembrokeshire men.§ In February, 1547, Richard Devereux attended the coronation of King Edward VI., and was then dubbed Knight of the Bath. He did not long enjoy the honour, as he died the same year. In 1550 Edward created Lord Ferrers Viscount Hereford. How the Devereux family fared during the

* The women as usual were on the side of conservatism, romance and the Catholic faith, and Randolph wrote "too many of the Lords kept their promises only so far as their wives would have them."—Froude's *Reign of Elizabeth*, vol. i., p. 248.

† See Barlow's letter to Cromwell, MS. Cott. Cleop. E iv., coll. 262.

‡ "The manor of Lamfey, the chief house of the bishoprick, he passed away to his godson."—Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 432.

§ Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick in a note under "Llamffaey," in Lewis Dwn's *Heraldic Visitation of Wales*, states that the great hall, which was 76 feet by 20 feet, built by the unfortunate Earl of Essex, stood on the eastern side at right angles to the gateway. It was stormed and destroyed in the Civil War. Where Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick obtains this information I know not, but it seems to be probably true, if he means the unfortunate Earl Walter; in Robert's time George Devereux was practically owner, and he is not likely to have built.

short and bitter reign of Queen Mary we do not hear, but as they were powerful and popular most likely mother Church winked at their heretical proclivities.

If the Devereux of Lamphey assumed the first place in South Pembrokeshire society, the Perrots of Haroldston certainly ranked second. Thomas, son of Sir Owen Perrot, joined Sir Rhys in welcoming Henry VII. when he disembarked at Dale in 1485, and so became a *persona grata* at Court. Late in life he married Mary daughter of James, second son of Maurice, Lord Berkeley, a professional beauty whose charms fascinated King Henry VIII., and who about the year 1527 bore that monarch a son, subsequently famous as Sir John Perrot the Lord Deputy of Ireland.* The youth known as John Perrot was brought up in the establishment of the Marquis of Winchester, and on one occasion yielding to the uncontrollable temper (which was the bane of his life) fell out with two yeomen of the Royal Guard. This *fracas* came to the king's ears, who forthwith sent for the culprit, inquired concerning his name and kindred, and promised him protection. Possibly Henry recognized his son,† or it may be that a word was spoken in the royal ear by the young scapegrace's nominal uncle Robert Perrot, tutor to the young Prince.‡ John Perrot was made a Knight of the Bath at Edward's coronation, and attached to an embassy which shortly afterwards was despatched to Paris. While in France he distinguished himself by killing a wounded boar which charged one of the courtiers at a royal hunt. Becoming embarrassed through his extravagant habits he returned to England, when the king, his half-brother, relieved him from his troubles. After Edward's death Sir John retired to Haroldston, for though Queen Mary was well disposed towards him, no member of the Reformed Church could hope for advancement in her Court. To Sir John's eyes, fresh as they were from French and English palaces, Haroldston appeared but a mean cottage, and Jestynton the old family home, a mere guard-room. He looked round for a more suitable house. Carew Castle seemed best to meet his requirements. When Rice Griffith was attainted this place fell into the hands of the Crown. Perrot applied for the keepership of the royal castle, and the matter was under favourable consideration, when one Gadern or Cathern§ informed against him, "that he did harbour certain heretics in his house in Wales." The accusation proved to be true. Alexander Nowell, subsequently Dean of Lichfield, Robert Perrot, brother to the late Sir Thomas and tutor to the late king, Master Banaster and others were protected and concealed by Sir John. On this charge Perrot was sent to the Fleet prison, but shortly afterwards discharged by order of the Queen. He then obtained office under the Earl of Pembroke (Lord President of Wales), and his application for the governorship of Carew was renewed. The Earl received orders to purge Wales of heretics, and he deputed Sir John Perrot to examine the three counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan, but the doughty knight absolutely refused to have lot or part in this campaign of persecution. The Earl was exceedingly annoyed, and a bitter quarrel broke out between the cousins.‖ When the Queen heard of Perrot's refusal to act as commissioner she declined at first to consider his renewed application for the governorship of Carew, but at length agreed to refer his petition to the Privy Council. As the Earl of Pembroke and the Bishop of Winchester were members of this body, perhaps Mary deemed Sir John would have

* Sir Thomas Perrot is remembered as the introducer of pheasants into Pembrokeshire. These he brought from Ireland and turned down near his house of Haroldston.—George Owen's *History, Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 164.

† Sir Thomas Naunton who married John Perrot's grand-daughter, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, writes: "If we compare his (Perrot's) picture, his qualities, his gesture, and voyce, with that of the king, whose memory yet remains among us, they will plead strongly that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal."

‡ Barnwell's *Perrot Notes*, p. 40.

§ Presumably one of the Catherns of Prendergast Place, near Haverfordwest.

‖ The Earl's mother was sister to Mary Berkeley.

but a sorry chance; if so she was mistaken, for Pembroke notwithstanding the recent quarrel, so strongly backed up his cousin's request, that Gardiner was out-voted and Perrot at last obtained Carew Castle. It seems likely that Cathern's information was laid about 1555, when Bishop Ferrar was executed at Carmarthen; and perhaps Lord Pembroke's crusade was in 1558, when the half imbecile Nichol was sacrificed at Haverfordwest and the poor fisherman White burned at Cardiff.

Queen Mary's death put an end to the persecution of Protestants, and Perrot immediately became a prominent figure about Court. He was one of the four bearers appointed to uphold the canopy of state over Queen Elizabeth at her coronation. In this same year (1558) died old Lord Hereford, who was succeeded by his grandson. The young lord was about eighteen years of age, and at once became a royal favourite. Some four years later he fell in love with Lettice, daughter of that Sir Francis Knollys who had married Anne Boleyn's niece. This attachment was not agreeable to her majesty, and when the young folks married they were obliged to withdraw from Court and retire into private life. The Queen greatly disliked her cousin's daughter. Scandal of the day declared jealousy of Leicester was the cause, for "Leicester loved the Earl's nearest relation better than he did the Earl."* The Queen loved Leicester and therefore hated her second cousin Lettice, and with a strange inconsistency disliked Lord Hereford because he had married her. But in the dangerous troubles that were raised by Mary Queen of Scots in 1569, Hereford did good service for Elizabeth, who then, like the sensible woman she was, forgave him his bad taste in admiring her light of love cousin Lettice. As a reward for these services he received the Garter on St. George's Day, 1569, and was created Earl of Essex in the May following. In the year 1572 Sir John Perrot accepted the Presidency of Ireland, the reason he was selected being perhaps, that as a Pembrokeshire man he was considered locally fitted for the unenviable post. The men of West Wales originally conquered this most undesirable appanage of the English Crown, and of late Pembrokeshire had been overrun by an incursion of Irishry, so that its rulers must necessarily have some acquaintance with their ways. Perrot landed at Waterford on the 1st of March, and seems to have succeeded fairly well in his government; but at home a cabal was formed against him, and one of his enemies was Walter Devereux, Lord Essex, who seems now to have taken up his residence at Lamphey. Sir John was unpopular in Pembrokeshire although nominally the head of one of the oldest families he continually boasted of his bastardy, and the neighbours neither forgave that or his blustering manner. Perrot was also one of Leicester's friends, so the Earl of Essex may be forgiven if he listened eagerly to tales told to Sir John's discredit. The cabal rendering his position untenable, Perrot resigned the Presidency of Munster and again took up his residence at Carew.

In 1573 Essex volunteered for service in Ireland. At this time the O'Neils of Ulster were in arms under Brian McPhelim; they had sacked and burnt the town of Knockfergus and overran the whole province. Essex went to Ireland not as a commander under the Crown, but as an independent leader making a war of conquest on a barbarous country with the assent and assistance of the Queen of England. According to the agreement which is in the State Paper Office, and is annotated by Lord Burghley, his bargain with government was as follows:—

1st.—The Queen granted to the Earl the moiety of the County of Clandeboye (that is to say, County Antrim, excepting the district lying between Dunluce and the Bann, known as the Rowte, and a hilly tract called the Glynnes).

2nd.—The Earl surrendered his claim to 800 marks, land which had been left by Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, to his niece Isabel, wife of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Essex. Bourchier exchanged these with Edward IV. for

* Fuller's *Worthies*.

certain manors which had been forfeited by the Earl of Ormonde. But during the minority of Bourchier's grandson, and in the reign of Henry VII., Ormonde was restored to all his land, while the Crown did not give back Mortimer's land to the Bourchiers.

3rd.—The Earl was to set sail for Ireland before Michaelmas with a force of 200 horse and 400 foot, which he was to maintain at his own cost for two years. The Queen was to provide a like number which were to be under his command. After two years time, if necessary, these respective forces were to be raised to 600 each.

4th.—All fortifications were to be maintained at the joint cost of Queen and Earl.

5th.—The Earl was to have timber, &c., and pay no customs or dues for seven years.*

The Earl was a poor man in want of ready money, so the Queen advanced him £10,000 for three years on the security of the following lands:—

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE:			
The Manors of Newington, Clifton, Brirfield, ...	annual value	£62	0 0
ESSEX:			
The Manor of Tolleshunte Bourchier	,, ...	50	0 0
,, Potting and Russheby	,, ...	50	0 0
,, Old Hall and Bourchier's Hall in Tollesbury	,, ...	66	13 0
,, Tollesbury Wood, called Bourchier's Park	,, ...	20	0 0
,, Hallingbury Bourchier.....	,, ...	73	0 0
,, Swaynes in Wivenho.....	,, ...	8	0 0
,, Bakers in Goldanger.....	,, ...	12	0 0
PEMBROKE:			
The Lordship and Manor of Monkton.....	,, ...	120	0 0
,, ,, Burton	,, ...	20	16 0
,, ,, Langorne	,, ...	23	9 0
		£505	18 0

The terms of the mortgage ran that the Earl was to pay £1000 on the 1st of August, 1574, for the interest on the £10,000 lent, but if he made default then the Queen was to take a manor of the annual value of £50, and if the Earl did not pay off the £10,000 in the second year then he was to pay another £1000 interest on the 1st of August, 1575, or Her Majesty was to have another manor. In case the Earl did not pay off the £10,000 on or before the 1st of August, 1576, then the Queen took all the lands mortgaged. As if this were not strong enough the Earl gave a bond for the £10,000 extendible to all lands in his possession. Verily good Queen Bess, or her advisers, knew how to make a bargain. In accordance with this agreement it was arranged Essex should hold a commission from the Queen as Captain-General of Ulster, but the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, Sir William Fitz Williams, naturally objected to the formation of an independent command, and he petitioned the Queen against it, in which course he was backed by the Earl's indefatigable enemy Leicester, the result being that Essex received a commission from the Lord-Deputy as Governor of Ulster. This was a bad beginning. Essex had to work under a man whom he had good reasons to believe would prefer to see him fail. Lord Essex's doings in Ireland are foreign to the work in hand. Suffice it to say that he fought the Irish savages in their own fashion savagely; he the gentle nobleman did not scruple to put prisoners of war to death, burn crops, lay waste the country, and commit all the cruelties known in barbarous warfare.

So early as March, 1574, Essex discovered that he was a ruined man. He wrote to the Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain and the Earl of Leicester, that he was short of men, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Pale would not serve, and pointed out that since he had been

* *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 26.

made Governor of Ulster, if the soldiers lying in Newry and Dundalk had victuals five days together they wanted them for twenty, and the victualler confessed this was done by orders. Indeed, unless the troops had been relieved with fifty barrels of herrings, sent by a servant of the Earl, they would have abandoned the place and run away, for during twenty days before they had received neither bread, drink, fish or flesh, but were driven to beg for their food, pledging arms, pieces, and clothes to buy bread. To make matters worse when Essex relieved them with these herrings they considered that it had been his duty to find provisions and were mutinous because be had treated them so badly. The money was all spent, and though the Earl declared he would not give in while he had a foot of land left, yet that land was so encumbered by his mortgage to the Queen that purchasers for it could not be found except at a ruinous loss. He begged that he might be permitted to surrender his grant of Antrim, only bearing the cost of 100 horsemen, and be allowed to purchase the Isle of MacGuy (containing about 3000 acres) for £500, which money should be spent on fortification. In case this offer proved unacceptable to the Queen the Earl prayed Her Majesty to take land from him to the value of £250, and release him from his bond during his son's minority, in case of his (the Earl's) death. If the Queen would agree to this then Essex stated he was prepared to go through with his adventure at any cost, but he warned the Queen that unless men were sent "Ireland shall greatly be an unquiet country."* Essex received a gracious answer from Elizabeth accepting his first offer, stipulating only that the Isle of MacGuy should be surveyed before the bargain was closed, "whereby some mean rent may be allotted out in acknowledgment of sovereignty." The Lord-Deputy too was warned to aid Essex in his undertaking. Not content the Earl then tried to cry off from his bargain, saying that they had mistaken him, for he was not so simple as to give up the half of Clandeboye, and the money he had laid out (at least £12,000) for a piece of land incident to the adventure only of one hundred horse. The Queen was much offended, and the result was that his commission as Governor of Ulster was cancelled.

The practical result of the expedition had been very small. An Irish chieftain was occasionally captured and forced to swear allegiance, but when freed he promptly broke the oath taken under compulsion. Then there was a slaughter of savage kernes, and the game began all over again. Essex admits nearly as much in a letter to the Queen written from Dublin, and dated this last of March, 1575:—

> And now having no longer soldiers to govern, I have also resigned the government of Ulster, having I trust the testimony of his Lordship, and all your Majesty's good subjects here, that during my remaining in that office I have with your force and my own industry kept your Pale northward from invasion, your English subjects from slaughter or loss, and the Irish such as were well inclined from the tyranny of the rebel, yea and the very rebel himself, in fear of his utter overthrow, as might appear from his continual suit for peace. These things in so dangerous a time as when arms were in a manner universally taken up in Munster and Connaught and in some parts of Leinster, were thought here to be good service, and so I do assure myself your Majesty doth take.

Elizabeth had a great personal regard for Essex, and was of course much to blame in not affording him greater aid, but still it is doubtful if his service ever satisfied her, for she was a hard mistress, expecting to reap where she had not sown, and as a rule her expectations were justified. Relieved from anxieties of office the Earl turned his attention to the improvement of his Irish property. How that was accomplished will be seen from an extract of a letter written by him to the Queen from Drogheda, July 22, 1575:—

> In my return from Clandeboye, having left all the country desolate and without people, I offered Brian Estagh

* Ld. Essex to the Rt. Hon. the very good Lords, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Earl of Leicester.

to be farmer of that country. His answer was, that as his people were few, his cattle less, and that with striving to defend it from me his husbandmen were starved, dead, or had run out of the country; and considering your Majesty had given it unto me, he would not strive any longer with me, but bade me take it and use it at my pleasure, and desired me to keep my promise with him in the rest, according to his articles. And at this time there is neither he nor any other man in Clandeboye claimeth property in anything, whereby your Majesty may see what this people are when they are roughly handled.

He had pretty nearly eliminated the Irish element, but a still more dangerous foe remained, Certain Scotch colonists, who came across the channel as allies of the Irishry, had made the Island of Rathlin their head-quarters, and from this stronghold Essex determined to turn them out. There were three English frigates at Carrickfergus. The Earl at once seized the opportunity, and in order to put the Scotch off their guard withdrew himself towards the English Pale, leaving 300 foot and 80 horse nominally as a garrison in Carrickfergus, under Captain John Norreys, who on the 20th of July secretly embarked the little force on board the frigates and landed them at Rathlin on the 22nd. He drove the Scotch into their fortifications, and bringing up his ordnance from the frigates made a breach on the 25th. The storming party was at first repulsed, but they succeeded in burning some out-works and killing the chieftain. Before day an offer to capitulate was made by the Scotch, the terms being that their lives and goods should be spared, and transport given them for their return to Scotland. But the soldiers clamoured for blood, so these terms were refused. All that Norreys would promise was life for the constable, his wife and child, and an Irish hostage who was in the castle. These hard conditions were accepted, and 200 Scotchmen, women and children were massacred in cold blood. Not content with this, three or four hundred refugees, who had hidden themselves in the cliffs and caves, were hunted out and butchered. Considerable booty was taken, including 300 head of cattle, 300 sheep, 100 brood mares, and enough standing barley to provision a garrison of 200 men for a year. As has been stated, Essex himself was not present during this fiendish carnage, but from his letter appears to think it nothing more than an act of wholesome severity. Eight English soldiers were killed and eight wounded.

While the Earl was thus watering his young plantation in Ulster with Keltic blood, the Countess was enjoying herself at home after her own fashion. She was one of the guests honoured by an invitation to meet the Queen at Kenilworth, and with Leicester as host no doubt proved a welcome one. Afterwards her Ladyship entertained Queen and Court at Chartley. The Earl had some while before begged for the hereditary Earl Marshalship of Ireland, and had been refused; but now writing from his own house the Queen granted him the office, limiting it to his life. Anxiety began to tell seriously on Essex's health, he therefore determined to return home for awhile, and towards the end of October landed "not far from a house he hath in South Wales."* On making up his accounts he found that in addition to the £10,000 owing to the Crown he had spent not less than £25,470, his original income being something under £5000 per annum. Sick and sorry (for his Countess's behaviour had now become the common talk) he asked for an audience at Court, which was readily granted. It was absolutely necessary that something should be done by way of settlement, so he sold land in Cornwall, Essex, Wilts and Yorkshire to the value of £10,500. The Earl's patent as Masrhal of Ireland passed the Great Seal and received the sign manual on May 9, 1576. The territory of Farney, with that Isle of MacGuy he had so long coveted, were also granted to him. Nothing more remained to keep him in England; besides his wife's behaviour must have made home unbearable, so he set sail from Holyhead and landed in

* This was of course Lamphey. See letter from Walsingham to Burghley.—*Devereux, Earls of Essex*, vol. i. p. 123.

Dublin on the 22nd of July. Essex was received with open arms in Ireland and *fêted* on all sides, but the acknowledgment came too late. On Thursday, 30th of August, a flux attacked him. He seems to have taken no great care of himself, for he travelled about as usual, complaining that he suffered from "grief in the belly," and adding that he "never had hearty grief of mind but a flux must accompany it." The disease took the form of dysentery. All his thought centred on the little children now so soon to be fatherless, and already worse than motherless. He prayed for his daughters, lamenting the time which is so frail and ungodly considering the frailness of women. "God defend them," he cried, "bless them, and make them to fear His name, and Lord give them grace to lead a virtuous life."* Two days before his death he wrote a farewell letter to the Queen, in which he still harps on his poor children. "Since God doth now make them fatherless," he writes, "yet would it please your Majesty to be a mother unto them, at least by your gracious countenance, and care of their education and matches." On the 21st he wrote to his old friend Lord Burghley, to whose care he committed young Hereford. Friday night he spent in praying and singing hymns of his own composing, William Hewes playing the while on the virginals. About ten in the forenoon of Saturday, September 22, 1576, he breathed his last, in the 36th year of his age. A sad ending to a sad life. Rumours of foul play were at once bruited about. Leicester and Countess Lettice were said to have poisoned him. From the evidence that has come down to us the precious pair seem to have been innocent of this crime, though guilty enough in other matters. It is, however, certain that Essex himself suspected "his drink had not been of the best," and longed to get away from Dublin to Lamphey, where he would be able to trust those around him. But it was not granted Walter Devereux again to see his native Wales, though his corpse was borne back to Carmarthen, the place of his birth, in order that it might be interred in St. Peter's Church. The body was landed at Pwlhelli and carried across Wales, a journey that took the bearers forty-six days to accomplish. A funeral sermon was preached by Richard Davies, Bishop of St. David's, on the text: "I heard a voice from heaven saying, blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, forthwith, even so sayeth the spirit, that they may rest from their labours and their works shall follow them."

Lord Essex devised his Pembrokeshire estates as follows:—"The manors of Lantefey, Talbenny, Llangoney, Hodgeston, Maencloghor, and lands in Gildeford," in trust to pay debts and legacies till the heir be 22 years of age. The manor and seignory of Monkton as dower. The trustees to have the parsonages of "Lantefey" and "Worthem" till the heir be 22 years of age. His brother, George Devereux, to enjoy "Lantefey" till the conditions between them be executed; after that he and his wife are to have a pension of £100 a year, and a legacy of £300 a year to George.† The rest of the will refers to his estates in other counties and does not therefore come within our province. Mr. Spurrell in his *History of Carmarthen*, page 38, says:—

A large freestone flag under the arch separating the two chancels in St. Peter's church, used to be pointed out as covering his (the Earl's) vault. It is now hidden by Sir Rhys ap Thomas's altar tomb—(see above, p. 146); in March, 1820, at the burial of the Rev. D. Rowland, the coffin of the Earl of Essex was laid open to view in the chancel.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was not quite nine years old when he succeeded to the title and his diminished estate. To few little boys, even when scions of a royal line, has a wider sympathy been extended. Stung with remorse for the treatment inflicted on his father, England as represented by her best, made Essex forthwith a prime favourite. Her Majesty

* Harl. MSS. 6992, 28. † Lansd. .MSS. 23, 66.

bestowed on the young Earl his marriage, all such lordships and manors in Wales as his father had enjoyed under the Crown, and

> Promiseth remittance of his debt, the Lords do generally favor and further him, some for the trust imposed, some for love of the father, others for affinity with the child, and some for other causes. . . . . There is not at this day so strong a man in England of friends as the little Earl of Essex, nor any man more lamented than his father, since the death of King Edward.*

Walter the second son, seven years of age at his father's death, was considered by the latter as a lad of brighter promise; but of him we know next to nothing. He was slain in a French skirmish in his twenty-second year. The two girls, Penelope and Dorothy, were older than their brothers, and both lived to become celebrated women, though in their case the father's prayer was scarcely answered.

After his father's funeral the little Earl Robert returned with his mother to Chartley, and there remained until the January following (1577), when Lord Burghley took him away to London, the reason probably being that Countess Lettice and Leicester were outraging decency beyond all bounds. The former must have exercised a great fascination over the dissolute Earl, who married her the following year and made a much better husband than she deserved. Burghley entered his ward at Trinity College, Cambridge, in May, 1577, and a very ragged little nobleman he seems to have been, for not only did he himself indite an expostulatory letter in Latin on the subject to his guardian, but his tutor Mr Wright also wrote to Lord Burghley's secretary concerning

> His extreme necessitie of apparel, where you yourself was an eye witness . . . . Other men mervayle that his gret want is not supplied sith the time of the yeare, beside the consideration of his estate doth require gret change. Therfore as yow tender his healthe I pray yow solicite the matter to my Lord Treasourer, for unlesse you doe not only remember my Lord, but see his commaundement put in execution, he shall not onley be thrid bare but ragged.†

Mr. Wright then gives a list of things which he considers necessary for the Earl and a lad named Montgomery who was sent to college with him as a companion.

Ther wants
A faire goune for my L holidaies.
2 Dublets.
Three paire of Hose.
Two paire of nether socks.
A velvet Cap.
A Hatte.
A basin and Ewer.
Potts or Goblets.
Spones.
Plats.
A Salte.
Candlestiks.
} Sylver Plate.
Potts to be given to the College.
Hangings.

MUNGOMERY.

A gonne.
Two paire of Hose.
Two Dubletts.
Two paire of Nether stockes.
A Cap.
} Ther is consideration to be had of him sith he is to be maynstayned as a gentleman, and the place doth require the same.‡

* Waterhouse to Sir H. Sydney.—*Sydney Mem.*, vol. i., p. 147.

† MS. Lansd. 25, art. 48, Brit. Mus.

‡ MS. Lansd. 25, art. 48, Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii., 2nd Series, p. 57.

It is to be hoped that the requsition was attended to, for during the Christmas vacation Essex had his first interview with the Queen. Elizabeth wanted to kiss the lad, an honour he declined. She told him to put on his hat; he refused, but offered himself in all things at Her Majesty's commandment. Queen Bess replied: "Then put on your hat." "He expounded that it should be in all things saving in things to his reproach."* Young Essex was a great success at Court, and seems to have enjoyed himself vastly, tilting and viewing pageants at Westminster and riding to harriers in the suburbs. In August, 1580, he obtained leave of absence from college to attend the marriage of his sister the Lady Penelope, to Lord Rich, an ill-omened alliance. She had been contracted by her father to Sir Philip Sydney, but the engagement came to naught, and she was eventually married to the grandson of the Lord

* In the Lansd. MS., 25 art., 46 (see Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii., series 2), we have a list of furniture, &c., which was supplied to Lord Essex when he went into residence at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1577 :—

THE PARCELLS.

	s.	d.
Imprimis, xx. yards of new grene brode sayes	56	0
Item, the frame of the South Window in the first chamber	6	4
Item, for more glasse in the same	4	0
Item, for forty foote of quarters under the hanginges	2	0
Item, payd to Mr. Bird at my entrance, fee for parcels which appertain his proper bill and acquittance	20	0
Item, two casements with hingells in the South Window	2	6
Item, new hangings in the study of paynted cloth	16	0
Item, for payntinge both chamber and study overhead	5	0
Item, shelves in the study	0	12
Item, a conveyance into the bedchamber out of the study	2	6
Item, a place makinge for the trindle bed to drawe through the waull	0	16
Item, for bordinge a place for fewel and making light into it	6	0
Item, a table in the study	3	4
Item, for the furniture in the little study	0	18
Item, little Irons to hould open the casements with	0	8
Item, my part of the dore betwixt Mr. Forcett & me	3	6
Item, for a rest at the chmniey	0	4
Item, for a foot stoole at the window	0	4
Item, for tow shelves mo in the frame of the study	0	12
Item, a locke and thre keyes to the outward chamber dore	3	4
Item, a table in the bedchamber	2	6

	l.	s.	d.
Summa totalis	7	0	10

(Signed) GERVASIUS BABINGTON.

In the same vol. we have his Tutor's bill from the Feast of St. John Baptist to October, 1577 :—

	s.	d.
Item, for my Lord five pair of shoes	5	0
Item, one pair of winter boots	6	0
For my Lord at the salting, according to custom	7	0
For arrowes for my Lord	2	6
For three frames of wainscot for maps	4	6
For rushes & dressing of the chambers	4	0
My Lords commons for the quarter	54	0
For his Lordship's cisinge	35	0
For his Lordship's breakfast for the quarter	23	0
For meat on fasting nights & times extraordinary	25	0
To the laundress for his Lordship's washing	6	8
For my Lord to the chief reader	2	0
Item, for Ramus' *Logique* with a commentary	0	20
For Ramus on *Tullie's Orations*	4	0
For *Sturmius de Elocutione*	4	0
For *Gremalius de optimo senatore*	2	4
For *Isocrates* in Greek	4	0
For a standing desk for my Lord's studie	6	0
Given for my Lord in reward and where his Lordship hath been entertained	15	0
To the barber for his Lordship's trimming	2	0
For a broad riding hat	8	0
For the carriage of his Lordship's trunk with his apparel from London to Cambridge	2	4
For two dozen trenchers	0	10
For inke & quills	0	6

	l.	s.	d.
Total	45	10	2

Chancellor, but ere long the fair Penelope found a lover better to her liking. With Charles Blount, afterwards Lord Mountjoy and Earl of Devonshire, she lived in open adultery, bearing him children, and this with the connivance of Lord Rich her husband. In July, 1581, Essex took his degree of M.A., and soon after retired to Lamphey; partly perhaps to retrench, for like others he had learned at college how to raise money without applying to his guardian, to whom he now admits that "through want of experience" he had "in some sort passed the bounds of frugality."* It seems probable that Essex was at this period the guest of his uncle George Devereux, for under the late Earl's will George had the use of Lamphey until certain conditions had been complied with, and he was certainly there in 1591. Whether as guest or host this sojourn at Lamphey, which seems to have extended over nearly three years, was perhaps the happiest period in the Earl's eventful life. He used to look back on it with pleasure, nay even regret, and say "he could well have bent his mind to a retired course." The unconstrained liberty and the wild country sports he enjoyed, proved no doubt a great charm to the young man. But in addition to these, the sincere friends he made among his Welsh neighbours added not only then, but afterwards to his happiness and success in life. One devoted friend Gilly Meyrick sealed his love with his life blood. He was the eldest son of Rowland Meyrick, Chancellor of St. David's under Bishops Barlow and Ferrar, against whom, in conjunction with the latter prelate, a writ of præmunire issued in 1549. Rowland Meyrick died Bishop of Bangor in 1565. He married Katherine, daughter of Owen Barrett of Gellyswick and Hasguard in the county of Pembroke. His widow retired to Hasguard with her children. Young Gilly (who by-the-bye was named after his maternal uncle) took to soldiering, and greatly distinguished himself in the Netherlands. He came home to Pembrokeshire while Essex was at Lamphey. Meyrick was the lion of the day. He had just received the grant of a crest—a lion's head couped *argent*, wounded with a broken lance *or*, embrued *gules*, the original being endorsed with the statement that it was given "as a remembrance of his good deserts, and as a demonstration of his prowess and valour." It is little wonder that the young Earl should have sought for the acquaintance of such a gallant gentleman, and when the character of the two men is taken into consideration it was but natural that they should have formed an alliance which lasted through their respective lives. This friendship in days to come produced a wonderful effect on the destiny of Pembrokeshire.

It seems probable that Lady Dorothy Devereux visited her brother at Lamphey. From something that occurred it is not unlikely she was in Pembrokeshire about this time. We must now return to Sir John Perrot of Carew Castle. After Sir John had been ousted from his Presidency of Munster by his enemies, he remained in retirement for some time, from which he was summoned by the Queen to take command of a fleet, which was ordered to cruise off the Irish coast in anticipation of a Spanish landing in that island. Perrot answered the summons by riding from Carew to Greenwich in less than three days, where Elizabeth then pitched her court. While commissioning his fleet Sir John presented a diamond token to Mistress Blanche Parry, a wardrobe woman, perhaps a daughter of that David Parry who lost his head for treason in 1585.† The Queen, in recognition of this act of gallantry, or more likely to express her gratification at his prompt attention to her summons, sent him "a fair jewel hanging in white cypress," with a message that so long as he wore that trinket for her sake he would be free from harm. A valuable promise for he was environed with bitter foes. Thomas Perrot, Sir John's son, accompanied his father in this expedition. No Spaniards however appeared in St. George's Channel, and indeed the sole result of the expedition was that Thomas Perrot was knighted at Waterford by

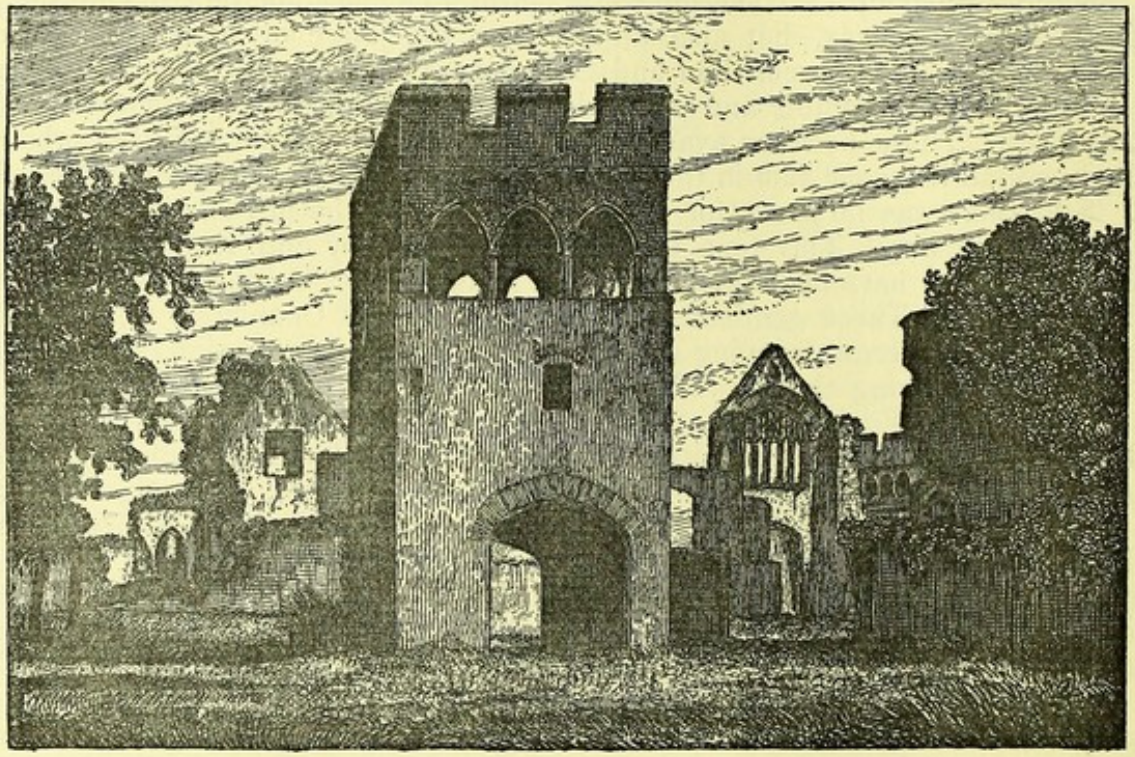
* Lansd. MSS., 36, 12.

† "*Blaens Ap Harri Mawforwyn brenhines Elsbeth.* This is Blanche Parry, maid of honour. Her effigy is in Bacton, Hereford."—Lewis Dwnn's *Visitation.*

Chief Justice Sir William Drury. On their return, the ship in which they sailed struck on the Kentish Knocks and was with difficulty got into Harwich. No sooner did Sir John set his foot on English ground than he was accused of misconduct, but the Queen's "fair jewel" carried him safely through, and he was honourably acquitted, only, however, to be petitioned against by his countryman Thomas Wyriott a cadet of the Orielton family. Again court favour helped him, for the Master of Requests ruled that there was no case. Wyriott, who is said to have been "a headie man," demurred, objecting that the decision was unfair and partial. The Privy Council deemed this contempt and locked Wyriott up in the Marshalsea until he could find bail for good behaviour to the amount of £700. Sir John left his enemy in prison and returned in triumph to Carew, where he suffered from an attack of sweating sickness, an epidemic then prevalent in Pembrokeshire. While still suffering from this disease, the irrepressible Wyriott turned up at Haverfordwest, Perrot's enemies not only having obtained his release from the Marshalsea, but also an order to the judge of assize at Haverfordwest to try all matters pending between him and Sir John. On receipt of a letter from the judge, Perrot rose from his sick chamber and proceeded to Haverford, where he found Wyriott and a host of witnesses. These however availed naught, for Sir John won his case, while Wyriott was fined £1000, an immense sum in those days, and thrown into Haverford jail in default of payment. Still there was no peace for Perrot; so hated was he in Pembrokeshire that a new attack was made on him. This time Griffith White of Tenby and Henllan lead the hostile party, and he seems to have been backed by the Bishop of St. David's, Richard Davies, and other influential men. These gentlemen petitioned the Privy Council to take cognizance of the doings of Sir John Perrot, bringing against him a charge of oppression, and stating he was so powerful and overbearing that no redress could be obtained for wrongs committed by him. Either innocence or the "fair jewel" still stood him in good stead; he was acquitted by the judge, while the prosecutor was committed for slander, and ordered to confess publicly before the judges. Sir John interceded for Griffith White, who was a very old man, and moreover a kinsman of his own, having married his great-aunt Mary, daughter of that Sir Owen Perrot who had fought at Bosworth. After this Perrot had peace for a while.

In 1582 he was consulted as to the best method of suppressing the Earl of Desmond's rebellion in Ireland, and his advice was considered so valuable that in the year following he was created Lord-Deputy of Ireland. Before starting Sir John was visited at Carew Castle by the Earl of Ormonde, who was on his way to Court, but finding Perrot had been appointed Lord-Deputy he felt that his case would be in such good hands that he might save himself the fatigue of a journey to London. Sir John sailed from Milford Haven and arrived in Dublin January, 1583. The Earl of Essex was in residence at Lamphey Court while Sir John Perrot was living at Carew Castle, but on what terms the neighbours lived we do not know. Earl Walter had no doubt been Perrot's enemy; but whether Earl Robert kept up the quarrel it is impossible to say. Five months after the Lord-Deputy sailed for Ireland, Lady Dorothy the Earl's sister was clandestinely married to Sir Thomas Perrot. She was staying with Sir Henry Cock at Broxburne, Herts. Probabilities would lead us to suspect that this match was made in Pembrokeshire. Still it is possible that the young couple might have met in London. Sir Thomas was at Court in 1581, where he acted in a pageant with one Master Cook, the play being performed in the tilt-yard. They were both in like armour, beset "with apples and fruits, the one signifying Adam the other Eve." Which was which we are not informed, but "Eve" had hair hung all down *his* helmet. At the time of the wedding, July 1583, Lady Penelope was between seventeen and eighteen. A strange cleric named Lewis married them, the church being guarded by seven or eight armed men. The key had been obtained from the vicar, Mr. Green, on pretence of holding a commission; but Mr. Green not being satisfied followed, when he found the wedding party assembled. On his pro-

testing, a sealed license was shown by Lewis, but on Green attempting to read it the document was snatched away by the bridegroom, Sir Thomas, who offered him a rial if he would marry them. This he refused to do. Then Perrot ordered Lewis to go on with the ceremony. Green snatched at the book, but was pushed away and threatened with pains and penalties for resisting the Bishop's license. One Godolphin, a friend of Perrot's, accused him of malice and bade him hold his peace. Edmund Lucy, Esq., a friend of Sir Henry Cock, also interfered, but was quickly silenced. Then Lewis went on with the ceremony "without surplice, in his cloak, riding boots and spurs, and despatched it hastily."* Whose displeasure the happy pair feared it is hard to say; whether that of the young Earl, Countess Lettice, Leicester, or may be Her Majesty. The only results of the matter seem to have been that Aylmer Bishop of London was reprimanded for hastily and negligently issuing licenses, and



GATE TOWER OF INNER WARD, LAMPHEY COURT. (FROM "THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE," APRIL, 1820.)

that henceforth there was friendship between the Devereux of Lamphey Court and the Perrots of Carew Castle.

This coalition immensely strengthened the Devereux interest in Pembrokeshire, bringing all the powerful families that were connected with the Perrots under the immediate influence of the Earls of Essex, viz.: the Perrot's of Scotsboro, the Wogan's of Wiston, the Philipps's of Kilsant and Picton, the Jones's of Abermarlais, the Laugharne's of St. Bride's, with many others; most of this preponderating clique followed the fortunes of the second Earl Robert, the Parliamentarian general in the evil days that were to come, a circumstance that tended greatly to weaken the cause of King Charles in West Wales. The young Earl was disturbed in the retirement of his Welsh home by the news that Her Majesty had appointed his step-father to command an expedition against the Spaniards in Holland. Leicester seems at once

* Strype's *Life and Acts of John Aylmer, Bishop of London.* Oxon, 1821.

to have given his step-son an invitation to join him, an offer gladly accepted. A treaty was signed on the 10th August, 1585, in which England undertook to maintain 5000 foot and 1000 horse during the war, receiving Flushing and Brill as a security that the expense should be repaid. Leicester nominated young Essex as General of the Horse, so the latter forthwith proceeded to recruit 500 on his own account, and moved by the honourable vanity of a boy that his regiment should be well equipped, he borrowed £1000. While he was thus employed news came that Government had ordered the captive Queen of Scots to be removed to his house at Chartley, and he forthwith sent a strong remonstrance to his grandfather on the subject. He wrote:—

SIR,—I am so much moved to think my poor and only house should be used against my will, that I make all the means I can to prevent any such inconvenience. The place which should be for the Queen of Scots is neither of strength or pleasure, nor can any way fitly serve that turn, as many places in our country. And one reason which may persuade it to be spared is, that it is the only house of him which must, if that be taken, live at borrowing lodgings of his neighbours. I being wished to so many ill turns as the foregoing of the use of my house, the spoil of my wood, the massing of my little furniture, the miserable undoing of my poor tenants, I cannot but entreat my good friends to be a mean to the contrary, and as a chief of them your honourable self, whose help herein I humbly crave; thus wishing you the continuance of honour and increase of happiness, I commit you to God. London, the 23 Sept., 1585.

Your most loving and dutiful nephew,

R. ESSEX.

To the Honble. my very good grandfather,
Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of Her Majesty's Household.*

This was forwarded by Sir Francis to Walsingham, endorsed with the following marginal note:—

MASTER SECRETARY,—I pray you move Her Majesty to have some compassion of the miserable poor Earl of Essex, who hath but one house freely his own,† from which he cannot well be barred to look unto it; and it is no policy for Her Majesty to lodge the Queen of Scots in so young a man's house as he is. 5th Oct., 1585.

Yours assuredly,

F. KNOLLYS.

Sir Francis's remonstrance was attended to, and Mary remained for the present at Tutbury. Knollys was annoyed with Essex for raising money for his regiment and scolded him accordingly in a letter written from Richmond on the 14th of November, but it came too late. The Earl of Leicester and his young General of the Horse set sail for Flushing on the 10th of December. Gilly Meyrick and doubtless many other Pembrokeshire neighbours and tenants held commissions in the Earl's regiment. These were present at Zutphen, the most brilliant affair in the campaign, an action memorable for the death of Sir Philip Sydney, who lost his life under the town walls. Essex greatly distinguished himself, and was created a Knight Bannaret by his step-father. A dispute having arisen between the Dutchmen and Leicester, the latter withdrew his force and returned to England in 1586. When they reached home Essex appointed his faithful friend Meyrick steward of his household.

As we have seen, Sir John Perrot had been created Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1583, which appointment he held until 1588, but it must not be supposed that all went smoothly during those five years with such a man and such a province. In the first place the Queen considered that his government was too severe. It must indeed have been cruel to draw forth this expression of feeling from Elizabeth, who did not waste much pity on Irish lord or

* Bodleian Library, Farmer MSS., 78, 12.

† George Devereux still occupied Lamphey Court under the late Earl's will.

kerne. Sir John replied with the old complaint that all action in Ireland was paralyzed for want of necessary supplies from England, Then the Lord-Deputy quarrelled with the Lord Chancellor, and finally with the Archbishop of Dublin. In addition to his other amiable qualities Perrot was one of the most foul-mouthed blasphemers of that not very particular age. According to Swift this worthy was the first who swore by "God's whiskers," an oath that afterwards became somewhat popular. It was through his unbridled Billingsgate that the Lord Deputy met his fate. While the opposition faction led by Hatton was endeavouring to oust him from his Irish appointment Her Majesty proved his friend. This clashing of authority led to friendly letters, followed afterwards by others charged with stinging reprimand. In a friendly letter came word that the terrible Armada had started from Spain. Sir John with his usual foolhardy petulance made a speech in the Great Chamber in Dublin. He said the Queen was in a state of hysterical fright through her fear of the Spaniard, and he himself was now "one of her white boys" again. This was no doubt an ill-advised oration. The Tudors did not often become hysterical, and when in that state were better left alone; but the expression Perrot used was not "hysterical fright," but one so foul that a decent costermonger would not now apply it to a street-walking termagant. Through his own evil temper the Hatton faction gained the day. Sir John was recalled and Sir William Fitz William, Earl Walter's old opponent, re-appointed. Perrot returned straight to Pembrokeshire, and seems to have employed his restless spirit in rebuilding Carew Castle. In all likelihood the "North Front" was his work. Fenton and others fancy that as it was crown land he was not likely to have done much; yet it is an indisputable fact that the work was in progress when Perrot was attainted in 1592. However, Sir John did not neglect the family seat at Haroldston. We find that about this period he exchanged Pill Priory and Hubberston with Barlow of Slebech, for the Priory at Haverfordwest and the lands appertaining. This property adjoined Haroldston. It was, as the reader will remember, obtained by the brethren of Bishop Barlow when the religious orders were disestablished.

Leaving Sir John building and acquiring landed property in Pembrokeshire, we must return to the Earl of Essex, who was the while leading a courtier's life in London. A philandering flirtation soon palls on a young man when the lady is more than middle-aged, even if she be a mighty potentate. In April, 1589, Essex ran away from his elderly love and joined an expedition that was fitted out under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norreys, to reinstate Don Antonio as King of Portugal, from which country he had been ejected by Philip of Spain. In this escapade Essex was accompanied by his brother Walter and Gilly Meyrick. They caused considerable annoyance to the Spaniards, but did not succeed in raising the Portuguese, and so returned. The Queen was at first very angry, but after a while Essex made his peace, only however to sin even more gravely; he married (clandestinely) Frances, Walsingham's fair daughter, Sir Philip Sidney's widow. It is not known exactly when the wedding took place, but the eldest child was christened in January, 1591. Elizabeth, who was long suffering, forgave him. Indeed, very shortly afterwards she gratified the great longing of his life. Essex had served in two expeditions: under Leicester in the Netherlands and Drake in Portugal. He greatly desired an independent command. Now Henry of Navarre being hard pressed by the League, applied to the great Protestant Queen for succour, who replied by sending 3000 men under Sir John Norreys to his assistance; but this proved insufficient, so Henry wrote to Essex, knowing the great influence he had over Elizabeth, begging his interest in order to obtain an addition to the force. The Earl straightway sought the Queen and spent two hours on his knees imploring her to give aid to Henry and send that aid under his command. At length she gave way, and promised him the command of 4000 men for a two months' campaign in France. This must have been a busy time in Pembrokeshire, as it was in all the counties where the Earl held land, for the tenants were called on each

to furnish his quota in men towards the war according to the tenure of his lease, and "to expect no friendship after" if he failed: "though my Lord does not wish them to be charged beyond their abilities, but he expects all will be willing to contribute; much more they that are bound by their leases."

Essex sailed from Dover towards the end of July. He was accompanied by his brother Walter, his uncle George, Gilly Meyrick, and other old friends. The main object of the campaign was the capture of Rouen. On the arrival of the English allies Henry summoned Essex to Noyon, from whence the King went eastward, while the Earl returned to Dieppe; this useless marching and counter-marching is described as "so hard that it hath destroyed divers young soldiers." Henry was in command of 4000 French and 3000 Swiss infantry, and 2000 French horse, "the most French gentlemen, so well mounted, and so well armed, as they are able to beat double their number of any entertained horsemen in Christendom." In September Henry sent Marshal Biron and the Duc de Montpensier to co-operate with Essex against Rouen. The commencement of the siege was most disastrous, for Walter Devereux having gone with a strong detachment of horse and foot to reconnoitre, "fell into an ambuscade of shot, placed behind a hedge very near the town, and was stricken through the cheek and so up into the head, whereof he presently died." The Earl was almost distracted with grief. This with an attack of low fever brought him to death's door. He writes to Cecil: "I lost my brother in an unfortunate skirmish before Rouen. I call it unfortunate that robbed me of him who was dearer to me than ever I was to myself. We killed divers of them and lost but two, whereof he was one. When I went I was so weak I was carried in a litter. This cursed mishap took me at great disadvantage, when I had neither strength of body nor mind to overcome my grief." His comrades placed Walter's corpse in a leaden coffin, which they boasted they would carry through the breach into the devoted city by the same road he would have led them had he been alive. Henry wished to draw off part of the force to take Gournay, and Essex agreed in his strategy, but the Queen was obstinate and ordered Essex to return home. This order he did not obey, begging leave for the sake of his reputation to remain with some of his own horse even if the army was withdrawn. Then Gournay was taken and the Earl sent Sir R. Cary with the news to Elizabeth. The Queen was furious, but Cary pacified her, and returned with a comfortable message. However, the Earl and he passed each other on the channel. It was well he did so, for his mistress was still very wrath "Why did not the French king join forces and take Rouen," she wanted to know. "Besides, what business had Essex, who was Her Majesty's Lieutentant and General of the Forces, trailing a pike like a common soldier, as it was reported he did at the siege of Gournay?" Then there was another fool-hardy trick she had heard of. "Was it, or was it not true, that her favourite had gone a hawking in the enemy's country to his great danger?" The Earl pleaded guilty to these various counts, and his queenly, loving, scolding mistress allowed him to return on his promise it should not occur again.

On the 17th of October he returned and found sickness playing sad havoc with his little army. Anthony Bagot writes to Richard Broughton: "Mr. Reynolds and I are all the officers my Lord hath. Mr. Meyrick sycke at Deepe; but four of his gard came with us, and 3 of them sycke." Essex found the army in great disorder, pay in arrear and the soldiers looting the French king's subjects, so they had plenty of meat. Henry admitted he had no means of paying his allies but asked for more men before recommencing the siege of Rouen. Elizabeth was very angry, but Henry managed to soothe her and she sent 1000 veterans from the Netherlands ("double worth any other"), 400 pioneers and 50 miners from England, and towards the end of October Rouen was invested by Essex and Biron. The latter, who is strongly suspected of treachery, delayed matters in every possible way. The besiegers withered away under famine and pestilence, not 1000 English being left, but they fought like lions. Essex

again made a flying visit to London. Henry still deferred aiding the besiegers, while the terrible Prince of Parma was marching to the relief of the besieged. At length Essex gave way to the Queen's desire and prepared to return home. Even Henry himself advised it; so leaving eight companies (which were all he could make out of the remnant of his force) under the command of Sir Roger Williams, the Earl returned to England on the 8th of January, 1592, with a great number of sick and wounded men.

Walter Devereux's corpse had been brought home before his brother's return, the miserable remnant of the little English army seeing no chance of carrying the dead man in triumph through Rouen. We do not know the exact date of the funeral, but it took place in 1591, and after the 12th of November in that year. Essex himself was not present. The corpse was carried by sea to Pembrokeshire, rested at Lamphey, borne thence to St. Peter's, Carmarthen, and laid by the side of Earl Walter. George Devereux was still at Lamphey, and perplexed as to the entertainment of his nephew's mourners. He was indeed obliged to borrow certain things from his neighbour Sir John, to wit, a canopy of black wrought velvet with a black fringe, most likely for the coffin to lie in state under during its stay at Lamphey; a testern for a bed, of cloth of gold and black velvet, with a black gold silk fringe; silk curtains, yellow and crimson; black and yellow arras and arras cushions; a long green carpet; feather beds, bolsters and blankets for eight beds (there were only four pillows); table cloths and napkins in great variety; four pairs of sheets for yeomen, eighteen pewter plates, six saucers, four white candlesticks, two beer pots, and twenty-eight trenchers, &c., &c.* Almost immediately after the funeral George Devereux left Lamphey and took up his residence in Staffordshire. He carried off most of these goods with him to his new house, but for that there may have been a reason. When the beds and other things were borrowed from Carew Sir John was not at home. He was residing with the Lord Treasurer in London, under arrest, awaiting a charge of high treason. The Privy Council had not forgotten him, for among their number was Sir Christopher Hatton, his bitter enemy. Not content with jeering at the Chancellor's dancing, Perrot had seduced and carried off his daughter Elizabeth. It seems likely that he domiciled this "love wife" somewhere in Pembrokeshire, for the daughter she bore him was married to Hugh Butler of Johnston. Perhaps Sir John thought this no great wrong, for Hatton himself was living in concubinage.

Perrot was arraigned before a special commission in Westminster Hall on a charge of high treason, and cross-examined not only as to his words and deeds, but as to his very thoughts, a course allowable under the law of those days. Those filthy words of his anent the Queen were brought up against him, and a letter to a priest implicating him in the Popish plots of the day, a most unlikely charge, for such religion as Perrot boasted was of a strictly Protestant sort. This letter after his death was admitted to be a forgery. Sir John as was his wont "was so little dejected by what might be alleged or proved against him that he rather grew troubled with choler, and in a kind of exasperation despising his jury (though of the order of knighthood and of the special gentry) claimed the privilege of trial by the Peers and Baronage of the Realm." This claim was naturally disallowed, and on the 17th of April, 1592, the commissioners brought in a verdict of guilty and Perrot was committed to the Tower. On his arrival there he rushed to the Lieutenant, Sir Owen Hopton, and amidst a torrent of oaths asked him "What will the Queen suffer her brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to the envy of my frisking adversary." His faith in Elizabeth was not misplaced, for Her Gracious Majesty swore "By God's death they are all knaves." She certainly had the art of reading men. The commissioners did not let grass grow under their feet. On the 27th an inventory of the prisoner's goods was taken in Carew Castle and his estates in Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen-

* Parcel 237 J. E. G. 4643 Record Office. Printed in Barnwell's *Perrot Notes*, p. 154.

shire. Then Sir John seems to have at length perceived that he was indeed in evil case. On the 3rd of May he wrote a letter to the Queen calling it his last will. It was an appeal for mercy. He asks her favour for his son and grandchildren, meaning Sir Thomas and his children by Lady Dorothy, and expresses hope that Essex will always enjoy her favour. On June 16th Sir John was condemned to death, but when the warrant was presented to Elizabeth she refused to sign, saying he was "an honest and faithful subject." He remained a prisoner in the Tower, and at length, in September of the same year, worn out with worry and anxiety closed his boisterous life in that fortress. Sir John Perrot was a quarrelsome, coarse-minded bully, resembling his reputed father as much in mind as body; loved well perhaps by a few, but cordially detested by many. Almost immediately after his death a more careful inventory of his goods was made. The object is not very apparent, as the attainder was removed. This inventory is however very interesting to the archæologist, since it shows what the contents of an old castle in the days of its pride really were, besides giving us an insight as to the value of farm stock in Pembrokeshire towards the close of the 16th century.*

The first thing that strikes one in this inventory is the rather curious fact that the bedchamber seems to have been the glory of the castle. Feather beds, taking the relative value of money into consideration, were enormously expensive. Why, it is difficult to say. Yet there were no less than forty-eight in the castle, and eight more had been removed to Lamphey at the time of Walter Devereux's funeral. These averaged 30s. a piece. There were bolsters and blankets to match, twenty-four pillows and thirty-four pairs of sheets. What had become of the best bedsteads we cannot tell. There were only twenty-seven in the castle and one in the lodge, all seemingly of the meaner sort:—"Two bedsteddes sowed upp together in a pece of kanvasse, value 20s.; five old bedsteddes, 5s.; 20 bedsteades for servants, 20s." The one in the lodge was reckoned to be worth 2s. Evidently the bedsteads had been removed, but the bed furniture was still there and of great value. There were testerns and vallances of black velvet, embroidered with gold and garnished with coats of arms. Of Stammel cloth laid on with silver lace and buttons. Of cloth of gold (old church work), with curtains of taffeta, black and yellow, and of red and yellow sercenet; of sad blewe taffety, edged with silver, and many others. The fittings of eight beds were valued at £30 4s. 4d. Then there were coverlets of silk and needlework. Irish rugs, Scotch rugs, and divers other sorts. There were sixteen pieces of arras for covering walls, valued at £23 10s. 4d., and the same quantity of tapestry, £17 17s. 4d. Carpets were evidently in small demand. There was "an old Scottishe karpet, partie coloured, being in length v. yards, di, value vs. Two Turkey karpetts, ragged and old, 2s.; one silk karpett, very old, vs.; 5 old greene karpetts, 20s.; one short carpet of dornex† value 10d." It seems that Sir John did not greatly care for carpets (rushes were plentiful), nor were chairs very numerous, fifteen being all the castle could muster, valued at £2 10s. Stools and forms were rather commoner. There was one old stool covered with red velvet and embroidered; sixteen with leather seats, thirty-eight joined stools, sixteen forms, long and short "to sett one." No doubt the stone window seats were much used, and for these probably the cushions were intended, of which we find several mentioned. Ten long ones, of which two were unstuffed, and twelve cushions "to sett one," of which eight were unstuffed. Only a small proportion of these seats could have belonged to the bedrooms. There seems only to have been one looking glass, which comes under the head of apparel, and that is valued at 5s., so was most likely a small one. There were towels for the bedrooms and long jack towels for other

* Parcel 23 J. E. G. 4643 Record Office, and *Perrot Notes* 159.

† A kind of stout figured linen; also a coarse damask used for carpets, &c. Dornick, the Flemish name for Tournay, where it was made.

use. No mention is made of ewers and basins, but from a certain item we may suppose that these were of pewter. There were fourteen tables large and small, valued respectively at 13s. 4d. and 1s. a piece; table cloths and napkins were strange to say plentiful. Pictures are conspicuous by their absence, and the thousand and one objects of *virtu* and knick-knacks that are now-a-days to be found in every house are represented by a clock, value 10s., and a chess board with men. The library consisted of "Bookes of musick and others of sondry sortes, value 13s. 4d." If weak in literature Sir John was strong in music; he owned a pair of "virgin holles," 20s.; two "shackbutes," in two cases; five cornets in one case; a six part "violin," eight "hoboyes," a flute, and two recorders. The assessors were puzzled and did not appraise this lot. There was not much plate. The bulk no doubt had been removed when it became evident that an attainder was probable, and was stored in the houses of friends. All the Commissioners found were three jugs garnished with silver, the covers being loose, valued at £1 6s. 8d. Of china or glass no mention is made, pewter seems to have taken its place. Candlesticks, platters, porringers, saucers, chargers, dishes and plates of all sorts, platters and pie plates, are all made of pewter. Brazen goods were not plentiful. Andirons, candlesticks, and a pestle and mortar, a great pot, a kettle, and a chafer, representing the lot. The kitchen ware was mostly of iron:—Spits, grates, broiling irons, frying pans, dripping pans, fire shovels, bellows, a "furness" to brew in, and a "cisterne of latin to sett pots in." No cellar of wine, ale or spirits is mentioned. From George Owen's papers we find that whisky brewed by the immigrant Irishry was the common drink of the country. In fact we find no mention of provisions, with the sole exception of a bag of rice weighing 20lbs. which was sold for 1s. 10d. The silence with regard to provision would lead us to suppose that such servants and retainers as were left to take care of the castle were put on board wages. Sir John had removed his wardrobe, but seems to have forgotten two pair of velvet pantofles, one pair of velvet shoes, and three pair of pinsons. The whole lot are valued at a lump sum of 6s. So we may suppose they were the worse for wear. The list of armour, artillery, and other weapons is instructive, for we are on the border land of warfare. Gunpowder had not yet superseded bows and arrows in out of the way parts such as Carew. We find a gwydon for the field, two pencells, a shield of white leather, thirteen gleves, eighteen holberts, two two-handed swords, four brass pieces (two being small), forty sheaves of arrows, twenty-five bows, a cross bow, seventy bullets of iron, seven dozen black bills, eight petronells, twenty-four murrians. There were five and a half firkins of gunpowder, which seems to have been all damaged by damp. There were eight coats of plate armour, a portable mill for time of war and sixty-five horsemen's staves.

In the custody of Edmund Maxe of Haverfordwest was some valuable armour, no doubt belonging to Sir John himself, to wit:—"A brest of proof w^{h} his staces and his crushes, a backe of slyter armor, a payre of vambraces for ye same armor, a coller and burganet wth his bever, and a payre of gauntlets, together wth a brest wth his plackard and coller, and so to serve for horsman or footeman." All this is valued at £4 13s. 4d., and a trusse of defense covered with black velvet at 10s. Sir John was, as has been mentioned, rebuilding Carew Castle, and there was in a chamber (of which a Tewkesbury glazier had the key) glass for all the windows (saving for casements only). This the commissioners did not value, as it was for the building. There was also deal boarding for the floor of the dining-chamber of the new buildings, and in the new lodgings was timber for partitions in red frames. This was not valued for the same reasons. The goods out-of-doors were catalogued with the same care as the furniture.

In the domain of Carew, and running with various tenants and neighbours, were ninety-five horses of one sort and another, the average value of which was £1 9s. 6d. each. George Owen complains that the Pembrokeshire horses were not of the best. The most valuable horse

in the stud was "Grey Denye," perhaps a French charger. He was sold to Phe Bowen of Swansea for £9, but although the sale had taken place some time the purchaser had not paid, and one Mr. Davye held a bond for the £9. A grey stallion standing at Carew is put down at £8, and a black one at the same place £5. This was the price given by Mr. George Owen (the county historian) for "Bay Lloid." Another grey stallion is priced at £4, and a bay colt at £3 6s. 8d.; the remainder varied in value from a couple of pounds to 5s. No mention of vehicles is made, but it must be remembered that the first coach ever seen in England was built by Walter Rippon for the Earl of Rutland in 1555, and though they soon became fashionable among the wealthier members of the aristocracy, we may feel sure that had Sir John Perrot wished for such a luxury the roads, or rather the absence of roads in Pembrokeshire, would not have permitted him to indulge himself. Some sort of carts he had for agricultural purposes, for six pair of wayne wheels are mentioned. Horse trappings had followed their master, all that was left being two "ould buffe saddles, one garded with velvet, the other broken and spoiled. There were in divers places over four hundred head of cattle belonging to Sir John. The price seems to have been about £1 10s. for a good bull or three-year-old working ox; a milch cow was worth £1; young cattle 10s. per head. There were about fifteen hundred sheep. Those on the home lands were English, worth 5s. a piece; while the little Welsh muttons are valued at 1s. and 2s. a head. There is "one ramme, a *mort ex sacro*,"* appraised at the enormous price of 23s. 4d. This voluminous inventory was taken at a transition period. Candlesticks are mentioned, but so are torches; shields and bows and arrows stand side by side with gwydons, pencells and petronells; but perhaps the absence of any sign of woman or her works is the strangest feature in the list. There is absolutely none, unless we put down the "payre of virginholles," the "lookinge glass," or the "chesse bord with men," as signs of feminine presence. Curiously enough no ladies were mentioned in the description of the gay doings at Carew under Sir Rhys ap Thomas. As Sir John Perrot† was not attainted at the time of his death, such property as he died seized of, whether real or personal, passed to his heirs; but the governorship of the royal castle of Carew was taken from the Perrot family and bestowed on the Earl of Essex. Sir Thomas Perrot did not long survive his father. By Lady Dorothy he left issue a son Roland, who died young, and a daughter Penelope.

After the year 1585 Robert Earl of Essex does not seem to have had much personal intercourse with Pembrokeshire, but was throughout his career followed and loyally served by men born in West Wales, some of whom proved their devotion at the cost of their lives. It seems likely that after the death of his nephew Walter, George Devereux quitted Lamphey and resided for a while at Chartley. Four years later he followed the Earl in the celebrated expedition to Cadiz. After the gallant capture of that important seaport, sixty-three knights were dubbed by Howard and Essex the Generals in command. Among the gentlemen chosen by the latter we find his uncle George Devereux and his faithful steward and friend Gilly Meyrick. This liberal distribution of honours displeased Her Majesty, and the wits made verses thereon, one of which has survived:

* Was this a Spanish merino, and is the above an appraiser's rendering of the name of some place from whence it came, "Sacramuerte," or the like?

† In the curious little church of Eglwys Cymmyn, Carmarthenshire, on a slate tablet over the chancel arch, is the following inscription:—"The noble and brave | Sir John Perrot knight | of Carew Castle | descended from Guy de Brian | was once Lord of this Manor of Eglwys Cummin or Common Church | of a high spirit and hot temper | the confessed forgery of a popish priest | caused his conviction of High Treason | on which he died of grief in London Tower | He patronized Robert Williams | eldest son of | Lewis Williams | Rector of Narberth | by the daughter and last surviving child | of Robert Ferrar first Protestant | Bishop of S. David's | and Martyr in Queen Mary's reign | Robert the grandson of the above | Robert Williams was grandsire of | the present owner of this Manor | 1798."

A knight of Cales, a gentleman of Wales,
And a squire of the North Countree;
A yeoman of Kent with his yearly rent
Could buy them up, all three.

The rewards given were the cause of great heart-burning to the two leaders. On his return the Queen created Lord Howard Earl of Nottingham and Lord Steward of the Household, this latter title giving him precedence over all peers of the same rank. Essex was furious. He declared that the Earl of Nottingham was rewarded for *his* victory by precedence over him, and demanded that the patent should be altered, or that the Earl of Nottingham or one of his sons should give him satisfaction by combat.* Meanwhile Essex declined to attend at Court. At length Elizabeth, who appears to have entertained a real affection for her wayward cousin, admitted that he had been wronged, and directed that the patent should be altered. Nottingham refused his consent (which was within his power) and Her Majesty cut the knot by creating Essex Earl Marshal of England by royal patent. This appointment gave him precedence of the Lord Steward, who now affronted at once resigned his staff of office, and if the well-known story of the ring be true in the long run cruelly avenged the slight.†

In May, 1598, Henry IV. of France concluded a peace with Spain, and Lord Burghley was anxious that England should take the same course. Essex successfully opposed this policy. It was said the Earl desired to continue war for the advantage of himself and his hangers on. Essex wrote an apology, addressed to Anthony Bacon, in which occurs the following passage:—

First, for my affection; in nature it was indifferently to books and arms, and was more inflamed with the love of knowledge than the love of fame, witness my contemplative retirement in Wales, my bookishness from my childhood; and now if time and reason have taught me to wish that unto myself which is best for myself, what should I not wish rather than martial employment, in which I have lost my dear and only brother, the half arch of my house, buried many of my nearest and dearest friends; and subjected myself to the rage of the sea, violence of tempests, infections of general plagues, famines, and all kinds of wants, discontentment of undisciplined and unruly multitudes.‡

Irish affairs having cropped up again in 1598, the appointment of a fresh Governor was under discussion. The Queen wished to appoint Sir William Knollys, but Essex was desirous of sending Sir George Carew to the distressful land, and in a fit of impatience he turned his back on Elizabeth, who promptly gave him a sounding box on the ear and bade him "go hang." The hot-tempered Earl put his hand on his sword and swore he would not have borne such an insult from Henry himself. In a few months we find him writing to the Queen:

When the unhappy news§ came from yonder cursed country of Ireland, and I apprehended how much your Majesty would be grieved to hear your armies beaten, and your kingdoms like to be conquered by the son of a smith, was enough to rouse me out of the deadest melancholy.‖

Not only was the quarrel between Queen and Earl patched up, but the office of Lieutenant and Governor-General of Ireland offered to the latter. Undeterred by his father's fate Essex accepted the appointment, which was given at Richmond 25th day of March, 1599. He is directed both by example and precept to encourage the exercise of true religion and the

* *Sidney Mem.*, vol. ii., p. 77.

† His Countess is said to have kept back a ring which accidentally came into her hands, that Essex had forwarded to the Queen, according to directions given by the latter when Essex was in the height of his favour.

‡ *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. i., p. 485.

‖ *S. P. O.* add. MSS., c. 177.

§ Tyrone's victory over Sir H. Bagnall, near the Blackwater, August 14, 1598.

service of God, and to combat that infection of Popery which is so spread over the kingdom, that many of the parishes within the English Pale have neither incumbent or teacher, and in the great towns even, massing and idolatry are winked at and tolerated. Essex is also cautioned as to the granting of pardons; he is not to forget the Queen's profits but to impose fines; as to the arch-traitor Tyrone, he is only to be received "on simple submission to our mercy, yet if that seem to drive him to despair his life may be promised, provided he submit in all lowly and reverent form." Concerning the bestowal of knighthood, the Lieutenant is bidden to remember "that there hath been so little moderation used in it, that many men have had that honour done to them who neither for birth nor living were capable of it." Certain debts due to the Crown by the late Earl his father were forgiven, and Essex was authorized to take with him a body of friends, tenants, and farmers who were during their absence from England to be free from all musters and contributions.

On the 27th of March, 1599, Lord Essex rode out from the city of London amidst the plaudits of the people. Before he reached Iseldon (Islington) a great thunderstorm occurred which by some was deemed ominous of disaster.* The Earl, however, set sail from Beaumaris and reached Dublin in safety. Then a series of misfortunes set in. The wild Irish kernes would not meet the heavy English troops in the open country, and when the latter pursued them into the bog and thick covers with which the island abounded, victory remained with the half-naked savages. We learn from the letters of the contemporary gossip Chamberlain what was thought of the campaign in England.

28 June.—The Queen nothing satisfied with the Earl of Essex manner of proceedure, nor likes any thing that is done, but says she allows him £1000 a day to go on progress.

Aug. 1.—Men marvel Essex hath done so little. He tarries yet at Dublin, hath made 16 new knights for what service I know not, belike it is "de bene esse."

Aug. 23.—The Earl of Essex hath made many new knights, but I cannot yet come by the bead roll, it is much marvelled that this humour should so possess him, that not content with his first dozens and scores, he should thus huddle them up in half hundreds.

On the 5th of September Essex concluded a truce with Tyrone from six weeks to six weeks, to last to May-day, a fortnight's notice of termination to be given by either side. On the 17th of September, before she had received the news from Ireland, Elizabeth wrote Essex concerning Tyrone: "To trust this traitor upon oath is to trust a devil upon his religion. Pass not your word for his pardon."

The Earl on receipt of Her Majesty's letter, perceiving the gravity of his situation, without waiting for leave of absence or recall, set off post haste for Nonsuch, where the Queen then was. He arrived at ten a.m. on September 28th, and at once proceeded to Elizabeth's bed-chamber. The Queen had just risen, and sat with her hair about her shoulders. The Earl, travel-stained and mud-bespattered, threw himself on his knee and kissed the hand of his royal mistress. They remained closeted until past twelve, but what passed between them is unknown. When Essex came forth he believed he had made his peace. That evening he was put under arrest for desertion of his post. Soon after the Earl was taken so ill that his life was despaired of; nor was it until June, 1600, that any further notice was taken of his case. He was then brought before the Court of Star Chamber, which censured his conduct, and remanded him during Her Majesty's pleasure. In August, just a year after the conclusion of the unlucky truce, Essex received his liberty, but was forbidden to approach the Queen. A series of penitential letters were addressed by the Earl to Elizabeth with no effect. Then he began to speak evil things of his royal mistress. "His speeches of the Queene become

* Nicholl's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*

no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano.*"* "The Queen," said he, "was cankered, her mind was as crooked as her carcass."† Not contented with abuse, Essex began to conspire. He proposed to raise a rebellion in Wales and seize the royal person.‡ His enemies asserted he desired to play the part of a second Bothwell.§ Essex avowed that so far from desiring to seize the crown, he earnestly desired the Queen should publicly announce that the right of succession was vested in James VI. of Scotland.

Mountjoy had been appointed to the Irish Lieutenancy. He was a dear friend to the Earl, and the army he commanded was devoted to Essex, thanks to the friends, tenants, and farmers who had received commissions. It was intimated to the Scotch King that Mountjoy was prepared to join him with 5000 men, and still leave sufficient troops in Ireland to hold that country. James with characteristic caution replied, that when the troops were massed on Lough Foyle he would give an answer. In April, 1600, Lord Southampton joined Mountjoy, bearing letters from Essex proposing that the troops should be landed in Wales not in Scotland. Lord Mountjoy replied, that he did not deem this course lawful without the assent of the heir presumptive, and moreover, that when he (Mountjoy) entertained these projects he considered that the life of his friend Essex was in danger; such was not now the case, the risk of such an enterprise as he suggested was too great if its object was but the restoration of fortune. Then Essex House in the Strand was thrown open to all comers, and Sir Gilly Meyrick presided in a cave of Adullam, where disbanded soldiers shouldered Puritan preachers, for all discontented men were welcome in the Earl's hall. One schismatic had the hardihood to declare that the great magistrates in certain cases had power to restrain and compel the sovereign,‖ a dangerous doctrine in Tudor days.

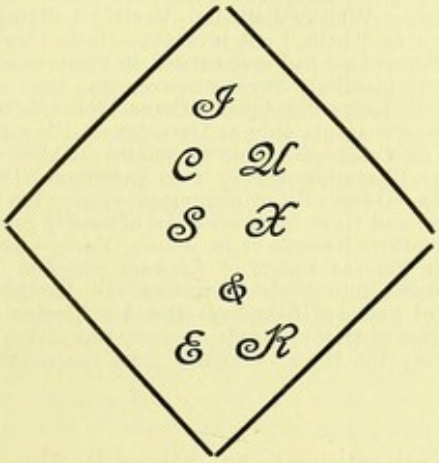
Elizabeth was informed of her favourite's seditious proceedings, and at length sent the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice of England to Essex House. The gates were closed against them, but eventually entry was given and they had audience of the Earl. He raved like a madman; the deputation assured him in the Queen's name that any grievance he had should be thoroughly investigated. Then Essex closed the doors on these gentlemen, and leaving them in the custody of Sir Gilly Meyrick sallied forth at the head two hundred men, crying "For the Queen, for the Queen, a plot is laid for my life." The citizens looked on in wonder, but no one joined him. At Ludgate a company of soldiers barred the way, and after a skirmish in which some lives were lost the Earl retired to Essex House, to find that his prisoners had been released. At the summons of the Lord Admiral he and his friends surrendered on February 19, 1601. The Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before their Peers in Westminster Hall on a charge of high treason. Practically there was no defence. They were found guilty and condemned to death. Essex was visited in the Tower by his two chaplains, Mr. Ashton and Dr. Barlow, son of the Bishop. They pressed him to confess all, and in consequence he sent for his secretary, Cuffe, accused him as instigator of his disloyal doings, and bade him call on God and the Queen for mercy and deserve the same by telling all. Cuffe's reply was, that he did wonder at his Lord's inconstancy, and that he did betray his most devoted friends. On February 24th Essex and Southampton were executed on Tower Hill. In the last dread trial his courage returned, and he died with the demeanour befitting a soldier and a gentleman. He was buried in the Tower between the Earl of Arundel and the Duke of Norfolk, On March 5th the commoners were tried. Sir C. Danvers and Sir Chris Blount were beheaded

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, p. 179. † *Prerogative of Parliament*, by Sir W. Raleigh. ‡ *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 132.

§ Letter from Raleigh to Cecil, quoted in *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 170.

‖ *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 135.

on Tower Hill. Henry Cuffe and Gilly Meyrick were hanged at Tyburne. The latter was the only member of this insane conspiracy for whom much sympathy need be felt. He was simply a loyal servant prepared to follow his master without question. It will perhaps be asked what this story has to do with Little England. The answer must be that Pembrokeshire men were mixed up in it throughout, and that the devotion to the Essex family which it engendered subsequently produced very important results in West Wales.



CRYPTOGRAM SCRATCHED ON A WINDOW PANE IN THE TEMPLE.*

* An S twisted through an X is carved on the hall furniture in Cassiobury Park, Herts, and the noble owner informed a friend of the writer that he had taken the idea of his monogram from the above device, formerly to be seen on a pane of glass, part of a window in the Temple, which had once overlooked Essex Gardens. The cryptogram was in an Elizabethan handwriting.

CHAPTER XXII.

ELIZABETHAN PEMBROKESHIRE.

George Owen's *History of Pembrokeshire*—The three races: Welsh, English, Irish—All traces of the Flemish language had disappeared—Hard drinking rare in Owen's day, heavy eating taking its place—Lower class Englishmen ill-grown owing to exposure while young in herding cattle—Seventy-four parishes English, sixty-four Welsh, six mixed—Division of Welsh and English—In some parts of Pembroke one-third of the inhabitants Irish—Whisky distillers—Vaulted buildings not built in Owen's day—Coal-digging a chief industry of Pembroke—Fuel, now known as "balls," not invented—Husbandry—Woollen trade lost—Gardening indifferent—Timber scarce—Game—No Chase under Forest Law had ever existed in Pembrokeshire—Fallow deer in two parks—Roe extinct—Wild cattle on the mountains—Hares very plentiful—Foxes more common than commendable—Martins plentiful, killed for the musk found in their glands—Grouse—Heathcock—Woodquail—Crane—Heron—Gulls domesticated—Curlew—Wild Goose—Wild Ducks—Bittern—Wild Swan—Woodcock—Pheasants only at Haroldston—No mention of Guns—Fish—Games—Knappan—Only two or three Castles habitable—Pirates on Caldy—Owen on Cromlechs—Makes no mention of Religion—Very impartial in his description of Pembrokeshire Worthies—Dissention among the Reformers—Devereux family Puritans—John Penry—Rees Prichard—Church held good social position—Dwnn's list of clergymen—Tenby the residential town of Pembrokeshire—Dwnn's list of gentlemen residing in Tenby, Pembroke, and Haverfordwest—List of county gentlemen of Pembrokeshire—Dwnn's etymology—His apology—Literary movement—The brothers Recorde of St. John's, Tenby—George Owen, the county historian—Poets—Lord Essex—Thomas Phaer of Kilgerran—Sir Thomas Elliott of Erewere compiled Latin English Dictionary—Bishop Davies and Chancellor Huett translated the Scriptures into Welsh—Printers and Publishers—Tottyll of Wiston—Grafton of Carew—Humphrey Toye marries Anne, daughter of Scarfe of Lamphey—Dread of foreign invasion—Sir Thomas Perrot and George Owen Deputy Lieutenants—Raise seven companies of trained bands—Corporation of Tenby obtain a lease from the Crown—Restore the fortifications—Mr. Paul Ivy sent to survey the Haven—Petition from the county gentlemen—Description of Pembroke Castle in 1595.

It savours somewhat of the impertinent to attempt the story of Little England in the Elizabethan age, seeing that we have *The first Booke of the Description of Penbrookshire in Generall*, 1603, written by George Owen, Lord of Cemaes, than whom it would be impossible to find a closer observer, or a more careful narrator. This very valuable MS. is to be found in the Harleian Collection (No. 6250) in the British Museum. Another copy is, I believe, still preserved in the muniment room at Bronwydd. The latter was published by Fenton (though not *in extenso*) in the second volume of the *Cambrian Register*, 1799. Any account of the Pembrokeshire of Owen's period must therefore be based on his work, and should these notes of mine lead to a further examination of the original they will not have been thrown away.

Owen states that in his time the shire was divided into two parts, the Englishrie and the Welsherie, inhabited by three distinct races of men dwelling side by side, but easily distinguishable from one another:—Welshmen, Englishmen and Irishmen. In the Welsh-speaking districts there were

> Divers ancient gentlemen, that to this day doe hould and keepe their ancient houses, and descents from their auncestors for 400, 500, 600 yeeres and more: for notwithstanding that Kemes was conquered by Martin Towres, yet for that the people of the countrey did not hould out till the uttermost, but yeelded after one battell; he gave divers of them their ancient lands to hold of him, & did not utterly uproote them, as was done with the inhabitants of Rouse, Narberth, Castlemartin, and part of Dungleddy.

These Welshmen, whom the rest call mountain men, were better looking than the Englishry, not so "cloyed with labour" as those who live by tillage. The second race, the English, inhabited Rouse, part of Narberth, Castlemartin, and part of Dungleddy. The upper class amongst these Owen considered still showed Norman blood, the lower were a mixture of

Saxons and Flemings. In his opinion, if on their advent these last spoke a different language to their comrades, all traces of it had disappeared in the 16th century; but Owen considered in the cleanliness of their houses their industry and plain dealings they much resembled their cousins of the Low Countries. Hard drinking was rare in the county, though its inhabitants made up for this deprivation by heavy eating, taking when they could get it seven meals a day, five being their ordinary allowance, the poorest husbandmen feeding daily on "beef, mutton, pigg, goose, lambe, veale, or kyd." In this the Englishry differed from their Welsh neighbours, who lived on milk, butter, cheese and such like. Owen considered these better looking than the flesh fed Englishry. Indeed of the latter he gives but a poor account, for he says

> The common sorte are very meane and simple, short of growthe, broad and shrubby, unacceptable for the most parte, howsoever they prove in action; soe that of all the countries of Wales I am bold to pronounce (and I speak by experience) Penbrokeshire to be the worst manred, and hardest to finde proper serviceable men; so that the lieutenants and commissioners for musters are more toyled in seeking 50 personable men, then theire neighbour sheeres are to finde 100.

This was only the case in the country districts and among the Englishry, for the Welsh, as we have seen, were much the same as in the remainder of the Principality; while the upper classes among the Englishry, their retainers and the townsmen were a handsome race. Owen attributes the ill-growth of the hinds to two causes:

> 1st.—That the best of the men went to sea. For this country, especially of late yeares, is fallen much to trade by sea, and a greate parte of the countrie people are seamen and mariners. The situation yieldeth convenience for the easie vent and utterance of the countrey's produce by water, as allsoe by the resort of forraine shipping, homeward and outward bound for France, Ireland, the Straites, or any other south or west voyages, being forced by the south and west windes, sending by them commendations to the saffe harbour of Mylford, by which means the gentlemen of the countrey are often well served of many forraigne commodities for their provision, as with wynes, sugar, oyles, spice, iron, linen, cloth, &c.

The second cause of the ill-growth of the Pembrokeshire folk of Owen's day was, in his opinion, the want of fences; the children were sent out in all weathers to herd the stock, and when they came to be ten or twelve years of age they were so parched by sun and wind that

> They seem more like tawny moores than people of this land, having the skin of theire leggs, hands, face and feete all in chinks and chappes (like the chinks of an elephant's skin, wherewith he is wont to take the flies that com thither to suck his blood).

Owen speaks so confidently as to the poor physique of his contemporaries that we cannot doubt his word; yet his annotator,* John Lewis, writing one hundred years later, could see no such degradation, and certainly the Pembrokeshire men of to-day are above the average in strength and stature, though bread and butter takes the place of the luxuries given in Owen's list.

The shire was about equally divided between the English and Welsh. The hundreds of Castlemartin, Rowse and Narberth (excepting the parishes of Landewi and Lampeter), Dungleddy (excepting the parishes of Lanvalteg, Langain, Llandissilio, Lanykeven and Crinow) were English. The hundreds of Kemes, Kilgerran and Dewisland spoke Welsh; so that about seventy-four parishes were inhabited by English, sixty-four by Welsh, and six by a mixture of both. The Lansker or boundary that divided the languages began at Cronwere, passed to

* In the edition printed by Fenton.—See vol. ii. *Cambrian Register*, p. 76.

Llawhadden, where both tongues were spoken; from thence between Bletherston and Llanykeven to New Moate, and so between Castle Bythe and Amblestone, between Trefgarn and St. Dogwell's over the hills between Haye's Castle, down Newgall Moor, between Roch Castle and the bridge to the sea. This boundary line would have been almost as accurate twenty years ago as when the account was penned in 1603; but of late years the Welsh has certainly retreated. In addition to the two races of English and Welsh there was a third tribe settled in Elizabethan Pembroke. We have seen that an incursion of the Irish into West Wales during Henry VIII.'s reign vexed R. Gruffith, but his application to the Cardinal Chancellor seems to have availed nought, for in Owen's day they were

Soe powdrid among the inhabitants of Rouse and Castell Martin, that in every village you shall finde the 3rd, 4th or 5th householder an Irishman; and now of late they swarme more then in tymes past by reason of these late warres in Ireland; and if it soe continue for the tyme to come, in shorte tyme they are like to matche the other inhabitants in nomber; these for the moste parte speake and use here the English tongue, yet in such sorte as that all men may discerne them to be that countrye people, as alsoe by the rudeness of their maners, for the servant will usually "thou" his master, and thinketh it noe offence; as many as come out of the countie of Wesford say they understand noe Irishe, neither doth any well understand English. They are soe increased that there are whole parishes inhabited by the Irish, having not one English or Welsh, but the Parson of the Parishe. And those Irish people here doe use their countrye trade in making of Aqua Vitæ in great abundance, which they carry to be sold abroade the countrye, on horsebacke & otherwise, so that weekely you may be sure to have Aqua Vitæ to be sold at your doore, and by means thereof it is growne to be an usual drink in most men's houses insteade of wine, some of them making exceeding good, and sould better cheape then in any parte of England or Ireland, for I have dranke as good as some Rosa Solis made by them, & this soald usually for 16d. a quart, but commonlie you shall have very good for 10d. or 12d. the quarte, which is better cheape then ever I could buy the like elsewhere.

Lewis * congratulates the country that a hundred years later they were rid of "the Hibernian swarm," though he admits the taste for whisky still remained.

In the days of Elizabeth, the vaulting under buildings which is so remarkable in old Pembrokeshire structures, was discontinued, as were barrel roofs. The mason had lost his cunning and could no longer turn out work like that found in the old castles. Owen quotes a Welsh proverb stating that as the world grows older the mason gets worse and the carpenter better. Then as now houses were bedaubed with whitewash. Coal was extensively worked; indeed our author considers it one of the chief commodities of the country. Lord Treasurer Burleigh had some of it taken to him in London to show how it did excel the Newcastle coal, but the cost of carriage seems to have stood in the way.

The cole they finde is eyther an ore cole, a string or a slatche. The ore is the best and is a greate veyne spreding every way and endureth longest.† The string is a small narrow veyne sometimes two, three or four foote in bigness and runneth down right and is alway found between two rocks; a slatche they call a piece of cole by itself found in the earth. The danger in digging these coles is the falling of the earth and quelling of the poore people, or stopping of the way furth and soe dye by famine, or the sudden irruption of standing waters in old works. The workmen of this black labour observe all abolished holydayes and cannot be wayned from that follye.

About three years before Owen wrote his book an export duty of 4d. per barrel was imposed on coal. As the value was but 6d. per barrel for coal, and 1d. per barrel for culm, this imposition of course was a prohibition on export. But such an outcry was raised by the shippers and the Irish that so far as Ireland went it was remitted. Owen then proceeds to "speak of a strange event that happened in a cole pit at Jefrieston in the year of our Lord 1601," but most provokingly breaks off without telling his story. It is noteworthy that our

* The commentator.

† In old times our author informs us that a shaft four fathoms deep was considered to be an important one, but in his days some went down twenty fathoms; this necessitated the use of the windlass to draw up coal and water, in place of the inclined planes formerly employed for that purpose.

author makes no mention of the mixture of clay and coal-dust which goes by the name of "balls," and is now the common fuel of the country. This is evidently an introduction of later date. Bearded wheat was most in use in the southern portion of the shire; summer wheat in the Welsh parts, barley and oats were both considerably grown. The Welsh were fond of burning the surface and growing rye on it. This custom Owen decries, stating that land was not worth more than a shilling an acre for twenty years after this operation. The Englishry used either six horses or six oxen in their ploughs; the Welsh two oxen with two horses—a proof what heavy contrivances ploughs must have been in those days. The up-country men folded their cattle during the summer nights on their land; in the winter they could not bear the exposure. Lime, marl and sea sand were in use as artificial manures. A saying was prevalent that "a man doth sand for himself, lyme for his sonne, and marle for his grandchild." Sea-weed was used as a dressing for barley. Owen intimates that cattle breeding was an important business, and states that at least twice as much wool was shorn in his time as was cut forty years before; but he says nothing as to the breed of cattle or sheep. Of horses few or none were then bred in the county. During the last forty years (writing in 1603) he says the woollen trade had disappeared, which formerly employed thousands (?). Then, as now, gardening was neglected.

Apples, pears, warder's plums, apricocks, wallnuts being brought from Dean Forest and from Somersetshire in such plentie, as you shall in every market be served as good cheape therewith, as you shall be in the chiefest fruit countries, especially from Michaelmas to Easter, the boats which bring them returning laden with oysters.

Owen regrets the scarcity of timber, saying that it had grown more scanty of late years, and that ornamental timber was not then planted as it had been in old times by the churchmen and others, for in former years not only were there orchards and fruit gardens by the religious houses and mansions,

But pretty groves of wood, as ash, maple, elm and such like, and divers rare timber, the pine apple, spruse and firre trees, the mulberry tree and others.

These were things of the past like the forests of Lydiarth, Rywgran, Moelgrove, Coed Cadw, Coed Llonk, Mounton Park, Cron Lloyn by Newgall. A good deal of land was however still under timber (most likely of a scrubby sort): Narberth Forest, Kilgarran, Coedraeth, Caneston, Mynwer, Pencelly (in Eglwyswrw), Kilreth, Hookewood, Upton. Round many of the different seats there were considerable plantations: Picton, Boulston, Wiston, Coedcantlais, Llannerch, Kilkythed, Diffrin Gweyn, Angoed, Henllys, Wenallt, Benton, Throstwood, Lwyngwair, Peamesbush, Perskilly, Upper Talch, Nether Talch, Creswell, Mote, Walton, Woodstock, Eastern and Western Trefgarn, Llognygorres, Drim, Nashe, Llangum. Gorse covered a very great part of the country, and was to be found eight and nine feet high, with the stems twelve inches in circumference; indeed Owen mentions one that was measured to decide a bet, and was found to be not less than thirty-three inches in compass. In this wild country there was as might be supposed a great deal of game, but not being preserved it did not abound as in some English countries. There never had been a Forest or Chase in Pembrokeshire endowed with the privileges of the Forest laws. There were a few red deer, but very few, and these were free for any man to hunt at his pleasure. Fallow deer were also scarce, being preserved in two small parks only,* and the number few. Roe were extinct, and Owen could not find any record of their former existence. Wolves and wild boar too were gone. Good sport was found in the mountains hunting and killing the wild bull, wild ox, and

* Probably Lamphey and Carew, or perhaps Williamston, for the latter is marked in Speede's map (1610).

wild calf. These were no doubt strayed cattle. Indeed Owen says that they were not in his time so plentiful as they had been, "the owners finding more profit by the tame than pleasure in the wilde." "I think," says our author, "no countrey in England yieldeth more plentie of hares," yea in such

Number, neere unto woods and courts, that the neighbours' corne is by them greatly endamaged, and I have knowne, in my tyme, a husbandman that rose often a nights out of his bed to chase away the hares from his corne, soe much harme he found by theire feeding. And although the tracing of hares on snowe (an offence forbidden by Parliament) be not looked unto or severely punished in these partes, and that tracing is used ordinarily, soe that some one man among many others hath beene known to slaughter in a fore noon 16 or 18 hares to his parte: yet is there increase such as no man feeleth greeffe or perceaveth wante. Therefore this beaste affordeth sufficient pastime to hunt with hounds and chase with greyhounds, many places of this shire being little or nothing inferior for plentie to the special warrens of hares preserved in many partes of England for the pleasure of the nobilitie and gentlemen, and this pastime of hunting the hare is the greatest and most used in this countrey of all other. As for Mr. Fox his neighbourhood among us is more common than commendable, and if for pleasure he be desired of some for his conditions, he is hated of most. This grave gentleman, for his furres seemeth to be a townsman, for his witt and invention in stratagems, an engineer; for keeping of his castle Malepardus, a Spaniard; he is beloved in general, as the executioner of Tyburne and as profitable in the Commonwealth as a Relator.

Martins were plentiful and afforded much sport; they were killed for the musk found in their glands. Rabbits, otters, badgers, are unnoticed. Among feathered game he mentions grouse, heathcock and woodquail (?), crane, heronshaw; the gull was caught and fed, curlew, wild goose, wild duck, bittern, wild swan, woodcock, &c. Of all these he considers the gull and woodcock of most interest; the former were taken when just fit to fly, and such as were flush followed with boats; these were considered "very daintie meat" and kept in confinement as "a readie dishe all the year over." Besides those retained for provision by the gentlemen and others "a great store is sould into England, and sought and sent for out of the inland shires a hundred miles and more." The woodcock seems to have arrived earlier* in those days than at present. If an east wind blew he was expected a fortnight or three weeks before Michaelmas. They were most plentiful between Michaelmas and Christmas, when they were to be found in every house. They were taken in "cock shutes," nets set across glades in the woods a little before the breaking of the day and the closing in of the night. Two, three or four were netted at one fall. Owen says he himself has taken as many as six at a fall.

It was not uncommon to take a hundred or a hundred and twenty in the two twilights in one wood, and much more have been taken, though not commonly.

A friend of Owen's bought in St. David's on one occasion two woodcocks, three snipes, and certain teal and blackbirds for a penny. Partridge, quail, rail, lapwing, grey and russet plover, larks and small birds, were found in the fields. Pheasants were very rare, having been introduced in Owen's lifetime by Sir Thomas Perrot, Knight, of Haroldston, who brought over a few hens and cocks from Ireland and turned them down at Haroldston. They had not multiplied much, and still on the other hand they were not altogether destroyed. These various birds and beasts were taken with hawks, hounds, lines, nets, crossbows, longbows and bolts, stone bow and tranke. There is no mention of guns. Fish were plentiful as they are still. Certain† species seem to have somewhat decreased, notably salmon and herrings.

* The "new style" was not adopted in England till 1751, so Michaelmas was later in Owen's days.

† Owen states that then, as now, nightingales did not inhabit Pembrokeshire, but there was a fable that formerly they had done so and were expelled by St. David, as their song interfered with his orisons. This bird is now said never to come westward of the Severn. The author of an article called "Birds of a Welsh County," in the October number of *Temple Bar*, 1887, points out that Nanteos in Cardiganshire and Llwynyreos in Carmarthenshire respectively, mean Nightingale Brook and Nightingale Grove, though nightingales are not found in these counties. Taken with the Davidian legend, is it possible that once Philomela came further west?

Owen talks of pilchards too, which we do not now find, though in his time they seem to have been very common. He informs us that oysters were largely exported, and from other sources we find that herrings were sent to Ireland. Besides hawking, fowling and fishing, the men of Pembrokeshire do not seem to have enjoyed many sports. Archery was more talked of than practised. In no country were cards and dice less in use; bowls and tennis were popular, and the youngsters amused themselves with wrestling, throwing the stone, bar and hammer, and in running and leaping. The characteristic game of the time and country was however knappan. This was a mixture of polo and hockey, and seems to have been confined to the upper part of the county. The game was played with a wooden ball, so large that a man might hold it in his hand. It was made of some hard wood, box, yew, crab, or holly, and boiled in tallow to make it slippery. This ball was the knappan, and the game consisted in preventing the adverse side from getting it over a boundary line; it was either thrown or carried by horse or foot, and by the rules of the game it was permissible to beat the holder of the ball: if a footman, with the fist; if a horseman, with a hazel staff, should he not throw the ball from him after three summonses to do so. The horseman's staff was measured by passing it through a ring, the object being that it might "harme but not mightilie hurte any person." If the horsemen got among the foot the latter were allowed to pelt them with stones, which was necessary as the infantry were barefooted. When one party found itself weaker the plan was for a player to seize the ball and press it to his belly; his friend hugged him, and the rest of the side clustered on like a swarm of bees, to the number of a hundred or more. Of course as the outsiders had not the ball it was not allowable to beat them, so unless the cluster could be pulled to pieces by main force, they slowly carried the knappan back to the boundary. The numbers playing the game were not limited, and sometimes amounted to a thousand or fifteen hundred. The companies met about one or two o'clock in the afternoon, and before commencing play stripped naked with the exception of a pair of drawers, laying their clothes in great heaps. When the game was over they presented a sorry sight: bloody noses, black eyes, and broken pates being plentiful. Formerly, says Owen, "these contingencies were taken in good part, but of late years old spites and quarrels were repaid during the game of knappan." This no doubt eventually led to its discontinuance. Gentlemen were in the habit of making matches between parishes, hundreds, and even shires. But besides these there were five days in the year fixed for knappan. On Shrove Tuesday * there was a meeting on Bury Sands between the men of Nevern and Newport. On Easter Monday at Pont Gynon, between the men of Meliney and Eglwyswrw. On Low Easter Day at Pwlldu in Penbedw, between Penrith and Penbedw. On Ascension Day at St. Mergan's in Kemaes, between the men of Kemaes and Emlyn, Cardigan joining the latter. On Corpus Christi there was a return match on the same ground between the same players. These two last were the great games, and oft times they played a thousand foot on each side, besides horsemen. Fenton, writing in 1810, says every trace of knappan had then died out.†

In Owen's time there were eighteen castles in a more or less perfect condition, but of these only two or three were in use.‡ The others could easily have been repaired, as indeed they were some forty years later. There is no doubt that in the latter portion of Elizabeth's

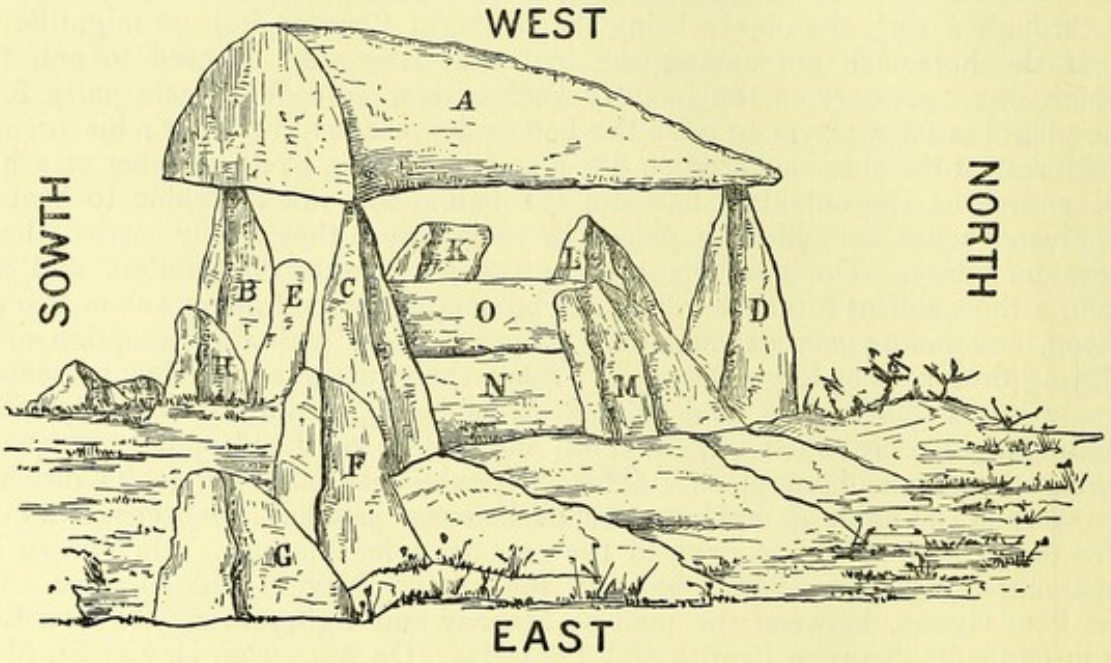
* Was Shrove Tuesday football at Tenby a survival of "knappan?"

† In Evans's *History of the Ancient Britons*, published in 1740, there is a description of a game which was played in his time on the shores of the river Cardigan. "In this play they divide themselves into two parties under the names of Brithwyr or spotted men, and Henwyr or old men. The Henwyr consists of persons of the familiar names of Evan, David, John, and Jenkins, and the Brithwyr of those of any other names. The Henwyr consisting of only four names were usually the most numerous. Now by the Henwyr it is certain that the original inhabitants are designated, and the Brithwyr are considered strangers or foreigners."—Roberts's *Translation of Evans's History of the Ancient Britons;* Pryse edition, p. 64. This game may have been knappan.

‡ From other sources we know that Lamphey, Carew, Wiston, Picton, Boulston, and Roche Castles were inhabited in the latter part of the 16th century.

reign Pembrokeshire had begun to decline. We find that the woollen trade had disappeared, the mansions were not kept up as they had been, planting rare trees had ceased, and the fortifications were dismantled, though the use for them had scarcely disappeared, for on Caldy Island they dare not plough with oxen for fear they should be stolen by pirates, who were in the habit of provisioning there "commonly to the good contentment of the inhabitants." Caldy had been lately purchased by Mr. Walter Philipsin or Philpin (who was Mayor of Tenby in 1601) from Mr. John Bradshaw, whose grandfather Roger had bought it at the dissolution of St. Dogmael's Abbey.

I will conclude this *precis* of Owen's most interesting narrative by pointing out that the Druidical romance was unknown in his time. He considered cromlechs to have been either tombs or cenotaphs. The myth connecting these structures with altars had not been invented in the beginning of the 17th century. On the last page of the Harleian MS. copy of Owen's *History* is the annexed plan picture of Pentre Evan cromlech, with description.



A sheweth the great stone mounted on highe upon othere stones, being 3 foote thick, 9 foote broode, and 18 foote longe. B and C, two stones that holdeth uppe the greater and thicker end of the great stone towards the southe. D showeth the stone that holdeth the thinner end of the stone towards the north. E, a stone underneathe the thicker end of the great stone, A, placed between B and C, but shorter, and toucheth not the great stone. F and G, two stones sett circularwise, adjoining unto C. H and I, two other stones sett on the other side, in like sort next the stone B. All which seaven stones, viz., B, C, E, F, G, H, and I, doe stand circularwise, like in forme to the new moone, under the south ende of the greate stone A. K and L, two stones sett on end, upright, under the western side of the greate stone A, but toucheth not the same; but K somewhat removed outwarde by the fall of the great part, O, which broke from the greate stone A. M and N, two stones placed on ende, upright, under the easter side of the greate stone A, to confront K and L on the other side; but N is now fallen down, and lyeth flatte upon the grounde. O, a piece of the greate stone A, broken of, and fallen from the wester side of the same sithence the erectinge thereof, as may apeare, and beinge of seaven foote long, and five foote broode, and half a yarde thicke. Gromlech signifieth "caverna petrarum." (Esai. 7, v. 19.) Finis. 18 May 1603.

Our author says not one word about theology or church matters. From a passing remark it would seem that he was not a Roman Catholic; but he deals with Anglicans and

Romanists impartially. Henry Morgan (Ferrar's judge and successor) "was as worthy in place as he was generously descended," and the Protestant Bishop Richard Davies

> Was reverenced for his rare vertues and excellencies in learning, honoured for his publique hospitalitie and liberalitie, so bearing himself as he was inwardly affected of the good and never detracted but of the bad.

While admiring Owen's impartiality it must be admitted we might have learnt more of this interesting period from a narrower man; for he must have witnessed not only the overthrow of Romanism, but also the first outcrop of Puritanism in Wales. The Devereux family seem to have been the nursing fathers of the ultra Protestant party in Pembrokeshire; nor does their adhesion to the party seem to have been a mere political expedient. Walter the first Earl, a religious man (though he did mercilessly butcher the Irish kernes), seems from his earliest days to have been surrounded by Puritans. If his son Robert lived as a *rouè* and died as a rebel, it cannot have been for lack of lectures. His earliest lessons were learnt from Mr. R. Wright, who subsequently became notorious as a preacher,* and his latest moments were soothed by William Barlow,† who was to say the least of it an extremely low churchman. George Devereux, brother of the first Earl, the uncle and guardian ot the second, he who so long occupied Lamphey, was all his life hand and glove with the low church party.

One of the immediate results of the overthrow of Roman Catholicism seems to have been an outbreak of infidelity, but this state of things could not last long among such a God-fearing race as the people of West Wales. The majority seems to have fallen back on an Anglicanism very closely resembling the Catholicism they were supposed to have abandoned, while the minority going to the other extreme, scorning and apparently confusing the sins of Anglicans and Agnostics, favoured the Continental schools of Protestantism. These were the men who sowed the germs of nonconformity in Wales. The early dissenters were themselves ordained ministers of the church they desired to reform. John ap Henry, or Penry, a Brecon man, known to posterity as Martin Marprelate, was educated at Peterhouse College, Cambridge. He took his degree of B.A. about 1583 and then migrated to St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he took his M.A. and holy orders. He became a popular preacher both at Oxford and Cambridge, and retired into South Wales about 1588.

> He was esteemed by many a tolerable scholar, and an edifying preacher, and a good man, but being a person full of Welsh blood, of a hot and restless head, did upon some discontent change the course of his life, and become a most notorious anabaptist (of whieh party he was in his time the Coryphæus) and in some sort a Brownist, and most bitter enemy to the Church of England of any that appeared in the long reign of Queen Elizabeth.‡

Penry boasted that he was the first who preached the gospel in Wales, and sowed the good seed in that benighted land. In 1588 he published *A view of some part of such public wants and disorders as are in the service of God within Her Majesty's country of Wales, with a humble petition to the High Court of Parliament for their speedy redress.* Penry and his friends then started a secret press, from which they deluged the country with tracts. The most offensive of these was signed *Martin Marprelate.* A warrant was issued for his apprehension, but escaping to Scotland he did not return until 1593, when he was caught in Stepney, tried and executed at St. Thomas Watering on May 25th. It was and is believed that this sentence was illegal, and consequently John Penry, or ap Henry, is looked on as the proto-martyr of Welsh nonconformity.

When Sir George Devereux returned from the expedition to Cadiz in 1588, he took up his residence at Lwyn y Brain near Llandovery, which then became the headquarters of the

* Lansd. MSS. 25, 48. † The Bishop's only son. ‡ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

extreme party. Among other Puritan youths who frequented the house, was one Rees Prichard, a young man of good social position, who matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1597, was ordained priest in 1602, and presented to the vicarage of Llandingad, Llandovery, the same year. No doubt by the recommendation of his friend Sir George, young Prichard was appointed chaplain to the infant Earl of Essex. Through the interest of this nobleman he became Chancellor of St. David's under Bishop Laud, but for all that there can be little doubt Prichard held extremely Puritan opinions. He resided at St. Cenox, near Narberth, and was so popular a preacher that on one occasion the nave of St. David's Cathedral being filled to overflowing by the multitude congregated from all corners of the Principality, he was obliged to adjourn into the church-yard. Prichard took a pessimist view of matters, and in a celebrated poem written by him, "Canwyll Cymry" *(The Welshman's Candle)*, he cries:

> Whether parson, farmer, hind, craftsman, bailiff
> Or lord, is most daring in sin, 'tis hard to say.

Such were the men who made the little rift which has so terribly widened in these latter days.

In the year 1588 Lewis Dwnn, Deputy Herald of Wales and the Marches, made his first visitation of Pembrokeshire. He appears to have returned to the county in 1591, 1597, and again in 1613. During these professional tours Dwnn entered on his roll of honour the names of about 130 families whom he considered sufficiently well-born to claim attention from the Kings-at-Arms. Of these no less than 31 were those of beneficed clergymen, proving beyond doubt that the ministers of the Reformed Church enjoyed an excellent social position in West Wales in the latter days of Elizabeth and the earlier portion of the reign of James I.

LIST OF CLERGY HOLDING BENEFICES IN THE COUNTY OF PEMBROKE BETWEEN THE YEARS 1588 AND 1613 WHOSE PEDIGREE IS ENTERED IN LEWIS DWNN'S VISITATIONS.*

Abergwain†	.. Griffith Evans.
Amroth ..	.. Edward Goddard, Vicar. 1591.
Angle ..	.. Owen Morgan, B.A., 1613.
Bridell ..	.. John David.
Carew ..	.. Lewis ap Richard.
Castlemartin	.. William Davis, Vicar.
Eglwys wrw, 2s.	.. John Nicholas. Thomas Price, 1597.
Herbrandston	.. Lewis Owen, B.A., m. Katherine, sole heiress of Francis Barrett.
Jeffreyston ..	.. Richard Gibbon.
Lampeter Velfry	.. Gruflyd Robert, from Wrexham. Thomas Phillip, M.A., 1613.
Lamphey ..	.. Hylbert Byrbeck, Vicar, from Westmoreland, 1608.
Langum ..	.. Richard Bathen, m. Maud, grand-daughter of Humphrey Toye, Printer, of London and Carmarthen.
Lawrenny ..	.. David Price, B.A., 1613.
Letterston ..	.. Rowland Lloyd, m. Cecile, d. d. of Sir John Wogan, Knt.
Llanstadwell	.. Robert Pyry, 1613.
Marlas ..	.. John Herde, M.A., Vicar, Chaplain to Lord Preston, 1613.
Merthyr‡	.. Meredith Charles, Vicar, 1613.
Morville ..	.. William Meyrick. His son John married Dorothy Yong, grand-daugther of the Bishop 1591.
Newton ..	.. John Bowen, Bach. of Civil and Canon Law.
Roblynston ..	.. John Bowen.
Rhoscrowther	.. Henry Barbor, M.A., Vicar, 1613.
Rhosmarket..	.. Lewis Phillips, M.A., 1613.
St. David's Mochdre	.. Evan Thomas, B.A.
St. Florence	.. Robert Rudd, B.D., Rector, afterwards Archdeacon of St. David's (1613). David Philpe, Vicar.
St. Issels ..	.. Griffith Johns, Vicar, 1613.
St. Twinnels	.. William Price.
Steynton ..	.. Gabriel Buckley, M.A., Vicar, 1613.
Tenby ..	.. Edmond Smith, M.A., from Middlesex.
Trevorchan ..	.. Thomas Walter, 1613.
Walton (in Rhos)	.. Richard Pengriffin.
Warren ..	.. William Loveling. He was grandson of Butler, of Coedcantlais.
Wiston ..	.. James Spencer, Vicar.

* The sums of money represent the presents made to Dwnn, the dates refer to the year when the entry was made.

† Fishguard. ‡ Mathry.

The names of the wives of the above named gentlemen have with very few exceptions been omitted in my list, but they all appear to have taken advantage of the repeal of the Six Articles.

Besides this matter of the clergy, other information of local interest may be gleaned from the entries in Lewis Dwnn's *Visitations;* for instance, we find evidence in his pages that Tenby was then, as now, the favourite residential town of Pembrokeshire, for Dwnn enrolls 16 inhabitants of Tenby as against 5 of Pembroke, and 7 of Haverfordwest; but these gentlemen of the 16th and 17th centuries did not select the little town as their home on account of its pleasant surroundings, or as a watering-place, but simply because it was then a good business centre. No doubt the abolition of the Palatinate had grievously affected trade, but still that "merchaundyse" which Leland admired clung to the town until both were ruined by the troubles of the 17th century.

GENTLEMEN RESIDING IN TENBY BETWEEN THE YEARS 1588 AND 1613 WHOSE PEDIGREES ARE ENTERED IN LEWIS DWNN'S VISITATIONS.

TENBY.

Barret (Richard) m. Jane d. of Thomas Voyle of Ffulbeach (1597).
Edward (John) gent., m. Jane d. of David Clyn.
Fferior (William) gent., ald., m. Anne d. of Jno. Pawmer, ald. of Tenby, gent., 1597.
Ffylpin (Walter) Esq., ald. 1597, m. Elizabeth d. of Thomas Perrot of Tenby.
Gronwy (John) ald., m. Anne d. of Griffith Howel, ald. 3s.
Hastlin (Richard) m. Jane d. of Thomas Phelpe, his great grandfather came from Kent.
Howel (John) ald., m. Jane d. of David Stiffbow.
Loughor (William) m. Silian d. of Philip Dewing of Densir Denon, 1591.
Pawmer (David) mayor, m. Jane d. of John Gibbon of Bletherston.
Prichard (Rhys) mayor, m. 1st, Marget d. of Jenkyn Barret, Pendine; 2nd, Elizabeth d. of Walter Philpin, Esq., 1608.
Rayner (Robert) m. Mary d. of — Fitzwilliams, 1617.
Recorde (Robert) of St. John's by Tenby, m. Jane d. of John Owen of Trecwm, great grandson of Roger Recorde of Eastwell, Kent, 1597.
Rogers (John) grandfather from Bridgewater, Somerset, m. Elizabeth d. of Thos. Bowen, Esq., Trellwyn, 1597
Smith (Edmond) the Vicar, M.A. of Middlesex, m. Alice d. of Nicholas Barry, Esq.
Wyat (William) m. 1st, Christian d. of John Denning, 1597; 2nd. Katherine d. of Adam Havllin, 1608; grandfather from Devon was mayor.

PEMBROKE.

Davies (John) m. Joan d. of John Durwy, 1597.
Kitsmae (Richard) ald. m. Elizabeth Rossyn, 1609.
Powel (Morgan) mayor, m. Maud Wogan granddaughter of Richard Wogan of Boulston, 5s.
Webb (Edward) of St. Michael's m. Margaret d. of Robert Webb of Gloucester, 1609.
Webb (Thomas) m. Ellen d. of Thomas Bishop of Wywar, Gloucester, 1609.
Williams alias Smith (Lewis) ald. m. Ellen d. to Robert Cook, 1597.

HAVERFORDWEST.

Davies (Owen) m. Jane d. of David ap Thomas of Kilgerran,
Davies (William) mayor this year (1613) m. Elizabeth d. of George Owen of Kemes.
Harris (John) descended from an Essex family, m. Elizabeth Fletcher, 1613.
Williams (Richard) gent., m. Margaret d. of Harry Lenard of same town, 1604.
Voyle (Morgan) Esq., J.P., m. 1st., Elizabeth d. of Francis Laugharn; 2nd, Mary d of Dr. Lee of Shropshire.
Bowen (Morgan).
Warren (Thomas) ald., m. Elizabeth d. of Thos. Brown of Haverfordwest, 1591.

Without entering on the intricacies of genealogy it may interest Pembrokeshire readers to see at a glance who were the chief owners of property in the county three hundred years ago, and notice which of our families have dwelt in the shire for that period. With this object in view I have extracted from the *Visitation*

A LIST OF THE HEADS OF HOUSES AND THEIR MARRIAGES.

Amroth .. Owain Elliott of the town of Narberth and Erewere, Esq., m. Margaret d. of Morgan Philipps, Esq., of Picton (1597).

Angle ..	John Devereux, son of Patrick Devereux, gent., of Ireland, m. Margaret d. of John Harries of The Hall, Angle (1613).
Bonville's Court ..	John Williams, gent., m. Anne d. of Thomas Bowen of Trellwyn. His heiress Eleanor conveyed Bonville's Court to her husband William John of Landeilo Vavr (1597).
Boulston ..	Sir John Wogan, Knt., m. Frances d. of Lewis Pollard.
Bolton Hill ..	David Bolton, gent., m. Anne d. of Mark Bowen of Roblynston (1597).
Brendeth ..	John Johns, Esq., m. Jane d. of Harry Bowen of Upton, Esq (1613).
Bryngerb ..	Philip Jenkin, gent., m. Margaret d. of John Knevet of Castlemartin.
Camros, 3s. ..	William Tancred m. Ellen Bolton (1591).
Carew Castle, 10s. ..	Sir John Carew, Knt., m. Elizabeth d. of Thomas Southecot, Esq. This pedigree only goes back to Sir John's great-grandfather, John Carew, Esq. During Elizabeth's reign Carew was Crown property.
Carew, 10s. ..	Richard Grafton, Esq. (son of the celebrated printer of Tyndall's New Testament), m. 1st, Joan Nicholson; 2nd, Brichiart d. of John Cheyne, Esq.
Castlemartin ..	Harry Dawes m. Lettice Walter of Roche Castle.
Cilgerrran ..	Thomas Phaer, M.D., *custos castellorum*, poet, m. Anne d. of Thomas Walter, Alderman of Carmarthen.
Cilgerran ..	Robert Vaughan m. Elizabeth co-heiress of Thomas Phaer, M.D., (1608).
Cilgerran 10s. ..	Thomas Revel, Esq. (1591).
Coedcantlais ..	Thomas Butler of Johnston, Esq., m. Lettice Butler of Coedcantlais.
Cwmgloyne ..	Alban Lloyd m. Elizabeth d. of Sir John Perrot, Knt., (1613).
Filbeach ..	John Voyle, gent., m. Joan Jordan of Rhosmarket (1597).
Filbeach ..	Devereux Barrett m. Elizabeth Bookland (1597).
Gelliswick, 5s. ..	John Barrett, Esq., m. Alice daughter of Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan in Anglesea. Esq. (1597).
Henllan, Pulcrochan	Harry White, Esq., m. Jane d. of Richard Fletcher. (He was of the Whites of Tenby.)
Henllys ..	George Owen, Esq. (the historian of Pembrokeshire and Lord of Cemaes), m. Elizabeth d. and co-heiress of William Philipps, Esq., of Picton.
Herbrandston ..	Griffith Davis m. Margaret co-heiress of John Barrett, Esq., of Gelliswick (1597).
Johnston, 10s. ..	Hugh Butler, Esq., m. Maud d. of Hugh Harris.
Jordanston * ..	Thomas Mathias, gent., m. Ursula d. of George Owen, Esq.
Lamphey, 7s. ..	The occupant of Lamphey was Rhys Scarfe, Esq., of Carmarthen (perhaps agent for Lord Essex) he m. 1st, Anne d. of William Westly, Esq.; 2nd, Anne d. of Humphrey Toye of Carmarthen, who printed at his own expense Salisbury's translation of the New Testament into Welsh.
Llandudoch ..	David Thomas m. Jane d. of Sir James Bowen, Knt., of Pentre Evan (1588).
Llandudoch ..	Rhys Bould gent., m. Ellen Bould (1613).
Llanrian ..	John Williams, gent., m. Alison d. of Thomas Williams.
Llanrian ..	Thomas James m. Ursula d. of Thomas Garnon, gent. (1613).
Llanllawer ..	Thomas Batman m. Anne d. of Rhys Evan, 1591.
Llysyfran, 2s. (Southfield) ..	Harry Johns (descended from William Johns of Treowen, the standard bearer of Harry VII.) m. Elizabeth d. of John Scourfield, Esq., 1591.
Llwyngwair ..	James Bowen, Esq., m. Ellen d. of John Griffith son of Sir W. Griffith of Penrian, 1591.
Manorbier † ..	John Marychurch m. Mary Lloyd of Llansteffan.
Manordeifi, 3s 4d ..	Thomas Phillips m. Ellen d. of John Cole of Laugharne.
Manorowen ..	Owen Phillipps, gent., m. Elizabeth d. of Thomas Owen of Robbynston.
Mathry ..	William Perkin m. Anne d. of John ap Philip, 1613.
Mathry ..	Hugh ap David m. 1st, Elizabeth d. of Griffith ap Lewis; 2nd, Elizabeth d. of Griffith Webb of Abergwain, 1613.
Mote ..	John Scourfield, Esq., m. Katherine sole heiress of Richard ap Owen.
Morville ..	Thomas Lloyd, Esq., m. Anne d. of Owain John of Trecwm.
Nantygoff Llanfair 3s. 4d.	John Johns m. Lettice d. of John Philipps, 1591.
Nevern, 2s. ..	Roland Yong m. Lucy d. of David Yong, 1591.
Nevern, 10s.‡ ..	William Warren, Esq., m. Jane d. of Thomas Bowen of Llystryn, 1591.
Nevern, 2s. ..	John Bowen m. Elizabeth Owen, Towyncrieg, 1591.
Newton ..	Philip Fitz Philip, gent., 1613.
Orielton, 10s. ..	Sir Hugh Owen, Knt., of Bodorgan, Anglesea, m. Elizabeth, heiress of the Wyrriotts of Orielton.

* Llangwarren. † Norchard. ‡ Trewern.

Patrick Church ..	Harry Adams, Esq., m. Anne d. of Richard Wogan of Boulston.
Pentre Evan, 10s. ..	Sir James Bowen, Knt., m. Mary d. of John Herle.
Picton Castle ..	John Philipps, Esq., m. 1st, Anne d. of Sir John Perrot, Knt.; 2nd, Margaret d. of Sir Robert Denner of "Bigton," Knt.
Pontvaen ..	John Vaughan m. Margaret d. of John Owen, 1591.
Prendergast ..	John Stepneth, Esq., m. Jane eldest daughter of Francis Mansell of Muddlescomb (John Stepneth's mother was Anne d. of Thomas Cadarn of Prendergast, probably Sir John Perrott's accuser), 1591.
Reynoldston ..	John Lamffe.
Roche Castle ..	Roland Walter, gent., m. Frances d. of Griffith ap Thomas, 1613.
Rickaston ..	John ap Rhys, Esq., m. Katherine d. and sole heiress of John Perrot of Scotsboro, 1597.
Rhosmarket ..	Robert Goodman, gent., m. Joan d. of John Pledall, 1613.
St. Bride's ..	John Laugharne, Esq., m. Jane daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, Knt.
St. David's ..	Thomas Hergest, gent., m. Elizabeth d. of John Beulle, gent., 1613.
St. David's Trecadwgan Eglwysycroes ..	Francis Parry, gent., m. Sena coheiress of John ap Edward, 1613.
St. Petrox Stackpole ..	Roger Lorte, Esq., m, Bertha d. of Hugh Fyndon, gent.
St. Petrox, 5s. ..	John Vaughan, "Customer" of Milford Haven, with the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan (an important office) m. Katherine d. of Owen ap John, 1561.
Scotsboro ..	William Perrot, Esq., m. Jane Lloyd.
Sealyham ..	John Tucker, gent., m. Anne d. of Evan Griffith.
Slebech, 10s. ..	George Barlow, Esq., m. Anne d. of John Vernon, Esq., of Hodnet, Shropshire, and Elizabeth Devereux of Lamphey.
Steynton ..	Thomas Johns m. Elenor d. of Sir Jno. Wogan of Wiston, Knt., 1591.
Stonehall ..	John Wogan, Esq., m. Jane d. of Sir William Wogan, Knt.
Treffgarne ..	Owen Edwards m. Ellin d. of Morgan Voyle of Haverfordwest, 1613.
Trellwyn, 10s.* ..	Charles Bowen, Esq., m. Ellen d. of Richard Denyer, Esq., 1591.
Upton Castle ..	Harry Bowen, Esq., m. Ellen d. of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, Knt.; Harry Bowen was descended from Owain son of Gruffya ap Nicholas and Alice heiress of the Malefants.
Wiston, 10s. ..	Sir William Wogan, Knt., m. Jane d. of Sir Thomas "Kolklock."
Wiston, 10s. ..	Richard Tottyll, Esq., J.P. of London, married Joan d. of Richard Grafton; he was a printer and stationer in London for forty years, at the Hand and Star, Fleet Street; he printed 78 works, mostly legal. In 1562 he printed the *Chronicles of England*, which was written by his father-in-law while in prison, where he was thrown for printing the Proclamation of Lady Jane Grey. Richard Tottyll retired into Pembrokeshire in the year 1583.
Y Garn ..	John Jankyn m. Katherine d. of David ap ——
Y Garn ..	John Symmins m. Margaret d. of David Lloyd of Pontvaen, 1613.

In the foregoing lists the spelling of places and personal names has been modernized, for Lewis Dwnn's jargon is certainly as far removed from the spelling or pronunciation prevalent in Pembrokeshire during the latter part of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, as it is from that used in the 19th. He appears to have known very little English, and wrote partly in Welsh, partly in a phonetic language not very easy of comprehension. For instance, "Dustus o pies au Corwm" stands for Justice of the Peace and Quorum; "Mikar" takes the place of Vicar; "Domas" of Thomas; "Macivr" of Mayor; "koeyr" is to be read as coheiress; "sgwier" stands for esquire; "wsmer" is a customer or officer of customs; M.D. is represented by "Doctor o Ffussig," and so on. Such things are of very little importance; but when we come to personal and place names, Dwnn's irregularities of spelling are to be regretted. We constantly find entries that are crammed with fantastic etymology, signed in normal fashion by the individual responsible for their accuracy, proving Dwnn and not the men of West Wales accountable for these eccentricities. But we must not be too hard on our herald; he did his work very thoroughly, and for labours which extended over twenty-five years seems to have received (from Pembrokeshire) the very modest honorarium of

* Treffloyne.

£6 18s. 3d. His contemporaries were not only bad paymasters, but seem to have taken little interest in his work. Lewis Dwnn's account of the matter is very quaint:—

I request of you wise and learned readers that you will not form your judgement of me by the appearance of my handwriting, for no one can go beyond his ability. I assure you, gentlemen, had I been a person wealthy in gold, silver, lands or living stock, I would have engaged a professional copyist before and after the occasion for a salary, who should be a learned man, that could write a fair hand easy to read in the manner I wished. Two obstructions prevented my book being written fairly and elegantly. First: the hurry of some of the gentry to leave home, allowing me a limited time even to do a little; and next the inhospitable disposition of some of the gentlemen, who would neither afford me meat or lodgings merely for working, but required money; and being far from the liberal, or either a good or bad public house, I was compelled to stay a couple of hours after dinner or supper, and having at last taken down every thing as they wished I had to depart and wend my way to the liberal if any could be found, if not to a tavern as best I could. Sometimes my companions were angry with me for bearing on my back the lineage of mischievous misers, nevertheless God put in my heart hope that a wretch who would neither give lodging or any other gift would have either a liberal son or daughter.*

Though the numerous examples of ecclesiastical, military, and domestic architecture still remaining in the county of Pembroke prove beyond doubt that the builder flourished greatly during the old Palatinate days, art and science were entirely ignored by the rough colonists, and no author worthy of mention appeared in Little England after the time of Giraldus until the advent of the 16th century. The first indication of a mental awakening seems to have taken place among Tenby men. Thomas Recorde, Esq., was Mayor in 1519. His father, Roger Recorde, Esq., originally of Eastwell, Kent, seems to have settled in Tenby. Thomas married Joan, daughter and coheiress of Thomas "Ysteven"† (Stephen) of Tenby, gentleman, and had issue two sons, Richard and Robert.‡ Richard took his place as head of the family, married Elizabeth, daughter of William Beanam of Tenby and Gloucestershire, gentleman, and was elected Mayor in 1559, but in his earlier days he had distinguished himself as an alchemical writer, and is mentioned among others in *Bloomfield's Blossoms*, a poem of Henry VIII.'s days.§ The younger brother Robert was however a much more celebrated man. He was

The first original writer on arithmetic in English; the first on geometry; the first person who introduced the knowledge of algebra into England; the first writer on astronomy in English; the first person in this country who adopted the Copernican system; the inventor of the present method of extracting the square root; the inventor of the sign of equality; the inventor of the method of extracting the square root of multinomial algebraic quantities:—all these claimants for fame and the respect of posterity unite in Robert Recorde, M.D., physician to Queen Mary, a native of Tenby, in Pembrokeshire, and a man whose memory deserves a much larger portion of fame than it has hitherto met with. The particulars which I have been able to collect relative to Recorde's life are few. It seems that he went to Oxford about 1525, where he publicly taught rhetoric, mathematics, music and anatomy, and was elected a fellow of All Souls College in 1531. He was resident in London as early as 1547. According to Fuller, he was of the Protestant religion. Kennet says that he died early in 1588, but he does not give his authority; though it is probable that he did not long survive the making of his will, which is dated 28th of June, 1558, and where he styles himself "Robert Recorde, Doctor of Physicke, though sicke in body yet whole of mynde." This document is preserved in the Prerogative Office, and furnishes some facts. To Arthur Hilton, Under-Marshal of the King's Bench, "where I now remaine prisoner," his wife and the other officers and prisoners, he gave small sums amounting to £6 16s. 8d.; to his servant John, £6; to his mother, and his father-in-law, her husband, £20; to Richarde Recorde, his brother, and Robert Recorde, his nephew, his goods and chattels, out of which his debts and the expenses of his funeral were to be discharged. In a codicil to this will, made on the following day, he gives directions that his law books should be sold to Nicolas Adams, a fellow-prisoner, for £4. The works of Recorde are all written in dialogue between master and scholar, in the rude English of the time. All his writings considered together, Recorde was no common man. It is evident that he did not write very freely at first in English, but his

* Translation of Lewis Dwnn's Preface, by Sir T. Philipps, Bart.

† This is still a common pronunciation in South Pembrokeshire.

‡ Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 68.

§ Ashmole's *Thealcum Chemicum Britanicum*, p. 309.



St Johns Hospital

styles improves as he goes on. His writings continued to the end of the century to be those in common use on the subjects on which he wrote, though we must gather this more from the adoption of ideas and notation than from absolute citation.—Halliwell's *Connexion of Wales with the Early Science of England.**

George Owen of Henllys, Lord of Cemaes and Historian of Pembrokeshire, could not lay claim to the scientific knowledge which his countryman Robert Recorde had acquired; but there can be no doubt if Owen in his lifetime had published a completed history instead of leaving behind him a fragmentary MS., he would have taken a high place among the topographical writers of Great Britain. The MS. in the Harleian Collection is in a beautifully clear Elizabethan handwriting, on paper with the Tankard watermark, and is dated 1603. As Owen did not finish his work it is probable that he did not live very long after this date.

Verse, always a favourite form of literature in Wales proper, was now cultivated among the colonists of Little England. For instance Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was more than a rhymester. Take as an example his address to the Queen when he was in disgrace:—

> The ways on earth have paths and turnings known,
> The ways on sea are gone by needle light,
> The birds of heaven the nearest ways have flown,
> And under earth the moles do cast aright;
> A way more hard than these I needs must take
> Where none can teach, nor no man can conduct
> Where no man's good for me examples make,
> But all men's faults do teach her to suspect. †

Thomas Phaer, Doctor of Physic and Castellan of Kilgerran, took the foremost place among our local poets. About the year 1577 Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, conceived the idea of a tragic poem, in which should be embodied the history of English political martyrdom, the shade of each illustrious victim reciting his woes in person. Sackville had performed but a small portion of his task when he discovered it was too great an undertaking for one man; he therefore invited the co-operation of Richard Baldwyn and George Ferrers; these in their turn asked aid from Churchyard and Phaer; the latter contributed a history of Owain Glyndwr to this collection, which was called *The Mirrour for Magistrates.*‡ Besides this work Thomas Phaer translated the "Æneid" into English. He was a Norfolk man, but settled down in Kilgerran Forest, where he died. Sir Thomas Elliott, Knight, of Narberth and Erewere, compiled a Latin English dictionary, and wrote certain other works. Richard Davies the Bishop, and Thomas Huett the Chancellor of St. David's, were busily

* The Recordes at the time of Lewis Dwnn's Visitation occupied the old hospital of St. John the Baptist, which stood in the south-west corner of St. John's Croft, Tenby, as tenants under the Corporation. Among the Tenby muniments is the copy of a certificate as to the value of charity lands taken by Commission dated 14th February, 2nd Edward VI., and signed John Basset (the Surveyor) and John Phe Morgan; these were assisted by Sir Thomas Johns, Knt. (of Haroldston, stepfather of Sir John Perrot), David Broke (Sergeant-at-law), and John Rastall, Arm. (Mayor of Tenby 1552). Among other lands they certified that

> "There is also wtn the said prshe one Hospitall or free Chappell of Saynte Jones founded to fynd a Mr. to srve God and or Lady and Saynt John Baptist for ever and he to have for his salarie the valew of the lande whiche amounte yerely as appereth pticlrly by a Rental exhibeted as is afforsaid to the some of ix*l.* iii*s.* iiii*d.*"

> "In the Stipende or Wage of Robt. Collyns Mr. ther ofthage of lvii. yeres having other spuall promoc by yere ix*l.* iii*s.* iiii*d.*"

> "There is belonging to the said Hospitall certeyn goods as here after foloythe, that is to say a bell valewed at iii*s.* iiii*d.*; a payre of vestments v*s.*; one alter clothe viii*d.*; a sacring bell 1*s.*; the paxe and cruett viii*d.*; too candelsticks ii*s.*; and a masse book x*d.*; in all xii*s.* vi*d.*"

We hear no more of St. John's until 1588, when the lands belonging to that foundation were leased by the Crown to the Corporation of Tenby for a term of sixty years, subject to a rental of £5 15s. 8d.—See Minister's Accounts, 30 Elizabeth, Record Office.

† Bibl. Reg. MS., Brit. Mus. 17 B L.

‡ Howe Owen Glendowr seduced by false prophecyes to be upon him to be Prince of Wales and was by Henry Prince of England chased to the mountaynes where he miserablye died for lacke of foode Anno D. 1401.—Imprinted at London by Thos. Marshe, A.D. 1574.

employed in translating the Scriptures into Welsh. The new profession of printers and publishers was well represented in Pembrokeshire. Richard Tottyll resided at Wiston. He was celebrated as the leading London printer. For forty years he carried on business at "The Hand and Star, Fleet Street," from which establishment Tottyll sent out seventy-eight works, chiefly legal. In 1562 he published "An Abridgement of the Chronicles of England," which was written by his father-in-law Richard Grafton while in prison, where he was thrown for printing the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey. Richard Tottyll retired to Wiston in 1583, and his brother-in-law Richard, son of the above Richard Grafton, established himself at Carew. Rhys Scarfe, Esq., the occupant of Lamphey Court, gave his daughter Anne in marriage to a printer and publisher, Humphrey Toye, who carried on business at The Helmet, St. Paul's Church-yard. Salisbury's Welsh translation of the Common Prayer-book was "imprinted at London by Henry Denham at the costes aud charges of Humphrey Toye, anno 1567." Toye was buried at St. Peter's Church, Carmarthen, of which town his father Robert was Mayor in 1582. Humphrey Toye's son Griffith was Rector of Langum, Pembrokeshire; and his daughter Maud married "Syr" Richard Bathro, who succeeded his brother-in-law in that cure.

From the above it is apparent that in Little England the Elizabethan period was marked by a renewal of prosperity; mental activity was aroused, and material comfort greatly increased. The towns indeed probably decayed somewhat, partly in consequence of the removal of troops, partly through an opening up of rural industries. The woollen manufactory (formerly the staple trade of Pembrokeshire) had indeed almost disappeared early in the 16th century,* but we find a much larger area under corn, deeper veins of coal explored and utilized, and the herring fishery diligently worked. The proceeds of these various industries were exported to England and Ireland in Pembrokeshire bottoms, thus finding employment for a considerable number of seamen, while many more of this class took service on board the outward-bound vessels which sheltered in the Haven. As a counterpoise to this new-born prosperity, men's minds were unsettled by a haunting dread of foreign invasion. Milford Haven lay perilously near to Spain. In the year 1587 the Deputy-Lieutenants, Sir Thomas Perrot and George Owen, Esq., raised a militia of 500 men, whom they divided into seven companies,

> Which were trayned and instructed in feats of warre and use of their weapons for the deufence of the realme by a muster master chosen for his skill for that purpose .... and the following year (1588) the countrymen of themselves entering into consideration of the immenent perill they were subject unto were forced to their great charge and impoverishment to augment the number of their trayned bands.

About this same time a panic seized on the inhabitants of Tenby. The fortifications which Jasper Tudor† had restored and handed over to the Corporation were decayed, and the cost of reparation alarmed the burgesses.‡ Under such circumstances in former days the inhabitants would have applied for succour to the Earl, or to the Sovereign if it happened he was also Earl of Pembroke; but that course was of no avail, for when King Edward VI. created William Herbert (son of Sir Richard Herbert of Ewyas, Knight) Earl of Pembroke in

* According to tradition this discontinuance of weaving was the result of an epidemic. Norris (*Etchings of Tenby*, p. 20) says it was reported that the panic-stricken workmen fled from Tenby to Devonshire; and Fenton, p. 553, asserts that about the beginning of the 16th century an extensive woollen manufactory was carried on in the town of Newport, but owing to a great mortality, probably from the sweating sickness, it fell into decay. The clip of wool had doubled in Elizabeth's time.—George Owen's *History*, *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 162.

† See page 215 *ante*.

‡ The fortifications of Tenby had not been long dismantled, for we find in John Bassett's certificate as to chantry lands, under Commission dated 14th Feb. 2nd Edward VI., and quoted on page 309, "The saide Towne of Tenbye ys a mkett Towne, well wallid and a very defenceable Towne for the Warr, and well replennysheid at all kynd of artillerye, and munyssion for the same, and stoinding upon the mayne see, having a verie faire haveyn where the Inhabitaunts of the said Towne haithe beildyd a fare peire for the saifegard of shippes wheroute there ys greitt repare of straingers."

1551, the title carried no estates, the jurisdictions, revenues and estates of the Earldom being retained by the Sovereign, so that the burgesses were obliged to make direct application to the Crown for aid.

Prior to the year 1588 the Bailiffs of Tenby answered to the Crown for the following rents, which had formed part of the possessions of Jasper Duke of Bedford :—

	£	s.	d.
Rents of Assize	12	15	10
„ of divers burgages	7	8	2
Other rents of like description	2	3	10
Newly discovered do.	0	1	0
Rent of three mills	4	12	8
Rent of 50 acres of demesne land	4	4	8
Tolls of fair and markets	2	0	0
	£33	6	2

They also answered for profits of courts held in the town. In the year 1588 this lease was rescinded, the burgage rents were altered from £9 12s. 0d. to £9 13s. 5d.; the profits of courts were assessed at 6s. 8d.; and lands in Waterchurch (Waterwynch) were added at a rental of 6s. 10d.; this brought up the total to £34 0s. 1d., being an increase of 13s. 11d., but in the said lease the rents were only extended to the sum of £24 10s. 9d., while the following premises were added :—

	£	s.	d.
Divers lands and tenements in Roulston and Stackpole	3	15	4
Lands belonging to S. John's Chapelry	3	6	11
„ „ Maudlin's Hospital	3	5	0
„ „ Divers Chantries	7	11	0
„ given for the support of lamps and a light in Tenby	1	0	8
„ belonging to S. John's Hospital	5	15	8
„ given for an obsequy	0	6	8
	26	19	3
In which with the sum of	24	10	9
Made up a total	£51	10	0

This lease which was no doubt a beneficial one to the Corporation of Tenby was granted for a term of sixty years, the consideration for granting the same being that the Corporation undertook to revive and pay the rents of divers mills and burgages which were then in decay to the amount of £11 5s. 5d. There can be little doubt that a further un-named consideration was that the fortifications of Tenby should be put in proper repair; but seeing that this was already the absolute duty of the Corporation, in consequence of the undertaking given by this body to Jasper Tudor Earl of Pembroke, it was unnecessary to enter it in the lease of 1588. For the fact that these reparations were carried out we have unimpeachable evidence. A little to the southward of the South-western Gate a slab (which still remains) was inserted, on which is inscribed

A° 1588.
E. R. 30.

Soon after this an inspecor, one Mr. Paul Ivy, was sent to survey the Haven and decide

on places fit for fortification, but this gentleman appears to have hurried over his work, though according to tradition he spent some time in the county

At a place, as some pretend to say, on what authority I know not called from him Ivy Tower, now the residence of William Williams, Esq., where it was believed the voluptuous surveyor found a magnet of more powerful attraction than either Milford or Tenby.*

No results having attended Mr. Ivy's survey, a petition was addressed to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Essex, and Lord Buckhurst, dated November 8th, 1595, signed by Anthony Rudd Lord Bishop of St. David's, Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Knight, George Owen of Henllys, Esq., Francis Meyrick of Fleet, Esq., and Alban Stepneth of Prendergast, Esq., in which the petitioners pointed out that

The Haven itself, being neither barred to hinder entry, nor to be embayed to lett issue forth, is a sufficient harborow for an infinite number of ships, which haven being once gotten by the enemy, may draw on such fortification at Pembroke town and castle, standing upon a main rock, and upon a creek of the haven, and the town and castle of Tenby, with other places near unto them, as infinite numbers of men, and great expense of treasure, will hardly in a long time remove the enemy, during which time her majesty shall lose a fertile country. Also it is to be remembered that the soil near the said haven yieldeth corn in such abundance as would suffice to maintain a great army; and the sea coast near about it yieldeth great plenty of fish, the haven also standeth very commodiously to receive victualles from France, Brittany, or Spaine; all which things may be an occasion to move the enemy to affect that place before others; and alsoe there are in Pembrokeshire eighteen castles; of which though there be but two or three in reparation, yet are the rest places of great strength and easily to be fortified by the enemy, some of which are so seated naturally for strength as they seem impregnable; alsoe there are in that shire to be seen in sundry parts thereof divers sconses or forts of earth raised in great height with great rampires and ditches to the number of 26 or 27, which in times past have been places of strength in time of wars; all which castles and fortes would yield great advantage to the enemies to strengthen themselves in such sort that it would be an infinite charge to remove them from thence. Again the same is situated within 7 hours sailing to Waterford and Wexford in Ireland, so that the enemy having intention to invade Ireland (and by report we have heard he hath) this harborowe in this haven may serve him to great purpose. Further more, being lord (as it were) of these seas, by possessing the haven what spoil he may make along Severn, on both sides even to Bristol may be easily conjectured, and if he (which God forbid) should enjoy Brittany withall, our English merchants can have noe trade, which will decrease her highness's customs and decay the navy. . . . . We humbly pray your lordships to consider whether it be not expedient for the withstanding of the enemy that he obtain not this harborowe, to have a sufficient number of ships of warre and fortifications to defend the same, which preparation if the enemy might perceive, we believe verily it would alter his mind from adventuring his navy upon this coast.†

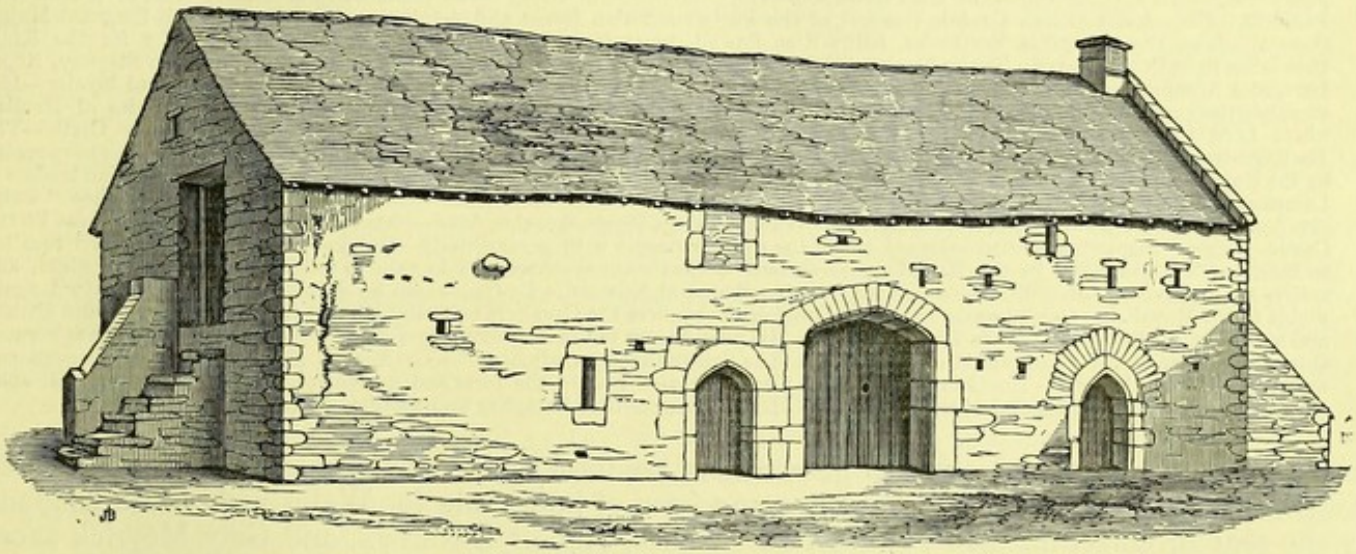
Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, attached to a treatise termed *Reasons to prove the necessitie of Fortyfying Milford Haven*, by John Clarke of Copton Magna, Warwickshire, 1750, is a pamphlet containing the description of Mylford Haven, &c., by George Daves (this name is altered into Purefoy), the countie of Pembroke (altered into Warwick), 1595. It was probably drawn up at the same time as the petition, and runs as follows:—

The towne and castle of Pembroke. The towne having three gates only and the town walles being strongly defended with vi. flanking towers in such sort as out of them the whole walles may be (word lost) and defended from approach of enemies. And in some of the same towers are faire springs of cleer sweet runnyng water for the necessary relief of the people in. This castle is thought almost impregnable, the weakest part thereof is a small parte that adjoineth to the towne, which is only defended with a dry ditch, and which may be made very strong and deepened, the towne walls springeth from the sayde castle and stretching forth on every side of the saide towne. All the castle walles are standing verye stronge without any decaye, only the rooffes and leades have been taken

* Note by Fenton to Owen's *History*, *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 180.

† George Owen's hand can readily be traced in this petition. A copy of the original was in the possession of his commentator, John Lewis, who attached it to the "MS. History of Pembrokeshire," and Fenton printed it in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 178.

down. Within the saide castle is the great cave under ground called the Wogan, able if occasion to receive a great multitude of people, being a place free from all assaults or battery, and in the same is a well of fresh water of great depth which cannot be taken away, serving for the use of the people within the said castle. The gate or entrance of the said castle is made stronge divers wayes, as with drawe bridge and portcullis, and other means very defensible. This town and castle thus lying upon the said branch of Milford be unfortified as it now remayneth is thought very perillous if the enemy should fresh possess the same, and would be by them so fortified and defended as it would be the loss of many lives to them therefrom. Wherefore I have thought fitte to note it here.



FORTIFIED BUILDING AT PONTVAEN, IN CEMAES.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR.

Intrigues between Pembrokeshire leaders and the Scotch Court—Essex favoured by the King—His marriage and divorce—Visits Lamphey—Leader of the Presbyterian party—Sir James Perrot, M.P. for Haverfordwest, ordered to Ireland—Laud Bishop of St. David's—The Carew family—Barlows of Slebech and Tenby—Woollen factory—Fisheries—Willes Mark—The King having asked aid from Quarter Sessions, the Court declines—He asks for a pinnace from Pembrokeshire, which is refused—The Court of High Commission—Richard Parry of Llanvalteg prosecuted—Bishop Mainwaring—Phillips, Vicar of Amroth, declines to read the Book of Sports—Presbyterians had no chapels—Ship Money—Essex leads the English army against Scotland—The Long Parliament—Essex resigns his appointment—The Irish Rebellion—The Commission of Array—The Commission of Militia—List of the latter in Pembrokeshire—Essex chosen Captain-General of the Parliamentarian forces and nominates Sir John Meyrick Sergeant-Major-General—John Poyer fortifies Pembroke, 1642—Rice Powell comes from Ireland—Lord Carbery occupies Tenby for the King, 1643—Sea fight in the Haven—Tenby bombarded by Parliament fleet, which is repulsed—Lord Carbery, Sir John Stepney, Roger Lort, and Archdeacon Rudd impeached by Parliament—Pill Fort—Carew Castle—Manorbier Castle—Protestation of loyalty—List of subscribers—Stackpole fortified—Lord Carbery visits Haverfordwest, 1643—Roche Castle fortified—Mrs. White of Henllan visits Lord Carbery—Colonel Laugharne sallies out from Pembroke and cuts off some Royalists near Carew Castle—The Parliamentarian fleet relieves Pembroke—Stackpole, Trefflоyne, and Pill Fort taken by the Roundheads—Haverfordwest evacuated by the Royalists—Roche Castle yields—Tenby bombarded and stormed—Carew Castle capitulates—List of Parliamentarian leaders—Lamphey occupied by Master Gunter—Parliament nominates a Committee of Defence—List of members—Swanley makes "water rats" of Irish prisoners—Colonel Gerard sent into Wales—Enters Pembrokeshire, 1644—Retakes Haverfordwest—Captures Picton Castle—Legend respecting Picton—Gerard treats the country people with great cruelty—Retakes Roche Castle—Gerard recalled to Bristol—Cardigan taken by the Roundheads—Colonel Gerard returns—Attempts in vain to retake Cardigan, is repulsed, and retires to Carmarthen—Recruits there and falls on Laugharne at Newcastle Emlyn, whom he defeats with loss—Haverford again yields to the Royalists—Gerard again recalled—Laugharne conquers the Cavaliers on Colby Moor, takes Haverfordwest and Carew, and concludes the first Civil War in Pembrokeshire—His proceedings in the neighbouring counties—Slebech granted to Laugharne—Quarrel between Pesbyterians and Independents—"The Self-sacrificing Ordinance"—The Earl of Essex deprived of his command over the army in the field—The Commons propose also to deprive him of the forts and garrisons—He resigns, as does Sir John Meyrick—The death and funeral of the Earl—Lady Hertford succeeds to Lamphey and the Pembrokeshire property.

As we have seen, for at least two generations Pembrokeshire men intrigued with the Scotch Kings, hoping by their aid to establish some form of home rule for Wales with Little England as the seat of Government. In turn Rice Griffith, Robert Devereux, and Gilly Meyrick sacrificed their lives in the prosecution of this conspiracy. When a Stewart succeeded to the throne of England this plot naturally came to naught; but James was not forgetful of such as had served his house. Elizabeth forgave Griffith Rice, son of Rice Griffith, and restored to him a portion of the paternal acres; James gave back yet more to his grandson. The young Earl of Essex was received with favour by the King, the attainder removed and the lad himself received in the royal household, where he became the chosen companion of Prince Henry. A story is told by Robert Coddington, the Earl's biographer, to the following effect. The Prince and Earl were one day playing tennis; they fell out after the manner of boys, and the former upbraided young Devereux with his father's treason, on which the Earl hit his royal highness over the head with his racket "so shrewdly" that the blood ran down. The King hearing of the matter examined into it and dismissed the lads, saying to his son

> That he who did strike him then, would be sure, with more violent blows, to strike his enemies in times to come.

In the year 1606 Lord Essex, then a boy of fifteen, married Lady Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, a child thirteen years of age. As they were deemed too young to cohabit, the Earl was sent abroad in order that he might complete his education by foreign travel, and the little bride returned to the care of her mother, Lady Suffolk.

About the year 1611 Lord Essex returned home, having just recovered from an attack of small pox, which had severely scarred him. Either through aversion felt in consequence of this disfigurement, or because of a mad passion she had conceived for the infamous Robert Carr (who had been just elevated to the peerage as Viscount Rochester), Lady Essex absolutely refused to live with her husband. She was at last obliged by her parents to join him at Chartley, but when there shut herself up in a private apartment, declined to meet Lord Essex, and when he forced himself into her presence called him "cow, beast, and coward." Not contented with vulgar abuse she sought the advice of a harridan named Turner, who by means of little wax and brass figures contrived to resemble Lady Essex, Rochester, and Lord Essex, pretended by enchantment to wither away the latter and strengthen and unite the former; this hag also supplied *philtres* which were to be administered to the two noblemen. In May, 1613, Lady Essex applied for a dissolution of her marriage on plea of impotence. Lord Essex had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was on the commission appointed to try the case, and announced himself willing to aid the divorce in all way that did not reflect on his honour, but said "he would lay no blemish on himself." He then retired to Lamphey Court, intending to remain in privacy until the disgusting business was over, but Henry Howard, third son of Lord Suffolk and brother of Lady Essex, made speeches concerning the Earl which could not be overlooked. Essex forthwith challenged him, and early in September, 1613, the Earl sailed from Milford Haven to Calais to meet his libeller. King James interfered, and the duel was never fought. The Countess obtained her divorce and is branded as infamous to all time.

From the day of its settlement by Arnulph de Montgomery Little England had been the appanage of puissant leaders. Strongbow, the Mareschals, Aylmer de Valence, the Hastings Earls, Duke Humphrey, Jasper Tudor, William Herbert, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, and lastly the Devereux family ruled South Pembrokeshire; and its colonists had learned instinctively to believe that *their* lord was second only to the king. Not one of the illustrious heroes named above had inspired his followers with a more loyal love than did Robert (2) Devereux Earl of Essex, who was soon acknowledged as leader of the English Presbyterians. It is probable that he never put foot in Pembrokeshire after that day in 1613 when he sailed from the Haven to avenge his honour, which had been so cruelly assailed, that the personal influence of Lord Essex seems to have made Presbyterianism the fashionable creed among Pembrokeshire men, most of whom were members of the faction known as the "Country Party." We find that Sir James Perrot, Knt., of Haroldston,* who was elected burgess for the town and county of Haverfordwest, and sat in the several Parliaments between 1603 and 1621,

> Shewing himself a frequent and bold, if not a passionate speaker (especially in that dissolved January 6, 1621) and therefore numbered among *the ill-tempered spirits* therein, as the king usually called them; he was not imprisoned in London and Southwark as some of them were, but was sent with Sir Dudley Digges and others into Ireland for their punishment. He was joined with certain persons under the Great Seal of England, for the inquiry after certain matters concerning His Majesty's service as well in the Government, ecclesiastical and civil, as in point of revenue and otherwise, within that kingdom.†

The debate which led to this honorary banishment of Sir James Perrot was on the proposed marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta of Spain, against which the Commons strongly remonstrated and sent a petition to the King praying him to prosecute the war in defence of the Palatinate, to declare war against Spain and marry Charles to a Protestant Princess. The leaders of "The Country Party" in the Lords were the Earls of Oxford, Southampton,

* He was an illegitimate son of Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy and in some way became possessed of the old family mansion.

† Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

Essex, Warwick,* and the Lords Say and Spencer. The King prorogued Parliament on the 19th of December, 1620, and dissolved it in the February of the following year, saying to Robert Devereux, "I fear thee not, Essex, if thou wert as well beloved as thy father, and hadst 40,000 men at thy heels." Oxford was committed to the Tower, Sir Edward Cope, Sir Robert Philipps, Mr Pym and some others imprisoned. Sir Dudley Digges, Sir James Perrot sent into Ireland. The King passed over Essex whom, notwithstanding the brave words quoted above, was a dangerous man to meddle with.

This same year (1621) Bishop Milbourn† was translated from the See of St. David's to that of Carlisle, and was succeeded by William Laud, the notorious advocate of "Divine Right of Kings." If he was appointed to convert the followers of Essex and Perrot, Laud does not appear to have availed himself of his opportunities, for his reign at St. David's was a short one, and he was usually an absentee. Tradition says we owe the fine altar steps of Tenby Church to a suggestion made by this prelate to E. Smith, the Rector. Essex had been serving as a volunteer in Holland when he was recalled by the Parliamentary crisis in 1620–21, and with him were two Pembrokeshire gentlemen—John Meyrick of Fleet, near Pembroke, a nephew of Sir Gilly; and Rowland Laugharne of St. Bride's. On March 27, 1625, King James died at Theobalds.

Such then was the state of affairs in Little England when Charles I. succeeded to the throne. The chief men were members of the "Country Party" and imbued with Presbyterianism, looking to the Earl of Essex as their leader. Of course there were exceptions. For instance, had the Carew people not supported their King they would have been grossly ungrateful, for when this estate lapsed to the Crown, after the attainder of Lord Essex, Sir John Carew obtained a lease of his ancestral lands, but on the accession of Charles, Sir John pointed out that no luck could come to any occupant of Carew Castle unless he was descended from Gerald de Windsor. Sir Rhys ap Thomas acquired it from the old stock; his son died prematurely, his grandson on the scaffold. Then Sir John Perrot obtained possession, but he died a prisoner in the Tower under sentence of death to make way for Lord Essex, who lost his head for treason. King Charles was so much impressed by this argument that he restored the freehold of Carew to the old family. Sir John Carew does not however seem to have taken a very prominent position in the county. He was High Sheriff in 1623, but did not sit in Parliament. John Barlow of Slebech, Esq. (great grandson of old Roger Barlow, the Bishop's brother), a "Church Papist" and a strenuous upholder of the "Divine Right of Kings," though one of the chief landowners in the county, was neither Sheriff or Member of Parliament. Whether their Royalist opinions debarred these men from public life, it is hard to say. The people were seemingly prosperous, as they had been in Elizabeth's reign. In Tenby an attempt was made to resuscitate the woollen industry, but with indifferent results, for we find that in the year 1629 a master clothier named Harry Ashe was obliged to raise money on his plate, &c.‡ For some unknown reason the Tenby fisheries appear to have

* Eldest son of Penelope Devereux, daughter of Earl Walter.

† He is remarkable as the last bishop who resided at St. David's. Jones and Freeman believe in the Palace. (See p. 203 of their *History of St. David's.)* Hollinshed states "he misliked very much of the cold situation of his cathedral church, and therefore he would gladly pull it down and set it in a warmer place."– *Chron.*, vol. i., p. 145.

‡ "xxij° die Octobris, 1629.—At wch daie Richard Howell, Alderman, Chamberlain of the towne of Tembie, hath received of Lewis Bishope and Evan Longe, late Bailiffe of the said town, with and by the consent of Harry Ashe of Tembie, weaver, these pieces of plate and other things following (viz.): xxiiij ounses and a half of silver plate, being one beaker, one bowle, and six silver spoons; also two goulde ringes wayinge half an ounse and one dram of silver waight. And likewise one Indenture graunted from Griffith White, Esquire, unto one Balthazar Mertyn, deceased, predecessor of the said Harry Ashe, upon the house wherein the said Harry doth dwell nowe, all wch said plate, spoons, rings, and Indenture of lease, being the goods of the said Harry, were by him the said Harry delivered unto the said Lewis and Evan, late Bailiffs aforesaid, to the use of the Maior, Bailiffs and Burgesses of Tembie in securetie to save the said late Bailiffe harmeless for the summe of xli due to the said Towne from the said Harry in pte of a greater debt due as aforesaid. (Signed), RICH : HOWELL."—Extract from Chamberlain's account among Tenby Corporation documents.

failed about this period. In the year 1627 we find that John Rogers, the Mayor, made inquiries into the matter.* Tradition reports that this misfortune befell the town in consequence of the merciless treatment accorded to a certain dumb man by a Mayor of Tenby, who had him flogged for contempt in that he would not plead to some charge brought against him. Still times were fairly good, and rich men fairly plentiful.†

The first swell of the coming storm reached Pembrokeshire in 1620. The King having quarreled with his Parliament over supply dismissed them, and sent a letter to each Court of Quarter Sessions throughout the Kingdom, in which he

Desired his loving subjects to be a law unto themselves, and to grant that which had it passed as was intended they would have been compellable unto.‡

The court met at Haverfordwest on July 29th, heard the King's letter read, and then adjourned to August 8th, on which day they excused themselves from offering a voluntary supply on the plea of poverty. The next thing we hear is that Charles called on the seaport towns to provide him with ships to carry on the war, and the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire were bidden to furnish a pinnace. After some discussion as to the meaning of the mandate, and whether it was intended that the whole county should subscribe, or only such portions of it as abutted on Milford Haven, the Justices of Pembrokeshire informed the Council they were unable to furnish the pinnace required. Then His Majesty asked for a loan, and in this

* "The 26th April, 1627.—At which time John Rogers Mayor of Tenby understanding there is a rock called Willes mark lying betwixt Caldy Lundy and Wormshead being in length about a league and in breadth about half a league as it is reported. And hearing there hath been such abundance of God Blessings in fish on the said Rock as that the Town of Tenby and the key therein were first builded by the benefit of the fish that were taken thereon. The Said Entreated all the old fishermen whose names are here under written to nominate unto him as near as they could what were the marks that was holding to be good to find out the said Rock and these parties delivered as followeth——

The Fishermen's Names.		
John Brown John Adams Thos. Adams John Moore Wm. Kething	}	Report—That the Rock lyeth in the midst of the Sea betwixt the Islands of Caldy, Lundy and Wormshead in the midst of a triangle or as it were in the midst of a Brandas of three Leagues.

"So that the Rock lyeth betwixt Caldy, Lundy & Wormshead. And it is reported by the fishermen & others that go to seek it. They ought to hold their course from the Eastern Point of Great Caldy over the Ebb South East by East, untill you bring the high hill of Neath which is beyond Swansea right over the lower point of Port Enyon, and the Windmill of Tenby right over the Chappell of Caldy Top for Top and then Wormshead will appear like a Saddle and as it were a man sitting in the Saddle. And being upon it Lnndy lyeth from it South and by West, and it is reported by the said fishermen that there is 12: 14 or 16 fathoms of Water upon it and 32 fathoms about it: and there is about it Millwell, Ling, Congers, Breams, Gernets and all kinds of Sea fish Gods Plenty thereof and fowls do flock about it very much in the summer.

"Also the said fishermen do say that the course to find the said Rock called Wills Mark is to go first to East Colbrin *(this place is no longer known by the same name)* which is a Rock or place well known to the fishermen of Tenby and from thence Sail or Row by point of Compas South East by East over the Ebb Tide and then let fall a Cellock to hang tripping with the ground untill the said Cellock catch hold of the Rock called Wills mark and do wend the Boat about and they say that this hath been the old course to find it after ye go from Colbrin let the weather be clear or misty.

"Also there was a South coast man came to John Rogers Mayor of Tenby 1612 and he said to him and divers of the Aldermen of Tenby that he came by chance on a Rock about halfway betwixt Lundy and Caldy in a calm and let fall his anchor and finding himself on a rock he sounded and found about 18 fathoms of water on it. And he cast outt fishing lines within two hours or thereabouts he took as much fish as he sold in Tenby the next day by retale that he made twenty Nobles of it. And had fish to serve his Kettle till he went home to the South coast again."—Corporation Document quoted by Norris in his *Etchings of Tenby*, p. 83.

† For instance, the Risam family, who provided mayors and bailiffs for Tenby through several generations. William Risam, who was Mayor in 1618 and 1624, is buried in St. Mary's Church; on his tomb, which is without date, is the following bequest:—

TWO HVNDRED POVNDS
AND 50 MORE
HE GAVE THIS TOWNE
TO HELPE THE POORE

THE VSE OF ONE ON CLOTHE
AND COLES BESTOWE
FOR 12 DECREPED MEANE
AND LOWE

LET 50 POVNDS TO FIVE
BE YEARELY LENT
THE OTHERS VSE ON BVRGESS
SONNES BE SPENT

WILLIAM RISAM TRADESME GAVE
THIS LI 250 FOR EVER GRATIS

VIZ. YEARLY TO SET OVT
2 PRENTICES

‡ State Paper Office, vol. 31 and 30.

he appears to have been more successful in Little England, for though the inhabitants of Haverfordwest required great "persuasion," in the county of Pembroke very few made default, and these were poor or absent.* After this submission on the part of our colonists to their King, the tide of strife rolled back to Westminster, where Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, and Sir James Perrot of Harroldston (as representatives of Pembrokeshire, Pembroke Boroughs, and Haverfordwest respectively,) voted steadily against Absolutism in Church and State. In 1626 Bishop Laud was promoted to Bath and Wells, and for a short period the throne of St. David was without an occupant. In the following year Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, was appointed to the vacant see. If Bishop Field was expected to do great things among the Presbyterians of West Wales he must either have disappointed his patrons, or by mischance no record of his labours has been preserved. The historians of St. David's believe he spent much of his time at Brecon. At length the great ecclesiastical High Commission Court called on the Bishop of St. David's to take measures against Puritanism then rampant in his diocese. At Llanvalteg, a parish partly in Carmarthen and partly in Pembrokeshire, about five miles from Narberth, one Richard Parry was charged with brawling in church, stating that the devil got into his knees after taking the sacrament, abusing Roger Phillips his Rector, and worst of all stating

> If he were King there should be no Bishop in the land, but every Doctor should have £100 a year, every Master of Arts £20 or £30, adding "What good do Bishops do in the land?"†

Parry was fined £2000, to be paid to the Crown, and ordered to make submission both in the parish Church of Llanvalteg and the Cathedral of St. David's. Bishop Field had stirred somewhat before the prosecution of Parry, for we find at the commencement of 1633,

> My Lord Bishop of St. David's is now resident in his diocese, and hath so been ever since last spring, and professes that he will take great care hereafter to whom he gives holy orders. His Lordship certifies that he hath suspended a lecturer for his inconformity.

Again, in January, 1634,

> The Bishop (of St. David's) is careful whom he ordains. The lecturers in these parts are not many, yet of late he hath been driven first to suspend, and afterwards to dismiss one Roberts, a Welsh lecturer, for inconformity, and one or two others that hath with their giddiness offered to distemper the people he hath likewise driven out of the diocese. His lordship complains grievously and not without cause that there are few ministers in those poor and remote places that are able to preach and instruct.—*Lambeth MSS.* vol. 943.

Such was the report made to the High Commission Court respecting the Diocese of St. David's, and if we read between the lines it would appear that Bishop Field was not a *persona grata* though the *writer* seems favourably disposed towards him. In 1635 Field was translated to Hereford. If any churchman could be more obnoxious to the Puritan party than another it was Roger Mainwaring,‡ and the Court party selected him as the new Bishop of St. David's. Dr. Mainwaring was no half-hearted advocate of Divine Right as had been his predecessor. He had publicly preached and subsequently published a sermon in which he stated that kings were bound by no laws, that they could without the consent of Parliament impose loans and

* *S.P.O.* vol. 73, August 1st.

† Acts of High Commission Court in 1634 and 1635, in State Paper Office, quoted by Phillips in *Civil War in Wales*, vol. i., p. 65.

‡ Mainwaring was born at Stretton, Shropshire; educated at the King's School, Worcester; student (1604) and clerk of All Souls Coll., Oxon; vicar of S. Giles in the Fields, and chaplain to the King. He died at Carmarthen in 1653.—Wood's *Athen. Oxon*

levy taxes, and that such of their subjects as ventured to oppose them not only rendered themselves liable to pains and penalties in this life but would most assuredly be damned in the next. For this sermon Dr. Mainwaring had been censured by the Parliament of 1628, fined £1000, and declared incapable of holding a cure of souls. Notwithstanding King Charles presented him to the valuable living of Stamford Rivers, Essex, and then made him Dean of Worcester. (This dispute was the subject of Oliver Cromwell's maiden speech.) Eventually the Earl of Essex persuaded Parliament to pardon Mainwaring.* Two years previously (1633) the King and Laud had in very wantonness revived James' Declaration concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays. This the clergy were directed to publish in their churches, and recusants were visited with pains and penalties. As may be supposed this order was ill received by the Presbyterians of West Wales. In 1636 the Bishop of St. David's reports,

> There is one Matthews the vicar of Penmaen† *(nine miles from Swansea)* that preaches against the keeping of all holy days, with divers others as fond or profane opinions, the Bishop hath inhibited him, and if that doth not serve shall call him into your High Commission Court.

In 1638 Mr. Phillips, vicar of Amroth, declined to read the book of sports in his church and suffered therefore;‡ and at the same time (perhaps referring to the same case) Archbishop Laud informs the King that some in the Diocese of St. David's had been meddling with questions His Majesty had forbidden.§

Such were the circumstances that led Little England to side with the Parliament against the King in the great struggle about to take place, viz., the influence exercised by Lord Essex and such men as Sir James Perrot, Sir Hugh Owen, Sir John Wogan, Sir John Meyrick, and Rowland Laugharne, and the constant irritation created by the ecclesiastical authorities. It must be remembered that these Presbyterians of West Wales had no places of worship in which their own views were expounded, but were obliged by law to attend their parish church and there listen to sermons preached by their opponents, in which their most cherished opinions were derided and condemned. In addition to the grievances imposed on them by Laud's church discipline the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire, in common with their fellow-subjects, were galled by financial exactions. In the long struggle between King and Parliament, the latter declined to vote supply. Then the King though at peace with all the world, demanded from each county a contribution towards the maintenance of the navy, which was termed ship money. For though a standing army had always been abhorrent to the English, the navy on the other hand was a popular service, for Elizabeth's seamen were not forgotten, and a navy if excellent must be permanent. In August, 1635, the King demanded £713 10s. ship money from the County of Pembroke. It was raised and the High Sheriff undertook personally to convey the specie to London, but was unfortunately drowned with certain of his followers while crossing Ensham Ferry‖ about the 1st of February, and £43 was lost. This explanation of the deficit is given by John Wogan of Wiston, High Sheriff for 1635.¶ The burghers of Pembroke appear to have grumbled over their share of this payment. The second call seems to have been for the same amount, and was contributed without demur. Then came Hampden's trial. He was found guilty, and ship money declared to be a legal impost. Eight judges supported the Royal Prerogative and four declared against it. Strangely enough

* Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* † *Lambeth MSS.*, vol. 943. ‡ Rees's *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 33.

§ Annual Account of the Province of Canterbury, quoted by Rees in his *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 57.

‖ *Civil War in Wales and the Marches*, vol. i., p. 74.

¶ His predecessor was John Scourfield, Esq., of New Moat, whose term of office had not expired when the tax was levied in August and who must have been the victim of this accident.

this favourable judgment raised the whole land against the tax. Among others the justices assembled at Haverfordwest declined to pay. Then to add to Charles's difficulties the Presbyterians of Scotland became so aggressive that it was necessary to send an armed force to the north. This consisted of 6000 foot and a like number of horse. It was raised early in 1639, the Earl of Arundel receiving the command, the Earl of Essex being nominated Lieutenant-General. The latter according to Clarendon was "The most popular man in the kingdom, and the darling of the swordsmen." The army for service in Scotland was raised by general levy, towards which the County of Pembroke contributed 150 men; doubtless no difficulty was made about this, as they were to serve under their dear Earl. Lord Essex reached York on March 22nd.* The leaders of the covenant assured Essex as

> God is our witness, we desire no national quarrel to arise betwixt us or to taste of that bitter fruit which may set both our and your children's teeth on edge.†

Two demonstrations were made against the Scots but not a single shot fired or a man injured on either side. On June 18th peace was signed and the armies disbanded. Probably Charles was but too glad to take this pacific course, as he must have been terribly pressed for ready money. Indeed so great were his difficulties that after a lapse of more than eleven years he summoned a Parliament to meet him on April 13, 1640. In this assembly John Wogan of Wiston represented the county. Sir John Stepney of Prendergast was elected for the Pembroke Boroughs, and Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton for Haverfordwest.‡ This Parliament for once and all declared that the levying of ship money was illegal. Then came one of the wearisome debates on supply, a dissolution, and another deadlock. On November 3rd the "Long" Parliament assembled.§ The courts of the Council of the Marches of Wales, Star Chamber and High Commission, were abolished, Strafford and Laud impeached, and a law passed that not more than three years should pass after a dissolution of Parliament before another was summoned. On January 14, 1642, the Earl of Essex informed the House of Lords that he had been commanded by the King to attend at Hampton Court in his office of Lord Chamberlain and Groom of the Stole. It was resolved by the House not to dispense with his presence, and he was bidden to inform His Majesty of their decision. The King again repeated his command and again the Lords declined to let the Earl go. A third time the King bade his Chamberlain attend and in return received a somewhat insolent resolution from both houses, "That the Earls of Essex and Holland did not disobey the King by attending to their Parliamentary duties." The King then as was but natural, deprived the Earl of all office and command. This royal order may I think fairly mark the commencement of the rupture between King Charles I. and the colonists of South Pembrokeshire. So long as *their* Earl served the King they were prepared to do the same, and put up with a great deal of aggravation from the high churchmen, but now that the Earl whom they knew to be a most moderate man had broken with the King the look-out was hopeless. At this juncture came the Irish Rebellion and horrible massacre of Protestants. England was furious, but impotent; there was no army or recognised method of raising one to avenge her murdered children. The King directed certain persons termed Commissioners of Array in each county to raise, drill and arm

* Letter from Essex to Sir F. Windebauh, State Paper Office 2nd April, 1639.

† Letter to Essex signed Argyle, Cassiles, Louthean, Wymes, Dalhousie, Rothes, Lindesey, St. Claire, Balmerino, Burlie, Montrois, Erskyne, Elcho, Forrester.—*S.P.O.*, May 4th.

‡ Why Prendergast provided a member for Pembroke and Orielton one for Haverford it is difficult to say.

§ In this session the members sent from Pembrokeshire were the same as in the Spring assembly, excepting that Stepney represented Haverford and Owen Pembroke, as was natural.

the trained bands. The Parliament on the other hand deputed Commissioners of Militia to carry out similar objects, and thus every corner of the land was agitated by the recruiting officers of these rival armies.

The Parliamentarian Commissioners* in Pembrokeshire were

Sir Hugh Owen, Bart., M.P. for Pembroke, of Orielton.
Sir John Stepney, Bart., M.P., for Haverfordwest, of Prendergast.
John Wogan, Esq., M.P. for Pembrokeshire, of Wiston.
Sir Richard Phillipps, Bart., of Picton Castle.
John Laugharne, Esq., of St. Bride's.
Alban Owen, Esq., of Henllys.
Thomas ap Price, Esq., of Scotsboro (?).
Hugh Bowen, Esq., of Llwyngwair (?).
Arthur Owen, Esq., son of Sir Hugh.
Roger Lort, Esq., of Stackpole.
Griffith White, Esq., of Henllan and Tenby.
John Phillips, Esq., of Ffynongaen.
Lewis Barlow, Esq., of Creswell.
John Ellyott, Esq., of Amroth.
John Edwards, Esq., of Sealyham.
Thomas Warren, Esq., of Trewern.

We have no list of the Royalist Commissioners of Array; in all probability both sides chose the same persons, selecting the most influential men in the county, and afterwards weeding out such as proved impracticable. This is a matter of conjecture, but we may feel assured that Royalists such as were Sir John Stepney and Roger Lort, did not and could not work with Sir Hugh Owen, Sir John Wogan, John Laugharne and Griffith White. On July 12, 1642, after a long debate, the two Houses of Parliament

Did choose the Earl of Essex to be Captain-General of such forces as are or shall be raised for the maintenance and preservation of the Protestant religion, the King's person, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, the liberty and property of the subject, the rights and privileges of Parliament, and this house doth now declare that they will maintain and adhere to him the said Earl of Essex with their lives and estates in the same cause.

Lord Essex selected his tried old friend Sir John Meyrick to be President of the Council of War and Adjutant-General, or as it was then called Serjeant-Major General. Sir John Meyrick was M.P. for Newcastle-under-Lyne, nephew of old Sir Gilly, son of Francis Meyrick of Fleet, in the parish of Monkton, Pembroke, and uncle of Colonel Rowland Laugharne of St. Bride's. Sir John was already colonel of a regiment. Among the captains of it are to be found the names of his father Sir Francis, and his kinsman Thomas Laugharne of St. Bride's. Young Gilly Meyrick, and Thomas and Miles Button (Rowland Laugharne's brothers-in-law) also served under him. So far as Pembrokeshire was concerned no results followed immediately on these appointments. In the winter of 1642–43 John Poyer, mayor of Pembroke, put that place in a state of defence for the Parliament. As we have seen, in 1595 the town walls and castle were in substantial repair, though the latter was unroofed and dismantled; but as no repairs had been undertaken since that date Mayor Poyer must have expended a considerable sum of money on the fortifications of Pembroke, which he rendered impregnable to aught but famine. Very probably a considerable amount of this money came actually out of Poyer's own purse. This liberality would give him

* From a list in the Journal of the House of Lords, vol. v., p. 369, quoted in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 4. I have slightly modified some of Mr. Phillips's addresses.

the leading position he coveted. We do not know anything of John Poyer's early days, but Clarendon* states he

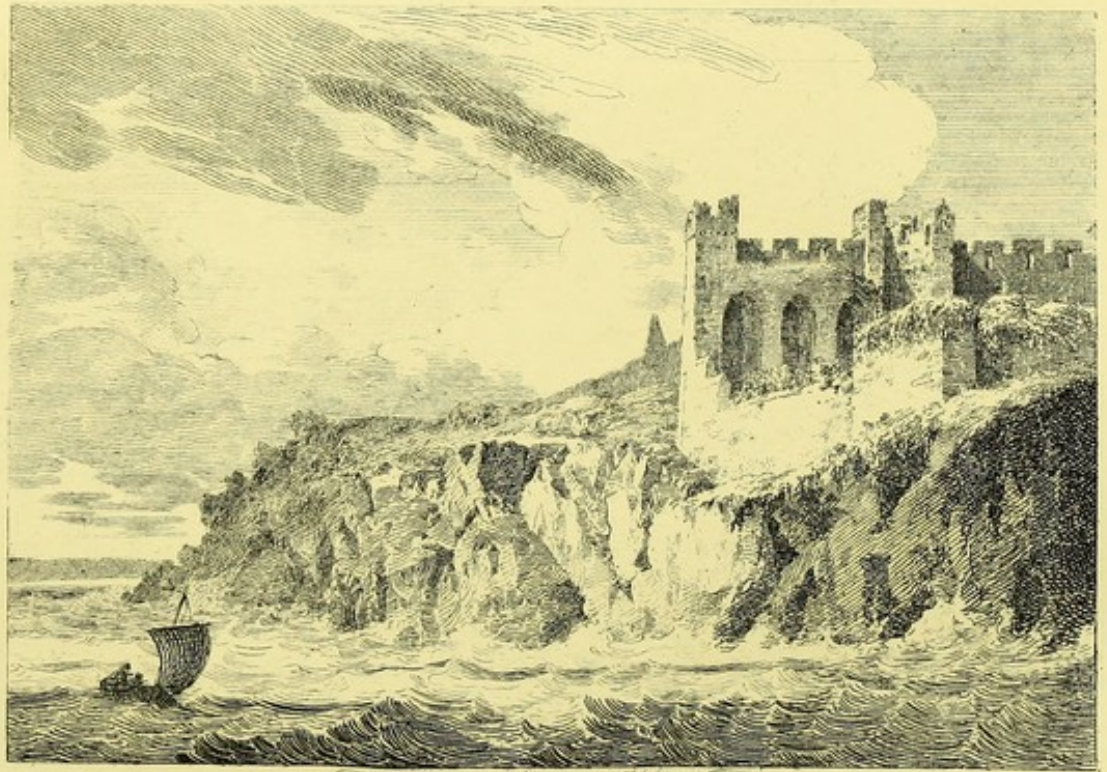
> Had from a low trade raised himself in the war to the reputation of a very diligent and stout officer, and was trusted by the Parliament with the government of the town and castle of Pembroke.

What the low trade may have been we do not know, but he acted as bailiff for Tenby in 1639, and later on we hear of a vessel that belonged to him; so probably when the war broke out he was a merchant. In creed he was a Presbyterian. He presented in the year 1645 a chalice apiece to the churches of St. Mary and St. Michael in Pembroke. Probably the vicars were Presbyterians. According to Carlyle he was given to brandy, and there is reason to suppose he was not particularly straightforward in money matters; he did not hesitate to plunge his native county into all the horrors of a second civil war for the sake of a disputed account; yet for all that Poyer was a great man. The mayor of Pembroke was ably seconded by Rowland, son of John Laugharne of St. Bride's, who had served under the Earl of Essex as a volunteer in the Netherlands in 1614. Another gentleman named Rice Powell appeared on the scene about this time. He is spoken of as a veteran "that came from Ireland to endeavour the relief, and not like many others the destruction, of his bleeding country;" perhaps he was one of those Pembrokeshire men who had followed the Devereux family to that country. He was a soldier of fortune, and it is not unlikely he was that Sergeant-Major Powell who served for the King under the Earl of Northumberland in Colonel Lundsford's regiment in 1640; if so, he ratted in good company, for the Commander-in-Chief soon after joined the Parliament side. Colonel Powell proved a great acquisition to the Pembrokeshire Roundheads. The King's party fearing lest Tenby should follow the example set by the sister town of Pembroke, directed Richard Vaughan Earl of Carbery (the Royalist Commander-in-Chief in South Wales) to occupy the place forthwith. The fortifications of Tenby were probably in a better state of repair than those of Pembroke; at all events they were restored in 1588. The people, if we are to judge from subsequent events, were at heart Parliamentarians; however they offered no opposition† to the Earl, who was a popular man and well-known in Pembrokeshire as a nephew of old Sir Gilly Meyrick. At this time‡ there were two Royalist men-of-war in Milford Haven: the *Fellowship* of Bristol, 400 tons, 24 guns, with four captains on board—Captain Barnaby Burly, Captain Brooks, Captain Will Hazle, and Captain Richard Nelson; and the *Hart* frigate, Captain Nesson. The captains of the *Fellowship* had called together the gentlemen of the county and assured them that His Majesty had taken Bristol, and that the war was over. To these came the Roundhead Captain William Smith in the *Swallow*, one of the Parliamentarian ships which was blockading the Irish coast. Captain Smith took the *Fellowship* without any loss on either side, and also captured her consort the *Hart*. In the frigate two men were killed, the first blood shed in Little England. Admiral (Captain) Richard Swanley in the *Leopard*, with the *Prosperous*, the *Providence*, the *Crescent*, and a merchantman known as the *Leopard*, then came into the Haven. Captain Swanley determined to bombard Tenby. They opened fire on the castle, but with little effect.

> Eight§ ships presently rode before the town and made at least one hundred shots against the inhabitants, but one of the Milford canon shot one of the best ships through and through, and so set the rest apacking whereby the good people of Tenby received no prejudice. The design was to have besieged Tenby by land with forces from

* *History of the Rebellion*, book xi. † *Mercurius Aulicus*, week 37, p. 512, K.P. 125.—4. ‡ August, 1643.

§ We do not know what the other two ships can have been.



Termination of the South Wall, Denby

Pembroke town, but the beacons being fired, the good honest old way in times of rebellion, Carmarthenshire and many in Pembrokeshire arose heartily to join with the noble Earl, whereby as the letter says, Tenby was settled with thunder and lightning in despite of all the Pembrokeshire rebels.

This ill-fated ship may have been lying off the Sker Rock—at all events, a large gun was dredged up at this place and is now in the Tenby Museum.

The Royalists in Pembrokeshire were naturally much elated by the result of the abortive attempt to bombard Tenby, and the Parliamentarians so greatly incensed by the doings of Lord Carbery, Sir John Stepney, Mr. Roger Lort, and Archdeacon Rudd of St. Florence, that they passed a vote that Lord Carbery should be impeached "for actual levying war against King and Parliament," "Baronet" Stepney expelled the house, and the others should be arrested as delinquents. It all came to nothing, and the culprits busied themselves in erecting a fort near Pill Priory in the Haven, a proceeding the one Parliament ship left at Milford was was powerless to prevent. Carew and perhaps Manorbier Castles* were strengthened and garrisoned. Mr. Lort put his strong house of Stackpole in a state of defence, and the Lord Carbery proceeded to Haverfordwest (this must have been in September, at all events his doings are described in the *Mercurius Aulicus* of September 26, 1643). He was received with open arms by the gentry, who mustered the trained bands and subscribed £2000 for the King. The mayor, aldermen and inhabitants of the town presented a humble address pledging themselves never to receive a hostile garrison within their town. With the exception of Pembroke town and castle the whole county of Pembroke had returned to its allegiance, and so weak had the opposition become that nearly all of the leaders signed conjointly with the Royalists a protestation of loyalty to the King and of opposition to the Parliament. The subscribers were as follow:—

1 Richard Phillips, Bart.
2 John Stepney, Bart.
3 Hugh Owen, Bart.
4 John Barlow, Esq.
5 Alban Owen, Esq.
6 Griffith White, Esq.
7 Roger Lort, Esq.
8 George Bowen, Esq.
9 Hugh Bowen, Esq.
10 Morris Cannon, Esq.
11 Thomas Boteler, Esq.
12 Thomas Perrott, Esq.
13 Thomas Price, Esq.
14 John Boteler, Esq.
15 Sampson Lort, Esq.
16 Thomas Warren, Esq.
17 Will Laughorne, Gent.
18 James Lewes, Esq.
19 Lewis Barlow, Esq.
20 John Elliott, Esq.
21 John Edwards, Esq.
22 Thomas Bowen, Esq.
23 John Phillips, Esq.
24 Herbert Perot, Gent.†

So curious is the mixture of extreme men in this list that the late Mr. Roland Phillips considered it a forgery.‡ Perhaps it was only an outward and visible sign that Pembrokeshire men deemed the Parliamentarian cause lost. Indeed the defenders of Pembroke seem to have made some offer of capitulation,§ though it eventually fell through. They remained closely beleaguered, and in January, 1644, the gentlemen again protested to Lord Carbery that they would "to the best of their power and ability, as well with our estates and persons withstand, resist and repulse all such forces." Roche Castle was fortified.‖ Ships were brought

* Manorbier is not mentioned in any despatch during the war, but its name occurs once or twice in the newspapers, and Mr. Cobb, who has very carefully examined not only the building but the whole area within the walls and their immediate vicinity, removing the rubbish and laying bare the original surface, found that a ravelin had been thrown up before the gate tower; this must have been 17th century work, and was possibly raised by Lord Carbery at this period, the castle itself being most likely ruinous, as Leland had found it a century before.

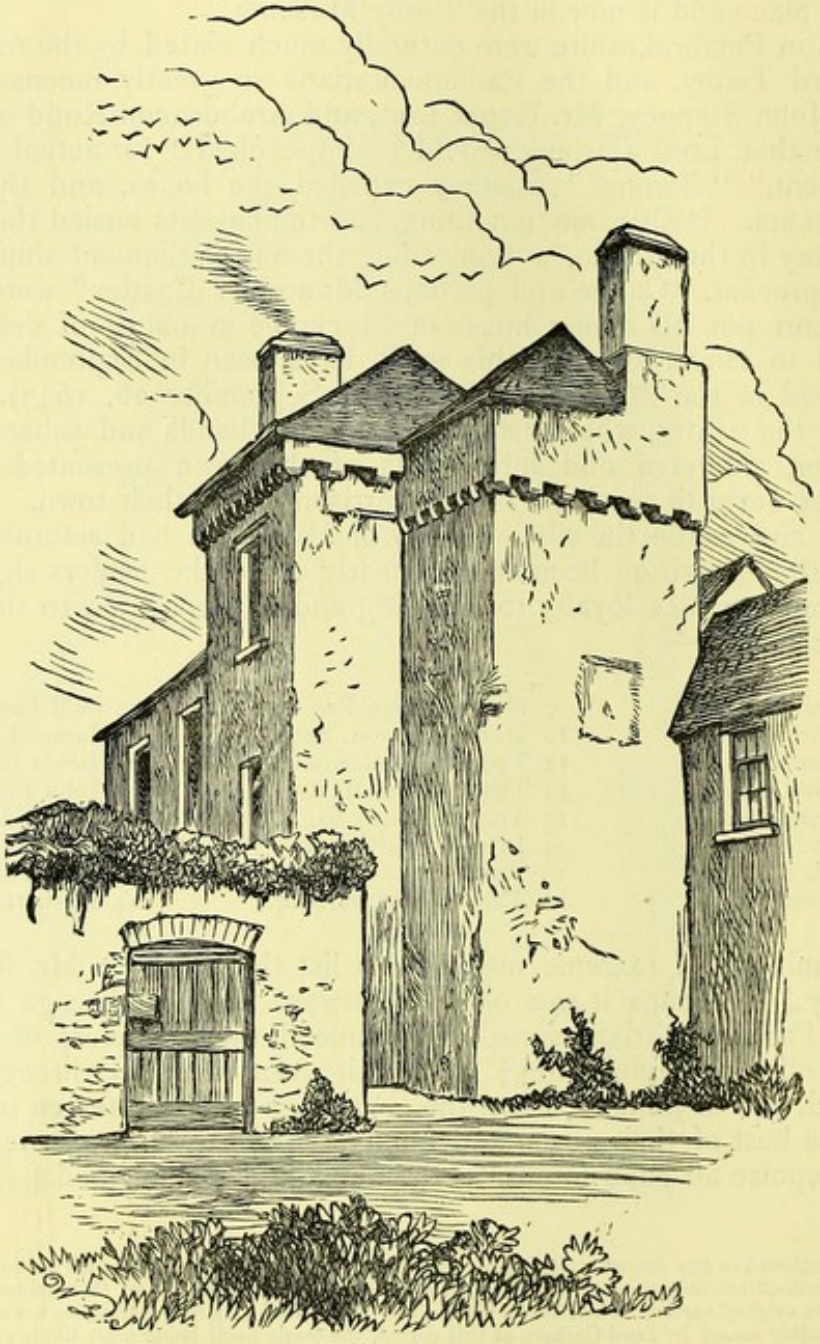
† 1. Picton Castle; 2. Prendergast Place; 3. Orielton; 4. Slebech; 5. of Henllys; 6. Henllan, Castlemartin; 7. Stackpole; 8. Lwyngwair; 9. Pentre Evan; 10. Cilgetty; 11. Scovaston; 12. Haroldston; 13. Rickardston? 14. Scovaston? 15. Earweare; 16. Trewern in Cemaes; 17. Rowland's brother; 18. Kilkeffyth; 19. Cresswell; 20. A lawyer, Narberth (?) 21. Sealyham (?) 22. Trefloyn; 23. Fynongain; 24. Haroldston.

‡ *Civil War in Wales*, vol. ii., p. 85.

§ *Mercurius Aulicus*, January 6, 1644.

‖ In 1644 his place belonged to the Walters family, who were connected with the Barlows and strong Royalists.

from Bristol with ordnance and stores to fortify the Haven, a work that was undertaken by one Captain Richard Steele of Oxford (a great talker, who pretended to be an engineer).* Perhaps the most important exploit performed by the Bristol fleet was the capture of a little ship which "Captain" Poyer had fitted out at his own expense with eight guns, in order that



FORTIFIED RECTORY AT CAREW.

she might run to the Downs and beg aid from the Parliamentarian fleet which lay there. The besieged in Pembroke were now in a perilous state. The whole county was raised against them, and Captain Steele proposed to erect a block house somewhere on the southern side of the Haven.

* Simon Thelwall's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, April 1, 1644.

The Earl of Carbery having voted that after the harbour was fortified he would plunder the town of Pembroke and the houses of the gentlemen who had adhered to that party, and that their persons should be put to death by cruel tortures. The Mayor of Pembroke they said should be put in a barrel of nails and brought to Prick's Pill, and from the top of a hill should be rolled down into the sea. This report so terrified the gentlemen that they fled from their houses and hid themselves in obscure places in disguise, and sent their wives and children to Tenby, where his Lordship the Earl of Carbery then lay, humbly to supplicate his Lordship to be pleased to grant them protection, that their houses might not be plundered, nor their persons abused by the rude soldiery, among whom there was a reverend and aged gentlewoman, the wife of Mr. Griffith White, who had in her house* eight sons and eight daughters, who were virgins, and four small grandchildren, in all twenty in number, with divers servants both male and female. This gentlewoman pressing his Lordship to commiserate her sad state in case her house should be plundered desired his protection, assuring his Lordship that whensoever he would be pleased to give her husband leave to wait on him she did not doubt but that her husband would give his Lordship ample satisfaction in all his lawful demands. His Lordship replied he would find a time to speak with her husband, but as for protection he would grant her none. The gentlewoman with tears in her eyes desired his Lordship to look upon her children, who in point of honour he stood engaged to protect, as also the chastity of matrons and virgin, the which without his Lordship's protection she said must be undoubtedly violated and her family perish. To which his Lordship answered with divers reproaches and some jests, that it were better her children and family should perish than that the King should want means to perfect his design. To which she said the King could not want if his Majesty would be graciously pleased to be content with what God and the laws of the land had provided. At which his Lordship flung out of the room, leaving the gentlewoman with tears in her eyes, and so she departed to her house full of grief and pensive thoughts.†

The besieged Parliamentarians seem to have run short of provisions. We read that Colonel Rowland Laugharne who was in command at Pembroke sallied out with certain troopers and a few foot towards Carew. His men were dispersed (probably foraging), when the captain in command at Carew attempted to surprise Laugharne and seven troopers who were with him, but these latter routed their opponents, took twenty prisoners, among whom was one Lieutenant Jones, who afterwards joined the Parliamentarians. This action was fought "between two garrisons of the enemy not much more distant from each other than a musket shot." One of these must have been Carew Castle, the other perhaps was the old fortified Rectory.‡

At last the long looked for deliverance arrived, Admiral Captain Swanley in the *Leopard*, and Vice-Admiral Captain Smith in the *Swallow* sailed into the Haven. Laugharne and Poyer at once boarded the *Swallow*, and explained the state of matters to the Vice-Admiral. The royal ships from Bristol, *Globe* and *Providence*, ran under the guns at Pill Fort. Colonel Laugharne lost no time. He borrowed some hundred and fifty sailors, and with these and his own Pembroke troopers took Stackpole with its little garrison of sixty men, Mr Lort, the owner hiding (perhaps in the cave known as Lort's Hole). Laugharne then paid a visit to Trefloyne, which was held for the King by Mr Thomas Bowen. Lord Carbery made a *sortie* from Tenby to relieve him, but was driven back in confusion and lost many men and horses in crossing the Marsh. Trefloyne was taken. Then it was debated whether an attack should be made on Tenby and Carew, or on the Pill Fort and Haverfordwest. The Parliament leaders decided in favour of the latter course.

Whereupon the little army, consisting of about 250 foot, half seamen, part whereof under the command of

* Henllan, Pwllcrochan. His name is attached to the protestation of loyalty.

† From a pamphlet entitled "An exact Relation of that famous and Notable Victory obtained at Milford Haven," &c. Written by Captain Wm. Smith, Vice-Admiral, &c. London: Printed by Moses Bell; 25th July, 1644. (K P 167—12.)

‡ As the old Rectory is about half-a-mile from Carew Castle it would have proved rather a long shot for a 17th century musket; but I think this must have been the building in which the Royalist soldiers were quartered. The Rectory, which belongs to H. G. Allen, Esq., is now used as a farm-house; on one side there is a square tower, the upper story of which is reached by a newel stair. Fenton in his *Historical Tour*, p. 274, states that through this tower was once the principal entrance by means of an arched opening, stopped up in his time, and that there was moreover a handsome arched gateway beyond; both of these have disappeared, but enough remains to prove that here was formerly a strongly fortified dwelling-house.—See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July, 1881.

Captain Richard Willoughby, and half landsmen, with 60 horses, a demi-culverin,* with a sacre and 5 small field pieces, made a resolute adventure over the water, animated and encouraged by the presence of a good hearty old gentleman, Mr John Laugharne, Colonel Laugharne's father, who had long before left his country habitation,† and with his whole family a few servants excepted, betaken himself to the town of Pembroke. His interest and fair noble carriage had always engaged unto him the affections of many in that part of the county we were set upon called Roose. It was God's will our landing was not interrupted, and our horse immediately dispersing abroad to bring in men, cattle, and other necessaries to draw our carriages, found the country willing and ready, which so expedited the work that the demi-culverin and sacre were early in the evening planted in a hedge that within a short distance over looked the fort, and presently played effectually upon it. Hereupon 20 musketeers were placed in Stainton, a steeple seated on a hill that over sees most of that country, and thereabouts the horse presently ranged to hinder correspondence between Pill and Haverfordwest, and took some straggling soldiers and some messengers and put them in the church. We saw no body of the enemy till a little before night. Sir Francis Lloyd with about 60 horse and some foot descended a hill from Johnson, but they being, as we conceived, afraid of our artillery never touched the ascent of Stainton, where our horse were drawn, but retreated to Haverford.‡

On the following day Pill Fort capitulated. There were taken at that place, Mr. John Barlow, Master of the Ordnance; five captains, certain inferior officers, thirteen great guns, six field carriages, 300 common soldiers, the two Bristol ships, wherein were twelve pieces of ordnance and six barrels of powder. The loss of the fort created a panic at Haverfordwest; a herd of cattle frightened by the cannonading at Pill stampeded, and these being seen by the Haverford garrison were mistaken in the gloaming for Roundhead troopers, both commanders and commanded incontinently fled.§ Sir Henry Vaughan, Major-General of the army; Sir John Stepney, Knt. and Baronet, Governor of Haverfordwest; Sir Francis Lloyd, Knt., Commander-in-Chief of the Horse; Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, High Sheriff of the County; James Martin, Captain of Horse; Captain John Edwardes,‖ Commissioner of Array; Captain Hull of Bristol, and one hundred sailors disgracefully bolted. When the Royalist party were supreme in the county they had imprisoned Sir Hugh Owen at Haverford (much against the wishes of Lord Carbery.) On this night of terror, the member for Pembroke Boroughs

Was unbreasted and in his pantables¶ preparing for bed at Haverford when Sir Henry Vaughan and another man with a mountier drawn over his face, takes him by the shoulders, and calling him a dissembling traitor (some musketeers having presented their muskets at him) compelled him downstairs and then on horseback, not permitting him time to put on his boots, nor his virtuous lady (a character justified in her pious resolution to share hand, fortune, and declines with her husband) suffered to have a pillion to ride upon behind him. All that I will say of this action is, that cowardice had totally and absolutely dispossessed their humanity. They stayed but little on their way and were early next day at Carmarthen.*

Laugharne and his men occupied Haverford on the day after the capture of Pill, and in two days "Roche Castle, a very considerable stronghold had it water, was summoned and delivered." The Roundhead force then marched to Pembroke, and obtaining another gun proceeded to Tenby. To which place Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Butler, the High Sheriff of the County had retreated with eighty men from Haverfordwest. Vice-Admiral William Smith in the *Swallow*, Captain Gettensby in the *Prosperous*, and the *Crescent* frigate, preceding the land force had opened fire on the town. When the latter arrived they

Placed their demi-cannon on a hill within musket shot,† a demi-culverin within half a musket shot, the small field pieces being set to scour the guard wings and hedges lined by the enemy; our foot men having also drawn

* A demi-culverin carried a ball weighing 8lb.; a sacre had a bore of 3½ inches, and carried a shot of 5½lbs.

† St. Bride's. ‡ Simon Thelwall's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, April 1, 1644.

§ "This historic herd" is said to have been the property of one Wheeler, a grazier.—Fenton's *Appendix*, p. 24.

‖ Sealyham. ¶ Slipper, pantoufle. * Simon Thelwall's Letter. † Greenhill(?)

down, and armed hedges and a good strong house within pistol shot, and there continued in this posture, hot pelting between the small shot from Thursday two of the clock, till Saturday evening, during which space the sea but especially the land, had shaked and battered many houses in the town, and done some execution on the men, but had not all this while impaired the town wall, except only the most necessary part there of the great gate,* our only place of entrance. This gate Governor Commissary Gwynne (who in his actions showed the metal and experience of a soldier), had strengthened with dung and rubbish, that grew hard and well compact, and on the outside had placed common baskets so close that a single man could but hale himself between them into a little wicket of the gate. Now all this while our forces, horse and foot, having quartered night and day in the fields, which course if longer continued might probably have discouraged the seamen, who are best at a hot and sudden action, the Colonel having consulted with his other officers and gentlemen present, resolved in God's name to adventure the storming of it that day, and all things being prepared accordingly, the foot drew down and beat the enemy from their hedges, and quickly broke open a turnpike in the entrance of the suburbs;† whereupon immediately advanced the horse, who with their proper noise, the noise of trumpets, and the acclamations of our foot (who were good firemen and secured their passage from annoyance out of the windows) made the enemy after about an hour's resistance abandon the gate, when presently enters in the foot, and even as soon as they the troop (where in charged many gentlemen of quality having alighted from their horse back) entered likewise.

Commissary Gwynne was mortally wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Butler, the High Sheriff, Colonel David Gwynne, Captains Lewis and Mitholl, non-commissioned officers and 300 men, with their arms were taken. Very soon after the capture of Tenby, Carew Castle yielded to Poyer, on condition that the officers were to march out with their swords, and the

Common soldiers with their muskets, and bags and baggage which was worth but little God knows. By this time which was cleansing week, the first week in Lent, the whole county was cleared of the malignant party that had long infested and almost ruined it. Those of the prisoners, that took the covenant were entertained, others of the weaker sort to the number of 200 and upwards, discharged and sent home and some of the most refractory still retained prisoners. The worthy gentlemen that were all this time mutually aiding and assisting each other in action and counsel were Colonel Rowland Laugharne, Arthur Owen, Esq., one of the Commissioners of the Militia, Captain Poyer, Mayor of Pembroke, Captain Rice Powell, a well experienced soldier that came from Ireland to endeavour the relief and not like many the destruction of his bleeding country; Major Thomas Laugharne, Captain Walter Cuney, an honest real gentleman; Rowland Wogan, Lieutenant of the Horse, son to the worthy Commonswealth's man, Master John Wogan of Wiston; and Captain John Powell. There was a gentleman likewise one Master Gunter that sustained much loss by plunder and for his better defence maintained a constant garrison at a house‡ of his Excellency's my Lord of Essex, near Carew.§

In June, 1644, a committee was nominated by an ordinance of the Houses of Parliament for the mutual defence and safety of the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan. It consisted of

Herbert Perrot, Gent., of Haroldston.
Rice Vaughan, Gent.
Thomas Barlow, Gent.
Griffith White, Esq., of Henllan, Castlemartin.
Sampson Lort, Esq., of East Moor.‖
Thomas Powell, Gent.
John Elliott, Esq. (a Lawyer), Amroth.
George Adams, Esq., of Patrick Church.
Thomas Bowen, Esq., of Trefloyne.
John Phillips, Esq., of Fynongain.
John Lort, Gent., of Prickeston.
George Hayward, Gent., of Fletherhill.
William Laugharne, Gent. (Rowland's brother).
Thomas Wogan, M.P. for Cardigan Boroughs (subsequently one of the Regicides).
John Mathias, Gent., of Llangwarren.
Thomas Warren, Esq., of Trewern, Cemaes.
James Bowen, Esq.
George William Griffiths, Esq.
John Lloyd, Esq., of Kilrhue.
David Morgan, Esq., of Coed Lloyd.
Thomas Jones, Esq., of Newport.

* Where the *White Lion Hotel* now stands.

† The Norton most likely.

‡ Lamphey Court. Master Gunter was a member of the house of Tregunter, co. Brecon.

§ Letter of Simon Thelwall to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

‖ In a MS. list of Sheriffs in the writer's possession he is described as of Earewear, an error.—See p. 323 *ante*.

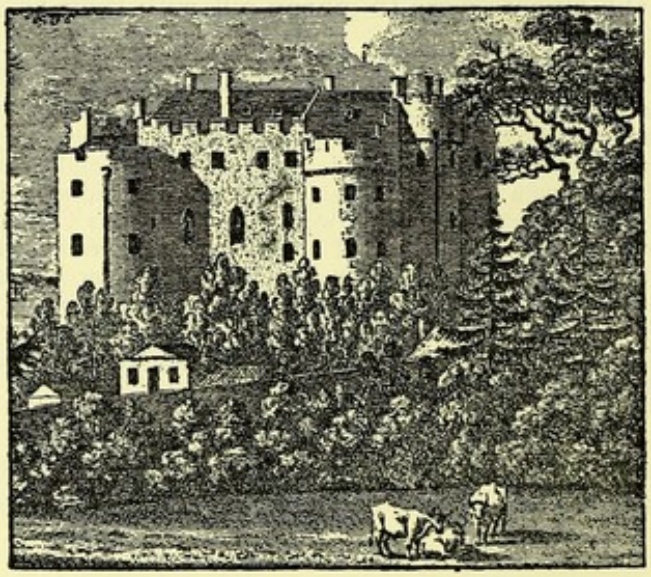
On the 26th July in the same year the following names were added to the above list:—

Sir Richard Philipps, Bart., Picton Castle.
John Laugharne, Esq., of St. Bride's (Rowland's father).
Arthur Owen, Gent. (Sir Hugh's son).
Roger Lort, Esq., of Stackpole.
Lewis Barlow, Esq., of Cresswell.
Captain Richard Swanley of the Parliament Navy.
Captain Will Smith of the Parliament Navy.

Certain names were removed, as the owners had meanwhile declared for the King, to wit:

John Lloyd, Esq., of Llanvernach. Thomas Wogan the Regicide. David Morgan, Esq., of Coed Lloyd.

This list is a very curious one, for it is passing strange that Roger Lort and Thomas Bowen should be associated with men who had, but a couple of months before, besieged and plundered their houses, and Thomas Wogan, the future regicide was ratting from Parliament to King. While the Parliamentarian party were engaged in endeavouring to subdue Pembrokeshire Captain Richard Swanley was sweeping the seas between Milford Haven and



PICTON CASTLE, 1779. (P. SANDBY, R.A., DEL.)

Ireland. He captured a troopship under the command of a Royalist, Colonel Willoughby, with about one hundred and fifty men on board bound for Bristol, and actually compelled seventy men and two women to walk the plank, making them as the *Perfect Diurnal* jocularly observed "water rats."* This butchery seems to have drawn attention to Pembrokeshire, for Colonel Gerard, a favourite of Prince Rupert and an accomplished commander, was sent into South Wales. He landed at Black Rock in Monmouthshire and scoured the land of Parliamentarians. In July, 1644, he appeared in Pembrokeshire,

> The most seditious county in all Wales, or rather of England, for the inhabitants were like English Corporations unlike loyal Welshmen.†

* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, vol. xv., p. 313.

† *Mercurius Aulicus*, July 20th, 1644.

Gerard retook Haverfordwest, and marched from thence to Picton Castle, the seat of

Baronet Phillipps, which the rebels have made a very stronghold, where he presently sent in his summons, but the rebels being obstinate about twelve o'clock that night he fell on and stormed it, and mastered it in less than an hour, with the loss of nine common soldiers hurt and taken, but not one officer, only Colonel Butler (a valiant gentleman)* received a shot whereof he is now past danger. In the castle were found three barrels of powder, 150 arms, Baronet Phillipps' son and two of his daughters, a good round sum of ready money, and 12 trunks of plate, besides 500 pounds more of money going to sea. The castle itself is very strong and in good repair, where General Gerard placed a sufficient garrison, and next day marched to Carew Castle near Pembroke, which (we hear since) is also taken, the remnant of the rebels being now driven to their last state, at Pembroke and Tenby at the very water side, which are all the garrisons these rebels have now left.†

Picton Castle was retaken from the Royalists, but it must have been this capture by the King's men, which gave rise to the family legend as related by Horace Walpole, who seems to have forgotten that his maternal ancestor *was a Republican.*

I firmly believe all the beauties of Wales and regret having never seen them while I was able, especially Picton Castle, the seat of my maternal ancestors, from the windows of which one of my grandsires, Sir R. Phillips, who was not taller than I am broad, was dragged and made prisoner by a Colonel of the Republicans when parleying about a surrender when besieged by them.‡

Erasmus Philipps was heir to Picton in 1644, and he could not have heen a *very small* boy seeing that he served as High Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1655, The Parliamentary squadron had sailed from Milford Haven, and this was in all probability the cause of Colonel Gerard's success. He seems to have treated the country people with great severity, even allowing for exaggeration. We read

That the barbarous and cruel enemy drive away our cattle, rifle our houses to the bare walls, all provision of victuals where they come carried away or destroyed. Divers villages and country towns, being neither garrisons or any annoyance to the enemy, burnt down to the ground; the standing corn they burn and destroy, all sexes and degrees stripped naked by the enemy, aged and unarmed persons inhumanly murdered in cold blood, and others half-hanged and afterwards stigmatized and their flesh burnt off their bodies to the bare bones, and yet suffered in great tortures to live.§

Gerard retook Roche Castle early in July, 1644, capturing at that place 500 oxen and 2000 sheep. He was then recalled to headquarters at Bristol,‖ and had no sooner left Wales than the Parliament fleet under Swanley returned. Colonel Laugharne again sallied forth on a career of victory, though the country had been so wasted that he could not keep the field with a large force. However Cardigan was taken at the end of 1644, and a garrison left in it under Colonel Rice Powell. Then Gerard reappeared suddenly and made a desperate attempt to recover Cardigan, but he was foiled and fell back on Carmarthen. Having there recruited with English troops he fell on Laugharne, who was at Newcastle Emlyn, and drove back the

* Was High Sheriff in 1644, and ran away from Haverfordwest to Tenby, where he was taken prisoner.

† *Mercurius Aulicus*, May 11th, 1645.

‡ Horace Walpole's Letters, vol. ix., p. 252; Cunningham's edition.

§ *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 77, October 23rd.

‖ Letter from the Archbishop of York to the Marquis of Ormond, October 30, 1644.—*Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1869, p. 324.

Parliamentarians to Pembroke and Tenby. Haverfordwest again yielded to the King, valuable commissariat and munition stores being captured therein. This was however but a passing cloud, for Gerard was again recalled and on July 28, 1645,

The enemy's (Royalists) main body being at Haverfordwest, we drew forth out of garrisons of Pembroke and Tenby with 550 foot and 200 horse and dragoons (being the most that could be spared with security out of the towns), and two small guns and marched that day to Caneston, within five miles of Haverfordwest; there met 7 of the enemies scouts, killed one, took the other six. That day Captain Batten arrived at Milford, and by Divine ordination above our hopes, landed 150 seamen to increase our force. We kept the field until the 1st of August no enemy appearing. Then Major-General Stradling and Major-General Egerton drew forth out of Haverford with 450 horse, 1100 foot and four field guns into Colby Moor, three miles from Haverford and there put themselves in array for fight. A small party of our horse guarded on both sides with 150 musketeers charged their whole body, began the encounter about six of the clock in the afternoon, and continued very fierce and doubtful many an hour, but in the conclusion the enemies horse were totally routed, the residue of our horse fell on some part to do execution upon the foot, the other to pursue the horse speeding upon Haverford. We killed of the enemies 150, took about 700 prisoners, four guns, five barrels of powder, near 800 arms, all their carriages and provisions, and chased them home to their garrisons. The night then approaching we might not beset the town to keep in their horse, but drew back to the field, so that in the night the enemy deserted the town and fled leaving a garrison in the Castle. Saturday we entered the town and besieged the Castle, began our battery on Monday, but spent much ammunition to little purpose. Tuesday giving over we find the outer gate, and scaled the walls, gained the castle, took prisoners 120 common soldiers and near 20 commanders and officers, one piece of ordnance, 120 arms, some pillage to the soldiers besides the provision. Yesterday being the 8th of August we had a day of publique humiliation and thanksgiving in Pembroke and Haverford and the League; this day we drew our force of horse and foot before Carew Castle and are drawing up our ordnance to plant them before the Castle relying upon the Lord of Heaven for a blessing, in all their actions; we bless God, we lost but two men and about sixty wounded, none mortally.

ROWLAND LAUGHARNE.*

Carew and Picton Castles respectively belonging to Sir George Carew the Royalist and Sir Richard Philipps the Roundhead, were still garrisoned by the King's men. According to the newspapers† Manorbier (probably a mere shell) was also held by the Cavaliers. The troops in Carew seem to have capitulated, but Picton stood a three weeks' siege before the intrusive Royalists would make way for Sir Richard's friends.‡ Laugharne and his gallant troops followed up their success and drove the Cavaliers out of the county of Carmarthen. Thls was accomplished in October, 1645. In February, 1646, the Pembrokeshire troops relieved Cardiff, and the April following captured Aberystwith Castle; and in January, 1647, put down a serious insurrection in Glamorganshire. Rowland Laugharne had been rewarded for his valuable services after the capture of Cardigan in December, 1644, for the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into their serious consideration the many great and faithful services of Rowland Laugharne, Esq., Major-General of the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan, on the 4th of March, 1645, settled on him and his heirs the Slebech estates of John Barlow, who had made himself peculiarly hateful to the Parliamentarians by his loyal service to the King under the Marquis of Worcester and Lord Glamorgan. Notwithstanding this liberality on the part of Parliament to their gallant soldier, it is likely that some members of the Parliamentarian party in South Pembroke had become luke-warm in the cause, as just about the time Laugharne was rewarded a split broke out in the camp—

For Presbyter and Independent
Had now turned Plaintiff and Defendant.

* From a pamphlet entitled "A true Relation of the late success of the Parliament forces in Pembrokeshire," &c., printed for Edward Husbands, Aug. 25, 1645.—(K P 222—6) quoted by Phillips's *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 266.

† *Merc. Brit.*, No. 67, and *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 117.

‡ Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. i., p. 335.

The latter party, under Cromwell, determined to get quit of Lord Essex, who led the Presbyterians. On December 9, 1644, it was resolved in the House of Commons

That during this war no member of either house shall have any military command or hold any civil office under the Parliament.*

The supporter of the resolution made no secret that it was aimed at the Earl of Essex, he being a favourer of peace, and too strong a supporter of monarchy, nobility, and other old institutions.† On December 17, 1644, the ordinance was reported to the House of Commons, and a *proviso* excepting the Earl of Essex was rejected by a majority of seven. The Lords however threw out the self-sacrificing ordinance. The Independents then proposed and carried that the army should be remodelled, and that the command should be given to Sir Thomas Fairfax. This was agreed to by the Lords, but Essex was not superseded in his office of Lord General, so forts and garrisons were under his orders, while the army in the field obeyed Fairfax. This dual command proved inconvenient, and the Commons passed an ordinance giving direction of forts and garrisons to Fairfax, which was refused by the Lords, thus the two Houses of Parliament were antagonistic. On April 1, 1645, the Earl of Essex begged

Leave to-morrow to present and deliver up his commission so there would be no obstacle to the passing of the clause placing the forts and garrisons under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax.‡

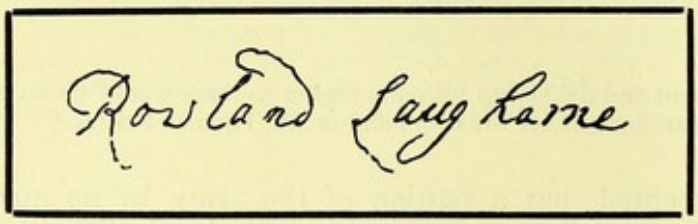
His resignation was accepted, but a portion of the army by no means approved. "There have been great mutinies and discontents among his (the Earl's) soldiers, in so much as they have refused to march with Sir Will Waller."§ Among the discontents were Sir John Meyrick, who had already suffered for his loyalty to the Earl, for in 1643, while the army was before Reading, Meyrick was superseded from his post of Sergeant-Major General of the Army to make way for Skippon, and was nominated General of Ordnance.‖ Sir John sent in his resignation at the same time the Earl gave way to Fairfax, and we may be certain these matters were discussed in Pembrokeshire and had not a little to do with subsequent events that came about in that county. Lord Essex course was nearly run. On the 14th of September, 1646, he died in Essex House, it is said, of fever brought on by over exertion in a stag hunt at Windsor.¶ A public funeral in Westminster Abbey was decreed for him, both Houses of Parliament attending. Sir John Meyrick carried his gorget. Lord Essex was buried in St. John Baptist's Chapel. He had taken for his second wife Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Paulet of Edington. This marriage, like the former, had ended in disaster and separation. The only child died in infancy. Sir Walter Devereux, Bart., of Castle Bromwich, succeeded as fifth Viscount Hereford, and Lady Hertford to Lamphey Court and the Pembrokeshire estate, which was shortly afterwards purchased by the Owens of Orielton, in whose possession it remained until the year 1821, when the manor passed by purchase into the hands of Charles Mathias, Esq., of Llangwarren, who built the modern house. Thus after influencing the history of Little England for more than a century the Devereux family disappeared from West Wales; but to this day Essex and Devereux are in use among the

* Commons Journal, iii., 718. † Whitelock 118. ‡ Lords Journal, vii., 298.

§ Ashburnham MSS., 299 of Stowe Catalogue; quoted in *Devereux Earls of Essex*, vol. ii., p. 456.

‖ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. ¶ Ludlow's *Memoirs*.

land-owning class as Christian names, while the latter is not uncommon as a surname among the peasantry, reminding us of the fact that strict Puritanism and lax morality were not incompatible. "Master Gunter" (see page 327 *ante*) seems to have been the last resident at Lamphey Court. During his occupation it was most likely rendered uninhabitable, for numerous cannon balls found in the vicinity prove the old house suffered a bombardment.



FAC-SIMILE OF LAUGHARNE'S AUTOGRAPH. TRACED FROM A DOCUMENT DATED 1676, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE CORPORATION OF TENBY.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR.

Dissensions between Presbyterians and Independents—Glamorganshire Royalists declare for the King and Fairfax—Are suppressed by Laugharne, who with Poyer and Powell show signs of dissatisfaction—Poyer as Mayor of Pembroke—Minute from the Corporation Books—Sir John Wroth proposes and the Houses of Parliament vote the deposition of the King—The army of South Wales ordered to disband—Laugharne said to have been imprisoned—Poyer superseded by Colonel Fleming—Poyer seizes Pembroke Castle in the name of the King—Fleming occupies Pembroke Town—Poyer summoned to surrender—Terms demanded by the latter refused—Declaration of Colonel Poyer—Colonel Fleming's answer—Laugharne's men under Captain Addys join Poyer and drive Colonel Fleming out of Pembroke—Poyer imprisons Messrs Lort, Bowen and Poyer, and obliges two companies of Parliamentarian foot, landed at Pwllcrochan from Bristol, to leave the county—Proceeds to Henllan, where he nearly captures Griffith White, Roger Lort, Adjutant-General Fleming, Mr. John Lort, and other gentlemen—The Royalist party with certain exceptions join Poyer, who holds a review on Colby Moor and marches to Carmarthen—Colonel Horton directed by Fairfax to oppose him—Poyer and Powell proceed to Lampeter and are joined by many Royalists—Newcastle Emlyn fortified—Poyer occupies a hill near Llandilo Fawr—Fleming attempts a flank movement, is routed, and shoots himself in Llandilo Church—Horton falls back on Neath and Oliver Cromwell is ordered into Wales—Poyer defies Cromwell and his Ironsides—Poyer proceeds through Carmarthen towards Cardiff—Horton having obtained reinforcements and ammunition marches to St. Fagans—Rowland Laugharne joins Poyer—His Correspondence with the Prince of Wales—Laugharne receives promise of support from Lord Jermyn—Questions Horton's authority—The Battle of St. Fagans—Overthrow of Laugharne—Traditions of Poyer and Powell—Laugharne wounded, and with Poyer retreats to Pembroke—Court-Martial on prisoners, three of whom were shot and one hanged—One thousand prisoners sent to Venice, others to the West Indies—Colonel Horton follows Powell to Tenby and besieges him there—Tenby capitulates—The terms—Damage done in St. Mary's Church by Horton's troops—Cromwell appears before Pembroke—Camps at Underdown, but takes up his quarters at Welston—Accident to his siege train at Berkeley—The story of Pembroke Leaguer—Pembroke yields—The conditions—17th century ordnance—Committee for the dismantling of Castles—Haverfordwest Castle—The Rev. Peregrine Phillips, Vicar of Monkton, preaches to the Officers—Laugharne, Poyer and Powell sent to London—Tried by Court-Martial—Draw lots for life—Poyer is shot in Covent Garden—His descendants—Powell's picture—Punishment of other prisoners.

In the year 1647 the Royalist party had been suppressed throughout West Wales, and a victorious triumvirate composed of Laugharne, Poyer and Powell ruled Little England in the name of Parliament. So thoroughly had the King's men been beaten that the most sanguine Cavalier could scarce have hoped again to draw sword for the cause he deemed so holy; but that he should within a few short months have stood shoulder to shoulder alongside his old enemies, fighting for King Charles, would indeed have seemed impossible. Yet this unnatural combination did come about. The Presbyterian faction, to which Pembrokeshire men mostly belonged, gradually became more and more bitterly opposed to the Independents, who were represented by Cromwell and the army. In February, 1647, the Scotch Presbyterians sold King Charles to the English Parliament for £400,000, and the Presbyterian majority in the latter body, considering that as the Royal person was now safe in the keeping of Parliament, there was no further necessity for a standing army, resolved that 12,000 men should be sent for service into Ireland under the Presbyterian leaders, Skippon and Massey, and that the rest should be disbanded, thus saving England from a military despotism, and drawing the teeth of their own personal foes. But the army declined to disband, and while the matter was under discussion Cornet Joyce stole the King away from Holmby House and brought him as a captive to head-quarters at Saffron Waldron. By this daring manœuvre the Independents gained their point and the army remained undisbanded. Taking advantage of these dissensions certain Royalists now in Glamorganshire "declared for the King and Sir Thomas Fairfax." They stated that they would be very glad to hear how Rowland Laugharne looked upon their proceedings. Laugharne forwarded the letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons

declaring* "I shall (God willing) never desert my first principles for the Parliament of England," and then marched on Cardiff. The insurrection melted at his approach.

It would seem from Laugharne's protestations that his good faith was doubted by the Parliamentarian party as early as June, 1647. It is difficult to discover what grievance could have rankled in his mind if it was not the Presbyterian feud. He was Major-General of the District, had been rewarded with the valuable estate of Slebech,† and was held in high esteem by the whole Parliamentarian party.

The Pembrokeshire leaders communicated their discontents to each other, and all thought themselves ill requited by the Parliament for the service they had done, and that other men (especially Colonel Mytton) were preferred before them; and resolved to take the opportunity of the Scots coming in, to declare for the King upon the Presbyterian account.‡

Such was Clarendon's opinion, and if he was right then the Presbyterians of Little England were intriguing with their Scottish brethren after the fashion which brought Rice Griffith and Robert Devereux to the block. Powell seems to have been a free lance who followed the fortunes of his leader without consideration, deeming it was a soldier's duty to obey. In Poyer's case the causes of disaffection may be readily discerned. He commenced life as a merchant, and had prospered in some trade, which he threw over, and took up first politics, then war, as a means of livelihood. His business was sacrificed and his capital squandered. To redeem the latter he availed himself of opportunities afforded by his position as Parliamentarian Commissioner, and was openly accused of dishonesty by his neighbours. In other words Poyer was a military adventurer to whom war had become a necessity, so that when the Parliament dispensed with his services these were at once offered to the Royalists. But we are somewhat premature. At the time Laugharne was protesting against rumours affecting *his* loyalty, Poyer was following the even tenour of his ways as a Pembroke burgess, and was re-elected Mayor of that Borough in 1647–48.§

* From a pamphlet entitled a "A Full Relation of the whole proceedings of the late Rising in Wales," &c. London: Printed for Francis Leech, July 2, 1647. (K P 320—9) quoted by Phillips in *Civil War*, vol. ii. p. 340.

† On the 4th of March, 1645, the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament took into their serious consideration the many and faithful services of Rowland Laugharne, Esq., Major-General of the Counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen and Cardigan, and did order and ordain that the estates belonging to John Barlow of Slebech, in the county of Pembroke, Esq., lying or being in any places within the said county, shall be and are by authority of this present ordinance granted and settled upon the said Rowland Laugharne and his heirs to have and to hold for ever.—See Appendix to Fenton's *Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 16.

‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, book xi.

§ The following minutes of a Pembroke Town Council meeting held under the last mayoralty of John Poyer were copied from an old book belonging to the Corporation of Pembroke (which has since disappeared), and are curious as showing what matters were considered of local importance in those stirring times:—

The 15th of dessember, 1647.

It wass this day agreed uppon by those whose names are under written that all costomes of corne and all other goods granted by charter be forthwith levied as due to this Towne of Pembroke, and one of the Burgesses of the said Towne shall be appoynted to reseve ye same and to be accountable to ye maior for ye same for the tyme being.

ORDERED.

It was likewise the day and ere above named ordered that William Turnor of Bristoll, shall pay the some of Thirty shillings to the pore of the Towne of Pembroke, the churchwardens of the prsh of S Maris to reseve the same for usinge the Libbertys not beinge free and for raissing the rate of corne in the markets to the greate damage of the (good?) of the Towne. It is Likewis ordered that John Younge one of the Burgesses of this Towne shall att all times convenient repayer to the custom house there to receave all such costomes and such sums of money as shall growe due for ye Towne costomes. Yat is as shall be due to yis Towne of Pembroke.

It is allsoe ordered that a Ratte be made uppon the Burgesses of this Towne for the paying of John Elliott and John Roch monne is due to yem for worke and tymber for repayringe ye gaol of the saide towne, and for setting upp of ye clocke and Repayring of ye shambles.

It is this day allsoe ordered that Matthew Bowen one of the Burgesses of this Towne shall from here fforth [be] excluded and putt forth of the counsel this Towne for divers contempt by him . . . . . contrary to his oath and for takinge away from the bay life after he was . . . . . severall . . . . . It is agreed uppon and to ye order and orders named on ye other side of ye Leaffe,

JOHN POYER, Maior, EDWARD WILLES, EDWARD SOUTHEARNWOOD, JOHN TIDWELL,
HENRY BANKES, JOHN ROCHE, RICHARD ROCHE, THOMAS STANDISH.
WILLIAM COZENS, JOHN YOUNGE, JOHN COUTER,

On January 3, 1648, Sir Thomas Wroth proposed in the House of Commons—

That the King should be laid by, and the Kingdom settled without him ; that some other government should be formed he cared not what, so that the ruling power be neither king or devil.

This motion was carried by 141 against 92, and forthwith sent up to the Lords. The upper house after a protracted debate, and two adjournments adopted the motion on January 15th. As may be well supposed such an extreme measure led to a reactionary movement throughout the land. Royalists and Presbyterians in England and Scotland were of one mind, and a portion of the fleet revolted. It was in Pembrokeshire that the disaffection came to a head. The leaders of the Independent party seem to have been kept well informed of what was passing in West Wales, for an order was forthwith given that the army of South Wales under the command of Major-General Laugharne should be disbanded, a few soldiers being retained to garrison the fortresses of Cardiff, Swansea, Carmarthen and Pembroke. Laugharne notwithstanding his protestations is said to have been imprisoned,* and Poyer was superseded in favour of Colonel Fleming. This thoroughly roused Poyer who was threatened by some of his neighbours (probably Roger Lort of Stackpole and Griffith White of Henllan in Castlemartin) with a lawsuit for misappropriation of funds as a Commissioner. Poyer entrenched himself in Pembroke Castle which he garrisoned with a mixed force of Presbyterians and Royalists in number about 500†. Some time before March 13th Fleming occupied Pembroke town, where he awaited orders from Cromwell. When these arrived he held a council of war and

Sent a drum with ordinance of Parliament and the summons (as the last sent to him, Poyer) to deliver up Pembroke Castle within twelve hours, or he and all with him to be proclaimed rebels.‡

To this summons Poyer made answer in the following terms:—

Sir,—The order and letter I read before your drum to the souldiers; they return this answer. That the officers and souldiers be paid part of their arrears according to the proportion of others, and sufficient security for the rest. 2nd. That £1000 be paid unto me, which I have disbursed: and my arrears as other officers according to my place and time of my service. This granted we are ready to surrender the Castle, and all that we have in our possession ; if not we are resolved with the assistance of the Almighty to hold the Castle for the King & Parliament, according to the Covenant by us taken, until such time that our arrears, disbursements and indemnity be assured us. Our trust is not in the arm of flesh, but our hope standeth in the name of the Lord, and if bloud be spilt, judge ye who shal answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, such as seeks another mans life, to enjoy what is his right; or that man that stands in his defence to save what is his: we have bestowed our times to good purpose to be proclaimed traitors and rebels for demanding our own and no more. But what your selfe and those mercenaries desires, that you have brought to murther us, and take the bread out of the mouths of our wives and children. I have no more but this as David spoke to Saul when he hunted after his life. The Lord be judge between us whose heavenly protection I am assured of, knowing our cause to be just. I have not else to trouble you but rest

Your humble servant,

John Poyer.

Pembroke Castle,
13th March, 1647.

THE ANSWER OF COLONEL FLEMING TO THE SAID DECLARATION.

Colonell Fleming being willing of himself to doe all things with gentlenesse, and upon the advice and desires of the gentlemen of that County, Promiseth to give him £200 in ready money, & to enjoy the same terms for

* Ludlow *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 247.

† Anonymous Letter in *Perfect Weekly Account* (K P 359—20 & 26) quoted by Phillips in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 349.

‡ From a pamphlet entitled "A Bloody Slaughter at Pembroke Castle in Wales," &c. Printed at London by Robert Ibbitson in Smithfield, neere the *Queen's Head Tavern*, 1648 (K P 357—5). Phillips' *Civil War* vol. ii., page 345.

himself & the officers and souldiers with him, as other supernumaries that are, & have been disbanded in other places. He promised also that his arrears should be audited, and security given him for the payment there of. . . . . The General* hath written to Col Poyer and Lieut-Col Laugharne that whereas he understands there is some dispute amongst the officers belonging to Major Gen Laugharne's Forces concerning their disbanding, pretending to the Commissioner of Parliament appointed for that purpose, that they desire to be disbanded together; and other questions about the quantity of money to be paid upon their disbanding. That concerning the latter, satisfaction is given by the Committee, by order from the Committee of Parliament for the Army. As for the other of desiring to be disbanded together it is directly contrary to those rules his Excellency hath prescribed hitherto for disbanding, and therefore his Excellency expects the same obedience which hath bin yielded by all others be likewise by them, and that they do forth with upon sight disband, troop after troop and company after company until the work of disbanding be finished.†

Colonel Poyer answered this appeal by opening fire on the town: several houses were battered down, and eleven soldiers wounded, some mortally. Then Colonel Fleming who appears to have been most anxious to avoid proceeding to extremities thinking perhaps it was a dread of the lawsuit hanging over Poyer's head that rendered him desperate.

With the advice, and upon the desire of the gentlemen of the county, ... offered he should have the security of the gentlemen of the county whom he hath much oppressed, that they would relinquish all suits and actions at law against him. But all these offers from Colonel Fleming and the gentlemen of the county could not prevail upon him but he put out his flag of defiance and will not yield.‡

News arrived in Pembroke that the detachment of Laugharne's men in Tenby were prepared to revolt from Parliament, but on the other hand the garrison of Carmarthen declared that neither they nor their comrades in Tenby had any sympathy with Poyer; this document was signed by Pat Cozen (perhaps some relation to Will Cozens, the Pembroke Town Councillor), Will Shuttleworth, Rich Powell, Hugh Laugharne, Ad Beale, Hen Addys, Phi Bowen, and Wil Marichurch (of Norchard). From what followed, it would seem that this letter was intended to put Fleming off his guard, for two hundred of Laugharne's men with the cognizance of Poyer, made a forced march on Pembroke; when near at hand Poyer, who could see them from the castle before Fleming's men were aware of their approach, sent out instructions by a messenger. He then sallied forth and attacked Fleming in his quarters; the latter gallantly defended himself, and indeed seemed to be getting the best of the fight, but Laugharne's troopers coming up and taking him in the rear utterly routed the Parliament forces, killing and wounding many, capturing twenty or thirty prisoners and two great culverins, with all arms and ammunition. Laugharne's men must have entered by the east gate which no doubt was opened to them by confederates in the town. Poyer was now master of Pembroke and the surrounding district. He fortified and victualled the town in anticipation of a siege.§

Captain Henry Addys, one of those who had signed the false declaration, joined him with one hundred men,‖ and he proceeded to raise foot and horse, pressing the country people, collecting arms of all sorts and provisions. He imprisoned Messrs. Lort, Bowen and Poyer;

* Fairfax.

† Pamphlet entitled *The Declaration and Resolution of Col John Poyer, Governor of Pembroke Castle, concerning the King's Majesty and both houses of Parliament, and his propositon to the Western Party touching his present proceedings. Together with a full and perfect relation of the last great fight betwixt the forces of the said Col Poyer and Col Fleming, with the manner there of and the taking of Tenby Castle, by a party of Major Gen Laugharne.* Memo, London: printed for R.W., and are to be sold near Temple Barre, 1648. (There is a nice copy in the Free Library, Cardiff.)

‡ From the pamphlet entitled *A Bloody Slaughter*, &c.

§ Declaration and Resolution of Colonel Poyer.

‖ Captain Henry Addys and his company had been paid off and disbanded, so their conduct was exceedingly bad.

probably Sampson Lort of East Moor, Thomas Bowen of Trefloyne, and his own brother David Poyer. He took ransom from them (but supposing my identification to be correct), they all subsequently joined the rebels, then hearing that two companies of foot sent from Bristol to join Fleming had landed near Pwllcrochan, Poyer sallied out with a hundred men in pursuit. The Parliamentarians had however fortified the Church, and from thence it was impossible to dislodge them, so Poyer agreed they should retire to their ships on condition they left the Haven and did not return. Poyer then proceeded to Henllan House, where were Mr. Griffith White, the staunch old Parliament man, the owner of the house; Mr. Roger Lort of Stackpole; the Royalist Adjutant-General Fleming; Mr. John Lort of Prickeston; and several other gentlemen and commissioners; these also escaped by water.* It is said that while flying from Poyer Mr. White dropped a number of gold pieces which have from time to time been picked up near the ruins of Henllan. Matters had now become very serious. Poyer had between 1200 and 1300 men under arms, and the country was rising in his favour. Sir Henry Stradling, Major-General John Stradling, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Stradling, Lieutenant-Colonel John Butler, Colonel Morgan (Governor of Gloucester), Colonel Richard Donnel (late Governor of Swansea), all joined the rebels.† The Earl of Carbery however would have nothing to do with them. On the 9th of April Poyer held a great review on Colby Moor,‡ the scene of former triumphs, which must still have been strewn with ghastly relics. He then marched to Carmarthen where he was joined by Powell. The Parliamentarian leaders had by this time recognized the extreme gravity of the situation. The fire that self-seeking Mayor Poyer had lit in West Wales kindled every disaffected spirit in the realm. Colonel Horton was directed to march westward with all speed, and a detachment of Colonel Reade's force at Bristol, under Colonel Overton, was ordered to proceed to Pembrokeshire. In April Horton overpowered the disaffected garrison at Brecon and shortly afterwards disbanded certain local troops at Swansea. Meanwhile Poyer and Powell had pushed on to Lampeter with a body of English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh.§ Recruits for the King's army were hurrying forward from all parts; not only the country gentlemen and their followers, "but divers porters, butchers, and such rascally fellows come hither (to Carmarthen) from London."‖ Besides this Welsh army the Scotch were causing great anxiety to the Parliamentarians, for it was an open secret that they might rise any day. The Royalist cause was looking up.

Hey diddle diddle, I heard a bird sing,
The Parliament soldiers are up for the King.

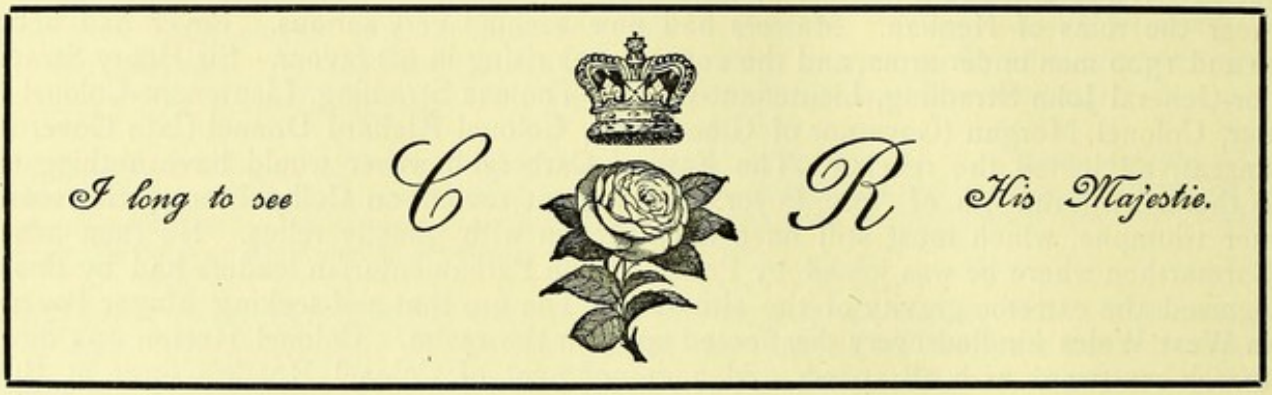
About the beginning of May Horton entered Carmarthenshire. The Pembroke men had broken down the bridges, and were now camped near the Towy river. Captains Cozens and Addys, of Laugharne's horse, were despatched to fortify Newcastle in Emlyn; there was some slight skirmishing between the two armies, but without serious result. At length Poyer entrenched himself on a hill-top near Llandilo Fawr, and so strong was his position that Horton feared to attack. Colonel Fleming was ordered to make for a pass in Poyer's rear, where he was met by Major Roach in command of a troop of Powell's. The latter retired and was pursued by Colonel Fleming, who fell into an ambush prepared for him in the town of Llandilo Fawr, where his force was cut in two. The Colonel with one hundred troopers fled to the church, which Poyer's men stormed, and there either by accident

* From letter in *Perfect Weekly Account*, 5—12, April. † *Merc Eteniticus*, No. 22, K P 361—19; quoted in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 353.

‡ Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. i., p. 399. § *A Great Fight in Wales.*

‖ Letter from J. Sands, Carmarthen, in *The Declaration and Revolution of Colonel John Poyer concerning Lieutenant-General Cromwell*, &c. London: printed for I. G., 1643 (K P 365—6).

or intent Fleming shot himself.* So terribly were the Parliamentarians affected by Fleming's tragical end that Horton fell back on Neath to await reinforcements under Colonel Okey, from whence he retired to Brecon, the people showing hostility on the whole line of march. The House of Commons fully realized the gravity of the situation. On the 1st of May Fairfax informed Mr. Speaker that Cromwell and a sufficient force had been despatched into Wales. Poyer greatly elated by his victory over Horton declared he feared neither Fairfax, Cromwell nor Ireton, but would fight it out to the last man. Both himself and his men were now as loyal or malignant as Prince Rupert himself. The officers wore a blue ribbon round their hats on which was the following device:—



If Cromwell came the Mayor of Pembroke swore he

> Would give him a field and show him fair play; and will be the first man that shall charge against the Ironsides; saying that if he (Cromwell) had a back of steel and a breast of iron he dare encounter with him.†

Poyer had marched through Carmarthen leisurely and proceeded towards Cardiff, with a view to raise Glamorganshire and Monmouth. Colonel Horton having obtained reinforcements and ammunition, retraced his steps with all speed that bad roads, unseasonable weather, and lack of accommodation for man and beast allowed. On the 4th of May he camped at St. Fagans on the little river Ely. Poyer's men were at St. Nicholas. Rowland Laugharne's movements for some time had been involved in mystery. If the story of his imprisonment told in the Ludlow *Memoirs* be true, we are left in ignorance who arrested him, or where he was confined. Probably the true reason of his seclusion was that given by Clarendon. Laugharne though sympathising with Poyer felt that the latter would be powerless against the Independents, unless a complete coalition took place between Presbyterians and Royalists throughout England and Scotland. With the intentions of the Scotch leaders he was probably well acquainted, but delayed taking any decisive step until

> He first sent a confident to Paris to inform the Prince of what he had determined and of what their wants consisted, which if not relieved they should not be able to pursue their purpose, desiring to receive orders for the time of their declaring, and assurance that they should in time receive those supplies they stood in need of.‡

* Carlyle failed to identify the scene of this Parliamentarian disaster; but the late Mr. Roland Phillips, who has so diligently worked out *The Civil War in Wales*, found there was in an old MS. in the Mostyn Collection a statement that Colonel Fleming shot himself in the Church of Llandilo Fawr. This MS. was printed in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, vol. i., p. 90.

† J. Sands' letter, quoted above.

‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Book xi.

Lord Jermyn sent him a promise under his hand,

That he should not fail of receiving all the things he had desired before he could be pressed by the enemy, and therefore conjured him and his friends forthwith to declare for the King, which he assured them would be of singular benefit and advantage to His Majesty's service. Since upon the first notice of their having declared, the Scotish army would be ready to march into England. Hereupon they presently declared before they were provided to keep the field, for want of ammunition and money, and when Pembroke was not supplied with provisions for above two months, they were never thought of after.*

Laugharne probably received Lord Jermyn's answer towards the end of April, and joined Poyer on his march, for we read:

It is reported that Major-General Laugharne is come unto Poyer; whether it were he or not we cannot tell; but the Welsh shot off all their guns lately to welcome some person of quality.†

He certainly was with them when they reached St. Nicholas, for Colonel Horton received the following letter:—

Sir,—I desire you would let me know by what power you just came and still remain in these counties of my association, I being commissioned Commander-in-Chief of these parts by an ordinance of Parliament? And upon what grounds the injury of seizing on some of my troops was offered and the taking of the whole attempted without satisfaction rendered them in point of pay, according to the instructions of the Parliament to the Commissioners for disbanding such supernumeraries? I should gladly be satisfied in these particulars, otherwise your perseverance in these affronts to myself and the soldiery, and the country will not be without some difficulty. Sir, if you please to withdraw your forces out of this county, it may be a special means to prevent several inconveniences, besides the necessary resolutions which otherwise must be forced upon, Sir,

Your servant,

St. Nicholas, 4th May, 1648. Row. Laugharne.

By way of answer to this Colonel Horton pointed out that his Excellency the Lord Fairfax was General (by ordinance of Parliament) of all forces in England and Wales, that he (Horton) acted under orders, and

Whereas I now understand that you are come down into the country, considering the former trust the Parliament reposed in you . . . . . I would rather believe that you came with an intention to join us in suppressing of that tumultuous assembly.‡

Horton's answer was sent on Friday, the 5th of May, on which day Laugharne and Poyer fell back on Penmark, Llancarvan, and Fonmont Castle. Why they took this course is not very clear. On the evening of Sunday they advanced towards St. Nicholas about 8000 strong, and on Monday, May 8th, about seven in the morning attacked Horton's force. After a stubborn fight the Pembrokeshire men were driven back from hedge to hedge until they arrived at a bridge where were their reserves; at length Horton's horse crossed the stream and flanked the Welshmen, who then gave way and fled panic-stricken. Horton's horse pursued them for eight or ten miles. Major-General Rowland Laugharne was wounded, and his brother Thomas was among the slain, who were so numerous that the river Ely ran red from St. Fagans down to

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Book xi.

† From a pamphlet entitled *The Desires and Propositions of Lord Inchiquier*, &c., K P 365—2; quoted by Phillips in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 354.

‡ From a pamphlet entitled *A Declaration to Major-General Laugharne*, &c. London: printed for Lawrence Chapman, May 15, 1648; K P 366—8; quoted by Phillips in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 364.

Penarth.* Three thousand prisoners were taken, with 2000 fire-arms, with pikes, Welsh bills, 50 colours, 360 horse, and all the ammunition, bag and baggage. Among the prisoners were Major Addys, the same who joined Poyer in Pembroke; Thomas Bowen of Trefloyne; James Lewis of Kilkyffeth; Lieutenant-Colonel Wogan of Wiston (?); Captain William Button, and Mr. Devereux Grafton of Carew. On Horton's side were Thomas Wogan, M.P. for Cardigan Boroughs, sent hither by the House of Commons, and subsequently distinguished as one of the regicides; and Captain Jones, captured by Laugharne at Carew, who on that occasion turned coat. This man again changed sides, for deserting Poyer with a troop of sixty horse he joined Horton. The defeated army of Royalists and Presbyterians fled to the westward, Laugharne and Poyer making good their retreat to Pembroke, while Powell with a hundred troopers took refuge in Tenby. To these shortly afterwards came in many fugitives, who straightway set to work preparing for a desperate resistance.

Colonel Horton proceeded to take vengeance. Eleven of the principal prisoners were brought on board the *Admiral Crowther* man-of-war then lying at Cardiff, and tried by court-martial: Major-General Stradling, Major Phillips, Captain Thomas Matthews, Captain Button (Laugharne's brother-in-law), Mr. Miles Matthews, Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkin Popkins, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Morgan, Colonel Arthur Harries, Captain Edward Walker, Captain Rich Cradock, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Thomas. Of these three were shot and one hanged.† This excessive severity was perhaps necessary, for the insurrection was spreading. The number of prisoners, said to have been 3000, was so great that an application was made to the Parliament by Prince Charles Lodovic‡ to the following effect:—

My Lord,—I could not but thinke it very seasonable upon this late news from Walles, once more to sollicite the House for their permission to transporte some of those prisoners there taken for the service of the State of Venice, under the command of my Brother Prince Philip. And therefore shall desire your Lordship to move the House, that they would bee pleased to give leave unto my said Brother, or the officers appointed by him for the levying and transporting of a thousand of these prisoners, my Brother ingaging his word and the said officers giving sufficient securitie that these soldiers shall not bee imployed to the prejudice of the Parliament affaires. The grant of which desire as it will disburthen the kingdome of many disaffected persons, so will it make a further addition to their former favours.

Your Lordship's most affectionate friend to serve you,

Somerset House, this 12th of May, 1648. Charles Lodovic.

For my Lord of Manchester, Speaker of the House Peers.§

This letter from the Prince Elector was read in the House of Lords the day it was written, and the following order made:—

Ordered: To be sent down to the House of Commons, that Prince Philip shall have a thousand of those which are taken in Wales by Colonel Horton, by giving securitie for the landing of them in Italie.‖

* Iolo's *Poems*, vol. ii., p. 57. Edward Williams, who wrote under the *nom-de-plume* of "Iolo Morganwg," died in 1826 at the age of eighty-one. He collected such traditions as were extant in the county of Glamorgan respecting St. Fagan's fight. For instance it was said that sixty-five women were widowed in the parish of St. Fagans, and seven hundred in the county of Glamorgan. Males were so scarce in the summer of 1648 that both hay and corn were harvested by women. The fugitives took to the woods where they were supplied with food by their friends, who used the cow-call *Priv dewch* as a signal.

† Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. i., p. 406.

‡ Second son of Frederic and Elizabeth King and Queen of Bohemia and brother of Prince Rupert. Unlike his brethren he was a partisan of the Parliament, and when in England sat in what was called the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.—Ellis' *Original Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. 3, p. 337.

§ MS. Harl. 7001, Art. 119, Orig.; printed in Ellis' *Original Letters* as above.

‖ Journal of the House of Lords, vol. x., pp. 253–254.

The Commons introduced the following stipulations:—

That Prince Philip should have power to entertain and transport *such persons as should willingly go*, not exceeding the number of one thousand, upon the conditions tendered in the Prince Elector's letter, and that it should be referred to the Committee for Prisoners to take care that the cautions and conditions were observed.

The above offer seems to have been confined to

The common people who are natives of Wales and who he (Oliver Cromwell) did consider were but a seduced ignorant people; but for your arch-cavaliering rogues that were privately invited from London, Worcester, Chester, and other parts of the kingdom, merely to heighten the mischief in Wales, they are kept prisoners, and it is intended they shall be sent to the West Indies for prevention of further mischief here.*

Colonel Horton did not waste time; he followed up his victory and must have reached Tenby close on the fugitives under Powell, as we have seen the victory at St. Fagans was won on Monday, May 8th. On the Sunday following Colonel Horton's men attempted to storm the town of Tenby but were repulsed. The Parliamentarians subsequently took a certain work† with thirty prisoners and some slain. Disconcerted by this further misfortune the besieged humbly desired permission to march out upon conditions.

But our honourable Colonel Horton would give no ear to them, knowing the serpentine malevolency of their natures, especially of that proud and insolent Colonel Powell, that shameful apostate, who indeed deserves no mercy at all, but that he should be cast into that current of the flood-gate of Justice, and be made exemplary to Posterity and to all perfidious villains.*

On Wednesday, May 31, 1648, the garrison of Tenby under Colonel Powell desired that Colonel Horton would take them into protection and mercy. The conditions of surrender were as follows:—

1. That the besieged delivered up all the ordnance, arms and ammunition of the Castle, to Lieutenant-General Cromwell for the use of the Parliament.
2. That the common soldiers be permitted (those who will) to be transported by Prince Philip or others into Italy.
3. That those soldiers who desire to go home may be permitted, taking an oath never to engage against the Parliament hereafter.
4. That all the officers surrender themselves prisoners, their lives and estates to be at the mercy of the Parliament.

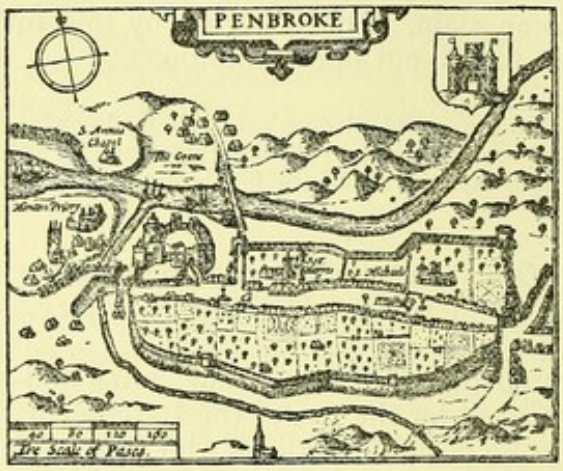
These latter were: Colonel Rice Powell, Colonel Edward Kemeys of Perth-olen, Monmouthshire, who was Sheriff for that county in 1653 (?); Colonel Richard Donnell, who had been Royalist Governor of Swansea; Sergeant-Major Vaughan, an old follower of General Laugharne; Captain Beale, a soldier of Laugharne's; Captain Addys, he who joined Poyer in Pembroke and assisted in expelling Colonel Fleming; Captain Powell, a soldier of Laugharne's; Mr. Thomas Basset, a Glamorganshire Royalist; and thirty others who cannot be identified, though from their names they do not appear to be Pembrokeshire men. One hundred soldiers agreed to go abroad; twenty pieces of ordnance, three hundred arms, four barrels of powder that had been partly used, forty horses only (the waste of horse flesh must have been very great on the retreat from St. Fagans), five colours and the standard of Tenby

* Letter signed "W. S." in the pamphlet *Exceeding Good News from Wales;* K P 370—27: quoted in *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 377.

† I expect this was the out work standing near where the stables of the Gate House Hotel have since been built, and which had been captured in the first Civil War by Laugharne.

Castle; all their ammunition, provisions, bag and baggage were captured.* Though the town of Tenby probably did not suffer so severely during Horton's siege in May, 1648, as when Laugharne operated against it in April, 1644, yet perhaps we should ascribe certain wanton mischief which some evil persons perpetrated in the Church of St. Mary's to the Independents commanded by Horton. The west window of the north aisle was once filled with fine stained glass, but it has been utterly destroyed, perhaps at this time; the only relics of its former grandeur being a few fragments round the edges. And on William Risam's monument referred to above (page 317) there is a mark which tradition has always attributed to a musket ball aimed at the benefactor's effigy by one of "Cromwell's soldiers."

To return to General Laugharne and Colonel Poyer. After the disastrous fight at St. Fagan's they retreated to Pembroke and prepared for the mighty adversary who was slowly advancing to try conclusions. Oliver Cromwell appeared before Pembroke about the 24th of May. Tradition relates that he formed his camp on the hill to the south of the town, near Underdown. The General himself, who was suffering from an attack of gout, took up his quarters with Mr. Walter Cuney at Welston, a house which stood to the north-east



PLAN OF PEMBROKE ATTACHED TO JOHN SPEEDE'S MAP OF PEMBROKESHIRE (1610).

of Lamphey, and was pulled down early in this century. Fenton states that in his time there was

> A quilted counterpane, white lined with crimson, that covered Cromwell's bed, still in the possession of a lady, a descendant of that house (Cuney), stained with ink spilled as he was writing one of his despatches during his confinement (from gout).†

Cromwell expected that by the time he reached Pembroke a battery of siege guns from Wallingford would have awaited his orders in Milford Haven,‡ but through an accident at Berkeley the vessel in which they were shipped seems to have foundered, and as westerly gales prevailed, when the guns had been recovered it was impossible to deliver them in Pembroke until the beginning of July.§ The besiegers would have been checkmated had it not happened that the *Lion*, a Parliamentarian war-ship, came into Milford Haven. Cromwell

* *Two Great Victories*, &c.; K P 370—23.

† *Historical Tour*, p. 373. Who the lady referred to above may have been, or what has become of Cromwell's quilt, I have failed to discover.

‡ Cromwell's letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons; Carlyle iii.; Appendix ii.

§ Pamphlet *A Great and Bloody Fight at Pembroke Castle*. Printed at London to prevent misinformation; July 9th, 1648; K P 375—35; *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 395.

forthwith despatched the notorious Hugh Peters, who had accompanied the expedition, to see what guns could be spared from the *Lion;* two culverins, two demi-culverins, and two drakes were obtained from this source.* The first operation essayed by the besiegers was an attempt to storm the town one day about the 4th of June, but the scaling ladders were too short. A few men were lost, Major Grigg's lieutenant and ensign among them. Captain Flower of Dean's regiment was injured, and Captain Burgess wounded and very sick; but Cromwell consoled himself in his confidence that the enemy had lost many more.† On the 9th of June Cromwell wrote to the committee at Carmarthen:

> Desiring we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the iron furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the town and castle of Pembroke. The principal things are: shells for our mortar piece, the depth of them we desire may be 14 inches and ¾ of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is to cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible expedition; that so if it be the will of God, the service being done, these poor wasted counties may be freed from the burden of the Army. In the next place we desire some D cannon shot,‡ and some culverin shot§ may with all possibility be cast for us and hasted to us also.‖

On the 13th Cromwell had planted two little guns with which he calculated he should take away their mills in twenty-four hours. The mills were probably those at the bottom of the Dark Lane, and the guns must have been placed on the other side of the water. The loss of these mills would prove very important to the besieged, who began to suffer greatly from famine; indeed the hungry garrison were already mutinous, saying: "Shall we be ruined for two or three men's pleasure; better it were to throw them over the wall." This occurred on Sunday. On Saturday night Poyer had told the mutineers if relief did not arrive on Monday they might hang him. No doubt Colonel Poyer remembered how closely he had been pressed by the Royalists in 1644, and how triumphantly he had been relieved by Swanley's fleet; he was in hourly expectation that Prince Charles and Lord Jermyn would send the squadron to his aid. Nay, on one occasion, the besieged garrison believed that the Royalist fleet had actually arrived, for guns were heard down the Haven. It turned out, however, to be the Parliamentarian fleet firing a salute on account of good news from Kent. Pembroke was not victualled for a siege. This had not entered into Poyer's calculations. Considering that Little England was safe when Colonel Fleming was expelled, he had assumed the offensive, and as we have seen succeeded in driving the enemy before him to Cardiff. Then came the crushing disaster of St. Fagans. Laugharne and Poyer were in turn driven back to Pembroke Castle, where their Presbyterian Royalists (a body over which neither could have had much influence) were pitted against Cromwell's Ironsides. There were probably in Pembroke Castle only surplus stores such as had remained unconsumed when Fleming was forced to raise the siege. These, originally intended for the castle garrison, proved quite insufficient now Poyer had to feed the town as well. At the very beginning of the leaguer we find fodder was so scarce that horses and cows were fed on thatch stripped from the cottages.¶ On the 14th of June the mutinous garrison was put on reduced rations: half-a-pound of beef and half-a-pound of bread *per diem* to each man. The civilians in the town doubtless were very hardly pressed. Tradition avers the town and castle relied on two wells for their supply of water: one called

* *Cromwelliana*, p. 40: quoted in Carlyle's *Cromwell*, vol. i., p. 269. Hugh Peters subsequently formed a friendship with Roger Lort, and was the latter's guest in his house of Stackpole.

† O. C.'s letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, 14th June; Rushworth pt. 4, vol. ii., p. 1159.

‡ Conical (?); if so, I don't think they came.

§ Eighteen pounders.

‖ O. C.'s letter, June 9th; Carlyle iii., Appendix No. ii.

¶ Letter signed "W. S."

Norgan's, in Monkton; the other in the Woogan under Pembroke Castle.* Earthenware pipes three-and-a-half inches in diameter had been laid in cement from Norgan's well, nearly a mile distant, passing over the bridge, up the face of the cliff under an archway in the Monkton tower of the castle.† According to tradition this pipe was pointed out to the besiegers by a man named Edmunds, and cut through where it passed over the bridge.‡ Edmunds' cottage is still pointed out in Monkton village, and his descendants bore the nickname of "Cromwell" in remembrance of the treason of their ancestor, until they became extinct a few years ago. Concerning the Woogan well, Cromwell writes: "We can take away his water in two days by beating down a staircase, which goes into a cellar where he hath a well."§ Mr. Cobb has pointed out that the staircase leading to the Woogan was not beaten down, and there can be little doubt that the besieged had an uninterrupted access to this well. On the night of the 13th Cromwell got two small guns to bear on the Pembroke flour mills‖ and set on fire certain houses in the town. On the 19th the besieged were sore pressed by famine, and Poyer tried to keep up the spirit of the soldiery (who now despaired of relief from Prince Charles) by assuring them that Major-General Langdale was marching to their assistance with an army of North Welshmen, and would be at Pembroke before the week went by. Cromwell's guns had breached the wall, and about this date another storming party was told off. These made an attempt to gain the town, but were repulsed, twenty-three being slain, Poyer's men only losing four. By this time General Laugharne had recovered of his wounds received at St. Fagans and determined on sallying forth, probably with the hope of obtaining food. He does not appear to have been very successful, and was driven back with a loss of nine killed and twenty prisoners. Oliver Cromwell candidly acknowledges:

> Here is as I have formerly acquainted your Excellency (Fairfax) a very desperate enemy, who being put out of all hope of mercy, are resolved to endure the uttermost, being very many gentlemen of quality, and men thoroughly resolved, they have made some notable sallies upon Lieutenant-Colonel Reade's quarter, to his loss. We are forced to keep divers posts or else they would have relief, or their horse break away. Our foot about them are 2400; we always necessitated to have some in garrison. The country since we sat down before this place have made two or three insurrections, and are ready to do it every day, so that what with looking to them and disposing of our horse to that end, and to get us in provision, without which we should starve, the country being so miserably exhausted and so poor, and we no money to buy victuals, indeed whatever may be thought it is a mercy we have been able to keep our men together in the midst of such necessity, the sustenance of the foot for the most part being but bread and water.¶

About the beginning of July a storming party managed to get into the town and drove the besieged up to the castle walls, killing about one hundred of them. But Laugharne with a troop of horse out-flanked the intruders, and getting on their rear cut them up, killing thirty and driving the rest over the breach. In this fight Colonel Horton again distinguished himself. The siege battery had at last arrived, and the fire on the town became consequently distressing. Many desertions took place and a mutinous spirit again broke out, one hundred

* This well has not been re-opened. The lancet window disclosed by Mr. Cobb was used no doubt to give light to the water carriers.

† In this arch a piece of the pipe still remains, also in the wall of the road above Monkton Board School, and a piece is preserved in the Tenby Museum.—See article on Pembroke Castle. by Mr. Cobb, in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July 1883, p. 210.

‡ So says E. Donovan in his *Descriptive Excursion through South Wales and Monmouthshire*, p. 310; but local tradition declares the pipe was cut in Monkton street, and that it passed under the waters of the creek.

§ O. C.'s letter of the 14th June to the Speaker of the House of Commons. In an anonymous letter dated July 4, 1668, in the pamphlet entitled "A Great and Bloody Fight," it is stated the besieged have only a little rain-water and biscuit left.

‖ These were, as now, situated near the bridge under the castle.

¶ Carlyle's *Cromwell* i., letter 61.

and twenty of Poyer's men laying down their arms, vowing they would fight no more; but the Colonel quelled the *emeute*, he and Laugharne promising if relief did not come within four days they might hang their leaders. "The mortar pieces played hard against the town" and battered down many houses, killing some thirty of the inhabitants, for though the ordnance could effect little or no damage on the castle, the cottages yielded to the small projectiles. From Speede's map there do not seem to have been first-class houses in Pembroke, as there certainly were in Tenby. Some cottages apparently of this date still remain (in the neighbourhood of which many cannon balls have been discovered); these could never have offered much resistance to the weakest artillery. The besiegers feared Laugharne, Poyer and



OLD COTTAGES NEAR THE SITE OF THE WEST GATE, PEMBROKE.

such troops as they could rely on would remove all provision to the castle, retire into that fortress and allow the townsmen to surrender.* Certain communications, which are missing, appear to have passed between Poyer and Cromwell before the latter sent his *ultimatum* in the following terms:—

SIR,—I have together with my Council of War renewed my propositions, [and] I thought fit to send them to you with these alterations, which if submitted unto I shall make good. I have considered your condition, and my own duty, and (without threatening) must tell you that if (for the sake of some) this offer be refused, and thereby misery and ruin befall the poor soldiers and people with you, I know where to charge the blood you spill. I expect your answer within these two hours. In case this offer be refused, send no more to me about this subject.

I rest your servant,

July 10 at 4 o'clock this afternoon, 1648. OL. CROMWELL.†

* "A Great and Bloody Fight," and K P 375—35.

† "Perfect Occurrences," No. 81; K P 34—7; Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 396.

The besieged took a night to think over Oliver's letter, and on the next day surrendered the town and castle on the following conditions:—

1. That Major-General Laugharne, Colonel Poyer, Colonel Humphrey Mathews, Captain William Bowen and David Poyer do surrender themselves to the mercy of the Parliament.
2. That Sir Charles Kemeys, Sir Henry Stradling, Lieutenant-Colonel Laugharne, Lieutenant-Colonel Brabason, Mr. Gamage, Major Butler, Major Francis Lewis, Major Mathews, Major Harnick, Captain Roach, Captain Jones, Captain Hugh Bowen, Captain Thomas Watts and Lleutenant Young do within six weeks next following depart the kingdom, and not to return within two years from the time of their departure.
3. That all officers and gentlemen not before named shall have free liberty to go to their several habitations, and there live quietly submitting to the authority of Parliament.
4. That all private soldiers shall have passes to go to their several houses without being stripped or having any violence done to them; all the sick and wounded were to be carefully provided for till able to go home, &c.
5. That the townsmen shall be free from plunder and violence, and enjoy their liberties as heretofore they have done, having freedom to remove themselves and families whither they shall think fit, &c.
6. That the town and castle of Pembroke, with all the arms, ammunition and ordnance, together with the victuals and provisions for the garrison, be forthwith delivered unto Lieutenant-General Cromwell, or such as he shall appoint, for the use of the Parliament.

Signed by OLIVER CROMWELL.
DAVID POYER.*

In a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, written immediately after the surrender, Oliver Cromwell explains the first clause in the articles of surrender:

> The persons excepted are such as have formerly served you in a very good cause; but being now apostatized I did rather make election of them than of those who had always been for the King; judging their iniquity double, because they have sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of Divine Providence, going along with and prospering a just cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share.†

Thus ended Pembroke leaguer. The defenders had fought with dogged desperation, and had they not been deserted by the Royalist party it seems possible Cromwell himself might have been baffled by their tactics. We can fancy Poyer standing on the old donjon looking away to the westward with despairing eyes, keeping watch in vain for the Royalist squadron that never came. Arnulph de Montgomery's stronghold was impregnable in the 17th century, as it had proved in the 12th; famine alone opened its gates, for Cromwell's shot and shell glanced from the old limestone walls like hailstones; in the town his projectiles did much damage, but proved impotent when applied to the castle masonry. Very many cannon balls fired from Royalist and Parliamentarian guns have been collected in Pembroke, Tenby, Carew and Lamphey, and an interesting series of these projectiles will be found in the Tenby Local Museum. The weight of these shot is as follows: 32lb., 18lb., 9lb.; 6lb., 3lb., 2lb. They are all of solid cast iron, and though I have at various times seen a great many others, I never met with any hollow shell. There are preserved in Pembroke and at Lamphey Court some curious stone shot the size of eighteen pounders, though of course weighing much less; these were no doubt makeshifts when the ammunition ran short. The Pembroke specimens were found by Mr. Cobb within the castle walls; those at Lamphey were discovered on the top of the hill three-quarters of a mile from the Old Court, at a farm-house known as "Old Windsor," and are doubtless relics of one of the uprisings noted by Cromwell. In the Tenby Museum will be found also a very curious gun (referred to on page 323). Both the breech and muzzle are lost. It seems to have carried a 9lb. shot, and is built up of iron pieces, banded together by

* "Perfect Occurrences," No. 81; Rushworth's *Hist. Coll.*, pt. iv., vol. ii., p. 1190; Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. ii., p. 398.

† Carlyle's *Cromwell* i., letter 62.

eight rings. At the breech it has been strengthened by a flap, which was welded on to the gun. It is on an oak carriage nine feet four inches in length. Such was the ordnance used, and the castles certainly beat the guns; very few, if any, of these were taken except by storm or famine. Circumstances did not permit Cromwell to rest on his laurels. The Scotch demanded his immediate attention; but with characteristic thoroughness he determined to finish the business he was on before entering on a fresh undertaking.

The castles having proved so formidable, Cromwell decided on their destruction. Roger Lort, John Lort and Thomas Barlow were formed into a committee for this purpose. Cromwell himself perhaps undertook the destruction of Pembroke, the roof of its vaulted Barbican tower has been split in twain by gunpowder, and this must have been accomplished subsequently to the surrender of the fortress. On the 12th of July the committee for dismantling castles was despatched to Haverfordwest armed with the following document:—

Re this lre by the hande of Mr. John Lort this 12 of July, 1648. Wee being authorised by Parliament to viewe and consider what garrisons and places of strength are fit to be demolished, and wee finding that the Castle of Haverford is not tenable for the service of the State, and yet that it may be used by disaffected persons to the preiudice of the peace of these parts. These are to authorise and require you to summon in the hundred of Rouse, and the inhabitants of the towne and county of Haverfordwest, and that they forthwith demolish the works, walls and towers of the said castle, so as that the said castle may not be poss'ed by the enemy to the endaungering of the peace of these parts.

Given onder our hands this 12th of July, 1648. To the Maior and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.

Wee expect an account of your proceedings by Saturday, the 15th of July instant.

Roger Lort.
Sam Lort.
Tho. Barlowe.

If a speedy course bee not taken to fulfill the com'ands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a garrison.

O. Cromwell.*

"A speedy course" was taken, and the following day an answer despatched as follows:—

For the honble Livetennt Jenerall Cromwell then at Pembrock.

Honored Sir,—Wee receaved an Order from yor honor and the comittee for the demolishinge of the Castle of Haverfordwest; accordinge to w^ch^ we have this daie sett some workmen aboute it, but wee finde the worke soe difficult to be broughte aboute w^th^ out powder to blow it up that it will exhaust an immense some of money and will not in longe time be effected: Wherefore wee become suitors to yor honor that there may be a competent quantity of powder be spared out of the shipps for the speedy effectinge the worke; Wee and the countye payinge for the same. And we likewise desire that yor honor and the comittee be pleased that the whole countie may ioyne w^th^ us in the worke and that an order may be conceived for the leveyinge of a competent some of money on the sevrall hundreds of the countie for the payinge and defreyinge the rest of the charge. Thus beinge overbold to be troublesome to yor honor's resolve herein we rest yor honor's humble servants,

John Prynne, Maior.
Ethelred Wogan.
Will Bowen.
Roger Bevant.
Jenkin Howell.
William Williams.
Joh Dainaell.

Haverfordwest, 13 July, 1648.†

Next day they received the following answer:—

lifftenant jenerall Cromwell's Orders for the demolishinge of the Castell of havrfordwest.

Whereas vpon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Maior and Aldermen of

* Original document in possession of the Corporation of Haverfordwest.

† Original document in possession of the Corporation of Haverfordwest.

Haverfordwest, it is thought fitt for the preservinge of the peace of this countrye that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished. These are to authorise you to call vnto your assistance in the performance of this service the inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dangleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgarran, who are hereby required to give you assistance. Given under our handes this 14 of July, 1648.

O. CROMWELL.*

With these documents is a fourth. Whether it was forwarded to Government, or only written for home use, it is impossible to discover:

The chardge that the Towne has been at: Impremis, the towne have been at the chardge of mainteyning of 84 prisoners that were taken near Llangathen for 3 weekes. Alsoe for mainteyning of 180 wounded souldiers for 6 whole weekes at 10d. p diem at the least which comes to Alsoe the free qurtering of Captaynes horsys and souldiers that came to this towne dayly. Alsoe the towne have bene at the charge of £40 in pulling downe the castle. Alsoe the towne have bene at the charge of free qurtering of Captayne Mercus troop for one month. Alsoe the towne have been at the charge of one hundred butts, hogsheads and barrells that went to the leager which came not agayne.*

Whether this account was ever settled we cannot tell. Apparently Cromwell could not spare powder, so allowed them forced labour. It would be curious to know what work the committee of demolition performed. Not very much at Haverford or Pembroke; nothing at Carew or Narberth; the former being inhabited in 1689, the latter in 1676; or Picton, which never lost its roof. Manorbier was already a ruin. Perhaps Lamphey suffered. Tenby Castle I expect was the principal victim; though it is by no means improbable the smaller fortifications such as Newport, Roche and Benton were more or less destroyed under this commission, the inhabitants finding that the demolition of the unoffending castlets was cheaper than the raising of Pembroke and Haverfordwest.

It was probably on Sunday, July the 16th, that Oliver Cromwell invited the Rev. Peregrine Phillips, Vicar of Monkton, St. Mary's (Pembroke), and Cosheston, to preach before the officers under his command. Phillips must have been well known to most of them, for notwithstanding the inconveniences of the siege he preferred to reside in his parish of Monkton rather than in the comparatively peaceful Cosheston. Peregrine Phillips was the son of that Vicar of Amroth† who declined to read the *Book of Sports*, and suffered accordingly; probably in consequence of the father's firmness the son found friends. Sir Hugh Owen had given him the preferment of Monkton; Roger Lort that of St. Mary's, Pembroke; and he obtained Cosheston through the interest of Sir John Meyrick. He had been chosen one of the committee to inquire into the conduct of ministers; but all this availed him nothing during the siege, for the hungry Parliamentarian troopers searched his house so diligently that he was obliged to secrete his scanty stock of flour in the bolster of his bed. Yet Phillips stood to his post, and with him remained a certain plucky servant-maid who was in the habit of milking the parson's cow,‡ caring nought for the storm of shot and shell which hurtled overhead.§ A gable end in the village of Monkton still marks the site of Phillips' old vicarage.

By Monday, the 17th, Cromwell must have pretty well accomplished his work, the hostile troops were disbanded, the fortifications sentenced to destruction, and the prisoners despatched to their various destinations. He left Colonel Horton, the victor of St. Fagans and the captor

* Original document in possession of the Corporation of Haverfordwest.

† See page 319 *ante*.

‡ Passing strange that Royalist or Roundhead had not made that cow into beef long before.

§ Rees's *Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, p. 255.

of Tenby, in command of the district, with his (Horton's) regiment of horse, a troop of dragoons, and two companies out of Colonel Pride's and Colonel Deane's regiments.* Then turning north Oliver sought out the Scotch army, which he utterly destroyed on Preston Moor. Laugharne, Poyer and Powell were sent up to the Tower, from whence they seem to have been removed to Windsor Castle.† Certain of the other prisoners were confined in Nottingham. Their trial was postponed until the following spring, when Laugharne, Poyer and Powell were found guilty by a court-martial and sentenced to death. This seems to have been a somewhat unexpected conclusion. The exiled King (Charles II.) threatened reprisals, and Poyer, who was evidently astonished, on April 16, 1649, presented a humble petition to Parliament which declared that

> He was one of the first that appeared in armes in South Wales against the Common Enemy, for the defence of his own and the people's best liberties; and being Mayor of the towne of Pembrock and captayn of the trayned band did freely and of his own accord fortifie the Castle of Pembrock, which was then his own habitation,‡ and kept the same against the King's forces, and did for the space of five years several other good services; but that being wrongly proclaimed Traitor, he did, for his owne securitie and for the securitie of those that were with him, and for no other end, keepe the said Castle, which was surrendered to Lieut. General Cromwell, upon articles of mercy, which could not be mercy in taking away his life.

But it was felt that public security demanded a victim. Laugharne, Poyer and Powell were bidden to cast lots for life. The actual drawing was done by a child. There were three lots. On two was written, "Life given of God," the third was a blank; this fell to Colonel Poyer, who was duly shot in the Piazza, Covent Garden, on April 21, 1649.§ John Poyer left a family behind him. The male branch is extinct, but the Right Rev. R. Lewis, Bishop of Llandaff is descended from the fighting Mayor of Pembroke on the spindle side. David Poyer's daughter married one Nash, a Swansea glass manufacturer, and by him became mother of a son Richard, afterwards so well known as Beau Nash, "King" of Bath. General Laugharne in due time returned to his home and we shall hear of him again. Powell too escaped and founded a family which is now represented by — Powell, Esq., late chief clerk to the Duchy of Lancaster.‖ Lieutenant-Colonel Laugharne passed over to Ireland. In the spring of 1650 he again fell into Oliver's hands at the taking of Cahir, and "was shot to death."¶ The fate of Colonel Humphrey Matthews gave rise to some discussion. He was released on paying composition, a decision Cromwell in no ways approved.

> Matthews (he writes) than whom the cause we have fought for has not had a more dangerous enemy—not guilty only of being an enemy, but he apostatised from your cause and quarrel, having been a Colonel if not more under you, and then the desperatist promoter of the Welsh Rebellion amongst them all, and how near you were brought to ruin thereby all men who know any thing can tell; and this man is taken away by composition by what orders I know not.*

* Phillips' *Civil War*, vol. i., p. 416. † Hepworth Dixon's *Royal Windsor*. ‡ Perhaps as Captain of the Trained Band.

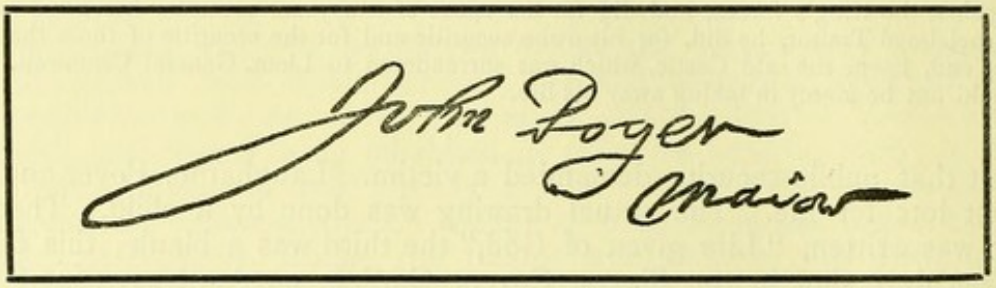
§ Whitelock, 21st April, 1649.

‖ A portrait which is believed to have represented Colonel Powell was accidentally burnt in a fire which took place on the premises of Messrs. Graves, the fine art publishers, in 1880. The picture was supposed to have been painted by William Dobson, who was appointed Serjeant Painter to King Charles I. in 1641. In the background a burning castle was depicted, which was imagined to be Pembroke; but as Pembroke was never burned, and did not surrender until 1648, the conflagration must have taken place somewhere else, especially as the picture was dated 1644 and Dobson died in 1646. This matter gave rise to a lawsuit, tried before Mr. Justice Grove and a special jury in November, 1885, when judgment was given for the plaintiff Mr. Powell, as against the defendants Messrs. Graves. The jury assessed the value of the picture at £50.

¶ Cromwell's letter to the Speaker, April 2nd, 1650.—Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 138.

* Carlyle's *Cromwell*, letter 82.

Matthews paid £1397 6s. 8d. for his life, while Sir Charles Kemeys of Cefn Mabley, besides his two years' exile, was mulcted of £3500. Colonel Thomas Stradling forfeited £77 12s. 6d., Miles Button escaped with £3 6s. 8d. Though Sir John Stepney's name does not occur in the annals of this second civil war, he appears to have been implicated, as he was fined £270. One other Pembrokeshire name we find in the list,* John Tooly of Arnold's Mill, Pembroke. The promoters of that Welsh Rebellion which, according to Cromwell, very nearly altered the course of English History, were not on the whole hardly treated by their conquerors.



FAC SIMILE OF POYER'S AUTOGRAPH, APPENDED TO DOCUMENT QUOTED ON PAGE 334.

* *A Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates.* London: Thomas Dring, 1655; republished by R. Adams of Chester, 1733; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, April, 1887.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE DECADENCE.

The History of Little England ends with the capture of Pembroke—Pembroke and Tenby ruined by the Civil Wars—Haverfordwest takes the lead—Horton left in command—Exactions of Parliamentarian Commission—Irish expedition, 1649—Cromwell returns—Passes through Tenby on his road to Milford Haven—Connexion of Lord Glamorgan with the Irish Rebellion—John Barlow of Slebech acted as his agent—Lucy Walters, kinswoman of the above, joins him in Paris—Assumes the name of Barlow—Makes the acquaintance of Charles—Travels with the Prince to Calais and awaits him at the Hague—Was Lucy married to Charles II.?—Bears him two children: James subsequently Duke of Monmouth, and Mary who married a Mr. Fanshawe—Lucy returns to England and is imprisoned in the Tower with her son—Released by Cromwell—Died miserably in Paris—Her portrait at Portclew, near Pembroke—"The Matchless Orinda"—Wogan the regicide reported to have died in the church at Walwyn's Castle—William Lucy consecrated Bishop of St. David's—Vacancies filled up—Ministers and Preachers ordered to conform—List of those who refused to comply—Pembrokeshire gentlemen who were to have received the Order of the Royal Oak—Character of the principal gentlemen of Pembrokeshire during the Civil War—Pembrokeshire Tokens—Find of gold pieces at Llangwarren—Great suit of Tenby *versus* Narberth—Duke of Beaufort's progress, 1684—William Lewis of Carew Castle Sheriff in 1689—Edward Lwyd writes from Scotsboro', 1698—Notes by John Lewis of Manorowen on the physique of the People—Enclosures, Plantations and Schools—Alexander Campbell of Cawdor marries Elizabeth Lort, heiress of Stackpole, 1688—Sir Arthur Owen, M.P. for the Pembroke Boroughs, and Griffith Rice, Esq., M.P. for Carmarthenshire, give casting votes in favour of the Hanoverian Succession—Statistics as to Nonconformity in Pembrokeshire, 1715—Thomas Athoe Mayor of Tenby hung for murder, 1726—John Meyrick's love letters published by Miss Steele, 1729—Meyrick marries Miss Adams, heiress of Patrick Church—Moravian revival—John Gambold and David Mathias—Welsh Tourists in the 18th century—Observations by them—Dress of Pembrokeshire Women—Tethering of the Cattle and Poultry—State of St. David's Cathedral—Wesleyan Congregations—Pembrokeshire visited by John Wesley and John Howard—Notes of the latter on Gaols in Haverfordwest—The dismal story of Lieutenant G————t—Story of the French landing at Fishguard, February 22, 1797.

THE first volume of the History of Little England was completed when Pembroke opened her gates to Cromwell in 1648; what the future may hold in store it is of course impossible to say, but from that day to this Pembrokeshire story has proved but a chronicle of petty events. Civil War effected a great change in West Wales. The district was exhausted; the towns of Pembroke and Tenby so utterly ruined that henceforth they ceased to have any political significance. The former remains a seventeenth century fossil, in much the same condition as it appeared on the morning John Poyer rode through its street to meet his doom in Covent Garden. Tenby gradually became ruinous; but in course of time, thanks to its beautiful environs, a little watering-place grew up within the broken walls, which now enjoys some prosperity as a health resort,* but commercial and military Tenby has disappeared for ever. On the other hand Haverfordwest suffered but little from the civil strife, and having gathered what there was left of energy, enterprise and wealth, flourished after a humdrum fashion during the eighteenth and earlier portion of the nineteenth centuries, boasting itself as the second town in Wales.

* Tourist Tenby stands pretty much on the same lines as its predecessor, but has been literally faced about. Business men of old cared naught for a view which is of course everything to the modern lodging-house keeper. The mediæval town turned its back on the sea. Frog Street, not the Norton, was its chief thoroughfare; St. George's Street, not Tudor Square, its Place. This latter was formerly divided by a row of houses, and is to the present day honeycombed with disused cellarage. The streets of old Tenby were very narrow, the continuation of St. Nicholas's Lane, which connects High Street and Crackwell Street, is a good specimen of them. The southern door of the church was the chief entrance into that edifice, for the northern one is recent; indeed that side of the building was blocked with houses; while the west door was originally a private entrance for the Carmelites. The old town had four gates: Carmarthen Gate, on the site of the *Royal Lion Hotel;* St. George's Gate, the so-called Five Arches; Quay Gate, underneath St. Julian's Chapel; and White Sand Gate, leading to the South Sands. In the seventeenth century water was conveyed in pipes from "The Butts" to a conduit in Frog Street near the modern Police Office. In the days of the Civil Wars and probably some time before the town had extended beyond the walls, a suburb having been formed to the north of the Carmarthen Gate, and a cluster of dwellings built near St. George's Gate.

This prosperity has proved evanescent, and a deadly dullness now reigns supreme within its old world streets. These changes were however gradual, Cromwell left Colonel Horton in command of the district, and he probably remained in the county for a year,* during which period no doubt he put a stop to the exactions of Parliamentarian Commissioners, who had done so much to make their party unpopular throughout South Wales. In Glamorganshire they proscribed all wealthy men as delinquents, and if necessary brought commissioners from other counties to out-vote their more moderate brethren. They gave no account of the monies raised, and promptly fined inquirers. Never did one penny of the plunder reach Parliament. They sequestrated the livings of the clergy, forbade the paying of tithes, and when the incumbents were starved out did not supply their place. Such were the grievances under which Glamorganshire and doubtlessly Pembrokeshire had suffered.† In the summer of 1649 a fleet of transports sailed into Milford Haven, and shortly after three thousand horse and foot were transported from thence to Dublin; other troops continued to pour into Pembrokeshire.‡ Cromwell, who was in command of the expedition, remained for some time in Bristol; he left this place late in July,§ and travelled through South Wales to Carmarthen.

This year, in July, that bloody O. Cromwell was at Carmarthen, vpon his way to Ireland, where he committed many bloody massacres in Tredagh and Wexford, &c.‖

Tradition relates that Oliver stopped at *The Nag's Head* situate in St. Mary's Street, afterwards the town house of the Edwinsford family.¶ On August 2nd he was at Tenby,* and remained in the county until the 13th of that month, when he writes from on board the *John*, in which vessel he sailed to Dublin, where he arrived on the 15th of August. With the Irish rebels and Cromwell's very summary treatment of the same, we have nothing to do; but one episode in this long and bloody strife indirectly affects the History of Little England. When Charles I. was sorely pressed in 1644, the Earl of Glamorgan, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, proposed to the King that he should appeal to the Irish Roman Catholics for aid. Charles appears to have listened eagerly to the suggestion, and authorised Lord Glamorgan to act as go-between. The latter was peculiarly fitted for the office. He had married the Lady Margaret O'Brien, daughter of Henry Earl of Thomond and was a Catholic of the Catholics. "Ter Catholicus" the Pope's envoy called him. The terms arrived at were as follows:—The King on his part undertook to repeal the penal laws against Papists, and to hand over every appointment in Ireland to men of that persuasion. The Irish leaders promised to supply him with ten or twelve thousand troops on condition that the general and all officers were named by them, and that two English or Welsh seaports were delivered over to them, and that the Irish army was kept together in one body. The English Catholics were also to raise an army which was to be commanded by a nominee of the Irish general. One of the seaports to be given up to the

* Horton died in Ireland. In a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons from Ross, 25th Oct., 1649, Cromwell states "Colonel Horton is lately dead of the country disease, leaving a son behind him. He was a person of great integrity and courage. His former service, especially that of last summer, I hope will be had in remembrance."—Carlyle's *Cromwell Letters* 62, vol ii.

† Pamphlet entitled *The Heads of the Present Grievances of the County of Glamorgan declaring the cause of their late Rising and taking up of Arms.*—Printed in the year 1647.

‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, book 12. § Carlyle's *Cromwell.*

‖ MS. Chronicle of Local Events in the possession of Mr Alcwyn Evans of Carmarthen.

¶ Spurrell's *History of Carmarthen*, page 116. * *Common's Journal*, vii. 277.



South Gate from St. George's St.

Irish was Milford Haven.* As may be supposed this plot infuriated the ultra-Protestant party. One of Lord Glamorgan's most trusted adherents was John Barlow of Slebech,† he who was taken prisoner at Pill fort by the Parliamentarians.‡ It seems not improbable that this fortification was prepared for the advent of the Irish fleet, which however never arrived. Barlow was either released or exchanged, and fortunately for him his share in the Irish plot was not then discovered, but as a "Church Papist" and adherent of Lord Glamorgan, he was hateful to the Puritan party. In September, 1645, Parliament granted Slebech and all other property belonging to Barlow in the County of Pembroke, to Rowland Laugharne. The plot was not disclosed until the year following, when a copy of the treaty was found among the baggage of the Archbishop of Tuam, killed at Sligo. This was in October. No notice of the fact was taken until the following January (1646), when the king was publicly charged with complicity. This he boldly denied; but at the same time sent orders to the Earl of Ormond to release Glamorgan from the gaol in which the former had incarcerated him. In March, 1648, Lord Glamorgan succeeded to the Marquisate of Worcester through the death of his father. His lordship then quitted Ireland and joined the exiled court which Prince Charles had established in Paris. John Barlow accompanied his lord, and a young kinswoman of Barlow's crossed with them or followed soon after. This was the notorious Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters of Trefgarn and Roche, who on joining her relative assumed the name of Barlow. Her father had taken up his abode at Rhosmarket, a house belonging to his connection, John Barlow.§

Perhaps it was in "The Great House" at Rhosmarket that Lucy met her relative. This is not far from Pill Fort, and naturally the Master of the Ordnance would visit his niece who was living in his own house.‖ Richard Walters's name does not occur in the pedigree, given by Lewis Dwnn, and recorded in the *Visitation* made by him in 1610. Supposing Walters was born that year, married at twenty, and that Lucy was his eldest child, she would not have been more than seventeen (in 1648) when she first met the Prince of Wales. In June of that year a portion of the Parliamentarian fleet mutinied, and casting anchor before Brill awaited the Prince's orders. Charles proceeded to Calais with a small retinue, and judging from subsequent events a place was found in this cavalcade for Lucy. We must fancy the penniless Prince of eighteen riding forth to reconquer his father's kingdom accompanied by "the brown, bold, beautiful creature," as Evelyn calls her. To this day it is uncertain in what relation she stood to her lover, whether mistress or wife. Her grandfather, the

* For the details of this conspiracy see Birch's *Inquiry into the share which Charles I. had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan.*—1747, London.

† Great grandson of Roger Barlow the Bishop's brother.

‡ See page 326, *ante*.

§ The Walters family originally sprang from Colchester. They were descended from one William Koms, Knt., of that place—(Lewis Dwnn, vol. 1, page 208)—but had resided in Pembrokeshire for several generations. As they had intermarried with the families of Philipps, Laugharne, Marichurch and Middleton, it is certain that Lucy was not "The daughter of some very meane creatures" as Evelyn declared. Her father, Richard Walters (who served as High Sheriff for the county in 1656), married Bridget, daughter of Henry Middleton of Middleton, co. Carmarthen, through whom she was related to John Barlow.

‖ Fenton in his *Historical Tour*, p. 197, writing in 1810 of this place, states that "Here Sir Richard Walters (when was he knighted?) had a mansion, whose remains speak it to have been highly respectable about a century ago, and possessing all the appendages of a great man's house in those days." On my visit to it in the autumn of 1884, I saw a few of these remains in existence. The ruin of a large chimney does double duty as a dove-cot and the pine-end of a stable, and a large *columbarium*, or pigeon-house, stands in a field hard by, near which may be traced the circle of a cock-pit. Hester Davies, who rents the land, told me she remembered the *columbarium* well stocked with pigeons. She now keeps her cow within its walls. She also informed me that quite lately there were considerable remains of the great house which were destroyed a few years ago with gunpowder. The Parish Clerk said there was a vault under the Church in which many Walters' coffins still remained.

Carmarthenshire squire, believed her tale; for against Lucy's name on his genealogical tree is written—

MARRIED KING CHARLES YE SECOND OF ENGLAND.*

Lord Macaulay, who had not much to say in Lucy's favour, admits that as Charles even at a ripe age was devoted to his

> Pleasures, and regardless of his dignity, it could hardly be thought incredible that he should at twenty (he was only eighteen) have secretly gone through the form of espousing a lady whose beauty fascinated him, and who was not to be won on easier terms.

Charles went on board a frigate at Calais and sailed in her to Helvoetsluys. Here he found



LUCY WALTERS. (FROM A MINIATURE BY COOPER.)

the mutinous fleet and with them proceeded to the Thames, where they were of no particular use. Had he crowded on all sail for Milford Haven, he would certainly have checked if not checkmated Oliver. Meanwhile the Prince's "family" was sent to the Hague. After his futile expedition it was at this place Charles found Lucy awaiting him. In January the King was beheaded and Lucy became Queen (of a sort). The ragged Court retired to Rotterdam, where a child was born. Frail ladies with whom Charles consorted in after years were but too proud to announce that they had borne a child to the King. This was not the case with Lucy Walters; she called her baby (the future Duke of Monmouth) James Crofts. Why, it is hard to say. Subsequently a daughter was born, Mary, who married first, William Saisfield, an Irish gentleman, and at his death William Fanshawe. Then the pair parted, Charles promising to provide for Lucy and her children. Nothing appears to have been done until the

* There is no doubt that Charles addressed her in writing as "my wife," though he made two separate declarations to his Council in 1679 and 1680, in which he solemnly asserted he was never married to Lucy Walters. For arguments in favour of the marriage see two pamphlets entitled "A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the Black Box" (London, May 1680); and "A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the King's disavowing he had been married to the Duke of Monmouth's Mother."

year 1655, when a paper was drawn up. In 1656, the same year that Richard Walters served as High Sheriff for the county of Pembroke, Lucy returned to London, and being recognized, was arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. In the *Mercurius Politicus*, July 16, 1656, is an article referring to Lucy as follows :—

His Highness by warrant directed to Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, hath given order for the release of Lucy Barlow, who for some time hath been a prisoner in the Tower of London. She passeth under the character of Charles Stuart's wife, or mistress, and hath a young son whom she openly declareth to be his, and it is generally believed, the boy being very like him, and the mother and child provided for by him. When she was apprehended she had one Master Howard in her company, and the original of this Royal transcript was found about her, sealed with Charles's signet and signed with his own hand, and subscribed by his Secretary Nicholas, which you have transcribed *verbatim* :—

CHARLES R.

Wee do by these Presents of our especial Grace, give and grant unto Mrs. Lucy Barlow an annuity or yearly pension of five thousand livres, to be paid to her or her assignees in the City of Antwerp, or in such other convenient place as she shall desire, at four several payments, to begin from the 1st of July, 1654, and so to continue from three months to three months during her life, with assurances to better the same when it shall please God to restore us to our Kingdoms.

Given under our Sign Manual at our Court of Cologne, this 21st day of January, 1655, and in the sixth of our Reign.

By His Majesties command,

NICHOLAS.

By this those that hanker after him may see they are furnished already with an heir apparent, and what a pious, charitable Prince they have for their master, and how well he disposeth of the collections and contributions which they make for him here, towards the maintenance of his concubines and Royal issue. Order is taken forthwith to send away this lady of his pleasure, and the young heir, and set them on shoare in Flanders, which is no ordinary courtesie.*

Probably Lucy being in sore straits for money, and finding that this precious promissory note was valueless abroad, came to England with the hope that some enthusiastic Cavalier would discount it for her. From that time forward she seems to have sunk from bad to worse. The Queen Dowager undertook the charge of her children, but Lucy herself (if Evelyn is to be believed), beautiful to the last, lived the life of a common prostitute, and when at length she died in Paris left not a sou behind to pay for the burial of her dishonoured body. One relic of Lucy Walters remains in her native county. The Walters migrated from Rhosmarket to Dale Castle, which latter property was in course of time purchased by the Paynter family, who acquired therewith an original portrait of Lucy Walters, which is now in the possession of their representative, Dr. A. Morison of Portclew, near Pembroke.†

Another lady, differing greatly from Lucy Walters in all but beauty, represented West Wales in the literary and fashionable world during Commonwealth and Restoration times. Katharine, daughter of Mr John Fowler, merchant, of the city of London, married James Philipps, Esq., of the Priory, Cardigan, a cadet of the house of Picton, whose mother was Anne, daughter of Sir W. Wogan of Wiston, and his first wife Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Philipps of Picton, probably one of the children captured in the castle by the Royalists in 1644. Mrs Katharine Philipps, known to her contemporaries as the Matchless Orinda, was an intimate friend of Dryden, Cowley, Jeremy Taylor, Henry Lawes, the Lords Owen, Ormond, Roscommon and Warwick, Sir Edward Deering and many other members of the

* Mr Ellis in a note on this order states he considered that it emanated from the pen of Oliver himself.—Ellis's *Original Letters*.

† This half length portrait represents a handsome girl of sixteen or seventeen, with well cut features, a good complexion, and coal black hair ; she is dressed in a low cut, short sleeved, grey gown ; her left hand holds down a flapping grey hat with a black lining, her right clasps a shepherd's crook. When this portrait was taken Lucy must have been a very different person to the over-dressed, bold-faced woman represented in Cooper's miniature. The Portclew portrait is two feet six inches in length and two feet wide ; it was placed in a modern frame about fifty years ago by the late Mr. J. W. Paynter.

world of wit. Her popularity was attributable rather to charms of person and manner than to any excellence in her verse, which to tell the truth is sorry rubbish; but posterity must bear in mind that according to the account given by the Matchless Orinda she

> Never writ any line in her life with an intention to have it printed, but suffering from an incorrigible inclination to that folly of rimes, and intending the effects of that humor only for her own amusement in a retired life, she did not so much resist it as a wiser woman would have done.*

Notwithstanding the above, one hundred and twenty-three fugitive pieces of one sort and another remain to remind the world of Matchless Orinda. Some of these refer to Pembrokeshire persons and places though they have no local colouring:—"To the Right Honourable Alice, Countess of Carbury, at her coming into Wales;" "A Sea Voyage from Tenby to Bristol, begun September 5, 1652;" "From Bristol to Leucasia, September 8, 1652;"† "To the excellent Mrs Anne Owen upon her receiving the name of Leucasia, and adoption into our Society, December 28, 1651;" "To the truly noble Mrs Anne Owen on my first Approaches;" "Leucasia;" "Wiston Vault, to Mrs Wogan (of Wiston) my honoured friend on the death of her Husband;" "In memory of the most justly honoured Mrs Owen of Orielton;" "To my dearest friend Mrs Anne Owen on her greatest loss." The following is a fair specimen of Orinda's muse and is entitled, "A sea voyage from Tenby to Bristol, begun September 5th, 1652":—

Hoise up the sail! cry[d] they who understand
No word that carries kindness for the Land:
Such Sons of Clamour, that I wonder not
They love the sea, whom sure some Storm begot.
Had he who doubted motion these men seen,
Or heard their tongues, he had convinced been.
For had our barque moved half as fast as they,
We had not need cast anchor by the way.
One of the rest, pretending to more wit,
Some small Italian spoke (but murthered it,)
For I, thanks to Suburra's letters, knew
How to distinguish 'twixt the false and true.
But t' oppose these, as mad a thing would be
As 'tis to contradict a Presbyt'ry.
&c., &c., &c.‡

According to Fenton§

> Soon after the Restoration an unknown person appeared in the neighbourhood of Walwyn's Castle, seemed always melancholy and dejected, and studiously shunned all society, refusing every invitation from the country people to their houses, and evading as much as possible every enquiry. He staid night and day in the church porch, where he was relieved by the neighbours, who remarked he had every appearance of a gentleman and that his hands were delicately white. He was generally believed to be the Wogan (one of the house of Wiston) who sat as one of Charles's judges at his trial. When asked his name he said it was Drinkwater. He was at length found dead in the church porch.

If this story be true the country folk about Walwyn's Castle appear to have had a sneaking admiration for the regicide M.P. for Cardigan; but notwithstanding this old tale it seems probable that the Restoration was extremely popular in Little England, where men had fought

* *Poems*, by the most deservedly admired Mrs. Katharine Philipps, the Matchless Orinda.—Preface, p. 2.

† Anne wife of John eldest son of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton.

‡ Mrs. Philipps died in London of confluent small pox in the 31st year of her age, June 1664, and is buried at St. Osyth's Essex. Her only surviving child, a daughter, married Lewis Wogan, Esq., of Boulston, and left one daughter who became the wife of John Laugharne, Esq., of St. Bride's.

§ *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, p. 160.

so furiously first on one side, then the other, swayed alternately by Presbyterianism and loyalty. One of the first duties undertaken by Charles's Government was the reinstallation of the bishops who were put aside by Parliament in 1646. St. David's throne had been vacant since 1653, in which year the ejected bishop (Roger Mainwaring) died at Carmarthen.* William Lucy, a member of the well-known Warwickshire family, was chosen to the vacant see, and he must have found plenty of work ready to his hand, for the whole episcopal machinery had been thrown out of gear. Since 1646 none of the higher clerical appointments had been filled. At St. David's in the year 1660 a Precentor, a Treasurer, five Prebendaries, and a Sub-chanter were elected; perhaps it was this glut of patronage and difficulty in finding desirable candidates that induced the Bishop to "relax the discipline of his church and fill it with non-residents."† The election of these various dignitaries necessitated the disendowment of certain itinerant preachers, who by an ordinance of Parliament dated July 13, 1646, had been rewarded each with £100 per annum out of the rents and revenues of the Deans, Chapters and Prebendaries of St. David's and Llandaff for their pains. As these itinerant preachers supplied sermons, and as Justices of the Peace performed civil marriages,‡ the ministers must have been relieved of much duty. When these ministers and preachers were called on by the State to conform to the ritual and doctrine of the Establishment, they did not prove very obdurate so far as Pembrokeshire was concerned, only one dozen refused compliance, and eventually four of these gave way. The recusants were:—Thomas Hughes, Bugeli; Adam Hawkins, St. Ismaels; Peregrine Philipps,§ Langum and Frystrop; Christopher Jackson, Lanbedr; John Luntley, Llanstadwell and Nolton; Morgan Thomas, Mathry; John Bywater, Pembroke; John Carver, Tenby. The following conformed and were restored:—David Williams, Llanfihangel Penbedw; Thomas Warren, Narberth; Thomas Freeman; Stephen Young, Rhos Grybyddwr.‖

As we have seen, the Presbyterians of Pembrokeshire steadily opposed the King in the first Civil War, but (in the eyes of the Court party) fully atoned for this disloyalty by the gallant struggle they made against Cromwell in 1648. So in 1660 King Charles II. was pleased to approve of Little England, and its inhabitants almost succeeded in persuading themselves that they had been Cavaliers from the beginning. John Barlow was speedily re-established at Slebech, and certain names were put down for the order of the "Royal Oak," by which Charles proposed to commemorate his restoration to the throne.¶ The following gentlemen of Pembrokeshire were considered fit and well qualified to be dubbed knights of the new order*:—

* Wood's *Athen Oxon.*

† Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 333.

‡ Extract from the Register of Marriages of the Parish of Gumfreston:—"John Lloyd and Anna Williams, both of the p'ishe of Gumfreston, were married by Thomas Rogers, one of the Justices of the Peace for the Town of Tenbie, upon the first day of November, 1655. "THOMAS ROGERS, Maior.

"In the presence of ARTHUR RUSSEL, JOHN RICE,
"WILLIAM LEWIS, MORGAN BOWEN."

§ Peregrine Philipps. Cromwell's friend, the some time Vicar of Monkton, retired to Dredgeman's Hill, near Haverfordwest, after he had been ejected from his living, and there fitted up a place of worship. He was repeatedly fined and imprisoned for nonconformity, but appears to have been respected by the neighbours.—*History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, by Thomas Rees, p, 255.

‖ Rhoscrowther.

¶ The Knights were to have worn on a silver medal the King in an oak tree.

* From a MS. list by Peter Neve, printed in the *Cambrian Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 165. It is certainly inaccurate.

1. Thomas Laughorne	annual income	.....	£800
2. Lewis Wogan	,,	.....	1000
3. Hugh Bowen	,,	.....	600
4. Essex Meyrick	,,	.....	600
5. Sir John Lort, Knt., afterwards Bart.	,,	.....	2000*

Whether the selection was a judicious one proved to be of very little import, for the scheme was abandoned. We have a curious contemporary estimate of the actors in the civil wars waged in West Wales. It is from a MS. of about 1661, and printed in the *Cambrian Register*.†

About 1661.—A true character of the Deportment for these 18 years last past, of the principal Gentry within the Counties of Caermarthen, Pembroke and Cardigan in South Wales.‡

Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery.—A person of great parts and civilities. About the year 1643 and 1644 was General over the said counties by commission from his late Majesty of blessed memory, Charles the First, and though in number of souldiers far exceeding his adversarys, yet without any resistance made by him, some attributing it to a suspected natural cowardice, others to a designe to be overcome; however shortly after enobled with the titles of Baron of Emlyn and Lord of Carmartheyn; the King's party being mastered, he alone of all the King's party in that country escaped sequestration, freed from composition by order of both houses of Parliament, by reason of the correspondence he kept with the then Earl of Essex, and manie great services done by him to the Parliament during his Generallship, which was then evidenced to the Parliament by Sir John Muricke, and by certificate from severall of the Parliaments, then Generalls, in his Lordship's behalfe. When Oliver Cromwell snatched the government of this nation, this active Lord gained his acquaintance and favour insomuch that Cromwell then sent from the Parks he possessed near London severall stagges unto him, to furnish his Park at Golden Grove in Wales. In a word, a fit person for the highest publique employment, if integrity and courage were not suspected to be too often failing in him.

Colonel John Lloyd.§—A person constant to his principles and resolute in his undertakings, when he apprehended justice or honour to be concerned: he bore arms under the Earl of Essex for King and Parliament, and when that pretence was laid aside, he refused though tendered, to bear any office, civill or military, under the various governments that sprung up afterwards.

Sir Hugh Owen.—As much as is understood of him, a Royalist, so habituated to reservedness, that it is thought he cannot now extricate himself if he would from it; a lover of the country and justice, but noted by some to be too modest to bear the burthen of the affairs of his country.‖

Arthur Owen.¶—A second Titus *deliciæ gentis Pembrokianæ*. Amongst the rigid Presbyterians a royalist, amongst unlimited royalists a Presbyterian, firm to his principles, zealous to justice, delighting in good offices, the credit and benefit of his country.

Roger Lort.—Of any principle or religion to acquire wealth; he fortified and defended his house against the Parliament's sea men; but in preservation of no cause but his own. Hugh Peters was his wellcome guest so long as Hugh was welcomed by Oliver Cromwell. Hugh had no sooner lost the one than the other. *Utilitas justi prope mater et æqui est.**

Sampson Lort.—Who hath nothing of his first namesake but the jawes, and hath with that destroyed as many ministers as the other Philistines both for the same ends: hates the church, hugges the profits of it: he can pray as long as there is profit, no penury, no paternoster, he believes man to be *sibi soli natus*.

Sir John Stepney.—A royalist whose facility and noble disposition have a little clouded his fortune. The habit of ease hath made his disposition not very inclinable to be over industrious in his owne or the publique afiairs of his country.

John Barlow.—A rare example of loyalty and afflixtion. A plentiful estate voted from him for being stoute in his master's service, he was transcendant in all qualities of a gentleman. He was rather a pattern for the gentlemen of the country to wonder at than to imitate.

* 1. Thomas Laugharne was slain at St. Fagan's, 1648; Rowland no doubt is the person intended; 2. Of Boulston; 3. Of Pentre Evan, captured by Cromwell in Pembroke and exiled for two years; 4. Son of Sir John Meyrick; 5. Sir Roger Lort of Stackpole, who was created Baronet in 1662.

† Vol. i., p. 164. ‡ Only names affecting Pembrokshire are here given. § Of Kilrhew.

‖ This appears a very unfaithful estimate of his character. ¶ Brother of the above.

* Roger Lort declined to join Poyer in the second Civil War, hence probably the above spiteful notice.

James Lewis.‡—Is a person of an inoffensive facile constitution, forced from a Royalist to act as a Colonel for King and Parliament, seldome out of publique offices, though averse to undertake any, loved more for doing no wrong than for doing of any good. *Sola socardia innocens.*

A scarcity of specie was one of the many inconveniences arising from the waste of war and insecurity of property prevalent in the 17th century. To meet this difficulty Parliament (by an ordinance of 1646) permitted private traders to issue tokens, which were a promise to pay stamped on metal. The inhabitants of Little England did not avail themselves of this privilege until 1666. In this year and the two following, certain tradesmen in Haverfordwest, Tenby and Narberth, as if by common consent, proceeded to issue tokens with the following legends :—

Obverse.—HENRY BOWER, 1666. *The Mercer's arms. Reverse.*—OF HAVEFORD WEST. *Halfpenny.*
Obverse.—THO BOWTON OF. *Arms on a bend between two fleur-de-lys, three heads, a star for a difference; crest on a helmet: an arm holding an arrow. Reverse.*—HAVORFORD WEST. *Farthing.*
Obverse.—RICE IONES, 1667. HIS HALF PENNY. *Reverse.*—OF HAVERFORDWEST.
Obverse.—WILL BATMAN, MERCER. *The Mercer's arms. Reverse* —OF HAVERFOR WEST. *Farthing.*
Obverse.—IANE SPARKE, 1667. *The Mercer's arms. Reverse.*—OF HAVERFORD WEST. *Farthing.*
Obverse.—THOMAS WILKIN OF. *Arms: ship issuing out of a castle. Reverse.*—HAVERFORD WESTE. HIS HALF PENNY.
Obverse.—ALLEX BATEMAN. *A small shield of arms. Reverse.*—OF NORBERTH, 1667. *A dove standing. Farthing.*
Obverse.—IOHN SAYES, MERCER. I.O.S. *in monogram. Reverse.*—OF TEMBY, 1667. I.O.S. *in monogram. Farthing.**

It seems not improbable that considerable sums of money were concealed (and in some cases forgotten) during the troublous times. One case of this description has come to the knowledge of the writer. About 1818 the tenant of Llangwarren House, near Fishguard (the old nest of the Mathias family), ordered a window to be blocked up. As there was a seat under this light the outside wall was necessarily thin, and it was considered advisable to pull it down from the outside to the level of the floor. One of the workmen who was standing on the ladder for this purpose recommended his mates to go to their breakfast, as it was late, saying he had some gravel in his shoe and would follow. On their return they found a broken earthenware pitcher and between twenty and thirty gold coins scattered about. The gold pieces were James I., Charles I., and Louis XIV., some cut in two to pass as half pieces. The workman who discovered the treasure trove must have carried off a good round sum, for when he next appeared some years afterwards he was in a position to take an inn at Haverfordwest.

When the Slebech estate was granted to Horton in 1645, the officers of his regiment were given a certain interest in the property. Among these was a Captain Richard Castle, who took up his residence in Narberth Castle either as owner or leaseholder, which, it is now impossible to say; being an intelligent man, he saw that the old town of Narberth was admirably adapted for an agricultural centre, so Castle with a view to the development of his property proceeded to establish a market. This was a great grievance to the inhabitants of Tenby, who by right of their charter claimed a monopoly of fairs and markets in the Hundred. They perceived that Narberth being more centrally situated would draw away what little business was left. During the Commonwealth Tenby folks fearing that Captain Castle would have the ear of the Court hesitated to move in the matter, but soon after the Restoration prosecuted Captain Castle and others under a *quo warranto.* The defendant pleaded the general issue, there was judgment for the King, and Castle was fined £100; but on submission and a promise to discontinue the market, this fine was remitted by Sir Samuel Diggs, one of the Justices for the Great Sessions of the County of Pembroke. In spite of this

‡ Of Kilkeffyth.

* John Sayes struck others in 1668 with the same legend.

judgment the Narberth market was not closed, and the people of Tenby seeing their trade declining day by day, attributed the bad times to Captain Castle's illegal proceedings. So in the course of the year 1671, the Mayor, Alderman, Bailiffs, Burgesses and other inhabitants of the town of Tenby instituted proceedings against Captain Castle. This memorable law-suit lasted for five years and, though the town was eventually successful, must have tended to increase its financial difficulties. There are among the Corporation archives twelve documents referring to this suit which throw considerable light on local history; they are too voluminous for insertion.* From these documents we find that certificates were given by the towns of Pembroke, Haverfordwest, Carmarthen and Laugharne, and the Justices of the Peace for the County of Pembroke, testifying that Tenby had fallen into a state bordering on ruin, which would be complete if the market was removed from that town to Narberth. Among the signatories we find autographs of well-known names: Rowland Laugharne,† Walter Cuny (Cromwell's host), Arthur Owen senior and junior, Thomas Bowen, Herbert Perrot and others. We find a letter from Lord Carbery asserting he had by his interest at Court promised an adjournment of the hearing, and a notice to John Barlow of Slebech to be present, though it is uncertain for which side he was to appear. It is declared that if Tenby is allowed to fall into decay the adjacent country

> Will ly in much danger for want of defence from pirattes—that in the late warre with the Dutch, one Thomas Rogers, Alderman of the saide towne, and above fforty more from the said Towne served his Ma^ty^ at sea. That the Towne is ffortified with a Wall twenty four foote high, and seaven foote and a halfe broad, which compasseth the body of the said town from one sea cliff to the other.

But per contra

> It was represented to his Ma^ty^ that the Towne of Temby do open their Markets at such unseasonable Hours, that those who resort thither with Comoditys are forced to undersell them, or tarry so late that in their return homewards they are hayzard of their lives by reason of ye dangerous Passages in the Dark among ye Coal pits. Which Mischief His Ma^ty^ desiring to have prevented out of his tender care for the Security of his Subjects Hath thought fit, and doth hereby order and command that the Markets at Temby be opened for the future at eleaven of the clock in the morning at the latest.

In the end Narberth market was suppressed, and Captain Richard Castle probably ruined. At all events we hear no more of him. This was in 1676, but in the year 1688 the above was rescinded and Narberth obtained a grant for a market and fairs; but we find from Dinely's *Notes on the Duke of Beaufort's Progress*, that notwithstanding the order made in 1676 a market was held at Narberth every Wednesday in the year 1684.‡ four years before the permission was obtained, so it seems probable that practically the market once established by Captain Castle has been continued, spite of Kings and Corporations, to the present day.

As mentioned above, in the year 1684 Henry first Duke of Beaufort, Lieutenant and Lord President of Wales and the Marches, made a tour of inspection through the Principality, reviewing the trained bands in each county and taking note of other matters; he was accompanied by T. Dinely, who recorded such matters as appeared to him worthy of remembrance; his notes are not very material to the history of Little England, being in truth little more than gossip. Referring to the country around Newcastle Emlyn he states:—

* See *Cambrian Journal* for 1863, p. 227.

† See p. 349.

‡ "An Account of the Progress | of | His Grace Henry the first | Duke of Beaufort | Through Wales (1684) and Notitia Cambro Britannica | By T. Dinely | Edited from the original MS. in the possession | of his Grace the Eighth Duke of Beaufort | By | Charles Baker | His Grace's Steward of the Seignories of Gower and Kilvey | Printed for Private Circulation | 1864."

The vulgar here are are most miserable and low, as the rich are happy and high, both to an extream. The poorer sort for bread eat oaten cakes, and drink beer (small) maide of oaten malt, some drink only water from necessity. Those of estates have their tables well spread, French wines (clarets especially) plenty and good, at the rate of five pounds per hogshead, as I was informed. They have choice wines of their own growth off the mountaines which the Welsh gentlewomen make of Resberryes which abound in those parts. But as usquebaugh is in the kingdom of Ireland so the celebrated liquor here is Punch, which they make to a miracle.*——Monday, Aug. 11.—This morning the Duke of Beaufort sett forth of his journey for Pembrokeshire to visit his commands there, being waited for at the edge of that county by ye High Sheriff,† with all his officers in livery. The Militia troop, and another very large troop of the capital gentry of these parts, forming a fair cavalcade, which attended his Grace to the town of Haverford West, all the towns or villages on the way expressing his welcome by their bells, among which the town of Robeston, within five miles thereof, upon a rising hill; where they not only exercised their 3 bells, but complimented his Grace at noon day, and a very warm time with a fire of joy in the road near the church called . . . . . a bonfire after their own interpretation, being part wood and part bones.‡ This firework by reason of the bright shining of the sun thereon, became more obvious to the smell than sight, which good will of the villagers of Robeston caused some to versify . . . . . The chief comodities (of Pembrokeshire) are Pitt coal, Fish, Fowle, Lime, Horses.§ The militia of Pembroke which made their parade August the 11th, 1684, in . . . . . near Haverfordwest, before His Grace the Duke of Beaufort, were one troop of horse consisting of . . . . . men, commanded by . . . . . Captn. . . . . Lieutenant . . . . . Cornett . . . . . Quartermaster, under a standard of Flowered Damask with a gold and silken fringe and tazzles carrying the following device in escrowle, "For God and the King," and one regiment, all of fire locks, commanded by Col., Lieut. Col. and Major. This regt. consists of eight companies of foot, three whereof are particular companies of Pembroke, Haverfordwest and Tenby. This body, after his Grace had sufficiently viewed, seen exercise, and made a good volley or two; he was received upon the bridge of Haverfordwest by the Mayor, his brethren, and the rest of the Corporation, in their gowns and other formalities, who with the High Sheriff conducted His Grace to the lodgings prepared for him, where an ample entertainment was provided for his Grace, the Earl of Worcester, the company, and attendants, by the High Sheriff, Deputy Lieutenant, and gentlemen of this county, who continued to treat all the time of His Grace's stay here in the Town of Haverfordwest.——Tuesday, Aug. 12th.—The Duke of Beaufort went accompanied with the Earl of Worcester, Sir John Talbot, — Wogan, Esq., on board a yatch, which was prepared for him, with several tenders, to view the Haven, and was treated at sea. Most of the shipping saluted His Grace with what guns they had as he passed down. The county troop also appeared near Pembroke on the shore, making several good and close firings as he sayled by which the yatch answered.——The town (of Haverfordwest) with Pembroke and Tenby are built in the land of Ros, in Dyvet, or West Wales, where better English is spoken than Welsh, and there are a sort of people of Industry exceeding their neighbours, improving of their lands with lime, and tenants renting greater parcells than usual in the other parts of Wales, viz., from £10 to £60 a yeer. ——Wednesday, Aug. 13th.—The Duke of Beaufort, Earl of Worcester, Sir John Talbot, ye Deputy Lieutenant, and gentlemen of Pembrokeshire, were nobly entertained at a dinner by Sir Erasmus Philips, at his seat called Picton Castle, whence His Grace, the Earl of Worcester and others, returned by Water to Haverfordwest in the cool of the evening, having been well collationed by the way by — Wogan, Esq., at his seat at Bolston.——Aug. 14th.—His Grace parted from Haverfordwest well satisfied with the condition in which he found their Militia of Pembrokeshire, and this evening, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester, Sir John Talbot, and a numerous train of gentry, he came again to Carmarthen.

The county had bestirred itself, and the result was most satisfactory; such a pageant had not been seen in Little England for many a long day. Most of the castles and mediæval mansions had already fallen into decay, but some that are now ruinous no doubt contributed to the display. Haroldston was owned by Sir Herbert Perrot, Addison's friend.‖ Carew

* Surely this is a *very* early reference to the insidious beverage. We are not informed when the *aqua vitæ* so praised by George Owen ceased to be made in Pembrokeshire, but the inhabitants of the county appear to have acquired a character for hard drinking early in the 17th century. Samuel Ward of Ipswich preached (and published) a sermon in 1627 which he termed "The Life of Faith in Death," in which numerous instances proving the ill effects of drunkenness are cited, among other examples, "at Tenby, in Pembrokeshire, a drunkard being exceeding drunke broke himself all to pieces off an high and steepe rock in a most fearful manner, and yet the occasion and circumstances of his fall so ridiculous, as I think not fit to relate, lest in so serious a judgement I should move laughter to the reader."

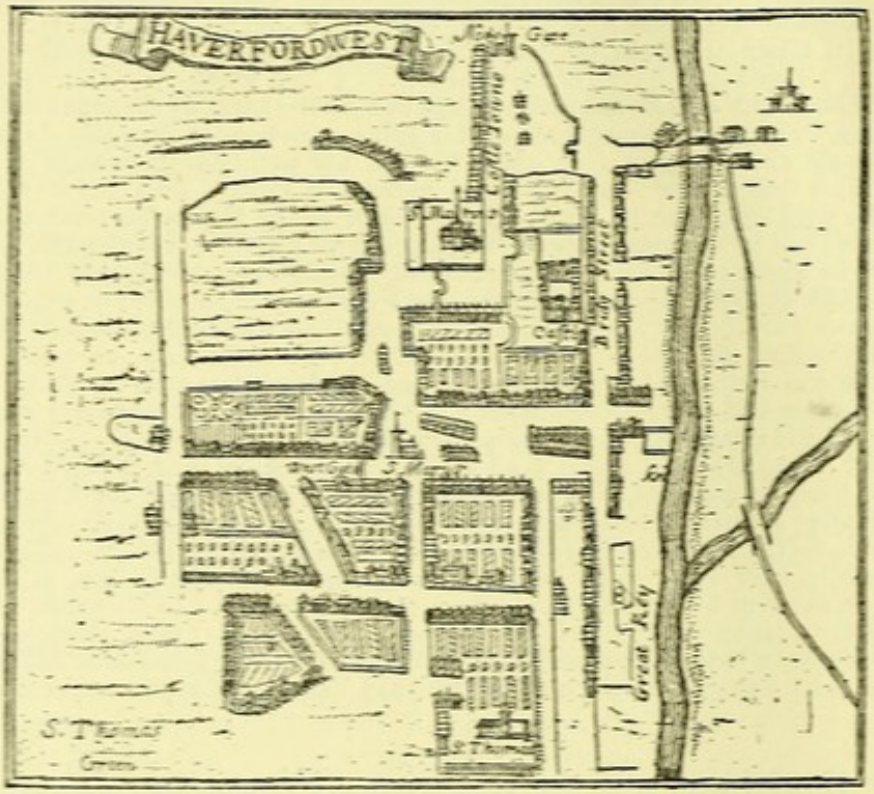
† John Owen of Trecwn, Esq.

‡ The middle English bone means (1), a bone; (2), a boon.—Skeat.

§ In George Owen's time the want of horses was especially noteworthy.

‖ According to some the original of Sir Roger de Coverley. It was during a visit paid to this gentleman that Joseph Addison first met his future wife, Lady Warwick, at a masked ball given by Lady Betty Rich of Haylett.—*Haverfordwest and its Story*, p. 16.

Castle was probably inhabited, for we find that five years later (in 1689) William Lewis the High Sheriff is described as of Carew Castle; he must have been a tenant. Scotsboro was in the hands of the Ap Rhys family. In the year 1697–8 Edward Llwyd the well-known archæologist and natural historian was on a visit to the old mansion, and wrote from "Scochburgh, near Tenby, in Pembroke," to his friend the Rev. John Lloyd stating he had "discovered many undescribed Zoophyts by dredging here and in Glamorganshire, and many new sorts of figured fossils." He complains that many of his letters had miscarried, intercepted he believed by the country people, who were very jealous, some suspecting him to be employed by Parliament to report as to fresh taxation, others considering him to be a Jacobite spy.* Llwyd had also paid a visit to Manorawen, the seat of John Lewis, who has left us certain notes attached to George Owen's MS. which give a slight insight into the



PLAN OF HAVERFORD, ATTACHED TO P. LEA'S MAP OF PEMBROKESHIRE.†

condition of Pembrokeshire at the end of the 17th century. He repudiates George Owen's assertion that West Welshmen were ill-favoured. "There are not," says he, "a more sightly people anywhere, take them promiscuously; our women particularly for beauty and wit yield to none." From his account the country had been partially enclosed, though "champaign ground" was still too plentiful. As for schools they were not much better than in Elizabeth's day.

'Tis true we have two or three free schools, and not meanly endowed; but from some mismanagement, or shameful inattention in the persons who have the nomination of the masters, of late our schools have fallen into great disrepute, the original institutions being scandalously abused, not only in the appointment of the master, but the free scholars, and party governing every sort of election. In the upper part of this county we have nothing that

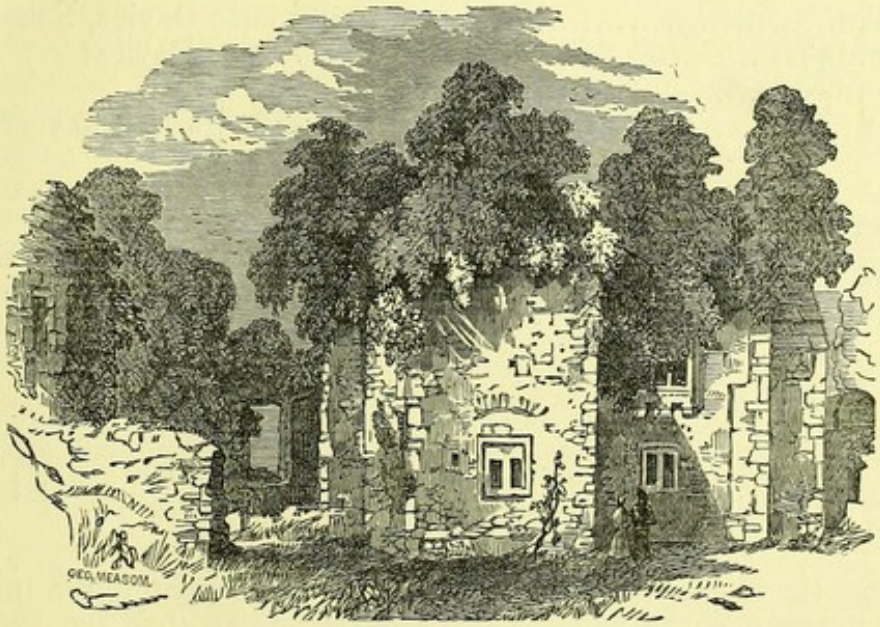
* *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 2nd Series.

† The date of this map is 1680.

deserves the name of a school, but I trust that more of them who Heaven has made stewards over us will follow the example of that virtuous and good lady Mrs. Mary Lucy of Trecoon, lately deceased, who hath left by will £10 per annum for the maintenance of a school free to the poor children of Llanfair and Letterston.*

Unfortunately Mrs. Lucy's will (dated March 10, 1690) was upset, and the bequest lost. Some building operations were now in progress. Lewis mentions that his friend Sir W. Wogan had lately reconstructed the mansion of Llanstinan. Plantations were more neglected than in Owen's day; indeed a prejudice had arisen against them, as liable to generate dampness, men choosing exposed bleak sites for their houses in preference to the sheltered nooks preferred by their predecessors.

A strange *denouement* to the long standing Scoto-Pembrokian alliance came about in 1688, for that combination which seemed predestined to bring nothing but disaster and bloodshed on West Wales culminated in a love story. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger and Lady Susanna Lort, heiress to her brother Sir Gilbert, the owner of Stackpole, was residing with her



RUINS OF SCOTSBORO' HOUSE, NEAR TENBY.

widowed mother at Turnham Green. Here she met Alexander, eldest son of Sir Hugh Campbell, of Cawdor Castle, and on September the 20th became his wife. The author of *The Thanes of Cawdor* suggests that the young Whig chieftain may have been in London on political business; but it would appear Campbell's marriage with the heiress of Stackpole had been celebrated before William of Orange commenced to plot against his father-in-law. Whatever may have been the occasion of Alexander Campbell's visit to London, it proved a fortunate circumstance for Little England, seeing that it introduced a family who for two hundred years have exercised a beneficial effect on their adopted county. As party feeling ran very strongly throughout England in the latter days of the Stewarts, we may feel pretty sure that the Lorts of Stackpole were Whigs, else Alexander Campbell would scarcely have proved acceptable to the heiress. We find in 1713, Sir Arthur Owen, Bart., M.P., sitting for Pembroke Boroughs in the Whig interest

* *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii., p. 166.

Rendered by his vote a signal service to the reigning dynasty. On that memorable day when the Hanoverian Succession Bill passed the House of Commons, Sir Arthur Owen Member for Pembroke, and Griffith Rice Member for Carmarthenshire, prevented the friends of the present royal family from being left in a minority. When the House was about to divide one of the Whig members seeing a seeming majority in favour of the House of Stuart, exclaimed that the whole was an infamous proceeding. He immediately ran out of the House almost frantic in search of some of his partisans. Perceiving Sir Arthur and Mr. Rice as he came out he addressed them thus: "What do you mean, gentlemen, staying here when the Hanoverian Succession Bill is going to be thrown out of the House." "When I heard that," Sir Arthur used often to relate, "I made one step into the House and my voice made the number equal for the Bill—117—and the Tories had no more. Mr. Rice coming with great gravity after me had the honour of giving the casting vote in favour of the Hanoverian Succession."*

We do not hear much of Nonconformity in Little England during the earlier years of the 18th century; but about 1715 one Dr. John Evans collected statistics of Nonconformist congregations (and their voting power) throughout England and Wales. In Pembrokeshire he found the following:—

INDEPENDENTS.

Pembroke	Thomas Davies, Scholar
Haverfordwest	Thomas Davies†
Haverfordwest	Evan Davies
Trefgarn	Hugh Harris (80 years of age)

PRESBYTERIAN.

New Chapel..	Thomas Beynon; average attendance 500, of whom 22 had votes.
Newport.....	
Trewen.....	

BAPTIST.

Rhydwillen	John Jenkins	Average atendance 900, of whom 8 had votes.‡
Llangloffan	Thomas Mathews	
Kilvowys	Phillip John	
&c.	David James	

It will be seen from the above that the information given concerning the Independents is very meagre. The Baptists seem to have had a larger following than the Presbyterians, but as might have been expected the latter included more influential men.

Tenby, which declined very rapidly in the early years of the 18th century, acquired an unenviable notoriety in 1723. During the years 1721–22 a yeoman named Thomas Athoe, a native of Carew, but resident at Manorbier, served as Mayor of Tenby; for to such a pass had that office come that the chief magistracy, held in former days by merchants such as the Whites and Risams, was now confided to the care of a mere boor like Athoe, who did not even reside in the town. Mayor Athoe and his son quarrelled with George Marchant (nephew and cousin of these worthies) during the November fair of 1721, concerning the sale of some cattle. The Athoes followed their kinsman and his brother Thomas, and barbarously murdered the former under the little bridge by Holloway water. The very complicated arrangements (necessitated by the then state of the law) to bring these ruffians to justice, constitutes the chief interest in a very commonplace murder.

* *Memoirs of the Ancient Family of Owen of Orielton*, compiled by J. Roland Phillips, Esq., p. 58.

† Was he the same man?

‡ *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, by Thomas Rees, p. 291.

All the circumstances of this barbarous murder were proved by the clearest evidence at the Coroner's Inquest. The Athoes pretended that they had been injured by the Marchants. 1st. In their detaining an estate from them; 2ndly. That they, the Marchants, had bought some cattle out of their hands at Wiston Fair, October 28, 1721; 3rdly. That the Marchants had opposed their elections (as Mayor and Bailiff of Tenby); 4th. That Mr. George Marchant, the person murthered, had married the sweetheart of young Athoe. The Connty of Pembrokeshire, upon what grounds are unknown, took their part, as not believing the facts so bad as were proved to be on the strongest evidence. Young Athoe was sent to Ireland, but was brought back again by a wile. They were arraigned at Hereford Assizes, but a verdict being brought in Special, their case was referred to the Determination of that Whole Bench, in order to which they were brought up to London, put into the King's Bench Prison in Southwark, and after a confinement of some time therein, brought before the said Court of King's Bench in Westminster Hall on Saturday, the 22nd of June, 1723, and there received sentence of condemnation and were remanded back to the said jail.

The question turned upon a point of law, whether criminals could be tried in a different county from that in which the offence was committed. The prisoners had been removed to Hereford, presumably because there was no likelihood of obtaining a conviction from a Pembrokeshire jury. This difficulty was provided for, an Act of Parliament being produced which ordained "that all murders and robberies committed in, on, or about the Borders of Wales should be triable in any county in England where the criminals were taken." On Friday, July 5, 1723, the ex-Mayor of Tenby and his son paid the penalty of their crime at St. Thomas Watering in the county of Surrey, by the stone which marked the boundary of the city liberties, Thomas Athoe and his son being the last criminals executed at this spot, which had been used for the purpose for centuries.

In September, 1729, Sir Richard Steele died at his house in King Street, Carmarthen, which was subsequently converted into the *Ivy Bush Hotel.* Steele left a daughter Elizabeth, who in the winter following on her father's death, met Mr. John Meyrick the owner of Bush (or as he wrote the word, "Prush"), near Pembroke, and the representative of old Sir Gilly. This gentleman fell desperately in love with Miss Steele and wrote her at least five amatory epistles. Love letters are a difficult form of literature for the critic to deal with, but these may be deemed favourable specimens of their class, though certainly too protracted; however, they availed their author not at all, he was curtly dismissed by his lady love; who then deliberately printed the correspondence, presumably to serve as a model of what love letters should be. In what periodical this "copy" first appeared I have been unable to ascertain, but it is reproduced in a book of *Elegant Extracts* published by G. Dilly, London, 1793. Elizabeth Steele married the Hon. John afterwards Lord Trevor in 1732, being at that time thirty-two years of age, and John Meyrick consoled himself with Miss Adams the heiress of Pater or Patrickchurch, a property which in course of years proved of great value to his descendants.

About the year 1743 missionaries of the ancient Protestant Episcopal Moravian Church, or *Unitas Fratrum*, made their appearance in Pembrokeshire,* and raising their rostrum by the Prendergast lime-kilns preached a religious revival. A perfect *furore* seized the people. Men of all classes gave up everything and joined the brotherhood; every convert chose a trade and by his own exertions provided for his own wants. If the neophyte was married, well and good; if not, the church selected a seemly sister who became his wife. Two Pembrokeshire men especially signalized themselves in this movement: John Gambold, M.A., son of a Rector of Puncheston; and David Mathias, heir to the Llangwarren property.† Gambold

* This the oldest of the Protestant sects was founded in Moravia about the middle of the 15th century, and was the Church of the Vallenses. They were recognized by an Act of Parliament, 1749, and granted full rights and liberty of worship in England.

† David Mathias's father considering him to be a visionary, left the estate to a younger brother; eventually it reverted to David's son.

became a Moravian bishop, while Mathias having preached in Tenby, Pembroke, St. David's and Laugharne, proceeded to Plymouth and Yorkshire, dying in the latter county. After a while this religious excitement died out, but there is still a little colony of Moravians in Haverfordwest, who have given up the eccentricities prevalent among their converts of the 18th century, and are now esteemed alike by Churchmen and Nonconformists.*

During the latter half of the 18th century men of means and leisure acquired a taste for travel, but as the Continent was usually closed against Englishmen by war, tourists were bound to seek for their adventures between the four seas. Wales of course offered a choice field to those bold spirits, some of them even penetrated Little England and left notes behind of what they found therein. The earliest of these journals which has come to my notice is an account of a tour made by an anonymous gentleman through Monmouthshire and Wales in the months of June and July, 1774.† This author observes that

> The dress of Pembroke women differs from the rest of Wales. Even in the midst of summer they wear a heavy cloth gown, and instead of a cap a large handkerchief wrapt over their heads and tied under their chins.‡ This custom is certainly peculiar to Pembrokeshire. In the other parts of Wales the women as well as the men wear large beaver hats with broad brims flapping over their shoulders.

The writer was struck by the lack of fences, for he says,—

> There are few inclosures, but no common feed, every proprietor having private right to the pasture of his own ground only, and no other; this circumstance is attended with much inconvenience both to the owner of lands and to the traveller. For there being no common sheep herd, all the horses, sheep, and even poultry, are staked at the end of a line to the ground, in order to prevent mutual trespass; the consequence being that the ropes frequently cross the high road and entangle the horses' feet of the unwary traveller.

In St. David's Cathedral our "gentleman" found that the choral service was performed twice a day, but it was very seldom that any congregation attended. The whole church was in a dirty and slovenly condition, part of it not being paved, and the graves within had earthen mounds raised over them as in common church-yards, with flowers and evergreens strewn thereon. The writer was much exercised in that

> Methodism had extended its baleful influence even to this remote angle of our island, for two chapels of the different persuasions of Wesley and Lady Huntingdon flourish at Haverfordwest. They seem to be dedicated to their tutelar saints, for they are only distinguished by the names of their patrons. Both chapels are regularly crowded, but whether superstition, novelty, or curiosity is the cause, I shall not pretend to determine. I am unwilling to attribute it to the neglect of the pastors of the Established Church, nor can I give credit to that vulgar report, I have seen since in the most retired spots of this county, a wretched cottage bursting with the fullness of its congregation, and multitudes in a heavy rain imbibing with gaping mouths the poisonous tenet of a mechanical preacher which
>
> Creeping on
> Spread like a noisome mist and blot the sun.

The "Wesley-room" referred to above was close to St. Martin's Church; indeed, the congregation were obliged to pass through the church-yard in order to reach their meeting-house. John Wesley had preached on the Castle Green, Carmarthen, in 1763; whether he visited Pembrokeshire at that date seems uncertain, but in August, 1790, he certainly spent a week in the county, preaching at Haverfordwest, St. David's, Pembroke and Tenby.

* Blomfield, Bishop of London, gave the Moravian Clergy free access to the pulpits in his diocese.

† "A Gentleman's Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales in the months of June and July, 1774." London: printed for T. Evans, near York Buildings in the Strand, 1775.

‡ See page 151 *ante*.

In the year 1782 John Howard the philanthropist visited the gaols of the Carmarthen circuit. He writes of the Pembrokeshire county gaol, Haverfordwest:—

In 1782 I had the pleasure to find a new gaol built on the Castle Hill instead (as the Flint gentlemen have said of their old gaol) of the ancient loathsome place of confinement. The prison clean and quiet, yet I am sorry to add no divine service had been performed in the chapel for some time past. I must here make a general remark, that neither the Act for preserving the health of prisoners, nor the three clauses against the admission of spirituous liquors into gaols, are hung up in any of the prisons of this county.

Again he writes in

1788, May 20th: Debtors, 3; felons, &c., 4.—Haverfordwest Town and County Gaol.—This prison was very close, dirty and offensive. The room over it used as a Bridewell, clean. 1788, May 20th: No prisoners.*

This latter gaol is referred to in *A Tour through the South of England, Wales, and Ireland*, from the Minerva Press, Leadenhall Street, 1791, in which the author states that in Haverfordwest,

On the opposite side of the way (from his inn) I discerned something like a place of confinement, but so barracadoed and so miserable in aspect, that I conceived it to be a receptacle for wild beasts. Upon further inspection I discovered through a small window, double grated, a man, in a melancholy attitude with a book in his hand. He was clothed in the tattered remnants of a naval uniform, and as we disturbed the light which glimmered through the grate on the pages of his book, he started and saw us. He addressed us: "Gentlemen, you see here an unfortunate officer of the navy, who for a trifling debt has suffered five months' imprisonment in this abominable dungeon, without any support but from the benevolence of strangers and the uncertain charity of a few amongst the inhabitants denied even water to gratify his thirst unless he can raise a halfpenny to pay for it, and condemned to linger here without a prospect of release." He further stated he was a Lieutenant in the Navy, formerly belonged to a King's ship called the *Trimmer*, that he had been stationed with the rest of his crew at Haverfordwest. It happened one night that he was out upon a visit, when his comrades hearing of some smugglers went in pursuit and left him upon the shore; during their absence he had lived as other gentlemen do in the neighbourhood, he had visited them, hunted with them, and partook of the amusements of the place. When he wished to leave Haverfordwest he had written to his agent at Liverpool for cash. The people of the house where he lodged knew this, and when this answer returned, with a spirit of parsimony hardly to be conceived, and in violation of every honour and honourable principle, intercepted and broke it open. It was then discovered his agent had failed and could remit him only five guineas. This sum the harpies seized and threw their unfortunate victim into a dungeon where we found him. "My name," said he, "is G——th. I was one of those who accompanied Captain Cook in his circumnavigation. I lived by my profession, and have done so from my infancy. I have no relations, and hardly a single friend." From inquiries afterwards made it appeared he was a gentleman of good character, and great ability in his profession.

West Wales† was invaded by a small force serving the French Republic in the year 1797. An old sailor, by name Thomas Williams, had settled down on a little farm called Trelythin, about half-way between St. David's and the sea, where he had prospered, and eventually blossomed into a justice of the peace. This good man was taking his walks abroad on

* "An Account of the Principal Lazarettes in Europe;" by John Howard, F.R.S.; p. 213.

† The following account of the French invasion was read at Fishguard during the Congress of the Cambrian Archæological Association at that place in 1883, and published in their journal.—4th Series, No. 56, p. 311. The authorities are:—1st. "An Authentic Account of the Invasion by the French Troops (under the command of General Tate) on Carrig Gwasted Point, near Fishguard, Wednesday, the 22nd day of February, 1797, and their surrender to the forces of His Britannic Majesty, on Goodwick Sands, on Friday, the 24th of February; likewise some occurrences connected therewith. Never before published. Haverfordwest: Joseph Potter, printer, High Street, 1842." Its author, H. L. ap Gwilym, dedicates the pamphlet to Major Bowling, only surviving officer of the Castlemartin Yeomanry Cavalry, who was present at the surrender of the French troops on Goodwick Sands; while Peter Davies, innkeeper, and Owen Griffiths, schoolmaster, who served in the Fishguard Fencibles under Col. Knox, sign as having examined the account and found it correct. 2nd. A letter from the first Earl of Cawdor to the editor of the *Times*, dated December 27th, 1859. 3d. A letter from G. Massy, Esq., Lech, to the editor of the *Times*, dated December 21st, 1859, in which he largely quotes from "an old writing in his possession written at the time." 4th. From a letter written at the time by John Parry, and published in the *Haverfordwest and Milford Haven Telegraph*, July 7th, 1875; and, finally—A pamphlet printed for J. Wright, 169, Piccadilly, in 1798; and *Chambers' Journal* of January 14, 1860, both of which are quoted in *Bye-gones* of July, 1883.

Wednesday the 22nd of February, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and, as was his wont, had one eye on the sea, the other on his crops, when he caught sight of a lugger and three men-of-war passing the North Bishops. So near were the vessels to the shore that Mr Williams made out a number of troops on board. English colours were flying; but the old sea-dog was not to be gulled by that stale device. At a glance he recognised the craft to be Frenchmen, and immediately sent off a farm-boy on horseback to rouse the St. David's men. Numbers of these came running down to Trelythin, and followed Williams along the coast until they came to Pencaer, keeping the enemy well in sight all the while.

About 2 p.m. the Frenchmen dropped anchor, and for some little time there was a lull in the proceedings. At 4 o'clock a sloop, the *Britannia* (Owen, master), bound for Fishguard with a cargo of culm for Colonel Knox of Llanstinan, came by. The frigates signalled that she should heave to. This she did, and was at once boarded and brought to anchor. Williams then sent a messenger into Fishguard, and an officer (most likely of the coast-guard) ran to the fort, and fired a salute to the British flag. Then the most incredulous onlooker was convinced, for the English colours were struck, and the French ensign run up in their place. By this time the whole population of Fishguard had turned out, and when they recognized the tricolour a general scare resulted. Every beast of burden and every vehicle in the little village was brought into requisition; messengers were packed off in all directions, with orders to raise the country as they went; the possessors of carts and wheelbarrows crammed them with their worldly goods, while the less fortunate carried off their gear pick-a-back. The enemy, numbering 1,400 men and two women, effected a landing on Carrig Gwastad Point without opposition. Nearly all of them disembarked on the evening of the 22nd, and the remainder reached the shore early the next morning. They had seventeen boats in all; but one, laden with ammunition, was upset in the surf, and the contents lost. However they brought safely to shore forty-seven barrels, ten hampers, and a large sheet full of ball-cartridges, twelve boxes of hand-grenades, but no field-pieces nor artillery of any sort. It was no light task to land what they had in a rolling surf, and then carry it up the steep and slippery cliff. Twenty determined men might have stopped the way. The force consisted of 600 regulars and 800 convicts. They were commanded by a Wexford man named Tate, who called himself an American, and held a commission as general in the French army.

Mr Mortimer, of Trehowel Farm, was one of those who had insisted that the frigates were King George's ships, and, like a good fellow, prepared an excellent supper for the officers. Perceiving his mistake in time, he escaped on horseback, carrying with him his money and papers; and his maidservant, Annie George, secured the silver spoons by putting them in her pocket; but the supper, a pipe of wine, and plenty of *cwrw-dda* were left behind. The Hiberno-Franco-American General Tate seems to have been instinctively attracted by this good cheer; and so well contented was he with the supper that he constituted Trehowel the headquarters of the French army of occupation. The sailors who came on shore with Tate looted an eight-day clock; and as their kits were in need of replenishment, cut open the beds, turned out the feathers, and converted the ticking into duck-trousers. But although the supper was conceived in the most hospitable spirit, it proved insufficient for 1,400 men; so when the General and his staff had taken the edge off their own appetites, they directed both rank and file to investigate the resources of the larders in the neighbourhood. The following is a list of the houses visited:

Llannuner	Trefiseg	Trefauwn	Lanverran	Trehelin	Carnecoch
Treathro	Tanbach	Crimcoed	Felindre	Pantyrig	Cotts
Tresinwen	Trenewydd	Cillan	Tregeddulan	Penysgwarn	Trefwrgy
Carlem	Brestgarn	Tresissillt vach	Trelimmin	Llandridion	Bwlchyrhose
Talygare	Castell	Penyrhiw	St. Nicholas	Rhosycawre	Carngowil
Tanymuydd	Llanunda	Tresinwen	Trefasser	Finondridion	Stepin

Llanwnda and St. Nicholas Church were also examined, and the communion plate from the former looted. This, however, was eventually recovered. Wonderfully little mischief, and scarcely any violence was done: indeed, when we remember that more than half of the invading force were "the sweepings of the jails, convicts who bore the marks of chains on wrists and legs," their conduct leads us to suppose that the occupants of French prisons towards the end of the last century were an eminently respectable class of men. For instance, at a farm called Cotts, a poor woman who had recently been confined was abandoned by her cowardly husband. When the Frenchmen entered the house, in her despair she held up her baby in her arms, and implored mercy. As soon as they comprehended the situation, having soothed her fears as well as they could, they left her in peace.

Mr Thomas of Mathry went to his relative's house at Penrhew, which, to his astonishment, he found filled with plundering Frenchmen, who requisitioned his watch, silver knee-buckles, and money which he had secreted in his shoes and stockings, and then took him as a prisoner to Trehowel. Tate was exceedingly angry at the treatment Thomas had received, and requested him to point out the offenders. This the Welshman was afraid to do, so he was dismissed *minus* his watch and buckles.

The worst case was that of Mary Williams of Carlem, who, while running away, was first wounded with a gunshot, and then maltreated, probably by drunken men. However, even she, poor soul, did not make a bad bargain, for she received a pension of £40 per annum, which she was still enjoying when the narrative from which my story is taken was written, forty-five years after the invasion.

Near Carlem two Welshmen summoned two Frenchmen to surrender; but they showed fight, and one of the foreigners was killed; the other yielded, giving up his musket to his captors, with which one of them hit him over the head. He then drew his bayonet, killed them both, and escaped.

The Welsh lost altogether only these two men, while Mary Williams and a sailor were the only wounded. Three Frenchmen in all were killed (one of whom fell over the cliff), three were reported wounded, and two died either of wounds or disease. The plunder taken consisted chiefly of eatables. The invaders seem especially to have affected poultry; and tales used to be told of how they boiled geese in melted butter, and washed them down with huge draughts of port wine, large quantities of which were to be found in all the houses, as a Portuguese vessel had lately been wrecked, and the cargo stolen by the country folk.

After gorging goose and guzzling port wine all night, the invaders were scarcely in a condition to meet the force which had assembled to oppose them, though it was nothing more than a mob of rustics armed with fowling-pieces, scythe-blades fixed on poles, and the like. The citizens of St. David's stripped the lead off their Cathedral to make bullets; a proceeding which vexed the righteous souls of Dean and Chapter, but does not appear to have inflicted any injury on the French.

Mr Whitesides, a Liverpool contractor, who was engaged in the erection of the Smalls Lighthouse, raised the sailors of Solva. Five of these engaged five Frenchmen, one of whom they killed, two they wounded, and two ran away. One Welsh sailor was wounded in the foot, for which he received a pension. The field where this fight took place is called "French Park," and in it the foreigner was buried.

Lord Cawdor,* who was at Stackpole, did not hear of the invasion until "the middle of Wednesday night, when he immediately set off; Lord Milford,† the Lord-Lieutenant of the

* John Campbell, Esq., of Stackpole Court, Pembroke, and Cawdor Castle, Nairnshire, was created Baron Cawdor in 1796.

† Sir Richard Philipps, Bart., of Picton Castle, was created Baron Milford of the Kingdom of Ireland in 1776.

county, having desired him to take command of the troops, being too infirm to do so himself," though he (Lord Milford) made his way to Fishguard with the rest. The troops consisted of the Castlemartin Yeomanry Cavalry, the Cardiganshire Militia, the Cardiff Militia (which was then stationed in Pembrokeshire), Colonel Knox* of Llanstinan, and Major Ackland† of Llannion, with other respective companies of fencible infantry; some sailors under Lieutenants Mears and Perkins: in all, 750 men. It happened that with the other gentlemen who had assembled and offered their services, there was one Captain William Davies, a veteran who had seen service, having, indeed, fought at Bunker's Hill. Lord Cawdor had great confidence in his judgment, and requested him to draw up the troops so as to deceive the French as to their real number. This was most successfully managed. The ill-natured declare that the women in their high hats and red "whittles" assisted him considerably by their resemblance to regiments of the line.

At noon on Thursday both French and English were astounded to see the French frigates weigh anchor and sail away. Whether Tate perceived that the whole affair had proved a *fiasco*, and signalled them to that effect, or whether the captains acted on their own responsibility, it is impossible to say. They took a course across the Channel. One of them struck on the Arklow Bank, and was taken in tow by the corvette. These two were eventually captured off Brest by the *St. Fiorenzo* frigate (Captain Sir H. B. Neale, Bart.) and the *La Nymphe* (Captain J. Cooke), who took them into Portsmouth, where the frigate was repaired and re-christened the "Fisgard," presumably the French pronunciation of Fishguard, and was until quite lately the receiving ship at Sheerness. The other frigate and the lugger managed to get safely into Brest.

The French force had occupied a strong position on a high rock just above the village of Llanwnda. The English prepared to assail this station on Thursday evening, but changing their plans returned to Fishguard. At 10 p.m. two officers arrived in the town with a flag of truce, and inquired for Colonel Knox. A council of war was then called at the *Royal Oak*. Present: Lord Milford, Lord-Lieutenant; Lord Cawdor, Colonel Knox, Colonel Colby, Major Ackland, Colonel Dan. Vaughan, Colonel James, Colonel George Vaughan, the Governor of the Fishguard Fort, and other gentlemen. The French officers were then admitted, and offered to capitulate on condition that all the French should be sent back to Brest at the expense of the English Government. Colonel Knox, who appears to have been blessed with a vivid imagination, replied that the only terms which could be entertained were unconditional surrender; and that unless these were complied with by 2 o'clock the following day, the French force would be attacked by 20,000 men; 10,000 of whom were then in Fishguard, and 10,000 more on the road. Impressed by this magnificent piece of bunkum, the French officers then produced the following letter:

"Cardigan Bay.

"5th Ventose, 5th Year of the Republic.

"SIR,—The circumstances under which the body of troops under my command were landed at this place render it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have, therefore, intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon

* Thomas Knox, Esq., purchased the estates of Llanstinan and Slebech from John Symmons, Esq., of Llanstinan, who had married the heiress of the Barlows of Slebech. William Knox subsequently sold Slebech to Nathaniel Phillips, Esq., whose daughter and co-heiress married Francis Baron de Rutzen. The modern house of Slebech was erected by John Symmons, Esq.

† Dudley Ackland, Esq., born in Philadelphia, North America, 1748, and descended from the Acklands of Trennington co. Devon, was a Major in the 91st Regt. of Foot. After a residence of some years in Pembrokeshire he purchased the Boulston estate in 1797, and built the modern house.

principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same to the bearer, and in the meantine hostilities shall cease Health and respect.

"TATE, *Chef de Brigade.*"

The officers were informed that an answer should be returned to General Tate, but that they might inform him that his troops would be expected to parade for surrender the following afternoon. They were then blindfolded and conducted outside the town. At daybreak on Thursday morning Major Ackland of Llanion carried the following ultimatum to Llanwnda:

"Fishguard, Feby. 23.

"SIR,—The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any other terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to show an enemy whose numbers are inferior. My Major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by 10 o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort who will conduct him to me without molestation.

"I am, etc., CAWDOR.

"To the Officer commanding the French troops."

At noon the British force was drawn up in line on Windy Hill, within sight of the enemy's advanced posts, and was inspected by Colonel Colby. Lord Cawdor despatched his *aide-de-camp*, the Hon. Captain Edwardes, with a flag of truce, which was carried by Mr Millingchamp one of the yeomen, Messrs. Williams of Llandegigge and Morgans of Abercastle accompanying them. On reaching Trehowel they found 600 Frenchmen drawn up in line. Capt. Edwardes gave his message to Tate, which was to the effect that time was up; that if the enemy did not "open pans, shed priming, and march peaceably, they would forthwith be attacked by an overwhelming force."

The remainder of the Frenchmen were now assembled, and the ammunition and spare arms having been deposited in camp, the enemy, without colours, but with drums beating, marched to Goodwick, where they were received by the Cardigan Militia and Fishguard Fencibles, the Castlemartin Yeomanry having been told off to protect the Bridge. The French were ordered to pile arms, and were then marched into Haverfordwest, which place they reached at 2 o'clock on Saturday morning. 700 were put into St. Mary's Church, 500 into the old Town Hall, and the rest into the Store-houses. That day, twenty-one carts laden with arms arrived, and in the course of the week the ammunition and the remainder of the arms were brought in, filling thirty-four more carts. The French soldiers were clad in old English uniforms which had been dyed a rusty brown; they still bore the regimental buttons; the belts, however, were black leather; and their head-gear was composed of old cavalry helmets. Their muskets were the ordinary weapon of the period, with flint locks; barrels 3ft. 7in., whole length 4ft. 10in., weight 9¾lbs. There is a stand of these arms in Stackpole Court, and two of them, which Lord Cawdor has kindly presented to the Tenby Museum, can be examined in that place, where there is also a short sword taken from a non-commissioned officer (presented by H. Mathias, Esq.) On this latter weapon, on each side, are sun, moon and stars, with the inscription *Cassagnard, Fourbisseur du Roy, Nantes.*" The king can scarcely have been Louis XVI, as the archaic spelling of "roi" seems to have disappeared before his time; anyhow, the republicans have done their best to obliterate the word with a punch. Thus ended the great *fiasco* of the French invasion. What did it all mean? It has generally been considered that the destination of the force was Ireland, at that time in a state of disaffection bordering on rebellion; indeed, during the following year the Great

Rebellion broke out, and the lives of 150,000 Irish and 20,000 English were sacrificed before it was suppressed.

But this idea proves to be erroneous, for among General Tate's papers were found the instructions he had received from General Hoche. From these it seems that the body which landed at Fishguard was called *La Legion Seconde des Francs*," and that two other legions were to have simultaneously invaded the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and York; these latter, however, never put in an appearance. The primary object to be attained by the Second Legion was the destruction of Bristol and Liverpool. On reaching Severn Sea, should the former prove impracticable, then the legion was to land in Cardigan Bay, and march through Wales to Chester and Liverpool.

"The expedition under the command of Col. Tate has in view three principal objects. The first is, if possible, to raise an insurrection in the country. The second is to interrupt and embarrass the commerce of the enemy. The third is to prepare and facilitate the way for a descent, by distracting the attention of the English government."*

There seems to have been a strong suspicion of disaffection among the Welsh. The French exaggerated its importance; but for all that there can be no doubt it did exist, for we find that subsequently "a respectable minister was taken down from his pulpit, his desk was ransacked, and his papers searched, with a view of discovering whether he carried on treasonable correspondence with disaffected persons." Certain farmers, too, were charged with treason, and committed for trial at the assizes, and a French officer detained to give evidence against them, but the judge ruled that a foreigner and common enemy was incapable of giving evidence in an English court of justice, and as no other witness was forthcoming they were discharged. That Welshmen were among the invaders seems certain.

James Bowen, who had been a farm servant at Trehowel for five years, and then tried and transported for horse stealing, was recognised by his fellow servants—this was the man who is said to have piloted the Frenchmen to Carreg Gwastad point.

Again, a respectable man, named Meyler, overheard two of the prisoners talking Welsh.

"Where do you come from," said he, "as you speak Welsh?"

"We come from the upper part of Pembrokeshire."

"Then how came you to be soldiers in the French army?"

"We have been taken prisoners in France, and were taken out with the other convicts."

"Then why don't you leave them?"

"Because we are afraid of being discovered and shot."

They then asked Meyler to apprise their friends of their whereabouts.

Mr Bowen of Fynondrudion informed the writer that his grandfather fled from Fynondrudion with his family and servants for refuge to Wolf's Castle. After the capture of the French they went out on the roadside to see the prisoners go by. One of the maidservants recognised an acquaintance in the ranks, and the man called out—"Ie a thyna Catrin Trerhonw hefyd," Englished, "And there is Catherine of Trerhonw, too." The idea naturally occurs that these men were Bretons posing as Welsh, but that can scarcely have been the case. Granting that the Breton language would have been intelligible to Pembrokeshire folks, no prisoner of war in those rough and ready days would have dared to incur the charge of treason by way of a practical joke. He would have run a great chance of being shot first, and identified afterwards. If the French and their Welsh recruits really relied on the disaffection of Pembrokeshire men, they were grievously disappointed; and so far from finding friends, met an enemy by no means disposed to err on the side of

* See pamphlet printed for J. Wright, 169 Piccadilly (1798), the text copied from attested transcripts of the original documents.

mercy, for they cut off the ears of the Frenchman slain by the Solva sailors, and bandied them about the country as trophies. Another unfortunate foreigner fell over the cliffs and was killed. "A reverend gentleman" went down and cut off his finger, and kept it as a memorial of the invasion; the poor wretch's body was then buried on the shore, but in such a slovenly fashion, that it was soon washed up again and cast among the rocks, where the corpse remained until it became a skeleton. This was carried off, bone by bone, by the curious. Such was the feeling of contemporaries. Readers of Fenton will notice that in a few years the Fishguardians had worked themselves up into a fever of loyalty and rage when attempts were made "to tarnish the lustre of this event, and involve a most loyal country in a charge of disaffection to government, by coupling it with a circumstance which then made a great noise, and was prosecuted with more rancour than sound policy."*

This invasion of the French not only roused the patriotism of the neighbourhood but led to several false alarms. One night, soon afterwards, a Mr John Roach of Lythir, near St. David's, heard boats near Y Gesial vawr, and rushing into St. David's announced another invasion. Mr Arthur Richardson, the organist of the cathedral, at once set off for Haverford, which he reached in forty-five minutes (good going), and informed the Mayor of the impending danger. A meeting was called, and the necessity of putting all the prisoners of war to death in cold blood was seriously debated; fortunately the town council shirked the responsibility of such an atrocity.

In this chronicle of an invasion, characterised on the one side by hopeless incapacity, and on the other by treason, swagger,* and cruelty, it is pleasant to dwell on a single instance of

* The following correspondence will sufficiently prove that my estimate of Colonel Knox's capacity is based on that expressed by his contemporaries:—

Haverfordwest, May 18th, 1797.

My Lord,—The repeated applications I have made for a court of inquiry on my conduct to the Duke of York and the Duke of Portland having proved fruitless, I have yesterday transmitted to Lord Milford my commission as lieutenant-colonel commandant of the Fishguard volunteers, to be delivered up to his Majesty, in consequence of a letter from his lordship, of which I enclose a copy. It was not until the 2nd inst. I was informed your lordships had, at the last assizes, signed and promoted the signing of a paper by other officers, stating their disapprobation of serving under me on account of my ignorance and incapacity. I wrote for a copy of it to General Rooke, who answered me he had sent it immediately to the Cammander-in-Chief, and that it had not been returned to him. I, therefore, think it necessary to call upon you for a copy of that paper and of the signatures annexed. I send this by my servant, and I hope your lordship will give me an immediate answer, which the bearer will bring me to Lanstinam.—I am, your lordship's most obedient servant, THO. KNOX.

Right Hon. Lord Cawdor.

Stackpole Court, May 18th, 1797.

Sir,—I have just received your letter, dated Haverfordwest, May 18th, enclosing the copy of one from Lord Milford, and can feel no difficulty in stating the reasons that decide me to resign my commission rather than risk my character as an officer by serving under your command, viz., my conviction of your inexperience and ignorance of your duty, joined to want of judgment, but I cannot transmit to you a copy of the letter you allude to with the signatures without the permission of the officers whose names are affixed to it.—I am, Sir, your obedient, humble servant, CAWDOR.

Thomas Knox, Esq., Lanstinam.

Lanstinam, 23rd May, 1797.

My Lord,—Circumstances, which may be easily explained, have prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and informing you I think its contents are such as make it incumbent on me to call upon you for satisfaction. I leave it to your lordship to appoint time and place of meeting; but I request, on my friend's* account, who has promised to do me the honour of accompanying me, the latter may be on this side of Pembroke Ferry. I saw Major Bowen yesterday, but as I understood from him he had no authority to say anything from your lordship, it would be improper for me to notice his communication. I go to-day to Minwere, and am your lordship's obedient, humble servant, THO. KNOX.

Right Hon. Lord Cawdor.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel Vaughan.

Stackpole Court, May 23, 1797.

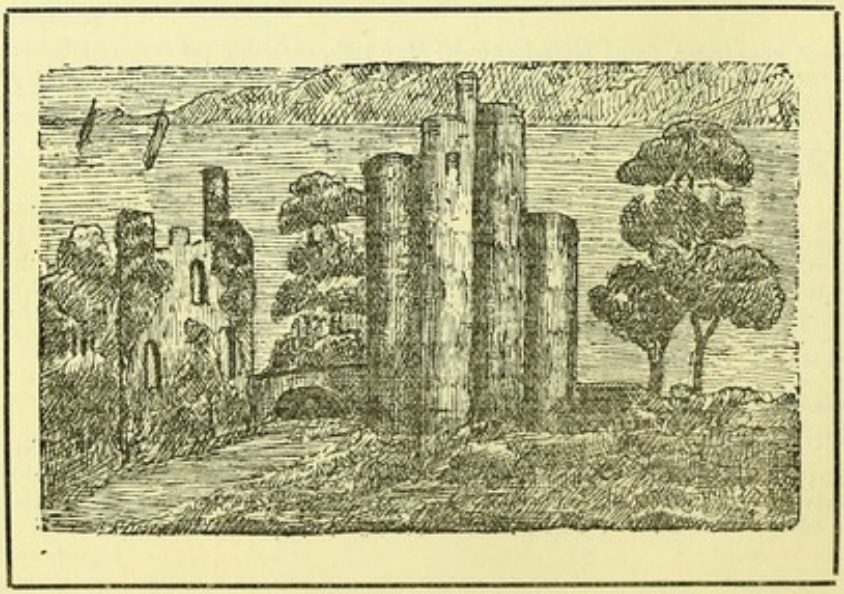
SIR,—I took the liberty of detaining your servant three hours until I had an opportunity of seeing a friend. I shall be ready to meet you at twelve o'clock to-morrow upon the turnpike-road between Pembroke Ferry and the road that turns off at Williamston, and the gentleman who accompanies me.—I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, CAWDOR.

Thomas Knox, Esq.

* *Historical Tour*, p. 14.

wholesome kindly human nature. Five hundred prisoners were confined in a building on Golden Hill, near Pembroke; and, as was the custom, they were allowed to eke out the very meagre allowance voted for their subsistence by the sale of toys, which they carved out of wood and bone. Two Pembroke lasses were employed in bringing the odds and ends requisite for this work, and in carrying away refuse from the prison. These girls not having the law of nations or the high policy of Europe before their eyes, dared to fall in love with two of the Frenchmen, and formed a desperate resolve not only to rescue their lovers, but the whole of the prisoners in the same ward, one hundred in number. It was impossible to smuggle any tools into the prison, but a shin of horse beef seemed harmless even in the eyes of a Pembroke Cerberus. With the bone extracted from this delicacy the Frenchmen undermined the walls, the faithful girls carrying off the soil in their refuse buckets. When the subway was complete the lasses watched the pill until some vessel should arrive. At length a sloop came in loaded with a consignment of culm for Stackpole. That night the liberated men made their way down to the water, boarded the sloop, and bound the crew hand and foot, but unfortunately the vessel was high and dry, and it was found impossible to get her off. Alongside was a small yacht belonging to Lord Cawdor which they managed to launch. This, of course, would not take them all; but the two women and twenty-five men got on board, taking with them the compass, water casks, and provisions from the sloop.

In the morning there was a grand hue and cry. Dr. Mansell, a leading man in Pembroke, posted handbills over the whole country, offering 500 guineas for the recovery of these two traitorous women, alive or dead. In a few days the stern of the yacht and other wreckage being picked up, the patriotic party were satisfied that the vengeance of Heaven had overtaken the traitors. They were, however, mistaken, for the Frenchmen captured a sloop laden with corn, and, abandoning the yacht, compelled the crew to carry them to France. When they were safe, it is pleasant to read that the commissary and engineer married the girls; during the short peace, the engineer and his wife returned to Pembroke and told their story, they then went to Merthyr, and obtained employment in the mines, but on the renewal of hostilities went back to France, where it is to be hoped they lived very happily ever afterwards.



RUINS OF BOULSTON. (FROM A ROUGH SKETCH TAKEN BY MRS. THOS. ALLEN MANY YEARS AGO).

CHAPTER XXVI.

ABOUT PEMBROKESHIRE CHURCHES.

The surroundings of Pembrokeshire Churches exhibit handiwork of several races—Professor Freeman on Ecclesiastical Architecture in South Wales—It is doubtful if any pre-Norman work exists—Bullibur Chapel—Early Churches very diminutive—Size of Llandaff Cathedral—Non's Chapel—Norman period in Pembrokeshire which lasted a century, is poorly represented—Its details improved away by succeeding generations—Manorbier Church—Norman Fonts at Lamphey, St. Florence, Hodgeston, Castlemartin, Manorbier, Penally, Camrose, Johnston, Rudbaxton, Harroldston, Spittal, Carew, Lambston, Prendergast, Moat, Jeffreyston, St. Petrox, Upton, St. Twinnels, St. Mary's, Pembroke, Newport, Rhoscrowther, Llanhowel, Freystrop, Walton West, Pwllcrochan, Dinas, and many other places—Stoups, some with ears, probably similar to mortars used for culinary purposes—Early English introduced in Bishop de Leiâ's time—Early English lights in Camrose and Gumfreston—Thirteenth century Churches crowned with bell gables—Professor Freeman on Pembrokeshire Church Towers—Date of the towers—Bastion at Manorbier Castle—Gumfreston and Tenby Towers—Spires not a success in Pembrokeshire—Vaulted projections—Squints—Apse at Gumfreston—Paucity of details in Pembrokeshire Churches—Hodgeston decorated chancel, canopied sedilia, double piscina—Langum pointed arches, canopied niche, pillared piscina—Letterston, pillared piscina surmounted by ragged stemmed cross—Taper holder at Upton—Carved oak rare—Returned stalls in the Cathedral, black oak ceiling in nave—Chancel roof of St. Mary's, Tenby—John Smith Archdeacon of St. David's and Rector of Tenby, probably John Dinbe who flourished 1491—St. George carved on stall end in St. Mary's, Haverfordwest—Pulpit in St. Mary's, Tenby—Petition to Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's—Stencil work on church walls—Brasses at St. David's and St. Mary's, Haverfordwest—Matrices in the Cathedral and St. Mary's, Tenby—Bishop Tully—17th Century Tomb to the Howard family at Rudbaxton Church—Objects disinterred from churchyards—Coins from St. Thomas's, Haverfordwest—Horse bones from Steynton Church—Glass bottle from Pwllcrochan—Restoration in Pembrokeshire—Report of Gilbert Scott on the state of the Cathedral, 1862—Work carried out there is evidence of strength of Episcopalianism in Little England.

THE student of old customs cannot afford to neglect ecclesiastical architecture in Little England. Perhaps more may be gleaned from our churches than from castles, town walls, or manor houses; for the sacred edifices resemble the congregations wont to assemble therein, both exhibiting signs of racial admixture. The surroundings of our churches prove that the ground they stand on was deemed holy by Gael, Kymro, Scandinavian and Englishman, ancestors of the Cadwalladers, Athoes and Stokes, who baptised at the font and married at the altar, will one day lie down to take their long rest in the yard outside. Perhaps their honest nineteenth century names may be cut on a stone, which was dedicated some fourteen hundred years ago to the memory of priest or warrior,* or peradventure their graves will be dug under the shadow of a stone cross covered with the rich interlaced work characteristic of Gaelic art.† May be the yard itself in which they will lie is a prehistoric enclosure, still bounded with foss and vallum.‡ Not improbably the church within which they worship may be dedicated to a local saint born or buried in the parish, whose name strangely enough neither priest or people can pronounce, and of whose story they are profoundly ignorant. Then again the towers of these little churches teach us that at a comparatively late period in Pembrokeshire history, so insecure did the colonists feel that each village steeple was turned into a fortress, while ruined rood loft, broken stoup, mutilated piscina, walls scarred with bullet splashes, and plain white windows fringed with fragments of rich stained glass,§ preach a cynic sermon on the text, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword." Those interested in armour and costume will find effigies of

* Steynton, see page 60 *ante*. † Penally, Nevern.

‡ Eglwys Cymmin, a parish on the Carmarthenshire border. § Tenby.

the long forgotten dead in many village churches; tombs raised in vain to commemorate priests who may have hounded on a crusade; knights who carried war from Moray Firth to Tripoli, or fair dames who set the hearts of kings a dancing.* Such is the long vista of Pembrokeshire history which opens out before us as the sleepy village choir drones through psalm or hymn and yet the tale is not exhausted. We shall in many instances find a holy well hard by the church-yard wall,† which was in truth the *raison d'être* of the church, being the symbol of sanctity or purification to a forgotten race; forgotten indeed but not extinct, for it may be the blood of these old well worshippers still runs in the veins of yonder little chorister with blue black curls and jetty eyes.

A general view of ecclesiastical architecture in this district has been given us by a master hand. Mr Freeman,‡ describing the smaller churches of South Wales, writes as follows:—

The churches along the south coast, especially those with which I am best acquainted, may be put together as one great class, though considerable differences will be found between the buildings of Monmouthshire, Glamorgan, and Pembroke. It is in the southern or Flemish district of the latter county that the idea common to all is most fully carried out much as the churches of Somersetshire exhibit the full perfection of a type of which less developed specimens occur in all the neighbouring districts, including the very region with which we are now concerned, for many churches all along this coast contain portions evidently imitating Somersetshire work or built by Somersetshire architects. Where this exotic influence does not occur the churches generally agree in the following characteristics:—A church on the south Welsh coast is generally a building with very little richness, often very little beauty of detail, but with much picturesqueness of outline, and generally with some touch of the military architect about it. The majority have towers which are almost always designed for defence, they are often tall, but always massive and strongly built. Spires are very rare. In the churches themselves aisles are not common, and the clerestory is absolutely unknown. The roofs are always of high pitch, and the proportions of the nave and chancel generally good, so that the outline is commonly very effective. Though aisles are rare, yet porches, transeptal chapels, and other—often very nondescript—projections are common enough. The doorways especially, when under porches, are occasionally very elaborate, but are commonly plain, even to rudeness. The windows are, of course, of various kinds, and are too commonly modern insertions; but the characteristic window of the whole district is the plain trefoil lancet without a label, which seems to have prevailed through the early English and decorated periods, and which, whether single or as a couplet or triplet, is invariably beautiful and effective. Internally the piers and arches, in the exceptional cases where they occur, are often extremely rude and never very elaborate; in fact their workmanship is decidedly inferior to that of the doors and windows. There is also occasionally to be remarked, especially in chapels attached to chancels the use of a singularly flat arch. But most of them are clearly of a late date and rough work, the shape being a rude sort of four centred or eliptical arch, such are those at St. Florence and Llawhaden. The roofs are most commonly of the coved or cradle form of various degrees of merit; in Pembrokeshire this form is translated into stone, in the shape of a pointed barrel vault.

Pembrokeshire.—Such are the features common to the whole class; but the perfection of the idea is to be sought for in the southern portion of the county of Pembroke, especially in the hundred of Castlemartin. There the outlines are more picturesque, the details more rude, the architecture more military than anywhere else. There every tower is a fortress, designed apparently to hold out as long as Zarazoga or Sebastopol; instead of the harmless belfrey above and the void space below we find a series of grim, vaulted chambers, stage upon stage, suggesting any ideas but those of a house of peace. High in air they rise with their frowning battlements, their hard, square, staircase turrets; strange to say the exceptional presence of a spire is less exceptional here than in any other part of the southern sea board. Enter the church: with its rude vault, rising without shaft or cornice, from the walls, it resembles a vast cavern with smaller caverns branching off in the form of porches, chapels, and transepts. Enormous squints, developing into passages, fill up the angles between the transepts and the chancel; stone benches act as stalls, and a diminished thickness of the wall supplies them with canopies. Arcades there are commonly none, and piers do not always accompany them where they are, witness the wonderful church of Manorbier, where the pointed arches with their enormous toffets rise manfully from the floor, disdaining the unnecessary support of pillars. Internally I cannot call these churches beautiful. I will even allow that in Anglia Trans Walliana Mr Ruskin may fairly talk of "the savageness of our northern Gothic;" but look

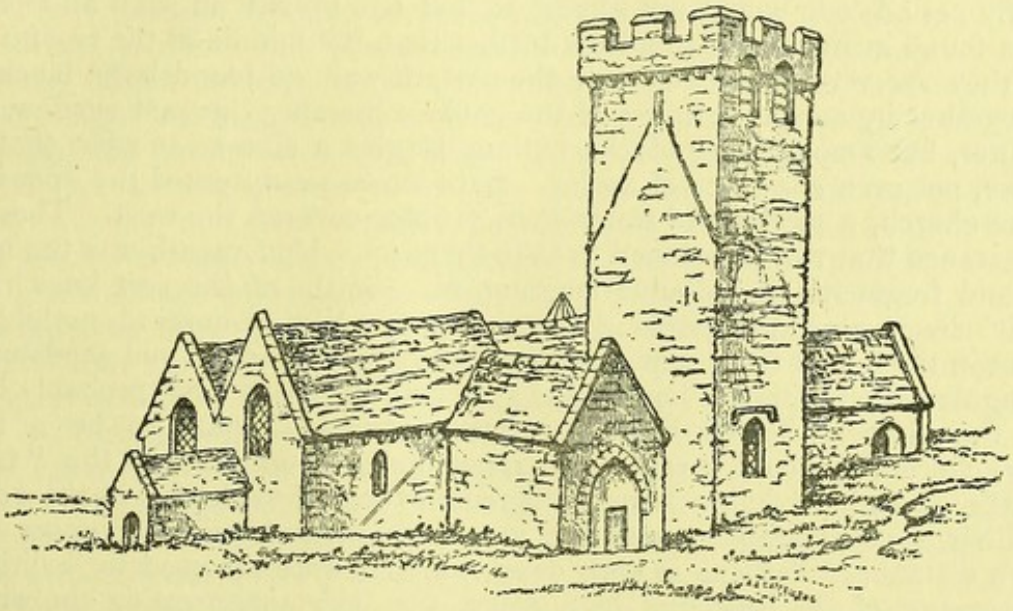
* The ladies of the colony did captivate kings, Nest Verch Rhys of Carew; Alice Perrers of Manorbier; Mary Perrot of Haroldston; Lucy Walters of Rhosmarket; and Mrs Jordan of Jordanston to wit.

† Rhoscrowther, Gumfreston, and many others.

‡ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, July, 1856, p. 230.

at them without. What building ever supplied such picturesque outlines, such subjects for the brush and graver of Mr Petit? Look at that mass of roofs and gables, the main body throwing off here a porch, here a transept, here, as at Gumfreston, an apsidal baptistry, here some utterly nameless projection; the tower, too, not timidly adhering to the west end, but standing west, north, or south, attached to nave or chancel as seemed good to the convenience or caprice of its designer. The architects may possibly scorn, but the antiquary and the artist will agree to value the varied outlines of Manorbier and Castlemartin, the slender steeple of Hodgeston, the long nave, the roofless choir, the strange adjoining chapel of what was once the Priory Church of Monkton.*

The buildings in which Christianity was first preached to the men of West Wales probably differed little, if at all, from the dwelling-houses of that period. If, as is likely, many of them stood on ground now held sacred, all trace of the priscan meeting-house has disappeared, and their foundations must be sought for among the "hut circles" which cluster on our cliffs and moorlands. Whether any pre-Norman stone-work still remains incorporated with the walls of our churches seems doubtful, though the outlying chapels (and perhaps some of the chancels) are erected on foundations which bear the characteristics of very great age. The oldest piece of ecclesiastical masonry in the county of Pembroke



CASTLEMARTIN.

which has come under my notice seems to be the foundation of a little chapel on Bullibur farm near Brownslade. On the northern side of the burial tump described on page 59 is a piece of ground measuring perhaps a quarter of an acre, which at some period was enclosed and sub-divided by stone walls. The field (known as Church Ways) in which the tump stands, is to a great extent covered with blown sand, which had very nearly buried these walls, so much so indeed that their lines could not be accurately mapped out without a considerable amount of excavation. On the northern side of this enclosure, that furthest from the tump, are the foundations of two small buildings, one has been used as a cottage within the last twenty years, the other is known as "The Chapel." I asked a very old labourer who was present when I first examined the place what reason he had for supposing that these stones were the remains of a church. He replied that it had always been known as "The Chapel," and that he could well remember the east window; but, he added, that according to

* This has alas! been utterly spoiled.—E. L.

the tale it was never finished: "For what they built up by day the others pulled down by night." It is curious how widely spread are the variants of this legend. Considering the old man's story sufficient corroboration, Colonel Lambton and myself set to work and freed what was left of the building from blown sand, which had filled and in places buried it. When this was accomplished we found four walls, varying in height from 4ft. to 10in., enclosing a space 15ft. by 10ft. These walls might, I suppose, be termed cyclopean, especially that on the eastern side, where some of the stones were three feet in height (measuring from the floor) the interstices between them being filled in with smaller stones, after the manner observable in Neolithic chambered tombs and cromlechs. The walls had subsequently been roughly plastered. In the southern corner of the west end we found the threshold of a doorway through which two steps had led down into the chapel. On the northern side was a recess, perhaps for a bench, and on the same side, close to the spot where the altar must have stood, was a ragged cavity in the wall, which I think must have been once occupied by an aumbry; it is a very unusual position for a piscina, as these are generally on the south side, and (if I am right in my conjecture that these walls were erected at a very early period) one would not expect to find one present in such an ancient building, for no piscina found in England dates back further than the middle of the twelfth century, and of this date they are very rare.* Outside the eastern wall we found large blocks of masonry still bound together by mortar, remains of the gable containing the east window mentioned by the old labourer, but among these blocks nothing to give a clue as to what that window may have been like, not even one piece of ashlar. Bare blown sand formed the floor in the eastern portion of the church, a pitching of water-worn pebbles covered the west. These had such a modern appearance that we determined to take them up. Underneath was the blown sand, in which we found fragments of a double magnum wine bottle, of the sort known as jeroboam, proving conclusively that the pitching was modern. We discovered nothing else within the walls, but in the burial tump was unearthed an oblong block of red sandstone, fashioned into a rectangular stoup 12in. in length and 7in. wide,† which very probably had originally come from the chapel. These Bullibur stones certainly appear to be a foundation of a very early church, it could never have accommodated more than the "two or three" within its walls, though to judge from the accumulation of skeletons in the adjacent tump, there was either a considerable population in the neighbourhood, or corpses were brought thither from a distance. Perhaps in early days churches were reserved for baptism, marriage, and the celebration of the Eucharist by a priest, the laity congregating the while round the outside of the building awaiting a discourse which was delivered to them in the open air. If this was not the case, it seems difficult to understand how such small churches afforded sufficient accommodation to a generation entirely composed of church goers; for we know well how small the churches were in South Wales. Nothing has been recorded as to the architecture or dimensions of the early Cathedral of St. David's, but the contemporary building at Llandaff is carefully described in *Liber Landavensis*. This Cathedral, during the days of Urban, the first Bishop after the Norman conquest, measured twenty-eight feet in length, fifteen in breadth and twenty feet in height. It had indeed two small aisles and a semi-circular porch. Professor Freeman considers that the semi-circular porch may have been an apse.‡ If then a cathedral was so small we may well believe an out-of-the-way district like Bullibur would be obliged to content itself with a very tiny place of worship. In the remains of the chapel

* Parker's *Glossary of Architecture* (abridgement), p. 196.

† This is preserved in the Tenby Museum.

‡ *History of Llandaff Cathedral*, p. 46.

dedicated to Non, mother of St. David, on the cliff near to his city, we can easily trace cyclopean foundations of an earlier building, these measure about 35ft. by 18ft.*

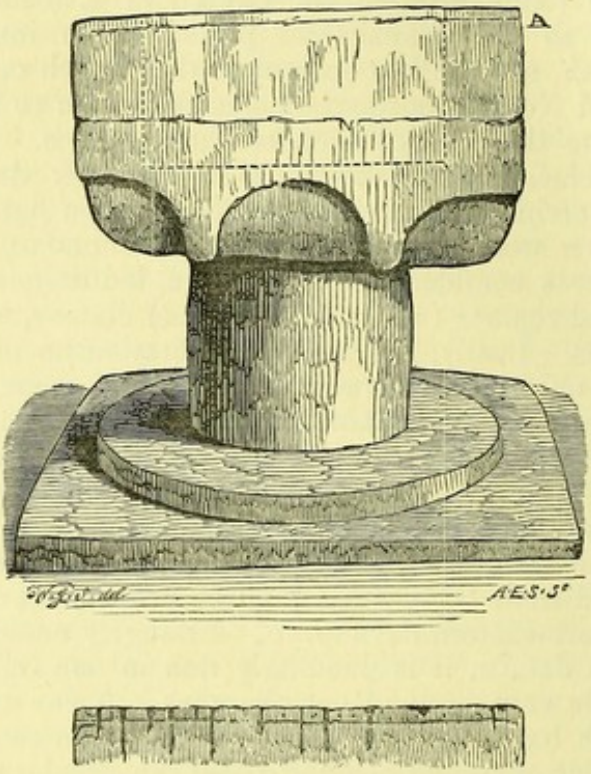
The host of Norman-English filibusters pounced on Little England about 1090, and Bishop de Leiâ commenced the Cathedral of St. David's in 1180. As his work in this building shows the transition from Norman to Early English, we may fairly say that the former style of architecture prevailed in Little England for nearly one hundred years. During this stirring century the whole ecclesiastical system of the district was remodelled. Welsh churchmen were forced to yield to the intruders: "The constitution of cathedrals and monasteries was in many instances changed, and the saints were banished from the churches heretofore regarded as being under their especial tutelage."† Many churches must have been built in Little England at that date. How comes it then that Norman architecture is so poorly represented. We find indeed a few scattered details in St. David's Cathedral, a doorway in the porch of the Priory at Monkton, and a round arch in the church at Llanstadwell. All these are late Norman, belonging rather to the Transitional period which intervened previously to the introduction of Early English, say the last quarter of the twelfth century; but they are, so far as I know, the only relics of Norman ecclesiastical architecture to be found in Pembrokeshire. We must, I think, attribute this phenomenon to three causes. The intractability of Pembrokeshire stone, which refusing to adapt itself to the finer details introduced into later Norman work, obliged the architect to turn out perfectly plain lights and doorways; in many instances perhaps the former were mere slits. Then that honourable pride mediæval churchmen felt in the sacred edifices confided to their charge, led them constantly to improve up to the fashion of their day, and replace (what they deemed) clumsy, round-headed windows, with more elegant pointed arches. Lastly, the barbaric utilitarianism of post-Reformation churchwardens and parsons have unfortunately swept away fine old stone windows, whether round or pointed, and replaced them with abominable square-headed wooden sashes. The church at Manorbier affords an example of the treatment accorded to the work of their predecessors by the Early English school. The nave may be Norman, and the chancel perhaps of the same date, though built apparently on the lines of an older foundation, as the orientation does not accord. The Early English architect who enlarged the church boldly dug out great orifices in the sides of the nave, and built therein his pointed arches, leaving as a tell-tale one little blocked light above the south-eastern nave arch.‡ Strangely enough, although Little England is so poor in architectural details, it is peculiarly rich in one relic of this period. We find fonts of the Norman type in very many of our churches. A fine specimen may be seen in the church at Lamphey, which has a circular bowl with an ornamented panelling round the top, scolloped beneath and a cable ornament bending about the circular stem. It stands on a square base. At St. Florence the font has a square bowl, scolloped below, with a short cylindrical stem on a square base. At Hodgeston is a very similar font. At Castlemartin a circular cup-shaped bowl, with scolloping on a cylindrical stem. Similar fonts, with round or square bowls supported by short cylindrical stems, will be found in very many churches, among others those of Manorbier, Penally, Camrose, Johnston, Rudbaxton, Haroldston, Spittal, Carew, Lambston, Prendergast, Moat, Jeffreyston, St. Petrox, Upton, St. Twinnels, St. Mary's, Pembroke; Newport, Rhoscrowther, Llanhowel, Freystrop, Walton West, Pwllcrochan and Dinas.§ The late Mr Barnwell considered the font in Newport church to be one of

* Jones and Freeman gives the outside measurement as thirty-eight by twenty-one. The building is piled up with stones collected from the adjacent fields making an accurate inside measurement impossible.

† Jones and Freeman's *St. David's*, p. 272. ‡ Mr Cobb drew attention to this interesting survival.—*Arch. Camb.*, Series 4, v. xi. p. 286.

§ I have to thank Mr Romilly Allen for very many of the instances noted above.

the earliest and least altered from the primitive type. This, of course, is what one might expect, seeing that Sir William Martin, Lord of Camaes (he who married a daughter of the Lord Rhys), founded the church. Walton West, Penally, Rhoscrowther, Pwllcrochan and Castlemartin Mr Barnwell deemed were later, and that at Llanhowel he thought transitional.* At Redberth is a font with an oblong basin ornamented with eighty-six leaved flowers and a cross, which seems to me of a later date. At St. Issell's, too, is a font with heads on the base. Some of the above no doubt stood in the original Norman churches, others, especially the more elaborated specimens, were copies constructed at a later date. Mr Barnwell in the paper quoted above points out that the earliest and most primitive example of this type of font is to be found in St. Phillip's Church, Bristol, and that they are common in Gloucester, Somerset and Devon, from whence they passed into Glamorgan and Pembroke, more especially the latter.



NORMAN FONT IN UPTON CHAPEL.

Closely allied to fonts are the stoups or bowls for holding holy water to be found in churches built before the Reformation era. A very peculiarly shaped vessel was in use for this purpose in certain Pembrokeshire churches. At Castle Hendre, among others, it consists of a rude cup hewn out of limestone, standing about 18in. high, with a diameter of 14in.; though these vessels are built into the walls they are furnished with two rough ears or handles after the manner of classic amphoræ. As these appendages are useless, we must consider them to be survivals, and as there is no suggestion that stoups proper were ever moved about, I think their origin must be sought for outside the church walls. The question thus arises, are they found in secular buildings. In St. David's are preserved two specimens brought thither from the farms of Gwrid Bach and Clytie, it is said from the sites of destroyed chapels. Dr. Morison of

* *Arch. Camb. Journal*, July, 1880, p. 215.

Pembroke preserved a third in his garden, a fourth used to stand in the gateway of Manorbier Castle. Two similar vessels are stored in the Tenby Museum—one came originally from Carew Castle, the other stood in a Tenby garden for many years. Thus it seems this type of stone bowl is common to castle and church. It may be they came from the chapels in the former, but I am disposed to think the kitchen was their home, and that they are neither more nor less than the mortars in which force meat was pounded up, the Norman having inherited the Roman's love for that description of food. Of course, it is not suggested that the actual vessels built into church walls were ever used for such profane purposes, but that the mason being wont to leave ears on the bowls he made for the cook supplied his ecclesiastical customers with a similar article.

The Early English style of architecture was probably introduced into Pembrokeshire by Bishop Peter de Leiâ in 1180 or thereabouts, and was in use until Bishop Martyn's time (1293–1328) when it gradually merged into the Decorated. Early English details, though not so scarce as Norman, are by no means plentiful in Pembrokeshire churches. Some portions of Camrose Church* are certainly Early English, the east window with its three lancet lights is a good instance. It seems not improbable that the bulk of Gumfreston Church was erected during this period. The twin lights in the south chapel look like 13th century work, and there is no doubt that the font is Early English, as is the base of that in Monkton Priory Church. The three light east window of St. Mary's, Haverford, seems to be of the same period. Pembrokeshire churches of this date probably consisted of nave and chancel, to which, very rarely, chapels and aisles have been added. Towers must have been exceedingly rare. Perhaps in the early part of the 13th century all Pembrokeshire churches were crowned with bell gables like those still used in the "Welsh parts," and the churches of St. Bride's, Talbenny and Walton West, Rhosmarket and others on the shores of the Haven and St. Bride's Bay are survivals from this period; otherwise it seems hard to say why a few belfried churches should be found in the heart of Roos hundred, which with Castlemartin constitutes the home land of Little England. St. Martin's, Haverfordwest, is a good specimen of the gradual growth of Pembrokeshire steeples. The tower was originally saddle-backed, and when it was raised slates were left in the masonry as tell tales. Then subsequently a spire was superimposed. Concerning the towers Mr. Freeman writes† :—

> The genuine Pembrokeshire tower is generally of considerable height, but in breadth there is great variety, some being remarkably slender, while others are no less conspicuous for extreme massiveness. Perhaps generally their peculiar character, especially the absence of buttresses, produces a combined effect of massiveness and height which is extremely effective, and which causes them to approach in some degree to the Anglo-Saxon Tower of England. Not being divided into stages they depend, in a more direct manner than usual, upon their actual proportions, and I may add are among the most difficult I know of to sketch with accuracy. The buttress is entirely excluded, but a square staircase turret most commonly occupies one corner. This is, however, very often of extremely slight projection, sometimes not much more than that of the double flat pilaster common in Northamptonshire. There seems to be no general rule as to its position. The towers generally batter very perceptibly, and the lower part of the wall has often a still greater inclination as is also sometimes the case in other parts of the churches. A rough corbel table like those in castles and in the Gower churches supports the parapet, which is almost always embattled. The belfry windows are of various kinds, single, double, treble, square-headed, round-headed, or pointed, but they are almost always small and narrow, sometimes not getting beyond the character of mere slits. No other windows in the towers ever pretend to any higher character, except a few occasional west windows of various styles and shapes. Western doorways are not common, and when found are usually blocked. I need hardly say that pinnacles form no part of a genuine Pembrokeshire design. Those at Rhoscrowther appear as old as the tower, which is however of no great antiquity. This leads me to the *vexata questio*, what is the date of these steeples? I reply that they are of all dates, that is within "Castle Times," built in all manner of centuries, from the first to the last Harry. There are two manifest facts about these towers; any one looking at them from their general aspect and character pronounces them to be of very early date; on the other hand, the details of many

* *Arch. Camb.*, July, 1877, p. 214.

† *Arch. Camb.*, 2nd Series, vol. iii, p. 167.

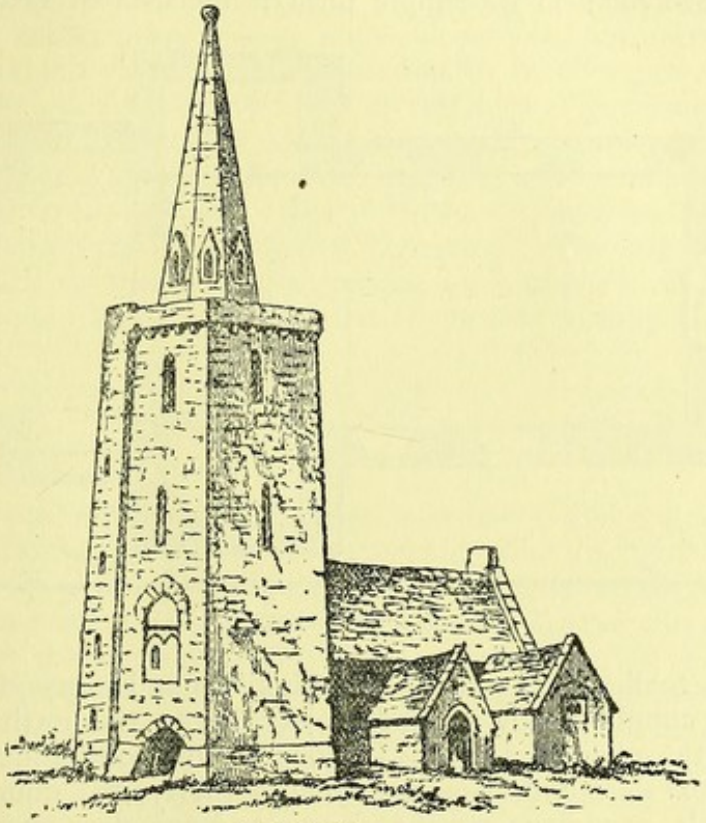
of them incontestibly show that they belong to a very late period of Gothic architecture. Their peculiar character is one which one would suppose most likely to have arisen in the earliest days of the Flemish occupation; on the other hand they are in many cases palpable additions to earlier churches. These circumstances can only be reconciled by the theory that this type of tower was introduced from the earliest times, but was continued with little alteration to the latest. I would particularly impress upon you that for the early element in these towers I rely much more on the general character than on any apparently early details. No architectural form would have been used before the time when it was invented, but it might have been used long after the time when it had gone out of general use. Perpendicular details cannot be assigned to the twelfth century without capsizing all architectural history, but apparent Norman details may be assigned to the fifteenth without supposing anything more extraordinary than a very old-fashioned taste in the architect or the district. We shall see something of this sort, not indeed quite so strong a case as I have put it, even at St. David's, much more may we look for it at Gumfreston or Nangle. We must not cry out "Norman" whenever we see a round arch, or "Early English" whenever we see a lancet window. But we may fairly whenever we find any of the distinctive marks of any of the later forms of Gothic. Still I would put it to everyone's intuitive perception whether there is not something palpably early about the general character of the towers, and whether the fact that a large proportion, I am inclined to think a majority, really belong to the fifteenth century, and even later is not simply to be accounted for by the fact that in a remote and rude district antiquated forms lingered on for many centuries.

At Penally I consider the square tablets to be surer signs of late work than anything about the tower is of early. At Gumfreston the windows, both upper and lower, are what we should call common Elizabethan. At St. Florence the case is rendered still stronger by a perpendicular cornice with gurgoyles taking the place of the genuine military corbel table. At Llawhaden the work strikes me as being of an equally late character; at Hubberston the belfry windows are indeed round-headed, but to my mind they savour more of cinquecento than Romanesque. At Lawrenny the tower is in effect and proportion one of the noblest of its type, yet its details are what in England we should unhesitatingly set down as debased. All these are patent and unmistakeable instances. I pass by many others, where that sort of tact which I trust a considerable experience in such matters comes at last to afford, speaks to myself with hardly less clearness but where I could not hope to make myself so easily understood by persons unfamiliar with the peculiar line of thought belonging to the architectural antiquary. Now again some of these towers are palpably additions to earlier churches. I think we may fairly set down as such all those cases in which a tower is found in combination with any bell-gable at the west end, or with one or two or more bells (and therefore not a mere sanctus bell) over the chancel arch. Of the former case we have an example at Robeston, of the latter at Lawrenny and St. Petrox. And with these instances before our eyes we may be tempted to suspect, that in some of the numerous cases, where a tower is found combined with a single bell-gable over the chancel arch as at Manorbier, Rhoscrowther, Warren, &c., the latter was the original belfry, and the tower is a more recent addition. That the towers were designed as places of defence is bespoken by their whole character; they seem to have been intended as places of temporary refuge in cases of any sudden attack. They would appear quite capable of resistance till a friendly neighbourhood would be roused, while their great height gives abundant opportunities of signalling from one tower to another over a large extent of country.* Preparations for habitation may, I think, be discerned in many of them. They often form a series of vaulted apartments, one above another, which inaccessible as they are by any other means than by a narrow winding stair case from the interior of the church, would form a refuge of no inconsiderable strength. To how late a period this may have been a matter of expediency, I must leave to the local antiquary to determine, but it would be no more than experience constantly confirms for a manner of building to remain in use for a considerable time after the cessation of the state of things to which it owed its origin.

As "a local antiquary," I would suggest that in the year 1405, when Jean de Rieux, Marshal of France, led 12,000 French troops from Haverfordwest to Tenby, where lay Owain Glyndwr with 10,000 Welsh warriors, the colonists of Little England voted strong towers were not undesirable adjuncts to their parish churches. On page 172 of this work will be found a picture of Manorbier Castle. To the extreme left will be observed a square bastion with a strongly battered base. According to local story this was the model from which Pembrokeshire church towers were constructed. It is apparently Edwardian, or speaking architecturally, of that period when Early English was merging into the Decorated style. The earliest details we find preserved in Pembrokeshire towers point to this same date, which was a time of great architectural activity in the colony. Castles were reconstructed and towns walled, so it seems not improbable that some of the churches were then provided with strong towers to act as out-

* In certain districts, more especially the "Stackpole country," they would almost seem to have been arranged for this purpose, but in others no signalling to another *Church* would have been possible.—E. L.

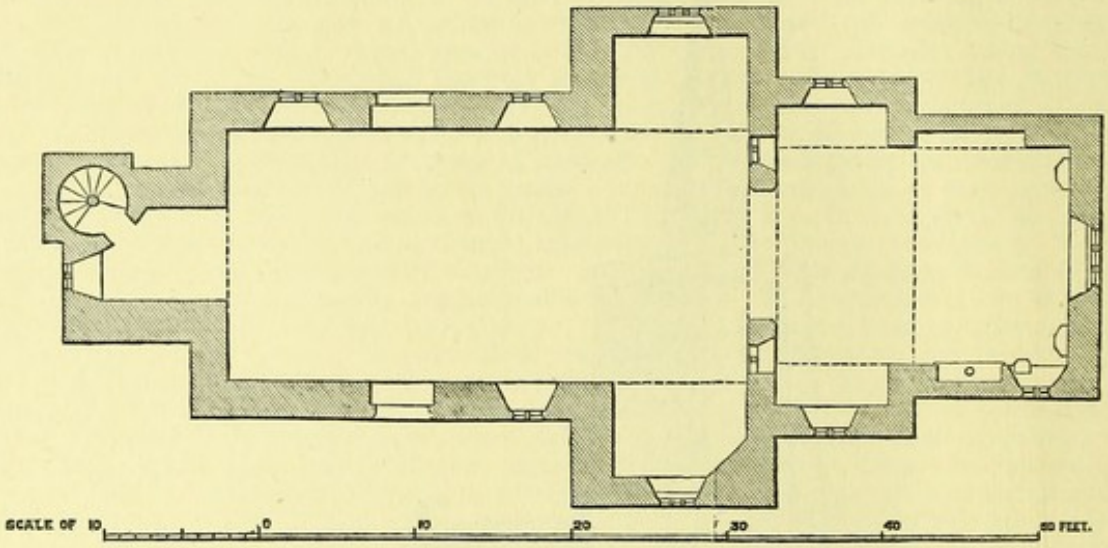
looks and perhaps beacons. A military type pleased the martial colonists, and during the prosperous 14th century spread from church to church. Nor was it abandoned until the abolition of the Palatinate under King Henry VIII. This seems the simplest solution of the question from "a local antiquary's" point of view. The towers are divided into apartments, but as these are not provided with fire-places or chimneys it would seem that they were not intended for permanent occupation, though a good many persons might have found temporary accommodation therein. Take, for instance, Gumfreston and Tenby. In the former the tower is divided into five chambers. The ground floor serves as a north transept for the church; the first floor was the ringer's chamber, the second and third have windows looking to the north and east; the fourth is fitted up as a dove-cot, and in the fifth hang the bells. On the north-east angle is a stair-turret leading to the roof. The tower from parapet to ground is 65ft. Tenby Church



WARREN

tower was originally divided into three chambers. With the spire it measures 152ft. high. The basement formed a south transept, from whence was the entrance to the steeple stair. The first floor, resting on the vaulted stone roof of the basement, seems to have once been used as a chapel, for in it is a piscina. There was a door from this chamber leading to a gallery in the south aisle. In the third chamber hang the bells. This has (and always had) a wooden floor resting on corbels. At the base of the spire are more corbels, which probably supported the original roof of the tower before the spire was added. In the few exceptional cases where spires have been superimposed on the towers the results are not satisfactory. These exotic excrescences may be observed on the Priory Church, Caldy Island; St. Mary's, Tenby; Warren, St. Daniel's, near Pembroke; Cosheston, St. Martin's, Haverfordwest; and formerly St. Mary's in that town. The latter, a wooden erection covered with lead, became unsafe and

was removed in 1801.* In 1870† it was found necessary to rebuild St. Martin's, which showed signs of collapse. The little spire and tower on Caldy has canted over. It is clear spire building was not well understood in Little England. Warren is the most pleasing of these steeples, and were they all built on the same lines little fault could be found with them; on the other hand Cosheston is absurd, St. Daniel's bald in the extreme, while St. Mary's, Tenby, is an architectural monstrosity—the beautiful white stone Perpendicular spire sitting on the grim grey tower most incongruously. The lower portion of St. Mary's spire has at some period been painted. But time has mercifully removed the paint and blotted out the wretched painter's name. Probably all the old churches and their towers were roofed with pointed barrel vaulting. This for several centuries was the ordinary form of roofing for better class Pembrokeshire buildings, varied occasionally by a square groining. The difficulty in obtaining wood no doubt led to the introduction of stone vaulting. Thus the typical Pembrokeshire church was gradually evolved; in its simple form it consists of chancel, nave and tower.



PLAN OF JOHNSTON CHURCH.

Johnston Church is an excellent example. Though aisles and transepts are wanting it will be seen that their place is supplied "by vaulted projections on the north and south sides of the nave and chancel next the chancel arch." Curiously anomolous addenda of this nature are very common in Pembrokeshire churches, and though the typical church is extremely simple in its plan, aisles, chapels, capacious porches, apses and nameless excrescenses will be found in some of the more favoured edifices. One result of these arrangements is such a multipli-

* A short time before the demolition of St. Mary's spire, Dibdin, the celebrated song writer, who was staying in Haverfordwest, wrote a topical song to be sung on the benefit night of a local actor, Mr. Theophilus Potter. In this reference is made to the rickety condition of St. Mary's spire.

"You will see the church steeple with spire all askew,
As if it was nodding a 'How do ye do?'"

—The song will be found in *Haverfordwest and its Story*, p. 124.

† My relative, Mr. Henry Mathias, who was at that time one of the churchwardens of St. Martin's, writes:—"The old spire was condemned by many as unsafe, but from the ground I could not believe it to be so. It was arranged that Mr. Jesse Harvey, Mr. Meares (the then vicar), and myself were to go up and inspect it. A ladder was passed up on the inside to near the top. The three of us went to the top of the tower. Mr. Harvey and myself crawled up the ladder as far as it would (or rather we could) go, and we were both glad to be down again, for daylight appeared between most of the stones. The only thing I have ever been able to compare the interior of the spire to is a very large extinguisher, thoroughly burnt and rusted through. When we met below and described the state of the spire, judgment was passed on it."

cation of right angles that it became impossible for a great part of the congregation to see the altar. To obviate this inconvenience squints were introduced. These oblique passages through the chancel walls are excessively common in Little England, and a hagioscope peculiar to the district may be observed in certain of the churches. Two arches are cut, one in the wall of the transept the other in the chancel some little distance from the angle of junction. Then a roof is thrown over and a sort of annexe squint formed which has a very quaint and pleasing appearance from the exterior. Such picturesque addenda as these squints, and the apse baptistry of Gumfreston, add immensely to the artistic effect produced by our churches. Their builders seem to have despised detail, though there are a few bits here and there well worthy of notice.

In 1851 the Cambrian Archæological Association held congress at Tenby (under the presidency of the first Earl of Cawdor), and visited Hodgeston. So struck were the members by the architectural beauty of its details, and the terribly dilapidated condition of the church in that village, that a subscription was at once set on foot, not indeed to restore the church but to save what was left from utter destruction.* In the church a beautiful Decorated chancel has been added to a nave and tower of the normal Pembrokeshire type. Within the chancel is a very remarkable canopied sedilia, and double piscina. Fenton's *Historical Tour*, page 434, quotes a letter written to Browne Willis in 1717† as proof that at one period a religious house existed in the village.‡ He also states he had seen a deed in which one John Stackpool describes himself as Capellanus of Oggeston. The late Mr Barnwell suggests that this man was chaplain to the episcopal palace at Lamphey, and rector of Hodgeston.§ Professor Freeman points out that although the Decorated work in Hodgeston chancel

Presents a general resemblance to Bishop Gower's work, some differences may be detected, especially in the profuse use of the ball flower. This ornament does not occur in his best ascertained works, its favourite enrichment being the open flower with four leaves.

In Langum Church will be found some interesting Decorated details. Two pointed arches with good moulding spring from an octagonal pillar and give access to a north chapel, in which on the east side is a canopied niche (apparently constructed to hold a credence shelf) with a piscina in front resting on a pillar. Fenton figured this object,‖ but seems rather doubtful as to whether it was a stoup or piscina. At Letterston is another specimen of the pillared form of piscina, but of earlier date. The capital of a column formed the basin, which was surmounted by a Latin cross with ragged stem and arms. The late Mr. Barnwell considered the Letterston piscina was an imitation of a French or Norman original, and that this primitive type developed into more elaborate forms, such as that in Langum Church, during the early days of the 15th century.¶ In the disused chapel at Upton Castle is a very curious taper-holder. It consists of a stone fist.* What the date of this quaint little candelabrum may be it is impossible to say.

As might be anticipated in such a treeless region, wood carving is scarce; but during the

* The contributors to this fund were:—The Right Hon. the Earl of Cawdor, President, £10; the Bishop of St. David's, £20; Rev. James Allen, £2 2s.; T. Allen, Esq., £2 2s.; E. A. Freeman, Esq., £2 2s.; Rev. W. Basil Jones, £2 2s.; F. D. Dyster, Esq., £1 1s.; Sir Stephen N. Glynne, £1 1s.; R. R. Penson, Esq., £1 1s.

† Bodl. MSS. ‡ Fenton spells it "Hoggeston." § *Arch. Camb. Journal*, July, 1881, page 241.

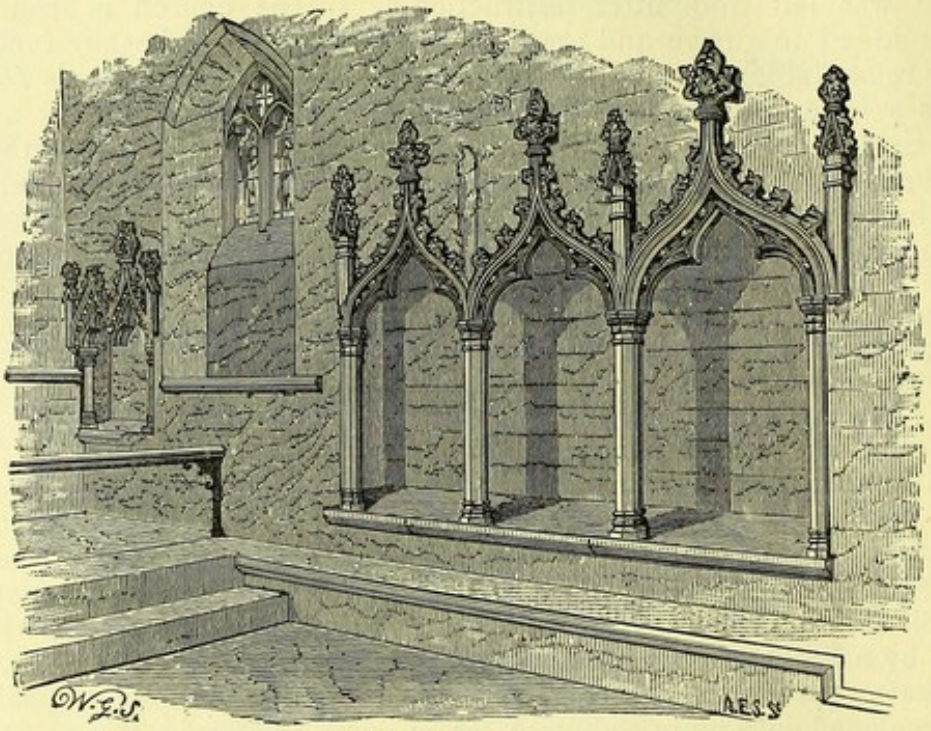
‖ *Historical Tour*, p. 240. ¶ *Arch. Camb. Journal*, January 1884, p. 32.

* Mr. Bloxam points out that "in the south wall of Evington Church, Leicestershire, is a stone bracket in which an image formerly stood, and in front of this is a smaller bracket projecting from the larger one, on which is sunk an orifice or socket for a taper or light to be set in."—*Manual of Gothic Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 65.

last quarter of the 15th century and the earlier years of the 16th, some good specimens were introduced. The solid oak stalls in St. David's Cathedral are probably the most venerable wood work we can boast. These are attributed by Messrs. Jones and Freeman to the time of Bishop Tully, *i. e.*, 1460–1480:—

> The arms of the returned stalls, as well as those of the chancellor and treasurer, are ornamented on the elbows with grotesque carvings, representing with one or two exceptions, heads whose coiffure varies by imperceptible degrees from the cowl of a monk to the cap of a jester. The reverend brethren are represented as suffering at one time from nausea, and at another from crapula; while the cowled fox which appears rather frequently seems to be the carver's version of the proverb *Cucullus non facit Monachum*. One of them deserves especial notice, as possibly bearing on the state of popular religion in the 15th century. It represents a fox cowled and seated on a bench, offering a small round object representing either a wafer or a paten, to a figure having the body of a goose with a human head, and wearing a cap of rather peculiar form; a flagon stands in the bench behind the fox.*

The nave of the cathedral is covered with that marvellous black oak ceiling which, though



SEDILIA AT HODGESTON.

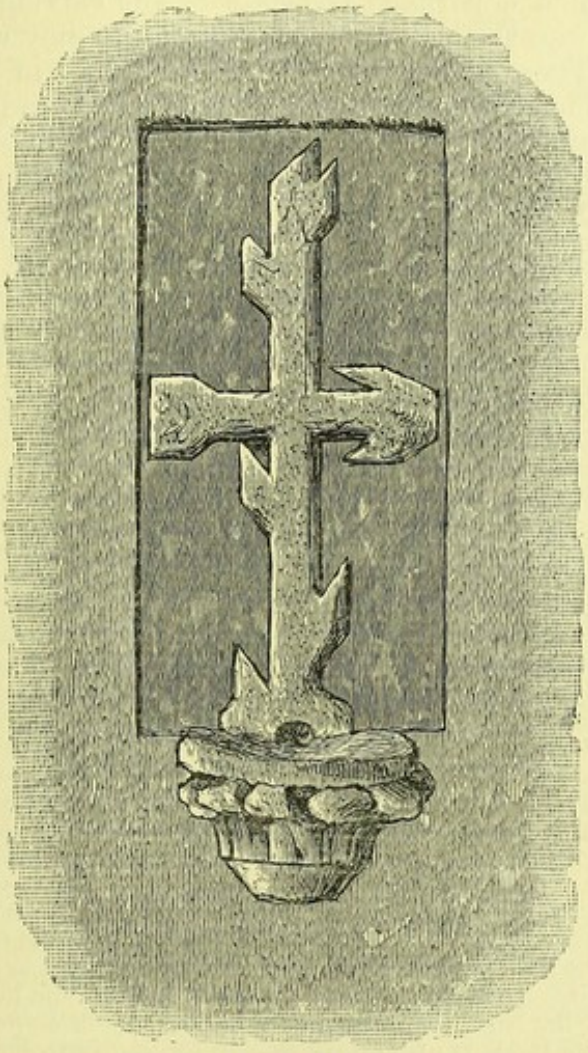
"a violation of the laws of architectural reality," and more "adapted for some magnificent state apartment in a royal palace, is on the whole one of the most attractive features of the cathedral."† The historians of St. David's observe that this work "has by no means an English appearance," and as they perceive signs of similar foreign work in Bishop Morgan's tomb, are disposed to attribute both to the interval between the death of Morgan (1505) and Pole (1509).

The nave and chancel of St. Mary's, Tenby, are covered with a wooden barrel roof, that over the chancel is divided into squares and supported by 32 female figures about 2ft. 6in. high, 16 on either side. They are roughly carved, all alike, with long curling hair, clad in plain drapery. The intersection of the squares are ornamented with bosses on which are carved

* *History of St. David's*, p. 86.

† *Idem*, p. 59.

crosses, foliage, flowers and human heads. Those immediately above the altar steps, eight in number and lozenge shaped, are inscribed with the cognizance of a horse shoe, and the name and titles of a whilom rector, "Dns John Smith, Archidiac Menev, Rectorq, Temby." The whole of this adornment is obscured in darkness, no doubt originally it was lighted by the clerestory windows now closed. On the western side of the chancel arch, in the centre of the nave roof, is a small figure of the First Person of the Trinity, holding a crucifix between his knees, a globe at his head and feet, surrounded by four angels, those on either side carrying censers, while those above and below formerly held musical instruments. Probably the whole of the nave roof was at one time covered with figures. In Norris's day these carvings had



PISCINA AT LETTERSTON.

fallen into sad decay, as indeed had the roof. It was re-roofed, together with the north and south aisles, in 1848, and in 1855 the chancel was also newly timbered and slated, and the oak carvings cleaned and restored (to what extent I know not), and fresh panels introduced. The name of John Smith does not occur among those of the Archdeacons of St. David's, but Yardley* suggests that

* *Menevia Sacra*, part 1, p. 101.

John 'Denbe' or 'Denbie,' who was Archdeacon of St. David's in 1491, was the same person 'who might be called both Dynby or Tenby, Smith taking the former name from his being rector here, and perhaps from being born here, and the latter from his ancestors, some of whom perhaps followed that trade of which the horse shoe in the adjoining centre is a proper badge. The roof of this chancel was no doubt erected by him, whose name is there inscribed, and it appears by the workmanship to have been done in the reign of King Henry VII., which suits well with ye time of Archdeacon Dynby. From this inscription it certainly appears that one John Smith was Archdeacon of St. David's, and as we find no such man in our records it will at least excuse me in offering this conjecture.'

In St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, on the end of a stall, is the carving of a warrior saint slaying "a loathely worme." As the champion bears the arms of England on his shield he is probably intended to represent St. George, who was a popular hero in Little England at the time when Sir Rhys ap Thomas was dubbed a garter knight, and held his celebrated tournament at Carew Castle, which is perhaps the date of the carving. At all events the Scotch arms are *not* quartered on the shield, and the workmanship may well be late fifteenth or early sixteenth century work. There is another piece of woodwork in St. Mary's, Tenby. A very ugly oaken pulpit, surrounded by some very matronly busts, and adorned in front by an exceedingly commonplace angel, who bears the date (1634) inscribed on a shield. Some repairs were executed in St. Mary's, Tenby, about this date, for in 1631 a faculty was granted by Theophilus Field, Bishop of St. David's, in answer to the following petition:—

To the Right Rev^d^ ffather in God Theophilus Field Lord Bishop of S^t^ Davids.

HUMBLY sheweth to your good Lordship that forasmuch as by the Violence of extream Storms and tempestuous Weather which lately hath happened; the Ruins and Decays of the Parish Church of Tenby are grown so great that the Rents and Revenues of the said parish Chh are not sufficient to reedifie and renew the same. FOR Remedy & Redress whereof the Mayor Aldermen Churchwardens and Parishioners of the said parish Church taking into consideration which way and by what means they might raise so much Profits and Benefits towards the Repair of the said Church as should be least chargeable and hurtfull to the Parishioners thereof and finding that the Houses in the s^d^ Town of Tenby or any other Houses in the Parish thereof have not any Seats in the said parish Chh properly belonging to the said Houses But that both many Men and Women have without Order taken upon them to seat themselves in such eminent Seats and Places of the said parish Chh as have been thought unfitting for their Places and Degrees And whereas the Mayor Aldermen Churchwardens and Parishioners of the said Town & parish have considered that Order is to be observed as well in Church as Commonwealth and that by the placing of Men and and Women in such an Orderly and Decent Manner in the s^d^ Church according to their Places and Degrees will be the Means to raise a farr greater and better maintenance towards the Repair of the said Church than heretofore AND also considering that a great Charge hath been laid upon the said parish for the covering and paving of the Graves of those Dead Bodies which have been buried in the Church and Chancell of the said parish Church. THEREFORE the Mayor Aldermen Churchwardens with the Rest of the pishioners of the s^d^ parish Chh Do humbly pray your good Lordship that you would be pleased to give your Approbation to what they have mutually concluded and agreed upon and that those Orders hereunder written may be used and put in Execution within the said parish Church of Tenby for the Benefit of the Same at all times hereafter for ever according to the purport, true intent, and meaning of the same (that is to say) that every person and persons which from henceforth shall be desirous to sit in the Chief or Middle Isle of the parish Chh of Tenby and shall be by the Chwardens of the said parish Chh placed in the said Isle THAT every such pson or psons so by the Churchwardens to be placed in the lowest Seats of the said Isle shall pay to the Chwardens of the parish Church of Tenby afores^d^ for the time being for their said placing to the use of the s^d^ Church the Sum of One Shilling & four pence and for every Seat upwards in the said Isle to augment in the Payment of ffour pence over and above the Sum of One Shilling and fourpence aforementioned, excepting the Mayor and Mayoress's Seats for the time being. AND those which shall be placed in the lowest Seat in the North Part of the South Isle and the South Part of the North Isle shall pay in like manner as aforesaid the Sum of Twelve Pence and for every Seat upwards augmenting the Sum of Two pence AND for the North Part of the North Isle and the South Part of the South Isle at the Discretion of the Churchwardens of the said parish Chh of Tenby for the time being.

AND It is likewise ordered concluded and agreed by and between the Mayor Aldermen Churchwardens and pishioners of the s^d^ parish Chh afores^d^ as followeth (viz^t^) that

Every person which here after shall be buried within the parish Chh of Tenby afores^d^ in an Isle there called the Rood of Grace shall pay to the Churchwardens of the s^d^ parish Chh to the use of the Same ..	xiij^s^ viij^d^
Every person buried in Isle called S^t^ Tho^s's^ Isle shall pay likewise	x^s^ oo^d^
Every person being buried in the middle Isle shall likewise pay	x^s^ oo^d^
Every person which shall be hereafter buried below the Bellfree shall pay	vj^s^ viij^d^
Every person buried in the North Isle above the pikes shall pay	vj^s^ viij^d^
Every person buried below the pikes shall pay to the use afores^d^	v^s^ oo^d^

At some period the white washed walls of our churches were disfigured with illustrations in distemper. Remains of this nature have been discovered under many coats of whitening at Penally Church, when it was restored in 1851; at Stackpole Elidor and at Gumfreston. The designs are inartistic and the execution barbarous. The outline of these pictures is black, filled in with reds and yellows. Not only were the so-called frescos covered with white wash, but they seem to have undergone an intentional mutilation. The subject of the illustrations (martyrdom of saints) being perhaps distasteful to the persons by whom they were destroyed. These ugly daubs, apparently late sixteenth, or early seventeenth, century work were most likely obliterated in Puritan times. A specimen preserved in Gumfreston is supposed to represent the martyrdom of St. Lawrence. Two human feet are portrayed surrounded by a miscellaneous collection of articles, among which a pair of scissors, a comb, and an object somewhat resembling a tennis racquet, seem pretty clear. The latter, imagined to be a gridiron, is hardly large enough to grill one of the saintly feet. In the preceding pages most of the more noteworthy monuments preserved in our churches have received a brief notice.* Brasses, always rare in Wales, have been almost extirpated by sacrilegious hands. In Pembrokeshire (if we omit some quite recent memorials) but two exist. One is preserved in the house of the Archdeacon of Brecon, at St. David's. It is the half length figure of a fifteenth century ecclesiastic clad in eucharistic vestments, and was found among the ruins of St. Non's Chapel. This little effigy probably escaped the notice of the spoiler, who never thought of searching the little cliff chapel for loot. The second brass will be found within the walls of St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, bearing the following epitaph:—

JOHN DAVIDS OF Y^E^ TOWNNE AND COUNTY
OF HAVERFORDWEST ESQ DEPARTED
THIS LIFE Y^E^ XI DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1651
AGED 51
SAGE HIS WIFE DEPARTED THIS LIFE
YE 4 DAY OF FEBRUARY 1654
AGED 62

John David's memorial seems to have escaped because it was erected after the storm had blown by. The tomb riflers were probably followers of Swanley, Horton and Cromwell. Several gaping matrices show from whence these ghouls bore off sacrilegious plunder. The tomb of Edmund Tudor, removed to St. David's Cathedral from the Church of the Grey Friars at Carmarthen at the dissolution of that establishment, was adorned with brass and verge inscription plate, and four shields on the slab; on the sides were eight other shields in panel. The brass work was stolen, but has now been replaced. Matrices of four other brasses are to be seen in the Cathedral.

At St. Mary's, Tenby, on the left hand side of the altar steps is an altar tomb on which is the matrix of a brass representing a bishop with mitre and crosier, on the north side were three shields. The south side is covered by the wall of the altar steps. It is believed to mark the last resting place of Bishop Tully. The following extract relating to this Bishop is transcribed from a MS. in the library at Abergwili Palace into the church inventory of St. Mary's, Tenby:—

Robert Tully, S.J.P., a monk of St. Peter's Abbey in Gloucester, was preferred hither anno 1460, 39 Hen. VI. He obtained licence to be consecrated out of the Church of Canterbury, Aug. 28, 1460. However, King Edward IV. coming to the Crown, that Prince never gave him the temporalities, by the advice of Herbert, Chief Justice of Wales. He lived therefore on the spiritualities mostly at Trefdine, a manor of the Bishop of St. David's, about five

* I rejoice to find that our earliest effigy (the chain-mailed Knight of Nash) figured on page 155 has been safely housed within the church since Chapter XIII. left the printer's hands. For this good work our thanks are due to Lady Catherine Allen of Woodfield.

miles from St. David's, He dy'd anno 1481, as Mr Le Neve informs us, though I conclude that it was rather in the preceding year, and was bury'd (as appears by Mr A. Wood's *Collections*) at Tynbygh, or Tinby, Com. Pembroke. During the time he belonged to Gloucester monastery, he became a generous Benefactor thereto, by superfising the building of that most beautiful Choir and high Tower, as appears by two verses yet in being, wrote over an Arch of the Tower at the top of the Choir.

The finest specimen of a seventeenth century tomb in Pembrokeshire is that erected to the memory of the Howard family in Rudbaxton Church. There are five figures. George Howard holds a human skull in his left hand and points to it with his right. In the central compartment James and Joanna each carry a skull, and hold each other's hands; as do Thomas and Mary in the third compartment. Below are the following inscriptions:—

TO THE MEMORY OF GEORGE
HOWARD OF THIS PARISH ESQ
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE
6TH DAY OF MAY ANO 1665
AGED 32 YEARES
AND LYETH BEFORE THIS
MONUMENT

TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES HO
WARD OF THIS PARISH ESQ WHO
LYETH BEFORE THIS MONUMENT
AND DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE 24TH
DAY OF NOVEMBER ANO 1668
AGED 35 YEARES
ALSO TO THE MEMORY OF JOANNA
THE WIFE OF JAMES HOWARD WHO
ERECTED THIS MONUMENT FOR
HER DEAR FRIENDS AND CHILDREN
WITH THE INTENT TO JOYNE PART
NER TO THIS MONUMENT AND LEFT THIS
LIFE

TO THE MEMORY OF THOMAS
HOWARD OF THIS PARISH ESQ
AND MARY THE SON AND DAUGH
TER OF JAMES HOWARD AND
JOANNA HIS WIFE THOMAS
DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE 7TH
DAY OF JULY ANO DOM 1682
AND MARY YE FIRST OF JANUARY
ANO DOM 1685.

It will be observed that those who succeeded did not trouble themselves to inscribe the date of Joanna's death on the monument she had "intent to joyne partner to." The shields bear the castles and ladders of Howard, quartered with Joanna's lions.

Other matter beside dead men's bones was occasionally buried in Pembrokeshire graveyards. At Haverfordwest a very curious series of coins have been occasionally unearthed. In the church-yard of St. Thomas, lying on the bottom of the moved soil, were found:—

1. Henry III. silver penny (struck in Winchester).
2. Edward I. silver penny (struck in London).
3. Edward III. silver half-groat (struck in London).
4. Elizabeth silver sixpence, 1575.
5. Elizabeth silver threepence.
6. Charles I. silver shilling.

7. William III. silver sixpence.
8. John V. of Portugal copper half-reispiece.
9. William and Mary copper farthing.

And in the grave-yard of St. Martin's, a silver groat of Queen Mary.

I believe the above to be merely a sample of the coin originally deposited in these yards. For when I represented to Mr. Hilbers (Vicar of St. Thomas) the interest attaching to these coins, and he spoke to the grave-digger on the subject another, No. 6 was immediately forthcoming. Copper coins of all dates are commonly found in Pembrokeshire—silver *very* rarely; so it is difficult to say for what purpose silver coins were buried in the church-yard at intervals extending apparently over a period of five hundred years or thereabouts.

In the year 1883 the stone steps leading into the chancel of Steynton Church were taken up. Not more than a foot beneath the surface and immediately beneath the chancel arch was found a human skeleton, three horses' skulls, and an iron pike head. About six feet below the surface of the soil in Pwllcrochan (Castlemartin) Church-yard was found a white glass bottle of elegant shape, about eight inches high, with a long neck.* The glass is thick, but has no prismatic colouring, and cannot I should suppose have lain very many years in the church-yard. For what purpose it may have been placed there is hard to say.

From Tudor times until well into the 19th century, no building operations worthy of the name were undertaken in Little England. Absolute necessity indeed called for a few houses, great and small; but that military and ecclesiastical architecture which had once been the glory of our land was now dead. The castles became ruins, the churches fell into decay, or worse still were senselessly destroyed by barbarous clerks and laymen. When the current century opened sacred edifices were in evil plight; in too many instances the original stone windows had given way to square-headed wooden casements; roofs had decayed, nay the very walls were rapidly disappearing amid the accumulating remains of the dead. But matters had not yet touched their worst. With the 19th century arrived the terrible "Church Restorer," "to whom nothing was sacred, and from whom nothing was safe." Right merrily did the well-meaning monster work his will in Pembrokeshire. Some beautiful old churches he actually destroyed, substituting in their place rubbish which did not outlast its projector.† To maintain a judicial mind while dealing with church restorers is difficult, but we should endeavour to remember that each and every of these misguided persons deemed he did God service when destroying objects we greatly value, and replacing them with abominations of his own contrivance. Besides (in Little England), every church *had* fallen more or less into decay, and absolutely required reparation. In many, very many instances this has been judiciously and conscientiously carried out; in others of course the "Restorer" has done his worst, replacing early English lights with 19th century Perpendiculars and the like "for the sake of uniformity." To give a list of churches which (in the writer's opinion) have been well *repaired*, or draw attention to others that have been atrociously *restored*, would avail nothing, so better pass on to a work in which all men are agreed.

Long years of fanatic hostility and pitiful neglect had reduced the fabric of St. David's Cathedral to a condition in which it contrasted unfavourably with the Episcopal Palace. The latter in its ruin was superb; the former, in its degradation, cried shame on the diocese. But when repair was suggested Barlow's old argument was renewed, why waste money on a build-

* Its present owner, Miss Lloyd of Corston House, kindly exhibited it in the Tenby Museum.

† St. Michael's, Pembroke, was actually pulled down, and rebuilt in 1832; but in such a manner that it has required a second rebuilding in 1887.

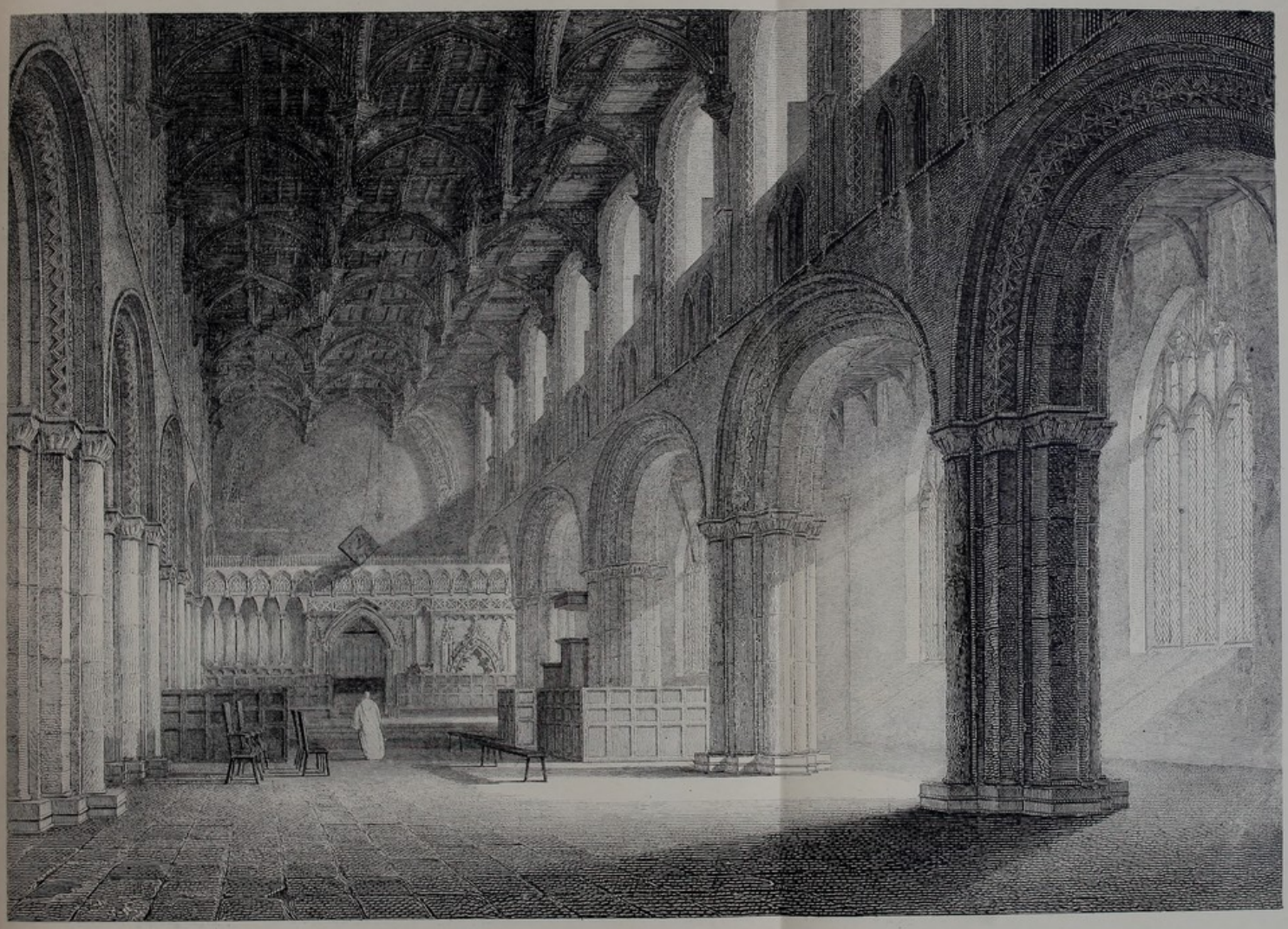
ing which has served its purpose? Build a new cathedral at Swansea, and let St. David's Cathedral join St. David's Palace. So did not think the Bishop, Dean and Chapter. They requested Mr (afterwards Sir Gilbert) Scott to report on the condition of the fabric, and a very dismal account he rendered. In the first instance the tower, which should have bound together the four arms of the church, was in itself a source of danger to the whole fabric. After the first tower fell in 1220 the two eastern piers were rebuilt, but the western pier was then considered to be in good condition, and therefore preserved. This old work had given way under the unequally distributed weight, and become disunited from the more recent masonry:—

The present condition (1862) of the Tower is in the highest degree alarming, and till it is restored to a state of security it is quite useless to think of any extensive reparation of the other parts of the building. I need hardly say that to remedy the tremendous failure which I have just described will be a very difficult, and a very costly operation. It would be madness in such a case to attempt any repairs without the previous introduction of such a system of shoring as would if necessary be capable of sustaining the entire load which now rests on the damaged piers. The general course to be followed would be this. First, to bind together the walls of the upper stages of the Tower with massive ties of iron, aided by stays of timber so as to render it impossible for the walls to spread. Then to construct incompressible foundations, on which the shoring is to rest. Thirdly, to erect shoring of the most massive description under the north and west arches (the south arch remaining walled up as at present), and against the two western piers, constructed on such a system (as before stated) as would be capable if necessary of sustaining the whole weight of that side of the Tower. After this would commence the operation of reconstructing, in a greater or a less degree, as may be found requisite, the Two Western Piers. This would be done gradually, and in small portions at a time, a moveable system of shores being used to sustain the work in immediate contact with the parts operated on, and capable of being shifted from time to time as the work rises. In this manner one Pier, with the walls immediately insisting on it would be repaired (indeed in a great measure reconstructed), and then the others would be undertaken in a similar manner, the main shoring remaining untouched till the entire work is accomplished.*

Scott proceeded to point out that from the sinking of the western side of the tower a westerly movement had taken place throughout the whole of the nave arcade and clerestory, and that besides this westward tendency, the pillars and superincumbent walls lean outwards, particularly those on the north side, which overhang considerably. The aisle walls also demanded attention. The north wall was buttressed by masses of stone work. The exterior of the south porch required a great amount of restoration. The west end had been rebuilt by Nash; this work Scott considered should be removed, and replaced by a replica of the original design, which he proposed to recover by the help of old prints. The eastern arm of the church was not in such very bad condition, but required mending and freeing from whitewash, and the arcades carefully opening out. The north aisle had of late been roofed, but inappropriately; this covering was bound to be altered. The south aisle was in a deplorable condition—partly ruin, partly converted into a porch, and partly thrown into a modern church constructed out of the south transept. Gower's stone screen was in fair repair. The stalls were in good preservation, but required looking over. The bishop's throne was much decayed and required renewal of some portions. The screen dividing the presbytery from the choir proper (a unique construction) also required considerable reparation. In the north transept the western wall with the doorway which united it to the aisle and the nave, had been crushed by the tower's weight. The modern roof of the chapter-house was ready to fall in and the windows had been denuded of their tracery, in fact the whole building was a melancholy ruin.

Actual work was commenced in 1863. First of all the western piers of the tower were rebuilt, and then the eastern arm of the church was put in a state of thorough repair; its aisles, which had been unroofed for more than a hundred years, were restored, also the choir,

* *Report made by order of the Dean and Chapter on the State of the Fabric of St. David's Cathedral*, by Geo. Gilbert Scott, R.A., architect, 1862, p. 11.

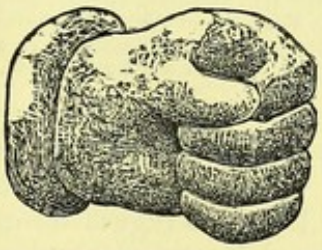


INTERIOR OF THE CATHEDRAL.

bishop's throne, stalls, and the eastern and western screens. The nave and its aisles, the north transept and the chapter-house, were successively dealt with. Then after a pause the south transept was taken in hand, and

> Lastly the west front which had been partly rebuilt by Nash towards the close of the last century was brought back (as nearly as might be) to its original form by Scott, as a memorial of the great prelate under whose auspices the restoration was undertaken. The entire cost of these works has exceeded forty thousand pounds, of which one fourth was contributed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom the Chapter had surrendered their estates.*

It is very noteworthy that in the latter half of this 19th century so large a sum was raised in Little England to save the venerable Menevian Cathedral from further decay, a fact which seems convincing proof that the colonists, nothwithstanding the Presbyterianism of their forefathers, and the Separatism of their Welsh neighbours, are fully alive to the advantages offered by the Episcopate.



STONE TAPER HOLDER IN UPTON CHAPEL.

* Extract from a letter to the author by the Dean of St. David's, November 6, 1887.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONCLUSION.

Colonists of Little England look to the mother country for assistance—John Jones, M.B., inaugurates a Bathing Establishment at Tenby—Peggy Davies—Tenby a ruinous fishing village at the end of the 18th century—William Williams, Sir William Paxton and others restore the Town—Destruction of the North or Carmarthen Gate—Mutilation of the great Tower in the West Wall—Whitesand Gate pulled down—South-west Gate converted into a Magazine—Cross and Conduit sold—Quay Gate removed—The unreformed Corporation—Order as to the Alms-houses—Broadsheet addressed to the Ratepayers—Orders concerning the Landing of Cannon—Scarcity of Oysters—Pounding of Pigs—Salivation of an Inhabitant—Placing Cannons on Castle Hill—Voluntary contribution towards War Expenses—Granting of Site for Meeting House—George III.'s Jubilee—Scarcity of Water—Insufficiency of accommodation in Parish Church—Corporation becomes involved—Municipal Reform Act passed—Subsequent History of Tenby—Milford founded by Sir William Hamilton—Story of Charles Greville and Emma Lady Hamilton—Lord Nelson visits Milford Haven—Government rents Milford Dock-yard—Building-yard removed to Patrick Church in 1814—Pembroke-Dock built—Milford Haven fortified—Haverfordwest second town in the Principality—Prices of Provisions, &c., in 1796—Shipping Returns—Haverfordwest as a Pleasure Centre—Foxhunting—Races on Porfield—Haverfordwest called "Little Bath"—Life in the Country Districts of Pembrokeshire at the end of the 18th century—The Labourer—The Farmer—Condition of Agriculture—Smuggling—Squires of Little England good and bad—The Clergy—Customs—New-year's Song—New-year's Water—St. Stephen's-day—Blooding the Maids—The Wren Song—Tooling—Good Friday kept strictly—Weaving Christ's Bed—Easter Cock-fighting—Haymaking Customs—The Green Gown—Lammas Houses—St. Crispin and St. Clement—Hallow Ee'n—Divination by the Blade Bone—Nut-burning—The Song of the Guisers—Lord Mayor of Pennyless Cove—The Procession of the Morning Light—Holy Wells—St. Govan's Legend—Pin Wells—Wise Women—H.M.S. *Lion* bewitched—Charms for Warts—Hares uncanny—Corpse Candles—Fetch Funerals, Ghosts, Headless Ghosts—Appearances of the Devil—Ethnology, three types—Statistics of the colouring of School Children in English and Welsh Pembrokeshire, analyzed by Dr. Beddoe—Strange persistence of priscan colouring evidence that the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire have at no period been exterminated—Christian Names—Agitation for Disestablishment—Characteristics of South Pembrokeshire men.

IT may well be asked: "Is this final chapter a relation of continued decadence, or has Little England taken a new departure." I should be disposed to reply, that during the 19th century, though Pembrokeshire has failed to regain the relatively prosperous condition it once enjoyed, actual decadence is stayed. A humid sky and a shallow soil forbid any great success in agriculture; the mineral store is insignificant; distance from market, deficiency in capital, and perhaps lack of enterprise, debars success in manufacture. But one resource is left to the colonists. Their fathers were despatched to an outlying district on garrison duty and promised subsidy from the mother country; to that subsidy their descendants still look.

During this current century, with the said subsidy in view, they have rebuilt Tenby, and in return drawn a modest harvest from pleasure seekers. They founded Milford with the hope of getting somewhat from seafaring strangers, and though this hope so long deferred has made many a heart sick, some deem it is now on the point of realization. Pembroke-Dock too has been built up entirely with a view to subsidy. It flourishes or withers just as Government smiles or frowns on the Dock-yard. The fortification of Milford Haven came to them as subsidy and brought in a considerable amount of English money. Pembrokeshire men consider troops are quartered in their county wholly and solely for the benefit of Little England, and resent any suggestion of their withdrawal as a personal injury. This question of subsidy I am afraid is the Alpha and Omega of political conviction in West Wales. Great fluctuation of fortune has marked the history of Little England. In the days of the subsidized Palatinate, abolished by Henry VIII., it was a peculiarly well-to-do district; on savings accumulated in those happier times the colonists subsisted until these were wasted in civil war, then beggared and neglected they dragged on a miserable existence until new methods

of drawing contributions from the rich mother land suggested themselves. Hitherto these supplies have proved inadequate to restore Little England to the position it enjoyed in mediæval times.

One John Jones, Bachelor of Physic, from Haverfordwest, was the second founder of Tenby's fortune. A little chapel dedicated to St. Julian formerly stood on the Pier-head, in which it was customary to offer prayers for the safety of souls at sea. In the year 1780, from indolence or some other reason, the Rector of St. Mary's neglected this service, though he continued to exact tithe of all fish landed, a contribution formerly paid in consideration of the fisherman's mass. Naturally the seamen rebelled, raising a cry of "No prayers, no fish." The wordy war lasted for a time and at last resulted in a cessation of tithe and an abandonment of the chapel to secular uses.* In the order book of Tenby Corporation is the following entry:—

Borough of Tenby.—Ordered that a lease of the Chapel on the Pier (being Quay land) be granted to John Jones, Bachelor of Physic, of the Town and County of Haverfordwest, for the sole purpose of constructing baths and other contrivances, for the term of three lives, viz.: the Princess Sophia, the Princes Octavius and Alfred, the three youngest children of his present Majesty, for the yearly rent of one shilling per annum, to commence this thirteenth day of November, 1781.†

As the chapel was very small, most likely "the contrivances" were simply a heating apparatus erected in order that the good doctor's patients might enjoy a hot salt water bath. Presumably the speculation proved a pecuniary success, for though we find the chapel had degenerated into a blacksmith's forge in 1812,‡ according to Donovan it was in use as a bathing house up to 1805, the year in which Sir William Paxton's more pretentious establishment was commenced; probably the latter put an end to St. Julian's bath. The Corporation order book does not inform us how the lease terminated. It would not have run out, for though the two princes died respectively in 1783 and 1782, Princess Sophia survived.

A vast deal of necessary work was required to turn the deserted mediæval town into a watering-place. Norris in his *Etchings of Tenby* (1818) states that until the "last 20 or 25 years the town was almost entirely deserted, excepting by the poorer classes and a few respectable tradesmen;" and a large water-colour drawing by this artist, taken from the Castle Hill,§ depicts the northern front of the town as a mass of ruins, roofless houses, gaunt gables, and the like. Fenton in 1812 declares that the southern side consisted of "nothing but ruins, whole streets desolated within the walls, and portions of buildings scattered everywhere without, that must have formed a large suburb."‖ But Tenby at this period was fortunate in that it found many friends. Amongst the earliest was William Williams of Ivy Tower, in the parish of St. Florence, a wealthy man, notorious for eccentricity of conduct, but for all that benevolent and very highly educated for the time and place in which he lived. Four times he served as Mayor, and to the end of his long life was always ready to spend time and money in the service of his native town.

Perhaps however the honour of refounding Tenby should be ascribed to Sir William Paxton, Knight, of Middleton Hall, Carmarthenshire, who seems to have taken up his

* *Descriptive Excursion through South Wales and Monmouthshire;* E. Donovan, 1805.

† A memorial tablet fixed in the north-western corner of the north aisle of St. Mary's Church conclusively proves that the bathing trade was carried on in Tenby at least fourteen years before Dr. Jones took St. Julian's Chapel on lease. It runs:—This Tablet | was raised by a few ladies and | gentlemen to preserve | from oblivion the memory of | Peggy Davies | Bathing woman 42 years | to the ladies who visited Tenby | Her good humour | her respectful attention and | gratitude | made her Employers Friends | On the 29th of September 1809 | in the water | she was seized with apoplexy | and expired aged 82.

‡ Norris's *Etchings of Tenby*, p. 65. § Now in the Tenby Museum. ‖ *Historical Tour*, p. 446.

residence in 1805.* He purchased two properties—one of which had previously formed part of the possession of the White family,† the other once belonged to Sir Roger Lort and was known as the Stackpole estate.‡ In this same year we find an entry in the order book, that

Whereas Sir William Paxton of Middleton Hall, in the County of Carmarthen, Knight, has proposed for the prosperity of this ancient Borough to build a bathing house on premises leased to him this day by the Corporation, it is ordered that the Freedom of this Corporation be presented to him as a token of respect and gratitude, and he is hereby ordered by the Mayor and Common Council to be admitted a Burgess of this Borough, this 17th day of October, 1805.

No sooner were the new baths built at the foot of the Castle Hill than they were burnt. Sir William, nothing daunted, rebuilt them, and until his death in 1824 continued to heap benefits on the town. Sir William contributed largely towards increasing the water supply (which has always been a Tenby difficulty); presented the ruins of White's house§ to the Corporation that they might be removed and so improve the High Street; made a new road from the Quay; and built the arches on which Bridge Street stands. He was instrumental in establishing a theatre, and when this failed (as it naturally did), purchased the building lest his associates might suffer in pocket.

The Corporation were not idle. They remade the street and paved the footway from Green Hill‖ (1808) to the Quay Hill, obtaining paving stone from Gatcomb, Gloucestershire;¶ spent large sums in widening the streets; in enlarging the water-tanks at the Butts; and finally, in 1828, built a new market house. Their work however was not all beneficent. Towards the latter end of the 18th century the Town Walls with their grand old gates and bastions were nearly complete; but in the rage for improvement these were recklessly demolished, or cruelly mutilated. That great Kairmadyn Gate, which appeared so seemly to good old John Leland, fell in 1781. Its epitaph is written in the Corporation order book:—

Borough of Tenby.—It is agreed by the Mayor and Common Council of the said Borough that part of the Gate Way the north side of the High Street by projecting into the street is a great nuisance and ought to be removed; it is hereby unanimously agreed that the said Gate Way be taken down, and that a wall be built in lieu thereof in order to make the street more commodious for carriages, &c.; also that the Town Wall be repaired; also that the stairs or steps to go upon the Town Wall be erected in Frog Street at the north end thereof; and that the said Town Walls be clensed from the Brambles, &c., and made commodious for walking thereon; and that the Bayliffs for the time being be requested to see the same done forwith.

Dated the 19th June, 1781.

H. W. Williams, Mayor,	Lawrence Cook,	Thomas Voyle,
W. Williams,	J. Higgon,	H. Bevan.
John Sayes,	Hugh Mountjoy,	

Another entry commemorates the evisceration of the great tower on the west wall.

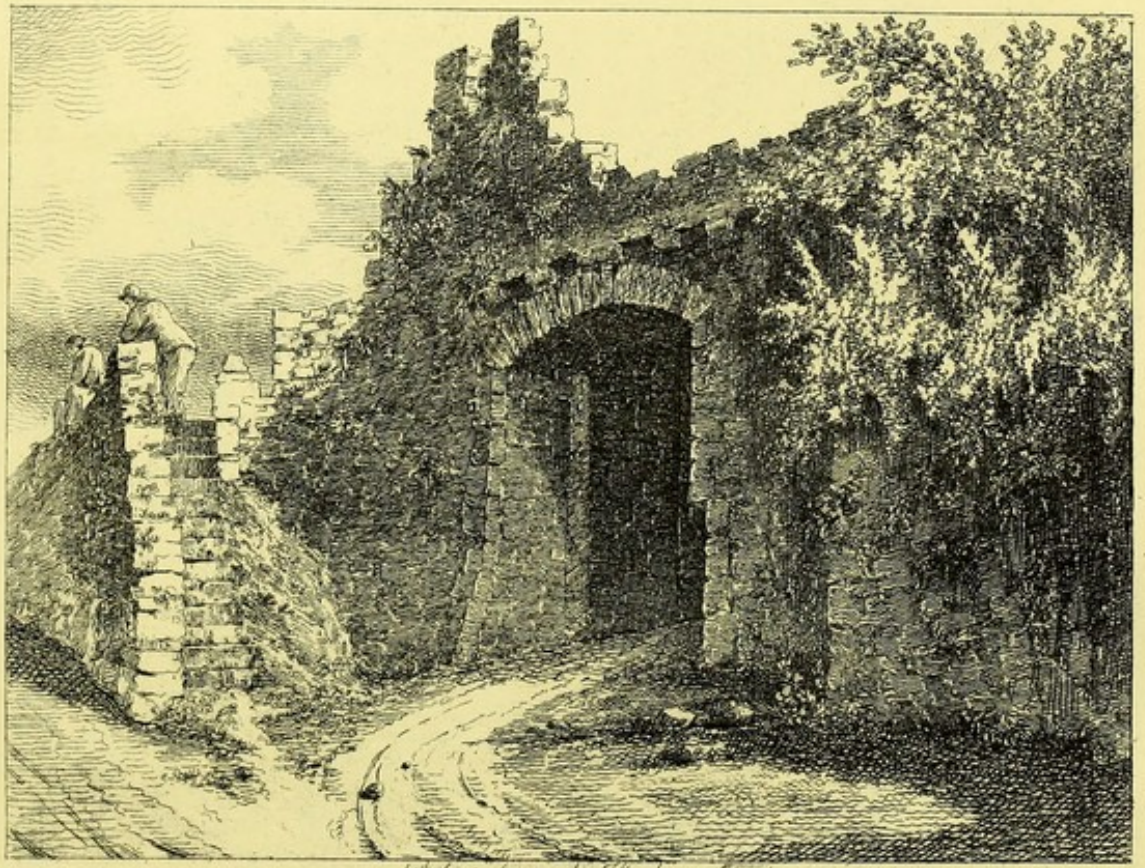
January 28th, 1784.—Ordered that a lease of three lives be granted to Michael Morris, of the ground for a Rope Walk from the North Tower to the South Tower in the Whale, for his own, his wife Duence Morris, and John Croade, at the yearly rent of five shillings, to commence from Lady-day next. The breadth at the North Tower to be eleven feet; ten feet at the middle tower, thirty-six feet distance. From the South Gate to be nine feet broad; that he be allowed to make a doorway through the Middle Tower if wanted.

* He is first mentioned in the Municipal books on the 15th of October in that year, when he exchanged certain lands with the Corporation.

† Fenton's *Historical Tour*, p. 454. ‡ Corporation Order Book. § See p. 234.

‖ In those days this was the main road to Pembroke.

¶ Price paid was:—"Paving and taking up pitching of footpath, 4d. per square yard; taking up and relaying street, 6d. per square yard; preparing and laying kerb-stones, 6d. per running yard."



The Gate from the Harbour, Tenby.

About 1797, according to Norris (the Corporation Order Book makes no mention of it), White-sand Gate was destroyed, or at all events the gate tower removed. He says:—

> Adjoining the Eastern Gate stood a square tower of great strength and solidity. Beneath was a long narrow archway* by which the town was entered on this side.

On November 29, 1800, it was ordered that the pathway round the South-west Gateway should be covered, so as to keep powder and other ammunition for the use of the town, and that doors be placed thereon. The result of this apparently harmless order was the stopping a right of way on the walls and so handing them over to the mercies of individuals whose property chanced to abut on them. Seven years later the stump of the ancient cross, and the old conduit adjoining thereto, were removed, Sir William Paxton purchasing the hewn stone for the sum of £2 2s. The front of the conduit, according to Norris,

> Was ancient and ornamented with three rows of niches. Above was the date 1698. This must have referred to some repairs, as judging from its appearance its erection must have been much earlier.

In the year 1810 the Quay Gate was taken away, thus leaving only the South-west or St. George's Gate. The latter had previously been converted into a powder magazine, which circumstance perhaps preserved it from absolute destruction. Since those days it has been pierced with three additional arches, two of these modern arches knocked into one, and the fabric in 1873 actually ordered to be sold as old material.† Actions of this nature when they occurred ninety years ago may be condoned as mistaken utilitarianism, but such deeds if perpetrated now-a-days are rightly designated barbarous folly closely verging on breach of trust.

The unreformed Corporation was a self-elected body. John Watts the first Mayor, and his two Bailiffs William Prees and Thomas Phelpe, in pursuance of the directions given in the charter of King Henry IV., were presumably chosen by the burgesses in 1402, but since that date neither freemen nor inhabitants had voice in the matter. On the first Monday after Michaelmas-day the bells of St. Mary's rang out a peal in the early morning, to warn all burgesses that the Mayor-elect expected them to feast with him and at his expense on that day.‡ Then the new Mayor was sworn in, the ex-Mayor becoming deputy (provided he was resident in the town), and two of the Aldermen took oaths to act as Justices of the Peace for the borough during the ensuing year. Other members of the Corporation were elected Chamberlain, Chantry Collector, Quay Wardens, and certain burgesses appointed to the less honourable posts of Master of the House of Correction, Sergeant-at-Mace, and Surveyor.§ A non-legal member of the Council acted as Town Clerk. From a careful perusal of the orders given by this assembly during a space of fifty-eight years, from 1777 to 1835 inclusive, I am disposed to think that they were an honourable body who administered the affairs of the town to the best of their ability, and contrast by no means unfavourably with the elected of the people. No doubt at times they did come into collision with the *ignobile vulgus* and put down insubordination with a heavy hand. In 1780:

* A sally-port.

† This has now fortunately been rendered impossible through the action of the late George Chater, Esq., who obtained an injunction restraining the Corporation from destroying the Gate.

‡ It was not until September 7, 1818, that £50 per annum was granted to the Mayor from the Corporate funds to defray the cost of this feast.

§ In 1832 this latter official was paid £14 per annum, which sum was made up in the following manner:—£5 for acting as surveyor of the water-works; £4 for attending to the town clock; £3 for ringing the curfew bell; and £2 for his office.

Whereas great disputes between the people and the Overseers of the Alms-house having happened several times between 'em, that no order can be made amongst 'em, it is now unanimously agreed that the people of the said Alms-house be put on an allowance per week, as the Mayor and Council think fit, and likewise the poor do wear the badge T. P., to be put on the shoulder of each poor person, upon pain of losing their weekly pay, the letters to be three inches long, and red letters.*

So far for the pauper. The ratepayer, when he made himself obnoxious to the authorities, was also made to feel his place. An old broadsheet in the possession of the writer, printed at Carmarthen by J. Ross in 1790, runs as follows:—

To the Landholders within the Limits of Tenby.

With concern finding that some injudicious and designing Persons are aiming to take advantage of your Prejudices, to involve you in Disputes with the Corporation of Tenby, which cannot ensue but to your Detriment, I desire You will attend to what is here declared for your information and interest. There are none of you, but are or may be, and ought to be sensible that only a small part of the Income of Tenby Corporation is limited to the Maintenance of the POOR. The best Part of that Income arises from the Inclosed Commons, which belonging only to the Burgesses, are to be managed according to their Discretion, or by those in whom they have reposed their Confidence; and THEY have generously and voluntarily maintained for many Years all the Poor of the Place: and even carried their Liberality so far that (when the Expenses of the Poor exceeded their Annual Income) they have several Times borrowed Money on their public faith and under their Common Seal, to preserve the Inhabitants at large from Parochial Burdens. A good Revenue likewise for several Years past, has come into the Chamber from the Pier: This the Common Council have continually added to the other Assistance disbursed out of the Chamber to the Overseers. All these funds now unfortunately prove too little; and to maintain the Poor as the Laws direct, a Poor Rate must be acquiesced in. Some without Pretensions murmur "How do We know that the Income of the Corporation is unequal to the Maintenance of the Poor." These Persons have no Right at all to know whether it is, or not. Those who have a Right to this Information well know that it certainly is. The Inhabitants at Large have a right to examine whether the Overseer receives all that is appointed by Donation and Purchases for the Poor; and any person who chuses to enquire into this, may easily learn by application to the Overseers themselves, not only that the respective Overseers annually receive all this but a great deal more. What then will Landowners who are not Freemen claim the rents of the Burgesses against their consent? Whoever dreams of the affirmative will, as soon as his golden slumber is over, find a Disappointment. For let me tell those Persons who swagger about Subscriptions that there are a very Considerable body of us, who have sworn to bear Scot and Lot in support of the Town. And some of this Body have Fortunes to mock this groundless Blustering. But to inform these Bouncers what will please them as little, if litigation ensues, the *voluntary* Disbursements from the Burgesses, for the Benefit of the Inhabitants at Large, will necessarily be at a total End. It will be Diverted entirely towards Law Bills. Whereas it is still the Intention of the Corporation to ease the Inhabitants touching the Poor as much as possible; and to advance whatever money the Chamber has at Command (after defraying the Expenses immediately incident to the Corporation, such as those relative to the Pier, Water-pipes, Town Hall, Common Gaol, Market-house, Streets, Bridges, Officers' Salaries, and so forth) towards the abatement if not discharge of the Poor Rate. If this fund so benevolently intended be by indiscrete and ill advised Persons rendered requisite for Law Suits, the Evil must and will lie at the people's door, and Rates sufficient for the Maintenance of the Poor, the Strong Handed Laws of Great Britain will enforce the Payment of: by those who at the same time are spending Money in bringing to Light THE LIBERALITY of the *Freemen of Tenby*, a Liberality likely to be impeded by the Perverseness of those on whom it has been continually bestowed, and so intended still to be.

W. W., Senior Alderman of Tenby.†

Such recrimination however was exceptional; if we are to judge from a long record, the business transacted by Mayor and Common Council referred usually to the letting of their land. The following miscellaneous items however may prove interesting to Tenby men:—

February 25th, 1779.—Ordered, that ye sums of £4 10s wages to ye workmen, and 17s. 6d. to ye Overseer, and £1 11s. 2d., amounting in all to £6 18s. 8d., be paid by ye Chamberlain (besides ye charge for ropes, locks and and other articles had) for landing ye Cannon ordered by Government for ye Defence of ye Town,

October 17, 1780.—It having been made appear to the Mayor and Common Council of this Borough that

* Order Book of the Corporation.

† William Williams of Ivy Tower.

many avaricious persons have in a great measure destroyed the Oyster Fishery on Caldy bed, owing to their taking Oysters of too small a size, for Pickling, by which means they destroy the brood thereof. In order to remedy the same, We, the Mayor and Council aforesaid, do unanimously agree, that if in future any dredging-boat shall presume in taking any small oysters on the said bed, without throwing the same overboard (excepting a quarter of a hundred each man), shall be fined, *i. e.*, the master of each boat not under five shillings for each offence; also that the said fishing-boats shall not sell any of the said small oysters to any vessel under the like penalty.

March 30, 1784.—'Tis observed by the Mayor and Council that great numbers of pigs are suffered to go about the streets of this Borough, which is become an insufferable nuisance to the inhabitants thereof, 'tis therefore thought necessary to appoint Thomas Harris and Abraham Richards, two constables, to impound all pigs that shall be found going about the streets and environs of this Borough in the common pound, and for their so doing they shall be entitled to one shilling for each pig from the proprietors of the said pigs over and above the poundage money to the keeper of the said pound.

The 29th of October, 1782.—Ordered, that Edward Edward having one arm afflicted with an inveterate sore, Dr. Kringol be employed and paid by this Corporation for endeavouring his cure, which he recommends to be done by salivation.

Whereas Captn. Ackland by order of Gen. Brook attended at Tenby on the 7th day of March, 1797, to examine the state of defence of the said Town, when he desired that the gentlemen of the Corporation would remove or cause to be removed two guns, 18-pounders each, now lying on the Pier in the said Borough, and place on the Castle, where the same are to remain till further orders from the said General; and whereas it is ordered this 9th day of March, 1797, that Captn. Jno. Griffiths of the said Borough be appointed to take charge of providing hands to convey the said guns to the Castle, he to be reimbursed by the Corporation if Government do not pay.

Ordered, this 26th day of February, 1798, by the Mayor and Common Council of the said Borough, that the sum of Fifty pounds be paid by the Chamberlain of the said Borough, being a voluntary contribution of the said Mayor and Common Council towards carrying on and prosecuting the present war, as a humble imitation of various other Corporate bodies throughout the kingdom in the present critical times.

Borough of Tenby.—Ordered, this 24th day September, 1802, by the Mayor and Common Council of the said Borough, that a lease be granted unto Henry Palmer of Lwyndrissi, in the county of Carmarthen, gentleman; Morgan Jones of the parish of Trawdyrawr, in the county of Cardigan, dissenting minister; Richard Morgan of the parish of Henllan Amgoed, in the county of Carmarthen, dissenting minister; and Arnold Davies of the parish of Carew, in the county of Pembroke, dissenting teacher; all that piece or plot of ground adjoining a certain field called Saint John's Croft, situated within the liberties of the said Borough, bounded on the east by a certain field called the Rocky Park, the property of Alexander Williams, Esq., on the north by Saint John's Croft, and on the south by the high road leading from Tenby to Pembroke (reserving six foot at the end of the said piece or plot of ground for a pathway to lead from the said high road along the said Rocky Park to Saint John's Croft aforesaid), for the purpose of building a Meeting House for the purpose of celebrating Divine Worship, the same not to interfere with Church hours on Sundays (that is to say), from 11 to 1 o'clock in the forenoon, and from 3 to 4 in the afternoon, for the term of 99 years, at the yearly rent £1 1s., clear of all rates and taxes, and to commence from Michaelmas next. It is further agreed that the said Meeting House shall not be converted into any other purpose than that of celebrating Divine Worship as aforesaid during the said term.

October 20, 1809.—Ordered and agreed by the Mayor and Common Council that the sum of fifteen pounds be laid out in the purchasing of Meat and Potatoes to be distributed to the poor on Wednesday, the 25th day of October instant, being the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the Throne, and in commemoration of his entering on the fiftieth year of his reign.

The death of Sir William Paxton proved a heavy blow to Tenby, for that wealthy and public spirited gentleman had for a period of twenty years been in the constant habit of expending large sums of money in improving the town, very greatly to the advantage of his fellow burgesses. His sons sold the Paxton property to Captain Hugh Cook, who gave the Common Council no little trouble though himself a member of the body.

From the Order Book so often referred to we find that a fair number of strangers visited Tenby during the earlier summers of this century. It is remarked in the year 1815, that

Whereas the Inhabitants of this Town have for many years suffered great inconvenience from a Scarcity of Water, notwithstanding the large sums of money laid out from time to time by the Corporation for having the Town well supplied, and the evil having greatly increased during the present summer from the great resort of Visitors, it is

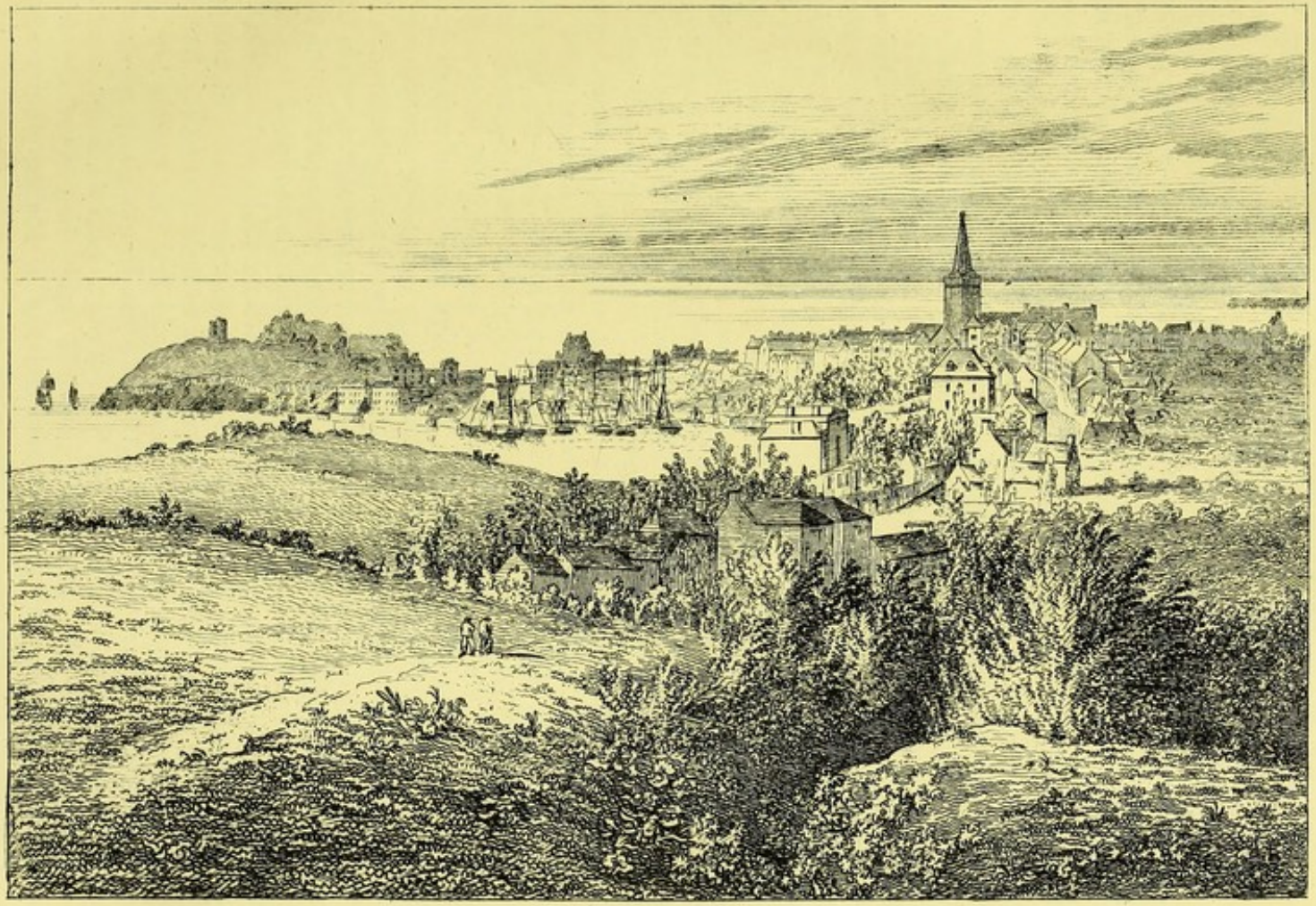
thought advisable by the Mayor and Common Council this 9th day of September, 1815, to have the present Reservoir enlarged by excavation, and to form a new Bason or Reservoir below the present one with the earth so removed.

Again, in 1827,

The Parish Church being found deficient in accommodation for strangers who resort to this town in Summer, notwithstanding the heavy sums expended by the Parish upon the Church of late years for that purpose, and it being proposed that a subscription be entered into for erecting a further range of free pews; ordered, that the sum of £100 be subscribed from this Corporation in aid of such purpose.

Notwithstanding these signs of prosperity it is very evident that the refounders of Tenby were going too fast. The outlay on new streets, water supply, new market house and new roads, together with the somewhat open-handed liberality which had become a custom of the Corporation, landed them in financial difficulty. Money in considerable sums had to be borrowed on the estate. Then came a chancery suit with heavy law expenses, for which they had to thank their coadjutor, Captain Hugh Cook. While this was still progressing the Municipal Corporation Reform Act fell like a bombshell. This the Mayor and Common Council opposed desperately. The matter was argued by Counsel on their behalf before the House of Lords, of course with no other result than an increase to the load of debt already crushing the town. In 1835 the old body made way for a Council elected by the burgesses, and a period set in marked by stagnation if not economy. No money was laid out on improvements; nay, building on Corporation land was actually discouraged as likely to depreciate the value of existing property. This state of things lasted to the middle of the century, then the railway arrived, and with it a new period of activity. The lower portion of the town was pretty well rebuilt, and a quarter sprung up between the station and the sea, so that Tenby, though not very large, is bigger than it ever was; yet I doubt if it be so prosperous as in the year 1488.

We must now turn to Milford. By very many persons it is supposed that Milford Haven takes its name from Milford town, but the great estuary was christened a thousand years ago, while the town came into being during the last quarter of the 18th century. In the year 1757 Miss Barlow of Colby owned a considerable property in Pembrokeshire, which included the manors of Pill and Hubberston. She resided in Clarges Street, where she met William, son of Lord Archibald Hamilton of Riccastoun and Pardovan, co. Linlithgow, and grandson of William, third Duke of Hamilton. This gentleman proposed to the Welsh heiress, and was accepted. They were married in January, 1758, and she died without issue in 1782 unregretted by her husband, who made no secret that he had married for money. Two years after his wife's death Sir William, then ambassador at Naples, visited Pembrokeshire accompanied by his nephew, the Hon. Charles Greville, second son of Lord Warwick, a man of thirty-five years, clever, not too scrupulous, and very poor. Greville pointed out to his relative the enormous natural capabilities of Milford Haven, and Sir William much impressed nominated him his agent, giving him full powers to develop the property as might seem best. In the year 1782 Charles Greville had taken under his protection a very lovely girl of indifferent character, Amy, *alias* Emily, *alias* Emma Lyon, *alias* Hart. When Sir William was in England he made Greville's house in Edgware Row, Paddington Green, his home, and was much struck with "the fair tea maker" as he called his nephew's mistress. Soon after his visit to Milford Sir William returned to his official duties at Naples, and Greville commenced operations on the banks of the Haven. He laid out land for building, planned docks, and spent a good deal of money which must have been raised on the property, for he had only £500 a year and was in debt, while his uncle, a comparatively poor man with expensive tastes in art and archæology, did not help. In two years Greville had got to the end of his tether. He owed £6000 and was sorely pressed by his creditors. Then uncle and nephew entered into a shamelessly



Tenby from the N.W.

disgraceful compact. Sir William offered to give Charles Greville's creditors security for the £6000 if the latter would hand over Emma to his keeping. But a difficulty arose. The fair object of bargain really loved Greville, who deluded her into the notion of going to Naples because in that town she would find masters who could train her wonderful voice so that she might become a public singer. The result was that Emma became Sir William's mistress, and so remained for five years. Then they returned together to England and were married in Marylebone Church on the 6th September, 1791. Milford was transferred to Greville, with a charge of £800 per annum as a settlement on the bride. This settlement may in truth be considered the foundation stone on which Milford was built. In anticipation an Act of Parliament was procured (1790) which enabled Sir William Hamilton, his heirs and assigns, to make docks, construct quays, establish markets, with roads and avenues to the port, to regulate the police and to make this place a station for conveying the mails to Waterford, which previously had been compelled to stop at Haverfordwest, eight miles distant from the place of shipping.* Not only did Charles Greville lay out his new town, but actually brought over from the island of Nantucket a colony of Quakers that they might introduce the then profitable whale fishing.† Two little forts were erected to protect the infant town, and a building-yard laid out in which fighting ships might be constructed.

In 1800 a wonderful piece of luck befell Milford. Government rented the private ship-building-yard for a term of fourteen years. Then Greville bestirred himself to good purpose, and much land in the neighbourhood was taken up. In 1802 a queer quartette assembled at Milford: Charles Greville, Sir William Hamilton, Lord Nelson, and Lady Hamilton. One would have supposed the meeting must have proved awkward, but there is no intimation to that effect. Greville gave a grand entertainment at the hotel *(The Lord Nelson)*, to which all notabilities in West Wales were invited, and his Lordship declared that Milford Haven was the first harbour in the world. Matters progressed fairly well with the place during Greville's life. He died in 1809, leaving Milford to his brother Robert Fulke Greville, who married Louisa Countess of Mansfield, and settled this property on her. In 1813 the lease of Milford yard terminated, and Lady Mansfield's advisers made such extortionate demands that the Government declined to renew. This proved a fatal blow to the prospects of Milford, and it gradually became a deserted town. Of late years enormous sums of money have been expended in excavating docks suitable for the reception of great Atlantic steamers, and these are now approaching completion. The said docks have hitherto proved a bottomless pit in which much treasure has been buried, with absolutely no result. Robert Fulke Greville was succeeded by his son, another Robert Fulke, who continued to sink capital at Milford as uncle and father had done before. He also played the expensive game of politics, and fought the great Reform Bill election in the Liberal interest against Sir John Owen of Orielton, who just at that time happened to be a Tory. The Tories won the seat, the Whigs the Bill, and enormous sums of money were expended, so everyone ought to have been satisfied. The two estates of Orielton and Milford never recovered; indeed Mr. Greville quitted the county and left his political friends to settle matters as best they might. Mr. Allen of Cresselly, chairman of his committee, was sued by a Haverfordwest publican for £150 spent in beer drunk on this occasion. Robert Fulke Greville (2) had an only son who was thrown from his horse and killed in Hyde Park. On Mr. Fulke Greville's death the Milford estates nominally passed to his half-sisters, the Ladies Murray, but actually became

* Lewis's *Top. Dict.*

† These immigrants are still represented it is said by the families of Starbucks, Rotches and Folgers, who continue to inhabit the shores of Milford Haven.

the property of his creditors, who in turn have continued to bury their money at Milford. We are assured that this bread sown on the waters is at length about to return a rich harvest.

When the trustees under Lady Mansfield's marriage settlement declined to renew the lease of Milford dock, the Navy Board determined to move their building-yard to a plot of Government ground situated on the other side of the water at Patrick Church, but on further examination this proved to be too small for their purpose. John Meyrick, Esq., of Bush, owner of Patrick Church, then proposed that they should purchase from him on equitable terms as much land as they might require. Government gladly accepted his offer, and formed the establishment which is now known as Pembroke-Dock. This was done in the year 1814. The wisdom of Mr. Meyrick's action soon became apparent. What had been a poor sheep-walk developed into building land. The town of Pembroke-Dock was built, and the Royal Dock-yard grew into importance. Afterwards its unprotected condition was brought before the notice of Parliament, and an elaborate system of fortification mapped out, and hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent in strengthening the defences of Milford Haven. All this may be indirectly ascribed to the fair face of Lady Hamilton, but if the grumbler thereat (whether he be a shareholder in Milford Docks, or a taxpayer criticising the modern ruins of Dale Fort) will go to Stackpole Court and there view one of the twenty-four portraits of Emma painted by Romney, I verily believe he will forgive all the naughtinesses of her life, and the wasteful folly which has pursued the property purchased by a transfer of her charms.

Haverfordwest as the second town in Wales was naturally a somewhat expensive place of residence. A contributor to the *Cambrian Register*,* signing himself "Cymro," gives the cost of provisions in various Welsh towns. During the year 1796, in the modern capital of Pembrokeshire, they ruled as follows:—Salmon per lb., 6d.; turbot, 7d.; cod, 4d.; eggs, two or three for 1d.; fat ducks per couple, 2s.; chickens, 1s. 6d.; a goose, 3s.; bacon per lb., 1s.; beef, 6½d.; mutton, 6d.; pork, 6d.; veal, 6d.; wheat was sold at 7s. per bushel. The movement which passed through Western Wales in the earlier days of the 19th century no doubt stimulated trade in this town. We have however no statistics until the year 1831, when according to official returns we find that 133 vessels (including different arrivals of the same) entered the port, and 59 (reckoning as above) cleared outwards, carrying away 138 quarters of wheat, 638 quarters of barley, and 7731 quarters of oats. But the inhabitants of Haverford prided themselves on the fashion of their town rather than on its commercial importance. In those days of difficult travelling Pembrokeshire was so remote from the pleasure centres that local grandees were induced to maintain town houses in Haverfordwest, and by common consent resided in these during the winter months, when they contrived to keep up a considerable amount of junketing in the shape of balls, dinner and card parties. To afford sport for these good folks a pack of foxhounds was established in the year 1813. These were not, however, the first hounds running in Pembrokeshire, for a contributor to the *Cambrian Register* writing in 1795† a description of Fishguard, states

* Vol. iii., p. 428.

† An old hunting song, which has been almost forgotten, appears of even earlier date. I have failed to get a complete copy. Mr. Wade of Tenby kindly furnished the two first verses, which were given to him by the late Mr. Llewellyn of Tarr:—

"On Saturday last, about four in the morn,
I rode by the cry and the sound of the horn;
The stars being bright, the morning seemed fair,
So I slipped on my boots and mounted my mare.
Right tol de rol, dol," &c.

"I rode by the cry and the sound of the horn
Till I came to the Hill of Gumfreston Ground;
There I met with Frank Meyrick and hunters the score,
All right jolly fellows, I'd met them before.
Right, tol de rol, dol," &c.

Formerly hunting was much in fashion, and several packs of foxhounds and harriers were kept, and at that time it was always remarked that on the heights above the town of Fishguard, then not so enclosed as now, the favourite hunting ground where they most frequently turned off, there was never lack of sport.

The second week in November of each year was dedicated to the subscribers, and known as the Hunt Week. During this week three meets and three balls were provided for the delectation of the Haverfordwest *habitués*. In 1829 the Pembrokeshire Races, which had been discontinued, were re-established. We find in the Order Book of the Haverfordwest Town Council the following entry :—

Whereas several gentlemen are determined for the good of this Corporation to have a horse race on the Common of this Town and County called Portefield, it is therefore ordered that ground be allotted out for that purpose, &c., &c.

The Haverford gaieties still come round year by year in the aforesaid second week of November; but these are now a mere shadow of feasts and flirtations enjoyed by our grandfathers, when they and the century alike were young; for then, according to that good gossip, the author of *Haverfordwest and its Story*,

The aristocracy showed up in great force; fours-in-hand came, the Orielton and Slebech, Picton Castle and Lawrenny families, with a retinue of servants. From eighty to ninety hunters, horses worthy of the name, were to be seen out at exercise on St. Thomas' Green. The hunt ball and private parties rendered the place what it used to be called, "A Little Bath."*

It is high time we turned from the history of these little towns (which in truth differs but slightly from that of hundreds) to country districts where survivals are more frequently discoverable. In rural Pembrokeshire even the middle-aged man remembers conditions of life which must have continued without change for at least two hundred years. Forty years ago the gaps between labourer, small farmer, small landowner, and local magnate were in some respects greater, in others less, than in the present day. Each class varied more in its mode of living, and expressed an almost grotesque veneration for its social superiors; but then the *bonne camaraderie* of neighbourhood, and the clannishness arising from residence in an outlying district, had good (as well as evil) results, one of which without doubt was a knitting together of classes. In those days the labourer dwelt in a cottage usually built of clom (*i. e.*, clay mixed with chopped straw), which is strange, seeing that in many neighbourhoods stones are apparently more plentiful than soil; but clom being the cheaper material to work, of that the peasant's dwelling was generally constructed. It frequently consisted of but one apartment, never I think of more than two : at one end stood a huge round stone-built chimney, in which a culm fire used to burn summer and winter; the house was lighted (save the mark), by tiny windows, which were not made to open; sometimes these consisted of a single small pane (such an one existed a short time back in the village of St. Florence). The floor was of beaten clay, the roof of unceiled thatch. Though the pig had a house of his own he was accustomed to wander over the establishment at pleasure, and fed on much the same food as his master, which they ate from the same iron pot. Of course from feelings of delicacy on rare occasions when "liggy's"† deceased relatives provided the feast, he was not invited to partake. Usually the contents of the iron pot consisted of broken barley bread, vegetables

* Perhaps the best title Haverfordwest can show to distinction lies in the fact that the use of Sedan chairs has never been abandoned in that town; to this day its daughters are carried to their balls, &c., slung on two poles after the manner of their progenitors.

† Originally the pig call—then a sort of pet name for the pig.

from the garden, and water thickened with meal. Wheaten flour, tea and butcher's meat were unknown delicacies. Very frequently the wife went barefoot, the children always,* though in other respects they were better clothed than their descendants; for in those days men and women alike were clad in brown homespun, which kept out the cold and turned off the rain more effectually than fabrics woven from devil's dust, such as we too frequently see in use at present; the women wore a jacket and short petticoat, a close cap with long lappets, and a straw or felt hat; on high days and holidays only was the great churn-shaped Welsh hat produced.

In October, 1803, beef in Pembroke Market was fourpence a pound, and labourers' wages eightpence a day. Mr. Mirehouse and other gentlemen furnished their cottagers with necessaries in the late time of scarcity, but resisted the advance of wages.†

I do not expect these men paid rent for their cottages, or the gardens attached thereto. Very many farmers boarded and lodged their labourers (as indeed they do to the present day in the northern districts of Pembrokeshire), an arrangement which led to that extremely objectionable form of love-making known as "bundling." When the young peasant had fixed his affections on some buxom lass, he naturally objected to pay court in the farm kitchen before his giggling comrades. Green fields and hollow lanes were well enough during summer, but in wild wintry weather apt to chill love's ardour; so the courtship was carried on in the girl's apartment *after* the young woman had gone to bed, which she did pretty early. As may be supposed this method of love-making was not conducive to morality.

The farmers' wives and daughters rode to market on horseback, carrying in front and slung by their side huge baskets filled with butter and eggs, usually wearing the tall churn-shaped Welsh hat, beneath which was a white handkerchief bound round their heads; otherwise, if my recollection serves me, the dress of these good women differed but slightly from that worn by their servants; the petticoats were longer, and probably the handkerchief worn round the neck and across the bosom was of better material. The knitting-pins were seldom out of hand; these were plied mechanically alike by farmer's wife or peasant woman, in doors and out, morning, noon and night. Many of the farm-houses yet remaining are very ancient buildings; some appear to be of Edwardian, if not earlier date, and from their curiously anomalous projections irresistibly remind one of the churches. Treating of these Mr. Romilly Allen, in a letter to the writer, says:—

The old farm-houses near St. David's, with round chimneys, present some exceptional features I have never seen elsewhere, and the pointed doorways show that they are of early date. They have recesses on each side of the room, one of which is occupied by the fire, the other by the bed. The central part of the house is thatched, the side recesses have a pent-house roof made of huge slabs of slate.

Fare in these domiciles forty years ago was plentiful, but rough, mostly consisting of bacon.‡ In those days the well-to-do farmer prided himself on the strength of his ale, which was charged with malt up to the point of saturation (small beer being brewed from the leavings), the produce was cellared for many years, and then came out a clear amber-coloured beverage strong as brandy, and to our degenerate modern stomachs unwholesome as cheap sherry.

* A friend of mine, who was educated at the Tenby Parochial Schools, informs me that in the year 1847 Mr. Dashwood, grieving that the bare feet of children should rest all day on the cold stones, had the building floored at his own expense. In the year 1888 it would be impossible to find a bare-footed child in the town of Tenby.

† Malkins' *Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales*, vol. ii., p. 197.

‡ A favourite Pembrokeshire dish, especially at harvest time, was washporo. Oatmeal containing the bran was boiled into gruel, which was kept for two or three days until fermentation set in; it was then boiled again, strained, and run into a mould. The result being a sort of opaque jelly not unlike blanc-mange, which was eaten cold with milk.

At the commencement of the century, as now, breeding black Castlemartin cattle was the staple industry of the county. The pure bred Welsh sheep, with straight goat-like horns, had retreated to the Kymric end of the county; in the southern half, the mountaineer had been crossed with English breeds. Ewes were milked, and "cheese made with a proportion of their milk gave it a peculiar tartness preferred by the peasantry to the milder sort."* Swine were reared in great numbers—huge gaunt brutes, nearly as high as a small donkey, with flapping ears like newspapers. The horses were of galloway type, measuring about 14 to 14½ hands and excellent; when the mares were served by thorough-bred stallions they frequently produced really valuable stock. Every farmer grew more or less grain. The best wheat (Lammas) came from the neighbourhood of Castlemartin; it was nearly all consumed in the county. St. David's and Caldy Island were celebrated for their barley; oats of various values were grown through the length and breadth of the land. Flimstone Downs produced rye, and Mr. Mirehouse of Brownslade grew coleseed in Castlemartin Corse, which he had lately reclaimed.

Potatoes were a common field crop. Not so turnips, as the latter required too much atttention to suit our slovenly agriculturalists. The ploughs were terrible instruments, with a great blunt wedge for a share, an awkward colter, and in place of a moulboard a simple stake, the consequence being that the furrow often fell back into the place from which it had been cut. These clumsy contrivances were mostly drawn by oxen. The carts, too, were generally hauled by a mixed team, two oxen being yoked abreast with a long pole between, preceded by a pair of horses also abreast.†

Rent of land did not greatly differ from what is paid at the present day, varying from £2 to 10s. per acre. In a pamphlet published in 1794, a Mr. Hassal estimated that there were 22,220 acres of waste land in Pembrokeshire, and that 14,220 would pay for reclamation.‡ One source of income has been lost to the South Pembrokeshire agriculturalists. Profits derived from free trade helped to pay the rent of many farms. Cargoes (generally French brandy) were run into every southern bay from Tenby to Dale. Manorbier seems to have been the chief centre. Its old castle was honeycombed with smuggler's cellars. The town of Tenby too was deeply interested in this illicit business. Probably a vast number of persons in all stations of life were more or less implicated. The story goes that when a cargo was in, and the revenue men alert, or the weather squally, teams were requisitioned right and left, and not infrequently the squire's carriage-horses were found in the morning sweating and exhausted; but a mysterious keg of excellent *eau de vie* stood in the hall, so no questions were asked.

What of these Pembrokeshire squires of the Georgian era? Among them were several notable men. We have seen that the Hon. Charles Greville and Sir William Paxton were building up towns; William Williams philosophising at Ivy Tower; Richard Fenton§ was

* Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary.*

† The writer well remembers a retailer of culm who used a cow to drag his fuel up and down the streets of Pembroke. He also traded in milk, and when the latter was required by a customer it was straightway obtained from the beast of burden.

‡ Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary.*

§ Our local historian was born at St. David's in 1746, and educated at the Cathedral School. When a boy he joined the Public service as a clerk in the London Custom House. This post he soon quitted, and having eaten his dinners at the Middle Temple became a barrister. His literary tastes obtained for him the friendship of many celebrities: Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, David Garrick, and others. Fenton states in his *Historical Tour*, p. 200, that he once met Miss Williams, Dr. Johnson's blind protegée, who finding he was a Welshman increased her attentions, but when she traced him to Pembrokeshire, "drew her chair closer, took me familiarly by the hand, as if kindred blood tingled at her finger ends, talked of past times, and dwelt with rapture on Rhosmarket." Miss Anna Williams was the daughter of a surgeon who practised at Rhosmarket. Unfortunately he imagined that he had discovered a method of finding longitude at sea which would make his fortune. In pursuit of this chimæra he gave up his profession and proceeded to London. He became destitute, and his daughter lost her sight. Then Dr. Johnson engaged her as companion to his wife, who died

inditing a county history at Glan-y-mael; Charles Norris of Waterwynch, with his clever etching pen, was illustrating the district; General Picton at Poyston was awaiting a glorious death on the field of Waterloo;* John Mirehouse of Brownslade, earning the gold medal granted in 1800 by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Science to the most successful reclaimer of waste land. Hospitality was practised on a somewhat magnificent scale in those days. When Sir Hugh Owen (sixth baronet) came of age in 1803, five thousand persons are said to have attended the festivities given in honour of the event.† Sir Hugh died six years afterwards and left the vast estates of Orielton and the Anglesey property away from his cousin Arthur, on whom the baronetcy devolved, to another cousin John Lord.‡ Few men have succeeded unexpectedly to a finer property than did John Lord. Unfortunately his career was one long story of waste and mismanagement. Not only did he dissipate the family property entrusted to his charge, but dragged down with him innumerable trusting friends.

With few exceptions the Georgian gentlemen of Little England ordered their affairs wisely and well. There can be no doubt that they drank a great deal more port wine than was good for them, but that was the custom of the day, and in matters of morality the patriarchal system survived in certain establishments. One gentleman of large estate is known to have given an entertainment to his friends in celebration of the birth of his fiftieth "love child." A story is told concerning another squire, who when smitten with the charms of a collier's spouse, sent for the husband and proposed to purchase the lady. After some haggling a bargain was struck, and the woman (nothing loth) was handed over to her new proprietor in exchange for a crown, a gallon of beer, and a calf-skin waistcoat. It is impossible to strike an average of virtue and vice; probably the animalism of a given race continuing to exist under the same climatic and dietetic influences does not greatly vary. Though on the other hand the strength of public opinion greatly fluctuates, and occasionally is not sufficiently powerful to restrain vicious individuals from disgracing themselves and their generation by an exhibition of sensuality and intemperance.

The clergy of two generations back were certainly well esteemed by their contemporaries, as we find their names in lists of magistrates, town councillors, and the like; but concerning their method of life we have scarcely any details recorded. I have enjoyed the friendship of

shortly afterwards; but Miss Williams continued to reside with the Doctor until her decease. Fenton practised at the English, Irish and Welsh bar (both in North and South Wales). In the year 1763 Sir W. Colt Hoare made a tour in Pembrokeshire, during which he wrote a journal now in the Public Library at Cardiff, and was introduced to Mr. Fenton. The former had examined a number of barrows on Salisbury Downs, and was a well-known archæologist. He became very intimate with our author, and suggested that the latter should write a county history. Fenton complied, and produced the *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*. Richard Fenton died at his residence Glan-y-mael, near Fishguard, in the year 1821.

* Sir Thomas Picton, G.C.B., was the second son of John Picton, Esq., of Poyston, near Haverfordwest; was born in 1758. He served as ensign in the 12th foot, then exchanged into the 75th, and obtained his company in 1778. In 1783, when Picton was quartered with his regiment at Bristol, an order for the reduction of the army caused a mutiny in the 75th, which was suppressed chiefly by the exertions of Captain Picton, for which service he obtained the thanks of the King. On the disbanding of his regiment he retired to Poyston, where he passed some years living the life of a county gentleman. In 1794 Picton went out to the West Indies, and was appointed to the 17th foot; from this regiment he exchanged to the 68th, and obtained his majority. He served Sir Ralph Abercromby as volunteer *aide-de-camp* in the attack on St. Lucia, took part in the attack on St. Vincent, and then returned to Europe. In 1797 he returned to the West Indies, and was appointed Governor of Trinidad, when a very unfortunate circumstance took place. A Spanish magistrate sent him an order for signature, which was a warrant for the examination of a slave girl by torture. Picton on being informed this was the custom of the country signed, and was in consequence brought to trial. The jury found him guilty, but on being granted a second trial he was acquitted of cruelty, though censured for carelessness. In 1809 Picton served at Flushing. From thence he joined the Peninsular army, where his division gained the name of the "Fighting Brigade." Picton was present at Badajoz, Vittoria, and Ciudad Rodrigo. At the close of the Peninsular War he returned to Pembrokeshire, and in 1815 started from Colby Lodge to meet a glorious death on the field of Waterloo.

† Malkins' *Scenery, Antiquities and Biography of South Wales*, vol. ii., p. 198.

‡ John Lord, Esq., M.P. for Pembroke, son of Joseph Lord, by Corbetta daughter of Lieutenant-General John Owen, second son of Sir Arthur Owen, third baronet. Mr. Lord took the name and arms of Owen only, and was created a baronet in 1813.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, April 1851. He died in 1861, and was succeeded by his eldest son Sir Hugh Owen.

many venerable gentlemen who were ordained and beneficed in Little England. These readily divide themselves into two classes. One was composed of highly-cultured men who spent their days in study; the other never opened a book from Sunday night to Sunday morning. They farmed, attended sessions, hunted and shot as did their neighbours. My impression is that these last were more useful in their generation than their highly-educated coadjutors. It appeared to me that the more cultured clergy seemed to shrink from the society of their parishioners, while the homelier parson, passing among the people in hir daily round of duty and pleasure, was always at hand to advise or help as the case may be. In some instances the types blended to the manifest advantage of all concerned.

The South Pembrokeshire parson was I think invariably Evangelical; but though he detested an ornate ritual mistrusted Dissenters. He preached enormous sermons, sometimes extending over two hours. A disposition to exceed the bounds of their very moderate incomes appears to be the gravest charge that can be brought against the memory of these good men, and this of course only applies to individual cases.*

Many customs peculiar to Little England, and practised within the recollection of persons still alive, have pretty well fallen into desuetude. They survived in the town of Tenby after discontinuance elsewhere. Even now throngs of people parade the streets on New-year's Eve to see the old year out. They sing

Get up on New Year's morning,
The cocks are all a-crowing;
And if you think you are too soon,
Get up and look at the stars and moon;
Get up 'tis New Year's morning.

In the country districts the following lines are sometimes heard:—

The roads are very dirty,
My shoes are very thin,
I wish you a happy New Year,
And please to let me in.

It is considered desirable that the first visitor on New-year's Morning should be a man. When the midnight roysterers at length retire, their place is taken by boys and girls carrying a cup of water, and armed with a sprinkler (a bunch of box or some other evergreen) who knock at the doors to gain admittance; if they succeed in so doing they sprinkle the occupiers with "New-year's Water," singing the while

Here we bring new water from the well so clear,
For to worship God with, this happy new year;
Sing levy dew,† sing levy dew, the water and the wine,
With seven bright gold wires, and bugles that do shine;
Sing reign of fair maid, with gold upon her toe,
Open you the west door, and turn the old year go;
Sing reign of fair maid, with gold upon her chin,
Open you the east door, and let the new year in.

* Mrs. Jordan, celebrated as a comic actress, but better remembered as King William's discarded mistress, is said to have spent some portion of her childish days in a Pembrokeshire parsonage. Towards the middle of the 18th century a gentleman named Bland was vicar of Jordanston, near Pembroke; he had a son who went on the stage, married, and had two daughters; one of these, Dorothy Bland, born at Waterford in 1763, followed her father's profession, and finding it convenient to assume brevet rank as a married woman, took the name of "Mrs. Jordan" from her grandfather's parish. Her sister died in Pembrokeshire, and was buried at St. David's.

† Said to be Llêf ar Dduw, a cry to God.

New-year's Day is now a more popular anniversary than Christmas; probably because the Nonconformists of Little England deem the observance of the latter festival to savour of superstition.

St. Stephen's Day was marked by several quaint customs. The boys armed themselves with holly switches and pursued the girls, whipping their bare arms until the blood streamed; this rough horse play was probably originated in honour of the proto-Martyr. Another old-world observance was the procession of Cutty Wren, An unfortunate wren having been obtained it was deposited in a small box with a glass window at each end; this contrivance was ornamented with ribbons and hoisted on two long poles (sedan chair fashion) and carried round the town by four strong men, who affected to find their burden heavy, stopping at intervals they sung

O where are you going? says Milder to Melder,*
O where are you going? says the younger to the elder;
O I cannot tell, says Festel to Fose;
We're going to the woods, said John the Red Nose,
We're going, &c.

O what will you do there? says Milder to Melder,
O what will you do there? says the younger to the elder;
O I do not know, says Festel to Fose;
To shoot the Cutty Wren, said John the Red Nose,
To shoot, &c.

O what will you shoot her with? says Milder to Melder,
O what will you shoot her with? says the younger to the elder;
O I cannot tell, says Festel to Fose;
With bows and with arrows, said John the Red Nose,
With bows, &c.

O that will not do, says Milder to Melder,
O that will not do, says the younger to the elder;
O what will do then? says Festel to Fose;
With great guns and cannons, said John the Red Nose,
With great, &c.

O what will you bring her home in? says Milder to Melder,
O what will you bring her home in? says the younger to the elder;
O I cannot tell, says Festel to Fose;
On four strong men's shoulders, said John the Red Nose,
On four, &c.

O that will not do, says Milder to Melder,
O that will not do, says the younger to the elder;
What will do then? says Festel to Fose;
On big carts and waggons, said John the Red nose,
On big, &c.

What will you cut her up with? says Milder to Melder,
What will you cut her up with? says the younger to the elder;
O I do not know, says Festel to Fose;
With knives and with forks, said John the Red Nose,
With knives, &c.

O that will not do, says Milder to Melder,
O that will not do, says the younger to the elder;
O what will do then? says Festel to Fose;
With hatchets and cleavers, said John the Red Nose,
With hatchets, &c.

What will you boil her in? says Milder to Melder,
What will you boil her in? says the younger to the elder;
O I cannot tell, says Festel to Fose;
In pots and in kettles, said John the Red Nose,
In pots, &c.

O that will not do, says Milder to Melder,
O that will not do, says the younger to the elder;
O what will do then? says Festel to Fose;
In brass pans and cauldrons, said John the Red Nose,
In brass pans, &c.

Or sometimes

Joy, health, and peace,
Be to you in this place,
By your leave we will sing,
Concerning our king.
Our king is well dressed
In silks of the best;
With his ribbons so rare
No king can compare.

In his coach he doth ride
With a great deal of pride,
And with four foot men
To wait upon him;
We four were at watch,
And all nigh a match,
And with powder and ball
We fired at his hall.

We trailed many miles,
Over hedges and stiles,
To find you this king,
Which now we you bring.
Now Christmas is past,
Twelfth day is the last.
The old year bids adieu,
Great joy to the new.†

All which of course meant *'lowance*, either money or beer; but on this day the horny-handed

* Sometimes pronounced "Molder."

† The wren cult seems to be Gaelic for this carrying is performed in Ireland where the song runs

The wran, the wran, the king of all birds;
St. Stephen's-day was caught in the furze.
Although he is little, his family's great;
So I pray you, good lady, give us a trate.

In the Isle of Man wren hunting is indulged in on St. Stephen's-day, where the poor little bird is deemed to be possessed of an evil spirit.

used another method to extract contribution, termed tooling. The carpenter called and gravely informed you he had left his saw behind your beer barrel, then came the carter with the same story about his whip, and so on. If the tooler was a popular character he generally contrived to get very fairly drunk before the saint's day was over.

I am disposed to doubt if St. David's-day was greatly honoured among the English of South Pembroke. I never remember to have seen a labouring man wear a leek; gentlemen frequently wear an ornament intended to represent that vegetable, but I believe the custom is imported.

Good Friday was religiously observed. The late Mr. Richard Mason of Tenby, remembered

> An old woman named Martha Evans, who used to remark on the difference between the fashion of the present and her youthful days, when all business was suspended, no horse or cart was to be seen in the town, and the people walked barefoot to church "that they might not disturb the earth."

Girls were in the habit of weaving "liverocks"* into the form of a man, which was called "making Christ's bed."

Easter Monday was the great cocking festival; mains were fought at Gumfreston and Begelly. This was a very favourite sport in Pembrokeshire. The remains of cock-pits are to be seen at Haroldston, the old home of the Perrots, near Haverford, and at Rhosmarket. Oddly enough they are not pits, but raised tables of earth. Even now it is not very safe for a diffident youth to enter a hay-field, for it is quite possible that the women and girls employed therein will bind him hand and foot with hay-bands and leave him to consider the question of ransom; this is termed "stretching his back." Formerly the men treated female trespassers after the same fashion, and called it "giving them a green gown."

At St. Florence (and most likely elsewhere) a curious custom was practised during Lammas-tide. The farm servants (boys and girls) constructed for themselves huts of green branches, lit them up with candles, and spent the night therein. Naturally this proceeding proved objectionable, so it was suppressed in the interests of morality about forty years ago. Not improbably the Lammas houses were originally raised to shelter harvesters in outlying districts, or herds tending cattle, whom as we have seen George Owen deemed a cruelly mistreated class.†

On St. Crispin's-eve, October 24th, this saint's effigy was hung on the church steeple, cut down on the holiday and carried round the town in derision of the shoemakers, who avenged themselves on the carpenters by treating their patron, St. Clement, in like fashion on November 23rd.‡

Love-lorn maidens availed themselves of Hallow E'en (universally considered an eerie time) to discover their future husbands. The blade-bone of a shoulder of mutton having been procured, the girl put it under her pillow; at the dread hour of midnight she stabbed her bone with a steel fork, repeating the while:

'Tis not this bone I mean to prick,
But my love's heart I wish to prick;
If he comes not and speaks to-night,
I'll prick and prick till it be light.

* Bulrushes.

† In Midlothian there are curious customs observed at Lammas-tide, which gave rise to the building of Lammas towers. These were built by the herdsmen, who made mock raids on each other, and tried to raze the opponent towers to the ground.—Walford's *Percy Reliques*, note p. 46.

‡ The owners of fishing-boats treated their crews to a supper of roast goose and rice pudding on the latter festival.

Then a figure of the loved one appeared.* I expect he sometimes came in the flesh, for these were the days of "bundling." Maidens who were fortunate enough to have already secured a sweetheart tested his fidelity with hazel-nuts. Two of these were placed side by side on the bars of the fire-place, one represented the man, the other the maid; if they consumed quietly well and good, but in case either of them popped and jumped away that meant breach of promise.

Christmas-tide brought the Guisers with their dramatic entertainment. Apparently this was a degenerate relic of the Mysteries or Miracle plays of an earlier time. Usually there were but three actors in a Guiser company, and as six characters were introduced into their play, some of them had to double their parts. The *dramatis personæ* were: Father Christmas, St. George, a Turkish knight, a doctor, Oliver Cromwell, and Beelzebub. Perhaps this rather inconsequential drama which some of us have laughed at, was based on that played during the Carew Tournament, held in honour of St. George at the beginning of the 16th century. It is observable that although St. George is the hero, Oliver Cromwell (his copper nose notwithstanding) is represented as a patriot. Beelzebub plays pantaloon; there is no villain, but the Turkish knight could not have expected much sympathy from his audience, seeing that Algerine corsairs had cruised in Tenby bay. The Guisers' play ran thus:—

No. 1.

Here comes I, old Father Christmas,
Christmas or not,
I hope old Father Christmas
Will never be forgot.
A room—make room here gallant boys,
And give us room to rhyme,
We're come to show activity
Upon a Christmas time.
Acting youth or acting age,
The like was never acted on this stage;
If you don't believe what I now say,
Enter St. George and clear the way.

No. 2.

Here comes I, St. George, the valiant man,
With naked sword and spear in hand,
Who fought the dragon and brought him to the slaughter,
And for this won the King of Egypt's daughter.

What man or mortal will dare to stand
Before me with my sword in hand;
I'll slay him, and cut him as small as flies,
And send him to Jamaica to make mince pies.

St. George's challenge is soon taken up, for says

No. 3.

Here comes I, a Turkish knight,
In Turkish land I learned to fight,
I'll fight St. George with courage bold,
And if his blood's hot, will make it cold.

To this rejoins No. 2, who says:—

If thou art a Turkish knight,
Draw out thy sword, and let us fight.

A battle is the result; the Turk falls, and St. George, struck with remorse, exclaims,—

Ladies and gentlemen,
You've seen what I've done,
I've cut this Turk down
Like the evening sun;
Is there any doctor that can be found,
To cure this knight of his deadly wound?"

No. 1 re-enters, metamorphosed,

Here comes I, a doctor,
A ten pound doctor;
I've a little bottle in my pocket,
Called hokum, skokum, alicompane;
I'll touch his eyes, nose, mouth and chin,
And say, "rise dead man," and he'll fight again.

After touching the prostrate Turk, he leaps up ready again for the battle. St. George, however, thinks this to be a favourable opportunity for sounding his own praises, and rejoins,—

Here am I, St. George, with shining armour bright,
I am a famous champion, also a worthy knight;
Seven long years in a close cave was kept,
And out of that into a prison leaped,
From out of that into a rock of stones,
There I laid down my grievous bones.
Many a giant did I subdue,
And run a fiery dragon through.

I fought the man of Tillotree.
And still will gain the victory.
First, then, I fought in France,
Second, I fought in Spain,
Thirdly, I came to Tenby,
To fight the Turk again.

A fight ensues, and St. George being again victor, repeats his request for a doctor, who succeeds, as before, in making a miraculous cure, and at once comes forward as the Protector.

Here am I, Oliver Cromwell,
As you may suppose,
Many nations I have conquered
With my copper nose.
I made the French to tremble,
And the Spanish for to quake,
I fought the jolly Dutchman,
And made their hearts to ache.

* Surely this was a veritable survival of the Flemish charm; see p. 114 *ante*.

No. 2 then changes his character into that of the "gentleman in black."

Here comes I, Beelzebub,
And under my arm I carry a club,
Under my chin I carry a pan,
Don't I look a nice young man?

Having finished this speech, the main object of the visit is thus delicately hinted by No. 3:—

Ladies and gentlemen,
Our story is ended,
Our money box is recommended;
Five or six shillings will not do us harm,
Silver, or copper, or gold if you can.

After this appeal has been responded to, St. George, the Turk, Doctor, Oliver Cromwell, and Beelzebub, take their departure.

The fishermen had a masquerade of their own. One member disguised in mask and bedecked with evergreens, representing the "Lord Mayor of Pennyless Cove," was borne on the shoulders of four comrades through the town, the rest gathered in what coppers they could from the spectators.

At four a.m. on Christmas morning a band of young men were in the habit of escorting the Rector to early service by torch light, and when this was concluded conducting him home again.*

In the earlier days of this century, faith in the therapeutic properties of holy wells had not faded. Patients suffering from ophthalmia washed their eyes in the muddy pool issuing from St. Govan's Chapel, and cripples bathed their rheumatic limbs in the spring on the shore below; those who thought they had received benefit from the treatment placed their crutches or some other memorial on the ruined altar of the saint.† St. Govan's appears to have retained a reputation for sanctity long after the desecration of other shrines. About 1830 the late Rev. G. W. Birkett, Vicar of St. Florence, asked a class of Sunday scholars where the Saviour was first seen after His resurrection from the dead. The children answered, "At St. Govan's." Inquiring from others what gave rise to this strange reply, he was informed: "Once a husbandman was sowing barley on the down-land above St. Govan's, when his attention was attracted by the dignified and striking appearance of a man who was watching the operation. On seeing that he was observed the stranger beckoned to the husbandman, who approaching him, and in reply to his question of 'what are you doing?' answered, 'sowing barley.' 'But,' said the stranger, 'this seed you are burying in the ground will decay.' 'Yes,' said the farmer, 'it will rot, but it will spring again, and at harvest-time I shall come and gather it into my bosom.' 'Do you believe that which is dead can come to life?' 'I do,' said the husbandman. 'Then,' answered the stranger with an air of majesty, 'I am the Resurrection and the Life; go home, fetch thy sickle and cut thy corn.' The good man did as he was bidden, and on his return the stranger had disappeared, but the barley was ripe for harvest on the same day it had been sown."‡

Wishing, or pin wells, had degenerated somewhat, and the tribute paid at these was not considered as an offering to God, but rather in the light of an act of white witchcraft.

Pembrokeshire witches as a rule were not malevolent, though occasionally they exercised their powers of mischief; for instance, when H.M.S. *Lion* was launched at Pembroke-Dock

* A Welsh custom termed Pylgain or Plygain; *Anglice*, morning light.

† Fenton's *Historical Tour*, p. 415.—Offerings of this nature are deposited in the churches of Belgium to the present day.

‡ What the original ritual may have been at these curative wells in Pembrokeshire we do not know, but at St. Thecla's Well, Llandegla, near New Radnor, "patients in epilepsy washed in the well, and having made an offering of a few pence walked thrice round the well and thrice repeated the Lord's Prayer. The ceremony never began until after sunset. If the patient was a male, he offered also a cock; if a female, a hen. The fowl was carried in a basket first round the well, then into church, where the ceremony was repeated. The patient then got under the communion table, put a Bible under his head, and being covered with a carpet or cloth rested till break of day; then having made offering of sixpence departed, leaving the fowl in the church. If this bird died the disorder had been transferred to it and the cure effected. This account was given of the ceremony about 100 years ago (*i. e.*, 1715)."—*Cambrian Popular Antiquities*, by Peter Roberts, A.M.; London, 1815.

(some time in the forties) a beldam demanded admission into the reserved seats, which was naturally refused her. "Then," cried the woman at the top of her voice, "there will be no launch to-day; you may all go home, good people," and so departed. The *Lion* was named, her bows besprinkled with wine, the dogshores knocked away, but the vessel never moved; nor was she got off until the spring tides came round again. That witch made a reputation which lasted her life. Such magnificent manifestations of the occult powers were of course very exceptional. Wise women generally contented themselves with rendering small services to their clients: removing spells from man and beast (and presumably inflicting them), charming away toothache, fits and warts. These latter were supposed to grow on the fingers of children who were in the habit of playing with egg shells. The remedy consisted in putting a small stone for each wart into a bag, and dropping it at a cross-road; whoever picked up the bag was inflicted with the warts. Witches were in the habit of transforming themselves into hares. This it is believed they still do at times, so there is something uncanny about hares in consequence. The most characteristic superstition is however a sort of second sight, which enables the seer to foretell death. The commonest manifestation is the "fetch candle." This is a supernatural light, which starting from the death-bed of the doomed person travels along the road by which the funeral procession will pass until it reaches the spot where the grave will be dug; it then vanishes. As previously mentioned, the "fetch candle"* was formerly attributed to a prayer of Bishop Ferrer. This part of the story is now forgotten; but it would be by no means difficult to find a score or so of persons who are fully persuaded that they themselves have been favoured with a vision of the mysterious light. St. Daniel's Cemetery, Pembroke, is a likely place for "fetch candles," I am told. The "fetch funeral" is a kindred superstition. The gifted one sees a spectral funeral procession, in which the individuality of mourners and bearers is readily discernible, but whose wraith lies in the coffin is unknown. "Fetch candles" and "fetch funerals" are bits of living folklore faithfully believed in by many, and since Board Schools go on day by day demolishing such old world fancies it seems worth while to record the tale of two "fetch funerals," just as they were related to the writer. One dates back about fifty years, the other not five. A man in the employment of the then Vicar of Penally one morning assured his master that on the previous evening he had met a large funeral procession near Holloway Farm, naming several neighbours who were among the mourners. The vicar laughed at him. "But," said the man, "the most curious thing was that they carried the coffin over a bank." "Then, surely," answered his master, "you can show me the place, for so large a party could not have passed over a bank without trampling it down." The man pointed out a place in the narrow lane near Holloway Farm, assuring his master that at that particular point the funeral party left the road and passed over the bank into a field. There were no signs of such a passage. Shortly afterwards Mr. Williams, the tenant of Holloway, died, and as a snowdrift blocked up this lane, his coffin *was* carried over the bank, at the spot pointed out, on its road to the graveyard of Penally.

As the second "fetch funeral" took place but a short time ago, I will mention neither names or localities. A Nonconformist minister invited a neighbouring preacher to pay him a visit, and took a bedroom for his guest over a little shop. The friend, an elderly man in bad health, retired to bed early. Shortly afterwards the shopkeeper, while making up his books, was terrified to see two carpenters of his acquaintance come down the stairs from the guest chamber carrying a coffin, which without saying a word they bore out of the house. The shopkeeper, frightened pretty well out of his wits, told the strange minister of what he had

* See p. 270 *ante*.

seen when the latter came down in the morning. While they were yet discussing the matter the other minister entered and on hearing the shopkeeper's narration, with a cry threw up his arms and staggering back fell down in a fit of apoplexy. They carried him upstairs and laid him down on his friend's bed, where shortly afterwards he died. The carpenters were then sent for, who put the corpse in a shell and carried it down the stairs to the dead man's own house.

I fancy South Pembrokeshire folks enjoy a somewhat livelier faith in ghosts generally than do the inhabitants of other counties. Athoe, the wicked Mayor of Tenby, used to haunt the bridge by Holloway water. A deceased Stepney walked in Prendergast, near Haverfordwest; and a white lady, presumably a Devereux, haunts the ruins of Lamphey Court. Perhaps the most interesting spectre is that nameless pre-historic hopgoblin who has compelled the wayfarers to make a path for night use round the Parc-y-Marw.* Headless apparitions, both human and bestial, are a strangely inexplicable relic of some forgotten faith. These occur in one or two localities. A headless horse haunts the entrance gate to Llangwarren, near Fishguard, and a ghostly party, consisting of two horses, a coachman and a lady (all headless), are supposed to travel with a coach from Tenby to Sampson Cross Roads, near Stackpole. Our forefathers had no troublesome doubts as to the personality of the Devil, for many of them had seen him; but his business was generally rather with the dead than the living. No one doubted that he carried off the corpse of John Meyrick, Chief Justice of South Wales, from Bush House. So thoroughly was this tale believed that an old gentleman who resided at Carew, considering that his life had been such as to give the devil a lien on his carcase, inserted a clause in his will to the effect that immediately after decease his body should be burned, and afterwards his ashes carried up to the top of Carew Church Tower and there riddled through a sieve to the four winds of heaven. These instructions were, however, not carried out. The brazen agnosticism which robs us of so many quaint fancies and sweet beliefs, but very slightly affects the Godfearing peasantry of Little England, here indeed such influence as it has exercised proves wholly beneficial, relieving them of some wild terrors which must have rendered life scarce endurable.

In Little England racial types are easily recognisable; indeed occasionally we find their characteristics so marked that certain individuals might be mistaken for members of a pure-blooded community; this is of course an exceptional phenomenon, usually the indications of mixed blood are evident. The three types are:

1. A dolichocephalic (or long-headed) race, of short stature, with small bones, high cheeks, black hair and eyes.
2. A type with dark hair and grey eyes.
3. A large, loose-limbed, brachicephalic (round-headed) family, much given to *embonpoint*, with fair complexion, hair and eyes.

We may, with more or less safety, describe type 1 as representative of the non-Aryan Neolithic Silurians. Of type 2 Dr. Beddoe, the well-known author of *The Races of Britain*, writes: "The one I call (rightly or not) Gaelic is present."† Type 3 I should suppose is a combination of the Norse and Teutonic blood, introduced by Danes, Normans, Englishmen and Flemings. Dr. Beddoe fancies that "there are real traces of the Fleming about Haverfordwest."† Peradventure the Kymric immigration contributed somewhat to the blonde type, for the Brythons were likely fair-haired, but it should be borne in mind that the Kymric branch of this family (Welsh boasting notwithstanding) must have been stained before it

* See page 22.

† In a letter to the author dated Feb. 13, 1888.

reached Dyved. It had probably been crossed with Silurians and Gaels in Cumberland, and certainly filtered through a deep stratum of these races in Wales.

Being very anxious to obtain statistics from which it might be possible to work out the relative preponderance of the types, I addressed a letter to a considerable number of schoolmasters and mistresses teaching in the schools of Little England, and to a lesser number in the northern or Welsh part of the county, enclosing a form which I requested them to fill up. This was done by the great majority.* The results will be found in the accompanying table. As Dr. Beddoe expresses it "the personal equation of the schoolmasters must be largely considered." The filling up of these papers has given much trouble to a great many persons, who will doubtless ask what *facts* are the outcome. I think we must answer:—1. That there is little or no difference in the colouring of the Englishry and Welshery of Pembroke; 2. That both are darker than the ordinary run of folks in Great Britain; 3. That as they must get this dark colouring from an extremely early people, we may safely say that the inhabitants of Pembrokeshire have not been exterminated by foreign invaders since Silurian times.

To my mind the most curious phenomenon exhibited by these forms is the strange persistence of priscan colouring. During the last thousand years Castlemartin has been over-run by innumerable hordes of fair-haired Scandinavians and Teutons, and yet the colouring of its people is practically the same as that of Kemaes, which with one insignificant exception, has been outside the pale of immigration since its subjugation by the Kunedian leaders. Unfortunately I have not obtained statistics as to the shape and capacity of crania. The eye in such matters is a most dangerous guide, otherwise I should be disposed to think that the inhabitants of the southern Hundreds have larger and rounder heads than are to be found further north.

While engaged in collecting details for the tabulation of colour, to avoid unnecessary trouble, I impressed on my kind correspondents that in filling up the papers names were unimportant. However, in nine cases out of ten, I received both the Christian and the surnames of the children. Some of these are curious, and coming, as the bulk of them do, from outlying villages, give a very fair sample of personal nomenclature throughout the district. Boys in Pembrokeshire as elsewhere are favoured with comparatively few names, being generally christened John, Thomas, William, &c., but there are a few exceptions. Ascension, Christmas, Gad, Idias, Gwilym, Essex and Devereux (these two are pretty common in Roos, but oddly enough are wanting in Castlemartin), Pointz, Trevor, Tudor, Latimer (at St. David's), Jonah, very common (perhaps connected with the local word jonach—honest). Mothers here as elsewhere, following the fashion of the day, have given what they considered "pretty" names to a majority of their daughters. We find a multitude of Ada's, Amy's, Beatrice's, Gertrude's, and so on; a goodly company bear "plain" names, such as Mary, Jane, Elizabeth, Anne, Susan and Sarah; but the good old nomenclature is not forgotten. Dorothy and Rebecca are common throughout the shire; Phœbe, Lettice (or Letitia sometimes) and Joyce are of frequent occurrence in Dewisland, Roos and Kemaes, not so common in Castlemartin and Narberth. Lucrece I find once only, in Kemaes. Patience and Priscilla appear in Castlemartin. Some of our little girls are very quaintly labelled for life. We find such names as Myfanroy, Verona, Eunice, Ophelia, Alga, Rowena, Zipporah, and last but not least Taphath. Many children attending the Board and National

* I must express the real gratitude I feel to my numerous help-mates. The labour of filling in forms of this nature by a hard worked man or girl is an act of very considerable self-denial, and I can assure my correspondents I am under a personal obligation to each and every one of them.

ENGLISH SPEAKING SCHOOLS.

		Light Eyes.					Neutral Eyes.					Dark Eyes.				
		Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.	Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.	Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.
HUNDRED OF CASTLEMARTIN:																
Bosheston	13	1	5	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Cosheston	38	1	4	6	1	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	7	13	1
Monkton	208	4	42	69	15	0	0	0	3	1	0	2	8	29	33	2
St. Florence	48	2	9	11	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	3	11	4
Stackpole	35	0	6	2	1	0	0	2	4	0	0	1	4	5	10	0
Warren	119	2	3	32	24	1	1	14	26	15	0	0	0	0	1	0
	461	10	69	123	44	2	1	19	35	16	0	4	19	44	68	7
HUNDRED OF NARBERTH:																
Amroth	52	1	10	12	2	0	0	0	5	5	0	0	0	4	13	0
Begelly	76	1	40	3	5	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	7	5	8	1
Carew	84	4	22	18	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	9	12	0
Crunwelly	52	0	23	7	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	0	1	1	8	1
Longstone	71	2	11	7	11	3	2	3	5	14	3	0	0	1	8	1
Lovesten	76	3	27	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	10	15	13	1
New Hedges	58	0	19	19	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	9	1
Pentlepoir	67	2	9	11	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	10	4	0
Robeston Wathen	114	6	30	3	3	4	4	4	0	0	0	0	17	2	38	4
Stepaside	114	3	40	2	1	0	1	2	4	0	0	2	18	29	8	4
Tenby	114	1	44	18	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	30	8	3
Ditto	329	1	96	26	37	0	3	6	1	18	0	1	19	30	87	4
	1207	24	371	129	90	6	11	29	17	43	5	7	105	141	216	29
HUNDRED OF ROOS:																
Dale	58	1	22	8	6	0	0	7	4	4	0	0	1	3	2	0
Haverfordwest	142	2	39	24	5	0	0	7	14	1	0	2	8	18	22	0
Ditto	90	1	3	7	0	0	4	7	46	0	0	0	1	11	10	0
Ditto	153	11	68	14	3	0	0	2	9	0	0	1	4	30	11	0
Herbrandston	71	7	27	14	15	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Nolton	41	0	10	1	11	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	3	7	2
Prendergast	112	3	22	17	0	0	0	21	10	3	0	1	4	11	19	1
Roche	58	4	18	22	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	5
St. Bride's	127	2	30	26	7	0	0	9	10	0	0	1	7	23	11	1
Walwyn's Castle	85	0	21	14	17	1	0	1	5	19	0	0	0	0	4	3
Waterston	57	0	13	4	0	0	0	12	2	1	1	2	15	3	1	3
	994	31	273	151	66	1	5	67	108	29	1	7	43	104	95	15
HUNDRED OF DUNGLEDDY:																
Llawhaden	52	0	4	15	10	1	0	0	5	2	1	2	0	2	8	2
Wiston	87	0	30	26	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	10	7	0	0
	139	0	34	41	10	1	2	6	11	2	1	2	10	9	8	2

WELSH SPEAKING SCHOOLS.

		Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.	Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.	Red Hair.	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Dark Brown Hair.	Black Hair.
HUNDRED OF CEMAES:																
Henry's Moat	35	0	2	3	11	4	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	7	4
Llanvernach	97	5	22	8	13	2	0	5	1	0	0	2	19	7	10	3
Maenchlochog	57	0	6	8	6	0	1	5	7	5	0	1	3	5	8	2
Mynachlogddu	85	0	21	14	17	1	0	1	5	19	0	0	0	0	4	3
Pantycawa	65	0	20	0	15	2	0	1	0	13	2	0	0	2	12	0
Dolvelvet	76	2	28	14	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	12	11	0	5
	415	7	99	47	64	10	1	12	13	38	2	4	36	24	41	17
HUNDRED OF NARBERTH:																
Llandewi Velfry	60	3	16	4	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	8	10	8	4
Llanvaltog	38	1	10	1	1	0	0	4	2	4	0	1	3	5	4	2
Lampeter Velfry	88	1	26	6	0	0	1	20	5	10	1	0	7	6	3	2
	186	5	52	11	5	1	1	26	7	14	1	1	18	21	15	8
HUNDRED OF DEWSLAND:																
Brawdy	64	1	18	3	2	0	0	5	8	1	0	0	1	13	10	2
Carnhedrin	78	5	26	19	10	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	7	6	0
Croesyroch	74	0	32	4	0	1	1	5	7	5	0	1	3	5	8	2
Hayscastle	62	10	17	4	6	0	1	3	1	1	2	2	5	3	7	0
Llandeloy	38	0	18	3	8	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	2	1
Llanrian	55	1	7	8	1	0	0	5	7	5	0	0	4	3	14	0
Mathry	25	2	6	2	4	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	5	0	2	1
St. David's	42	4	12	7	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	7	2	2
Ditto	93	0	26	4	40	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	19	0
Solva	115	3	42	10	21	1	0	3	5	6	0	2	5	2	15	0
	646	26	204	64	92	4	3	22	34	22	2	5	32	43	85	8
HUNDRED OF DUNGLEDDY:																
Llyfrfran	37	6	10	3	0	0	1	0	6	4	0	0	1	2	3	1
Penffordd	66	1	23	6	0	0	1	12	5	3	0	0	6	6	3	0
	103	7	33	9	0	0	2	12	11	7	0	0	7	8	6	1
Total English 2801 per cent.		65	757	444	210	12	19	112	169	90	7	20	177	288	387	44
		2.3	26.7	15.8	7.5	.4	.7	4.0	6.0	3.2	.2	.7	6.3	10.6	13.8	1.5
Total Welsh 1350 per cent.		45	388	131	161	15	8	72	65	80	5	10	93	96	147	34
		3.3	28.7	9.7	11.9	1.1	.6	5.3	4.8	5.9	.3	.7	6.9	7.1	10.9	2.5

Note.—Eyes neither *blue, light grey, hazel, brown,* or *black,* are marked in the neutral column. Hair—*Yellow flaxen* and *very light brown* are fair. *Brown* represents what the French call chataigne (chestnut). Dark brown is equivalent to the French brun. Black is that which is down right coal black, or so dark as to appear black in a moderate light. It is of course rare.

Dr. Beddoe, who very kindly analysed these forms, writes as follows:—

I have tried them by my index of nigrescence* with the following results:—

	No.	Gross.	Per cent.
ENGLISH.			
Castlemartin	461	+ 22	+ 4.7
Rouse	994	— 202	— 20.3
Narberth	1207	— 123	— 10.2
Dungleddy	139	— 26	— 18.7
WELSH.			
Cemaes	415	+ 42	+ 10.1
Dewsland	646	— 67	— 10.3
Narberth	186	— 49	— 26.3
Dungleddy	103	— 46	— 44.6
TOTALS.			
English	2801	— 327	— 11.67
Welsh	1350	— 120	— 8.88
Difference per cent.			2.79

This difference is in the direction one expected, but is after all very small, and is crossed in various ways by the details. Thus Welsh Narberth and Welsh Dungleddy give lighter figures than English Narberth and English Dungleddy. Cemaes and Roos are probably the most typical Hundreds. There are, I think, fewer Celtic local names in Roos than in Castlemartin, and Cemaes, from its position and surface, is where one would expect to find aborigines. Accordingly Roos comes out pretty uniformly fair with little black and not much dark hair. While Cemaes shows the darkest index has most black hair, and in particular has far more of the combination of light eyes with dark or even black hair (which I call Gaelic, but which certainly belongs to one of the early races) than any. On the whole the Welsh have more of both red and black hair.

In dealing with these tables two factors must be discounted. 1. The individuals scheduled are children, and therefore come out *lighter* than would adults. 2. These forms were filled up not by one individual but by many, and their views as to the relative lightness and fairness of the children doubtless differed considerably.

* Dr. Beddoe arrives at his index of nigrescence by subtracting the number of persons with red or fair hair from the number of

Schools of Pembrokeshire bear surnames which seem to indicate that their ancestors once held a different position. We find among the peasantry such names as Harcourt, Pomeroy, Lisle, Oriel, Devereux, Powlett, Gronow, Lucas, Godolphin, Granville, Lonsdale, Kenton: Reynish and Devonald commonly in Roos and Dewisland. Among the more curious appellations are Kidney, Gall, Tyzard, Nadin, Bully, Coucher, Mortal, Kenna, Frizzle. Folland (of Holland), Ormond, Skyrme, Scall, Arnold, Havard, Athoe, Mapp and Mabe give us a glimpse of the past. Of course the great bulk of Pembrokeshire surnames are simply derivatives of common English and Welsh christian names.

A book purporting to tell the story of a Welsh county, and omitting to mention the controversy respecting Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church, which agitates the minds of men throughout the Principality, would be incomplete. Their sober Teutonic blood somewhat tones down the colonists of South Pembroke, still it cannot be denied that in this matter they are strong partisans on one side or the other. We may I think fairly assume this is in no way a religious question, for the Churchman readily admits that Nonconformists have done, and are doing, good work; while the latter assert they do not object to the Episcopalian Church as a religious, but as a political body; indeed, their sentiments towards her in the former capacity somewhat resemble those felt by colonists for the mother land. Notwithstanding these compliments the dispute is very real.

The Churchman argues: The State established but did not endow the Church. This was done by pious benefactors in days of which the legal memory wotteth not.* Certainly in the 16th century King and Parliament changed the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, but did not break its continuity. No doubt monastics had fraudulently acquired church lands, and when their goods were confiscated this property was not restored to its rightful owners, an unfortunate oversight which should not be quoted as a precedent. The one-tenth is as actually the property of the Rector as the nine-tenths are of the freeholder; to interfere with either would be rank communism.

The bucolic tithe warrior says: A two year old bullock will not fetch ten pounds, if times don't mend chapel must be disendowed let alone the Church.

The Nonconformist minister declares: The Church of England admittedly did not meet the wants of this district; the body of which I am a humble member came to the rescue, with others, building chapels, sending out preachers, spending much ready money and incurring heavy liabilities. Owing to bad times these debts are becoming intolerable. My people are very good, wonderfully liberal, it is marvellous to me from whence the money comes. Is it not hard then that these good folks in addition to the money they scrape together for their own religious requirements should be taxed for the maintenance of another pastor from whom they receive nothing? Is there not a sentimental side to the question? Yes! no doubt; the social inequality does gall somewhat, for instance twin brothers may be educated at the same school, one go to Jesus College, Oxon, and be ordained as an Episcopalian; the other take a degree at London University and become a Nonconformist minister. They may be absolutely on a par as regards breeding, education and means, yet because one is an Episcopalian a society will be opened to him which is closed to his Nonconformist brother.

The leaders of the organization seem to look at the matter from a somewhat different standpoint. They say: To deny that the Church was endowed by the State is a quibble. Over and over again in days gone by King and Parliament have interfered in church matters, and it is open to them to do so again. Probably vested interests will be respected. Lay impropriators ought to be bought out *at a price.* Patronage is a matter for the Episcopalians to deal with. We do not propose to remit the tithe, but apply it to some more useful purpose—

* English law remembers nothing which occurred before the reign of King John.

free education perhaps. Probably the liberated pulpits will be filled by a class much resembling those who now receive the tithe, still if congregations prefer the rugged zeal of Peter the fisherman to the rounded periods of Luke the physician, what then? Of course the tithe question has a political bearing. We extreme Radicals do object to pay tax for the establishment of a Tory nucleus in every parish.

Such are the sentiments I have heard expressed on the Disestablishment question by South Pembroke men. As regards the relative strength of parties it is almost impossible to obtain information. Religious statistics are everywhere unreliable, but in a district where the inhabitants wander backwards and forwards from chapel to church, and back to chapel, it becomes impossible to state what denomination a man belongs to.* There can be little doubt that a very strong minority (if not an actual majority) are in favour of Disestablishment in Wales, and probably sooner or later they will obtain their desire. So far as Little England is concerned I doubt if the result will prove advantageous. The farmer will *not* escape direct or indirect payment of tithes, which will *not* be handed over to the Nonconformists; indeed, these latter will be fortunate if their chapels are not also disendowed for the sake of consistency. The clergy at present receive but scanty emolument.† If this be reduced we must expect that the class will deteriorate, not only in learning and culture, but in that broad form of common sense known as knowledge of the world. They will become more local, and we shall lose that valuable replenishment of Teutonic blood which now finds its way into Little England through the Church. Disestablishment would greatly tend to Kymricize South Pembroke, a result grateful indeed to Welsh wire-pullers, but disastrous in many ways to the colony, whose motto should be Little England for the English.

Welshmen took a leading part in the affairs of Little England during the 16th century (which was its golden epoch), but Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his coadjutors were Anglicized Kymry, and the tendency of their policy was rather to weld England and Wales into one great state than to denationalize the colony in Pembrokeshire. Disestablishment of the Welsh Church in the 19th century would I fear have a contrary effect.

Having followed the varying fortunes of Little England down to a period within the memory of men now living, before quitting the subject it will be well briefly to consider what is the outcome of it all. What is the result of intermarriage between Silures, Kelts, Scan-

* From the information I have collected through the kindness of Nonconformist clergymen, it is quite clear that the Dissenters of Pembrokeshire are a *very strong minority*. The statistics given in the following table, though meagre, are reliable:—

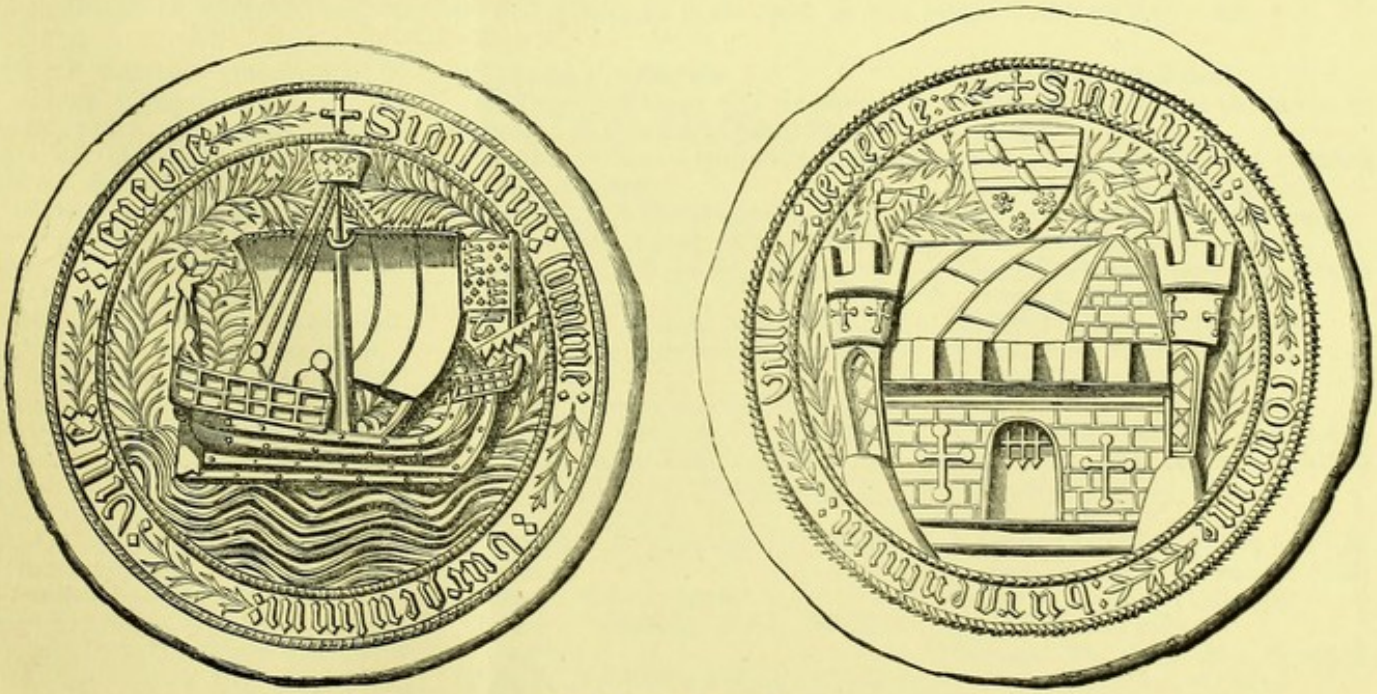
Demoninations.	Churches and Chapels.	Ministers.	Local Preachers.	School Teachers.	School Scholars.	Members or Communicants.	Hearers.	Sittings.
Presbyterians	52	29	12	together	3966	3242	6782	not given
Independents { English	71	21	—	367	3709	not given		11,000
Independents { Welsh	66	22	—	not given		not given	not given	8,139
Baptists	139	24	16	921	7908	11,017		27,544
Primitive Methodists	5	1	8	38	223	125	302	not given
Wesleyans	27	5	43	366	2407	1067		6,700

A "hearer" is defined as "an adherent," or one who attends the church regularly but is not a communicant; so from these must be deducted Sunday-school scholars already accounted for, and probably many who occasionally attend churches of other denominations. The number of seats of course affords no clue to the number of sitters. On the other hand the above list is incomplete in many particulars. Some small communities are omitted. Roman Catholics have two churches—one at Pembroke-Dock, the other at Haverfordwest; in the latter place is a Moravian congregation, and it may well be that other Dissenting bodies have been overlooked. The census return of 1881 gave the population of Pembrokeshire as 91,824; probably it has not much altered since that date.

† Of the 404 livings in the Diocese of St. David's 226 are of less than the nett value of £200 per annum, and of these 226 59 are worth less than £100 per annum, and 119 have no parsonage house. In Pembrokeshire there are 66 livings under £200 per annum, of which 22 are under £100 per annnm, and 37 have no clergyman's house. Pembrokeshire is the poorest district of a poor diocese.

dinavians and Teutons? What legacy of virtues and vices have these our forefathers bequeathed to their descendants? Extraneous circumstances have modified manner and mode of thought in the more highly-cultured classes. What we wish to discover must be sought for among the sons of the soil, labourers and small farmers.

Good humour and cheeriness are eminently characteristic of our Little Englanders. In charm of manner, too, they yield to none, and a peculiarly pleasant voice tends to strengthen the good impression thus created. This agreeable address is indicative of their best quality. The inhabitants of South Pembrokeshire are essentially a kindly folk; they are gentle to women and children, and merciful to animals; indeed cases of wife beating or beast torture are practically unknown. On the other hand a love of making things pleasant militates against truth. It is absolutely hopeless to expect an exact statement. Disagreeable angles are rounded off, and to screen a comrade the lie downright is deemed commendable. Clannishness is very strong. These virtues and vices are perhaps ascribable to Gaelic blood. The much vaunted Irish chastity, however, is, I regret to say, not a marked characteristic of the race. "Love children" abound, and a girl who has tripped is not considered to have erred very grievously. This tolerance seems to be of Kymric origin. Unlike the Welshmen our Little Englanders are good horsemen and bold sailors, qualities inherited from their Norse ancestors; heavy drinkers too, a failing we may perhaps attribute to the same source. They are, however, not quarrelsome when in their cups. Extremely hospitable, they are very thrifty, but lack enterprise, and save rather than make money. Slovenly in their houses, persons and work, they are curiously unæsthetic, and at the same time passionately fond of music. A Godfearing, law-abiding race, who, despite certain transparent naughtinesses are most loveable, and that all good may betide them and their children is the writer's heartfelt prayer.



OBVERSE. SEAL OF TENBY CORPORATION. REVERSE.

APPENDIX.

DIALECT OF LITTLE ENGLAND.

THE language of South Pembrokeshire tells its own story. We find in common use Welsh, Gaelic, Norse, Dutch, French, Mediæval English and Lowland Scottish words. The pronunciation seems rather to follow the Dutch, while inflexion is certainly Welsh. We find a strong tendency to broaden the vowels: a very frequently becomes aa, as raat for rat; e = o as wron for wren; o = au as cauld for cold; u = ou as stoun for stun; ai is sounded like the Greek αι; maid rhymes with cried; V and Z take the place of F and S; villy for felloe; zea for sea; many verbs retain the terminal e of mediæval English; milké, churné, mendé. As Mr Purnell has pointed out,

> It is a general custom in this district when making use of the preterite to omit the auxiliary; as 'I written' for 'I have written,'; and to use strong preterites of verbs that are furnished with them, and when verbs are not so provided to improvise new ones; for instance, 'he clen his gun.'

In the list of words below it must be understood that very many of them are not claimed as *peculiar* to Pembrokeshire, but are given as a sample of the vocabulary in daily use:—

Ach: A feminine interjection of disgust, "Ach upon you"
Addley pulke: A stagnant pool
Agonies: Glandular swellings
Akker: A boat used for carrying limestone on the Cleddy
Ankler: Ankle
Anny: The kittiwake gull *(Larus risus)*
Babbaloobies: Water-worn limestones used to ornament walls
Back: A hill; Norse *bakki*, a little hill
Bailey: Jocularly, a bum bailiff
Balke: To belch
Balls: Fuel of anthracite coal dust and wet clay made into shapes
Bandy: A game; hockey
Barriote: A fence across a stream; diminutive of French *barre?*
Bat: A measure, ten feet six inches
Belge: To bellow like a bull
Bentland: Land that has been pared and burnt
Bickning: A beacon
Bidding: Invitation to a wedding
Bleeze: A bladder; Dutch *blaas*
Blinck, or blink: A glimpse; Dutch *blik*, a glimmer
Bluemorgan: Marsh grass; carnation grass (*Carix glauca*)
Bog ginger: A plant (*Polygonum Hydropiper*)
Bough: The wooden loop by which oxen were attached to the pole of a cart
Bough: The stitches in knitting
Brangam; Shingles, a disease; Dutch *brand*, inflammation?
Brat: A pinafore; Welsh *brat*
Bratful: A lapful
Bubbock: A scare-crow; Welsh *bwbach*
Bubow: A Jew's harp
Budrum: Oatmeal gruel; Welsh *budrum*
Bundle: To court a woman; Welsh *bun*, a woman
Burgage: A small field
Bush: To thrust with the horns, as a cow
Call: To call by nickname; to abuse
Candle: The pupil of the eye
Cawl: A basket; Welsh *cawell*
Chilbladders: Chilblains
Claps: Tales, scandal; Dutch *klappen*, to gossip
Cleggar: rock; Welsh *cleg yr*
Clom: A mixture of clay and straw, used for building; Norse *klam*, dirt
Cock-a-leekie porridge: broth made of fowl and leeks; Lowland Scotch
Conk: Perky
Coglins: Stones or shells, used to play dibs; Dutch, *archaic;* diminutive *kogelkin*, a little ball
Cook: A little cake
Coppat: The apex of a thatched roof; Dutch *kop*, the head
Cornel: A corner; Welsh *cornel*

Cossy: A slide on the ice; Welsh *cosi*, to scratch?
Couple: Several; more than two; six or eight
Cowell: A basket; see cawl
Cracks: Wild plums
Crannocks: The stems of furze bushes which have been burnt
Cranted: Stunted
Creath: A cicatrice; Welsh *craithe*
Creel: An open basket; Scotch, from Norse *krili*
Cretch: A tail-board of a cart; French *créche*, a crib?
Cristmal: A ne'er-do-weel; a weakly child
Crude: To brood, as a hen
Crut: A small boy; Welsh *crwt*
Culf: A hunch of bread or meat
Culm: Anthracite coal dust
Cursed: Naughty
Cutty: Small; cutty wren; Welsh *cwta*, bobtailed
Cutty moorcock: The common water-rail *(Rallus aquaticus)*
Cutty wren: The common wren
Cutty evet: A newt
Daft: Foolish; Lowland Scotch
Damper: A glass of beer
Dandies: Dibs; a game played with knuckle bones or stones by children.
Dear Anvil: Interjection, "Dear, dear!" Welsh *anwyl*, dear
Dollin: A pint jug
Dotty: Silly from age; senile
Draff: Brewer's grains
Drang: A narrow passage; Dutch *drang*, a crowd; pressure
Dropple: The threshold; Dutch *drempel?*
Droughty: Thirsty
Dull: foolish; silly (very common); Welsh *dwl*
Dullun: A fool
Durn: Determined
Distel: A thistle; Dutch *distel*
Eligug: The common guillemot *(Uria troile)*
Elver: An eel
Erger: To wrangle; Dutch *erger*, to offend
Evil: A three pronged garden fork
Fetch candle: A supernatural light which foretells death
Fidgeon and Fitchet: The polecat
French Cockle: *Cardium echinatum*
Fugle: To square up; threaten with the fists
Furrable: Forward, as of a girl
Filty: Smart; filty fine; over dressed
Fleming: A shell-fish *(Lutraria elliptica)*
Flittericks: Bits; smithereens
Freeth: To wattle a fence; a wattled fence
Fuzz: To get on; "How do you fuzz?" apparently a secondary form of fare
Gan: Dandriff scurf
Gant: A gander
Gorral: A gormandizer; Dutch *gorgel*, the throat?
Graiths: Chain traces of a cart
Greybird: A thrush
Grey dullun: A hedge sparrow
Grimmel pool: A stagnant pond
Gripe: A ditch; Norse *grip*
Grunkle: A dell
Grunnings: The rubbish put under a rick
Headridge: Charlic; Dutch *hadig*, danewort?
Hagelstone: A hailstone; Dutch *hagelsteen*
Haggard: A rick-yard; Norse *haygarðr*
Hainish: Greedy; Gaelic *aine*, eagerness
Harfish: The razor-fish (*Solen*)
Hawse: To gossip
Hearty: Full of heart; high spirited (very common)
Heck: To hop
Heckshell: Hop scotch
Heft: The weight of a thing
Hen: A shell-fish (*Cyprina Islandica*
Hidie-hoop: Hide and seek
Higgin: A night dress
Highty: Well; healthy; pleasant
Hyld: To last or endure, especially of rain
Hobbler: A man who drags vessels up the river Cleddy with a warp or rope
Honey: A term of endearment, "Come, Honey?"
Honor: Used as a term of address, "If your honor will please to take the turning to the village," &c.
Hoggling: Lime-burners go round to beg of the farmers who employ them; this is hoggling
Idlepack: A bad woman
Indeed-in-double-deed: Strong affirmation; usually the prefix to a lie
Jolly: Stout; fat
Jonach: Thorough; honest
Jump: Perpendicular, "The bank is too jump"
Kerdidwin: Small pig of the litter. Is this in remembrance of the metamorphoses of the Welsh goddess, Keridwin
Keaks: The hollow stalks of wild *Heraclium sphondylium* hemlock and other plants
Kedge: To beg or steal
Key: Used as a verb, to lock
Kift: Awkward
Klems: Pincers; Dutch *klem*, a grip, a hold
Kleers: The glands; Dutch *klier*
Knappan: An ancient game; hockey is now called knappan; Dutch *knap*, to crack, to snap
Kift: Unhandy
Lady Dishwash: The common wagtail *(Motacilla alba)*
Lake: A running stream; Norse *lækr*, a stream
Lapster: A lobster. This pronunciation is as old as George Owen's time
Lathy: Strong
Lavier: A man who invites guests to a wedding
Lear: Half starved
Leather Mouse: A bat
Leave: Let; "Leave me go"
Liggy: The pig call; then as a pet name for the pig; Welsh *llegai*, sluggish one
Leejurs: Easily; "to go all by leejurs"
Leekie porridge: Same as cock-a-leekie, minus the cock; Scotch
Leese: Lose
Leet: An artificial watercourse
Leeze: To glean; Dutch *lees*, to gather
Limpin: A shell-fish, the limpet
Little Bitties: Little children
Liver and Hearty Grow: A disorder in which the liver is supposed to grow fast to the heart
Liverocks; Bulrushes
Lizzat: Lissom; graceful
Lock: To shut; does not necessarily imply the use of a key.
Lonker: A fetter to hobble animals with; Danish *lænke*, Icelandic *hlenkr*, a chain
Looch: A wooden spoon; Gaelic *leach*, a large spoon
Love Child: One born out of wedlock
Lurchy: Lame
Main: Intensitive; very; Welsh *maint*, size, bigness? Norse *megni*, strong?

Master: Used in the old fashion instead of sir; "Master, what o'clock is it?"
Maund: A basket; Dutch *mand*
Maychate: A cat born in May; they are supposed to bring adders into the house; French *chate*, a she cat
Mealymoth: The lesser white-throat *(Curruca garrula)*
Meet: To happen on, "I met this glove on the road"
Mitch: To play truant
Mixen and Miskin: A manure heap; Norse *myki*, dung
Mogue: To humbug; to delude; Welsh *mwgwd*, a mask?
Moil: To grub like a pig; to draw potatoes with the hand from under the growing plant
Moory Hen: The common gallinule *(Gallimula chloropus)*
Moory Pinnock: The meadow pipit *(Anthus pratensis)*
Moral: A child's game; tick, tack, toe
Mortal: An intensitive; mortal good; mortal bad
Moyle: A polled cow; Welsh *moel*, bald
Muffles: Fetters for sheep
Mumruffin: The long-tailed titmouse *(Parus caudatus)*
Nash: Delicate
Nedack: the nape of the neck
Nisbil: The hedgehog
Noy: A wash tub; Welsh *noe*, a kneading trough
Office: The eaves of a house
Oxland: Half a hide of land
Pardo: The great black-backed gull *(Larus marinus)*; Welsh *parddu*, soot?
Peace: To quiet, "I can't peace the child"
Pelt: A scamp
Penny Jug: A pitcher, not from the price for this is rather a big jug
Penny Sow: A wood louse
Pepper Grass: Mustard and cress
Pile: To throw; Dutch *pyl*, an arrow or dart? Gaelic *peileir*, a ball?
Pill: A creek; Welsh *pwll*
Pilke: To butt like a cow
Pinion or Pine-end: The gable end of a house; French *pignon*, a gable
Plank: Bread baked on a griddle
Ploughland: A hide of land
Popples: Water-worn stones; pebbles
Poythe: Wedding presents; Welsh *pwyth*
Preen: Knitting needles; Welsh *pren*, wooden
Pulke: A pool
Push: To butt like a cow
Push Plough: A breast plough
Pyatt: A magpie
Rambat: A game; fives
Rammasing: Wandering; discursive
Ranging: Raging of a fire or a temper
Rath: Early; positive of rather
Rathe: An ancient earth-work. In Pembrokeshire this term is peculiar to the district between Precelly Mountain and St. Bride's Bay
Reg: A sudden flood; Dutch *regen*, rain
Rhyme: To compose; "He rhymed me a letter"
Roccas: A girl; Dutch *rok*, a petticoat
Rottle: Good; excellent
Saint George's Duck: The sheldrake *(Tadorna vulpanser)*
Sale: The foundation of rick; Welsh *swl*, a flat space
Scive: Scythe
Scolps: Thatch pegs
Scrallion: A thin scraggy man or beast; Norse *scræling*, a shaving; the vikings called Eskimos by this name
Scud: A boon companion; Dutch *schudde*, a shark, a scoundrel
Send: To accompany one on his way
Sea Parrot: The puffin (*Fratercula artica*)
Sea Pyatt: The oyster catcher (*Hæmatopus ostralegus*)
Seegar: The marine crayfish
Servant, Sir: The common salutation of an inferior
Shewin: A horned sheep
Shipress: A mixture of oats and barley sown together, used for washporo
Shonk: Smart
Siccans: Oatmeal cleared of the husk, but retaining the bran
Siggwiggy: The blue titmouse *(Parus cæruleus)*
Silly Willies: Sandpipers; shore birds
Skadly: Destructive of "Skadley herring," a man's nick name; Dutch *schaad*, hurt, damage
Skep: A basket
Skew: A settle; Welsh *ysgiw*
Skarvey: To clear up, as the sky
Skit: To splash
Skep: Basket-work; Norse *skepi*
Skul: To strip the crust off a loaf
Skymer: A cow that breaks fences
Slider: To slide
Slang: A narrow strip of land
Slabby: Soft; muddy
Slip: A young girl or pig
Slop: A gap in a bank
Soaker: A natural fissure in the limestone rock
Sogged: Saturated; "sogged with sleep"
Soul: To be careful of; to spare
Souling: Begging bread and cheese on All Souls' Day
Sneak: A snail, "slugs and sneaks;" Dutch *slek?*
Sorry: Poor; weak; sick
Spen: The teat of a cow
Spiddocks: Thatch pins; Dutch *spic*, a peg
Spur: The common tern (*Sterna hirundo*)
Staer: Perpendicular; "the rick is too staer"
Staff: A walking-stick: invariably used in this sense
Stang: A rood of land
Stife: Smoke
Stingle: A sting; "a bee's stingle"
Stivvle: To starve
Stug: Stubborn; Dutch *stug*
Stum: To cover in the ball fire with fresh fuel; to smother
Summer Blossoms: Primroses
Swingle: A spreader to keep apart the traces of a leading horse
Taler: A man who keeps count of wedding presents
Tammot: As much hay or straw as a man can carry; Welsh *tam*, a morsel, a bit?
Tangs: Withes used for tying anything
Teens: Haybands; Dutch *teen*, osier-twig
Tidy: Fairly; good
Tinkle: Tingle
Tollat: The unceiled loft of a cottage
Toptest: Superlative of top; highest
Tosty: A cowslip ball
Trapesing: Wandering about in an idle fashion
Trash: The cuttings of a hedge
Tripless: Rickety; unsafe
Tripples: The frame placed on a cart to increase its carrying power

Trippet: A stool
Trolly: A suet dumpling; Welsh *trol*, a cylinder
Trow: Trough
Unkid: Awkward; unsteady
Vang: To dam or mop up water; Dutch *vang*, to catch
Veer: To hunt, as a dog; to quarter
Veer: A weasel
Vel: Skin hide; Dutch *vel*
Velg: Fallow land
Verra: barren
Villy: The felloe of a wheel
Vit: An aim; an attempt; "He made a vit at it"
Vitty: Handy
Voor: The furrow of a plough; Dutch *voor*
Vonk: A spark; Dutch *vonk*
Walplot: Part of wall of house
Washporo: Oatmeal porridge allowed to ferment until it resembles blanc mange
Wemble: A beam
Whichie: Which; "I don't care whichie"
Wim: A circular wooden windlass used in coal-pits; it is worked horizontally
Winchester: Contraction for Winchester bushel; the measure is always called a winchester
Woodcush: A wood pigeon

SHORT PEDEGREES*

OF DIVERS NOBLE-MEN, KNIGHTS, ESQUIRES, GENTLEMEN & WOMEN OF PEMBROKESHIRE;

CONTAINING

All, or most of the Eight Ancestors from whom they are Descended.

TOGETHER

With the ARMS of most of them.

LONDON, Printed by JOHN WINTER, for the Author, Anno Dom. 1671.

THE PREFACE.

THE Ancient Britains the first Inhabitants of this Land, are of the Writers of all Ages (among other things) noted to be a Nation careful and curious in observing their Genealogies and Descents, which they from age to age have not omitted, but left the same to their Posterity; and amongst divers others good means which they had for the registring and retaining of the same, it was the Duty, Charge, and Office of the Ancient Bardi of Wales, being Men of chiefest Learning and estimation among them at the Funerals, or rather at the Months mind, (as it was termed) which was a solemn Assembly held and kept after the death of any Person of Accompt, to draw together the chief Men and People of his kindred, to lament and condole the loss of their Kinsman, to be ready at that Assembly, with one or more Epitaphs of the deceased Gentleman made in a solemn kind of Verse, observed for that purpose, and to bring with him his Atkeinad, with a person having taken his Degree, and being apt and able to express and declare the same distinctly in the open hearing of the whole Assembly, being most and the chiefest People of that Tribe, House, or Family; In the which Epitaph, called more properly in the Brittish tongue (Marwnod) of duty they were among other things, to manifest and declare the Descents of the Deceased Person of what chief Houses, and Generous Families He was descended; and namely, He was to express the eight principal Ancestors whereof he was descended; that is to say, His Four Great Grand-fathers, and His four Great Grand-mothers,

* These genealogies are transcribed from an original and hitherto unpublished MS. preserved in the Chetham Library, Manchester. To this document is attached a printed title page, which professes to have been printed for the author in 1671. A manifest error. The anonymous writer declares in his preface that these are pedigrees "of so many gentlemen as I find living in Pembrok-shire, or were living within my memory." He then opens the list with Walter Earl of Essex, who died in 1576, so the author's recollection must have straightway carried him back 95 years. Within the lines however is ample evidence that some portion of the work was written between the years 1592 and 1612. William Scurfield of Mote is entered as having died October 26, 1592; and John Owen, son of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, is noted as heir to that property. We find from the monument in Monkton Church that he (John Owen) died October 8, 1612, in his father's lifetime. This period would well suit all the gentlemen whose pedigrees are given in the book. Our author favours us with very few dates or localities; these have when possible been supplied in the notes, taken chiefly from Lewis Dwnn's visitations and the Dale Castle Pedigrees. The Manchester MS. differs in some slight particulars from both, and supplies a few new pedigrees; on the other hand the omissions are very remarkable; not a word has the writer to say about Morgan Philipps the then owner of Picton; John and George Barlow of Slebech are both ignored, the younger brother of the first (Stephen) being casually mentioned as the husband of Margaret Kettel. Roger Lort of Stackpole does not appear in any shape. Yet these three were perhaps the most important properties in Pembrokeshire. Very nearly four hundred coats of arms are emblazoned in the MS., which unfortunately I am unable to reproduce; but a careful description of each escutcheon is subjoined. To whose industry we owe these genealogies is unknown; certain indications point to one of the Wogans of Boulston. 1st. The pedigree of John Wogan is thrust in between those of the Earls of Essex and the Lords of Kemes, a position that gentleman was not entitled to assume. 2nd. The genealogies of his immediate relatives take up more that a fair share of the book. His own (No. 3.) His brother-in-law, John Wogan of Wiston (No. 9.) His wife (No. 27.) His aunt (No. 65.) His step-father (No. 78.) The daughter of his illegitimate brother (No. 94.) His daughter-in-law, who was a Devonshire lady (No. 101.) 3rdly. From the monuments in Boulston Church we find that the Wogans were much given to short genealogies of this nature, John Wogan's being among them.—E. L.

being very aptly tearmed in the Welsh, Wyth van rieni, with many other things, to which the said Bardi, were tyed, and some painful skilful persons withall would explain and blaze the Coats of each of these Ancestors, as I have more largely declared in my Treatise that I have written in defence of the true and Ancient Genealogies of Wales; This was a thing expected of duty from the Bardi, to be read at the appointed time, to be recited, and sung openly in the hearing of all the Assembly: which use, as long as our Bardi were ruled and kept by, and within the order of the Laws provided by the Ancient Princes of Wales in this behalf, was so commodious for the preservation of the Ancient Genealogies here in Wales; as that nothing could be better invented, nor yet more pleasing to the People; But when our Bardi began to degenerate, and to neglect their knowledge, and become unruly and uncivil, as they have done for these last threescore years; they themselves, with their works, became contemptuous, and out of request, and this good order much omitted, and therewithal the knowledge of Genealogies, (which for many hundred years before was carefully preserved among the Ancient Britains, and the Welshmen their remnants) was neglected and forgotten, which I looking unto, and finding many good Notes and Fragments of Ancient Genealogies of many Gentlemen of this my Countrey, and sorrowing to see their Antiquities to be buryed in Oblivion, I purposed with my self to take some pains in searching out so much as by Industry I could, to bring to light, and to preserve in memory that which was ready to be lost; and among other Fragments concerning that work, I determined to collect and gather together in one Pamphlet the Eight principal Ancestors of so many Gentlemen as I find now living within Pembrok-shire, or were living within my memory; and whose Descents I could by any certainty learn, as a memory of the Ancient order of our fore-named Bardi; and the same I have lald down in such order as was by me conceived fittest for that purpose, and as appeareth in this little Book, wherein though I find good warrant to enlarge diverse of the same Genealogies with many other, and more Ancestors and Descents than here is expressed; yet for orders sake ,and observation of my intended Method, I made my rest at those Eight only; for otherwise I should have grown into disorder and confusion. And whereas in diverse of these I come short, and not able to bring, or lay down my full determined number for every Man, that is not my negligence, for I was willing and carefull to learn, but could not attain to the knowledge thereof as yet, but have left convenient place for the same when the same shall be learned. This have I done to remain as a light, to lead the next age to further knowledge in this matter, I my self having done my best endeavour herein, and such faults as are herein escaped in any Descent, either through mine ignorance, negligence, or miss-information, I shall be glad to learn, and willing to reform upon true information.

This being as much as of my self I was at this time able to perform and acccomplish the Brothers and Sisters of the whole Blood to any persons, whose Ancestors is here laid, down, I have omitted, but do refer the same to such their Brother or Sister, as is here to be found. But if there be any of the half-blood, I most commonly lay such down also, because they differ in half their Ancestors.

VALE.

1.

1. *Argent* a fesse *gules* in chief three torteaux; 2. *Argent* a cross engr. betw. four water bougets *sable;* 3. Barry of six *argent* and *azure* in chief three torteaux; 4. *Argent* a fess and canton *gules;* 5. *Gules* a maunch *or;* 6. *Sable* two bars *argent* in chief three plates; 7. *Or* a chevron *gules.* 8. As No. 4.

John L. Ferrers of Chartlye = Cicill daughter to William L. Burcher

Thomas Gray Marques dorsett = Cecill D. & H. to Wm. Lord Bonvil & harrington

Edward Lorde Hastings = Margrett D. to Tho. Lord Hungerford

Henry Duke of Buckingham = Katherin D. to Richard Erle Riuers

Walter Viscount Herefford = Marye D. to Sir Thomas Gray Marques dorsett

George Earle of Huntington = Anna

Sir Richard Devereux Knight = Dorothe
(1) Walter Earle of Essex.

2.

1. *Argent* a fesse *gules* in chief three torteaux; 2. Barry of six *argent* and *azure* in chief three torteaux; 3. *Gules* a maunch *or;* 4, *Or* a chevron *gules;* 5. *Azure* crusily a cross moline (voided throughout, *i. e.*) disjoined *or;* 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three roses of the field; 8. *Argent* a chevron betw. three bulls' heads couped *sable.*

Walter Viscount Hereford = Mary D. to Tho. Gray Marques dorsett

George Earle of Huntington = Anna D. to Henry Duke of Buckingham

Robert Knolles = ...

Wm. Carye ar. = Marye D. to Tho. Bullen Earl of Wiltsh.

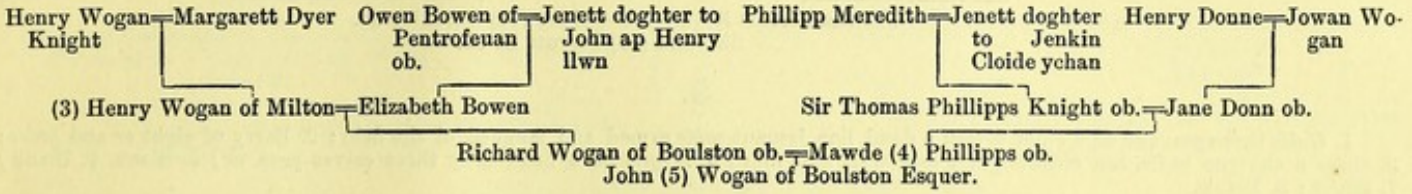
Sir Richard Deuereux Knight = Dorothea

Sr Francis Knolles Knight = Katherin Cary

Walter Earle of Essex = Letticia Com. Essex
(2) Robert Earle of Essex.

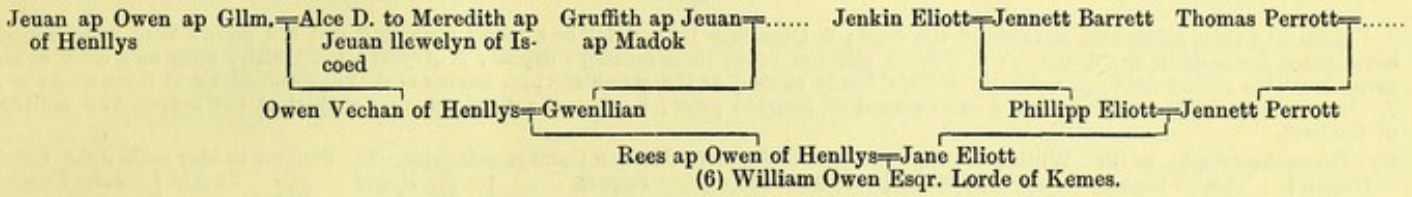
3.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the first; 2. Blank; 3. Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 2 and 3. *Gules* a fess *argent* betw. three truelove knots *argent*; 4. *Sable* a falcon *argent* belled *or*; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or*; 6. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable*; 7. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent*; 8. As No. 1.



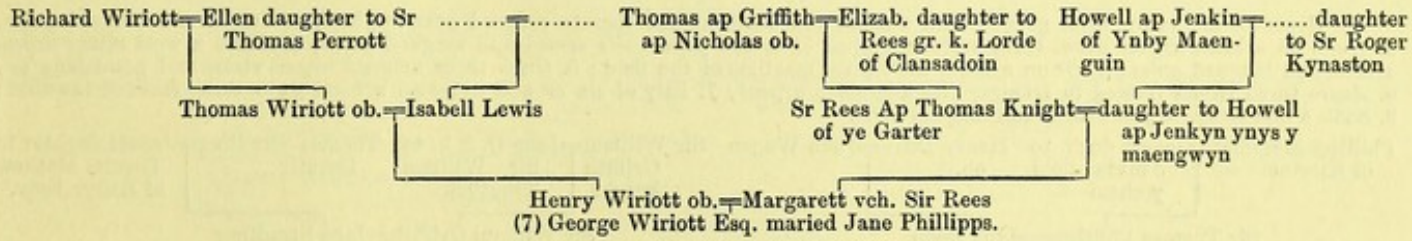
4.

1. *Gules* a boar pass. *argent* armed collared and chained *or* to a holly tree *vert*; 2. *Vert* three eagles displ. in fess *or*; 3. Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a chevron betw. three truelove knots *argent*; 4. *Azure* blank; 5. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure*; 6. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable*; 7. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 8. Blank.



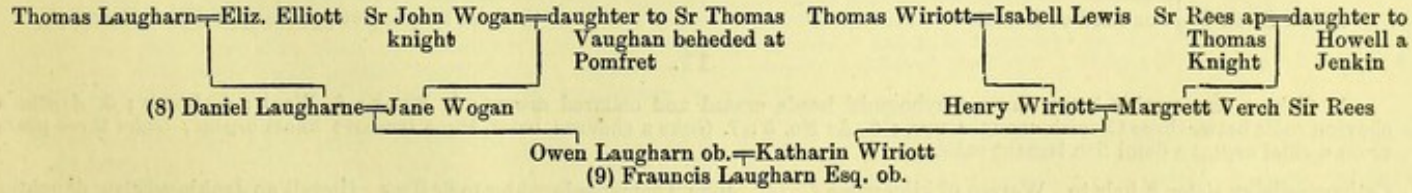
5.

1. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued *gules*; 3. Blank; 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* a chevron betw. three Cornish choughs *sable*; 6. *Gules* on a fess dancetté betw. six lions ramp. *or* three rooks ppr. legged *gules*; Ermine a saltire *gules*; 8. *Sable* a lion ramp. *argent* armed and langued *gules*.



6.

1. *Gules* three lions heads erased *or*; 2. Blank; 3. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 4. Quarterly 1st and 4th a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or*; 5. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second; 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three Cornish choughs ppr. *gules*; 8. Ermine a saltire *gules*.



7.

1. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued *gules*; 2. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 3. Barry of eight *or* and *gules*; 4. *Argent* a fess and canton *gules*; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. ten crosses patty *argent* six and four; 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three calves pass. *or*; 8. Blank.

Sir William Perrott Knight = Juan Wogan
Sir Robert Pointes Knight = Marget f. Anthonye Woodville Com. Rivers
Mores Lorde Barkley = ...
William Veale of Bristo. = ...
Sir Owen Perrott Knight ob. = Katherin Poyntes ob.
Thomas Barkley Esquier ob. = Susan Veale daughter and heir
Thomas Perrott Esquier ob. = Mary (10) Burckley ob.
Sir John (10) Perrott K. ob.

8.

1. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued of the field; 2. Barry of eight *or* and *gules*; 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. ten crosses patty *argent* six and four; 4. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three calves pass. *or*; 5. Blank 6. Blank; 7. Blank; 8. Blank.

Sir Owen Perrot Knight = Katherin D. to Sr Robert Points
James Barkley = Susan D. to Wm. Veale of Bristo.
Thomas Perrott, Esquier = Marie Barkley
Sir John Perrott Knight = ... (12)
Sir Tho. Perrott Knight.

9.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 2. Quarterly 1st and 4th *or* a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or*; 3, Blank; 4. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent*; 5. *Argent* a bend fusily *gules* on a chief *azure* three escallops of the field; 6. *Sable* three boys' heads couped at the shoulders ppr. having snakes enwrapped about their necks *or*; 7. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or* langued *gules*; 8. *Argent* a bend *gules* on a chief of the second two mullets of the field.

Sir John Wogan Knight = Ann doght. to Sir Tho. Vaughan Knight
William Phillipp of Stone Halle = Margerie doghter to Tankard
Morgan Gamage Esquer = doghter to Sir Roger Vaugham
doghter to Morgan Jenkin Phillip = Sir John Saint John Knight
(13) Sir John Wogan Knight = Ann Phes sola filia et heres
Sir Thomas Gamage Knighte = Margett Saint John
Richard Wogan Esquier = Elizabeth Gamage
(14) John Wogan of Wiston Esquier.

10.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules*; 2. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable* armed and langued *gules*; 3. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent* armed and langued *gules*; 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5. *Gules* three helmets *argent* vizors and garnishing *or*; 6. *Azure* three trouts fretted in triangle tête-à-la-guise *argent*; 7. Paly of six *or* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three roses of the first; 8. *Sable* a lion ramp. *argent* armed and langued *gules*.

Phillipp Meredith of Kilsant = Jenett dogh. to Jenkin lloid y cham
Henry Donn ob. = Juan Wogan
Sir William Griffith knight = Jane D. & h. to Sir William Troutbek
Thomas Stradling Esquier = Jenett doghter to Thomas Mathew of Radyr Esqr.
Sir Thomas Phillipps Knight ob. = Jane Donn
Sir William Griffith Knight = Jane Stradling
John Phillipps Esqr. = Elizabeth Griffith
William Phillipps of Picton Esquier ob.
(15) Elizabeth dr. & coheir wife of Georg Owen esquier & lord of Kemis
Mary dr. & coheir wife of Alban Stepney of Prendergast Esq. (17)
Alban Owen Esquier Lord of Kemeis
Sr John Stepney of prendergast Kt. & Barronet.

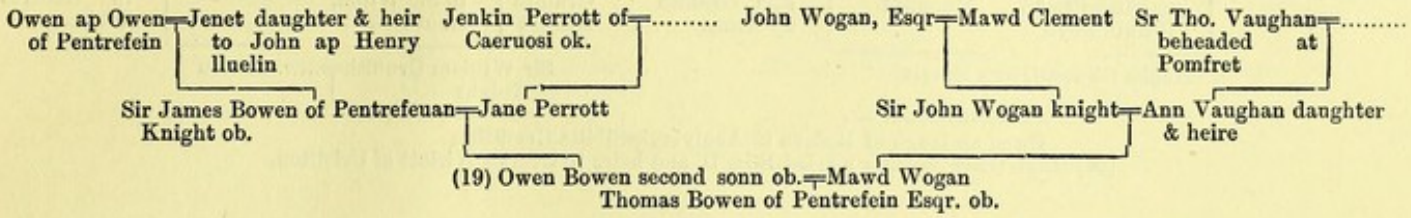
11.

1. *Gules* a fess ermine betw. three greyhounds' heads erased and collared *argent*; 2. Blank; 3. Blank; 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three Cornish choughs ppr.; 6. As No. 5; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three truelove knots *argent*; *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*.

Catharn = lleiky sister & heir to Rees guinneth of kilgaren
Warren of kilgaren = ...
John Thomas ap gruff = daughter to Sr Rees ap Thoms
Howell ap Jenkin Junior of Neuarn = Ellen daughter to Thomas Perrot
David Catharn = ...
William John Thomas = Margrett Vergh Howell
Henry Catharn = Ellen Thomas
(18) Thomas Catharne Esqr.

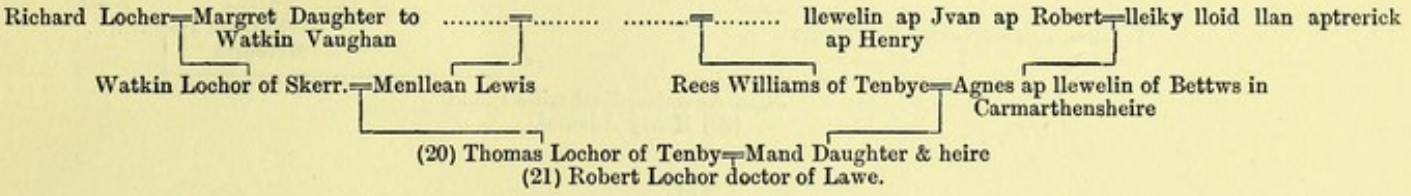
12.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of eight cinquefoils *or* armed and langued *gules;* 2. *Sable* a falcon *argent* belled *or* armed and langued *gules;* 3. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed of the field; 4. Blank; 5. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 6. Bendy nebuly of six *argent* and *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 7. Quarterly 1st and 4th *or* a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or;* 8. Blank.



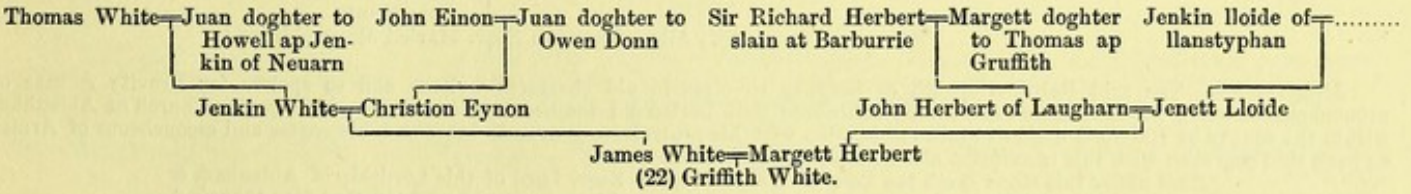
13.

1. *Gules* three chevrons *argent;* 2. *Sable* three boys' heads couped at the shoulders ppr. crined *or* with snakes enwrapped about their necks of the last; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



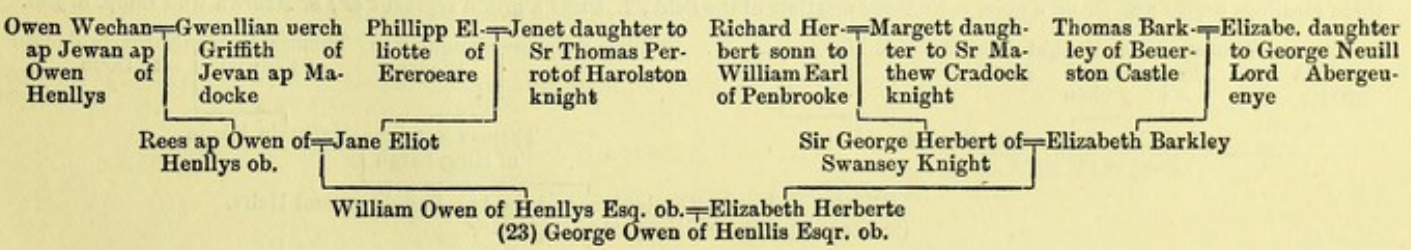
14.

1. *Sable* a chevron betw. three stags' heads caboshed *or;* 2. Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a chevron betw. three truelove knots *argent;* 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. three towers *or;* 4. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent;* 5. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent;* 6. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three Cornish choughs ppr.; 7. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable;* 8. Blank.



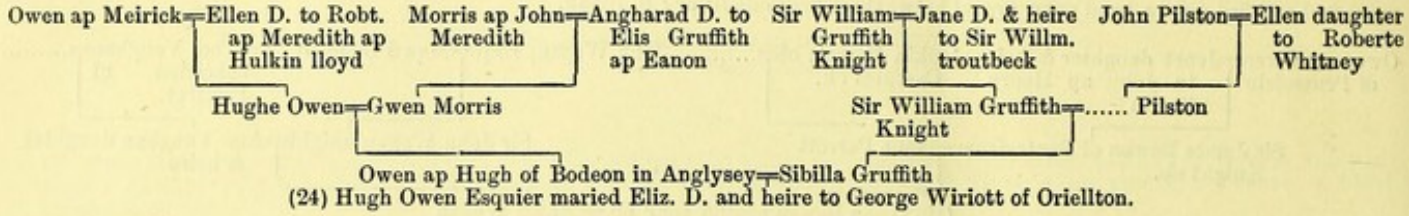
15.

1. *Argent* boar pass. *argent* armed bristled collared and chained *or* tied to a holly bush *vert;* 2. Quarterly 1st and 4th *azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a chevron betw. three truelove knots *argent;* 3. *Argent* a fesse *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 4. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued of the field; 5. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent* within a bordure gobony of the second and *or* in every first division of the bordure a bezant; 6. *Azure* three boars' heads couped *argent* langued *gules* betw. nine crosses crosslet of the 2nd; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. ten crosses patty *argent* six and four; 8. *Gules* on a saltire *argent* a rose *or* barbed *vert.*



16.

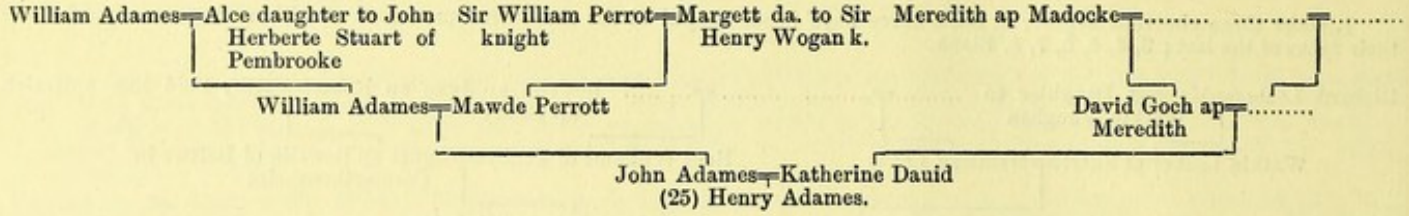
1. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three lions ramp. *or;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent;* 6. *Azure* three trouts fretted in triangle tête-à-la-guise *argent;* 7. *Argent* on a bend *sable* voided of the field three mullets of the second; 8. *Argent* a cross compony *argent* and *gules.*



(24) Hugh Owen Esquier maried Eliz. D. and heire to George Wiriott of Oriellton.

17.

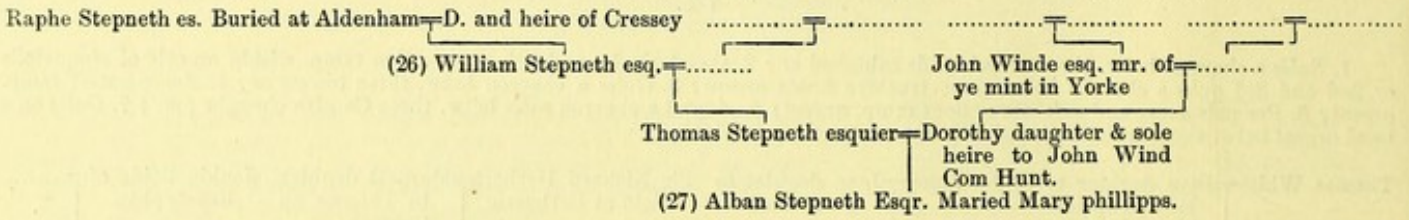
1. *Sable* a martlet *argent;* 2. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent;* 3. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* langued of the field; 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



(25) Henry Adames.

18.

1. *Gules* a fess chequy *or* and *azure* betw. three owls *argent;* 2. *Argent* a lion ramp. tail forked *sable;* 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

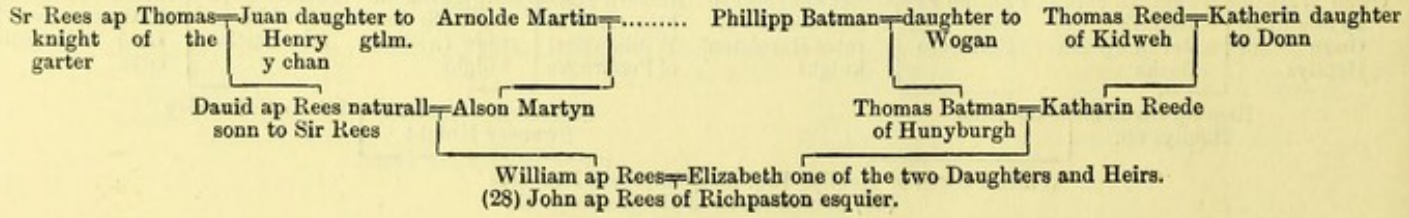


Memorandum—The said Ralph Stepneth or Stepney so often in old charteres written and so spoken for Brevity & ease of pronounciation being the selfe same name family & kindred lieth buried & intombed in the chancell of the parish Church of Aldenham within the county of Hartford within 14 miles of London with his protraiture graven in brass and his coates and escoucheons of Armes on each side engraven with this inscription also in Brass upon a marble stone:

> Here under this stone lyeth the Body of Ralph Stepney Esqr. Lord of this Lordship of Aldenham & patron of this church he deceased the 3 day of Decemb. in the yeare of or Lord God One thousand five hundred forty & eight on whose soul Jesus have mercy. Amen.
> *Note*—The said Manor & Rectorie is worth 800 p annum & tythe Rober Stepney Elder Brother of Alban Stepney esq. built a fair howse therupon with park of dear and warren & that poule Stepney his only son Cosen German to Sr John Stepney Knt. & Barronet being his next heir sold the same to Sr Edward Carre kt. father to the Lord Falkland now Lord Deputy of Ireland who dwelt there before his going over to Ireland.

19.

1. *Argent* a chevron betw. three martlets *sable;* 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* three castles *azure;* 4. Blank; 5. *Sable* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 6. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 7. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or;* 8. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent.*



(28) John ap Rees of Richpaston esquier.

20.

1. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 2. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 3. *Argent* a cross voided betw. four lions pass. *gules;* 4. Blank; 5. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 6. *Sable* two bends nebuly *argent* on a chief *gule* three bezants; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent.*

(29) Moris Butler = Eliza. D. & heire to John tankarde of Jonston
..... = ...
Sr John Wogan knight = Mawde Clement
William Phillipps of Stonhall = Jane daughter to Phillipp Eliot
William Butler = daughter to —— Golding of Kent
Sir John Wogan knight = Ann phes sole daughter and heire
(30) Arnolde Butler ar. = Ellen Wogan
Thomas Butler of Jonston Esqr.

21.

1. Per chevron engr. *sable* and *argent* in chief two towers of the second in base a fleur de lis *gules;* 2. Blank; 3. *Gules* two manacles interlaced *argent;* 4, 5, 6, 7. Blank; 8. *Or* a lion ramp. reguardant *sable* armed and langued *gules.*

Thomas Reuell = Jane Gomond
Dauid Bowen of lloghmiler = ...
..... = ...
Phillipp lloide = Guenllian berch Madock Moythe
Thomas Revell = Jennett Bowen
Thomas Walter of Carmarthen = Ellen Phillipp
John Reuell = Ann Walter
(31) Thomas Reuell esquier maried Ethlyn Rees second mar. Juan Lovelace.

22.

1. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

..... = ...
..... = ...
..... = ...
..... = ...
..... = ...
William David Williams = ...
John Eliott of Earwere = Lettice Williams
(32) John Eliott of Narberth Esquier.

23.

1. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 2. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 3. *Azure* three bears pass. *argent;* 4. Blank; 5. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 6. Bendy nebuly of six *argent* and *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent.*

John (33) Butler = Elizabeth Eliott
Brian Fraues = Jane Talcarn
Sr John Wogan knight = Mawde Clement
William Phillipps of Stonhall = Margery D. & heire to Phillip tancard
John Buttler = Ann Fraues
Sir John Wogan knight = Anna Phillipps sola heres
John Butler = Alice Wogan
John Butler of Koedkenles.

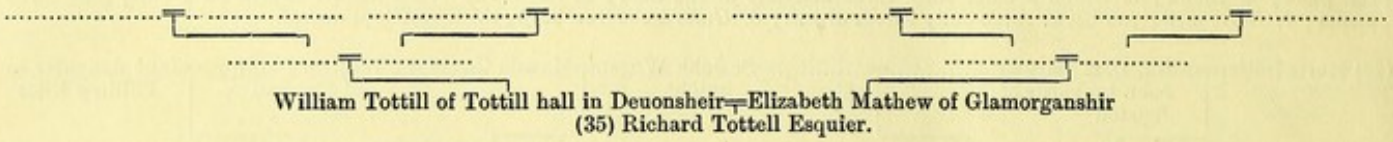
24.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules;* 2. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable;* 3. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent* armed *gules;* 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or* langued *gules;* 6. Blank; 7. *Azure* three stags' heads caboshed *or;* 8. Blank.

Phillipp Meredith of Kilsant = Jenett D. to Jenkin lloyd ychan
Henry Donn of Picton = Juan Da. to Wogan
Thomas ap John ap Rees = ...
Ap Rees Dauid Thomas = ...
Sir Thomas Phillipps knight = Jane Donn D. & coheire
Lewis Tho. ap John = Ellen lloid
Owen Phes of kilsant = Jenett Lewis
(34) Eynon Phillipps Esquier.

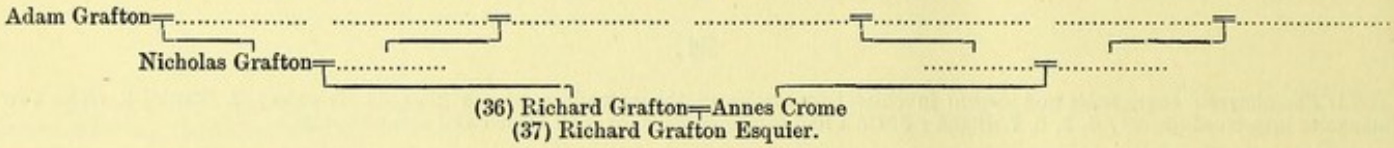
25.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



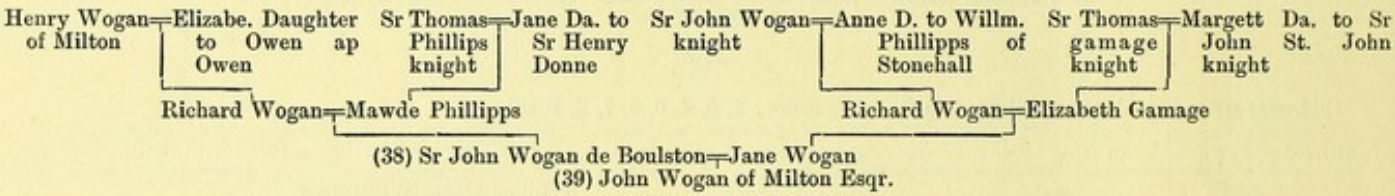
26.

1. Per saltire *sable* and *ermine* a lion ramp. *or* armed and laugued *gules;* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



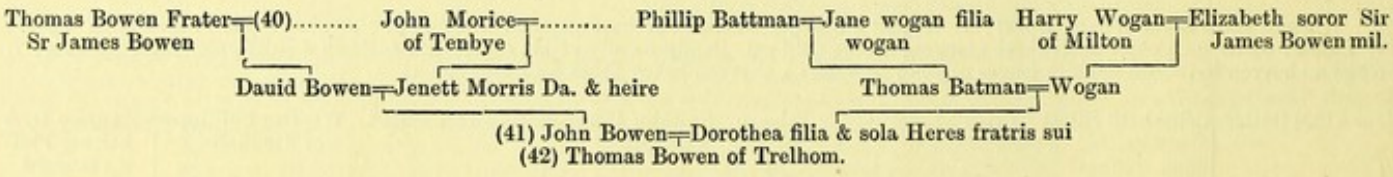
27.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 2. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* armed and langued *gules;* 3. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable;* 4. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent* armed and langued *gules;* 5. As No. 1; 6. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 7. *Argent* a bend fusily *gules* on a chief *azure* three escallops of the field; 8. *Argent* a bend *gules* on a chief of the second two mullets *or*.



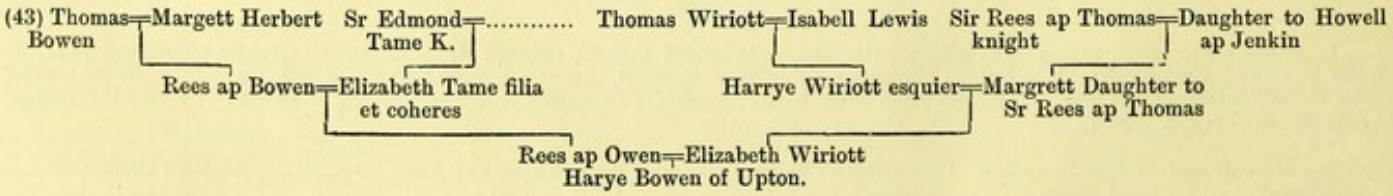
28.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Sable* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 6. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 7. As No. 6; 8. As No 1.



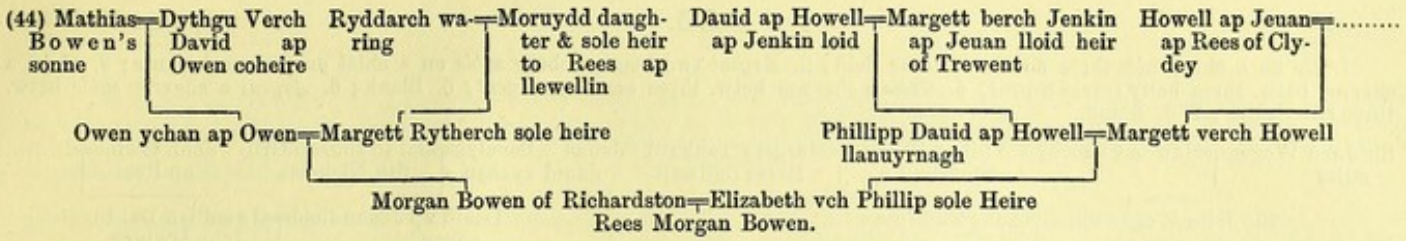
29.

1. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three Cornish choughs ppr armed *gules;* 2. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent;* 3, 4. Blank; 5. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second armed and langued *gules;* 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens *sable* armed *gules;* 8. *Ermine* a saltire *gules*.



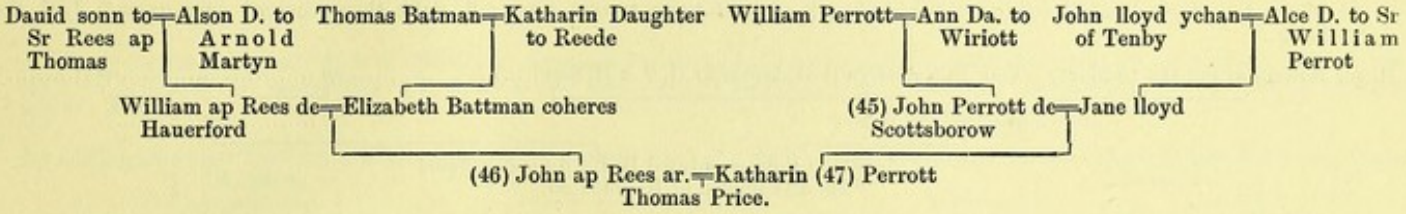
30.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 2. *Vert* three eagles displ. in fess *or;* 3. As No. 1; 4. Blank; 5. As No. 1; 6, 7. 8. Blank.



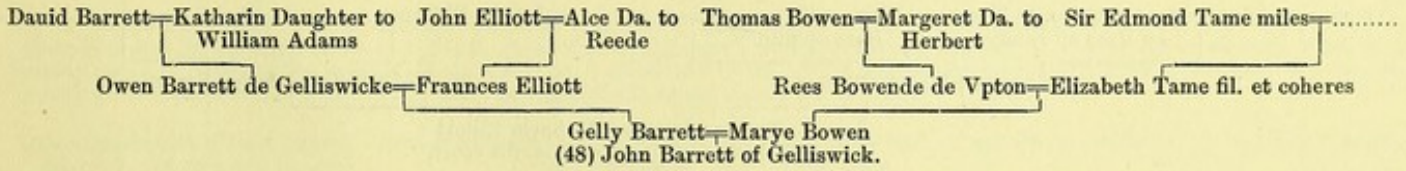
31.

1. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens *sable* over all a bend sinister *gules*; 2. *Argent* three towers *azure*; 3. *Sable* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent*; 4. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or*; 5. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued of the field; 6. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second langued *gules*; 7. *Gules* on a bend *argent* a lion pass. *sable* armed and langued of the field; 8. As No. 5.



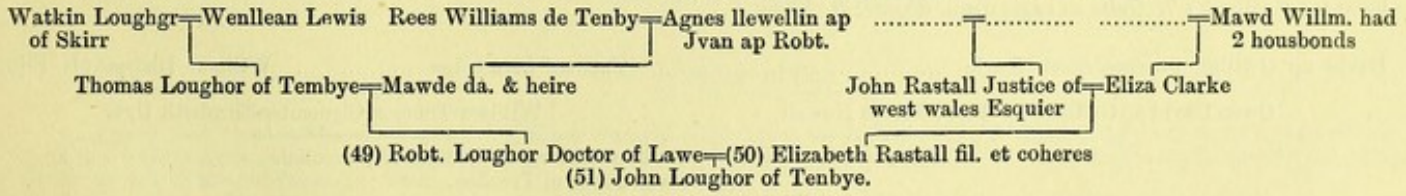
32.

1. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable*; 2. *Sable* a martlet *argent*; 3. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bass gemelle wavy *azure*; 4. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or* armed and langued *azure*; 5. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr; 6. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent*; 7, 8. Blank.



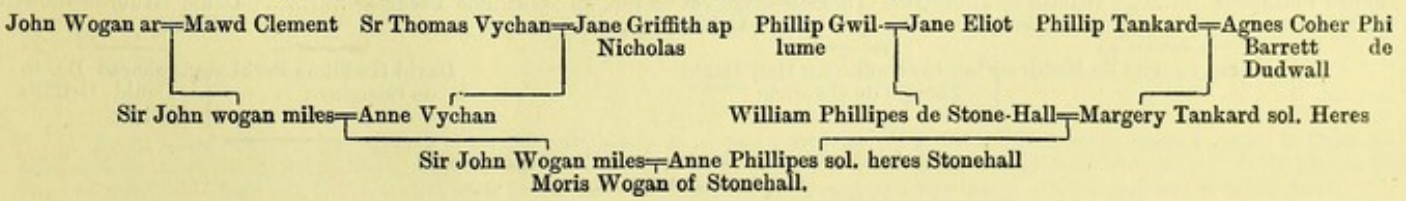
33.

1. *Gules* three chevrons *argent*; 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Ermine* on a pale *gules* three pheons *or*; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



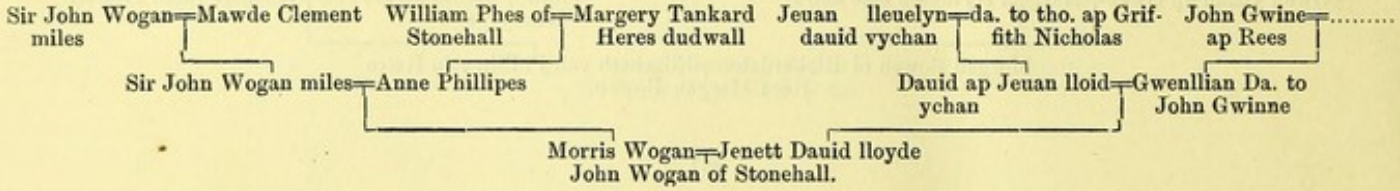
34.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 2. *Argent* two bends nebuly *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 3. Quarterly 1st and 4th *or* a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs de lis *or*; 4. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens ppr; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent*; 6. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure*; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent*; 8. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable*.



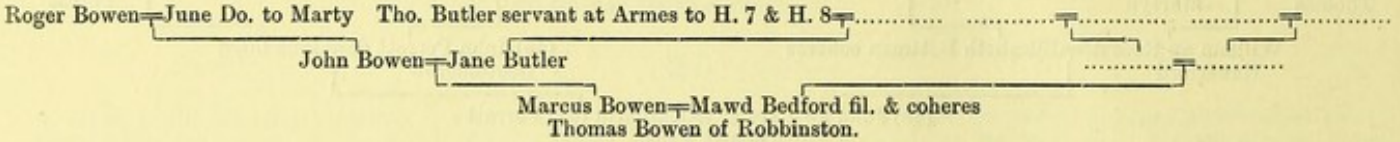
35.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 2. *Argent* two bends nebuly *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 4. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 5. Blank; 6. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr; 7, 8. Blank.



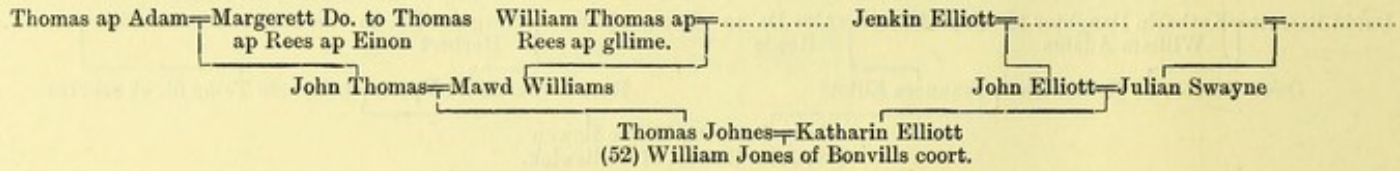
36.

1. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent—vide* 21; 2. *Argent* three towers *azure;* 3. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



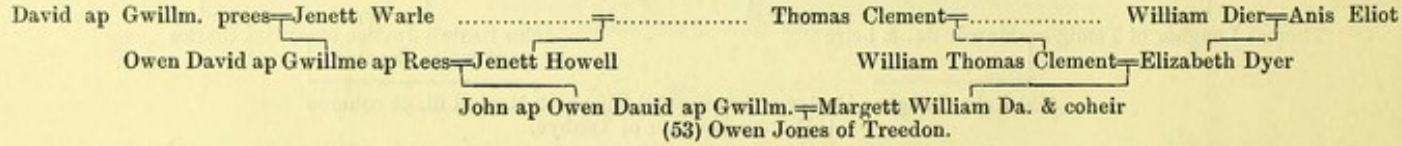
37.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 6, 7, 8. Blank.



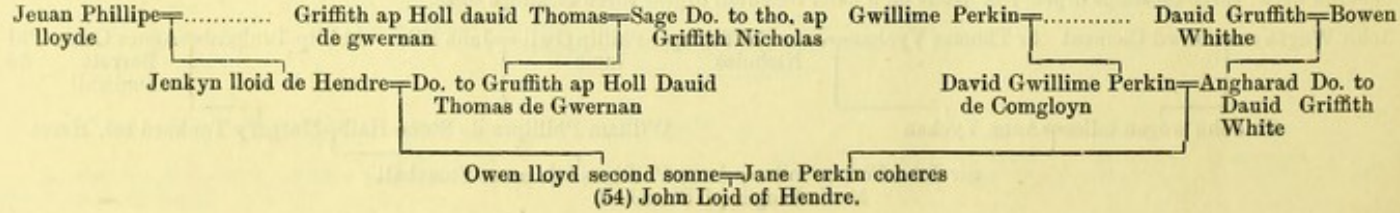
38.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* two bends nebuly *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent;* 8. Blank.



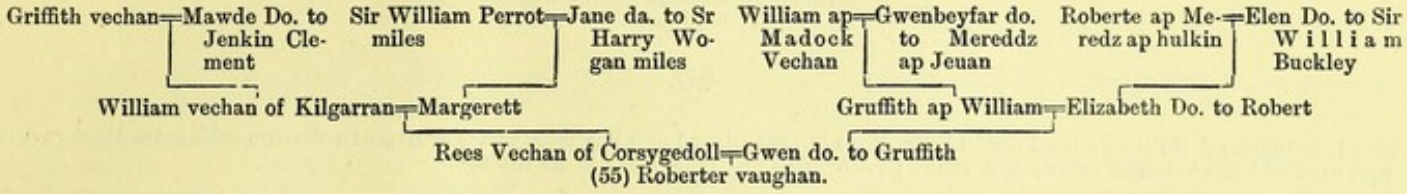
39.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 2. Blank; 3. *Azure* three stags' heads caboshed *or;* 4. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr.; 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



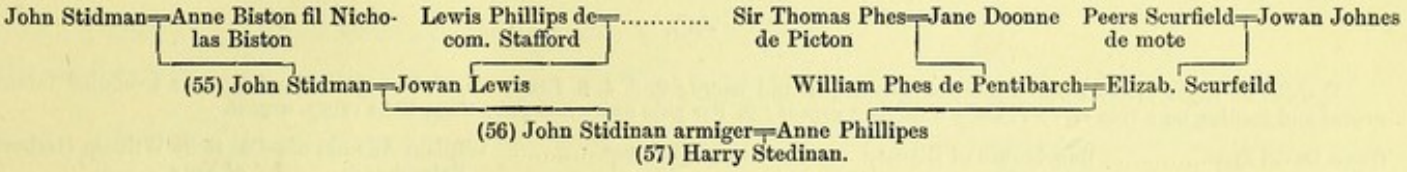
40.

1. *Ermine* a saltire *gules;* 2. *Argent* two bends nebuly *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 3. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued of the field; 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5. *Gules* a chevron *or* a chief *ermine;* 6. *Vert* three eagles displ. in fess *or*; 7. *Argent* a leg coupled at the calf and booted *sable;* 8. *Sable* three bulls' heads caboshed *argent* langued *gules.*



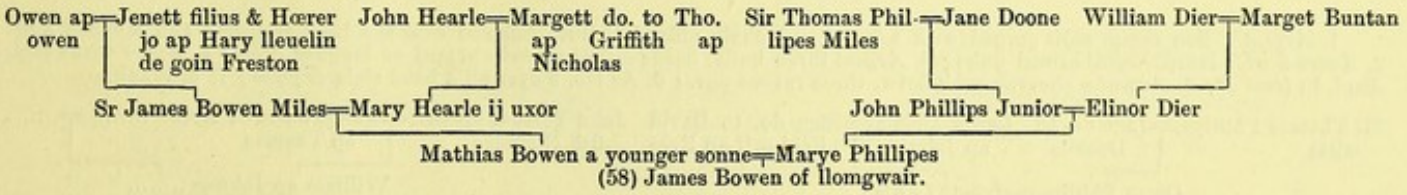
41.

1. *Or* a cross flory *vert;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gule;* 6. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent* langued *gules;* 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 8. Blank.



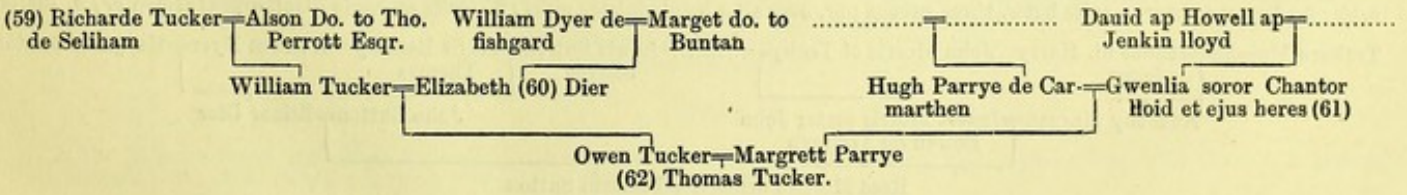
42.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* armed and langued *gules;* 2. *Sable* a falcon *argent* armed *gules;* 3. *Argent* a chevron *argent* (!) betw. three ducks,—heads, necks and wings *azure;* bodies, tails and legs *or;* 4. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr.; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules;* 6. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent;* 7. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent* armed *or;* 8. Blank.



43.

1. *Argent* four bars wavy *azure* over all a chevron *erminois* betw. three sea horses ppr.; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable* armed and langued of the field; 3. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent* armed *or;* 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 8. Blank.



44.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of six cinquefoils *or;* 2. *Argent* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *gules;* 3. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable;* 4. *Sable* a martlet *argent;* 5. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or* armed and langued *gules;* 6. Blank; 7. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 8. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* armed and langued *gules.*

John bovell=Jowan fil. William Jordan de Honiborogh
David Barrett de Gellis-wick=Kathar. daughter William Adams
Owen David ap gwillime price=Jenett Howell
Richard Wogan de Bowlstone=Mawd fil. Johs Phes de Picton
Thomas boell=Ellen Barrett
William ap Owen David ap Gwillime=Eliza. Fil. Rics Wogan de Bowelstone
Thomas boell=Elizabeth Gwillime
(63) John boell.

45.

1, 2. Blank ; 3. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable ;* 4. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr. over all a bend sinister *azure ;* 5, 6. Blank ; 7. *Or* three chevrons *sable ;* 8. As No. 4.

John Marychurch=(64) Annes Reade
Jenkin Loyde de Lanstephen=Eliza. (65) fil. Sir Rees ap Thomas
John Harries=.....
(66) Lewis Sutton=(67).....
John Marychurch=Jane lloid
Hugh Harryes=Margeret Sutton
John Marichurch=Jennett Harryes
(68) John Marichurch.

46.

1. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent* a chief chequy *argent* and *azure ;* 2, 3, 4, 6. Blank ; 5. *Sable* a goat standing on a swaddled infant *argent* and feeding on a tree *vert ;* 7. *Sable* a martlet *argent ;* 8. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent.*

Owen David ap Jeua=.....
llnn Jenkin of Blaen y gorfe=.....
David lloide=.....
William Adames of Paterchurch=Da. to Sr William Herbert of Troy
Howell ap Owen=Lleuky uerch llnn
Robert Dauid lloide=Margrett Adames
(69) Lewis ap Howell=Mary (70) lloide
(71) Morgan Powell of Pembrok.

47.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules ;* 2. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent* armed *gules ;* 3. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or* langued *gules ;* 4. *Azure* three eagles displ. in fesse *or ;* 5. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr. ; 6. As No. 5 over all a bend sinister *gules ;* 7, 8. Blank.

Sir Thomas Phillipes miles=Jane do. to Doonne
Lewis Thomas ap John=Elen do. to David lloid grif ap Rees
John Thomas ap Griffith Nicholas=Daughter to Sr Rees ap Thomas
.....=.....
Owen Phillipes=Jenett Lewis
William ap John=.....
(72) Eynon Phillipes armiger=Katharin William
(73) Lewis Phes of Pentre-Jeuan.

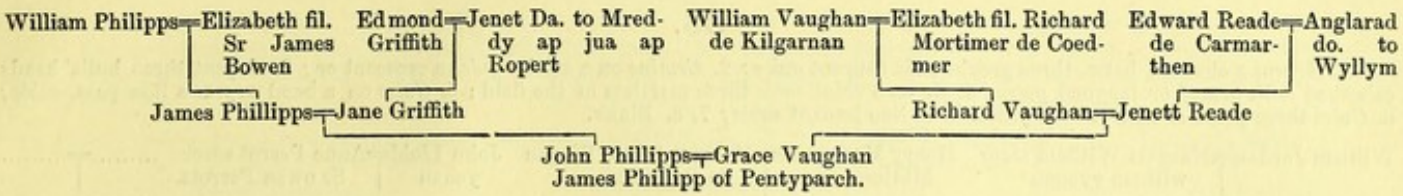
48.

1. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or* langued *gules ;* 2. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent ;* 3, 4. Blank ; 5. *Or* three chevrons *sable ;* 6. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr. over all a bend sinister *gules ;* 7. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent* armed *or ;* 8. Blank.

Traharn Morgan=Jennet fil. Harry donne
John Morris of Tenby=.....
Lewis Sutton occisus=fil. Sr Rees ap Thomas
William Dyer=Margaret Buntan
Anthony Morgan=Jenett Morris mater John Bowen de Trelloyn
John Sutton=Elinor Dier
Rees Morgan armiger=Tamesin Sutton
Harrye Morgan of Hotton.

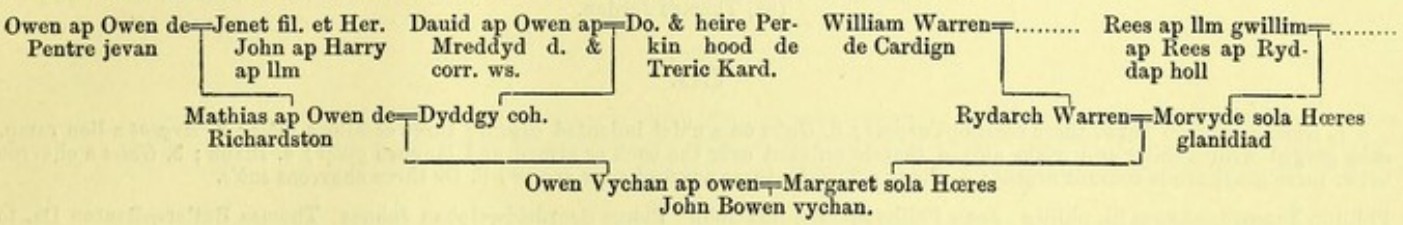
49.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over his back *or ;* 2. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or ;* 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent ;* 4. Blank ; 5. *Ermine* on a saltire *gules* a crescent *or ;* 6. *Vert* a lion ramp. *argent ;* 7. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or ;* 8. Blank.



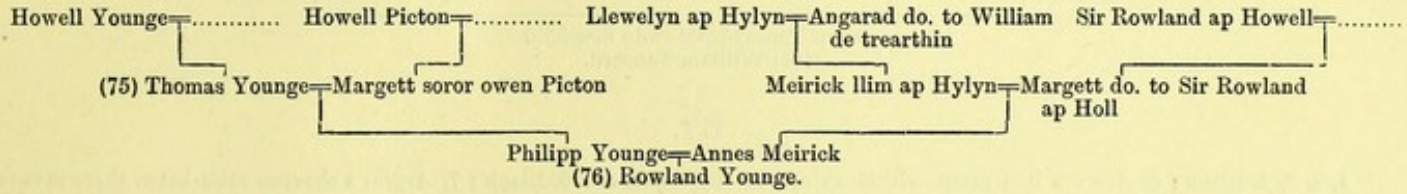
50.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of six cinquefoils *or*; 2. *Azure* a martlet *argent*; 3. Blank; 4. *Gules* a holly bush *vert* over all a boar statant *argent*; 5. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of eight cinquefoils *or*; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



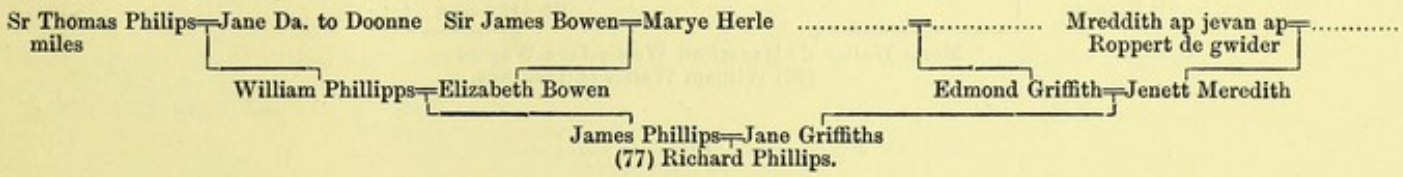
51.

1, 2. Blank; 3. *Gules* three fishes naiant *argent* in pale; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



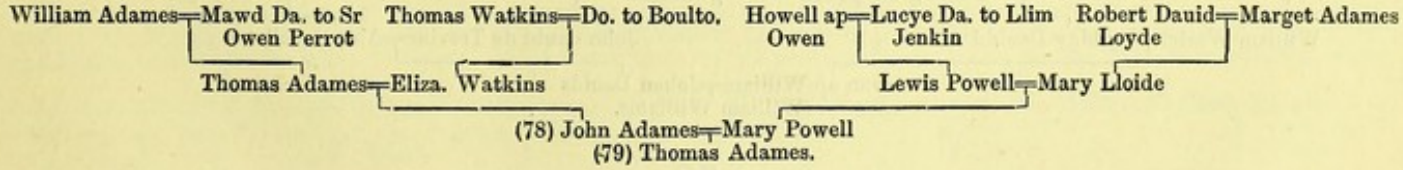
52.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or*; 2. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent*; 3. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 4. *Gules* a chevron *argent*; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent*; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



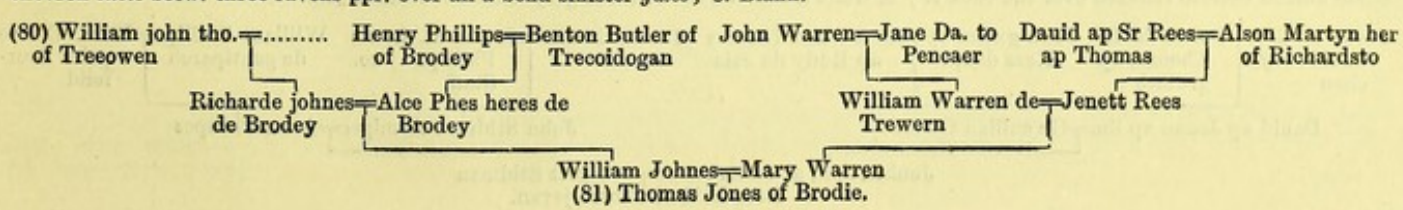
53.

1. *Sable* a martlet *argent*; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 3, 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Sable* a goat standing on a swaddled infant *argent* and feeding on a tree *vert*; 8. As No. 1.



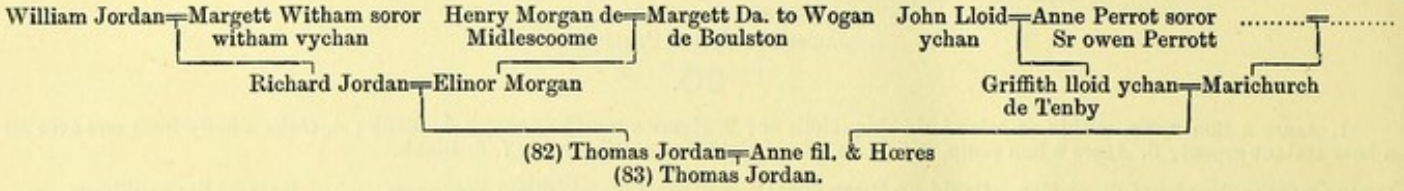
54.

1. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent*; 2, 3. Blank; 4. *Sable* three covered cups *argent*; 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr. over all a bend sinister *gules*; 8. Blank.



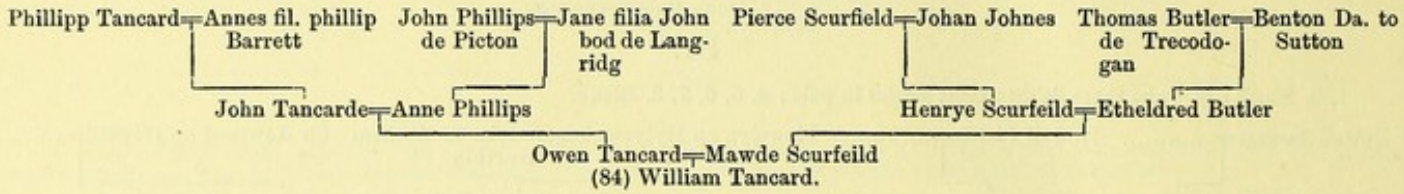
55.

1. *Argent* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *gules;* 2. *Ermine* on a saltire *gules* a crescent *or;* 3. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or* langued *gules;* 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5. *Gules* on a bend *argent* a lion pass. *sable;* 6. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 7, 8. Blank.



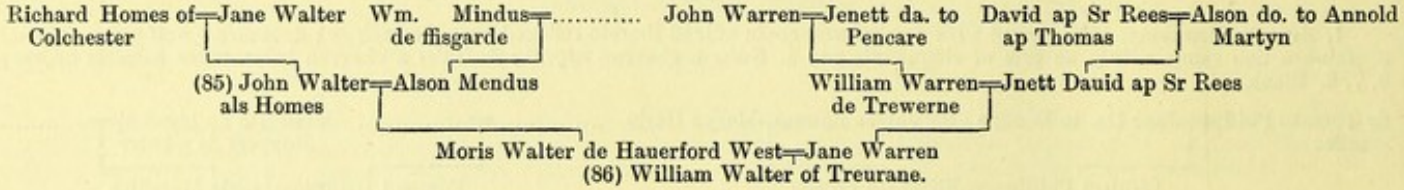
56.

1. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 2. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent;* three escallops *sable;* 3. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules;* 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 6. Blank; 7. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 8. *Or* three chevrons *sable.*



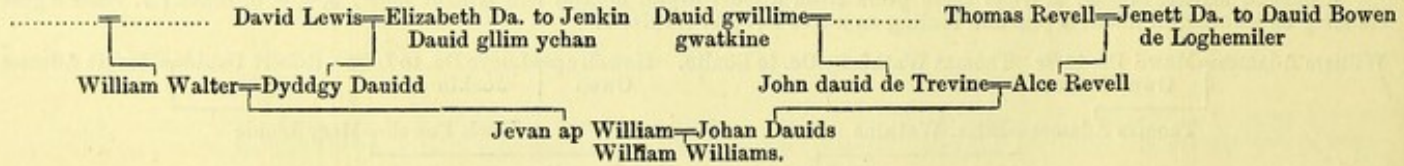
57.

1, 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr. over all a bend sinister *gules;* 8. *Argent* three towers *azure.*



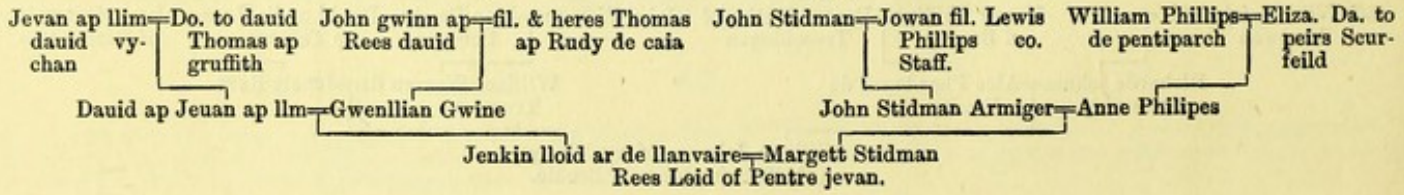
58.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. Per chevron engr. *sable* and *argent* in chief two towers *argent* in base a fleur-de-lis *gules;* 8. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent.* *Vide* 21.



59.

1. *Or* a lion ramp. reguardant *sable;* 2. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr.; 3. *Gules* a lion ramp. within a bordure indented *or;* 4. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent;* 5. *Or* a cross flory *vert;* 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or;* 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent.*



60.

1. *Argeut* a fesse *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 3, 4, Blank; 5. *Sable* three boys' heads couped at the shoulders ppr. crined and with snakes enwrapped about their necks *or;* 6, 7, 8. Blank.

(87) Phillip Eliott = Jenet fil. Thomas Perrot miles — William Dauid Williams = ... — John vychan de cruck howell = ... — Lewis Richard = ...

John Eliott de Eareweare = Lettice Williams — John vychan de Narberth = Elizabeth Richard

(88) John Eliott de Narberth ar. = Jane da. & Heres John vychan de Narberth

(89) Owen Eliott of Narberth.

61.

1. *Gules* a chevron *argent;* 2. Blank; 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent;* 4. *Argent* on a bend voided *sable* three mullets of the last; 5. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second; 6. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr over all a bend sinister *gules;* 7. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or;* 8. As No. 3.

Hughe Owen = Gwen Morris — Sir William griffith miles = Pileston — Henry Wyriott = fil. Sr Rees ap Thomas — John Phillipps armiger = Elizabeth do. to gruffith

Owen ap Hughe = Cibill Gruffith — George Wiriotte armiger = Jane Phillipps

Hughe Owen armiger = Elizabeth fil. et Heres

(89a) John Owen of Orielton.

62.

1. *Sable* a chevron *ermine* betw. three bulls' heads caboshed *argent;* 2, 3. Blank; 4. Two bars wavy uncoloured; 5. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable;* 6. *Argent* three bulls' heads caboshed *sable* armed *or;* 7. *Gules* three chevrons *argent;* 8. Blank.

Henry Saunder of Ewell in com. Sur 15 H. 7 = Jane D. & one of ye 5 of Lepton in com. Yorks — Willm. Merston son of Willm. Merston of Horton com. Sou. = Beatrix Da. to Barle of Havering of ye Bower com. Essex — Henry Barrett = Katharin da. to Morgan — Thomas Laugher = Mawd Willim Da. & heire Rees Willim

William Sander of Ewell in com. Surrey Esqr vixit 13 2 Eliza. = Jane Merston filia et coheres relict Nichi Myn. — William Barrett = Anne Lougher

Erasmus Saunder Esquier = Jenett Barrett sola Heres

Nicholas Saunder.

63.

1. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 2. Blank; 3. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 4. *Or* three chevrons *sable;* 5. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 6. Quarterly 1st and 4th *or* a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or;* 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent.*

Peerce Scurfild = Johan fi. Richard jones de Hauerford — Thomas Buttler de Tregodogan = Beaton fil. John Sutton — Sir John Wogan = Anne fi. Sir Thomas vychan — William Phillips = Margerie Tancard fil. & Heres

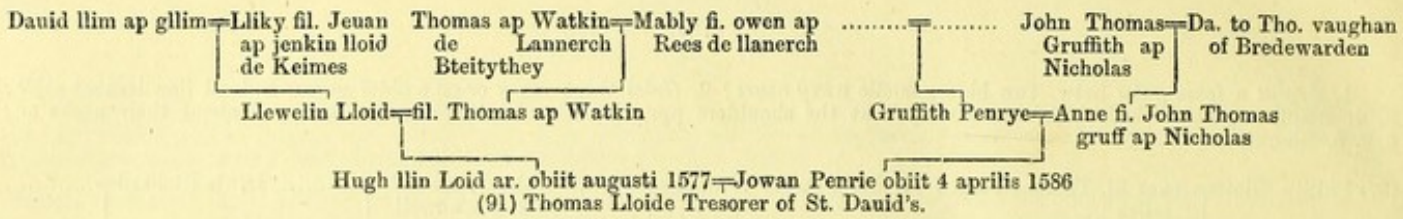
Henry Scurfeild = Etheldred Butler fil and Heres — Sir John Wogan = Anne Phillips

John Scurfeild obiit 16 Januarii 1592 = Katherin Wogan obiit 2 Augusti 1587

(90) John Scourfeild Armiger.

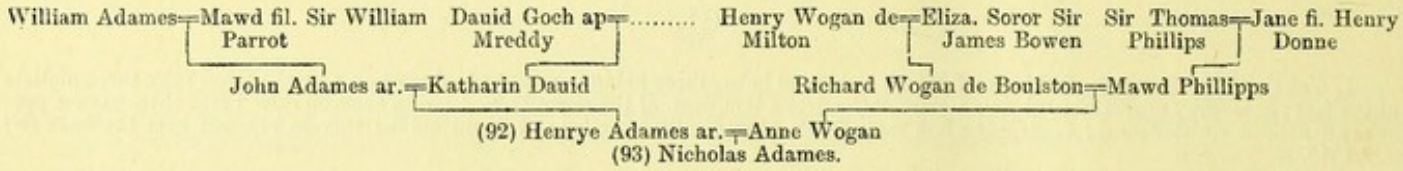
64.

1. *Sable* three scaling ladders and betw. the two uppermost a spear's head *argent* on a chief *gules* a tower of the second; 2. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 3, 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens *sable* within a bordure engr. *gules* bezanty; 8. Blank.



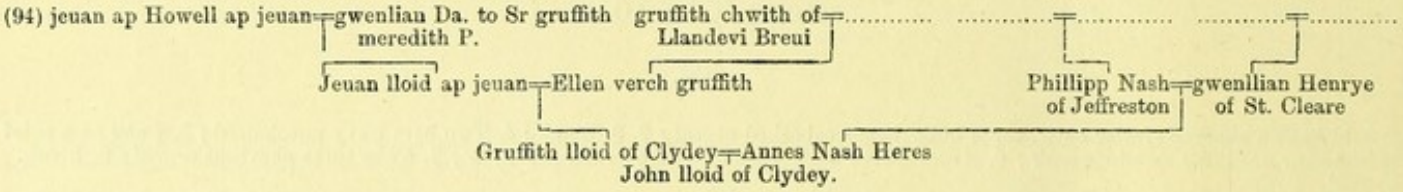
65.

1. *Sable* a martlet *argent*; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 6. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 7. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or*; 8. As No. 6 (?).



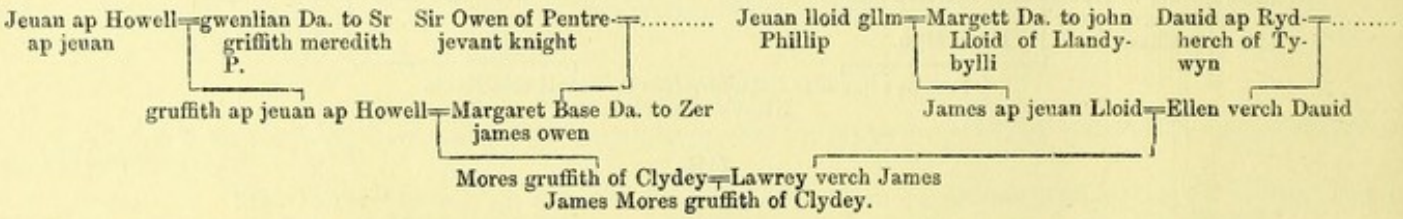
66.

1. *Argent* a lion pass. guard *sable* armed *gules*; 2. As No. 1; 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Sable* on a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent* as many trefoils slipped; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



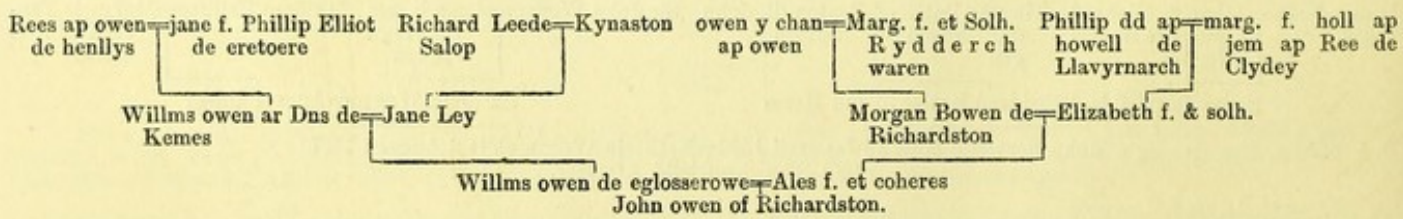
67.

1. *Argent* a lion pass. guard *sable* armed *gules*; 2. As No. 1; 3. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or* between the two upper ones a lion ramp. of the second; 8. Blank.



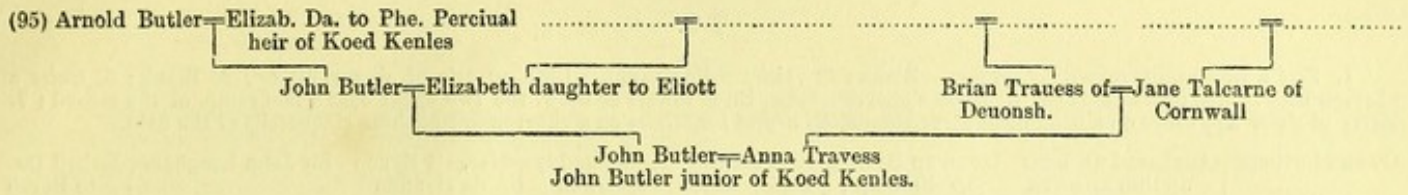
68.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



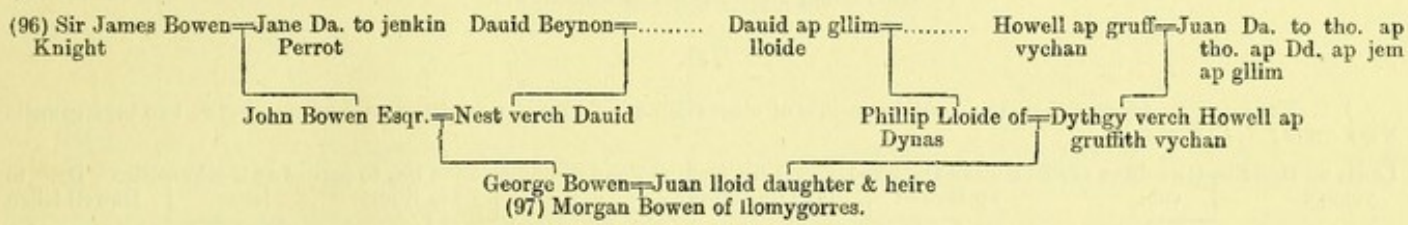
69.

1. *Sable* three covered cups *argent*; 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure*; 4. Blank; 5. *Azure* three bears pass. *argent*; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



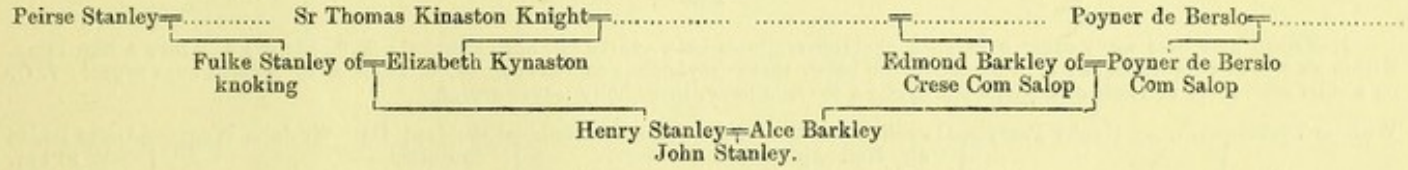
70.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



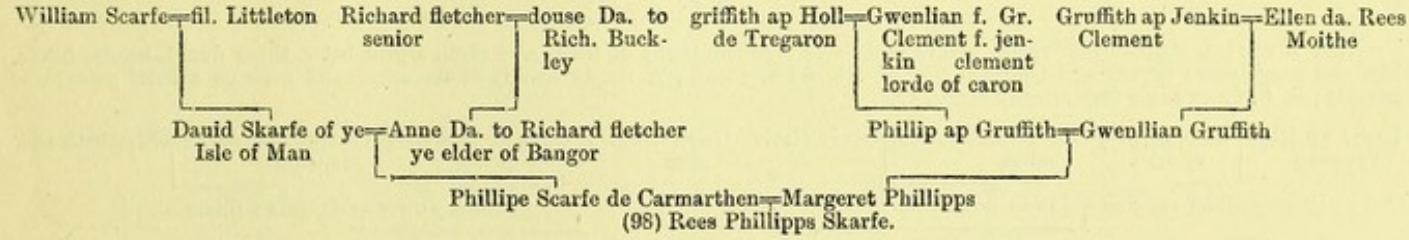
71.

1. *Argent* on a bend *azure* three stags' heads caboshed *or*; 2. Blank; 3. *Sable* a lion ramp. *argent*; 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. eleven crosses patty *argent* seven and four; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



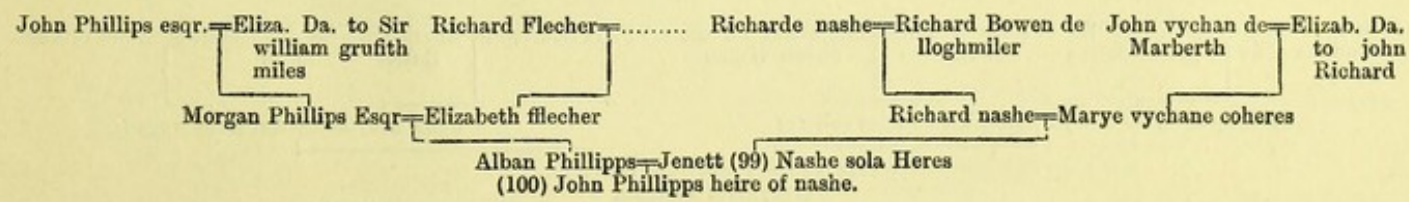
72.

1. *Sable* an eagle displ. *argent* armed and crowned *or*; 2. *Argent* a bend betw. two cotises *sable* within a bordure engr. *gules* charged with eight plates; 3. *Argent* a fess *azure* betw. three stags trippant *gules*; 4. Blank; 5. *Or* a lion ramp. regardant *sable* armed *gules*; 6. Blank; 7. Bendy nebuly of six *argent* and *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 8. As No. 5 and langued *gules*.



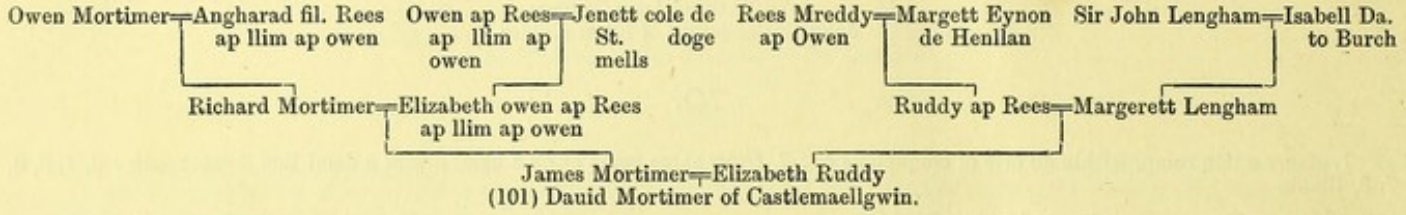
73.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or* armed and langued *gules*; 2. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three helmets of the second vizors and garnishing *or*; 3. *Argent* a fess *azure* betw. three stags trippant *gules*; 4. Blank; 5. *Sable* on a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent* three trefoils slipped *vert*; 6. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent*. *Vide* 21; 7. *Sable* three boys' heads couped at the shoulders ppr. crined and with snakes enwrapped about their necks *or*; 8. Blank.



74.

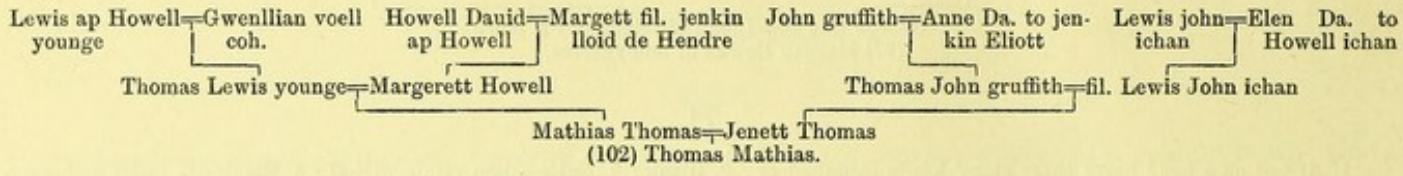
1. *Vert* a lion ramp. *argent;* 2. *Azure.* Blank; 3. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or;* 6. *Gules* a chevron betw. three towers *or* betw. the two upper ones a lion ramp. of the second; 7. Barry of six *or* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three cinquefoils *argent;* 8. *Gules* on a chevron *argent* three cinquefoils of the field.



(101) Dauid Mortimer of Castlemaellgwin.

75.

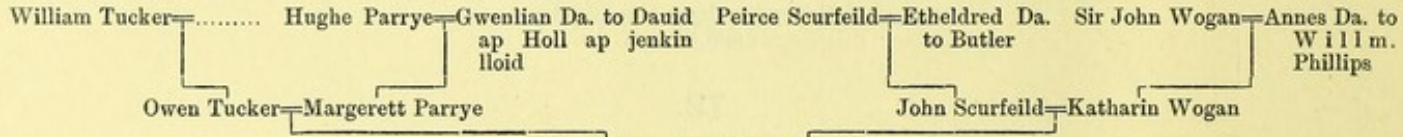
1, 2. Blank; 3, 4. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 5. Blank; 6. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 7, 8. Blank.



(102) Thomas Mathias.

76.

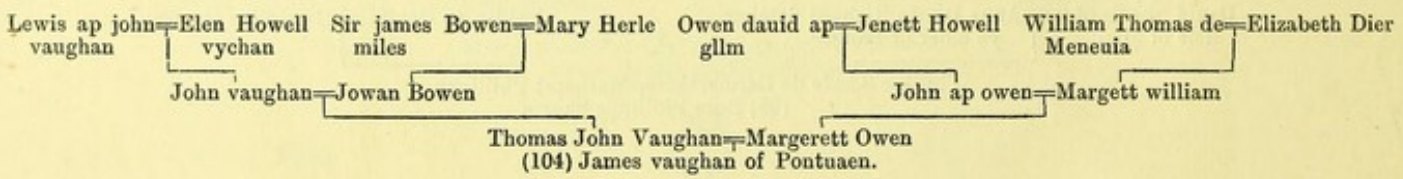
1. *Argent* four bars wavy *azure* over all a chevron erminois betw. three sea horses *argent;* 2, 3. Blank; 4. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 6. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 7. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent.*



(103) Owen Tucker of Selliham.

77.

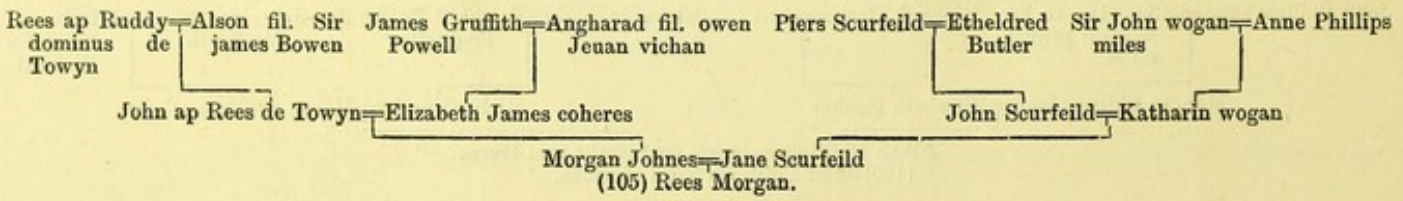
1, 2. Blank; 3. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 4. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three ducks, heads, beaks, legs and wings *azure* breasts and bodies *or;* 5. As No. 3; 6. Blank; 7. Bendy nebuly of six *argent* and *sable* on a chief *gules* three bezants; 8. *Gules* an eagle displ. *argent* armed *or.*



(104) James vaughan of Pontuaen.

78.

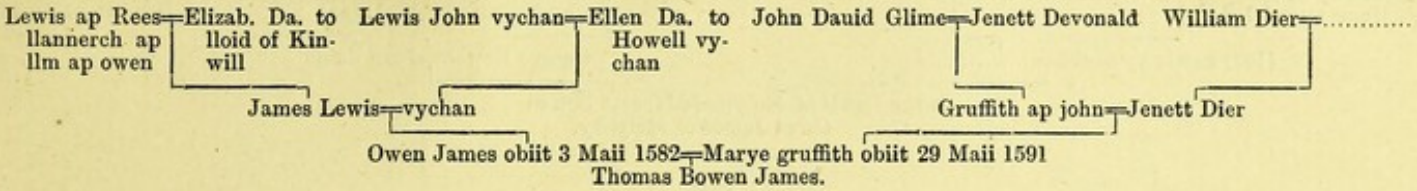
1. *Gules* a chevron betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or* betw. the two upper ones a lion ramp. *or;* 2. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 3. *Azure.* Blank; 4. *Argent* a lion pass. guard *sable;* 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 6. *Sable* three covered cups *argent;* 7. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent.*



(105) Rees Morgan.

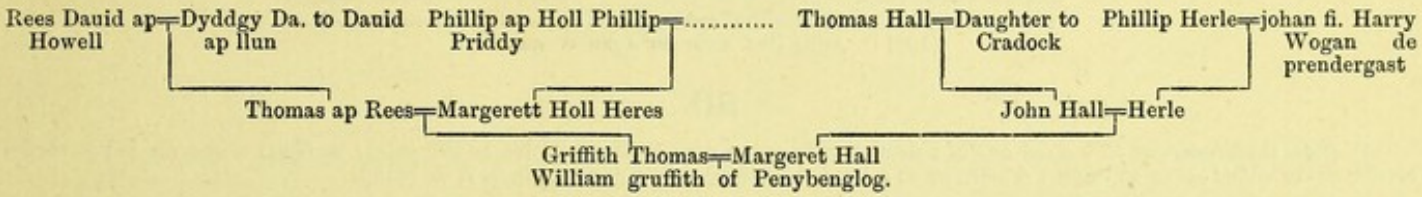
79.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 2, *Gules* a lion ramp. within a bordure indented *or*; 3, 4. Blank; 5. As No. 1; 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* a eagle displ. *argent* armed *or*; 8. Blank.



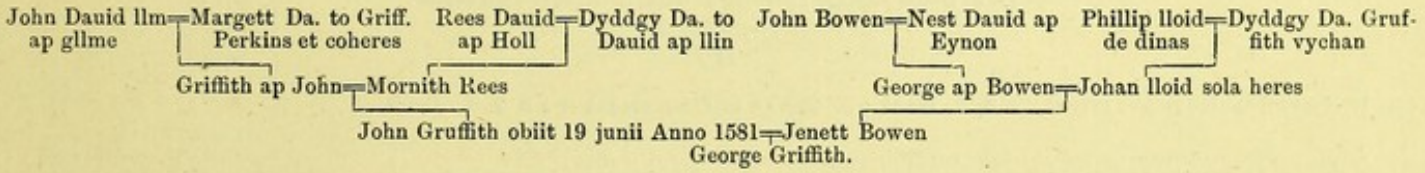
80.

1. Blank, *Azure*; 2, 3, 4, 5. Blank; 6. *Azure* three boars' heads couped betw. nine crosses crosslet *argent*; 7. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three ducks, heads, necks, beaks and wings, *azure* bodies and legs *or*; 8. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field.



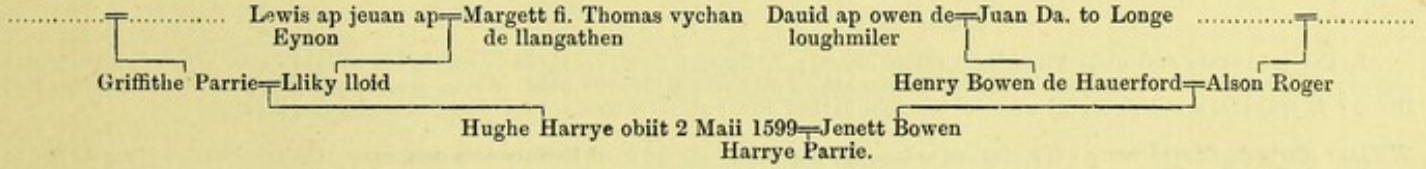
81.

1, 2. Blank; 3. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or*; 4. Blank; 5. As No. 3; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



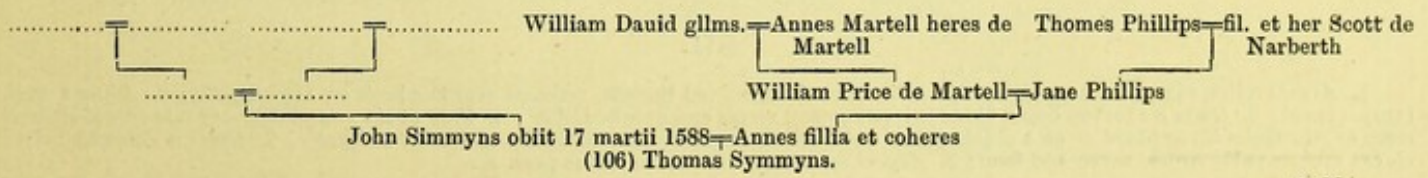
82.

1, 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent*. *Vide* 21; 6, 7, 8. Blank.



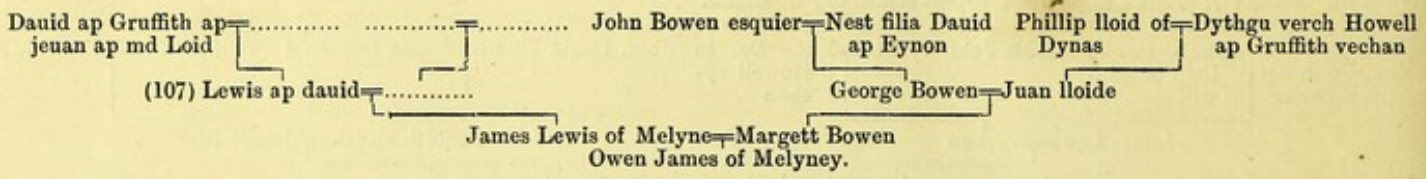
83.

1, 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Azure* a licn ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils (six) *or*; 6. *Argent* three piles issuing from the chief points not meeting in point *sable*; 7, 8. Blank.



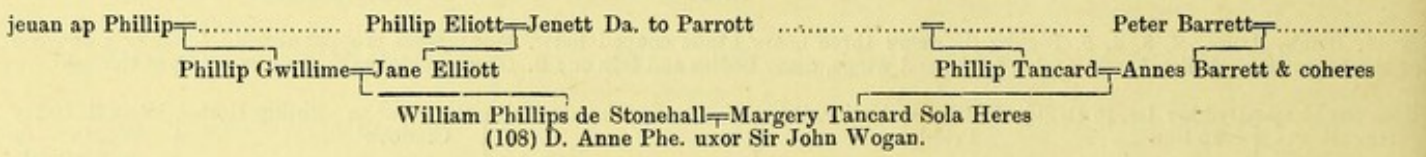
84.

1. Blank, *azure;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. Blank, *azure;* 6, 7, 8. Blank



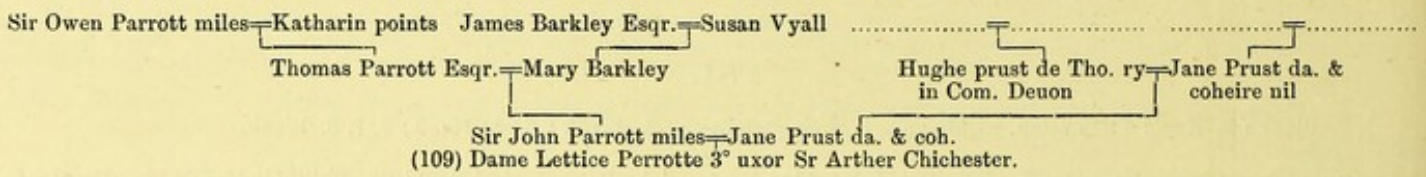
85.

1, 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 4. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. three escallops *argent;* 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable;* 8. Blank.



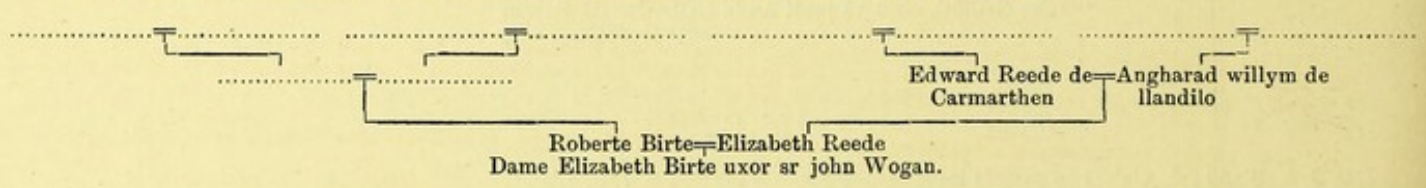
86.

1. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 2. Barry of ten *or* and *gules;* 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. eleven crosses patty *argent* seven and four; 4. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three calves pass *or;* 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



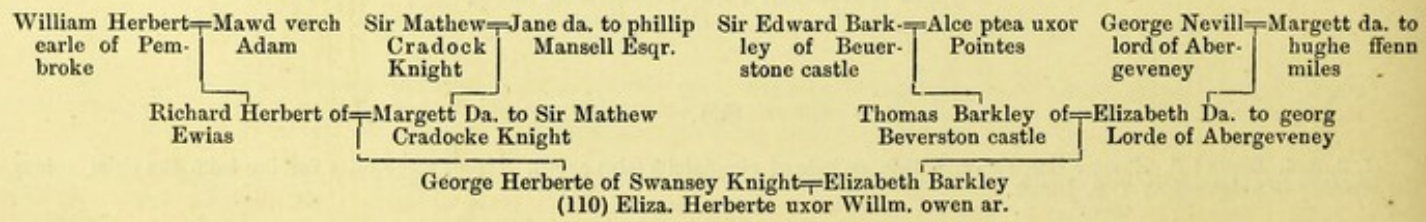
87.

1. *Azure* five cinquefoils *argent;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or;* 6, 7, 8. Blank.



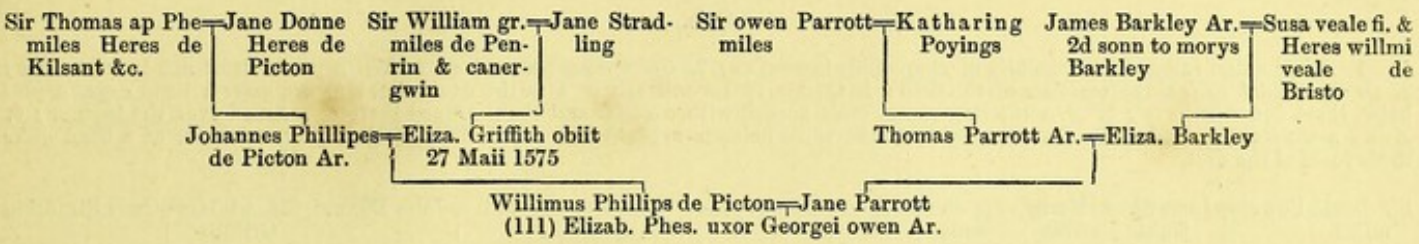
88.

1. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent;* 2. Blank; 3. *Azure* three boars' heads couped betw. nine crosses crosslet *argent;* 4. *Argent* a chevron betw. three maunches *sable;* 5. *Gules* a chevron betw. eleven crosses patty *argent* seven and four; 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* on a saltire *argent* a rose of the field barbed *vert.;* 8. *Vert* on a cross *argent* five eagles displ. *gules.*



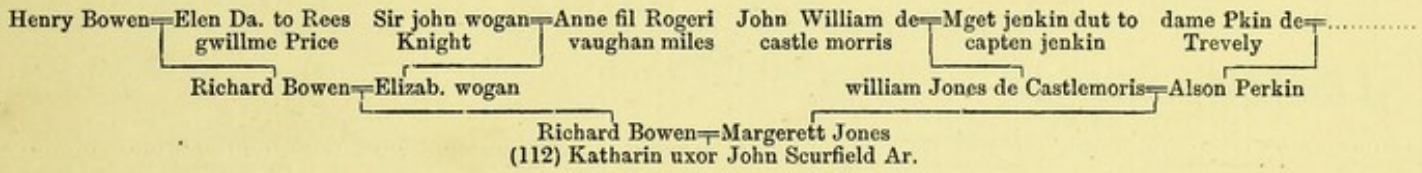
89.

1. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or*, armed *gules;* 2. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent;* 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent* vizors and garnishing *or;* 4. Paly of six *or* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three roses *or;* 5. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 6. Barry of ten *or* and *gules;* 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. eleven crosses patty *argent* seven and four; 8. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three calves pass. *or.*



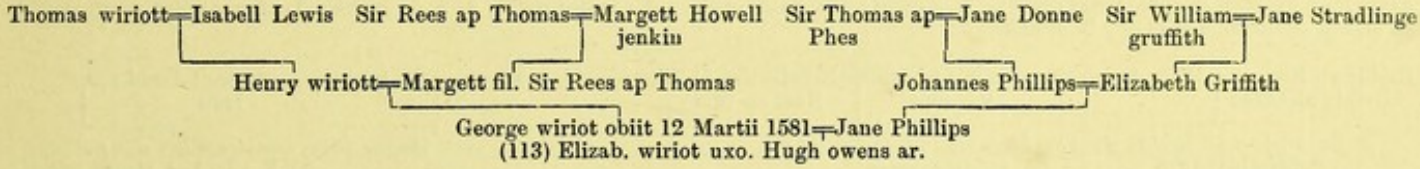
90.

1. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent*. *Vide* 21; 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.



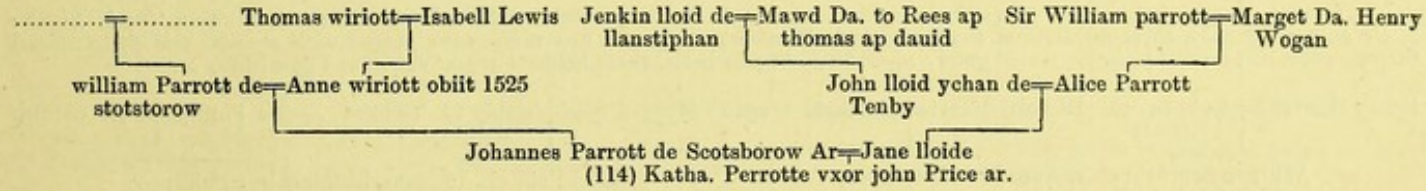
91.

1. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second; 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens *sable*; 4. *Ermine* a saltire *gules*; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or*, armed and langued *gules*; 6. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent*; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent*; 8. Paly of six *or* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three roses *or* barbed *argent*.



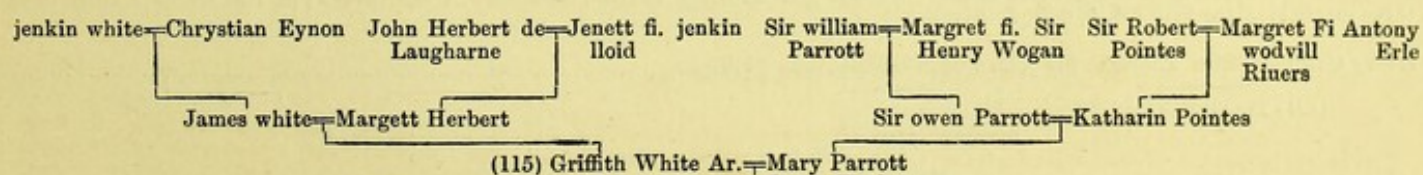
92.

1. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 2. Blank; 3. Chequy *argent* and *sable* on a chief of the first a lion pass. of the second; 4. Blank; 5. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable*; 6. Blank; 7. As No. 1; 8. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field.



93.

1. *Sable* a chevron betw. three stags' heads caboshed *or*; 2. *Gules* a chevron betw. three towers *or*; 3. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent*; 4. *Gules* on a bend *argent* betw. three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable*; 5. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 6. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 7. Barry of ten *or* and *gules*; 8. *Argent* a fess and canton *gules*.



94.

1. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils (seven) *or*; 2. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable*; 3. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field: 4. Quarterly 1st and 4th *or* a saltire *azure* 2nd and 3rd *gules* a bend engr. *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or*; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or*; 6. *Azure* a wolf ramp. *argent*; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent* vizors *or*; 8. Paly of six *argent* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three roses of the first.

Sir james Bowen miles = Jane fil. & Heres jenkin Parrott
Sir John wogan miles = Anne vychan
Sir Thomas Phillipps miles = Jane Donne
Sir william Griffith = Jane Stradling
Owen ap Owen Ar. = Mawd wogan
John Phillipps Ar. = Elizab. Griffith
Thomas Bowen Ar. ob. ultimo febr. 1584 = Anne Phillipps
(116) Elizab. Bown uxor Lewis Phillips.

95.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

(117) Walcott vxor Tho. Jones ar.

96.

1. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three fleurs-de-lis *or*, betw. the two upper ones a lion ramp. of the last; 2. Barry of six *or* and *azure* on a bend *gules* three roses *argent*; 3. *Argent* a lion pass. guard *sable* armed *gules*; 4, 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils (six) *or*; 8. Blank.

Ruddz ap Rees ap Mreddy ap Owen = Margett Lengha
owen ap jeuan y chan = Gwenhwifat fil. llim ap Rees ap llim
Henry ferror = fil. john voya
Howell dauid ap Holl = ...
Rees jchan ap Ruddz ob. Septembris 1575 = Angharad fil. Owen ap jall ychan coheres
Hughe parrye = Gwenllian soror chotor lloid et Heres
(118) Ruddz ap Rees ychan ob. Novembris 1576 = Margett parry obiit 22 julii 1593
Margett vychan vxor Edmond (119) wimstanley ar.

97.

1. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent*; 2. *Gules* on a chief indented *argent* three escallops *sable*; 3. Blank; 4. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5, 6. Blank; 7. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto, reflexed over the back *or*, armed *gules*; 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent* vizors and garnishing *or*.

Henry Scurfeild = Etheldred Barrett
Richard Morris = Katharin Wogan
Morgan lloid = Mably fil. Thomas Madogg
James Phillips = Jane Griffith
William Scurfield ob. 22 Octobris 1592 = Anne Morris & heres
Llim lloid ob. 16 januarii 1588 = Margeret Phillipps
(120) john Scurfeild = Jane lloid
.....

98.

1. *Gules* a fess *ermine* betw. three talbots' heads *or*; 2. *Argent* a chevron *sable* betw. three ravens ppr.; 3. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

Henry Catharn = Elen Thomas
Sir john wogan miles = Anne Phillipes
(121) Thomas Catharne esqr. = Jane wogan
Elizabeth Catharne = william Kettell
Margeret Kettell vxor Stephen (122) Barlow.

99.

1. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. Per pale *azure* and *gules* three lions ramp. *argent;* 6, 7, 8. Blank.

Henry wogan de Milton = Elizabeth soror Sir james Bowen ..... = ... Sir Richard Herbert de colbrok = ... = ...

Richard wogan de Bulston = ... Thomas Herbert de Morgrange = ...

Dauid wogan = Katharin Herbert

(123) Mawd wogan vxor Morgan Powell (124).

100.

1. Quarterly 1st and 4th *ermine* a lion ramp. *sable* within a bordure 2nd *gules* a chevron *argent* 3rd *azure* a lion ramp. *or;* 2, 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* five bars wavy *azure* over all a chevron charged with five gutty betw. three sea horses. *Vide* 43; 6. Blank; 7. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 8. *Or* on a chief *sable* three martlets of the field.

John ap Meredith Beare thes 4 coats = ... = ... Owen Tucker = Margerett Parry de Carmerthy John Scurfield = Katharin wogan Da. to sr john wogan of wiston

Edward ap John = Katharin Evans Thomas Tucker = Jenett Scurfield

(125) Thomas Edwards = Sage Tucker
Owen Edwards Esquier.

101.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

..... = ... = ... = ... = ...

(126) Sir Hughe Pollard = ... Hughe Prust de thorney Co. Deuon = ...

(127) Lewis Pallard Armiger = Jane Prust
ffraunces Pollard (128) vxor johis wogan ar.

102.

1. *Sable* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 2. Blank; 3. *Gules* two garters interlaced *argent.* *Vide* 21; 4. *Or* on chief *sable* three martlets of the field; 5. *Sable* three boys' heads couped at the shoulders ppr. crined and with snakes enwrapped about their necks *or;* 6, 7, 8. Blank.

Arnol Nashe = Jane fi. Richard ap owen Richard ap owen de Lough meyler = Elizab. wogan John vychan de Krig-Howell = ... John Richards de olerds Hill = ...

Richard Nash of ye Nashe = Elizab. Bowen John vychan de Narberth = Elizab. Richard soror Hugh Richard

Richard Nashe = Marye filia & coheres john vychan de Narberth
Jenette Nashe vxor delban (129) Phillipps.

103.

1. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 2. Barry of ten *or* and *gules;* 3. *Gules* a chevron betw. eleven crosses patty *argent* seven and four; 4. *Argent* on a bend *sable* three calves pass. *or;* 5, 6, 7, 8. Blank.

Sir owen parrot Knight = Katharin Da. to Poyntes James Barkley Esqr. = Susan veal ..... = ... = ...

Thomas Parrott esqr. = Marye Barkley ..... = ...

Sir john Parrott Knighte = ...
Elizabeth Perrot vxor (130) Hugh Butler.

104.

1. *Gules* on a bend *argent* between three trefoils slipped *or* a lion pass. *sable;* 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* a chevron between three ravens *sable;* 4, 5. Blank; 6. *Sable* a lion ramp. *argent;* 7, 8. Blank.

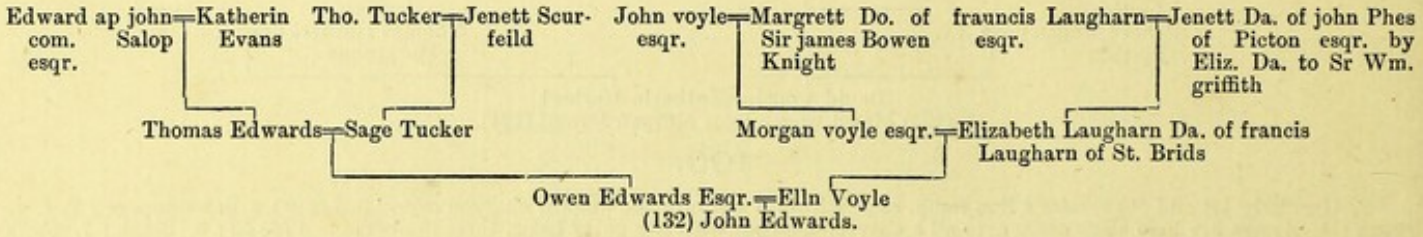
Moris lloid = ... Sir Rees ap Thomas = ... Moris lloid = Johana fil. Sr Henry Longe ..... = ...

Jenkin lloid = Elizab. fil. Sir Rees ap Thomas Thomas lloid = ...

Thomas lloid de llanstiphan = Katharin lloid
Ann lloid vxor Jordan (131).

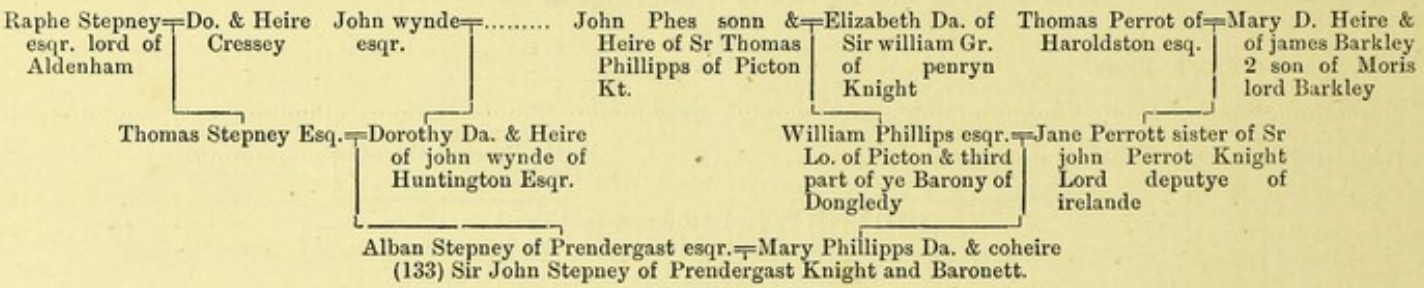
105.

1. Ermine a lion ramp. *sable;* 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* four bars wavy *azure* on a chevron betw. three sea horses naissant of the first five guttées de poix; 4. *Gules* a chevron betw. three greyhounds courant *argent;* 5. Blank; 6. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 7. *Gules* three lions' heads erased *or;* 8. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or.*



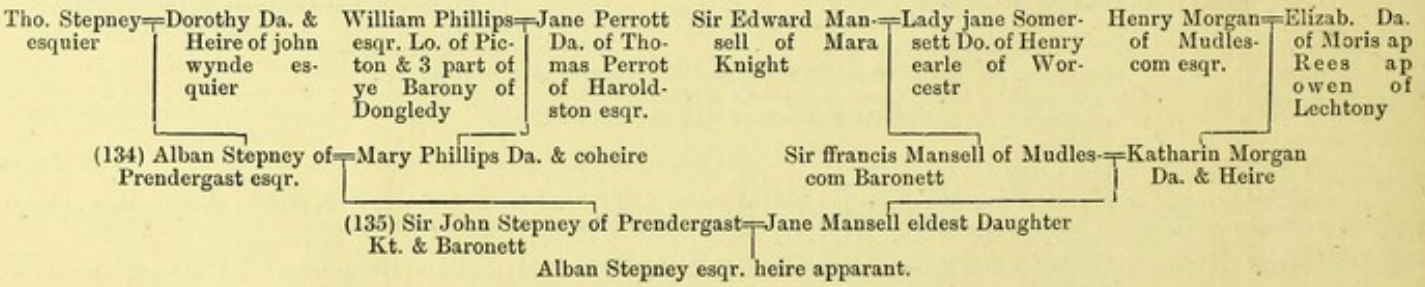
106.

1. *Gules* a fess chequy *or* and *azure* betw. three owls *argent;* 2. *Argent* a lion ramp. tail forked *sable;* 3, 4. Blank; 5. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or;* 6. *Gules* a chevron betw. three helmets *argent* vizors and garnishing *or;* 7. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 8. *Gules* a chevron betw. ten crosses patty *argent* six and four.



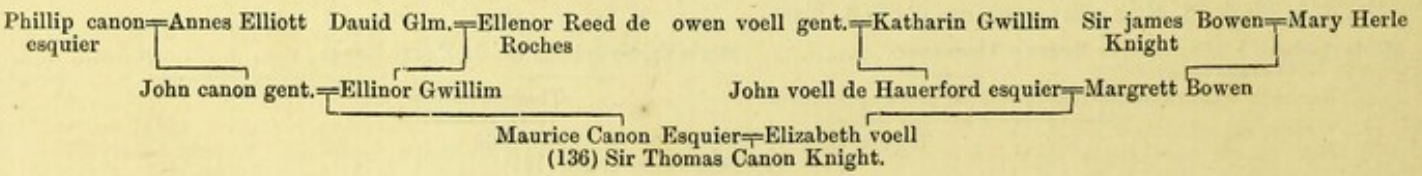
107.

1. *Gules* a fess chequy *azure* and *or* betw. three owls *argent;* 2. Blank; 3. *Argent* a lion ramp. *sable* gorged with a collar and chain affixed thereto reflexed over the back *or;* 4. *Gules* three pears *or* on a chief *argent* a demi lion issuant *sable;* 5. *Argent* a chevron betw. three maunches *sable;* 6. *Or* on a fess France and England quarterly within a bordure gobony *argent* and *azure;* 7. *Argent* a griffin segreant *sable;* 8. *Argent* a chevron betw. three ravens *sable.*



108.

1. *Gules* a bend *argent* cotised *or;* 2. *Argent* a fess *gules* betw. two bars gemelle wavy *azure;* 3. *Argent* a lion ramp. ermines armed and langued *gules;* 4. *Gules* a griffin segreant *or;* 5. Quarterly *gules* and *or* four lions pass. guard. counterchanged; 6. *Gules* a chevron betw. three holly leaves *argent;* 7. *Azure* a lion ramp. within an orle of cinquefoils *or;* 8. *Gules* a chevron *argent* betw. three ducks, heads, necks and wings *azure*, bodies and legs *or.*



NOTES ON THE PEDIGREES.

(1.) Of Lamphey. Died in Dublin 1576.

(2.) Of Lamphey. Beheaded 1601.

(3.) Henry Wogan, husband of Elizabeth Bowen, is omitted on the Boulston monument.

(4.) Maude Phillipps, wife of Richard Wogan of [Milton and of] Boulston, was daughter of Sir Thomas Phillipps, son of Philip ap Meredyth of Kilsant, who acquired Picton by marrying Jane daughter and coheir of Henry Dunn, who was slain at Edgecote 26th July, 1649, or beheaded at Banbury after the battle. The four husbands of Maude Phillipps are given page 171, vol. i., L.D. Owen Bared (see pedigree 32), Richiart Wgan, Morgan Jons, and Niklas Vachan. Milton is near Neyland in Burton parish. There is a 16th century tomb in Burton Church bearing the initials "R. W.," under which Maude's second husband is believed to lie buried. Her third husband, Morgan Jones, was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1547, and is described as of Milton. Her fourth husband was also so described when he served as Sheriff for Cardiganshire in 1561.

(5.) This John Wogan I am disposed to think was the author of these genealogies. The following epitaphs may be seen on the wall of Boulston Church:—"Here lieth interred the body of Sir John Wogan of Boulston, Knight, | The son of Sir John Wogan of Boulston, Knight, | The son of Richard Wogan of Boulston, Esq., | The son of Sir Henry Wogan of Boulston, Knight, | The son of Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Knight, | and so forward, | who departed this mortal life the 14th day of Feb., 16 . . | Here also lyeth interred the body of the Lady Frances Wogan, | wife of the aforesaid Sir John Wogan of Boulston, Knight, | who was daughter of Lewis Pollard of Kingsnimpton, | In the county of Devon, Esq., | Son of Sir Hugh Pollard of Kingsnimpton, Kinght, | and so forward, | who departed this life the 7th day of November, | Anno Domini 1623."——On another stone is inscribed: "The four great-grandfathers and the four great-grandmothers | of Lewis Wogan of Boulston, Esq., | were as followeth. | Sir John Wogan of Boulston, Knt., Pemb.; | Frances Pollard of Kingsnimpton, Devon; | Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Anglesea; | Elizabeth Wyrriott, Pemb.; | Sir Thomas Mansell of Margam, Glam.; | Mary Mordaunt of Turvey, Bedford; | Sir Edward Lewis of the Van, Glam.; | Blanch Morgan of Tredegar, Monmouth. This stone was dug out of Hampton Quarry, 9r ye 10, 1701. The above said Lewis Wogan obt." John Wogan was Sheriff in 1567 and 1598. He married Jane Wogan of Wiston. Their son signed for Lewis Dwnn in 1613, at which date his father was dead. Both father and son are described as Knights.—Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 229.

(6.) Father of George Owen the historian. Dead in 1591.—Lewis Dwnn (see No. 88).

(7.) George Wiriott of Orielton, Sheriff in 1577, had by his wife Jane, daughter of John Phillipps, the son and successor at Picton to Sir Thomas, a son who died young, and a daughter Elizabeth, who by marriage conveyed Orielton to Hugh Owen (see 61). George Wiriott's father Henry was Sheriff in 1548. Henry's mother Isabel was daughter of Thomas Lewis of St. Pierre, Monmouthshire.

(8.) David in Dale Castle Pedigree and in Lewis Dwnn.

(9.) Francis Laugharne of St. Bride's, Sheriff in 1568 and in 1578, had by his wife Janet, daughter of John Phillipps of Picton; Ann wife of Francis Meyrick, and Rowland Sheriff in 1586, whose namesake and grandson was the well known Major-General.

(10.) Marie Buckley (or rather Barkley, as in 8) daughter of James (as in 8) not Thomas, second son of Maurice Lord Barkley, who was fifth in lineal descent from Thomas of Brotherton, son of King Edward I. and his second Queen, Margaret daughter of Philip the Hardy (Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 334). There seems little doubt that King Henry the VIII. was father of Marie Barkley's son John Perrott. After the death of Thomas Perrot she became the second wife of Sir Thomas Jones, who as Sheriff in 1541 is styled of Haroldston.

(11.) Of Haroldston and Carew Castle. Lord Deputy of Ireland; Sheriff 1551. Died in the Tower 1592.

(12.) See No. 86.

(13.) See No. 85.

(14.) Sheriff 1574.

(15.) Picton fell to the uncle of these ladies Morgan, John Phillipps, youngest son.

(16.) The historian of Pembrokeshire (see No. 89).

(17.) See No. 18.

(18.) Thomas Catharne of Prendergast was M.P. for the county in 1557 and Sheriff in 1565. His father Henry Catharne was "Constable of Pebidiawg," Dewisland, and Receiver of all the Courts held in Llawhaden and Pebidiawg (*Fenton* p. iii.) *Note*—Thomas married Jane Wogan, their daughter Anne married Alban Stepney and died without issue.—Lewis Dwnn.

(19.) Fourth son.—Lewis Dwnn.

(20.) Mayor of Tenby 1537.

(21.) "Robert Lougher, Doctor of Lawes, borne in Tenby, was for his learninge of great estimaion, and held the cheyre in Oxford for many yeares, beside other chief places in the Univer. sity, till worthielye, he was advanced to be Chancellor of York, holdinge wch place he dyed, the 3rd of Juue, 1585, at Tenby, where he was borne."—*George Owen.*

(22.) Of Henllan. Sheriff 1561 and 1570.

(23.) Of Henllys (see Nos. 4 and 29). The historian of Pembrokeshire finished his MS. history 1603. Sheriff 1587.

(24.) Hugh Owen studied at Gray's Inn and in due time became a barrister-at-law. Hugh's aunt Elizabeth was wife of John Philipps of Picton Castle, and their daughter Jane married George Wiriott of Orielton. Jane Wiriott was therefore her husband's first cousin (*Owens of Orielton*, by J. R. Phillips, p. 16). Hugh Owen was Sheriff 1583; he died 1614 (see Nos. 5, 61, 91).

(25.) Of Patrickchurch. Sheriff 1588.—Lewis Dwnn, 1591.

(26.) Married Als. daughter of Sir Robert Corbett, Knight.—Lewis Dwnn.

(27.) Of Prendergast. Alban Stepney, *alias* Stepneth, had previously married Anne Catharne (see No. 11). He came into Wales about the middle of the 16th century. He became Registrar of the Diocese of St. David's; was Sheriff in 1573 and in 1590; M.P. for Haverfordwest in 1584 and 1586, and for Pembrokeshire 1603; also Sheriff for Carmarthenshire 1597.

(28.) John ap Rees of Richardston, in Brawdy parish. Sheriff in 1582. Married Katherine, daughter and heir of John Perrot of Scotsboro (Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., pp. 74, 75; *Fenton* p. 39). Her tombstone in Gumfreston Church tells us that "Katharen Parat the wife of John Aprys, Esquir, died 17 Sept., 1614 (see 31).

(29.) Moris of Koed Kenlas was according to Lewis Dwnn elder brother of William, not father.

(30.) Of Johnston. Was Sheriff 1558, and M.P. for Pembrokeshire in 1554 and 1555.

(31.) Of Forest in Kilgerran. Was Sheriff in 1579, and M.P. for the county in 1584 and 1586. Dr. Thomas Phaer was not his father-in-law, as stated by Fenton, p. 105, but step-father, having married Ann, daughter of Thomas Walter of Carmarthen, widow of John Revell.

(32.) Married Jane, daughter of John Vachan of Narberth.—Lewis Dwnn.

(33.) Arnold in Lewis Dwnn.

(34.) His son signed for Lewis Dwnn in 1591.

(35.) Printer and publisher of the Hand and Star, Fleet Street, London, and of Wiston. Came into Pembrokeshire about 1583 (see Sir S. Meyrick's note to Lewis Dwnn, p. 183).

(36.) Printer and publisher of London. Died about 1572 (see Sir S. Meyrick's note on Lewis Dwnn, p. 119).

(37.) Of Carew.

(38.) Sheriff 1567 and 1598.

(39.) Sheriff 1606 (?) 1629 (see No. 3).

(40.) Janet in Dale Castle Pedigree.

(41.) Thomas in Dale Castle Pedigree.

(42.) Or Trellwyn, near Tenby, now corrupted into Trefloyne. Sheriff in 1603, as was his father John in 1553 and 1560, who was nephew to Sir James of Pentre Evan. Thomas was by letters of Queen Elizabeth, Lord of Manorbier, Penally and Begelly, which lordships passed by marriage to the Lords of Picton.

(43.) Thomas Bowen (rather ap Owen) of Upton, was grandson of Owen, second son of Griffith ap Nicholas, who after his father was mortally wounded at Mortimer's Cross, led their forces to victory (*Camb. Reg.*, vol. i., p. 63). Owen ap Griffith acquired Upton by marrying Alice, daughter and coheiress of Henry, son of Walter Malefant. The Bowens of Williamston, of whom Sir Owen Scourfield, Bart., is the descendant and representative, are of this family.

(44.) Of Owen Bowen of Trellwyn.—Dale Castle MS.

(45.) Sheriff 1550.

(46.) Of Rickeston.

(47.) Of Scotsboro, which thus came to the Ap Rees family.

(48.) Married Alice, daughter Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Anglesey, about 1555; their daughter Katherine married Roland Meyrick, Bishop of Bangor, from whom are descended the Pembrokeshire Meyricks.

(49.) Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter.

(50.) Elizabeth was grand-daughter of John Rastall the learned printer, and his wife Elizabeth, sister to Sir Thomas More (see Lewis Dwnn, i., p. 121, and Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, i., 54, under Rastall).

(51.) And Crabhole. M.P. for Pembrokeshire Boroughs 1601, and Sheriff in 1630, for which year recent lists erroneonsly give John Laugharne.

(52.) Signed for Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(53.) Of Trecwn. One of the Coroners for Pembrokeshire.—Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(54.) John Lloyd of Hendre, in the time of Henry VIII. was seventh in descent from Robert Lloyd, the first of his race who was styled of Hendre, which Robert was ninth in descent from Gwynvardd Dyved (see *Golden Grove Book.* p. 827; *Dale MS.*, p. 155; and Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 133). This Hendre is in St. Dogmael's parish, and is the property of Mr. Lewis of Clynvyw.

(55.) Of Glanduan.—Dale Castle MS.

(55*a*.) Sheriff for Cardiganshire 1589.

(56.) Sheriff for Cardiganshire 1595.

(57.) Of Strata Florida.

(58.) Of Llwyngwair. Signed for Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(59.) Descended from Thomas Tucker, who served in Edward III.'s army and had a grant of land at Sealyham.

(60.) William Tucker signed in Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 192.

(61.) Precentor of St. David's 1534–1547.

(62.) Of Sealyham. Lewis Dwnn 1613. Thomas third son of this man's grandson was a distinguished naval officer. In 1741 he received a reward with promotion for killing a formidable pirate in the West Indies; subsequently when in command of the *Fowey* frigate, he captured the *San Joseph*, a rich Spanish prize. He died an admiral in 1766, unmarried.

(63.) Of Filbatch. Was son and heir in 1597.—Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 72.

(64.) Agnes in Dale Castle MS., p. 120.

(65.) Not mentioned in the Biography of Rice ap Thomas.—*Camb. Register*, vol. i.

(66.) Of Haythog, Pembrokeshire.

(67.) Gwenllian, illegitimate daughter by Jenett, daughter of Meredydd Vychan of Talley.

(68.) Of Norchard.

(69.) Mayor of Pembroke.

(70.) Maud.—Dale Castle MS., 149.

(71.) Mayor of Pembroke, 1591. Married Maud, daughter of David, natural son of W. Wogan of Boulston.—Dale Castle MS., 149.

(72.) Of Cardigan.—Dale Castle MS.

(73.) See No. 94.

(74.) See No. 45.

(75.) Natural son.—Dale Castle MS., 128.

(76.) Of Tregamon. Was grandson of Philip, according to Lewis Dwnn, for whom he signed 1591.

(77.) Of Llanvihangel. Signed for Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(78.) Signed for Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(79.) Of Patrickchurch.

(80.) "Janet, daughter (was, I think, heir) to William (Wgan of Brodey), married Wm. Jones of Treowein, Esq., standard-bearer to King Henry VIII., she was his second wife."—Dale Castle MS., 136.

(81.) His son signed for Lewis Dwnn 1613.

(82.) David in Dale Castle MS.

(83.) Of Dompledale.

(84.) Of Dydwal, signed for Lewis Dwnn 1591.

(85.) John's younger son, William Walter, married Alice, sister of Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight, Lord Mayor of London, 1613, their son, Roger Walter of Haverfordwest, was grandfather to Lucy Walters, *alias* Barlow, mistress of King Charles II. and mother of James Duke of Monmouth.

(86.) Of Llangyner, Carmarthenshire, and of Roch Castle, Pembrokeshire.—Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 228.

(87.) See No. 22. The Elliots acquired Erewere (or Amroth) by the marriage of Jenkin Elliot with the heiress of Wm. Barret of Pendine.

(88.) Sheriff 1585.

(89.) Sheriff 1609, signed for Lewis Dwnn 1597.

(89*a*.) John died in his father's lifetime. The following epitaph to his memory exists in Monkton Church:—"In Perpetual memory of her loving husband, John Owen, Esq., here interred, sonne and heire of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, in Anglesey, Kent, and Elizabeth, the daught. and sole heire of George Wirriott of Orielton, Esq. Dorothy, his wife, the daughter of Rowland Laugharne of St. Bride's, Esq., and of Lettice Perrot (daughter of Sir John), his wife, hath caused this monument to be erected. He died the eighth of October, 1612, aged 36, leaving 3 sons and 4 daughters. Dorothy, the raiser of this monument, was interred here the 27th of February, 1653, aged 70 years, having through God's Providence and her own goodness having erected a more lasting memory, in that she lived a widow above 41 years, and leaving all her seven children living being all that she ever had." John Owen was Sheriff in 1583 (see Nos. 5, 24, 91).

(90.) Of Moat. Sheriff 1600.

(91.) From 1574 to 1612 Jones and Freemans' *St. David's*, p. 359.

(92.) M.P. Pembroke Boroughs 1547 to 1554. Sheriff 1588.

(93.) Of Patrickchurch. M.P. Pembroke Boroughs 1588 (see No. 53).

(94.) See No. 59.

(95.) According to Lewis Dwnn, vol. i., p. 76, John married Elizabeth Percival, and was father to Arnold, who married Elizabeth Eliot. Arnold was Sheriff in 1558.

(96.) Of Pentre Evan.

(97.) Of Nevern.

(98.) Of Lamphey. Perhaps steward of Robert (2) Earl of Essex.

(99.) Mary in Dale Castle MS.

(100.) According to Dale Castle MS., Alban left a daughter sole heiress who married Alban 3rd son of Morgan Philipps of Picton.

(101.) Dead in 1613.—Lewis Dwnn.

(102.) Of Glastir. The family are now of Lwyngwarren and Lamphey.

(103.) His son John signed for Lewis Dwnn 1613 (see No. 43).

(104.) Dead 1613.—Lewis Dwnn.

(105.) Of Towyn.

(106.) Of Martel.

(107.) Natural son D.C.P.

(108.) Of Wiston (see No. 9).

(109.) "Dame Lettice Perrotte" was daughter of Sir John Perrot, K.B. Her first husband was Rowland Laugharne, Sheriff in 1586. Their marriage settlement dated 29th May, 1584, is printed at length in the *Arch. Camb.* of 1866, p. 484 to 487. She married secondly Walter Vaughan, erroneously given in Burke's *Peerage* under Donegal, and in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as Vaughan Blackham. Walter Vaughan was of Golden Grove, and by a previous marriage of John Earl of Carberry. He was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1593 or 4, and in right of his wife styled of St. Bride's. Walter Vaughan was M.P. for Carmarthenshire in 1593 and 1597. Dame Lettice's third husband was Sir Arthur Chichester, who was distinguished by military service at sea and on land, and by his able administration as Lord Deputy of Ireland. He was created Baron Chichester of Belfast in the peerage of Ireland in 1612. He died in London February 19, 1624–5, and was buried at Carrickfergus, where the remains of his wife and infant (who seem to have died many years before) lay. He left no issue, and his estates devolved on his brother Edward, whose son Arthur was created Earl of Donegal.

(110.) See No. 4.

(111.) See Nos. 10 and 15.

(112.) See No. 63.

(113.) Married 1571 (see Nos. 16 and 61).

(114.) See No. 31.

(115.) Of Henllan, Castlemartin. Sheriff 1581.

(116.) See No. 47.

(117.) Of Builth?

(118.) Of Mynachdy.

(119.) Of St. Dogmaels. Sheriff 1591.

(120.) Of New Mote. Sheriff 1600.

(121.) Of Prendergast. Sheriff 1565.

(122.) A younger son of Roger, Bishop Barlow's brother.

(123.) Daughter of David Wogan, natural son of Richard Wogan of Boulston.

(124.) Of Greenhill.

(125.) Thomas Edwardes, third son of Edward ap John of Chirkland by his wife Katherine daughter of Evan ap William of Mold, had by his second wife Sage daughter of Thomas Tucker (see No. 43) a son Owen Edwardes living in 1613, whose grandson Owen Edwardes of Trefgarne had by his wife Damaris, daughter of James Perrot of Wellington, two sons—John who succeeded him, and Francis who married Elizabeth only daughter of Robert Rich, second Earl of Holland and fifth Earl of Warwick. Their son William was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Kensington. John Owen Edwardes of Llanmilo, a descendant of John the elder son of Owen Edwardes and Damaris, married in 1777 Catherine daughter and co-heir of John Tucker of Sealyham. From them the present proprietors of Sealyham are descended.

(126.) Of Kingsnimpton, Devon. See epitaph in Boulston Church (see No. 5).

(127.) Knight in Boulston epitaph.

(128.) Of Boulston.

(129.) Third son of Morgan Philipps of Picton; 1591; Lewis Dwnn (see No. 73).

(130.) Of Johnston. Sheriff 1599.

(131.) Thomas Jordan of Dompledale.

(132.) Of Trefgarne (see No. 100).

(133.) Sheriff 1614 (see No. 18).

(134.) Sheriff 1605.

(135.) Sheriff 1614.

(136.) Of Kilgetty and Haverfordwest.

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