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The Stone of St. Cadfan.

OBSERVATIONS

ON

The Stone of St. Cadfan,

AT

TOWYN.

BY

J. O. WESTWOOD, ESQ., F.S.A., F.L.S.,

AND THE

REV. J. WILLIAMS (AB ITHEL).

REPRINTED FROM

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7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

TENBY: R. MASON, PRINTER, HIGH STREET.



The Stone of St. Cadfan.

THE genuineness of the remains of the ancient literature of every country, as well as the veracity of its historical traditions, are intimately dependant upon the existence of unquestioned documents, either written or carved. It follows, as a necessary principle, that the higher the antiquity of such documents, and the nearer their age to the period to which they refer, the greater will be their value, being so much the less likely to have undergone any alteration, either wilful or unintentional, whereby either their language, or the facts they are intended to perpetuate, may have been varied.

Such documents are either written or carved. Referring to the Christian period, we may take as examples of the former the manuscripts of the Scriptures, or those of the works of early historians, such as Eusebius or Bede, and we at once perceive that a manuscript of the Gospels of the fourth century, (such as the one recently obtained by the British Museum,) or one of the "*Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum*" of the eighth, are documents which it is impossible not to venerate, as affording incontrovertible proofs that at such early periods the relations contained in such manuscripts were considered as truths.

With such a document as the last named, for instance, before him, no one would attempt to deny the fact of the existence of Christianity in England to a great extent at the time when Bede wrote. But, unfortunately for Wales, there is not a single genuine Welsh manuscript in existence, so far as I know, either historical, religious, or poetical, earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hence the ease with which doubts are thrown upon the productions of the earlier Welsh writers, (who are only known by copies made by comparatively recent scribes,) and hence it is that, except from the relations of contemporary Anglo-Saxon or Irish writers, there is no means of proof (so far as this class of documents is concerned) earlier than the twelfth century of the existence of religion, literature, or science, in Wales.

But Wales does possess a series of documents of very high antiquity, the genuineness of which is unquestioned, and which, extending back to the Roman period, afford proofs of the truths which the want of manuscripts might cause, and indeed has caused, to be questioned.

The carved and sculptured stones of Wales are, in fact, the only unimpeachable proofs which exist in Wales of the extent to which religion, literature, and science was there cultivated, from the third to the twelfth centuries. Of their value, therefore, I need scarcely say a single word. They are worthy to be prized as highly as the most costly executed manuscripts, and yet, as will appear in the subsequent part of this article, it is to be feared that many of them are in danger of immediate destruction; whilst others, even within the last few

years, are known to have been, either accidentally or wilfully, destroyed. On both these accounts, therefore, it is of the utmost importance that correct copies should be published of them all; for, although many are engraved in the works of Pennant, Camden, Gibson, &c., their figures are so rude as to be almost useless.

Many of these stones record but a name, with the accompaniment of some certain indication of the profession of Christianity by the party thus commemorated. Still oftener we meet with the Latin formula, "Hic jacet A. B., filius C. D.," or some analogous words.

But with the exception of the pillar of Eliseg (*see* vol. i., p. 32, for its mutilated inscription), in which some Welsh words are introduced among the Latin ones, a stone found at Tregaron, moved to Goodrich Court by Sir S. R. Meyrick, (supposed by him to be of the sixth century, inscribed with the words *Potenina malher*, read by Sir S. R. Meyrick, *Bod yn yna Mael Hir*, and to be dedicated to a British prince, Mael Hir,¹) and the stone of St. Cadfan, I am not acquainted with any other memorial bearing an inscription in the ancient Welsh language.

The stone of St. Cadfan, at Towyn, has been engraved in the works of Gibson and Pennant, but so inaccurately that it is not to be wondered at that it has never yet been deciphered. At the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association, held in 1848, at Caernarvon, as already stated in vol. iii., p. 364, casts of the four sides of this stone were presented to the museum by W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., who has also kindly placed in my

¹ *Cambrian Quarterly Journal*, vol. ii., p. 142.

hands a series of rubbings taken from the stone itself. These materials have enabled me to present the readers of this Journal with representations of the inscriptions, which have been reduced from the originals with the greatest care, by means of the *camera lucida*.

The stone itself is about seven feet long, and about ten inches wide on the two widest sides, the other two sides being considerably narrower. The figures on the accompanying plate are arranged according to the occurrence of the inscriptions on the several sides of the stone. Supposing the stone to be standing erect, (it is now, however, lying flat on the floor of Towyn Church,) the inscription on the side marked A is to be read from the ground upwards. It appears complete by the two ornamental curved marks after the terminal *n*. Walking round the stone from left to right, the next side, B, has the inscription also carved so as to be read from the ground upwards. The crosses inscribed on these two sides show that each is the commencement of a distinct inscription to the memory of different individuals. The third side, C, in the same manner of progression, is a narrow one, and bears a series of letters along its entire length; but here the order is reversed, beginning at the top and reading downwards. There is here no indication of the commencement of a fresh inscription, and, unless the sense will assist us, we are unable to guess whether it be a continuation of the inscription commencing on the opposite narrow edge, A, carried over the top of the stone; or whether the continuation of that on the broad side, B; or whether, following the ordinary arrangement of the letters, it is the termination of the

inscription on the fourth side, D, which has the letters arranged downwards in the same manner, and which might accordingly be considered as the commencement of the inscription, if we do not here adopt the idea that the sculptor has carried his paragraph from the broad side, B, over the top of the stone to the top of the broad side, D. The solution of this question must be left to the philological skill of the Rev. J. Williams. It will be observed that the stone is broken across, near the top, and this, on the fourth side, D, seems to have influenced the characters of the letters, those of the lower division being much larger than the upper.

The inscription on the first side is tolerably clear and legible. The three letters between the first *c* and *€* are the only ones respecting which there can be any doubt. They appear to me to represent a *u* and *n* conjoined, followed by a reversed *g*,¹ rather than *INb*. The terminal letter is a small *n*, showing that both capital and minuscule letters were commingled indiscriminately. The line is therefore to be read,—

+ CUNGEN CELEN ∩

The second side, B, has the latter part of the inscription partially injured, by the fracture of the stone near the top. The first seven letters are plain; the seventh is

¹ This form of the minuscule *g*, either with the ordinary straight top bar resting upon a *s*, or in its reversed form, has much perplexed persons not used to ancient palæographical monuments. Instances of it in its unreversed position occur in the Catamannus inscription, engraved in a former volume of this journal, and in the Catacus inscription at Llanfihangel Cwm du, Brecknockshire. (*Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, v., 519.) The reversing of letters, turning them upside down, or even laying them upon their sides, were usual faults with the ancient stone engravers.

a *g* of curious unreversed form, but exactly similar to the *g* in the British or Irish Gospels of St. Gatien at Tours, of the seventh century. (*Nouv. Tr. de Dipl.*, iii., *pl.* 37, iv. ii.) The next letter is difficult, the stone having apparently been injured; it looks like *n*, and is so given by Bishop Gibson, but in Pennant's figure it looks like *ci*.¹ I read the next five letters *malte*, the top bar of the *t* being plain. In the now broken space of the top line, both Gibson and Pennant represent a *d*. The last two letters are *gu*. The first five letters of the second line are plainly *adgan*, completing the name GUADGAN, *i.e.*, CADVAN, but the small letters at the end, forming two lines, are now doubtful, in consequence of the fracture of the stone. They appear to me to be a *m*, beneath which is *a*, the second stroke of which is ill-defined, so that it may be only *c*. In the broken space there is room for two letters, followed apparently by *r*; but Llwyd gives these last letters (as seen before the stone was broken):—

mc
crtā

This line, therefore, appears to me to be intended for—

+ tengrug c(?)i malte(d)gu
adgan m
a?tr (or a)

The third side, *c*, is clear, with the exception of the second letter, now broken, which looks like part of *r*. (Pennant gives it *n*, before the stone was broken here.) The eleventh letter seems certainly intended for *b*. The whole is therefore to be read—

an?terunc dubut marciau

¹ In our engraving this letter is represented too much like a *a*.

The fourth side, D, has the top line plain: the middle line is more difficult, the first letter is evidently *c*, the next is more like a *l* without the little bottom curve, which seems to have been turned in the opposite direction; the following appears to me to be an *o*, although the circle is not quite complete on the right side; the next is given by Camden and Pennant as *p*, but it seems to me to be *d*; all the letters in the bottom line seem to me to be plain.

This side of the inscription must therefore be read—

molt	tricet
clode	
tuar	nitanam

I trust these observations will now enable Mr. J. Williams to decipher these ancient inscriptions. Of their age it is difficult to speak, judging alone from the characters of the letters; but, as they are written, for the most part, in very debased minuscule Roman characters, I think we may refer them to a considerable period after the Romans had left the country, and their capital letters had fallen into disuse; such characters may have been used, therefore, from the sixth to the ninth century, when the improvements introduced by Charlemagne would doubtless influence even the scription of Welsh writers. I should scarcely hesitate, however, in regarding them as productions of the seventh or eighth centuries. As such, we have here a series of sentences in the old language of Wales more ancient by several centuries than any other in existence,¹ and which accor-

¹ I do not here overlook the inscriptions in the Gospels of St. Chad, (fac-similes of which are given in the first volume of the Publications of the Welsh MSS. Society, and in my "*Palæographia*

dingly offer the means of testing the correctness of the more ancient of the relics of Welsh literature which have come down to us only in copies of a later date. As such, also, this stone is one of the most precious monuments of Welsh religion and literature, and merits every care which can be bestowed upon it, to place it in such a position as will secure it to future ages.

I must reserve my notes on some of the other early inscribed and carved stones for the following number of this Journal.

J. O. WESTWOOD.

Hammersmith, October, 1849.

THERE can be no doubt that the crosses on the Cadvan Stone indicate the commencement respectively of two distinct inscriptions, and it being formerly the usual practice to begin commemorative sentences with the symbol of Christianity, we may fairly resolve the whole of the present writing into the said number. But the question is, as Mr. Westwood observes, whether the crossless inscriptions are a continuation of their opposites, carried over the top of the stone, or whether they are merely a continuation of the inscription on the side, B. It seems to me that the former mode is the one to be adopted in the present instance, and more especially so since the side D, as well as the side C, is traced downwards, thus violating the zig-zag order, which otherwise, *Sacra Pictoria*,") since, judging from the form of the letters in which they are written, they are more recent than those upon the Stone of St. Cadfan, and indicate considerably more Anglo-Saxon influence.

it might be argued, was the intention of the engraver to observe, for the greater facility of reading. And, with due deference to Mr. Westwood's superior skill and experience in these matters, (had not this stone been somewhat *sui generis* I should not have hazarded the remark,) I cannot with him regard the curved character at the top of the side A as denoting the completeness of the inscription, but as inserted there simply with a view to fill up the vacant space, or as a hyphen to connect the two sides together.

I would therefore read side A and its opposite thus:—

† CUNGEN CELEN ARTERUNC DUBUT MARCIAU.

In modern orthography,—

CYNGEN CELAIN AR TU RHWNG DYBYDD MARCIAU.

That is, as I would render it,—

“The body of Cyngen is on the side between where the marks will be.”

Again, the sides B and D, as follows:—

† TENGRUGCIMALTEDGUADGAN MARTH MOLT CLODE TUAR
TRICET NITANAM.

In modern orthography,—

TAN GRUG CYVAL TEDD GADVAN MARTH MOLL CLOD Y DDAEAR
TRIGED NID ANAV.

Which might be thus translated,—

“Beneath a similar mound is extended Cadvan, sad that it should enclose the praise of the earth. May he rest without blemish.”

The proper division of words and sentences was very much neglected in old Welsh MSS. Thus, in a MS. at Cambridge, under the title of “Juvencus,” as copied by Llwyd, (*Archæologia*, p. 224,) we have,—

“Nigourcosam nemheunaur henoio mitelu nit gurmaur mi amfranc dam ancalaur.”

Which, divided into the form of its verse, in the orthography of the present day, would be,—

“ Ni worchysav, ni'm hunawr henoeth,
 Vy nheulu nid golvawr;
 Mi a'm franc dav a'n callawr.”

See *Dr. Pughe's Grammar*, p. 9.

In the above extract we see also how the *m* was anciently used where we would now use the *v*, or the soft *f*. The same we likewise find in *St. Chad's Book*, which is supposed to have been written before the year 720, where *irham* and *irgaem* stand for *yr hav* and *y gaeav* respectively. In accordance with this usage, I have read *CIMAL*, *CYVAL*, and *NITANAM*, *NID ANAV*. The former word, however, might have been intended for *CINMAEL*, a place of retreat, or a corner. If so, I should translate the line,—

“ *In the retreat beneath the mound is extended Cadvan.*”

The substitution of *u* for *w*, *i* for *y*, and *t* for *dd*, is further apparent in the stanza quoted above, as indeed it is in all the old Welsh MSS.

e for *a* was also extensively used, such as *deu* for *dau*, *men* for *man*, which would justify my reading *TEN*, *TAN*; and that *e* was used for *y* is very clear from the following passage at the end of a copy of the Welsh Laws, a MS. of the thirteenth century:—

“ Mae elle etal estraun o alanas kemint abraut enelle cenicier ar alanas maab ad duco iuam ikenedel arall o kan i eneb aueicus drostau.”

That is, in modern orthography,—

“ Mae y lle y tal estrawn o alanas cymaint â brawd yn y lle cenygier ar alanas mab a ddyco ei vam i genedl arall y gan y neb a veichws drosto.”—*Dr. Pughe's Grammar*, p. 9.

As the double *L* was not introduced until the twelfth century, we could not, of course, have looked for it in *MOLT*, but why the last letter should be there might prove to some persons a difficulty. It is a fact, however, that some words ending simply in *ll* are vulgarly pronounced as if there were a *t* added; *e.g.*, *oll* and *deall* are pronounced *ollt* and *dallt*; and when we consider, moreover, that the letter *t* enters into an extended modification of *deall*, *viz.*, *dealltwriaeth*, without any apparent reason, but rather contrary to etymological analogy, we cannot help thinking that the said letter did anciently often terminate words of that description.

I have not been able to find *daear* elsewhere written *tuar*, though it is to be found in various forms in the "Myvyrian Archaiology," as *daiar*, *dayar*, *dymar*; the last of which, be it observed, varies but slightly from the word on the stone, so that I have no doubt both are intended to express the same thing.

The plural termination in the early poems of the "Myvyrian Archaiology" is most commonly *eu*, and not *au*, as at present. Nevertheless there are instances of the latter, such as,—

"Ac enwerys cyfrwyau
Pan farner y Cadeiriau,"—vol. i., p. 66,

which makes it not so surprising that *MARCIAU* should exhibit that form. It is necessary to bear in mind that our ancestors had no fixed or uniform system of orthography.

But to leave the subject of orthography, and turn to other features of the inscription. *MARCIAU* evidently refer to certain monuments which were placed to mark

the spot where the deceased lay interred, probably stones, which, according to the Welsh Laws, were used as marks for various purposes. Such, no doubt, was the stone found in the Isle of Bardsey, bearing the inscription *MARC VELIO*. There might have been a stone, a *maen hir*, at each end of the grave, as was the case with the grave of *Beli ab Benlli Gawr*, (*see* "Hanes' Cymru," p. 35,) and thus the body of *Cyngen* would in truth be between the marks.

As the word at the end of the side *B* is imperfect, it would of course be difficult to ascertain its true meaning. I have above conjectured it to be *marth*, as being the nearest approximation to *Llwyd's* version. *Marth* is a word very much used by the poets in connexion with death and the grave; thus,—

"*Marth ym pa vro ladd un mab marco.*"

"There is *sadness* in the plain where the only son of *Marco* was slain."—*Aneurin*.

"*Marth marw eurdeyrn Gogledd.*"

"*Evident* the death of the splendid prince of the north."

Myrddin.

"*Ail marth mawr mor de—yw lladd Llywelyn.*"

"Like the great *swell* of the south sea is the slaying of *Llywelyn*."—*Gwalchmai*.

"*Er madawg ys mau*

Marth goviau gyfesgar."

"For *Madawg sad* memorials of regret afflict me."—*Ibid*.

The meaning given to the word in *Dr. Pughe's Dictionary* is *evident, certain, swelling, heavy*.

Or could the inscription have been intended for *marchog*, in reference to the knightly character of *Cadvan*? or *merthyr*, a martyr?

Triged nid anav, "may he dwell without blemish," is

an expression equivalent to *requiescat in pace*, or *rest his soul*, which pious ejaculation assumes various shapes in the elegiac compositions of the bards.

But who are the persons here commemorated? As to Cadvan there can be no doubt. He was the son of Eneas Lydewig, by Gwentairbron, a daughter of Emyr Llydaw, one of the princes of Armorica. In the earlier part of the sixth century he came over into Wales, and founded the churches of Tywyn, Merionethshire, and Llangadvan, Montgomeryshire. (*See Rees's "Welsh Saints,"* p. 213.) In a poem written between the years 1230 and 1280, he is celebrated as the patron saint of Tywyn, "eglwys gadyr gaduan." And it would appear from the couplet,

"Gwyn y uyd a uyt o nothaed
Men y tric gwledic gwlad ednywed."

"Happy is he who shall enjoy the refuge
Of the place where dwells the sovereign of the region of
reanimation,"

as if the poet believed the saint to have been buried in the said church.

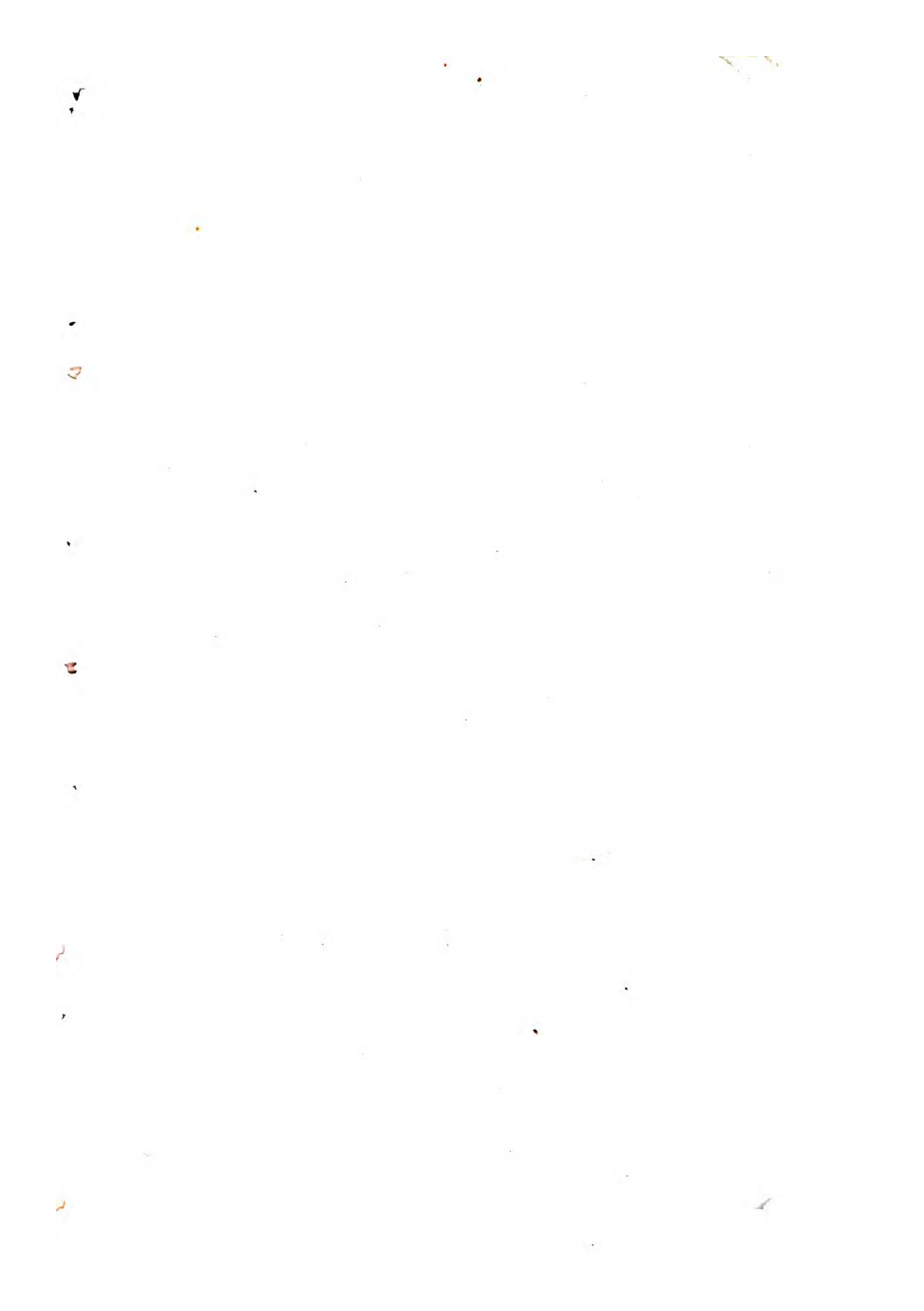
Tric, it will be observed, is the same word as that on the stone, only they are in different moods.

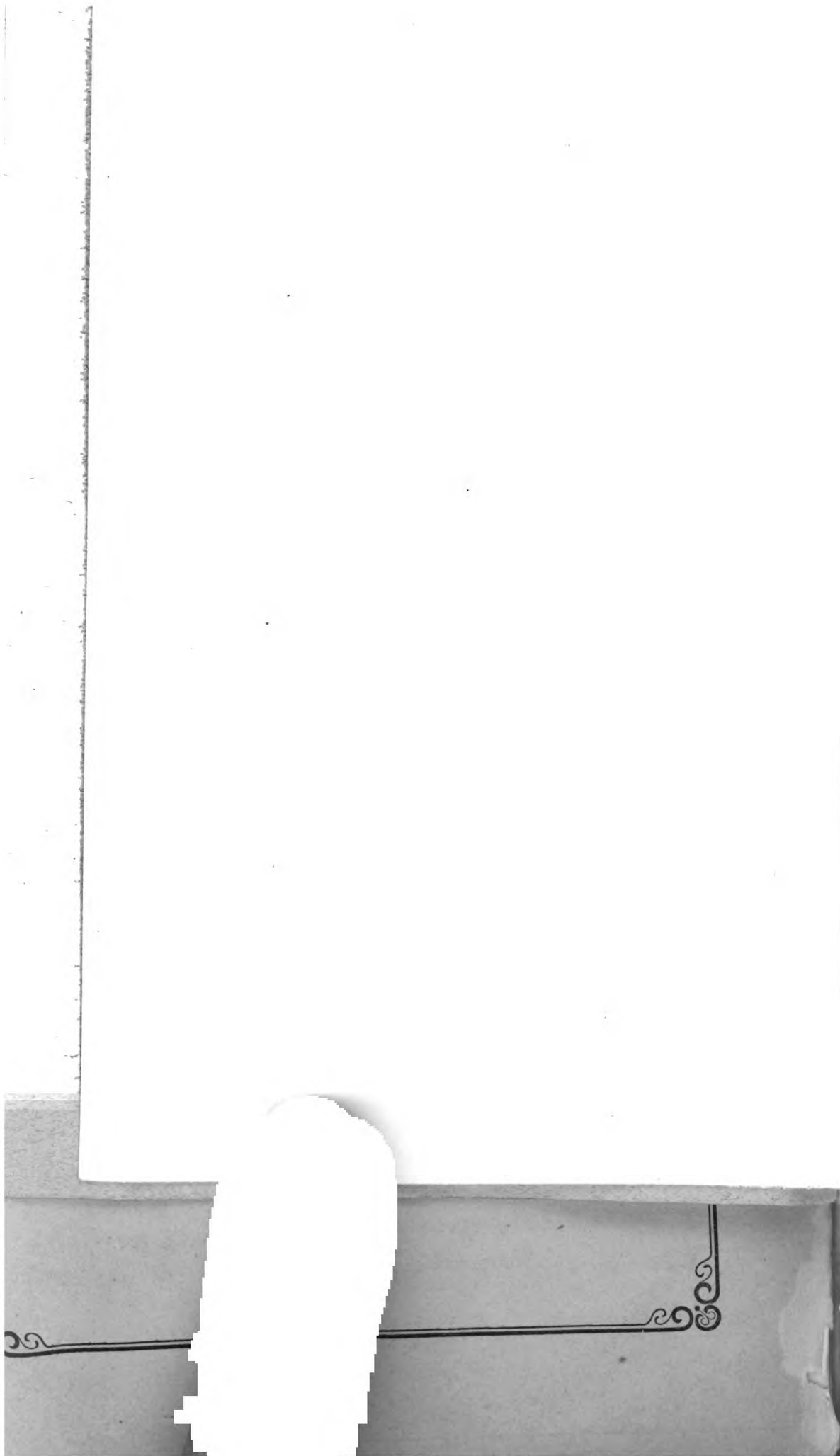
Cyngen was probably the same with the son of Cadell, who would thus be a contemporary of Cadvan, for he flourished between 500 and 542. He succeeded his father in the Principality of Powys, and is distinguished for the patronage which he afforded to the saints, and for the liberal endowments which he gave to the Church. (*"Welsh Saints,"* p. 161.) It was he who, no doubt, gave Tywyn, being within his dominions, to God and

St. Cadvan, and thus old associations, and admiration of his friend's virtues would naturally induce the prince to desire that, "when he died, he should be buried in the sepulchre wherein the man of God was buried, and to have his bones laid beside his bones," a wish which seems to have been duly accomplished.

JOHN WILLIAMS ab Ithel.

Llanymowddwy.





AN
HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL
GUIDE

TO
HARLECH CASTLE

BY
THE LATE W. W. E. WYNNE
CONSTABLE OF THE CASTLE.

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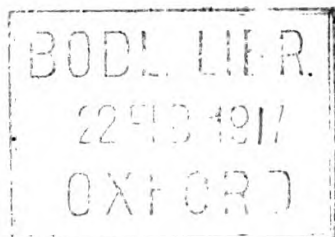
P R E F A C E .

IN the number of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for January, 1875, was published a short history of the Castle of Harlech, contributed by myself, and in the number for April following appeared a far more valuable contribution, an architectural description of the Castle, by my friend, Mr. Clark, whose knowledge of the architecture of our old Castles is well known to be unrivalled.

It has been suggested to me that a reprint of these tracts, to be sold in a cheap form to the many summer tourists, and others, who visit Harlech and its glorious scenery, would be much appreciated; consequently, I have had the two papers reprinted. To them I have added, in an Appendix, an old Survey of the Castle, and some selections from several papers relating to it and the town of Harlech which I contributed to the *Archæologia Cambrensis* in 1846 and 1848, and which may amuse the visitors to Harlech Castle.

WM. W. E. WYNNE,
Constable of the Castle of Harlech.

Peniarth, February 15th, 1878.



HARLECH CASTLE.

It is said that in the first century of our era "a lonely tower" upon the site of the present Castle, called after her own name, "Tŵr Bronwen," was the residence of Bronwen, the white-bosomed sister of "Bran the Blessed," and daughter of Llyr, Duke of Cornwall; but in those early times the Britons did not build "towers" or "castles" according to our acceptance of the term; and this same Bronwen appears to have resided in Anglesey, where her sepulchral urn is believed to have been found.* What, then, was likely to have brought her to Harlech? Can it, too, be shown that the title of Duke was known in Britain in the first century? And by Bran being styled "Bendigaid," is it pretended that he was canonised? For it has yet to be shown that Christianity had at this time been introduced into Britain.†

It is stated that Maelgwn Gwynedd, in the sixth century, built a castle "as a place of refuge" at Harlech, and that afterwards, in the eleventh century, it was the residence of Collwyn ap Tangno, lord of Gest and Eivionydd, and founder of the fifth tribe of North Wales, who called the castle *Caer Gollwyn*, after his own name. But there is not a shadow of evidence for these statements. The last is the more probable, as one of the two great septs of the adjoining

* See *Cambro-Briton*, vol. ii., pp. 71, 371.

† According to the *Mabinogi* of "Branwen verch Llyr" (*Mabinogion*, iii., 81, 103), her brother, Bran, held his Court at Harlech; and it was to this place that Matholwch, King of Ireland, is stated to have come to seek her in marriage. From Harlech they sailed across to Aberffraw, in Anglesey, where the marriage festivities took place, "not within house, but under tents," for "no house could ever contain Bendigeidfran." Bran was surnamed Bendigaid, or the "Blessed," not because he was canonised, but because it was he, according to a tradition preserved in the *Triads*, who first introduced Christianity into Britain. According to these records, whatever their historical value may be, Bran was the father of Caractus, whose captivity in Rome he is said to have shared.—ED. *Arch. Camb.*

hundred of Eivionydd were the descendants of Collwyn ; and some of the families in the hundred of Ardudwy, in which Harlech stands, traced their descent from him. But it is certain that of the present Castle not a vestige can be shown of earlier date than the reign of Edward I. I shall, therefore, begin this short historical sketch of the Castle of Harlech with its erection in that reign.

It is very probable that it was erected on the site of an ancient British encampment, but there is nothing to show it. One may feel sure that the building had made some progress before the end of 1284, for upon the 21st October in that year Hugh de Wlonkeslowe (or Longslow, from a place of that name in Shropshire), was appointed Constable, with a salary of £100 per annum ; and before the end of July in the year 1290 three persons had received that appointment.

Upon 22nd November, 1284, King Edward I. granted a Charter of Incorporation to the town of Harlech, and by it nominates the Constable of the Castle to be *ex-officio* mayor of the town. The works, however, appear to have gone on but slowly, for in the second year of Edward II. the Castle seems to have been still unfinished. This I gather from a fabric roll and other accounts relating to the Castle in the Record Office in London. These records show that horses were hired to carry iron from Carnarvon to Harlech at 2d. a horse per day, and the most recent of them contains the following remarkable item : " Idem vicecomes " (the sheriff) " computat in prostratione auli domini Principis apud Estingerne, et in reedificatione eiusdem infra Castrum de Hardeley, cum facturis fenestrarum, Lovaronum, paneterie, Bothellerie, de novo in eadem aula constructas (sic) ad tascham, per preceptum Justiciarii IXli. VJs. VIIJd." I have not a guess as to what this hall of the prince could have been. There is no tradition of there having been a royal residence at Ystumgwern ; and it seems very unlikely that a stone edifice should have been removed from that place to Harlech (a distance of about four miles), there being abundance of excellent building stone upon the spot. Perhaps the hall was of timber.

In the second year of Edward II. the burgesses of Harlech represent to the King in Parliament that before the war of Madoc ab Llewelyn, "quondam Principis Wallie," they held the mills, havotries, and other offices of the King in farm; that in that war they manfully kept the Castle; and that without these privileges they and those in the Castle would have perished from hunger after that war. Their statements were referred to the Justice of North Wales, and the privileges which they had before possessed conceded to them upon certain conditions.

We read in Powell's "History of Wales" that four of the uncles of Hawis Gadarn, the great heiress of Powis, having claimed her inheritance, and the King (Edward II.) having taken her under his protection and married her to John de Charleton, "valectus domini regis," were imprisoned in the Castle Harlech. This, however, is untrue;* for it is certain that one of her uncles was then dead, and probably two; and another is supposed to have been a priest; in which case the third, Griffith Vychan, was the only one who could have questioned the inheritance of his niece, which he certainly did.

From this time I find little relating to Harlech Castle, excepting the appointment of constables, till the rebellion of Glyndwr. It is shown by Ellis ("Original Letters," second series, vol. i., p. 8, and several of the letters at subsequent pages) that succours to the Welsh rebels were then expected to arrive at Barmouth from Scotland and "the Owt-Yles"; that Dycon le Mascy was Constable of the Castle, with ten men at arms and thirty archers; that about the year 1404, Wm. Hunte, Constable of the Castle, "came out of the Castel for to trete with the rebell, without any ostage laede in for hym"; that he and "two zemen" with him were captured and carried off by "the rebell"; and that the Castle was "in great jeopardy." Hunte seems to have been a traitor to the King's cause, or was suspected of being so by the garrison, or they themselves were traitors, for before

* See Bridgeman's *Princess of Upper Powis*, No. III., p. 9.

he was taken "the souldiers there tokyn the keis of the Castell from the same Constabil, for some things that thae fonde with hym; and tokyn hym to Fivian" (Vivian Colier) "and to Sir Lewes, to have hem in keping at this qwarter of a zere gone." After he was taken "Sir Lewes and the remnent of the souldiers kepyn the Castel welynough yet." The garrison, when Hunte was captured, consisted of no more than five Englishmen and fifteen Welshmen. Subsequently, all the men in the Castle, with the exception of seven, came to an agreement with Glyndwr to deliver it up "at a certyn day for a certayn some of gold." Upon July 30 (in the year 1405, it is believed) Owen summoned his Parliament at Harlech; and this is the last we hear of his proceedings with regard to that place.

I now come to "the Wars of the Roses." The constablenesship of Harlech Castle was granted by Henry VI., Queen Margaret and Prince Edward to the gallant David ap Ievan ab Eignion, born in Merionethshire, but lineally descended (and worthy of the great house from which he sprang) from Osborn, surnamed "Wyddel" (the Irishman), who was a scion of the powerful sept of the Geraldines of Desmond, and emigrating from Ireland settled in Merionethshire about the middle of the thirteenth century. Upon the accession of Edward IV., David was commanded to surrender the fortress, and William Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, was sent to besiege it. Sir Richard Herbert, Lord Pembroke's brother, was associated with him in this siege; and to Sir Richard it appears to have been principally entrusted. The Constable had long served in the French wars, and upon being summoned to surrender replied that "he had kept a castle so long in France that he made the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he would keep this castle so long that he would make the old women in France talk of him." He held it till the 14th of August, 1468, and then surrendered to Sir Richard Herbert upon condition that he should do what he could to save the Constable's life. This condition the King was very unwilling to confirm; but Sir Richard declared "that he had not yet done the best he could for him, and therefore most humbly

desired his Highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the Castle where he was, and command some other to take him out; or, if his Highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's that being the best proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavours to save the said captain's life." His life was then saved, but not the lives of all those who were associated with him in the defence of the castle; and Sir Richard Herbert received no reward for his services.*

The principal persons engaged in the defence of the Castle during the earlier part of the siege were as follows:—David ap Ievan ap Eignion, the Constable or Governor (he was living in 14 Edward IV.); Griffith Vaughan ap Griffith ap Eignion of Cors y Gedol; Jenkin ap Iorwerth ap Eignion of Ynys y Maengwyn; Griffith ap Ievan ap Eignion of Edeirnion; John ap Ievan ap Eignion; Thomas ap Ievan ap Eignion—(these six were cousins, and lineally descended from Osborne above-mentioned); John Hanmer of Haulton, now Halghton in Flintshire (he died 16 March, 1480); David ap Ievan ap Owen of Powis; Grommys (Grono?) ap Ievan ap Eignion ap Ievan; Reinald ap Griffith ap Blethin of Tower, near Mold (see Pennant's "Tour in Wales," vol. i., quarto edition, 1784, p. 427. Reinald died 5 Nov., 1466; his mother was cousin-german to the above-named "six captaines"); Maurice ap David ap Jeffrey; David ap Einion ap Ievan Rymus of Bettws y Coed in Edeirnion; Gromys (Grono?) Howel ap Morgan; Edward ap Morgan; Thomas ap Morgan; Griffith ap Ievan ap Yerum (thewe (Iorwerth Ddu); Howel, Ednyved, and Thomas, the sons of Morgan ap Iorwerth Goch of Bromfield; John Tudur of Penllyn, clerk; Griffith ap Ievan ap Iorwerth, senior; and Morys Roderic. Most of these were nearly related to the other defenders.

When the Castle was surrendered, the following were the principal persons in the garrison, besides the Constable above-mentioned:—Richard Tunstale, Henry

* *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, Strawberry Hill edition, pp. 7, 8. During David's custody of the Castle the high-spirited Margaret of Anjou found a refuge within its walls.

Belyngham, and William Stok, knights Whit-
 yngham, Thomas Elwyke, and Trublode;
 they and others to the number of fifty persons were
 led by Lord Herbert to the Tower, and of them,
 Elwyke and Trublode, condemned by Lord Rivers,
 Constable of England, were beheaded on Tower Hill.*
 On the 8th September, in the same year, Lord Herbert
 was created Earl of Pembroke. This Richard Tunstale
 was doubtless the same person who was at one time
 chamberlain to King Henry VI. In that most in-
 teresting volume, "Annals of Westminster Abbey,"
 by the present Dean of Westminster, p. 159, and
 Appendix, p. 600, is a very amusing account of visits
 made to the Abbey; one, in the dark of a winter's
 night, by King Henry VI., for the purpose of selecting
 a site for his own burial, in the Chapel of St. Edward.
 On several of these occasions he was accompanied by
 "Sir Richard Tunstal"; on one, the abbot and a
 monk of the confraternity of Westminster meeting the
 King at the entrance of the Abbey. It appears that
 Henry, when anything was suggested to him of which
 he did not approve, had a habit, not of arguing the
 question, but of returning no answer. Several spots
 were suggested for his burial, his Grace making no
 reply; at last, a spot was pointed out respecting which
 the King said, "Forsooth, here woll we lye," and a
 space sufficient for his grave was forthwith marked on
 the pavement. It does not, however, seem from the
 following passage in "William of Worcester," p. 504,
 that Sir R. Tunstall was always so trusted a servant
 of King Henry. "Mense Julii (1464), dolo cujusdam
 monachi Abendonie, Rex Henricus in comitatu Lan-
 castrie capitur, per quendam Johannem Talbois, et
 Ricardum Tunstalle milites, ibidem captus evasit."
 Harlech was the last Castle in England or Wales which
 held out for the House of Lancaster. After this the
 castles of North Wales appear to have been much
 neglected. I have a copy of a survey of that of Har-
 lech, the date of which perhaps may be as early as the

* See *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. v., pp. 486a, 512b; a MS. in the
 autograph of Robert Vaughan, the antiquary of Hengwrt, *Peniarth*
MS., No. 6, p. 17; *Life of Lord Herbert of Cherbury*, Strawberry Hill
 edition, pp. 7, 8; Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, vol. ii., pp. 504, 511,
 516, 517; Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, edition of 1784, 4to, vol. i., p. 131.

reign of Henry VIII., certainly not later than 23rd September, 1564, by which it appears that the Castle was then in a very dilapidated state. In the Public Record Office in London are letters patent of 1st July, 30 Henry VIII., ordering repairs to be done to the Welsh castles, which are described as very ruinous. Some slight repairs were executed upon Harlech Castle about the year 1568.

I come now to the time of the great rebellion. The following account of occurrences which then took place at Harlech is from a MS. in the Library at Peniarth (Peniarth MS. No. 3), which is a copy of one supposed to be still at Mostyn, and of which there is another at Wynnstay. It is entitled, "A Short Account of the Rebellion in North and South Wales in Oliver Cromwell's Time."

1646. The ——— of April, Col. Whitley delivered the Castle of Aberystwyth to the besiegers; and his men, amount00 or more, came to Harlech, and thence to Carnarvonshire.

Sept. 14 (1646), Col. John Jones and Major Moore, with soldiers, lay siege to Harlech Castle.

March 10 (1647), the articles for the delivery of Harlech Castle were signed. The next day Mr. Robt. Folks, being in the Castle, died, and was buried at Llanfair. The 16th day, being Tuesday, the Governor, Mr. Wm. Owen, deliver'd the keys of the Castle to Genl. Mytton. There were in the Castle, of gentlemen, Sir Hugh Blaeney, Kt.; Mr. Folks; Mr. John Edw'ds of Chirk, who being somewhat aged, died in feeb'ry; Captain Wm. Edwards, his son; Lieuten't Roger Arthur; Lieu't Robt's; John Hanmer, son of Rich. Hanmer, of Pentre Pant; Wm. Edwards, of Kefyn y Wern. Ancient Wm. Williams was shot in the hand about All Hallow tide, and died 19th of Jany. Meredith Lloyd of Llanfair in Caereinion; Roger Burton; Francis Mason; Peter Simott; Wm. Thomas; and Thomas Arthur, the Governor's man. [The Governor was Colonel William Owen, brother to the loyal Sir John Owen.]

Besides these there were but 28 common soldiers. Their duty was performed as follows:

Squadron 1st.—The Governor and Lieut. Arthur; 2, Captn. Wm. Edwards and John Hanmer; 3, Meredith Lloyd and Wm. Edwards. These went the rounds by turns, and Burton went to the guard on the new wall.

Squadron 2nd.—1, ancient William Williams, by himself; 2, Lieut. John Roberts and Thomas Arthur; 3, Francis Mason and Peter Simott; Wm. Thomas on the new wall.

These went rounds, as the Governor, every other night. They were on the guard appointed. Seven sentries stood every night, wherein 14 soldiers. Their relief was hourly, and their duty every other night.

From this, the term "new wall," it would seem that repairs of the Castle had been recently executed. In vol. i. of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, p. 260, is a copy of the articles for the surrender of Harlech Castle. It was now, as in the Wars of the Roses, the last Castle to hold out against the besiegers. In the same volume, at p. 262, will be found a letter from "Edward Wynne," relative to its demolition. In that volume, and volume iii., p. 49, are found several other papers relating to the Castle and town, including the survey before referred to, and a list of the Constables of the Castle, but of these is a more perfect list in the recently published "Kalandars of Gwynedd."

Short biographical notices of some of the more distinguished of the Constables may be interesting:—

14 Edward II. Roger de Swynnerton. In 34 Edward I. he obtained a Charter of free warren in his demesne lands in this manor (Swinnerton), and for keeping a market. He was Governor of Stafford, 11 Edward II., and afterwards of the Castle of Harlech in Wales; 15 Edward II., he was Governor of Eccleshall Castle during the vacancy of the See of Coventry and Lichfield, and being appointed Constable of the Tower of London was summoned to Parliament, 11 Edward III., and created a knight banneret. Arms of Swinnerton, *argent*, a cross formee fleury, *sable*, debruised with a bend *gules*. Erdeswick's "Staffordshire," pp. 91, 92.

29th December, 6 Edward III. (1332). Walter de Manny, K.G., Lord of the Town of Manny, in the Diocese of Cambray. He was the second husband of Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, granddaughter to King Edward I.; was summoned to Parliament from the 21st to the 44th of Edward III., and died on Thursday, next after the Feast of St. Hillary, *i.e.*, 20th January, 46 Edward III. "He founded a Chapel of the Order of Carthusians, and built there (near West Smithfield) a monastery for the health of King Edward III. and Dame Margaret, his wife, and was there buried in his own church, deceasing the same year he laid the foundation, *viz.*, anno 1371. His death was much lamented by the King, nobility, and Commons of England, for with singular commendation he served King

Edward III. in his French wars, and was employed by him on several embassies; his obsequies were performed with great solemnity, King Edward and all his children, with the great prelates and barons of the realm being present." (Nicholas' "Testamenta Vetusta," vol. i., p. 85; Sandford's "Genealogical History," edition of 1677, p. 207). It appears by Lord Manning's will that at the time he made it there was due from the Prince, from the time he had been Prince of Wales,* the sum of C. marks per annum for his (Mannings's) salary as Governor of Harlech Castle. The arms of Manny were, *or* three chevrons *sable*.†

1468 to 1471. David ap Ievan ap Eignion. His gallant defence of the Castle of Harlech has been referred to above. He bore *ermine*, on a saltier *gules*, a crescent *or*.

1464, 26th October. William Lord Herbert. He was the eldest son of Sir William ab Thomas of Raglan Castle, by Gwladys, daughter of Sir David Gam. Being a firm adherent of the House of York, he fought several battles against the Lancastrians, and as soon as Edward ascended the throne, in reward of his fidelity and valour, he was made one of his council, and in May, 1461, he obtained a grant of the offices of Chief Justice and Chamberlain of South Wales, likewise the stewardship of the Commots of Carmarthen and Cardiganshire, and the office of Chief Forester in those counties for life. In September of the same year, then bearing the title of Sir William Herbert, Knight, he had a grant of the stewardship of the Castle and Lordship of Brecknock, and of all the other castles of Humphry, Duke of Buckingham, in South Wales. In further consideration of his great services in the Parliament began at Westminster, November 4 of the same year, he was made a baron of the realm, and on the 27th May, 8 Edward IV., he was created Earl of Pembroke, having obtained immense grants from the King, which are described at length in Collins' "Peerage." In the following

* About 27 years.

† Sandford, p. 207.

year, 1469, he was sent at the head of 18,000 Welshmen to suppress an insurrection in the north, and meeting the enemy at Danesmore, near Banbury, he was utterly defeated and himself taken prisoner with his brother, the valiant Sir Richard Herbert, and both were beheaded by order of the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick. (Williams' "Enwogion Cymru," p. 218). He was also Justice of North Wales. Arms of Herbert, party per pale *azure* and *gules*, three lions rampant, *argent*.

16 May, 1 Edward V. (1483). Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. This is the famous Duke of Buckingham of the time of King Richard III.—“Off with his head, so much for Buckingham!” Though brother-in-law to the Queen's mother, and uncle to King Edward V., he was a principal instrument in raising King Richard to the throne, but within a short time afterwards he was in open rebellion against him. The motives of his conduct must for ever remain a mystery. He was at last taken, betrayed, as has been said, by one Bannister, sent to the King at Salisbury, and there beheaded upon the 2nd November, 1483. Arms of Stafford, *or* a chevron *gules*.*

15 September, 4 Henry VII. (1488). Richard Pole. He was “son of Sir Jeffrey Pole, Knt., descended from a family of ancient gentry in Wales, who, having valiantly served King Henry VII. in his wars of Scotland, and being a person much accomplished, was made chief gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince Arthur, and Knight of the Garter; whereupon, attending him into Wales, he received command to govern in those parts.” (“Sandford,” p. 416.) The father of Sir Richard Pole is said to have been “of the county of Buckingham,” and his mother to have been a daughter of Olive St. John, and half-sister to Margaret, Countess of Richmond. If so, he was first cousin to the King. Sir Richard's wife was Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, daughter and, eventually, heiress of George, Duke of Clarence. She was beheaded in the Tower, 27th May, 1541. By her Sir Richard Pole had four sons and a daughter.

* Sandford, p. 324.

Their youngest son was the celebrated Cardinal Pole. Arms of Pole, party per pale *or*, and *sable*, a saltier, engrailed, *counterchanged*.

The salary paid to the Constable of Harlech Castle has varied. In the twelfth year of Edward I. it was £100 a year; in the eighteenth of the same reign it seems to have been but 100 marks; in the 22nd of Edward I. it seems to have been £40. At one time, as it appears by Doddridge's "History of the Ancient and Modern Estate of the Principality of Wales," etc., p. 58, the salary was £26 13s., at another time £50, which the author supposes "was for both offices, of Constable and Captaine" (of the town).

HARLECH CASTLE.

DESCRIPTION.

THE Castle of Harlech occupies a bold and rugged headland of rock which juts forward upon the coastline of Merioneth over the broad alluvial plain known as Morfa Harlech, near to its southern and narrower extremity. Six centuries back, when the Traeth was an estuary, and the waves may have washed the foot of the rock, Harlech, as now Criccieth, was probably accessible by water—a circumstance likely to have governed its founder in his selection of the site. Although scarcely 200 feet above the sea level, and connected with a much higher background, the rock of Harlech is nevertheless a very striking object, and by the extreme boldness of its outline and its almost isolated position does justice to its very significant appellation. It commands one of the most remarkable prospects in Britain. Before it is the Bay of Carnarvon, with its vast sweep of sandy shore, contained on the right by Snowdon and its subordinate peaks; whence the high land, after rising into the elevations of Carn Madryn, Carn Boduan, and Yr Eifl, gradually subsides into the Bay of Aberdaron and the Sound and Isle of Bardsey. Carnarvon and Conway are fortresses more ornate in character and of larger area; but are not equal to Harlech in natural strength and in grandeur of position; nor is, in these respects, Beaumaris itself, though placed in the very eye of the Snowdon group, by any means its superior.

Harlech is a concentric castle of the Edwardian type, and of that type a simple and excellent example. It is composed of a central four-sided ward contained within four lofty curtains, and capped at each angle by a drum tower of three-quarter projection. In the centre of the landward or eastern side is the great gatehouse; opposite to which, built against the curtain, are the remains of the hall and domestic buildings; and contiguous to them, against the north side, is the chapel.

The main, or inner ward, thus composed and occupied, stands within the second or middle ward, which resembles it generally in plan, save that the four corners are not symmetrical, one being merely rounded, two others capped by more or less of three-quarter bastions, and the fourth rounded on one face and fashioned as a bastion on the other. In the centre of the south side is a half-round smaller bastion, corbelled out from the retaining wall below; and in the centre of the north side are two others, also small, between which is the postern of this middle ward. In the east face, opposite the great gate-house, are two "tourelles," or round bartizan turrets, corbelled out from the wall; and parts of a small low gate-house, which contained the outer gate.

This middle ward is narrow, and of unequal breadth, varying from 8 to 30 feet. It is rather below the level of the inner ward, and the ground outside it is from 10 to 15 feet lower still; and its walls are revetments crested with a parapet which seems to have ranged from 6 to 12 feet in height, in the latter case having a rampart walk reached by open steps. The several bastions seemed to have risen a little higher than the parapet, and to have contained each a low chamber, probably with a flat roof. This ward is protected on the east and south sides by a broad and deep dry ditch quarried in the rock, and running out until it ends on the cliff. The other two sides are covered by an outward ward of considerable breadth, but composed, for the most part, of steep slopes and abrupt ledges of rock. A part of this ward towards the west or sea-front contains a long passage which ascends by a lower traverse from a water-gate at the foot of the rock, resting partly upon a shelf of rock, and which by a second and upper traverse reaches the postern of the middle ward.

Passing into details, the Court of the INNER WARD is about 164 feet north and south, by 132 feet east and west. The opposite sides are not quite equal, nor are its angles right angles, though nearly so. The curtains are about 40 feet high; that to the west is 10 feet thick, and the others are 11 feet. The parapet was 3 feet thick, and the rear wall 2 feet, leaving

5 feet to 6 feet for the walk. The two western towers are circular, and 34 feet diameter, having three-fourths of their circumference exposed outside. Within, the gorge wall fills up the angle of meeting of the curtains, and contains the entrance-door. The basement-chamber is below the Inner Ward level, and circular. The first floor, at the ward level, is polygonal, as are the two upper floors. None are vaulted, and the basement has neither loops nor stairs of access. Each of these two towers has a well-stair at its junction with the western curtain, lighted by five loops placed one over the other in the hollow angle between the tower and the curtain outside. The stairs ascend 20 feet above the tower, in a round turret, battlemented on small corbels. Each turret has a door upon the tower roof. The staircases commence at the first floor, on or level with the inner ward, and open on each floor, but not upon the ramparts of the curtain. The upper floor has fire places with hoods.

Outside, these towers rise from the ground without slope or cordon; two stringcourses, however, mark the level of the two upper floors. The stairs are broken away, and the upper rooms inaccessible; but certain exterior loops show the existence of two tiers of small chambers (no doubt guardrobes) in the north and south curtains where they join the towers. Moreover, on the outside of each of these curtains, next to the tower, is a broad flat buttress, thrown out to give space and support to these chambers, and to contain the sewer-shaft from them. On the north wall the buttress is of good ashlar, of the age of the tower. On the south wall it is of rude, inferior work, as though an addition. It may have been rebuilt. In the north curtain there seems to be a third chamber at a lower level. The drain here is not seen; on the south face it is open. Where these towers meet the rampart walk they block it up; a sort of gallery is, therefore, thrown out on corbels, across the angle, and thus the rampart walk is carried on.

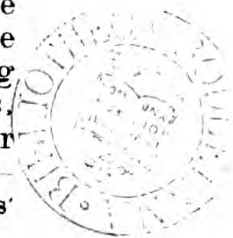
The two eastern towers resemble the others in general features and dimensions, but differ in details. Their basements have one loop towards the middle ward, and their first floor, at the Inner Ward level, is an



irregular pentagon in plan, one angle being square. The doors are in the gorge wall, but do not lead direct into the tower, only into the staircase. In the south-east tower a stair ascends in the northern wall, curving with it, and forks, the right branch leading to the second floor of the tower, from which alone, by a trap and descending ladder, the first floor and basement are accessible. This floor, like all the rest, was of timber, and from it, on the west side, a second stair commences, and curving with the wall and having a small guard-robe by the way, ascends to the ramparts of the south curtain. Reverting to the lower stair, the branch to the left opens upon the inner face of the east curtain, and ascends by a narrow open stair, supported on corbels, across the gorge wall of the tower, and up the inner face of the south curtain to its ramparts. The roof and ramparts of the tower are reached by an exterior stairs from the rampart of the east curtain. A loop in the hollow between the junction of this tower with the south curtain marks the place of the guard-robe already mentioned. Above it was a second upon the battlements of the tower, and at the base of the wall is a large flat-topped sewer descending from the two. The south-eastern tower bears the name of Mortimer, the south-west that of Bronwen, the fair-bosomed, sister of Bran the Blessed.

The north-east, the debtors' or armourers' tower,* has a door in the gorge entering on the left a well stair, eight feet in diameter, which ascends to the second floor only, from which the first floor and basement were reached by a trap and ladder. The second floor is seven-sided, those below cylindrical. As in the south-east tower, an independent stair led from the second floor to the ramparts of the curtain, and upon this curved stair is a guardrobe, the loop of which is seen at the junction of the tower with the north curtain, and the mouth or vent at the ground level. The roof of this tower, like the other, is reached from the walls by an external stair. These two towers, having no well stairs to the roof, have no subordinate turrets. That all these four towers had flat roofs is pretty clear

* The north-east is the debtors', the north-west the armourers' tower.



from the position of two corbels in each, evidently intended to carry hammer beams or struts to the one main beam which crossed the aperture, and was thus rendered capable of carrying great weight.

The great gatehouse is eighty feet broad and fifty-four deep, besides which it has two half-round projections in the front, and two three-quarter projecting stair turrets twenty-four feet diameter at the outer angles of the rear, the former flanking the entrance, the latter communicating with each floor and the ramparts. The entrance passage fifty-four feet long by eight feet broad, is much mutilated, but seems to have had an exterior drawbridge, two grates, folding doors, and a grate at the inner front. The entrance portal has within it a "machecoule," or MEURTRIÈRE—that is, an opening from the chamber above, and behind this a portcullis. Then follows a passage eleven feet long, crossed by two ribs, a second portcullis, and a portal arch, upon which rests the west wall of the chapel. Then follows another passage, twenty feet long, entered by gates opening towards the Inner Ward, and crossed by five broad ribs with four open spaces. At the end of this is a third portcullis, the groove for which is now closed above at a level too low to allow the grate to be lifted to the height of a cart, while in the arch above is a square cavity or "machecoule." It would seem that while the wall was rising it was decided not to use these grooves, and that the hole was intended to take the place of the grate as a defence. Beyond this is the inner portal, which, like the outer, has no rebate for a door. In the front division of this long entrance, between the two outer grates, are two loops from the side lodges, which are entered by two doors placed near to the inner end. This passage was covered over with boards, the flooring of the rooms above, and which rested upon the stone ribs. Here, as is often the case, the portcullis groove stops from a foot to eighteen inches above the door sill, showing that the spikes at the lower end of the grate were of this length. This long entrance passage is further lengthened by the addition of two unequal piers to its internal face. They are blocks of masonry ten feet thick. That on the south or left

had a door whence a narrow staircase of two flights ascended to the front floor. The pier on the right is of less breadth, and was only an abutment to support the arch which connected the two, and contained and continued the entrance passage, and on which was the landing at the stair-head.

The basement of the gatehouse is at the ground level. On each side of the passage are two chambers, those in front occupying the front half-round projection and looped to the field. They are entered from the chambers in the rear, which are rectangular, having shoulder-headed doors from the passage and into the well stairs. The northern chamber has a fireplace in the south-east angle. The two southern chambers communicate through a large arch, the northern through a doorway only. There are also two upper floors, divided as these below, and reached by the two large well stairs. There are spacious and handsome rooms, two on each floor, with large windows of two lights in the western or larger room, and in all are fireplaces with stone hoods. The eastern rooms, below half circles, above are polygonal in plan. Between the lateral rooms and over the entrance passage are two narrow chambers unequally divided by a cross wall. the eastern is an oratory, with a small pointed east window over the entrance gate of the Castle, and near it, in the south wall, is a piscina, which is in the cill of a small window, opening into a small mural chamber, a vestry. There is a similar chamber, but without the window, in the north wall. Both rooms are entered from the oratory. As at York and elsewhere, this oratory served also as a portcullis chamber, and the floor was of wood, with traps to allow the passage of the grates when lifted. The grates were suspended from the vaults above, as is still seen. The other and larger chamber, placed over the western part of the passage, had also a wooden floor. It had a west window of two lights over the inner portal, and north of this a round-headed doorway. The portcullis, if lifted, would have blocked this entrance, and, therefore, when the door was opened it was stopped. The machecoule is seen in the window seat. The upper chambers are not accessible, but they seem

similar to those below, and there is a second oratory above the first, with a smaller east window, a very unusual arrangement. This floor communicates laterally with the ramparts of the curtain, and at the junction on each side is a mural guardrobe. On the south side, a mural stair descends to two chambers at different levels, both in the curtain wall. On the north side the arrangement is rather different. There, the mural chambers are supported in part by a projection at the first floor level, corballed out in the angle between the gatehouse and the curtain, outside, and the vent was probably between the corbels. Above, at the rampart level, half the thickness of the wall is occupied by a guardrobe chamber, of which the side is broken down. Several of the chimney shafts are collected in a central group, each shaft having a bold capital with a plain roll moulding.

The domestic buildings were placed against the curtain on the west side of the Inner Ward. The kitchen is thought to have been at the north end, including within its limits the basement of the north-west tower. It is, however, more probable that this was the withdrawing room, placed between the hall and the chapel. A gloomy corner, no doubt, but the staterooms were evidently in the gatehouse. The kitchen would scarcely have been placed between the hall and the chapel. The cross wall, still standing, but which looks either modern or rebuilt, formed the north end of the hall, and the recesses in the west wall of the curtain carried the hammer beams of its open roof. In this wall are the remains of a large fireplace, of which the hood is gone, and the lower part has recently been rebuilt. On either side are the broken apertures for two windows, and in the wall, near its south end, a segmental headed door, now walled up, but evidently a postern. There are also near this two small windows, one of which seems to have lighted the gallery, and the other the space below it. Of the position of the gallery there can be no doubt, but the wall behind it, forming the south end of the hall, and now removed, had no bond either into the curtain or into the east wall. Most of this east wall, the inner wall of the hall, is gone. The hall was thirty feet broad. The

roof seems to have been lofty, and part of the weather moulding of its gutter remains along the west wall. On the floor, in the north-west corner of the hall, has been built a large oven of stone, the lining of which is much burnt. It probably was inserted when the Castle was used as a prison.

South of the hall is a considerable space extending to the gorge wall of Bronwen Tower, and in the east wall of this space are remains of a door and two windows. It is probable that the kitchen was here, in the rear of the gallery, and that a row of corbels outside the east wall carried a lean-to building attached to it; and near this, against the south wall, is a rectangular pit, the under-ground story of some building now removed. If the kitchen was at this end, the hall fireplace was a little below the dais, a very probable position.

The chapel, a later building, was placed against the north wall. Its east wall and pointed window remain. The south wall is gone. In the centre of the north curtain is a segmental arched doorway, evidently a postern, and nearly opposite to that of the Middle Ward. It is much mutilated, and does not seem to have had a portcullis. The wall east of it is pierced by three loops four feet above the ground level. There was at least one loop westward of the postern. The well was in the north-east angle of the court. It has recently been opened a few feet down.

The MIDDLE WARD contains little of interest. On the north side it is fifteen feet broad, and hence, between its two roundels, ten feet apart, opened the postern, eight feet wide, now walled up. On the west front the ward is twenty-seven feet broad, and forms a noble terrace overlooking the sea, and commanding the approach from the water gate. The hall had windows looking this way, and upon it opened the hall postern. Towards the south end a few steps descended about ten feet into the south-west bastion. Probably there was a cross wall here with a doorway. Turning to the south-west corner the ground again rises to a door in a wall which crosses the south terrace near its west end. This side of the ward has a central half-round bastion, the broken parapet of which shows

traces of a loop and of a guardrobe. On the remaining or eastern side is the great entrance. Here the gateway, which crowns a low salient, is flanked by two roundels. The portal is broken down, and it does not now appear how this was connected with the inner gatehouse. Probably the short distance between the two was arched over, and had lateral doorways into the Middle Ward. From the inner gate twenty steps descended to the bridge, so that no horse or carriage could have entered this way.

The defences beyond the Middle Ward are the ditch, the Outer Ward, and the water-gates and passage. The ditch covers only the east and south, the two landward sides. It is quarried in the rock, and is about sixty feet broad and was twenty feet deep with vertical sides. Its scarp is the revetment wall of the Middle Ward, and the counterscarp, where the rock was broken, is also lined with masonry. The ditch runs out at either end upon the shelving face of the rock. Across it, to the main entrance, led a bridge upon which it is said there were two openings with draw-bridges. The whole is now a solid causeway.

Although the Castle stands upon a promontory of rock, there is a broken shelving space between its wall and an actual cliff in which the rock terminates below, and it is this space, which lies to the west and north, which has been enclosed as the OUTER WARD, the containing wall of which crowns the cliff, and, where necessary, is supported by a revetment. This outer wall begins below the north-east bastion of the Middle Ward, whence a door with steps seems to have led down about ten feet to its ramparts. It is at that point a very stout wall, about fourteen feet high, with a parapet on the western face, thus defending the ditch and main bridge from an enemy who might be in possession of the Outer Ward, and be disposed to turn the eastern flank. It is probable, however, that the wall had a double parapet, for lower down, where the wall faces the north, the parapet is on that face. Near the bastion there seems to have been a door in this wall, giving a passage from the Outer Ward to the ditch. Lower down, where the wall stands on the cliff, it is thinner, and in parts much broken away.

Still lower it is more perfect and much stronger, and where it turns the north-west corner of the rock, opposite the railway station, it is of great thickness, and has a rampart wall and parapet towards the sea, above the level of which it is about thirty feet; near this point is the lower water-gate, a regular postern, in a small rectangular shoulder in the wall. A roadway of about five or six yards long, cut in the rock, rises from the marsh ten or twelve feet, and upon it, in front of the portal, was a drawbridge, with a pit twelve feet deep, and within the portal a short shoulder-headed passage closed apparently by a door, but without any portcullis. Beyond this, a flight of open stairs niched in the curtain ascended to an embattled platform over the gate. From the lower gate, the road leads up a rather steep passage formed partly by taking advantage of a shelf, and partly by quarrying the rock, the outer side being protected by a wall eight to ten feet high, and from two to three feet thick, and looped at about every twenty feet. As the inner side of the roadway is the irregular face of the cliff, it varies much in breadth, from six to twelve feet or more. This road, continually ascending, thus covers the whole seaward face of the Castle rock, and at about seventy or eighty feet in height it terminates in the middle gate, which is about twenty feet below the base of the south-western bastion of the Middle Ward. Here, a shoulder in the rock is occupied by a second gate-house, fortified at the first, with a drawbridge and a pit which below has two arches, one for the discharge of water from the pit, and the other, which may be merely to support the side wall of the gatehouse, but which may also be a sewer from the Castle. Outside this gate is a platform which rakes the face of the wall of the passage below, while above and within the gate is a broad bastion, whence commences the second traverse. At this point, the end of the main ditch lies just below the bastion wall, and was reached from it by a small door and some steps now gone.

The road now makes a complete turn, and commences a new traverse which rises much more gently than that below. When abreast of the mid-front of

the Castle it is supported by a retaining wall and two small square buttresses or buttress turrets, traces of which are seen upon a ledge of rock. Passing these, where the road comes opposite to the north-west bastion of the Middle Ward, it was crossed by a wall and doorway, of which traces remain, which divided the outer wall into two parts. Above this, the way turned eastward and ascended to the centre of the north front, where it reached the postern of the Middle Ward and there ended.

These are the whole of the works proper to the Castle, but a few yards to the north of the rock a steep road has been cut by which men and horses could be led up from the Castle landing place to the village without entering the enciente, though commanded from it.

No one acquainted with Caerphilly can visit Harlech without observing the close resemblance between the two Castles, so far as regards the plan of the interior and middle wards. The court, rectangular, or nearly so, the absence of a keep, the drum-towers capping the four angles, the general character of the gatehouse, and its position in the centre of one side, and the domestic buildings placed against the wall of the inner court, are peculiarities common to both. In each also the gatehouse is the grand feature of the building. Further, there is to be observed in both the excessive narrowness of the Middle Ward, its revetment rendering more than a parapet unnecessary, its slender and subordinate gatehouse, and its lateral postern opening direct through both wards. As Harlech did not need the outworks and exterior gate of Caerphilly, nor Caerphilly the watergate of Harlech, here the resemblance ceases, but it is such as to justify the conclusion that Henry of Elfreton, who was the architect of Harlech, had studied Caerphilly, if indeed he was not also its architect.

The defences of Harlech seem calculated for protection against a surprise by the Welsh, who were probably as active as they were fearless. Hence the very lofty curtains, the long entrance bridge, the ascending steps to the main entrance, and the dimensions of the Middle Ward, too narrow to allow any considerable body of men to effect a lodgment there

for an attack upon the Inner Ward, and the water-gates and covered way, in the construction of which the natural strength of the rock was enhanced by the occupation of its various points of vantage. Whether, in the reign of Edward I., Morfa Harlech was more than a marsh is a question for a geologist to solve; but either by the shallow sea or by a canal cut across the low ground, it seems certain that in planning the Castle Edward counted upon the means of reaching it by a quarter quite independent of the Welsh.

Although the general plan of Harlech is evidently the work of one mind, and its execution generally of one date, there are some appearances in the work which show that alterations and additions were introduced affecting, not the general plan, but certain of its parts. It is evident that parts of the curtain have been thickened about two feet—the north and south walls by additions inside; the west on the outside. Also, this thickening seems to have been decided upon when the walls were thirty feet high, as above that level they are of one mass and date. The exterior stair on the inner face of the great gatehouse was also an afterthought, and the doorway at its head clearly was not originally introduced. Besides this, the six windows on that front of the gatehouse, in the two upper floors, have been reduced in height by the insertion of a segmental arch between two and three feet below the original head; but the pattern is the same, and the masonry filling up the space seems of the date of the window, or very nearly so. These windows are of a peculiar pattern. Their two lights are trefoiled; and in the spandrels are also trefoils pierced. The mouldings are concave; and one is a small hollow, as in the early Perpendicular style. They must, however, be original.

The inference from these alterations seems to be that Edward visited the Castle when the works were far advanced and the hall, gatehouse, and the lower part of the north, south and west curtains built. The gatehouse curtain was probably always intended to be of its present height, as at Caerphilly. He ordered the other three curtains to be thickened and raised to the full height of the gatehouse curtain; to obey which order the thickening was applied, where possible, on

the inside, but where the hall prevented this on the outside. The upper part of the walls so raised would, of course, be of one date and solid. At the same time it was decided to make the rooms of the upper floors of the gatehouse those of state; and as the ways up by the well-staircases were not thought suitable, a new and more direct staircase was built, and a new door opened in the wall. The chapel in the Inner Ward seems a still later addition.

The character of the masonry throughout is exceedingly rough, as though hastily executed. It is rubble, and some of it very poor rubble indeed. The towers are of far better work than the curtains. The stones are larger, and their interstices filled in with more care. The ashlar is very good, but is sparingly used, and confined to the dressings, window cases, chimney hoods and heads, and a few of the more important doorways. The ordinary doors are mere openings to the walls, without rebates or chamfer, with shouldered heads of a rude character; and the sewer openings, seen under the guardrobes, have merely long stones for lintels. The masonry of the covered way and watergates is also very inferior, and much of the side-wall has, in consequence, slipped away from the rock.

The turret heads of the gatehouse and two western towers have parapets projecting upon a corbel-table about six inches. There are no traces of holes for brattices; but upon the exterior of these two towers the putlock-holes are arranged in a spiral ascending form, east to north. In the north-west tower, on its east face, at the height of the old curtain, is a row of round holes about a foot apart, and from this level the spiral commences. It is pretty clear that having built the curtain, the masons here threw out a platform, and that the spiral round by which the materials were raised for the upper part of the tower began here. The tower of Coucy was scaffolded in the same way. There is throughout the building a remarkable absence of vaulting. It was confined to the oratory and to parts of the entrance passage.

The Castle seems to have escaped the usual dismantling that followed upon the Civil Wars, and no part has been blown up. It has, however, been freely used as a quarry by the people around; and with its

iron and timber much of its ashlar has been rudely detached and stolen. There is but little evidence of any material additions to, or alterations in, the work of Edward I., which is singular, seeing that the place was long the seat of an assize, and the judges lodged here. It was then also a prison, and the windows were heavily barred, the bars forming shallow cages in front of the windows, as in some of the Italian palaces. Any later work introduced for the judicial or prison arrangements has either fallen down or been removed. The quarry whence the Castle was built is pointed out on the hill-side, a short distance to the south-east. Although the present Castle certainly is not older than the reign of Edward I., probably about 1280, the Welsh claim to have been the founders of an older fortress on the same spot, called by them *Caer Gollwyn*, from *Collwyn ab Tangno*, a Welsh chief, who lived A.D. 877. Possibly a spot so inviting might have been occupied by a camp; but all that is now seen, whether of earthwork or masonry, is evidently not older than the thirteenth century. In 1404 the Castle is said to have been taken by *Owen Glyndwr*; and *Margaret of Anjou* was sheltered here in 1460, in memory of which event the south-east tower for some time bore her name. There does not seem to be any detailed account of the siege of 1468, when the Governor was *Dafydd ab Ievan ab Einion*, the same who had received *Queen Margaret*, and whose boast it was that as he had held a castle in France till all the old women in Wales had heard of it, so he would hold his Welsh trust till it had become equally well known in France. He seems to have redeemed his pledge by standing a long siege, and yielding at last, on honourable terms, to *Sir Richard Herbert*, the commander for *Edward IV.* *Harlech* was held for *Charles I.*, and surrendered on articles to *General Mytton* in 1647. The borough seal represents a castle triple-towered, but the design is evidently conventional. The first Constable was *Hugh de Wlonkeslow*, appointed about 1283 by *Edward I.*; the present is *W. R. M. Wynne, Esq.*, of *Peniarth*—and long may he retain his command!

G. T. C.

APPENDIX.

[THE following Survey of Harlech Castle is transcribed from a manuscript in the collection at Brogyntyn. It is endorsed

Merionethe

An oulde
Harlaghe*
23 Sept., 1564.

and in a much more modern hand—

*The dimensions
of Harlech.*

The words, too, “An oulde,” and the date, though in a character which seems contemporary with that date, are written in, apparently, a more modern hand than “Merionethe,” “Harlaghe,” or the Survey itself, which is in a character similar to one used in the reign of Henry VIII. It is not improbable that this document contains the particulars of a view of the Castle taken in consequence of a warrant of that King, dated at Beaumaris 1 July, 30 Hen. VIII.]

THE CASTLE GRENE, extending from a place called ffynnon vaire to the tutthill, in length and in bredth, from the ryver runnyng through the Towne to the Castle deche, viz., in length xxx rodes, bredthe iii roodes.

THE BRIDGE consisteth of an Arche of Stone, rising from bottom of the diche, battlemented on bothe sides, in the midds† between the Grene and the Castle, ye distances now fulfilled with tymber and plank, in greate decaye, where have been two Drawen Bridges, in length xxx yerdes, bredth iiij yerdes.

THE GATE HOUSE, consisting of twoo greate towres, towarde the bridge, two turrets towards the inner courte, being vices‡ onlie, and other buildings, as followeth: with also ii greate gates yet in good reparacion, with a portcullys. There is a stately stayre,

* Probably *Castle*.

† *Midst*.

‡ *Winding staircases*.

leading from the inner Courte, in ye said buildings of Grises xxxiv y.,* bredthe ij yardes dimidium. The rounde towre, on the righte hande, consisting of twoo loftes, with ij chymneys,† the roof leaded, greatly decayed, containing in compasse xxx^a yardes. The Lodging called the Porter's lodge, adioyning to the same, having ij loftes, with iiij chymneys, and a staire in one of the said turrets, to the leades of the same, greatlie in decay—containing in length vij yerdes, bredth vj yerdes. The Chambre‡ next the porter's lodge now vsed for a hall, having ij loftes, ij chimneys, and a staire in the other rounde turrett, to ye leades thereof, beinge greatlie in decaye, containing in length xij yerdes bredth vi yerdes dimidium. The entrie extending from the Gate to the inner Courte, over which the said buildings be—containing length ix yerdes bredth iiij yerdes.

THE RAMPARTS, being stronglie walled & battlemented, founded vppon the rocke environing the castle—containing in bredth vj yerdes.

THE DEBTOR'S TOWRE, scituate northwarde from the Gatehouse xv yerdes destaunte, wherein be ij loftes, with ij Chymneys, the roof all leaded—containing in compas xx yerdes.

THE ARMORER'S TOWRE scituate westward from the debtor's towre xxxv yerdes destaunte, wherein have been iiij loftes, ij Chymneis, with a staire to the roof, sometimes ledded, now vtterlie decayed—containing in compas xx yerdes.

MORTIMER'S TOWRE, scituate Southwarde from the said Gate house xx yerdes destaunt, wherein have been ij loftes, with ij Chymnes; sometime covered with leade, now in vtter ruyn—containing in compas xx yerdes.

* *Sic*—Query *Grises* (steps). thirty v *yards*? If so, this may be the measurement, in length, of the ground covered by the stairs, which had a turn in them: and the breadth given may be that of the same ground.

† *Sic*.

‡ It is stated in the *Glossary of Architecture* that the Latin term *Camera* was used to signify a suite of rooms. The word *chamber*, it would seem, is here used in the same sense.

BRONWYN TOWRE, scituate westward from Mortimer's towre xxxv yerdes distaunt, wherein have been iiij loftes, with ij Chymnes; sometimes coured with leade, now in vtter ruyn—containing in compass xx yerdes.

THINNER COURTE, within the which have bene certain buyldings as followeth,—containing besides the seite of the same buyldings, in length xl yerdes, bredth xvij yerdes.

CERTEN DECAYED ROMES. The Oulde Chapple, vtterlie decayed, unknowen wherwith it was covered—containing in length x yerdes, bredth v yerdes dimidium. The ould hall, vtterlie decayed, wherof part hath be coured with leade—containing length xx yerdes, bredth vij yerdes. Ther hath been diueres other buildings of houses of Office, now vtterlie in ruyn and prostrate.

There is a wall stronglie builte vppon the Rocke, begynnyng at the debtor's towre, descending, in compassing the rock, to the wey leading from the marsh up to the Castle on thother side, which wall is in length cxxxv yerdes.

THE WEYE FROM THE MARSHE, extending from thende of the said wall—where hath bene a drawen bridge, to Issew forthe horsemen or footmen—is forced vpon the side of the rocke, having a strong wall towards the Sea, being in length to another drawbridge, c yardes, and from the bridge to the Castle wall xxxv yerdes. So as the said wey ascendeth, and is in lengthe cxxxv yerdes, bredth iiij* yerdes.

THE MIDDLE POSTERN, being at the thupper ende of the saide way, and adioyning to the Castle on the west parte; wherein be places in times paste vsed to plant Ordinaunce vppon towards the sea—containing—length lx yerdes, bredth xij yerdes.

THUTTER POSTERN, being within the said wall which environeth the rock, very rough, or rocky, of no valew—containing in length $\frac{iiij}{xx}$ yerdes, † bredth $\frac{iiij}{xx}$ yerdes.

* Or iij.

† These probably are the measurements of the ground between these posterns.



[Much must have been done to the Castle in repairs between the time of this Survey and the great Rebellion, or it could not have sustained the protracted siege to which it was then subjected.]

RECEIPT FOR A SUM OF MONEY FOR THE REPAIRS OF THE
CASTLE OF HARLECH.

[From the Original at Brogyntyn.]

Rieceyved of Humphrey Stanley,
gentelman, the xvth day of Octobre in
the xth yere of the reigne of our
sovereigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, the
some of syxe pownd thirtene shillings
and fourpence, of thirteane pownd syxe
shillings and eight pence, apoynted for
the reparacions of ye Castell of Harde-
leigh, by the quenes majesty's warrant,
and deliuered bye the Awditor and
Receyvor of North Wales

vj^{li} xiiij^s iiiij.

ANTHONY TRAPPES.

[From a paper at Brogyntyn, written about 1604,
endorsed by Sir William Maurice, of Glenney, Kt.,
M.P. for Carnarvonshire, who died in August, 1622,
"Consideracions for the keping of the Sessions, etc.,
at Harlech."]

A note of remembrance upon the consideracions
herevnder written to such [of] the Lords of the
Councill and Justices of Assise, Custos Rotu-
lorum, and Justices of the Peace for to keepe the
Assises and quarter Sessions att Harlech.

Imprimis, the said Towne of Harleghe is an ancient
Boroughe, being a very poore towne, and no through*
faire place, having no trade or traphicke, nor other
means to live, but only relieved by having heartofore
the Assises and quarter sessiones most commonly kept
there.

* Thorough.

2. Item, the said Towne is the shire Towne, in which the county courts are, by the new ordinance of Walles,* appointed to be kept.

3. Item, the king's majesty hath noe house, fortrisse, or holde, within that county,† but only the Castle of Hardlegh, which lieth in that Towne, being a verve strong hold, being upon the Sea side, with diuerse havens, creeks, and other landinge places, of eche side, neere unto the same.

4. Item, the said Castle beinge, as yet, kepte in somme better reparacion than anye of his majesty's castles in Northwalles by reason that the Justices of ye assise, Sheriffe, and prenotarye, with their trayne, doe vse, when the assises are kepte in that Towne, to lie and keepe their diet within the said Castle. At which tyme the said Castle is aired, scowred, cleansed, and some charges bestowed by euery Sheriffe, towards the reparacion thereof at euery time they do vse to resorte thither to keepe the Sessions.

5. Item, the said Castle has been quite ruined and decayed, if the Justices of assise had not resorted to it, as aforesaid, & will daylie decaye hereafter, if they bee not compelled to keepe their Sessions in that towne, as they have done heartofor, unless his Majesty will be at the charge in repairinge of it himself.

6. Item, if the great Sessions and quarter sessions be appointed to be kept in that poore Towne, the said Town wilbe relieved therebie, and THE CASTLE KEPT IN REPARACION WITHOUT CHARGE TO HIS MAJESTY, AND IN DEFAULT thereof both wilbe shortlie vtterlye decayed.

7. Item, the common gayle of the county is vsuallie kept in the said Towne, and the poore prisoners therein relieved by the inhabitants thereof.

8. Item, upon the same or like consideracion, the Lords of the Council, did in the tyme of the late Queene Elizabeth direct ther lettereres vnto the Justices of the Assise requiring them to keepe the Assise in the said towne, which was doone for a long time accordingle, but the Justices now, respectinge ther own ease more than the good of the towne, and ease

* Wales.

† Merioneth.

of the countrey, doe most commonlie vse to keepe their sessions at Bala, being a very fylthie dyrtie towne, without any lodgings fitt for gentlemen to lie, and a place farre remote and very vnconvenient for any general mytings.

9. Item, whereas by an Acte made Anno 6 Ricardi II., ca. 5, the Justices of the Assise most* keepe their Sessions in the chieffe townes of every county,† widelicet where the countie courts are kept, and by request vnto your Lordships is that the Sessions may be kepte by the same lawe, within the said shire towne of Merioneth, where the countie corts are onlie kepte, as aforesaid.

10. Item, the said Castle of Harlegh, standinge vpon the Sea side, with havnes of both sides, as before is said, is very necessary to be maintained and kept in reparacion, for diuerse respets, and cheiffie for the causes following—videlicet:

11. It is be kept in reparacion, his majestie may easelie (if need be fortifie the same by Sea & lande, as well to keepe the Countrey in awe from anye insurrection, or rebellion, as alsoe to resist and withstand foraine powers if they should land in anye of those havens or creekes, to seeke to invade that countrey.

12. Item, if the kings maiesty, or the prince should happene, or have occasione to goe into that countrey, there is no house or place in that countrey so fitte & soe well able to reteine them and ther Trayne as the said Castle.

13. Item, if the councell of the marches, the king's liewtenant, or deputie, should happen to come vpon anye service of his majesty, into that county, there is no place of abode for them but onlye in that Castle and Towne.

14. Item, the said Castle is a faire house, and standeth verve pleasante for all kind of exercise and sports, and maye be kept in reparacion by havinge the Sessione and quarter sessions as aforesaid, with very

* Must.

† The following note occurs here in the original, but in a different hand, and ink of a lighter colour:—"You shall finde this acte in Poulton, in the title of Justices of Assise, 157."

little charge or none at all vnto the kinge; for the Towne & countrey will helpe to repaire it. And ther for it is great pittie to suffer it to decaye, seinge it may so easelie be kept and maintained.

BOND FROM ROBERT MORGAN, ESQ., AND OTHERS, TO LORD EURE, LORD PRESIDENT OF THE MARCHES OF WALES, FOR THE PAYMENT OF £50, CONDITIONALLY UPON LORD EURE'S OBTAINING A GRANT FOR THE SESSIONS AND QUARTER SESSIONS BEING HELD AT HARLECH.

[It would seem from this that the Great Men of the day were not beyond the influence of a bribe!]

Nouerint vniuersi per presentes nos Robertum Morgan de Hardlegh, in Comitatu Merioneth, armigerum, Humffridum ap Richard Owen, de eadem, in Comitatu predicto, generosum, et Humffridum ap Edward Humffrey, de eadem, in Comitatu predicto, generosum, Teneriet firmiter obligari Radulpho, domino Eure, in centum libris bone et legalis monete Anglie, Soluendis eidem Radulpho domino Eure, aut suo certo Attornato, heredibus executoribus, administratoribus, vel assignatis suis: ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciendam, obligamus nos et quemlibet nostrum per se pro toto et in solidum, heredes, executores, et administratores nostros firmiter per presentes: Sigillis nostris sigillatas; Data nono die Marcii Anno Regni domini nostri Jacobi, Dei gratia, Anglie, ffrancie et Hibernie Regis, fidei deffensoris, &ct.: videlicet Anglie, ffrancie, et Hibernie Sexto et Scotie quadragesimo secundo: Annoque Domini 1608.

The condicion of this obligacion is such, that if the above bounden Robert Morgan, esq.: Humffrey ap Richard Owen, and Humffrey ap Edward Humffrey, gentlemen, or some of them, their heeirs, executors, administrators, or assignes (vpon a graunte by the Right Honourable Ralphe, lord Eure aboue named), had, obteyned, and procured, either by his Majesty's letteres patentis vnder the great Seale of England, or within the Confirmacion of the Charter of the said Towne of Harlegh, in the said County of Merioneth,

for havinge the two greate Sessions, and four quarter Sessions of the said County, to be yearly henceforth for ever kept and holden at and within the said Towne of Harlech, vnless the same be hindered by plague or infeccion, shall and will well and trulye satisfie, content, and paie, or cawse to be satisfied, contented or payed, to the sayd Ralphe, lord Evre, his certaine Attorney, heires, executors, or Assignes, or to some of them, the full somme of fiftie poundes of lawfull money of England, in one wholle and entire payment, at and vppon the fourth daie of November next en-sewinge the date of these presentes, without fraud, or further delaye, that then this presente obligacion to be voyde and of noe effecte, orells the same to be and remayne in full force vertue and effecte.

Robt. Morgan.	Humphrey ap Richard Owen.	Signum x Hum- ffridi ap Edward.
[Place of seal.]	[Place of seal.]	[No seal.]

Sealed and delivered to Griffith Vaughan, esq., to thvse of the Right honorable lord Evre, in the presentes of vs,

John Thomson.	Gry. Vaughan.*
Robert ap Hoelle.	
John Thomas ap Jeuan.	
Maurice Johnes.	

LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM MAURICE TO LORD EURE,
RELATING TO THE SAME SUBJECT AS THE PRECEDING
BOND.

[From an imperfect draft or copy at Brogyntyn, in the autograph of Sir William Maurice. It is probable that "the *wronge and hindrance*" for which Sir Henry Lea required God's pardon, was his being opposed to the Assizes and Quarter Sessions being held at Harlech!!]

* Of Corsygedol. He died upon the 9th of November, 1616, and was buried at Llanddwywe, where there is a monument to his memory.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—With remembrance of my humble dewty and loves* bothe to your Lordship and my Ho: Ladv &c.; I was redy (if this bere, Mr. Harris, had not prevented me by his now coming hither) to sende my owne servant of purpose, unto your Lordship, to congratulate your Honour of your new office (falen vnto you by the deathe of Sir Henry Lea,† god be with him and forgive him the wronge and hindrance he did the poor towne) of the constableship, and so mayre and cheefe governor of that poore towne. And since your lordship hath heereaffor, for charyty sake dealte so ho: for that poor towne, as by your meanes (my goodwill no deffectinge) obtained His Majesty's gracious letter for theyre good, which the Justices and Justices of peace have not regarded. So I hope now your honour will more effectually deal for them (any waye for theyre good). And as I know you shall now understand, y^t such former informaceons as was made vnto yow as touchinge any greate comoditye or gayne to be made by that towne (other than by the bare fee of 50^{li}) not to prove right or true; which I would have related to your Lordship herebeffor; but least you should suspect I spake it for some other purpose. I have now told this berer my part, I will be content to accept a deputacion of your Lordship, and as I offered the Kinges majestie,‡ so doe I your honour, y^t whatever part of the fee you allow me I will wholly bestowe the same ther for your honour; and withall (if your honour please) will joyne all my best endevs by your Lordship's good means to doo good to that poore towne, &c.

But now, my Lord, I most§ desire your answer, for if the sheriff|| can atane this next sessions for his ease of the Justices, ther is much reparacion to be made of the castell, which will cost me 9 or 10^{li} at least, if I be the dealer, and take it in hande; otherwise . . .

* Sir Wm. Maurice's granddaughter, Ellen Maurice, widow of John Owen, was married to Lord Eure's brother, the Hon. Sir Francis Eure.

† Sir Henry Lee, K.G. He died at an advanced age in the year 1611.

‡ The King and Sir William Maurice stood upon terms of friendship.

§ Must.

|| Wm. Lewis Anwill, of Park, Esq.

A LETTER FROM PRINCE RUPERT TO LIEUT.-COLONEL OWEN, EXPRESSIVE OF WILLINGNESS TO CONFIRM, BY COMMISSION, COLONEL OWEN'S INTEREST IN THE CUSTODY OF HARLECH CASTLE.

[From the Original at Brogyntyn.]

Lieutenant-Col. Owen,

I have taken notice of the interest you have in the Custody and government of the Castle of Harleigh, in the County of Merioneth, and of the Imployment of Captain John Morgans in that Command under you. I shall be ready to confirme your Interest by any Commission you shall require, and to declare my allowance of Captain Morgans, and otherwise further the Garrison that shall there be placed, soe as the charge of Garrison excede not the benefit of it to the Cuntrey.

soe rest

Your ffreind

RUPERT.

Salop, the 16th
of May 1644,
for Lieutenant Colonell Owen,
Constable and Governor
of Harleigh Castle, theise.





