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KATHERYN OF BERAIN. A STUDY IN
NORTH WALES FAMILY HISTORY. BY
JOHN BALLINGER, C.B.E.

From "Y Cymmrodor", Volume XL.

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1929.



PLATE 1.



To face p. 1.

Katheryn of Berain—The Rhiwlas Portrait, circa 1555.

[From "*Y Cymmrodor*", Volume XL.]



Katheryn of Berain.

A STUDY IN NORTH WALES FAMILY HISTORY.

BY JOHN BALLINGER, C.B.E.

INTRODUCTION.

FOR more than three centuries the story of Katheryn of Berain and her four husbands has been one of the chief romances of North Wales. The main outlines have been well-known, but the facts have been so over-laid with additions that the good name of the fair lady has suffered in consequence.

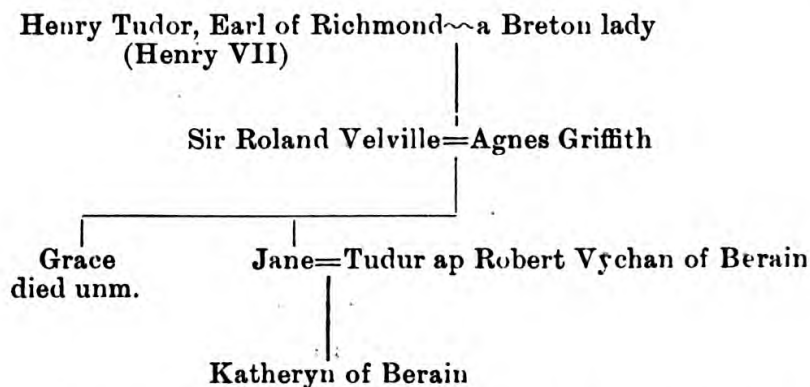
Following the publication of the *Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers*, in which Katheryn appears, the National Library of Wales obtained on loan, for its annual exhibition in 1927, the four paintings reputed to be portraits of Katheryn. In this connection inquiries were made into the history of this remarkable lady, and it became clear that a reliable account of Katheryn's life has not been written. During these investigations the National Library came into possession of a group of papers presented by Viscount Combermere, who inherited Llewenni through the marriage of his ancestor, Sir Robert Cotton, with the Salusbury heiress of that house, a descendant of Katheryn by her first marriage with John Salusbury. These papers disclose details, especially dates, not previously available.

During his years of exile in Brittany, before he came to the throne, Henry VII had, by a Breton lady, a natural

Katheryn of Berain.

son, Roland Velville, whom he knighted after coming to the throne. He made him constable of Beaumaris Castle, and settled on him his moiety of the Tudor property of Penmynydd in Anglesey,¹ with other lands in Pentraeth and Beaumaris.

Katheryn was the daughter of Tudur ap Robert Vychan of Berain in Denbighshire, by his wife, Jane Velville, the daughter of Sir Roland Velville. The line of descent is as follows :—



Sir Roland Velville died in 1527, five years before the marriage of his daughter Jane to Tudur ap Robert Vychan of Berain.² He bequeathed all his lands to his widow, and she in her turn left the property to her two daughters, Grace and Jane. It can be assumed that Grace Velville died unmarried, because ultimately the whole of the Penmynydd property devolved upon Katheryn, who was therefore not only of royal blood but well dowered.

Of her girlhood nothing is known. Her mother died when she was still young, and her father married again.³

¹ The other moiety belonged to the Abbey of Conway.

² The marriage settlement is dated 28 Hen. VIII (1532).

³ His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Rees Wynn ap David Anwyl ap Ieuan ap Rees of Kinnel, and two sons at least were born of the second marriage. The will of Tudur ap Robert, Katheryn's father, was proved at St. Asaph in 1564. His second wife survived him and married again.

She is said to have been a ward of Queen Elizabeth. A pair of embroidered slippers and a pair of corsets, gifts from the Queen, are still preserved. The slippers, kindly lent by Captain Williams Ellis, were exhibited with the portraits in 1927.

That Elizabeth took an interest in Katheryn is probably correct, for she was partial to her Tudor relatives. The first portrait of Katheryn, the charming girl of about eighteen or twenty, may have been painted when Katheryn was in London, possibly on a visit to, or under the wing of, the Princess Elizabeth. This is merely conjecture, but the dress and the jewellery in the portrait and the quality of the painting all support the theory.

THE FIRST MARRIAGE.

More definite information is available when we come to the marriage of Katheryn with her first husband, John Salusbury, son and heir of Sir John Salusbury of Llewenni, though there is some uncertainty as to the course of events in regard to the marriage. The settlement deed is dated 11th February, 1556/7, when Katheryn was 22 years of age. The deed says "a marriage had and solemnized between John and Catherine Salusbury." In the settlement Sir John Salusbury covenants that the said John and Katheryn "shall go together as husband and wife between this and the feast of Christmas." The marriage "had and solemnized" was probably a child marriage, which was to be consummated between the date of the deed and the next ensuing Christmas. There is said to be in existence a letter from John Salusbury while he was still at Westminster School, in which he mentions his wife. The letter has not been traced, nor the date of John Salusbury's birth.

The married life of John and Katheryn Salusbury ex-

tended over nine years, and they had two surviving sons, Thomas and John.

John Salusbury died in 1566, his father, Sir John, being still alive. The exact date of his death is uncertain. His will, dated May 10th, was admitted for probate on July 24th, but two documents, dated respectively June 20th and July 12th, 1566, describe Katheryn as a widow, and two sons, Thomas and John, are mentioned. Both documents deal with the settlement of Katheryn's estates, which were vested in trustees for Thomas Salusbury, or, he failing, for his brother John. The date of John Salusbury's death was therefore between May 10th, the date of his will, and June 20th, when his widow executed the first settlement. Both the documents just referred to appear to have the same effect, but they may refer to different properties—Berain and Penmynydd. The earlier deed, June 20th, is so decayed that the description of the property cannot be made out.

A further document, dated 15th August, 1566, is a deed between Sir John Salusbury, Kt., and Katheryn Salusbury, widow, "late wife of John Salusbury, Esq., deceased." To fulfil a covenant in the indenture of July 12th, they agreed to levy two fines at the next Great Sessions for Denbigh and Flint to secure the lands specified to descend to Thomas Salusbury and to his heirs, with remainder to John Salusbury, brother of Thomas, etc.

The Final Concord out of the Court of Great Sessions for Denbigh and Flint dealing with these indentures has not been found, but in view of subsequent events it may be assumed that it was issued, as was a corresponding document for the Anglesey estate, dated October 7th, 1566.

It thus appears that immediately following the death of her first husband, Katheryn, who had become possessed

of the Berain estate on the death of her father in 1564, proceeded to make a settlement of her properties on her two sons.

These documents dispose of the theory that John, the younger son, was born in December or January following his father's death.¹ The theory is based on an inscription on a portrait of John Salusbury the younger quoted by Pennant, " 1591 aet. 24 ", and the entry of his matriculation at Jesus College, Oxford, November 24th, 1581, which gives his age as 14. John was probably an infant when his father died in May or June, 1566, but the mention of him in the will and in the documents of June and July, 1566, cannot be set aside. He was married 18th December, 1586, and his first child, a daughter, was baptized on October 10th, 1587 ; these dates to a limited extent confirm the earlier date for his birth. The execution of his brother, which will be referred to later, may have hurried on his marriage, when he was a few months short of the age of twenty-one, and, owing to his brother's death, was the heir to Llewenni.

In some pedigrees mention is made of a third child of John and Katheryn, a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Owen Brereton. She is not mentioned in the will, or in the documents just referred to. A careful investigation leaves no doubt that she was a daughter of Sir John Salusbury, and therefore a sister of Katheryn's first husband. Several elegies on the death of Owen Brereton (1595) have been examined. These refer to his first wife, Elizabeth, by whom he had fourteen children, as the daughter of Sir John Salusbury, Chamberlain of North Wales, her children being referred to as grandchildren of the old Cham-

¹ *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, with an introduction by Carleton Brown. London : H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, p. xii.

berlain. There are other references which make it clear that Elizabeth Brereton was the daughter of old Sir John.

To the year 1566 belongs the well-known story of Katheryn and her two suitors, related by Thomas Pennant, who wrote:—

The tradition goes that at the funeral of her beloved spouse she was led to church by Sir Richard Clough and from church by Morris Wynn, of Gwydir, who whispered to her his wish of being her second; she refused him with great civility, informing him that she had accepted the proposals of Sir Richard, in her way to church: but assured him (and was as good as her word) that in case she performed the same sad duty (which she was then about) to the knight, he might depend on being her third. From this match I have the honor of some of Catherine's blood in my veins. As soon as she had composed this gentleman, to shew that she had no superstition about the number THREE, she concluded with Edward Thelwal, of Plas y Ward, esq., departed this life August 27; and was interred at Llanyfydd on the 1st of September, 1591.¹

The story of "The wooer who came too late" is one of the merry jests in a collection printed some years before Katheryn was born, and belongs to the group of tales and quick answers, very merry and pleasant to read, to be found in the literature of all countries. That it became localized and attached to Katheryn is not difficult to believe, and Pennant may be excused for not knowing the source, as the little book of jests and merry tales in which it occurs was rare in his day.

The story as applied to Katheryn has been dismissed as impossible on chronological grounds by Professor Carleton Brown, a careful writer. He says that Sir Richard Clough's wooing took place in the latter part of April, 1567, when Katheryn had already been a widow eleven months,² and Dean Burgon makes a pretty story of the

¹ Pennant: *Tours in Wales*, 1810 edition, vol. ii, pp. 146-7.

² *Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester*, p. xiv.

hurried wooing and marriage within the short space of three weeks.¹

Sir Richard Clough lived mostly abroad, at Antwerp, where he was concerned in business for Sir Thomas Gresham, his partner. They were merchants on an extensive scale, and very wealthy. Much of the correspondence which passed between them is preserved in the Public Record Office, and is summarised in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, 1566-68*.

A letter from Gresham, 4th April, 1566, to Sir Wm. Cecil says :—" I have written to my factor Clough to come home these hollydaies ". Here we have evidence that Clough came over from Antwerp about the time of John Salusbury's death, evidence confirmed by the absence of any letters from him to Gresham until some months later, when the correspondence was resumed.

Clough was at this time engaged in building operations at his house in Denbighshire, and almost certainly would visit his home.

He may not have proposed to the widow on the occasion of her first husband's funeral, but it is probable that before he returned to Antwerp there was an understanding, which resulted in a marriage in the following year. If this surmise is correct it explains what happened.

THE SECOND MARRIAGE.

Sir Richard Clough was in Antwerp up to about the middle of April, 1567, when he came home. He was married to Katheryn, and was with her on a visit to Sir Thomas Gresham, in London, by the sixth of May. Katheryn's second marriage took place within a year of her first husband's death, but having regard to the extensive business

¹ Burgon: *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*. 2 vols. 1839. Vol. ii, p. 211.

engagements abroad of Sir Richard Clough there is nothing to complain about in her not waiting the full year. The disposal of the story of the posthumous child removes the implied reproach that she went off with the second husband leaving an infant of four or five months. The grandparents, Sir John and Lady Salusbury, were alive, and it is most likely that they took upon themselves the care and nurture of the young children left fatherless by the death of their eldest son. As related above, Katheryn had settled the estates of Berain and Penmynydd upon her Salusbury sons immediately following her first husband's death.

Sir Richard Clough and his wife returned to Antwerp in May, 1567, and, after a visit to Spain, were back at Antwerp by July of the same year. They continued to reside there until May, 1569, when Clough made a visit to London, and sailed from there to Hamburg, where he resided until his death in the following year. The change of residence was due to troubles arising out of the disturbed condition of affairs in Flanders, which caused Clough much uneasiness. He was in constant communication with Cecil, and it is not unlikely that his removal from Antwerp was due to political troubles.

A portrait of Katheryn was painted in 1568 by a Flemish artist, which Pennant described as "an excellent three-quarters on wood"; one hand rests on a skull, a feature not unusual in portraits of that period. The other hand holds a casket attached to a girdle worn round the waist. Legend has it that this casket contained the ashes of Sir Richard Clough, an absurd invention, as Sir Richard was living when the picture was painted. It probably, as Pennant says, contained the hair of Sir Richard.

Two daughters were born to the Cloughs during their brief married life—Anne (1568), who became the wife

PLATE 2.



To face p. 8.
Katheryn of Berain—The Llewesog Portrait, 1568.

of Roger Salusbury, and Mary (1569), who married William Wynn of Melai.

The actual date of Clough's death is not known, but Dean Burgon¹ says it must have taken place between 11th March and 19th July, 1570, and estimates Clough's age at about 40. Nor is the cause of his death known. A lingering sickness, two references in his letters to pains in the head, and sleeplessness, that is all. At the request of the municipal authorities of Hamburg, the Senate of Lubeck sent a skilled physician to see whether any aid was possible, but without avail.

SECOND WIDOWHOOD.

At the age of thirty-five Katheryn was a widow for the second time with four children, all of tender years.

Sir Richard Clough and his partner (Sir Thomas Gresham) were reputed to be the richest men in England. Clough by his will provided handsomely for each of his two daughters and for his widow, and in addition gave his sons by a former union considerable wealth.

Referring to Clough's knighthood, Dean Burgon says :—

I reserve for a subsequent page, however, what is discoverable of his personal history; there being no evidence, traditional or otherwise, of the events of his early life, except the indubitable fact that in the fervour of youthful zeal, he performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was created a knight of the Holy Sepulchre—"though not owning it," says Fuller, "on his return under Queen Elizabeth, who disdained her subjects should accept of such foraign honour." Pennant and other Welsh writers have, in consequence, styled him *Sir Richard Clough*, by which name he is known at this day among his descendants.²

It may be assumed that Katheryn left Hamburg soon after the death of her husband. That she was back in

¹ *Life of Sir Thomas Gresham*, vol. ii, p. 356.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 236-7.

Wales by November, 1570, may be inferred from the agreement between William Clough of Denbigh, executor of the will of Richard Clough, and Katheryn, and a deed of the same date, the schedule of which gives some idea of the wealth of which she was then possessed.

After her return from Hamburg Katheryn resided at Berain, and engaged William Kynwal of Penmachno to compile a record of her family. Kynwal wrote in the same volume a large number of poems by himself and other poets extolling Katheryn, the Tudurs, the Salusburys, Clough, and others connected with her. This volume is now in the library of Christ Church, Oxford.

The pedigree traces Katheryn's descent through a long line of Welsh chieftains back to Brutus, who is described as a great-grandson of the Trojan hero Æneas, and who, tradition states, came and settled in Britain. From Æneas the pedigree goes back through a long line of mythical persons, including the gods Jupiter and Saturn, until Biblical characters are reached in Japhet and Noah, and thence back to " Enoch son of Seth son of Adam son of God ". This grandiose production was in accord with the practice of the time in compiling pedigrees.

The poems in the Christ Church MS. include two by Kynwal eulogising Clough and Katheryn, one proposing to send a hawk to express the longing felt in North Wales for their return, and the other a ship to bring them back. The elegies on Clough mention that his heart was brought home and buried in Whitchurch (the parish church of the town of Denbigh), and that Bachygraig was built with stones brought from Antwerp. It is suggested elsewhere that the building is of bricks imported from Holland or made in Denbighshire in the Dutch manner.

Kynwal wrote a cywydd welcoming Katheryn home to Berain, and another urging her to marry again, but not

to leave Berain if she does. The cywydd of welcome runs :—

*Kowydd i groessawu y meistres katrin adref pann fu
tuwnt Ir mor val y kair gwybod wrth y kowydd.*¹

Katrin law ruddwin roddiad,
kares wyth lu kroesso ith wlad . . .
[12 lines omitted]
hwiliaist megis un helynt
Elen verch Goel lanfraich gynt
honn a gerddodd henw gwirddoeth
y mor ar tir ddyn ir ddoeth
yno drwy nerth duw or nef
or daith hydr y doeth adref
ac val hynn gwiwvawl henwi
wrth ystad yr aethost di
gida'th wr mewn kyflwr kain
gwir lendyd i Gaer Lundain
o Lundain hardd riain hael
ir Galais eurloer gulael
a thrwy ffraingk winvaingk iownvawr
hoff lowndres vodd i fflandrs fawr
o frebant gwarant geirwir
iawn tro pell i Andwarp hir
ac ywch wedi gwyh ydoedd
yn yr yssbaen wrssib oedd
yn Hambrw uffern henbryd
o vewn dengmark bark y byd
ing dic y rwng i deugwr
ofer dim y bu farw dwr
ac ir ystad at Grist wynn
yr aeth ef wrth i ofyn
a chwi a ddoeth eigr goeth gain
i loegr yn ddyn weddw liwgain
yno bu ywch yn unawr
a gwiwras maith groessaw mawr
ath glod aeth golud weithion
or un sud drwy'r ynys honn
oddyno yn ddianair
orau dyn heb wyro d'air
doeth ich ty'ch hun y fun fain
drwy fowredd i dre ferain . . .
[16 lines omitted]

¹ *Christ Church MS.*

Katheryn of Berain.

adolwc bennes dalaaur
 dyn loew wych dan wiail aur
 fry na ddos hael linos lan
 farn well o verain allan.

WILLIAM KYNWAL.

A letter¹ from John Vaughan of Gelly Aur to Katheryn shows that in 1571 she was still residing at Berain. The letter is unfortunately mutilated, and the month when it was written is missing, but April, 1571, is possible; that would be less than a year after Clough's death. The letter is as follows:—

Lovinge Cosyn after my righte hartie comendacones [I being] yet unaquaynted with you, have in the behaulf [of Walter] Vaughan my sone byn a suyter unto you by my ne[phew] hughe ap hughe, who repaired unto you and was [kindly] entertayned and wellcome, for the wch I yelde you [thanks] now. If yt please you to comunycate or talke further [with us] in this matter, upon the good answer whiche I have [received] by him from you, Bothe I and my sonne will travaile u[p] ffor I have no other but him only to bestowe soche lyvinge [as] god hath sent me after my decesse wch shal be a T[housand] marcks by the yeare at the leaste. Beseachinge you [to continue] yor good will and forwardnes herin as I understande [you] have begone, which by gods grace shall not on my [part] and my Sones be unaquitted And thus levinge all [. . .] to yor good discreyson to be conferred wth my Cosyn [hughe] ap hughe I comitt you to the governaunce of [almighty] god. ffrom my howse at gelly oyre the vith daye [of April] 1571.

Your assured Cosyn,

JOHN VAUGHAN.

Addressed:—To his verie assured and lovinge Cosyn Mrs. katheryn Cloughe at Meren these be yeaven.

Gelly Oyre (Gelly Aur) is probably the Carmarthen-shire seat of the Vaughans. There is a Gelly Aur in Flintshire, but this was the home of the Morgans. The spelling Oyre for Aur points to Carmarthenshire. That this is the correct interpretation is supported by the sentence in the letter "If yt please you to comunycate or

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 43.

talke further . . . Bothe I and my sonne will travaile u[p] ”.

The proposed suitor, Walter Vaughan, was the father of John Vaughan, first earl of Carbery, and William Vaughan, author of the *Golden Grove Moralized* and other well-known works.¹ The proposal was no mean one, and shows that she was accounted a desirable lady. Katheryn, however, did not see fit to “talke further”. It may be that she was already talking with Maurice Wynn of Gwydir, the belated suitor who was forestalled by Richard Clough.

THE THIRD MARRIAGE.

The date of Katheryn’s marriage with Maurice Wynn is not known, but it was before January, 1573. Wynn had buried two wives, and Katheryn two husbands. By this third marriage she became the step-mother of the famous Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, the author of *The History of the Gwydir Family*.

There is a document among the Llewenni papers, dated 20th September, 1574, two years or thereabouts after Katheryn became the wife of Maurice Wynn, which throws an interesting side-light on the lady’s matrimonial activities.

It is an agreement between Sir John Salusbury and his wife Lady Jane Salusbury, and Maurice Wynn for a marriage between one or other of Katheryn’s sons by her first husband and Margaret, daughter of Maurice Wynn, or, she failing, any other of Wynn’s daughters. Thomas Salusbury was about ten years of age when the agreement was made, and Margaret Wynn was about the same age or possibly younger; she was Wynn’s fourth child by his

¹ Walter Vaughan married (I) Mary, daughter of Gruffydd Rys, by whom he had thirteen children, and (II) Letys, widow of Sir John Perrot, who bore him two children.

first wife. They were, however, to be married before the Feast of the Annunciation next ensuing (i.e. 25th March, 1575). It was a child marriage to be confirmed and consummated later, with alternative provisions to ensure the union of the two families in the case of death on either side before the contemplated marriage was solemnized, or between solemnization and consummation. This is a most interesting document as it illustrates the way in which marriages were arranged in the sixteenth century. Another similar document in which Katheryn was concerned will be referred to later.

This grand design was the realisation of the dreams of two women, Lady Jane Salusbury and her erstwhile daughter-in-law, Katheryn. The signing of the marriage agreement was followed by a great festive gathering at Gwydir,¹ recorded by Maurice Wynn in his book of memoranda (a volume of 212 pages)² as follows :—

8^o die octobris a^o 1574.

The names of them that were present at the bargain made betwene me and Sir John Salusbury & at the delyvery of the money to Mr Thomas Salusbury wth th'obligation the conveances. &c.

John Wyn ap Wm, esquier.

Gruff Wynn, gent.

Maurice Kyffyne, gent.

John Lloyd, mercer.

Edward ap Hughe.

Owen ap Sr John.

John Mershe.

Robert Kynrike,

John Edwards,

Cristofer —

John Hollis,

Wm ap Sr John gruff.

Davyd ap Thomas, John Wyn ap Wm's servant.

} Sr Jo. Salisburis men.

¹ The old Gwydir which still survives. The later house built by Sir John Wynn, "the fairest house in all N. Wales", was ruined by two fires in 1922 and 1924 respectively.

² N.L.W. Llanstephan MS. 179B.

It is somewhat curious that the guests at Gwydir included four described as "Sr Jo. Salisburis men", but neither Sir John nor Lady Salusbury. In view of what followed their absence is significant.

This gay house-party was but the prelude to trouble and family bitterness. As already stated the marriage of these two children appears to have been arranged by Lady Jane Salusbury and her sometime daughter-in-law, Katheryn, who were believed to be able to enchant their respective husbands. Maurice Wynn, according to his son, Sir John Wynn, was not a strong personality, and was largely under the influence of Katheryn, and there are hints that he was not on the best of terms with some of his neighbours, nor, for a time at least, with Sir John Salusbury. These strained relations were due to the prospective bridegroom, who later showed some reluctance to the marriage.

The boy was at Gwydir when the great celebration feast took place, but later there seems to have been some feeling between Gwydir and Llewenni as to the place where he should reside, whether with his mother or with his grand-parents. Nor is it clear from the scanty evidence available whether the child marriage took place, as arranged by the great indenture, before the 25th March, 1575.

A letter¹ from Katheryn to her stepson, John Wynn (afterwards Sir John), then a barrister in London, discloses that trouble had arisen with regard to the wardship of Thomas Salusbury, the heir to Llewenni. It is not necessary to enter into the details here. It is a long and intricate dispute in which the Earl of Leycester's connection with North Wales, and heated controversies, are con-

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 83.

cerned.¹ The letter, however, is evidence of the feuds and intrigues, and the high tension between leading families.

As regards Katheryn the letter affords a side-light upon her domestic life, the most intimate piece of personal revelation available. She speaks of herself as a weak woman, foolish and fond, and appeals for the wise and discreet help of the future Sir John Wynn. The letter, dated February, 1576/7, is written on three pages, foolscap size, with the address on the fourth page, and appears to be in the hand of Thomas Brooke, the signature, "Katheryn Wynn", being in her autograph. The first leaf is slightly defective, words are missing which in a few instances are conjecturally restored, and, where no such restoration has been made, are indicated by . . . , in each case enclosed in [].

Good sonne my verrey heartie comendacons use[. . . these] are to signifie unto yo^w that for revenge of ou[r enemies] I am nowe verrey like to receave at my ffather [in law and his] brother m^r Salusburie and their ffrends han[ds such a] ffoyle² (for your sake) as I shall neaver claw of³ [unless] youre wisdom and foresight be my shilde and [strength] in my greatest necessitie. for yow shall understand that a kynesman and late seruant of myne one whome yo^w knowe Jeuan ap Thomas ap Kyn' by name havinge by great mishappe chaunsed to gyve a neighbour of his one william ap Ric a blowe with a stone, wherof it is inferred by his ffrends he shuld die, and by the synister and indirect practise and subborn acon of Jeuan lloid ap d'd ap m'edd and William lloid his sonne, who havinge conspired with Piers holland a malicious and cruell enemye

¹ The relations of the Earl of Leycester with North Wales offer a fruitful field for inquiry by a student of history. A passage in *Leycester's Commonwealth* runs:—"The hatred of all that Countrey (i.e. North Wales), is so universall and vehement against my Lord: as I thinke never thing created by God, was so odious to that Nation, as the very name of my Lord of *Leycester* is. Which his Lordship, well knowing, I doubt not, but that he will take heed, how hee goe thither to dwell, or send thither his posterity".

² ffoyle = foil, a repulse, a disgrace, a stigma. O.E.D.

³ claw of = to get rid of, get free from. O.E.D.

PLATE 3.



The Wigfair Portrait.

To face p. 17.

to my howse from the begynninge have caused my said Seruant to be indicted of willfull murther togeather with one Jeuan ap Tudr as accessarie, withowt any evidence or good mattre to induce the same, And therupon my said Seruant upon hope of indifferencie and upon trust of his innocencye upon indifferent and good triall yelded him self to the lawe, beinge Imbowldned therunto by my said father in lawe. m^r Salusburie of Rugge, Mr Thomas Salusbury of Denbigh and the rest of that crewe, who then promysed to be his ffaithfull ffrends and ayders: and nowe havinge therby allured him into his enymies hands, and ledd him as a bear to the stake or as a lambe to the butchers stawle doe nowe not onelie leave him destitute of all ayde, but allso ioygne them selfs wth his aduersaries to his utter confucion the best they may, not onelie of them selfs but allso by procuringe the shirief and others to the same, in so muche as they haue caused m^r ffowllke lloid and others my lords officers to write unto my L. of leycest^r to agravate mattres against him, takinge for their grounds that my L. is like to lose the benifite of their lands in excheate by [rea]son of some ffables by them contrived and [most] fawlsly insenced to my L. eares. wher in [ve]ry deede ther is noe such mattre intended one our [part]es but rather of the other side, for if wee have [ou]r willes wee meane not to dishardge him of man slawghtr, although the evidence will in troth prove but man slawghtr in his owne defence. And although the surgion will upon his othe verifie that the man died rather of gods vicitacon or for want of good keapinge then of the hurte, and although ther be many other circumstances to extenuate his offence, here to longe to be recited and one in especiall, for all the evidence and prouffs that be of all sides doe manifestlie prove and everie one doth prove and agree with the other that the man slayne, had upon him a good pike forke and a longe dagger and was a stronger lustier and better man then the other and that my kynesman and seruant had but onelie a dagger and that the other man dryve my kynesman backe to a hedge wher he ffound a stone undr his ffete by chaunce and threw at the other wherby he might have oportunitie to flie further and so imediatlie fledde, and although the other man p'secuted him alonge myle never turned unto him but still fledd, all suche mattres and suche other circumstances as this bearer can instruct yow of, such as yow thinke will make with yow. I am hereby heartelie to praie yow to imparte to my good ffrende Sr John Husband besëchinge him of his comforte ayd and succore herein, either by dealinge with my L. in his excuse, or by writinge to m^r Justice throckmorton in my mans favour, and procuringe my L. p^res to m^r Justice if yow thinke it needfull,

but specialle to make my L. conceave the matt'r aright, and not to write againest him wherin yo^w shall doe unto me a most acceptable pleasure and to yo^r ffather and to yo^r self [much] wor' and credite, w^{ch} if this man mis[carry in] the furst matt'r of weight he deallt wi[th at] Conwey is like to be greatlie appalled [. . .] in denbigh shire. And my poore sonne a[nd your] brother in lawe litle Thome Salusburie [is filled] with great perplexitie for he poore ch[ild ha]th great care of him because he was his fathers man and myne, and one whome he tendrly loveth. I am but a woman ffolishe and faunde. I can not direct yo^w aright in this matt'r, yo^r father is not willinge to deale for some respects knowinge how litle affiaunce he hath in denbigh shire men, yo^w are wise and Discreete and conversant with those that can instructe yow what is best to be done. I therfore require yo^w to be ffaithfull and vigilant in this matter, otherwise the poore man shall Runne into utter Ruine, and I and myne imperpetuall obloquie and sclandr for ever, wherfor referringe all to yo^r wisdom and fidelitie I ende wishinge yo^w's wellfare in haste from Gwid^r this xxiiijth of ffebruarie 1576.¹

Your loving mother

KATHERYN WYNN.

p^tscript

I praie yo^w write unto me yo^r pleasure towching the books of the quartr Sessions and whither I may have them or not paing yo^u xx^s for everie sessions.

THOMAS BROOKE.

Addressed:—

To my lovinge sonne John Wynne at the Inner Temple de. this in hast.

What happened to the young man accused of murder is not on record. It is hoped that he had a fair trial, unprejudiced by family feuds. If he can be identified as the same who witnessed a lease in March, 1581, he must have won free.

Sir John Salusbury died about a year after the letter just quoted was written, the actual date of his death being 18th March, 1577/8.

His death left his grandson, still a minor, to the wardship of the Earl of Leycester, who had been chosen by Sir John Salusbury. The Wynns were alarmed, fearing

¹ i.e. 1577, New Style.

that Leycester would oppose the completion of the marriage of Thomas Salusbury and Margaret Wynn. These fears were groundless if we can accept Leycester's statement in the following letter¹ to Maurice Wynn, written five days after Sir John Salusbury's death.

After my heartie comendacons. with like thanks for yor paynes takinge to be presente at the hearinge of the cause wch those yor countrey exclamationers preferred to herre matie. Like as I doubt not but you are fullie satisfied in consience upon hearinge of the cause debated of the greate wronge they have offered me and herre maties commissioners soe I hope yow will to the like contentacon satisfie the reste of yor ffrends within yor countrey whom I am sure they have allso therin greatlie abused. I trust I shall hensfurth finde you as yor brother in lawe my verrey ffrende the L. Chaunceler of Irelande hath assured me, and so doinge I will not be unmyndefull of requitall. And now m^r Wynn I thought good to lette you understand that like as by the death of Sr John Salusburie the wardshippe of the boye is faulen to me and in my custodie, so will I throughlie understande the boyes disposition to the matche with yor doughter, from the wch I here he hathe utterlie dissented, and that if I see any likelihooode yow shall finde me (the rather for yor brother in lawes sake) ffrendelie therin. I am glade you have so good assurance for yor money, for as the matche was made onelie to defraude me of the wardshippe, soe I can assure you it was not meante to be performed to you. for the recoverey of yor money if you neede my ffrendshippe it shall not be wantinge. I praie you trie owte what dulia belongeth to the boye either in goods or lands and therof with the speede you can advertise me, wherupon you shall here further from me, I thinke I shall comytte some trust in the cause to you, wch shall not be to yor discomoditie. I praie you lette me here speedilie from you, and in the meane tyme fare ye heartelie well, from the courte the xxijth of marche 1577.²

Yor Lovinge ffrende

ROBERT LEYCESTER.

Maurice Wynn and Katheryn were at Berain directly after Sir John Salusbury's death, and Wynn prepared a statement in the form of a letter to Sir William Gerard for the purpose of informing Leycester as to the position with

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 84.

² i.e. 1578, New Style.

regard to the marriage. This letter¹ must have crossed Leycester's letter (dated a few days earlier) reassuring Wynn as to the marriage. Maurice Wynn's letter throws a vivid light on the domestic drama then being played, and is therefore worth reproducing.

After my verey heartie comendacons to yor good L. gyvinge the same to understande that upon my retorne from worcester I repaired to the countrey to attende those affaires off my l. comytted to me and others ther in chardge, by reason wherof I cold not repaire to Sr John Salusburie albeit he sent for me diverse tymes untill hit was within three or foure daies before his death, at wch tyme in the p'sence of diverse honest gentlemen both of worshippe and credite he openlie [af]firmēd that he neaver intended to breake the lesse [*several words mutilated*] of any parte of the bargaine concluded betwen his [grandson] and my doughter as he had done many tymes [before] greatlie blamyng me for that I had wrongfullie [belie]ved and uttered such suspicion of hym to the great [blēm]ishe of his worshippe and credite; affirmynge [that he] was neaver privey nor consentinge to the [boy's] departure from me. and said how he had sent for [the] boye to Oxford whom he meant to deliver unto [me] if he cam home before he died, otherwise he had taken order with his executors that they shuld deliver hym unto me, chardginge me as I shuld answer in honestie to god and to the world to see that matche consumated and perfected accordinge to the trust fidelitie and true meanyng of the same from the begynninge, from the wch he neaver intended to swarve. and ther with all called my ladie unto hym and reconsiled [me] to herre of all suche mislikings as shee had [con]ceaved against me, desiringe herre to take my [daughte]r unto herre and to see herre vertiouslie brought [up in t]he feare of god wch shee promised to doe, and [after] Sr John decessed and all his funerall [rites] are performed my lady [*several words mutilated*]pfullie accordinge to herre [promise in] good [faith] delivered the child to me . . . At Beraigne this thirde of Aprill: 1578.

Yor lovyng brother in lawe
assured to his power,
MAURICE WYNN.

This letter addressed from "Beraigne" suggests that Katheryn's own house was kept as a place of residence

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 86.

during her life as the wife of Maurice Wynn, and this is confirmed by the fact that she returned there after Wynn's death.¹

Seven days later John Wynn wrote a letter to his father-in-law, Sir William Gerard, which gives some intimation of Wynn's opinion of his step-mother. The letter,² dated 10th April, 1578, relates to the dispute concerning the wardship.

My very good l. and lovinge father in law, I assure yow my mynd did fortelle me, that y'sterday I should heere from hom, wch was the cause I attended not yow to the corte as I was once determined. As I expected so cam hit to passe, for ysternight very late in the eveninge cam to the Cytie my fathers man wth answeere to my l. & m^{rs} letters, accompenyed wth Sr Jhon Salsberyes son, havinge likwyse an answeere from Mr Salsbery of the Ruge and letters from my ladye Sal. to my L. In my pakket of letters I found on[e] directed to your L. from my father wch I send yow wth this berer. I send yow also the coppyes of my fathers letter to my L. & of my L. letter to him (wch I know I may as well kepe bake as send) but onely for the performance of my fathers will and direction. The yonge gent. Mr Salsbery is to fornische him selfe wth morninge apparell before he com to my L. presence. my instructions are to deliver my letter to my L. att the same instant as he dothe, wch is the cause of my stay from courte this day. I understand uppon conference had wth the yonge gent, that my father is lulled in the securty of his cause, and that hit is not untould him that yf he may have that law will geve him, the boy shall sure be his. Your L. and my selfe are growen to great suspicion because of oure last letters, so that (yf they could otherweyse chuse) nether yow nor I should be trusted in this matter. My lady Sal. to be in assurance of my father, hathe him and his wyfe altogether now att her house in dembighe, where m^r Jo. Salsbery also is, where they so rule my father, that he ratyfyethe what they thinke fitt to be don. [*several lines mutilated*] I wold to god my fathers yees were also opened to see the same wch I doubt not might be compased yf he weere once from the Cirens wch enchant him, I mean his owen wyfe and my lady the boyes

¹ Maurice Wynn also wrote a letter from Berain to his son John two years earlier (see *Calendar of Wynn Papers*, No. 72).

² *Wynn Papers*, No. 87.

1578

grandmother. in his letter for all there perswations he is contented to stand to my l. ordor in this matter w^{ch} yow may assure my l. he for his parte wyll performe lett them do what they will. and att this time they are in full meaninge to stand wth my l. in the matter . . . Att the Inner Tempell this wens-day beinge the xth of Aprylle 1578.

Your lo. lovinge sonne in law to commande,

JOHN WYNN.

An undated letter from John Wynn to "Mr. Attorney", of which the author's draft is among the Wynn Papers, refers to the misunderstandings and intrigues with regard to Leycester's wardship, and to a visit by Lady Salusbury and her deceased husband's two executors to Buxton to interview Leycester. It is difficult to unravel the sequence of events as only fragments of the story emerge from the documents available. It would seem as if Lady Salusbury was in danger of losing control of the Llewenni property, for "the Little Park" probably refers to some part of that property. Wynn's letter suggests that Leycester stood to gain either one way or the other, the boy or the little park; the wardship and the perquisites appertaining to it, or part of the property, to be followed by Leycester finding means in a short time "to compasse the whole".

John Wynn in the course of his life found means to "compasse" many additions to his own estates.

One thing seems clear, that Lady Salusbury and Katheryn had a keen struggle to preserve control, Maurice Wynn being but a weak support to his wife. In the end the women won.

John Wynn's letter¹ to the Earl of Leycester's attorney is as follows:—

I know right well m^r Aty that my L. in Salsberyes matter is yll delt wthall but hit worketh a great admiration in me that my L. haveinge so p[lain and] just cause of offence

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 85.

agaenst others laythe the [blame to] my charge wch ever was most faethfull on his [L. be]halfe.

Was ther not a plaen and flatt promyse mad to his L. by those wch are well able to performe, that ether the ward should be delivered to his honor, or the littell parke. The on[e] they have not donne, why ar they not urged to do the other?

The on[e] moyty of the parke is my ladyes, the other her childrens. yf her moyty weere obtaened accordinge to her promyse, I dowbt not but my L. myght finde the means in short time to compasse the whole. The parke is never likly to be my brother Salsberys althoghe (to put over this brunt) they take him for a cloake and shadow. Yf I should not rather wyshe & procure hit to my good L. & m^r, then to those to whom in no respect I stand tyed unto, the world wold say that I had greatly forgotten my self. Therefor what lyethe in my power to do in this assure my L. in my name that I shall do hit in sort as hit shall please his honor to direct me.

Perchance my accuser hathe grated on my fathers promyse mad to my L. by letter beinge jointly written by Jhon Salsbery and my father: yf that be so: then good m^r Aty answere in this sort. The L. chancelor of Ierland,¹ travelinge towards Ierland (havige belik som auctoryty from my L.) delt wth my Lady and the executors to understand what they wold be contented to give my L. for his interest in the ward. My Lady was content to ratyfy what her sonne in law Jhon Salsbery beinge an executor of trust should thinke resonable. The L. chancelor and he grew to an agreement: my father (because the ward was to marry his doghter) was cawled to assent & to subscribe the letter, wch he did; the letters weere forthwth dispatched to his L. to Buxtons: my Lady uppon knoledge had of thear conclusion exclamed that they had conspyred to undo her and her heire & theere uppon ridd to Buxtons her selfe to my L. accompanied wth Sr Jhons Salsberys executors Jo: Sal: & Thomas Salsbery, thear to conclude a new composityon & to dissolve the owld. whear what she & the executors promysed my L. I know doothe well remember. Sithence wch time (because my father assented att first to geeve eny thinge to his L.) she hathe remaened his utter foo.

When I was att Buxtons wth his honor I towld him then that I feared that my Lady wold not stand to her promyse: his honor replyed that she should first repent hit. Sythence then Sir Jhon w[ent to th]e contrey & sifted the matter thoroly. yf he sa[w that th]er was any fawt in my father

¹ Sir William Gerard.

or that att all times that my father hathe not doone his utter-most indevor to cause my Lady to stand to her promyse then beleve me no more.

The promyses considered I refer my self & this cause to my honorable consideration to judge whether I have offended or have beene wrongfully accused.

JOHN WYNN.

Thomas Salusbury was entered as matriculating at Trinity College, Oxford, 29th January, 1579/80, aged 16,¹ but he was at Oxford before that time, as appears from the letter of 3rd April, 1578, already quoted. In this letter, written after the death of Sir John Salusbury, Maurice Wynn says that before his death Salusbury declared he had sent to Oxford for the boy, in order to put him in Wynn's charge, at the same time desiring that the match with Wynn's daughter might take place.

Maurice Wynn died in August, 1580, and Katheryn was a widow for the third time. There were two children of the Wynn marriage, Edward and Jane. Edward was the ancestor of the Wynns of Llwyn; Jane we shall encounter again.

Katheryn was the mother of six children, two Salusburies, two Cloughs, and two Wynns. She went to Berain to live, and among the Llewenni papers is a lease dated March 8th, 1580/1, from "Katheryn Wynn of Berayne, co. Denbigh, widow, daughter and heir of Tudur ap Robert . . . to Robert Vaughan of Beawmarreis . . . servant of Sir Henry Sidney, President of the Council of the Marches, of a close called *The Duffhouse Croft* and appurtenances in Beawmarreis. Term 21 years. Yearly rent, 35s. 4d. Signed, Katheryn Wynn. Witnesses: Margaret Salusbury; William Birchinsa; John Tudder; John ap Jeuan; Jeuan Thomas ap Ken'; John Graves."

¹ Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*, p. 1305. The age, 16, would fix the date of birth as 1564, two and a half years before his father's death, and that of his brother John during the year 1565 or 1566.

The reference to Sir Henry Sidney, President of the Council of the Marches, is interesting. The first witness, Margaret Salusbury, is no doubt the wife of Katheryn's son, Thomas Salusbury, which proves that the child marriage had been solemnized as arranged, and that Margaret, on the death of her father, went to Berain to live, while her young husband, now seventeen, was studying at Oxford, where he had joined the secret society formed by a number of wealthy young men, led by Babington, with the object of protecting and maintaining Jesuit missionaries who were then arriving in England. The last witness but one was probably the *Jeuan ap Thomas ap Kyn'* (Kenrick or Kynrick) referred to in Katheryn's letter of February, 1577, to John Wynn as being in trouble for the killing of William ap Ric[hard] with a stone.

Thus in the spring of 1581 Berain was again the home of Katheryn, where she lived surrounded by her children, including Margaret, the wife of her oldest child, Thomas Salusbury. John Wynn went to reside at Gwydir soon after the death of his father in the summer of 1580. Lady Salusbury, widow of Sir John, still lived at Llewenni.

No documents are available to show what happened during the period between March, 1581, and January, 1583. Much may be conjectured, for a draft has recently come to light of articles of agreement dated at Berain on the fifth of January, 1583, for a double marriage. The parties are Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni (Katheryn's brother-in-law), and John Wynn of Gwydir (her step-son), of the one part, and Simon Thelwall of Plâs y Ward and his son and heir, Edward, of the other part.

Katheryn was to become the wife of Edward Thelwall, and her daughter, Jane Wynn, the wife of his son and heir, Simon Thelwall, who was born in 1570 and was therefore twelve years of age; Jane Wynn was under ten

years—another child marriage in fact.¹ Jane Wynn was to receive a dowry of £400 on her marriage with Simon, “or, if he die, with either of his brothers Herbert and William respectively”.

Three generations of Thelwalls were living when this agreement was drawn up, Simon the elder, his son Edward, and his son Simon the younger. This arrangement recalls the very similar agreement for the Salusbury-Wynn alliance already described.

Simon Thelwall senior, of Plâs y Ward, was a person of some importance in his day. He was born in 1526, the eldest son of Richard Thelwall of Plâs y Ward, admitted to the Inner Temple 23rd February, 1556, and called to the Bar 8th February, 1568, M.P. for Denbigh 1553 and 1571, for Denbighshire 1563-7, and High Sheriff 1572. He was one of the Council of the Marches, Deputy Justice of Chester 1576 and 1579, and Vice Justice of Chester 1580 and 1584. He married Alice, daughter of Robert Salusbury of Rug and Bachymbyd, and died 1586.² If these dates can be accepted, Simon Thelwall senior was only nine years older than Katheryn, and her fourth husband must have been her junior by some years. He was a widower, with three sons, the eldest, born in 1570, being the prospective husband of Katheryn's daughter, Jane Wynn.

THE FOURTH MARRIAGE.

The date of the marriage of Katheryn to Edward Thelwall is not known, but it was probably not long after the date of the draft agreement, some time in 1583. Plâs y Ward was still occupied by Thelwall's father, and Thel-

¹ Child marriages were not infrequent in the region of Chester at that time. See *Child-Marriages, Divorces, and Ratifications, &c., in the Diocese of Chester, A.D. 1561-6*. Edited . . . by Frederick J. Furnivall, M.A. London: Early English Text Society, 1897.

² W. R. Williams: *History of the Great Sessions of Wales*, 1899.

wall went to live at Berain ; that he was there in October, 1585, is shown by a document among the Wynn Papers,¹ a receipt for ten pounds paid by John Wynn of Gwydir to Edward Thelwall and his wife, each of whom signed the receipt, " Ed. Theloal " and " Katheryn Theloal ", the signatures being witnessed by Ma. Salusburye (i.e. Margaret, wife of Thomas Salusbury), John Salusbury, John Tudder, and John Lloyd. It may be inferred from the absence of the name of Thomas Salusbury from the witnesses that he was not at Berain in October, 1585.

A few months later, February, 1585/6, a daughter was born to Thomas and Margaret Salusbury,² and an agreement, dated the tenth of February, was executed between Thomas Salusbury of Llewenni³ and John Wynn of Gwydir, " in consideration of a marriage already solemnized ", etc. Thomas Salusbury undertakes for the settling of all his properties to convey the same to John Wynn to the use of himself and his wife, with remainder to his sons by Margaret in order of seniority and to heirs male, with remainder to his brother, John Salusbury, and his sons and heirs male, etc. The inheritance of Katheryn, his mother, however, failing heirs male of his marriage, was to go to his daughter, Margaret, with remainder to any other daughters of Thomas Salusbury, etc.

The year 1586 was full of fate for Katheryn. It opened with the birth of her first grandchild to survive infancy ; her fourth father-in-law, Simon Thelwall of Plâs y Ward, died in April ; in September her oldest child, Thomas Salusbury, was executed, with others, for alleged treason ;

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 101.

² At an earlier date a son had been born to Thomas and Margaret, named John, but had died an infant.

³ Though described as of Llewenni there is no evidence that he made his home there. His grandmother, Lady Jane Salusbury, was still living.

and in December her second son, John Salusbury, now heir to Llewenni, was married.

Thomas Salusbury appears to have been a rather weak character, a stubborn visionary, easily led. The evidence on which he and his fellows were convicted was considered sufficient in those suspicious days, but would to-day be laughed at. There is a record of the trial in Howell's *State Trials*, Vol. 1, page 1127 *et seq.*, and some references in *Historical Manuscripts Commission—XIVth Report, App.*, p. 614.

The "Babington" conspiracy in which Thomas Salusbury became involved took final shape in April, 1586. Its object was not to assassinate the Queen, as alleged, but the conspirators admitted that their aim was to put Mary Queen of Scots on the English throne. They were a number of wealthy young men, led by Babington. Thomas Salusbury had joined this secret society while at Oxford in 1580.

The execution was followed by a commission being sent down to inquire into Thomas Salusbury's estate, and a jury was empanelled. This part of the story is unfolded in a memorandum among the Wynn Papers,¹ prepared by or for Sir John Wynn after the death of Sir John Salusbury the younger (1612). As this important document is only briefly described in the Wynn Calendar it is desirable to reproduce it here.

Tuder ap Robert esqr being sei'ed of the Capittall mess' of Beraigne et al' terr' infra dominium de denbighe et Com. Anglisey m'ried Jane daughter and heire to Sr. Rowland Velivell kt. Constable of Beawmarise in whose right the said Tuder was likewise sei'ed of diverse lands in Anglisey etc. Tuder ap Robt and Jane Velivell had issue Katrine Tuder theire sole daughter & heire wch Katrine m'ried to her furste husband John Salesbury esqr son & heire apparaunt to Sr.

¹ *Wynn Papers*, No. 1387.

John Salesbury of Lleweny kt whoe died before his father having issue by Katrine Tudor ii sons viz Thomas Sal: afterwards attainted & Sr John Sal: the last of Lleweny. Thomas Sal: attainted m'ried M'grett daughter to Morice Wyn of Gwedir esqr & by her had issue M'grett Sal: sole daughter & heire wch M'grett Sal: m'ried—son & heire to Sr. — Morice of Speake by whom she hath issue div'se sons & daughters.

John Sal: furste husband to Katrine Tudor dying yonge having Thomas Sal: and John Sal: the said Katrine m'ried Ric' Clowghe & Morice Wyn & Ed' Theloall esqrs & by Cloughe & Morice had issue.

Sr. John Sal: father to Jon husband to Katrine upon the death of his eldest son drewe his daughter in lawe Katrine Tudor to passe an estate of all her lands to her yssue by her first husband John Sal: q: if anie office weare found after that younge man. Thomas Sal. the eldest son of John Sal & Katrine abouts A'o 1586 was attainted of treason. his mother then living & m'ried to Ed' Theloall upon wch Attainder of Thomas Sal: a Comission Came down to enquire of his estate and a Jury empanelled whoe by some old estate to theires males of Lleweny saved the inheritaunce of Salesbury from forfeiture. And as touching Beraine & the lands in Anglizey being Katrine Tuders inheritaunce & she then living & her son Thomas nev' seised theirow the Jury fownd nothing but left it as though the state were absolute in her for if the estate form'ly made by Katrine Tudor to her issue by John Sal had beine p'duced Beraine etc. had gone to the Crowne that office¹ wch was ffound upon Thomas Sal: his attainder is requisite to be seene wch is of Record.

The estate made by Katrine Tudor of her lands to her furste husbands issue is not wth us att Gwedir but muste remaine at lleweny for it is to be intended that Katrine Tudor had past it longe before her interm'iedge with Morice Wyn other wise she wold have done somthinge for her issue by Clowghe & by him & sp'ially for Ed'd Wynne her son.

The documents mentioned as "nott with us att Gwedir" have been found, in part at least, among the Llewenni papers, and have been used in preparing this account of Katheryn. These documents are too lengthy

¹ Office = "An official inquest or inquiry concerning any matter that entitles the king to the possession of lands or chattels. *To find an office* = to return a verdict showing that the king is thus entitled. *Office found* = a verdict having this effect. The same term also occurs earlier in the document.

for reproduction here, but they will be dealt with in the Calendar of Llewenni Papers now in preparation.

It must have been an anxious time for Katheryn when the Commission came down to inquire. According to Sir John Wynn's notes just recited, if the documents relating to the settlements made after the death of her first husband had been made known to the Commissioners, Berain and Penmynydd would have been liable to forfeiture. The documents were not produced and the danger passed.

The knowledge that the Crown might step in and attach at least some of these estates must have disturbed Katheryn considerably, following on the heels of her other troubles. Her heart thus grievously wrung by the execution of her elder son and the risk of forfeiture of his estate, she proceeded to hurry on the marriage of her younger son, John Salusbury, now the heir to Llewenni, which would pass to other Salusburies in default of heirs male to Katheryn's son. Again the two sirens, as Sir John Wynn called them, Katheryn and her mother-in-law, Dame Salusbury, may have connived together, and three months after his brother's execution John Salusbury was married to Ursula Stanley, a daughter of Henry Stanley, 4th Earl of Derby.

We get a glimpse of the marriage festivities in a "poysie" presented to Katheryn at Berain on the 27th December, 1586, where a masque was performed as part of the proceedings to greet the home-coming of John Salusbury and his bride. They were married on the 18th December.

In the Christ Church MS. already referred to, the following entry occurs :—

This Poysie was presented In A Maske att Berine In Christmas the xxvijth of Desember 1586: vnto Mr^{is} Katherin Thelloall, Beinge written In A Sheelde And Deliuere^d by William Winne OF LLanver Esquier at the Mariage of Iohn

Salisburye of LLeweny Esquier Her Sonne and heaire wth
Vrsula Stanley Daughter vnto the righte Honorable Henrie
Earle of Derbye And devisede by Roger Salisburye of bache-
gerige Esquier

Dame Venus deare youe Maye Rejoyce
at your Sonne Cupides happy Choyse
To hym as By the Gods Asseighnde
For to delighte hys doulfull mynde, &c.

This other Poysie was p^rsentede in The former Maske in A
Sheelde alsoe by Rog: Sal: of bach: esquier Vnto Vr: Sal:
wyfe Vnto Mr Io: Sa: Afore saide And devised by the sayde
Rog: Sal:

The Lyon Rampinge¹ for his Praye
A princlye byrde hee dyd Assaye
and hauinge winges to flye at Will,
yet Caughte her faste & houlds hir still
Wth hyr to sporte as Lyckes them beste,
Thoughe Lions stoute vse not to jest
A thinge moste strange yet is ytt trewe,
God graunt them Joy and so Adewe.

Finies

On the death of his father Edward Thelwall became
possessed of Plâs y Ward, whither in due course he and
his wife went to reside.

Lady Salusbury was still living at Llewenni; the date
of her death is curiously not recorded on the tomb which
she erected in Whitchurch, Denbigh, in 1588, for her late
husband and herself. She is described on the monument
as "daughter and Co heier of dauid Midleton esquier
alderman of westchester . . . died: the of in
A^o 15 ". The registers of Bodfari parish record the
baptisms of the children of John Salusbury and his wife,
Ursula Stanley. The entries up to 1595 describe him as
"heir of Llewenny", and in 1597 he is called "Mr. John
Salusbury of Lleweny Esquire", from which entries it
may be inferred that his grandmother died some time be-
tween the seventh of May, 1595, and the sixth of June,
1597.

¹ The arms of the Salusburys of Llewenni, a lion rampant, on a
shield.

If this inference is correct the older of the two " sirens " outlived the younger by five or six years.

There is reason for believing that relations between Dame Salusbury and Katheryn were none too pleasant during the later years of Katheryn's life. The strained feeling was most likely due to property dispositions. The Berain property, as we have shown, was settled on the only child of Thomas Salusbury, his daughter. It may have been that when Katheryn went to Plâs y Ward the widow of Thomas Salusbury with her daughter remained at Berain, while John Salusbury with his wife went to reside with his grandmother at Llewenni.

A letter¹ dated November 23rd, 1590, gives a hint of the position as between Berain and Plâs y Ward. It is from William Birchinshaw of Denbigh (either a solicitor or an estate agent), to " John Salusburys of Lleweny, Esq. at Mr Thomas Martenes house in holbourne ". After dealing with various business matters the writer proceeds:—

As for the release from Mr. Shereff & your mother to my Uncle Roberte gwynne I have conferred for it with her all-readie and shee answereth me that as soone as shee maie come home to plaswarde (for shee is yet at Beraine) it shall be done accordinglie. Thus I have thought it my dutie to certifie you of what you comytted me in charge: and so to take leave for this tyme, hoping of your saulf arryvall at your jorneyes ende, and of the good successe of your business sethence, which I praie god to graunt. denbigh this monday evening the xxiiijth of november 1590.

So far this letter is the only bit of evidence available for the closing years of Katheryn's life. She died 27th August, 1591, at the age of 56, and was buried in Llanefydd Church. No monument marks her last resting place, which fact has been the subject of comment, considering the great place she filled during her life, and the number of her descendants. There is nothing extant which throws

¹ *Llewenni Papers.*

PLATE 4.



Catherine Morgan—The Caegwyn Portrait, by Gilbert Jackson, 1632. *To face p. 32.*

light on this singular neglect of the memory of so great a lady.

An elegy by Hugh Machno refers to her death as taking place at Plâs y Ward, whence her body was removed to Berain, and then to Llanefydd for burial.

Many stories of her ways and doings are told in North Wales. Some are spiteful and rest only on gossip; such tales increase in the telling.

There is the legend, for instance, of many lovers in addition to her four husbands.

The story goes that when she tired of a lover she poured molten lead in his ears and buried him in the orchard at Berain. If there is any grain of truth underlying this story it surely can only refer to the last ten years of her life, during part of which she lived at Berain.

It is also said that her fourth husband, Thelwall, kept her under strict surveillance and treated her unkindly. This is not borne out by such evidence as is obtainable. The letter of William Birchinshaw quoted above shows that in the year 1590 she was actively taking part in business affairs, and free to go to and fro between Plâs y Ward and Berain.

Marriage and Christmas festivities combined, with a "maske" or play, poetic addresses to the bridegroom's mother, and to the bride, do not suggest a husband and wife at variance. On the contrary they suggest a courageous woman, sorrowing for the execution of one son, bravely nerving herself to give a joyful marriage festivity to the other. Katheryn was about fifty-one years of age when these events took place, if the assumed date of her birth, 1535, is correct. She lived a little over five years longer. Many eloquent tributes to her memory and goodness were called forth by her death. A few of them are printed in *Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert*

Chester, pp. 36-47, including two in Latin by Owen Jones, *Clericus*, another in Latin signed David Jones, one in English by Robert Salusbury "Doctor of the civile law" (brother of Katheryn's first husband), another in English by Cadwaladr Wynn of Voylas, and, most important of all, the *Epitaph of mistris Katheryn Theloall*, by Robert Parry, the eminent poet whose unique little volume of poems, *Sinetes Passions*, 1597, formerly of the Britwell Court library, now reposes in the Henry Huntington library at San Marino, California.¹

Robert Parry is closely associated with the literary life of Katheryn's son John (afterwards Sir John) Salusbury, but that is a long and interesting story which cannot be dealt with here.

Nor were the Welsh poets silent—Katheryn's praises were recited by Simwnt Fychan, Sion Phylip, William Cynwal, Sion Tudur, Huw Machno, Morus Berwyn, Rhisiart Phylip, Robert Ifan, Edward ap Raph, and others.

Many of these elegies are to be found in the Christ Church manuscript, and in various manuscripts in the National Library. The following is one example :—

*Cowydd marwnad am meistres Catrin Tudur, o waith
Simwnt Vychan.*

Gwae lu pann dywylllo gwlad
gwael yw heb i goleuad
kwyn oer dig fal kynnar dwyll
kennym, ddiffoddiad kannwyll
duw hoff weddi diffoddes
doe gannwyll aur, dug yn lles
yr honn gannwyll aur hynod
oedd wraic lân yn heuddu'r glod
bwriwyd Aeres llys berain
bur ddoe 'mysc manbridd a main.

¹ By the courtesy of the Librarian and Trustees a photostat copy is in the National Library of Wales.

Teg i feirdd tew gyfyreddynt
trin gwin mastres Catrin gynt.
Ofer i wann kwynfann kur
west wedi Aeres dudur
wyr a phennes ar ffynnu
irlan Robart fychan fu
Aeres gynt a roes y gwin
Ai haelwyd ar dir heilin
Ar ol Aeres Syr Rolant
felyfel tric oerfel trwy gant.
bu iddi 'myse budd a mawl
bedwar o wyr gwybodawl
pedwar post heb annostec
pedwar angel tawel têt
Or kyntaf adroddaf draw
Aer y ssydd, hiroes iddaw
Ai haer fal y mynnai hi
yw lluniaidd Aer lleweni
Aer Sion ai'n uwch ris no neb
wyr marchoc enwoc wyneb.
Arall Sion, a merch iarll ssydd
yn unair fal glan winwydd.
Trydydd Sion at aur adail
lleweni dêc ai llwyn dail
Sion aur galonn i gelwir
Syr Sion i kroessawo'r ssir
yn lleweni ai llannerch
y bu dri Syrr byw drwy sserch
A Sion at faes yntau fydd
eb daring yn bedwerydd
koffr y gwir, kaiff hir gariad
kymro a ludd, kam ir wlad.
Y mae merch gywirsserch gall
yn wyr, o fab gwynn arall
i gatrín llin darlleinynt
or ail gwr ssynhwyrol gynt
klowch o rissiatr klwch rassol
kawn had a dykio'n i hól
dwy aeres hynod eirwir
draw yn dal dwyrann o dir
Ann a chalonn wych helaeth
aur gost i fachegraic aeth
Mari nyffrynn harddwynn hir
Melai yno i moliennir.
Or trydydd gŵr at rediad
i Gatrín gwydd gwin a gâd
da gynnyrch dau eginynn
fry ssy imp o Vorys Wynn

Edwart gwynn, draw at y gwir
 a ddewissant drwy ddwyssir
 A Sian or grymus winwydd
 ymhlâs y ward ai mawl ssydd
 yn briod un wennbur dâl
 a theilwng aer o Thelwal
 dyna hardd flodau'n i hól
 o dri gwr da ragorol
 pedwerydd aur winwydd ryw
 y ssydd alarus heddyw
 I mastr Edwart friwddart fraw
 thelwal y mae gwaith wylaw
 plas y ward koel iownwad klêr
 poenus fu gwympo i hanner
 Or ty hwnn, gwae'n nassiwn ni
 y tynnwyd plaid daioni
 Ni thynnir, gwae'n iaith ennyd
 bath honn o burion y byd
 kwyn oedd anap kan ddynion
 kwyn blwng wrth gynhebrwng honn
 O lann ynys, felys fawl
 i lann ufudd, le nefawl
 fry i wynn dŷ fair wenn dwyn
 iw gwyddfa y wraic addfwyn
 Tenantiaid truanniaid draw
 Tylwyth, doeth arnynt wylaw
 pob nai, pob nith chwith fu'r chwedl
 pybyr gwyn, pawb o'r genedl.
 Oedran oedd, drwy iawn addef
 y gwynn wr ai dug i nef
 wythgant a sseithgant dann ssel
 naw dêg, ac un diogel
 I dylwyth hyd bryd elawr
 duw fyth y mae adwy fawr
 I sswydd gynt, kwrs hawdd a gaid
 ai rhinwedd, rhoi i weiniaid
 Graslawn hoff uniawn ffynnu
 goludawc kyfoethawc fu
 Oi theilwng gyfoeth helaeth
 at duw ir nef katrin aeth.

N.L.W. Peniarth MS. 121.

Rhisiart Phylip in his elegy praises greatly Katheryn's generosity :—

Pob noeth fo wyr pawb i nad
 a ddiwallodd o ddillad.

Ni bu ddyn a newyn awr
wrth i drws ddiwarth dryssawr
Na chafodd iawn i chofiaw
ginio'n wir ddigon i naw.¹

Christ Church MS., p. 195.

Surely that is an all-sufficient monument to a loveable and gracious lady.

It has been observed that although the first Lord Herbert of Cherbury resided for a time at Plâs y Ward he makes no mention of Katheryn in his *Autobiography*. He was sent when nine years of age to learn Welsh from Edward Thelwall. This was about the year 1592, when Katheryn had been dead at least a year, and it is not surprising that, writing many years later, his recollection of his residence with Edward Thelwall contains no reference to her.

THE PORTRAITS.

Of the four reputed portraits two only can be accepted as being genuine, the Rhiwlas and the Llewesog paintings. With the kind permission of the owners the four paintings have been photographed, and are reproduced.

The late Mr. James D. Milner, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, made a careful study of the four as far as this was possible from photographs; his illness and much regretted death prevented the visit to examine the originals which we had planned. He, however, made the notes which follow:—

“With regard to the four portraits said to represent Catherine of Berain which you now have on exhibition.

1. The youthful painting of 17 or 20.

¹ Every naked one (his wail is known to all) she fully supplied with clothing. Never was there a hungry man at her door (irreproachable treasure) who did not truly receive a dinner sufficient for nine (it is right that she should be remembered).

2. The middle aged lady dated 1568.
3. The elderly lady c. 55 or 60.
4. The young lady dated 1632.

I must say that anatomically they are irreconcilable and cannot possibly represent the same lady at any period of her life.

Careful examination of the excellent photographs you sent disclose such differences in the features, such a variation in the bony construction, that no serious student of portrait-anatomy would dare pronounce all four ladies to be the same person painted by different artists and at different ages.

Let us examine the photographs in detail.

1. (Rhiwlas). Although the costume looks correct for the period 1550-5 it was very un-English for such heavy gold chains to be worn round the neck: the painting suggests a much later date and the crackle of the paint in the background rather supports this suggestion. I must see the original before I commit myself further.

2. (Llewesog). This painting, dated 1568, was probably executed in Flanders while she was the wife of Richard Clough and resident in Antwerp. The work is decidedly Flemish in technique and the head, judging from the larger of the two photographs, beautifully modelled. Besides, her age when this portrait was done, viz. 34, is exactly right. In my opinion this is a very fine portrait and probably the only authentic one of the first three, for the fourth is quite out of the question. (The inscription is ANO DNI 1568 Catherine Tudor of Beren).

3. (Wigfair). This portrait as far as the lady's age is concerned might well be correct, but I think that the details of costume rather suggest a later date than

1591, the year of her death ; besides, I doubt if the practice of painting the subject within an oval spandril was in vogue quite so early. The portrait suggests the technique of early 17th century rather than that of the last decade of the 16th. There is a *faint, very faint* possibility of reconciling the features of Nos. 1 and 3, but none whatever of agreement between Nos. 2 and 3.

4. (Cae-gwyn). This portrait which is dated 1632 and signed Gilbert Jack is painted by the well-known artist Gilbert Jackson, whose signature appeared in various forms such as " Gil Jack ", " Gilbert Jack ", " Gilbert Jackson ". It is a fine specimen of his work. I cannot quite see from the photograph the age of the sitter or even the artist's signature, but I recognise his writing in *Ætatis suae* 1632. (The inscription is *Ætatis suae* 39, 1632—Gilbert Jack pinxit 1632).

No. 4 is a portrait of Catherine, daughter of Sir William Jones of Castlemarch and wife of Robert Morgan of whom there is a portrait by the same artist at Caegwyn. The Welsh hat is of importance as an illustration of a Welsh lady's hat as worn in the seventeenth century. The tall beaver hat usually accepted as being typically Welsh was introduced into Wales in the eighteenth century. The late Principal Davies called attention to a Welsh ballad, 1778, referring to its introduction.¹

Sir Lionel Cust, K.C.V.O., to whom the photographs of Nos. 1 and 2 were sent with a copy of Mr. Milner's notes, writes :—" The two portraits of which you have sent photographs can represent the same person. The one with the gold chain looks like a French portrait, and possibly much repainted. The larger portrait is a genuine painting of the date, 1568 ''.

¹ *Bibliography of Welsh Ballads*, No. 304.

Dr. Schmidt-Degener, Director of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in a letter says :—" I received the two photographs reproducing a picture painted in 1568. It is very difficult to give a judgement ; the prints show nothing of the technique of the master. I presume that the portrait is life-size and it might have been painted by Pieter Pourbus (1510-1584). Yet it is too difficult to found any opinion on these prints only ''.

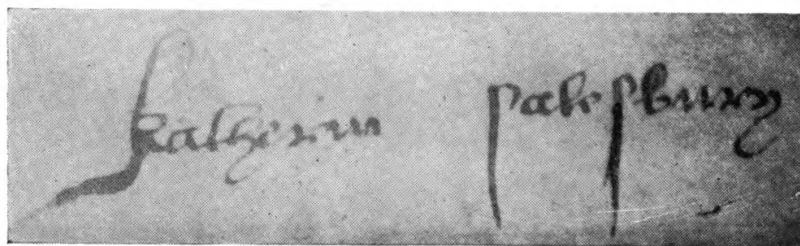
Thomas Pennant suggested Lucas de Heere as the painter, but he only put it as a guess, de Heere being the only painter known to him as being equal to it.

There are at least two copies of the 1568 portrait in existence. One, formerly at Madryn Castle, was sold at the sale there in the year 1910 ; the present whereabouts of this has not been traced. Another at Garthwin, Denbighshire, has been kindly lent by Mr. Richard Wynne and included in the National Library Exhibition this year (1928). It is a good reproduction of the Llewesog portrait on canvas, and was copied from the original some time in the eighteenth century. The sale catalogue description suggests the same history for the Madryn Castle portrait.

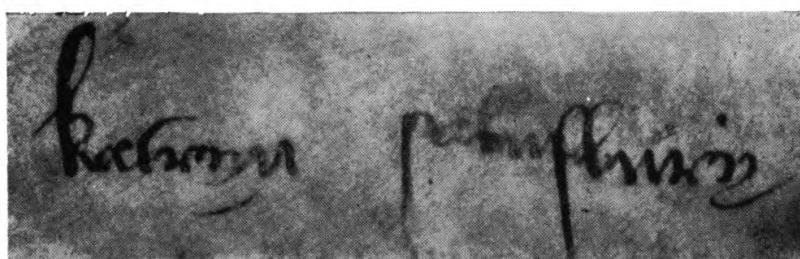
The history of the Rhiwlas portrait has not been traced. It has been there for at least two if not three generations, but no further account of it has been found. Pennant does not mention it.

What is known as the Llewesog portrait, however, can be said to have continued in the line of succession from Katheryn down to the present owner, who derived it from Nerquis, whither it was taken from Llewesog Lodge where Pennant saw it, and had it engraved, in 1798. Pennant also says that it was at Llewenni, where he saw it in 1781. Other references, Sir Richard Colt Hoare and Richard Fenton, place it at Kinnel after it left Llewenni. It is not necessary to enter more fully into details of the

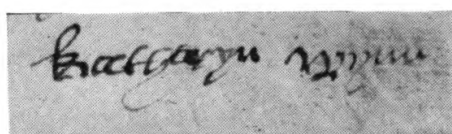
PLATE 5.



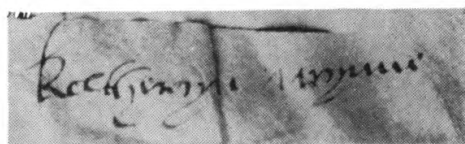
1.—Katherin Salesbury. 1566, July 12.



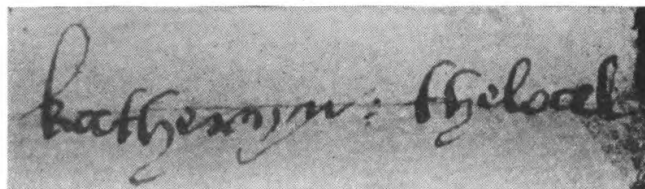
2.—Katryn Salusbury. 1566, August 15.



3.—Katheryn Wynn 1576/7, February 24.



4.—Katheryn Wynne. 1580/1, March 8.



5.—Katheryn Theloeal. 1585, October 29.

Autographs of Katheryn of Berain.

To face p. 41.

picture's movements prior to its settlement in the house where it is now carefully preserved. The story can only be clearly understood when further details with regard to the replicas of the picture are available.

AUTOGRAPHS.

The five signatures reproduced (Plate 5) represent the only known autographs of Katheryn. The first two vary in the spelling of her christian name though written within five weeks of each other. Later she appears to have stabilized her name as Katheryn, and that form has been followed in this paper. There is a similar variation in the spelling of Wynn and Wynne. The Gwydir family usually wrote Wynn, but there was not a fixed spelling. The letter of February, 1577, is addressed to John Wynne (by Thomas Brooke) but Katheryn signs Wynn. No autograph with the Clough surname has been found, and there is no known writing in Katheryn's hand beyond the signatures.

KATHERYN'S DESCENDANTS.

Katheryn has long been familiarly known as "Mam Cymru", because of the numerous families who claim to be descended from her, on account of the royal blood in her veins. The number of alliances of herself and her children with leading families is remarkable. This is illustrated to a certain extent by the four tables appended; these are based on tables compiled and kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. R. D. Roberts of Bethesda.

The story of Sir John Salusbury, the poet, who was a contemporary of, and may even have known, Shakespeare, has been told by Professor Carleton Brown.

The history of Hester Lynch Salusbury, the wife of Thrale the brewer and afterwards of Piozzi the musician,

and the friend of Dr. Johnson, bulks large in the literature of her time.

The marriages which took the Llewenni estates to the Cottons of Combermere Abbey, and which brought the Wynnstay properties to descendants of Katheryn, are to be traced in the pedigree tables as here printed.

To follow the many interesting side tracks opened up by the story of Katheryn of Berain would lead far afield. Our purpose has been to recover as far as possible the personal history of this famous lady.



S.

ARMS OF SALUSBURY.

*Gules, a lion rampant, ar.,
ducally crowned, or, between
three crescents, of the last.*

George

Elizabeth=Owen
Brereton
(See p. 5)

Jane

Oriana
(bapt. 6th June,
1597) wife of
John Parry of
Twysog

Ferdinando
(1599-1622)

David
(born and died
1600)

Arabella wife of
John Johnes of
Halkyn

George
(d. 1702)

Hester Maria=John Salusbury
(d. 1773) of Bachygraig

Thrale=Hester Lynch=(2) Gabriel Piozzi.
(See Table 2.)

ARMS OF CLOUGH.

Quarterly: 1st and 4th azure, a greyhound's head, couped argent between three mascles of the last. 2nd and 3rd or, a lion passant azure crowned: on a chief of the last, a Jerusalem-cross between four cross crosslets gules, on either side a sword arg. handled or.

Grace=Thomas Myvrod
of Henllan

5 daughters

as

Percival,

Norfolk Salusbury=Elizabeth Williams
d. 1736

Thomas Cotton,
Abermere and

Robert Salusbury,
of Cotton Hall, Denbigh,
d. 1776

Piozzi.

Sir Robert Salusbury, Bt.,
of Cotton Hall, Denbigh,
and Llanwern, co. Mon-
mouth, M.P., d. 1817,
leaving issue.

Henry Piozzi-Salusbury, Kt., of Brynbella
and arms of Salusbury.]

