



LETTERS

ON

WELSH HISTORY,

BY

SAMUEL JENKINS;

TO WHICH IS ADDED MANY OF THE TRIADS.

ALSO,

A PLEA IN BEHALF OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE,

BY

JOHN SAMUEL.



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N O T I C E . 108

THESE letters are offered to the public in a very imperfect form, because the author has been incessantly engaged in the laborious duties and cares of life from a very early period. But he has sought for knowledge of every kind, nevertheless. Amidst such constant engagement he never found time to study grammar or the rules of composition. On these heads, therefore, the work will be open to some objections, but as to the facts and deductions he feels confident that few objections can be justly raised. They have already been subjected to the ordeal of a critical examination by learned Welshmen in his native land; men possessing every advantage from their knowledge of Welsh history to judge of their correctness. By them these letters are considered to be the most correct in the statement of facts, as well as in the deductions drawn from these facts, of any work ever written on the sub-

ject. Should the learned feel any dissatisfaction in the composition as to order and language, they need be under no apprehensions as to the facts and deductions; these after all are the great considerations in the study of history.

P R E F A C E .



WHETHER the Author of the following pages has succeeded in supplying a deficiency long felt by those desirous of a better acquaintance with Welsh History, than they have hitherto possessed, must be left to the judgment of the intelligent among his countrymen. A pleasing amount of the expression of their approbation has already come to the Author's knowledge; and this in fact has given encouragement to an incipient desire he had felt of publishing the work in its present form, when the "Letters" were presented to the readers of the Christian Chronicle. The Author is not unaware of the difficulty of his position, and the responsibilities he assumes in endeavouring to shed some rays of light upon the history of a people who occupied a high position, and exercised a commanding influence among the semi-civilized nations of Europe, in the most remote periods of its history—ten centuries, at least, before Norman, Dane, or Saxon had planted their banner upon *Brydains* freedom-loving soil. Taken from my native land in my early youth, my parents having emigrated to these United States in 1800, when I was thirteen years old, I have always cherished the fondest remembrance of the scenes of my childhood; and even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, a thousand pleasurable charms yet cling to the remembrance of those scenes of comparative innocence and joyousness. As I advanced towards maturity, I became inquisitive about everything that pertained to the country of my birth, and particularly its earlier his-

tory, laws, institutions, and the national characteristics of its people. From English historians I gathered only the most meagre accounts, often mere caricatures, of the Welsh and their history. I was dissatisfied, and resolved, at some future period of my life, I would give this whole subject a careful and thorough investigation. Years rolled on, and becoming absorbed in business and family cares, it is a wonder I did not banish every thought of the subject. The interest I had felt in it however continued, and having, by the time I had counted fifty years of age, become somewhat acquainted with Welsh literature, and seen the works of several valuable and respectable authors, such as Dr. Wm. Owen Pughe, Titus Lewis, David Peter, T. Charles, Bala, &c., &c., all bearing proof of extensive knowledge, and erudite investigation into the lore of their country's history, I concluded the time was come when I should redeem the pledge made in early life, of trying to arrive at a correct knowledge and estimate of my father-land, and its peculiarities of feature—particularly in its government, laws and institutions—political, civil and religious. For the last fifteen years I have applied myself sedulously to accumulate a stock of material requisite to draw upon when I should attempt, if ever attempt, to embody my researches in British and Cambro-British history into a tangible work, as at present done. Some reasons will be found in another place why the book appears at the present juncture. I will state one reason in this place. It is notorious that the Catholics, with John Hughes, alias the Bishop of New York, at their head, are in the excess of their modesty to attribute the existence and origination also of all good to themselves, and to insist even that “Catholicity” is *essential* to the perpetuity of our liberties. “Heaven save the mark.” These gentry may see in the “Letters on Welsh History,” how a people, comparatively few in numbers, and weak in the political scale of nations, and who never bowed

their neck to do homage to the "Beast"—they may here see that all the germs of liberty, and of human rights, had been planted—had taken root and flourished in the mountains and vallies of Wales, before even the "Mystery of Iniquity" had assumed the seat of his power. And furthermore, they may learn that all the *power*, and subtlety, and machinations of the Popes of Rome never wrested from their grasp, nor untwined from their heart's core these inherent and never-to-be-too-dearly prized principles and rights of all men, as estimated by the Welshman. I will further add, by way of preface, that as there is a numerous progeny, descendants of Welsh parents or grand-parents, now found spread all over this broad continent, and their number will be constantly increasing, it is the fond hope of the author that many of these will feel an interest in this work sufficient to induce in them a desire to possess it, and hand it down as a legacy and heir-loom to their children and their children's children. There has never yet been published in the English language any thing so concise, and yet conveying so ample a fund of information for the English reader as this work will furnish. I am exceedingly gratified to find this opinion voluntarily expressed by several acknowledged Welsh scholars, to whom the work in part only has been submitted, in Wales, the field of its narrations and events. The expression of unqualified praise has also been awarded to the leading principles of the work by native-born Americans. The class of our countrymen, by descent, of which I have spoken above, are hardly aware of the high praise, and the warm growing interest that is felt and cherished by native Americans in reference to the spirit and institutions of the stock we are descended from. Blended with its history I shall be able to give a lively and most graphic picture of these, drawn by an impartial hand—not a Welshman—now, and for many years past, a resident in the great Western valley. Not

wishing to forestall the reader's pleasure by a longer preface, I beg to submit the results of many a weary hour (snatched from the hours usually devoted to sleep or recreation by the man of daily toil) to the candor and favorable, yet impartial judgment of my fellow-countrymen, and of an intelligent and discriminating community.

LETTERS

ON

WELSH HISTORY.

HISTORY is a monument erected for posterity, and sacred to truth, and a reverence for what appears to be true may be considered a sufficient apology for any man or number of men giving a history of a nation or country, the history of whom or of which may have long lain in comparative obscurity, or have become in danger of being buried in the rubbish of time. The critics will very probably take many exceptions to statements made in these "Letters," because, forsooth, they conflict with the statements heretofore received by them in relation to these ancient people, the Cymry or Welsh. We anticipate their objections, and will give them due consideration when they come before us. We here put in this caveat: the people of any nation, who have made their nation's history the study of their lives, may be permitted to know something of that history which a stranger to its language and institutions is not likely to know. An almost universal reference to Tacitus and Xenophon confirms us in this opinion. We think that the Welsh and their language

strongly in point on this head. After these brief remarks the writer begs leave to offer the following introductory to letters on Welsh history :

INTRODUCTION.

The following letters on Welsh history were written in compliance with a request on the part of the editors of the *Christian Chronicle*, a valuable weekly paper published in this city, and circulating chiefly among the Baptists. The immediate cause of this desire on the part of the editors, was the appearance of an able article in the *Christian Review*, on the *Elements of Western Character*, from the pen of Rev. J. M. Peck, of Rock Spring, Illinois. In reference to the Welsh, Mr. Peck says that for all the great principles that distinguish the American people they are indebted to the Welsh. No writer that I ever read has taken so correct a view of the character and principles of the Welsh as Mr. Peck, and if he understood the Welsh language we could not desire a better advocate. Moreover, coming from a native American there would be less cause of suspicion that he was biassed by national feelings and attachments. For myself, I can say that I am under many obligations to brother Peck ; and the consciousness that his object is "to make truth manifest" does not lessen the obligation, for the exhibition of truth, especially in connection with religion, human freedom, and happiness, is of far greater importance than national honour.

I have read a great number of histories, some of them expressly on Wales—others of which only incidentally mentioning something about the Welsh ; but in none of them have I been fully satisfied, as it seemed to me that none of them understood the genius of the people, nor the tendency of their institutions. The deficiency is not in the paucity of facts, but in the drawing of the right deductions. And the

strength of reason is in the deductions, for the Germans, who are indifferent reasoners, are indefatigable in their researches into the facts of history, and honest in their statement of facts. The keen desire to propagate their sentiments appears in some measure to have biassed the minds of the great majority of British historians, both English and Welsh, for in no other part of the old world has there been two races of men, in close vicinity, whose laws and social institutions have been so diverse as those of the English and Welsh, nor where truth and error fought such fierce battles, ending in the triumph of truth. In all other parts of Europe error has triumphed, either by physical power or through mental imbecility. Britain alone stands a monument of mental power in the increase of truth, and in Britain all the nations arising out of her are included.

All the great principles of truth and individual rights have obtained their first establishment in Wales, but they have made such a gradual advance on the English that they are generally supposed to have originated in England; and as they first appear during the prevalence of Popery, there are men of that persuasion in the United States who boldly aver that they arose out of the Papal system.

It might be supposed that, with such an abundance of facts, it would be easy to write the history of Wales, but this is not the case, for the circumstances generally told of other nations have little interest in connection with Welsh history. War itself has a certain sort of interest, if the historian can muster several hundred thousand men engaged in mutual slaughter, especially if the original historians have as much knowledge of the military art as Xenophon or Polybius. But the interest is lost in the contemplation of a few thousand men defending themselves in the mountain fastnesses of Wales, and shamefully misrepresented by the aggressive nation. But Welsh history has a great interest to certain minds, and that interest

is in their principles. No historian I have ever yet read has taken what may be called philosophical views of the Welsh principles—those principles in which they differed from all other nations.

During the whole of the middle ages there were two opposite principles at work in Europe; these were truth and error. Truth was defended by the civil power only in Wales. In all other parts of the then known world, error was armed with power, but I shall only notice that part of the world which lay west of the empire of Alexander, which was the proper Roman Empire. In the course of the fifth and sixth centuries the Roman Empire fell, and about ten kingdoms were founded upon its ruins by the Northern barbarians. These kingdoms were by degrees brought over by the emissaries of the Bishop of Rome, to adopt the forms and ceremonies of that system of error established at the seat of abominations, Rome.

All governments have found it necessary to have some sort of religious notions to keep the ignorant and vicious within some limits, and one of the Roman kings had introduced the ancient superstition through fraud and deception; but it does not appear that the Romans ever had a definite idea of truth as an ingredient of religion. Accordingly, when the Emperors became Christians (nominally,) and abolished the pagan worship, the masses of the people, having received some ideas from the gospel, followed suit; and as the inferior gods had been banished, these besotted idolators introduced the images of saints to fill the vacuum in their system, and these stupid notions emanating from Rome, were forced upon all at the point of the sword; and as truth formed no part of Roman religion, they adopted all sorts of imposing forms into their barbarous worship; and inasmuch as their religion was founded upon tradition and laws, the belief in a new religion was as much a breach of law as murder and arson. This has been in all time, and is yet the religion of Rome. Virtually it has changed no-

thing for the better since the appearance of the Son of God, for all the great principles of his religion have been nullified by the pagan element, leaving only the names of the saints to embellish the stolid embodiment of their system. In opposition to this innocuous, empty system, there was a body of men in Wales called Druids, who taught their people "that it was the duty of all men to seek after the truth, and to receive it against the whole world." The principles involved in this system of teaching are most important. There was an admission of the existence of a system of truth, or at least that there might be a system of truth to the exclusion of all error. It involved also the right of every man to receive it, for the duty always supposed the right in the Welsh system of ethics, the man himself being the judge in his own case. It appears, therefore, that whatever were the pretensions of the Druids, they did not dogmatize nor enforce their dogmas by the infliction of pains or penalties. The natural inference is that the Welsh were a people seeking after the truth, and it is a divine aphorism, "Them that seek me shall find me." Furthermore, the Druidical order itself derived its power from the National Assembly, the members of which were elected by universal suffrage of all the men whose *beards were grown*, and all married women of pure blood, or who were citizens by privilege.

Moreover, after the lapse of eighteen hundred years that the gospel has been in Wales, at the present day the power of the people is paramount in religion, nearly all their churches being Congregational in their order, in which all the members, both male and female, have the elective power, the minister being only the teacher, and subject to the decision of the brotherhood, for in all matters of right, according to the principles of the Welsh, "in Welshman is included Welshwoman." Here all the difference between the sexes is that the ministry is in the male sex, where it was placed by our Lord, for he chose all the apostles

from among his male disciples; nor does it appear that the females had any share in the ministry under the pagan system in Wales. Nevertheless, the gospel views the female as man's equal in all matters of rights and privileges of citizenship, and such also was the case under the Welsh laws before the introduction of the gospel. Here, then, we have a people whose laws and principles of government were the opposite of all other nations, especially those of Rome. It is a fair deduction, therefore, that in these two nations, the Roman and the Welsh, existed from an early period in history the two great antagonistic principles of despotism and freedom. Nor is it at all difficult to trace the course of these principles in their highest state of sublimation to these two nations. To neither of them, however, is the revelation of truth attributable, even as the medium, for that was revealed mainly through the Hebrews of Abraham's posterity, for it is manifest that He who brought life and immortality to light sprang from the tribe of Judah; but such was the obstinacy of the Jews at the time of the advent of our Redeemer, that "the light shone in darkness, but the darkness comprehended it not." And all other nations, except the Welsh, had so perverted their reason that they failed to see the excellence of these divine principles so far as to give them freedom to combat with error. And it is well known in history that it was the Welsh influence that brought unrestrained liberty of conscience in Britain and the American colonies. It was their aid to Constantine the Great that in a measure enabled him to break the persecuting pagan power in the Roman Empire, being himself the son of a Silurian lady, from whom he received instruction in the truths of the gospel, and no doubt in the liberal principles of her race.

The most liberal ideas in religion and civil government have their greatest potency among the Welsh at the present time in Europe, for the centre of Baptist and Congregational order, and their main strength, is in

Wales. How far the influence of these two denominations, in the United States, have been instrumental (especially the Baptists) in bringing about American liberty, any man may learn by a little research. The superiority of the Protestant, and especially Baptist, principles over the Popish is apparent in the very existence of such a government as that of the United States, in all that pertains to the dignity of man as a reasonable and accountable being; and I cannot so effectually explain the subject by any other mode than by giving the history of a race of men who, for a vast period of time, have been the conservators of these great principles, and the principal propagators of the same both in the old and new world.

LETTER I.

As a desire has been repeatedly expressed to obtain more definite information in regard to Welsh History, than is ordinarily to be obtained, the authors, in venturing upon the task of supplying such information, respectfully throw themselves upon the kind indulgence and consideration of an impartial public.

If there is any interest in Welsh history, it must arise entirely from mental and not from physical causes: the workings of the mind on the subjects of religion and civil rights. A certain writer in one of our daily papers a few days ago, said that perfection in the fine arts, and the formation of a refined taste in that department, was the very acme of civilization. If this is a correct view of what constitutes a high degree of civilization, the Welsh are yet very deficient in civilization. But if civilization has anything to do with a clear insight into the nature and requirements of the truths of religion and political science, and a clear appreciation of the rights and duties of men in these premises, the Welsh have made some progress in civilization. I apprehend, however, that perfection in the fine arts has been attained through the influence of idolatry, and the Welsh have never sunk so low in their ideas of religion as to worship images. This fact may account for their want of perfection in these arts. Their forte has been the cultivation of the mind, and that chiefly in matters connected with religious and political science. Indeed, there is a saying among them, that these are the only subjects worthy of the human mind.

The first subject I shall treat upon, is the origin of the Welsh. They are a branch of that primitive race

called Cimbri or Kimbri, (for this is the proper pronunciation,) a people who inhabited the North of Germany and Jutland; which region is still called Kimbria by German writers. Our ancestors crossed the German sea in coming to Britain, and this event occurred about one thousand years before the birth of our Redeemer. But being soon followed by more numerous bodies from Gaul and Belgium, and people too in some respects more civilized, they were divided by the number and pressure of these people into four districts, and were themselves distinguished into tribes. One of these tribes occupied the country on the river Clyde, in Scotland; another the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in the North of England; another, was situated in Cornwall; there were also three tribes in Wales; the Ordovices occupied the region now called North Wales; the Dimetians, the counties of Pembroke, Carmarthen, and Cardigan; and the Silurians had the counties of Radnor, Brecon, Glamorgan, and Monmouth, together with Hereford, and those parts of Gloucester and Worcester that are west of the Severn.

The English writers discover sad ignorance about the early history of Britain, when they tell us that the Saxons drove the ancient inhabitants of Britain into the mountains of Wales; for Wales was well peopled when the Romans landed, as any one may infer from the stand they made against the Romans under their valiant Prince Caractacus.

A correct view of the Welsh people, therefore, is that they have for about three thousand years inhabited a mountainous district, which may be termed the citadel of Britain; and during all that period have cherished certain ideas in relation to the nature of truth, and the rights and prerogatives of mind, differing from all other people, except the inspired writers.

It is not pretended, that before the introduction of the gospel the Welsh knew what was true religion—far from it! for they worshipped a number of imaginary beings as gods, and considered the sun, and

moon, and the various constellations, as their representatives in the heavens. Their superiority over other pagans, consisted in a clearer appreciation of the immutable nature of truth; and so far as their legislation was concerned, in leaving the important question "what is truth?" an unsolved problem; and in the fact that their religious teachers, even in their pagan state, taught their disciples, that "it was the duty of all men to seek after the truth, and to receive it against the whole world;" and also in their adopting as their national motto, "The Truth against the world."

Lord Bacon was immortalized by some dissertations on the laws of evidence, and other matters; and yet, so far as the laws of evidence were involved, they were as clearly developed in Wales, a thousand or more years ago, as they are now in England. Locke gained immortal renown by his speculations on human rights; although Roger Williams had anticipated him by fifty years, and the same had been established by law in Rhode Island, under his influence. Dr. Beattie obtained the highest honors, and a pension from the British Government, for his treatise on truth; and yet, the truth of religion had already been revealed to the fullest extent by divine inspiration, and all that could be said in relation to the rights of humanity in its reception, had been fully developed in Wales from time immemorial.

In all that relates to the material world, other nations have excelled the Welsh, but if mind is superior to matter, and the soul of more importance than the body,—and religion is superior to beef and pork, and the forming of mind of more importance than cutting stone and daubing canvass, then the Welsh may claim to have made some progress in civilization.

There is some error in ascribing to Roger Williams the first insight into the rights of conscience, for that subject was clearly understood by the Baptists, both in England and Wales, as their writings prove. The gospel is very clear on these points, and if any sect

undertakes to use coercion in religious matters, it is an incontestable evidence that they have introduced into their system some principles foreign to the gospel !

Nevertheless, I believe the Welsh Baptists had some advantages over those of England, in the circumstance that with them it was a national as well as a religious principle ; as a people they had never been subject to dictation in religious matters, and what annoyance they had suffered was from the papacy and the papists, both despised and hated ; besides which, the Welsh are more clear in their deductions than the English, and more fearless in carrying out their views. Exclusiveness was understood to be a prerogative of truth, and every man had a right to decide for himself what constituted truth, and the duty of receiving truth, and acting according to its requirements, was always inculcated in connection with religious teachings. Under these circumstances the Welsh Baptists have always maintained what is termed close communion, while the opposite practice has been advocated in England by many of the ablest men, and practiced in many of the churches ; and yet the Welsh are as courteous as the English ; but the laws of politeness in Wales are not supposed to require the sacrifice of principle, at least not to the extent required in some other countries. Yet all this does not prevent the cherishing of Christian affection among the various denominations, for when a Baptist Association meets with a small church, and in the vicinity of a rich congregation of another sect, or vice versa, the hospitality of the one people is as bountiful as the other ; the members of each community seem to vie with each other in their preparation to receive strangers. A friend of mine, Mr. John Hughes, was lately in Wales ; he attended a Baptist association, and was invited to dinner at the house of a rich farmer, where a table was set for a hundred persons, supplied most abundantly with the best of food. Yet all the guests they could find were but twenty. In the evening, the ministers stated that

a number of people in the neighbourhood had made preparation, but could not find a single guest, because others had invited so many, and requested that those that had friends would not take with them so many, that all might enjoy the company of some friends from a distance. Surely the gospel has its charms!

LETTER II.

BEFORE I go further with the history of Wales, I wish it to be clearly understood, that my object is to give the American people some idea of the origin of religious liberty, and the ways of God in the preservation of the pure church of our Redeemer, from its first planting in Jerusalem till the present auspicious period. The honour of a people is a small matter in such a connection, but inasmuch as Wales has been the only spot of earth, where the human mind was free to act according to its own convictions, previous to the establishment of religious freedom in the New World, on that account its history becomes important. And as I do not wish that the subject should rest on my testimony alone, I will refer to that eminent English antiquarian, Sharon Turner, who acquired the Welsh language for the sole purpose of having access to their ancient records in the original form. I have seen the testimony of several distinguished Welsh scholars, who pronounced him an accomplished scholar in the Welsh language. In his history of the Anglo-Saxons, he has a long chapter on Wales, in which he says, among other matters, that the Welsh system of ethics was the best ever produced in the world, except that of the Jews, comprised in the Holy Scriptures, a work of divine inspiration. This fact in itself speaks volumes. That a people, whose aggregate number never yet attained one million, and for twelve hundred years previous to the commencement of the eighteenth century, did not exceed three hundred thousand, should in that important particular excel the rest of mankind. Although this may be a source of pleasure to every Welshman, who has the power of mind to appreciate the beautiful and excel-

lent in morals, still it affords no ground for boasting: "for every good and perfect gift comes down from the father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, or shadow of turning."

In this connection, I wish also to mention, that Mr. Turner expresses the fullest conviction, that the account of English writers, about the driving of the ancient inhabitants of England into Wales, is an error; but at the same time, supposes that Wales obtained some accession to its population by that event. His judgment in this respect corresponds with that of every Welsh writer whose opinion is of any value. A want of discrimination is the glaring fault of English historians. In this respect they are a perfect contrast to the ancient Greeks. And I am not much better pleased with Welsh historians; it is a department in which they are more deficient than they are in any other. I apprehend that this arises from the circumstance, that the English people and government have waged an interminable war upon their religious principles, so that the ablest minds in the principality have been incessantly engaged in religious controversy, which has thrown the department of history into the hands of men of inferior powers. The best writers in that department are Rev. Joshua Thomas, who published a history of the Baptists in Wales, in the year 1779; and Rev. Titus Lewis, who published a most valuable history of Great Britain, in 1808; both Baptist ministers: and Rev. David Peter, principal of the Independent Theological Seminary at Carmarthen, who, in 1816, published his history of religion in Wales—a large volume, in which he includes both the Druidical and Christian systems.

Having stated my purpose, I now resume my task of writing the facts of history. The second colony that came to Britain, were the Ligurian Gauls, who settled on the river Thames, and built London; and the third, were the Bretons from Brittany, in Gaul, who probably settled in the South Western Peninsula,

now called Cornwall, including Devonshire. Both these races of men had some affinity with the original settlers, but the latter were the nearest, as the ancient inhabitants of Brittany, as well as the first colony in Britain, had come from the same region in the North of Germany, and Jutland; whereas, the Ligurians had taken a more southern route into Gaul, and the North of Italy, at an early period. These are denominated the social tribes of Britain.

Next came the tribes seeking refuge. These were the Belgians, who settled South of the Thames, and extended to the Severn; and, also, the Caledonians and Picts, who settled in Scotland. Afterwards, several hostile nations came in; the most noted of these who remained permanently, were the Coronians of Yorkshire, called by the Romans, Coritani; these last only landed in Britain about eighty years before the Roman invasion. The Coronians were always at swords' point with the Cumry, or Welsh, and united with the Romans, and again with the Saxons; and I suspect it was their aid that gave the Saxon invasion such power in its early stages. There were other nations in Britain, such as the Brigantes, who occupied Lancashire, and four or five other counties; and the Cornavi, who occupied Cheshire and Shropshire. *How absurd to suppose that all these were driven into Wales.* It appears, that when the Ligurians landed, the ancient inhabitants were in a very wild state, "having no law but custom, and no government but that of superior strength."

Prydain, the leader of the Ligurians, enacted a code of laws, and formed a regular government. He divided the island into three districts, which he called Lloeger, Cumry, and Alban; or, in modern parlance, England, Wales, and Scotland. To each district was assigned the privilege of royalty, but it was stipulated, that in case of a great emergency, a king of Britain was to be elected by a convention of all the States. These were called conventional kings. It appears very clear, that

limited monarchy was the beau ideal of government among the ancient Britons. In this they were inferior to the Greeks; at the same time, in point of personal rights, they were superior; as no system of slavery, or vassalage, seems to have existed among them, at least, in South Britain; and in this I am borne out by Julius Cæsar, who says, that the Britons were more free than the Gauls; and we know that the majority of the Greeks were slaves. Another excellent feature in the British laws was the trial by jury, which was established three hundred years before the Christian era, by Dyvnwal Moelmud, the second of the great system founders of Britain. This personage was Prince of Cornwall, as generally supposed. While I am on the subject of legislation, I may as well say, that the third great legislator of Britain was Bran ab Llur, prince or king of Siluria, the Eastern district of South Wales, and father of Caractacus, of Roman history; and the fourth and last was Howell, prince of South Wales, a native of Dimetia, the Western district of South Wales; who improved and enlarged the ancient code, between the 940th and 948th of the Christian era. There are now extant two complete copies of the laws of Howell, from which an edition was printed some years ago. The information I had about prohibiting their publication was wrong, and I suspected as much; but was not aware till lately that an edition had been published.

The sort of evidence required under these laws proves to a demonstration that the laws of evidence were well understood; and not only was the human mind left free in all matters connected with religion, but the right of every human being to a foothold upon the earth was so far regarded, that every head of a family was allowed the use of five acres of land, free of all taxes or dues whatsoever. Besides all this, there was no law of primogeniture: the property of parents was always divided among the children, the youngest son being entitled to the family residence, and hence

called the "heir of the Grange." This has become a familiar term in Wales for the youngest son; I have often heard it applied to my youngest brother, although my father never owned a foot of land in Wales. The privileges of primogeniture came into being when Wales was united to England, as an integral portion of the kingdom, in the year 1544, the thirty-fifth of Henry the VIII.; for till that time, Wales was a principality subject to the crown, but not connected with English legislation. This was its state for 260 years.

Hitherto I have dwelt on the bright side of the Welsh character; but alas for human nature in its fallen state, in the further tracing of their history we shall find their character has also its shades.

In my next I will give an account of the Roman invasion, and the introduction of the gospel; that auspicious event, which brought among our ancestors a knowledge of the true God, at a time when the few rays of divine light, which they had retained by tradition, were ready to go out in darkness.

LETTER III.

A BRIEF account will now be given of the Roman invasion of Britain in the days of Claudius Cæsar, which occurred about the year forty-four or forty-five, of the Christian era. To meet the crisis the States of Britain elected Caradog, commonly called Caraetacus, to command their armies; he was son of Bran (Crow), prince or king of Siluria, which I have already stated was the eastern district of South Wales. His father was still living, well advanced in years, but the son was famed for his martial qualities. The Roman forces were commanded by Ostorius, and it is said that Caradog fought thirty battles with the Romans in nine years; but it appears that he was not well sustained by the other States. Indeed, the other States of Britain were so accessible to enemies landing from the continent, and so much easier overrun than Wales, that it was to be expected the Cimbric tribes would hold out longest; after losing a great battle on the borders of North Wales, Caradog went to the country of the Brigantes, and the Queen Boadicea gave him up to the Romans, thinking she would by that means conciliate the Romans. It was the duty of the Queen of the Brigantes to place the whole of her forces at his disposal, and it would have been the part of wisdom to have done so, as she had soon after to contend with them single handed with the loss of 70,000 men in one battle, and to poison herself to escape captivity. Such are the effects of national rapacity.

The Romans were overjoyed at the capture of so able an opponent: but there appears to be a mistake

about the object of the prince in going to the Brigantes, as it is always said he went there for protection. Had that been his object, he would have gone to his own country, for it is well known that the Silurians did not submit to the Romans, as the first war did not end till twenty-five years after the capture of Caradog.

The Romans soon overran that part of Siluria, which lay between the rivers Severn and the Wye, which was the hereditary dominion of king Brennus, but the Silurian and Dimetian chieftains, who were allies of Brennus, did not abate in the least their opposition, and when the Romans followed them into the mountainous districts, they often hemmed in considerable bodies of their troops, and cut them off. The fatigue attending this sort of warfare soon put an end to the life of Ostorius to the great joy of the Cumry (or Welsh.) It is generally supposed that Caradog was set at liberty and died soon after, for his father and several of the royal family went to Rome as hostages for him; but nothing more is said of him in history.

While the aged prince was in Rome, he had the happiness of meeting some Christians there, and became a convert to that faith a little over twenty years after the ascension of its divine Author, and was the first king or sovereign prince who embraced the gospel. But at the end of seven years he was set at liberty by the emperor Nero, and returned to his principality bringing with him three, and some say four gospel ministers.

It is probable that Brennus paid some tax to the Romans, as kings often did in other parts of the world, but his successors continued to bear the title of king of Britain till the close of the second century. King Brennus could not have lived long after his return, but as he had been one of the wisest legislators of Britain, there is no one who can estimate the power which his conversion to the Christian faith has exerted upon the world. Paganism could never perse-

cute in the Roman empire after the conversion of Constantine, and to a people so intellectual as the Welsh, the example of king Brennus may have been more potent than the laws of Constantine to the Romans. Numbers of the people and some of the Druids were converted, and the believing Druids continued to teach the new religion; but so wedded were they to their ancient faith, that they mixed it with their Christianity, and the churches rejected them, and chose ministers who had never been connected with the Order. As the Druids had a monopoly of teaching, and by that means had the vantage ground, the Christians founded seminaries on gospel principles. Here we have a noble example of a people that could not be led astray by their teachers; a rare instance in the past history of the world.

From all the histories we have, it appears that no restraint was ever imposed on the Christians in Wales. Mr. Peter says positively there was none; but the Druids remained faithful to their enlightened doctrines, which enjoined the duty of seeking after and receiving the truth. But although they never troubled the Christians, they continued many centuries to maintain their principles. As Mr. Peter says, the sacrifices were regularly offered for 1100 years after the first introduction of the gospel. And even later, while Wales was independent for about 100 years, they received their revenues from the princes and lords of Wales. King Edward the first, of England, at length cut off their revenues. A large portion of other nations were converted in a short time, but this liberal and philosophic people stood out long against the gospel. Still the work of conversion went on gradually till the time of king Lucius, the fourth or fifth in descent from Brennus, who was the last that bore the title of king in that honoured line during the Roman occupation of Britain. Lucius is supposed to have commenced his reign about the year 170, and died about the close of the second century. As the sup-

port of religion was a part of the policy of the Welsh government, and poetry, and minstrelsy, and religion, were combined in the Druidical order, King Lucius placed the Christians on the same footing in that respect, and took much pains to disseminate the truths of the gospel. It appears too, that in supporting the cause of religion, the civil government never interfered with the regulations of the teachers of religion, as it is evident that all their offices, honours and degrees, were conferred according to the laws of each order.

After the rejection of the Druidical converts from the gospel ministry, there was no error propagated in the Welsh churches till the close of the fourth century; when Morgan, a very learned man, who is known in history under the name of Pelagius, began to propagate his mixture of Paganism and Christianity; this heresy continued to vex the churches for 120 years, when David, commonly called St. David, refuted the Pelagian doctors in a public discussion, which took place at Llan Ddewi Brevi in Cardiganshire in the year 516. The Roman pagan power raised ten cruel persecutions against the Christians, but none of them reached Britain till the ninth year of the last, which continued a year and a half, and as the city of Caer-Leon on the Usk, the capital of Siluria, was in the power of the Romans, we have the names of three persons who suffered martyrdom there, and it is said a larger number suffered. Constantius Chlorus, one of the Cæsars, who had the government of Gaul and Britain, was not disposed to persecution, and as soon as he rose to supreme power, (by the resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian Herculus), he stopped all such proceedings.

Constantius had in his youth married Helen, daughter of a Silurian chief, who was a Christian; from policy, when he was created a Cæsar, he repudiated Helen and married another lady; still his long connection with a Christian woman, from a liberal race,

must have had much influence on his enlightened mind. Constantius died when he was but little past the meridian of life, and all his hopes of perpetuating his family and empire turned upon his son Constantine, who was then about thirty-three years of age. He had with great difficulty escaped from the fangs of Galerius, and arrived at York before his father died; and as soon as Constantius was dead, the Roman army in Britain proclaimed his son. When Galerius heard it, he proclaimed Constantine a traitor, but soon after sent him the purple. An incident that occurred about this time probably had great influence on the mind of Galerius. The Welsh mountaineers from affection for the memory of Constantius, and respect for Constantine the son of their countrywoman, sent a powerful body of mounted spearmen to join his standard, and being joined by the Bretons of Gaul, and other Gallie horsemen, they formed the main strength of his army; for it was this powerful body of horsemen that carried all before them in his war with Maxentius and the Romans.

✓ Any person who knows the respect that the Welsh have always had for religion and religious persons, and their love of war, may imagine with what zest they must have engaged in this expedition against Rome. They loved war, and always fought against enemies worthy of their steel; and in the investigation of Welsh history it will be found that when the Christian church was to be defended, or vengeance was to be taken on her enemies, there were always in Wales men ready to mount, what they called their *Meirch*, for their war horses were always just as nature formed them. When the Welsh go on military expeditions as volunteers, they mostly go on their horses, being exceedingly fond of horsemanship, a general trait in the character of people living in mountainous and other wild regions.

LETTER IV.

THE next subject demanding our attention in the History of Wales is the invasion of the Roman Empire by Maximus. This Roman citizen belonged to a distinguished family. The circumstances connected with his coming to Britain as stated in an ancient work are, that he dreamed of moving through the air, over the land and sea, till he came to an Island, and crossing that, he came on the farthest side to a town situated on an arm of the sea, in a wild region, and entering into a mansion, he saw an aged man with a golden band around his head, and by his side was a young lady of the most exquisite beauty, with whom he fell in love. As soon as possible he sent off messengers to search for her, who, by following his directions, found both the prince and his daughter at Caer Seont, on the stream of Menai in North Wales; being no others than Eudav the prince of that country and his beautiful daughter Helen. They made proposals of marriage to her on behalf of Maximus, but she told them it was not the business of the ladies to seek after husbands, but if he wanted her he must come himself, which he accordingly did, and they were married. The prince had another daughter, who was the wife of Cunedda, prince of Cumberland; and a son named Conon, who during his father's life bore the title of Lord of Meiriadog, (now called Denbighshire.) Eudav had married Stradwen, daughter and heiress of the prince of Cornwall, and on the demise of that prince, Maximus obtained that principality in the right of his wife.

After some years, the emperors Valentinian and Valens died, and the empire fell into the hands of Gratian and Valentinian the second; the one a youth

and the other a child five years old. Gratian, finding himself unable to manage such important matters, appointed Theodosius as a third partner in the empire. But this offended Maximus, who being an ambitious man, thought the preference ought to have been given to him; accordingly he raised an army in Britain of sixty thousand men, and with these overran Gaul and Spain, and crossing the Alps, (after killing the Emperor Gratian in Gaul,) he took Italy and the city of Rome. But the emperor Theodosius, who was at Constantinople, raised all the forces of the East, and hired all the neighbouring barbarous nations, and came upon Maximus and defeated his army in two battles, in the last of which he was killed. The remains of the British army made good their retreat into Gaul, and arrived safely into Brittany, where Conon with a considerable body of troops had been left by Maximus to keep Gaul during his absence. It was the intention of the British army to return home, but the people of Brittany gave them land, and chose Conon king of Brittany. This expedition occurred in the year 387, just sixty-two years before the first landing of the Saxons. And yet the English writers are so stupid as to say that the Welsh fled to Brittany to escape from the Saxons. This beats the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, which only retreated a few degrees; but the clock of time must have retreated in this case sixty-two years. This affair had a disastrous effect on the affairs of Britain, as it took off such numbers of the Welsh and Cornish, the only people who had courage to maintain its independence. North Wales was nearly depopulated by this expedition and the extensive emigrations which followed upon the election of their prince Conon to the throne of Brittany. Conon's descendants continued to hold Brittany for eleven hundred years, when the king of France married the Duchess Anne of Brittany, in the year 1499.

Gaul, as well as Britain, had been long under the Romans, and the settlement of a veteran army in

Brittany must have been a great acquisition, and this army belonged to a kindred race and settled there at the desire of the people of Brittany, and the Britons are still proud of their descent from these Welsh warriors. Allison, in his history of Europe, says that Brittany has been the bulwark of the French monarchy.

After such vast emigrations, the Irish invaded North Wales, and kept possession of the island of Anglesea for twenty-nine years; but about the year 440 the prince of Cumberland sent his sons with some troops, who, uniting with the people of North Wales, drove the Irish from the main land, and choosing Caswallon his grandson, (whose father was dead,) prince of North Wales, in the right of his grandmother, the sister of Conon, and Ellen, wife of Maximus, he followed the Irish into Anglesea, and defeated them at a battle near Holyhead, and reduced the survivors to slavery, in which state they and their descendants continued many generations. The principality of North Wales was independent for eight hundred and forty years, during which period the people displayed a degree of heroism and steady courage never excelled by any people in the world in any period of its history. The defeat of the Irish took place in the year 443.

Some time after the expedition of Maximus, another adventurer raised an army in Britain, and took France and Spain. His name was Constantine; he held those regions for five years.

The history of Britain, at this time, is an enigma. We hear the shouts of the Picts and Scots, the groans of the Britons, and the sound of the trumpet, and the clangor of arms all intermingled, and the English writers are either too ignorant on the subject, or too partial to give us any solution of the matter. The truth is, however, that as soon as the Roman power declined, the Welsh, or rather Cimbric tribes in Wales, and Cumberland, and Cornwall, put in their claim for

a share of the empire. The Picts and Scots wished a share of the plunder, and the inhabitants of the Roman provinces in England were the sufferers. These in their distress sent to solicit the aid of the Romans. At another time the Mountaineers would become rampant, and overrun Gaul and Spain, and at the same time send a small division of their forces to drive back the Picts and Scots. These latter gentry at one time entered Powys, one of the Welsh principalities, but were defeated and annihilated at Maes Garmon. This was the only time they ever set foot in Wales; and yet it is evident that many of the Scottish writers pride themselves much on the story that their ancestors were so much braver than the ancestors of the Welsh, for they tell us that the Welsh were the Britons, that the Scots and Picts invaded them, that they sent their groans to the Romans to solicit aid against these potent barbarians, that they hired the Saxons for the same purpose, and the Saxons drove them into the mountains of Wales. Ergo, the Welsh are the descendants of these miserable Britons; and Dr. Hugh Blair says, that the Saxons drove the ancient Britons and their language into the mountains of Wales. Doctorates must be cheap in Scotland. What became of the Silurians, "the most implacable of the Britons;" the hardy Dimetians, and the Ordovices, who had set the power of imperial Rome at defiance. One would be led to think from these accounts, that they had jumped into the sea out of pure politeness, to make room for the degenerate inhabitants of the Roman provinces in South Britain; but it is too poor a business for me to spend time to combat such trifling puerilities as are put forth by the English and Scottish writers on this subject.

The Welsh, or Cimbric tribes of Britain, for hardy valor never were excelled by any race of people in the world; and no people ever maintained their language, their manners, their principles, and personal liberties

so long and so pure as they have done ; and also their national identity and character.

While these matters were going on in North Wales, South Wales was under the government of Constantine, surnamed the blessed, on account of his zeal in promoting religion and learning. He was the first Welsh prince after Lucius, who bore the title of king of Britain ; he was of the same race, a descendant of the king Brennus. Had he possessed a military character, he might have established his power over all England, but he contented himself with only placing a body of troops on the Severn to guard the frontiers of Siluria, while the Picts and Scots ravaged England. But Vortigern, a relative, commander of these forces, contrived his death, and took the principality and royal title himself ; and when the Picts and Scots had advanced as far as Lincolnshire, he determined to proceed against them. At this time it appears that three small vessels of Saxons, containing about three hundred men, arrived on the coast, and were hired by Vortigern, much against the will of the Siluri. With these, and the Silurian forces, he soon routed the Picts and Scots, and established his government over a large part of England ; and as a reward for his Saxon allies, gave Hengist, their leader, a considerable principality in Kent. Fresh arrivals of Saxons awakened the jealousy of the Silurians, and on account of the partiality of the king towards the Saxons, and the odium of having brought about the death of their beloved king Constantine, they deposed him, and raised his son, "the blessed Vortimer," to the throne, who defeated and drove out the Saxons. Vortimer dying soon after, the old king was again elevated ; then followed the return of the Saxons, and the massacre of the Silurian chiefs on Salisbury plain ; the second deposition of Vortigern, and the choice of Ambrosius.

As soon as the Saxons had killed so many of the Silurian chiefs, they fell to murdering the people

of England, without sparing age or sex; and after this terrible havoc left the country, but soon returned with larger forces, and entering into alliance with the Picts and Scots, and the Coronians of Yorkshire, they fell upon the Ligurians on the Thames, and forced them into the confederacy. So that in the beginning of the Saxon invasion the great bulk of the inhabitants of Britain, together with the Saxons, were in close alliance against the Welsh.

King Ambrosius, at the head of the Welsh forces, in time retook the cities of London and York, and the Saxons, making their humble submission, were permitted to retain their territory in Kent, and as the country in the north, on the borders of Scotland, was devastated, Ambrosius allowed the Saxons, under Oeta, who had taken possession of York, to settle there. This laid the foundation of the powerful kingdom in Northumberland. After some years of peace, fresh swarms of Saxons arrived, and, uniting with their countrymen, gave fresh trouble to king Ambrosius; and in his advanced age he was killed in a great battle, and his forces defeated.

The next Welsh prince that opposed the Saxons, was Nathan Lloyd, who was killed with five thousand of his men, and the remainder retreated to Wales under Arthur, Lord of Glamorgan, then thirty-five years of age, and famed for his martial talents. The Saxons at this time had an army of well-disciplined troops of thirty thousand men, and had in view to establish another kingdom further west in the country of the Belgians, and in the sequel were successful; for they established the kingdom of Wessex, but not without great opposition from the Silurians under Arthur. When that great prince was first chosen, the whole force he was able to raise was but eighteen thousand men, but he was reinforced by ten thousand men, sent by Howell his nephew, king of Brittany, and four thousand under the prince of Cornwall, and with these he defeated the Saxons after much hard

fighting; after which he gained several victories, and retook London and York, and circumscribed the Saxon territories. In the sixteenth year of his reign he was compelled to make peace with the Saxons, and hasten to Brittany to aid Howell, who was in danger of being overwhelmed by the Franks. While he was absent, Medrawd, another nephew, whom he had left as lieutenant of the kingdom, debauched the queen, and granted the Saxons an increase of territory on condition of aiding him against the king, and thus the second time, Arthur, at the age of fifty-six, was forced to contend with the Saxons and the great bulk of the people of England. A scene of war and devastation now commenced, and continued for seven years, until the battle of Camlan, in which Medrawd was killed, and Arthur mortally wounded—after a reign of twenty-eight years, five of which he spent in Brittany and Gaul, warring against the Franks. After the death of Arthur, the Welsh left the Saxons to swallow up England, as it suited their convenience, for sixty years, when they again entered the lists with them on a very memorable occasion.

From all this it appears that the Welsh were equal, if not superior, in arms to the Saxons; but the cool courage and deep policy of the Saxons in the end prevailed. The state of England during this time must have been terrible, while two hostile nations were traversing its whole length and breadth, the one ready and anxious to swallow them up and reduce them to slavery, the other despising them for imbecility; and both subsisting on their spoils, and often devastating whole regions to spite each other. If the Welsh policy was more liberal, and their laws more humane, it was hard for the people to see much difference during a state of constant war. The consequence was that many of the inhabitants preferred submitting to the Saxons, rather than depend on the aid of the Welsh, often tardy and ineffectual. Taking all things into consideration, the Welsh made noble

efforts to stop the ravages of the Saxons; often, however, spending their time in sport and revelry, while the Saxons were diligently engaged in forwarding their plans of conquest. The death of Arthur occurred in the year 542.

LETTER V.

IN the former article I submitted to the reader a short account of the State of Britain from the era of Constantine till the year 600, a period of 300 years, a very eventful period in the history of Europe. All the English writers, as far as I have read them, acknowledge that no people who had been subject to the Romans but those of Great Britain and Brittany, made any vigorous efforts against the barbarous nations, for as soon as the imperial armies were defeated, they submitted to become the vassals of these invaders. From what I have written, it will appear that this was not on account of the superior courage of the people of England and Gaul. In Britain the main opposition to the Saxons arose from the people of Wales, and other Kimbrie tribes; and in Brittany from the incorporation of a veteran army of the same people; and this division of their power was the cause of the Saxon conquest of England.

In the history of Britain, North and South Wales were much the same as Sparta and Athens were in the history of ancient Greece, sometimes uniting, but often opposing each other; and this want of union was the source of many of the calamities which fell on both, and upon all Britain.

After the defeat of the Pelagian doctors in the great discussion at Brevi in Cardiganshire, mentioned in a former number, the Pelagian heresy sunk in Wales, and the churches maintained the purity of the gospel for 300 years, till the close of the eighth century, when they began to incline to Popery, after having maintained the truth for 700 years. No other people have maintained pure religion for so long a period, ex-

cept the people in the valleys of Piedmont, if they are an exception. But they are the same race, if Welsh traditions are correct; and Dr. Baird, in a lecture delivered in this city some few months ago, says, that after the Kimbri were defeated by the Romans under Caius Marius, those that escaped took refuge in certain valleys in the Alps. This corresponds so well with Welsh traditions, that since I read the lecture of Dr. Baird, I am inclined to attach more importance to it than I ever did before. These facts would seem to show that some races of men have greater capacity for understanding and maintaining the truths of religion than others, and among them the Kimbrie race stands in the first rank. The mode of planting churches in Wales in the early ages, as given by Mr. Peter, is as follows:—When a minister succeeded in making a number of converts in any neighbourhood, he would go to the Lord or Prince of the district, who would give him a piece of land for building a house of worship and dwelling, and also for as many of the brethren to reside as chose to live on the premises, and also land for cultivation. There they lived mostly in community, and such members as lived on their estates supplied the wants of the ministers. By degrees new stations would be established for preaching, and ministers would arise, and the congregations thus rising around were called Cor or Circuit, (the word is pronounced as the word Core in English.) Many of these Cors are mentioned, such as Cor Deiniol, Cor Catwg, &c. When a college or seminary was attached, it was called Bangor—a prominent circuit. Till about the year 450 the ministers were equal, but about that time they appointed an Archbishop and six Diocesan bishops. Other nations preceded them in this innovation on primitive order, and their own system of circuits and senior pastors had the same tendency, but in all innovations they were generally far behind other nations.

As the barbarous nations pressed upon the provinces

of the Roman empire, the Christians of the primitive order in all the neighbouring regions, turned their eyes towards Wales as a place of safety; especially those of the detached settlements of the Kimbrie race in Brittany, and Cornwall, and Cumberland, and Stradelyde. These had retained more of the purity of Christian doctrine than any other people of Europe, and were entitled to full citizenship the moment they came to Wales. The greater part of those that fled there from persecution were of that race; and almost if not all the churches and seminaries being endowed with land, and many of the members living in community, they always found a ready welcome. Numbers were princes and lords in their own countries, and forsook ample domains for a few acres of land and peace in Wales, to act according to their convictions. For about 100 pages or more, in Mr. Peter's history, he constantly recurs to, giving the names of individuals, and companies of men and women, who came from England, Ireland, Gaul and Scotland, to Wales, as well as from Cornwall and Cumberland, which were parts of England, settled by the Kimbrie race; about 150 of the primitive churches of Wales and several colleges were founded by these people. The last company were from the principality of Stradelyde, in Scotland. They were so numerous, that Moore, in his History of Ireland, argues, that they were the Piets, who left Scotland in a body and went to Wales; because the Piets, as a distinct race, disappeared at that time from the annals of Scotland. And he tries to show that the people who made such a figure in Wales in after ages, were not the ancient tribes of Silurians, &c., but the Piets. This is on the thirtieth page, first volume, of Moore's History of Ireland.

If the Welsh could trace their origin to Scotland, they would very soon rise in the estimation of some people.

But to return to the history. This great company arrived in Wales in the year 890. From that time

no great companies came, the stock of primitive Christians having failed in all the neighbouring nations.

About the year 590, the Pope sent Austin, with a company of Monks, to bring the Saxons over to Popery. Having brought over two of their kings, he came to Wales and made certain proposals to the Welsh, which they rejected. A few years after, about 603, some say 605, others 607, the Saxons, under two Saxon kings, came to enforce the Popish system on the Welsh. They burnt the great College of Bangor Iscoed, in Flintshire, and overran a large portion of Powys the middle principality; they also killed 1150 of the inmates of the College. But when the Princes of South and North Wales, and Cornwall, heard of it, they assembled their forces, and chose Cadvan, Prince of North Wales, commander, who overthrew the Saxons with the loss of ten thousand men, and recovered all the west side to the North of Wales, which they held 140 years, when Offa, king of Mercia, added it to his territories. What the English writers affirm is not true, that the Saxons finished their conquests in 150 years. It took exactly 300 years, although it is true they had seven kingdoms in 150 years. The Welsh kept them at bay for 300 years. They maintained their independence again for 534 years, and after that 260, under a charter free from English legislation, which time overlapped "the reign of the beast" in Britain nine years. Except the reaction in Mary's reign, during all this time the minds of men were free in religious matters, and the Welsh never gave their power and strength to the beast in wearing out the saints of the Most High.

It is aside from my purpose to go minutely into the History of Wales, either civil or ecclesiastical; it is enough for me to say that when true religion was lowest, after Wales became subject to the crown of England, and the churches subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Kings of England and the Archbishops were very careful to put no man into the office

of bishop in Wales, except such as were known to be bigoted papists ; and this because of the propensity of the Welsh to Lollardism. Here a whole people were proscribed for their attachment to pure Christianity. This may all be seen in Peter's History of Religion in Wales.

The prophet thought that he alone was left of God's people in Israel, yet the Lord gives a very different view of the case, for he said there were seven thousand ; we may fairly conclude, therefore, that the primitive apostolic church was still in being, whatever was her order ; and if I had time to trace the History of Wales, through the time that elapsed from 606 till 1535, when Henry the VIIIth disowned the Pope ; and the many bloody battles that the Welsh fought against the Saxons, and Danes, and Normans, and other savage nations, who, as Mr. Peter says, seemed to make war upon the religion of the Welsh ; and the exertions made by the whole population, without distinction, to rebuild the colleges and church edifices ; and in the respect paid to religion and religious persons by all persons, whether religious or not themselves ; surely no man could deny that there was some great principle at work, not known in any other country.

We have the articles of their faith in 692 as given by Aldelm, a Saxon Abbot, in a letter to Gurentius, Prince of Cornwall. The Abbot complains that the Welsh ministers would not pray with them nor eat at the table, and would not drink out of the same cup without first scouring the cup. He also gives the defence of the Welsh ministers, for the purpose, as it seems, to show that no principles would avail those that were out of the general church, that being founded first on Christ, and then on St. Peter. On that account they that denied the authority of the Pope could not have their sins forgiven. The Welsh, however, did not seem to grant the correctness of the premises or the deductions, but say that they taught the

people diligently the mystery that the Godhead existed in three persons. They also taught the doctrine of the incarnation, the death, and resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that there was to be a judgment when all men would be weighed in the balance and receive according to their works; but through faith in him they hoped to appear among his holy followers at his right hand in glory. These cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith appear to be small matters in the estimation of the Saxon; one dogma of the Pope would outweigh the whole. I may here observe that the Welsh never write long confessions of faith, the Bible is the text-book, and the living church the expositor and teacher.

In conclusion, I will make some remarks on the question, whether any churches maintained the apostolic order in doctrines and ordinances as the Baptists hold them. Joshua Thomas says, that the oldest non-conformist church in Britain is the Baptist church of Olchon. It is situated in a valley within the territorial limits of Herefordshire. The valley is shut out from England by high hills or mountains, but opens towards Wales. The Welsh language is spoken there, and always has been. In all Welsh history before the Union in 1544, there is no record of but one man called before a bishop to give account of his faith, and he was called before the bishop of Hereford. There is no account of any bishop in Wales calling the Lollards before them, although they were nearly all Englishmen; and Wales, as we have already stated, abounded in Lollards. It is not to be supposed that all these bigoted English Popish bishops were more indulgent than the rest of their kind; but there was no law making Lollardism a crime, and no hangman to execute heretics. But a bishop, having no jurisdiction in Wales, calls Walter Brute, an eminent minister of the Welsh Lollards, to an account for his faith. He avows himself a Welshman of full blood by both parents; the natural inference is, that he was an in-

habitant of the diocese of Hereford, and there is no part of Hereford occupied by the Welsh, except the valley of Olchon, and no church there but a Baptist church. It is within the precincts of probability that this ancient church is the continuance of the church established by our Lord in Jerusalem, which has spread its wings over vast territories since, and recognized as such in the 12th chapter of Revelations, where "the church" is represented as flying into a place in the wilderness—a place which God had prepared for her, where "they should feed and nourish her from the face of the Serpent." These are significant words. If any one can find words more emphatic of complete protection and kindness, I should like to have them produced; and if any people can be produced that manifested such indulgence towards the pure Church of the Redeemer as the Welsh, I should dearly love to be told where they were; or if any Welshman can convict me of erroneous statements of the facts of history, as stated by Mr. Peter, they will oblige me by pointing out the error.

I do not deny the existence of good Christians in many countries. I rejoice that there were such. These were the two witnesses who prophesied in sackcloth, also there were "the remnant of her seed," whom the serpent persecuted, after the woman had fled to her place of safety; but the church, par excellence, with her crown of twelve stars, recognized as "the church," had fled out of his reach to her own place, where she wore neither sackcloth nor mourning, but was a nourished and cherished guest, and had a guard of sixty thousand warriors, "the bravest of all mankind," to defend her. The commentaries of English expositors look very trifling to me on that vision, and the notion that the departure of the persecuting pilgrims of New England, nearly 100 years after the power of the Pope was annulled, is still worse. Do people suppose that God spoke unadvisedly, when he said that he had prepared a place to nourish his

church during the whole period of the beast's reign. Yet we are not to expect that the region was very extensive, for it is said that the whole world wondered after the beast. I would not be understood to intimate that evangelical Christians in England and Wales were not of the Church of our Redeemer. I only mean to say that Wales was the place where the church was best protected, and that I believe that the purpose of God in preserving a pure church of the true order was realized nowhere else.

LETTER VI.

THE state of society in Wales during the middle ages, was such as was perhaps never witnessed in any other country. All the colleges were prostrated by the close of the twelfth century, yet private teaching was continued. The country was at times traversed in every part by hostile armies, whose main purpose was to destroy the religion and learning of the Welsh. On account of these continual wars they were under the necessity of choosing the ablest among the sons of their chiefs to guide their affairs, and as the eldest sons or their descendants still claimed the rights, and found partisans, and could secure the aid of the kings of England, who wished to crush the nation, these circumstances caused great disorders. It is perfectly clear that many of the Welsh chiefs, especially after the Norman conquest, would have been glad to have become barons of England rather than reign over petty districts, where their tenure of office depended on the caprice of the people; but as the Welsh had personal freedom and valuable rights not enjoyed by the common people of England, they would not submit, and the princes and chiefs were of no use to the English kings, unless they could bring over the people. Besides all this, there were frequent wars between the different principalities for two hundred years before the time of Edward I.

Yet learning flourished, and princes, who lived in large, thatched cottages, were attended by retinues of poets, and minstrels, and learned men, that the like could not be found in the courts of the most potent monarchs in Europe. This may be seen in Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of the Crusades*, vol. 1, the scenes of

which are laid in Wales. That learning flourished there we have abundant proof in the number of works still extant, on medicine and grammar, and many other subjects, which are mentioned by Mr. Turner, in the history of the Anglo-Saxons;—article, “Wales.” The Latin language was cultivated, and all their exercises and pastimes, twenty-four in number, are still recorded in elegant Latin. During that period a number of bishops are mentioned, whose names are as worthy of remembrance as the celebrated Claude, Bishop of Turin; the only difference I can discern is, that they did not hurl so many invectives against their neighbours, the cause of which was, probably, that the general character of the ministers in Wales was more consistent with their profession than those of Italy. Those most highly spoken of were Joseph, Bishop of Llandaff, who continued in office forty years, and Rhyddmarch and his son Sulien, Bishops of St. David’s and Archbishops of Wales, for both dignities belonged to St. David’s. After the death of the last of these good men, the superintendence of the Welsh church fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who suppressed the College of St. David’s, the last of about twelve noble institutions that had flourished for many centuries. After this period the sees were generally filled by bigoted and ignorant English priests, who spent their time mostly in England, and frequently pronounced the curses of the papacy on the Welsh in all their quarrels with the kings of England; and after this we find that Lollardism became very prevalent in Wales, a thing not heard of while the sees were filled by pious and learned natives; for although they had acknowledged the Pope’s supremacy for more than three hundred years, they acted according to their own convictions. The suppression of the college of St. David’s occurred towards the close of the twelfth century, having flourished for near 700 hundred years. There were several others, however, much more ancient. About that time also, the Druids ceased

to offer sacrifices, although Druidism, as a sort of refined philosophy, long continued, and the Druids received their revenues for one hundred years after, till Wales became subject to Edward I.

South Wales fell to pieces in the year 1089, the second of William Rufus, by the rebellion of several chiefs against Rees ap Tewdor (Rees son of Theodore.) These chiefs called in the Normans, who by their aid defeated and killed the prince, and then turned about and conquered the traitors, and took possession of their estates. The prince left three daughters and a son, three years old, who was carried to Ireland, and the Norman chiefs married the daughters. Twenty-two years after the prince returned, and during a reign of twenty-two years recovered a large part of South Wales. When dying he left it to his son Rees, who was then twenty years of age, and he reigned about fifty years, in which time he still further restricted the Normans. After his time South Wales had no native prince of great power, although there were many native chiefs who held large estates and many retainers. It was the victories of Rees over the Normans, especially over Gilbert de Clare, commonly called Strongbow, and his own two cousins, Fitz Gerald and Fitz Stephen, that induced those chiefs of mixed Norman and Welsh blood to try their fortunes in Ireland, which resulted in the conquest of that country by some fifteen hundred men from South Wales. Their movements excited the jealousy of Henry II., to remove which they invited the king over, who received the homage of about forty Irish chiefs, so that Ireland was actually conquered by a small party of Welsh warriors of broken fortunes, although that event has been credited to Henry II.

During the ignoble reign of Henry III., Llewellyn, prince of North Wales, had brought all the Welsh chiefs, except one, to do him homage, and when Edward I. mounted the English throne, he did not venture anything against the great chief till after ten

years, in which he used every art of deception and bribery to draw them all over, or secure their neutrality. In the year 1282, however, he commenced operations against Llewellyn; he placed Mortimer with a large army to watch the princes and lords of South Wales, while he entered North Wales with a powerful force, composed of English and Irish, and auxiliaries from France and Spain. But by the skill of Llewellyn, the bravery of his troops, and the success of several stratagems, nearly the whole of this army was cut off, and Edward was obliged to take refuge in a great castle which he had taken some time before, and was for a while in danger of starvation there, till he was supplied from a ship, the castle being near the sea shore. It being late in the season, had the prince remained Edward would have been obliged to retreat; but certain traitors from the eastern part of South Wales invited him there under promise of rising in his favour. Leaving his brother David in the fortresses of Snowden, he proceeded to South Wales with 6000 men, in hopes of cutting off the army under Mortimer. When he arrived on the banks of the river Wye, he went into a woods, according to appointment, to meet those traitors, who never came. Without going into minute particulars, we may merely say, before he came out he was run through with a spear by one Adam Francton, while his army, in hopes of his return, maintained a long conflict with the overpowering English army of Mortimer, in which they lost two thousand men, till at last, being satisfied that some disaster had befallen their prince, the survivors, 4000 in number, retreated and arrived safe in North Wales. Thus, by the union of power and treason, fell Llewellyn ap Griffith, the greatest and noblest prince at that time on earth. David attempted to resist the king of England, but failed.—“Ilion was gone, for Hector was no more.”

After the death of Llewellyn, king Edward urged the Welsh chiefs to submit, and suffer him to place their government upon a stable footing, but they laid

it down as a "*sine qua non*," that the only condition on which they would submit to his government was, that their own laws should be continued, and that the king himself should come and live in Wales, or if that could not be, he must appoint some Welsh nobleman as his lieutenant, to administer the government, and also that he must be a man of good moral character. These terms were very unpleasant to Edward, but he had found the difficulty of putting down the small northern principality which comprised only one-fourth of Wales, which could not muster at any one time over 12,000 men; but if the whole would unite, he would have had to contend with three or four times the number, and England had not sufficient amount of blood to spare to conquer 50,000 hardy mountaineers, who were "armed to the teeth," and brought up from youth to use military armour as their chief business. Under these circumstances he determined to circumvent them, and the faithful queen, being then pregnant, he sent for her, and she travelled on horseback in the dead of winter from London to Caernarvon, 250 miles. When the time for her delivery approached, the king sent for the Welsh chiefs to meet him at Rhuddlan, in Flintshire, but on various pretences avoided meeting them, till Griffith Lloyd, a Welshman, brought news that the queen was delivered of a son. As soon as the king heard the news, he called the chiefs together, and told them that he had determined to grant their request, for he had determined to appoint a native Welshman to be their prince, one born in their own country, of excellent morals, for he had never committed any crime in his life, and besides all that, he did not know a word of English. Will you submit to my government administered by him? To this they gave consent. The king then told them that he had a son, born in Caernarvon castle, that he should be their prince. The Welshmen were confounded to see the trick, and requested time to consider the matter, which the king granted, and after much discussion, in which they ima-

gined many benefits they might derive from a prince born in Wales, they returned and agreed to submit. Accordingly the three Welsh principalities were merged into one, in consequence of which the coronet of the prince of Wales was mounted with three ostrich feathers. A lieutenant of Wales was however appointed, so that after all the making of the king's son prince was but a nominal thing. The office continued many years after the union, for Sir Philip Sidney was brought up in Wales, if not born there, in consequence of his father being lieutenant in the reign of Elizabeth, although the union was effected in the latter part of her father's reign; and it shows how little the generality of English writers know of political science, when they suppose that the conferring of the title of Prince of Wales on an infant nullified the terms enacted by the Welsh, while it is well known that all the benefits remained unimpaired in the complete independence of Wales from English legislation. In fact, under the circumstances, it was a great benefit to them, for it put an end to their continual wars among themselves and with England. The only benefit the kings of England received was to get rid of the terrible forayes they were continually making into England, and also they could always draw a body of hardy warriors to aid them in their wars, instead of having the country attacked by them whenever the English were in any trouble, as was always the case before. After settling the affairs of Wales, and cutting roads and building three or four great castles to keep them in order, which took twenty years of Edward's reign, he determined upon an expedition to France to recover the extensive territories which were lost there during his grandfather, king John's reign. For this purpose he raised a great army, and the English Parliament laid a tax on England and Wales, and Sir Roger de Puleston, with a company of publicans, was sent to Wales to collect the taxes, but the Welsh, who considered this an assumption of power by the English Parliament, were determined not to pay

it, nor suffer a precedent for exactions of the kind in future. They took Sir Roger and his company, and first hanged and then beheaded them, and prepared for war. Several of the English commanders hastened to put down the revolt, but were defeated, till the king came with the whole power of the kingdom, and routed the Welsh. But to collect a tax was another matter. This could not be done without calling at the houses in the principality, and being exposed to their arrows from behind every tree and rock, so no tax was ever paid till the union which was effected at the request of the Welsh. This fact may be learned from a speech of Lord Chatham, which may be found in many of our school books, in which that great statesman justifies the Americans, on the principle that representation and taxation were inseparable in the order of English legislation. This might have suited his purpose at the time, but it was not a principle either in the origin or action of the British House of Commons: so far as it was a principle of action, it was forced on them by the Welsh; and so far were the English, both government and people, from recognizing such a principle, that after 500 years they enacted laws to tax the colonies.

The reasoning of the Welsh at that time was precisely the same as that of the Americans at the time of the Revolution, and yet many Americans suppose that their revolution was the first that ever occurred on principle. If the Americans were to look narrowly into Welsh history, they would find that all the great principles of human rights ever advocated were well understood and acted out in Wales many centuries ago.

The above is a faithful account of what the English writers call the conquest of Wales.

LETTER VII.

DURING the period that intervened from Edward I. till the Tudors were placed on the English throne, the meanest of the English kings, in compliance with the wishes of the rapacious nobility and bigoted priests, were anxious to injure and oppress the Welsh; but such men as Edward III. and Henry V. always treated them with great indulgence, and they in return were the bravest of their troops, and served them most faithfully. Henry IV. was a bigoted papist, and prevailed on the Parliament to pass a law for burning heretics, under which many suffered in England; and the Welsh, under Owen, one of their chiefs, continued in rebellion all the days of Henry. Owen also dying soon after, Henry V. gave them honourable terms. How well he was rewarded let the result of the battle of Agincourt decide, for it was the audacious courage of the Welsh that raised the drooping spirits of the English, and it was their almost superhuman efforts that saved the king's life, when beset by overwhelming numbers of the bravest French warriors and knights, who had sworn to kill the king of England, take him prisoner, or perish in the attempt.

When the head of the house of York put in his claim for the throne, the Welsh, considering that the crown belonged of right to that branch, were nearly unanimous in their support. The consequence was, that the Yorkists, after many bloody battles, gained the day, and as king Edward IV. had received such effectual aid from them, he indulged them in all their predilections. Among other measures, he issued his mandate to convene the bards, which other kings tried

to suppress ; but when his two sons were murdered by Richard, and the throne usurped in violation of the rights of the princess Elizabeth, to whom the crown belonged on the death of her brother, it presented a different case ; and the same motives that induced them to join the Yorkists now led them to oppose Richard.

In addition to this, there was a young nobleman, descended from the ancient line of Welsh kings, by his paternal grandfather, and from the kings of France, by his grandmother, but his mother was a descendant of John O Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by the eldest of his illegitimate sons. The two rival houses of York and Lancaster had acted the part of the two celebrated Kilkenny cats, and had destroyed each other, except the tails ; for the rights of these two houses were vested in persons who had no power, while the usurper had the armies of England, and the Earl of Richmond the chief sympathy of the Welsh. The prostrate Lancasterians and disaffected Yorkists found there was no chance of ousting Richard but by proposing a marriage between the earl and the princess, who were of suitable age, and thereby raise the national enthusiasm of the Welsh.

The Welsh had always been inured to the practice of military weapons ; but in that dangerous time, having the confidence of the sovereign, they had turned their whole energies that way, so that in South Wales alone Sir Rice ap Thomas and other chiefs could bring out no less than 4000 horsemen, besides other forces, as well disciplined as any troops in Europe ; for Sir Rice ap Thomas had been captain of a troop, under the Duke of Burgundy, before he was twenty, and fell heir, by the death of his father, at that age, to a splendid estate and two stately castles. Sir Rice had taken the oath of allegiance to Richard, and would probably have remained in his interest had Richard acted with prudence ; but Richard also demanded Sir Rice's only son, a child of five years old, as hostage,

which the father declined, alleging the youth of the child. Richard, instead of promptly acquiescing, made no answer, which rendered Thomas's situation anything but pleasant. While he was musing on this subject, the Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Lewis, physician to the Queen Dowager (who also had been teacher of Sir Rice in his youth) and several others of his friends called and urged him to join the Earl. He was then preparing a powerful armament to chastise the Duke of Buckingham, on account of some personal insult; but as the Duke was then going on his desperate expedition against Richard, he agreed to desist, and, after much deliberation, determined to take part with the Earl. The news of Buckingham's disaster did not change his purpose, for in addition to his splendid squadron of 1000 horse, which had been twelve years in forming, he raised 2000 other troops, so that when the Earl arrived in Milford Haven, Sir Rice ap Thomas was there to receive him with 3000 troops. After settling the preliminaries, the Earl was proclaimed king of England, with the greatest enthusiasm. The English writers have been very kind to the Earl of Richmond in searching out the difficulties he laboured under in putting forth his claim to the throne of England; but he himself appears to have had no trouble on that head, for he claimed the crown by virtue of his descent from the ancient British or Welsh kings; and it mattered little to Harry whether he was descended from the kings or one of their footmen, so long as the historians made the people believe that he was really descended from their kings; hence, as soon as he landed, he unfurled the Welsh national standard, the Red Dragon.

The Earl with 2000 men, composed of French and Britons, set off for Shrewsbury, through Cardiganshire, having the river Tivy on the right; and Sir Rice ap Thomas, leaving 2000 men at home, set off through Caermarthenshire, having the same river on the left; but at the time he sent to all the chieftains

in the four eastern counties of South Wales, which lay on his right. These chiefs and their men came in such numbers that he was obliged to make a selection of the most athletic and best disciplined, so that when he found the Earl at Shrewsbury, he had under his command 3000 men, composing the flower and chivalry of South Wales. While these things were going on in South Wales, Sir William Stanley, Chamberlain of North Wales, raised 3000 men there, and Lord Talbot had recruited at Shrewsbury, where he collected a considerable body of English and Welsh, Shrewsbury being within twelve miles of the line of the middle principality of Wales, called Powys. Lord Stanley also collected several thousand men in Cheshire and Lancashire. Richard's adherents considered the French and Britons, who came with the Earl, as a rabble, (and they were not far wrong) and the men under Lord Stanley as the scum of England. The Stanleys were in a very peculiar situation, from the fact that Lord Strange, a son of Lord Stanley, was in Richard's power, therefore they could not take part in the fray till both parties were fully engaged.

In this last struggle between those rival houses matters were carried on very differently from what had ever occurred before. In former battles great multitudes of men, hastily raised and undisciplined, were engaged; in this the forces were not large; for Richard's army was composed of only 16,000 men, and all the Earl's partisans were but 14,000, only about one-half of whom were engaged in the beginning, and indeed it appears plain that these had virtually decided the battle against 11,000 of Richard's men, for as soon as his keepers learned that Richard was defeated, they left Stanley's son at liberty, which greatly added to the joy of the victors. Richard was anxious to kill him, but his partisans, fearful of the consequences, dissuaded him, saying that if he was victorious he could have time enough to avenge himself on all his enemies.

That the fate of Richard's army was decided before

Sir William Stanley came up with the North Welsh troops, is evident from the conduct of Richard, for he became desperate by seeing that his troops were mowed down by the opposite army, and seeing the Earl in an exposed situation, he, attended by numbers of his bravest companions, attempted to cut him off or perish in the effort; just at this point Sir William Stanley came in with the North Welsh forces, and killed Richard and his brave companions; and Lord Stanley seeing the fate of the day decided, also joined in the fray as if his son was then safe, there was no further danger to be apprehended on that head, and he joined his father soon after the battle.

The tales told by English historians about the multitudes killed by Richard are exceedingly amusing. The loss of the Earl's army has never been reckoned above 200 men, while Hume says that Richard's army lost 4000, or 20 to 1; and multitudes of those 200 killed by Richard himself. What poltroons must those 11,000 English troops have been thus to leave all the fighting and killing to their king.

No doubt the English under their various leaders were brave men and did their part, but the situation of the Stanleys was so trying, that the victory of Bosworth was decidedly gained by the noble and gallant body of troops brought by Sir Rice ap Thomas from South Wales. Such had been the military spirit in South Wales, that our historians say that the chief men of that district for some years before would give a whole farm for a fine horse, and that they imported and bred the finest horses that could be found; and there were no finer archers in the world than the people of that district.

The conclusion that I have come to is, that God was about to destroy the power of the papacy in Britain, as he destroyed the pagan power in the Roman empire, and in order to do this it suited his exalted purpose to use the Welsh as his instruments by which the dynasty was changed, and a family was placed on

the throne having the feelings and traditions of the Welsh, which had always been inimical to the Pope's supremacy. The Welsh national standard continued to be the standard of the kingdom for thirty-nine years, but in the fifteenth year of Henry the VIII. the English standard was restored.

Sir Rice ap Thomas was then thirty-three years of age. He was knighted on the field of Bosworth, and the splendid estate that formerly belonged to the princes of South Wales was bestowed upon him, together with Dinevor castle, their residence, then in ruins; and his descendants are still in possession with the title of Lord or Baron Dinevor, a peer of the realm.

Besides these honours he was made Lieutenant of Wales, the Lord of Narberth and a dozen other offices and dignities. With these large revenues he maintained such retinues of horsemen and other dependents, as appeared more like a sovereign prince than a private person; and this too under a king who took every means to repress other nobles. He died at the age of seventy-six, leaving a large number of children, on all of whom he bestowed valuable estates.

The consequence was that a new element was infused into the English population of hotter blood than ever was infused before. I need only mention Cromwell and Milton, and Harrison, and Dr. Owen, Admiral Penn, and Kiffin, the Baptist minister and princely merchant of London, and many others, besides the Tudor race themselves, who were too haughty to suffer the insolence of the Pope and his partisans, and too talented to be circumvented by them.

The name of the Cromwells was Williams, for Morgan Williams, son of the Lord of Cardigan, married a sister of Lord Thomas Cromwell. The tyrant Henry the VIII. beheaded Lord Cromwell, and created Williams, Baron Cromwell—from him in a direct line the Protector descended.

Admiral Penn was a descendant of John Tudor, a

relative of the kingly race of that name. His estate in Anglesea was called Penmynydd. One of the kings presented Tudor with an estate in Ireland. After residing there a while he returned, and was created Sir John Penn, after his estate, and not by his family name. Tudor is a Welsh corruption of Theodore, so that but for kingly caprice the name of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania would have been in plain English, William Theodore!

I see also that Lewis Morris, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, claimed descent from the illustrious prince of South Wales, Rhys ap Tewdwr, in English, Rees, son of Theodore, and of course of Howell the last Welsh legislator. There are numbers of families in Wales descended from king Brennus, who brought the gospel to Britain, whose descent is well known. Thus while the Cæsars are lost, and most of the great oppressors of mankind, the words of God to Moses are verified, that he visited the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of them that hated him, and showed mercy to thousands (of generations,) of them that loved him and kept his commandments.

It is not intended by the writer of these articles to show that the Welsh are superior in all respects to other nations; they are not any better than they ought to be, nor as good as they might be. Nevertheless, they understood that truth was in its nature immutable, that it was the duty of all men to seek after and to receive the truth, and admitted the right of all men to act according to the requirements of truth. How they came by such principles which no other people understood, is more than I can comprehend, unless they retained it by tradition from the immediate descendants of Noah, and I suspect this was the case; therefore, I have always ascribed it to certain rays of divine light retained among them by tradition.

The account I have given is far more honourable to the English than that given by their own writers, for

there is no accounting for that tremendous war-spirit that took possession of the Welsh, but on the idea of some great design of the Almighty, nor of the infatuation that possessed so united a people as the English, which resulted in the destruction of upwards of eighty persons of royal blood, the flower of the nobility and free population of England, bringing them almost upon a level with the Welsh in point of real power for the time being, and opening the way to place the descendant of a bastard on a throne.

LETTER VIII.

THERE is nothing that the English writers are more prone to do, than to charge the Welsh with superstition. I never could account for this notion, unless it is that the superstitions of the Welsh are different from those of the English, in which case, of course, they appear more absurd. All nations have their superstitions, and the Welsh are not exempt: the main difference is that Welsh superstitions are far less harmful, and more confined to the ignorant and uneducated classes, which are very few in Wales.

The most formidable characters are the fairies, and there is also a light called corpse candles, which trace the road a funeral takes from the bed of the deceased to the grave. These objects have no necks to be strangled, nor tongues to be bored with hot irons, so there is not an instance recorded in all I have read about Wales, where any person was charged with bad practices before any tribunal in these undefinable crimes. As for witchcraft, there has been a belief in it to a considerable extent, but I am of the opinion that it was not connected with Druidism, but that it came in with Popery. One thing I have noticed in the Welsh, that the poets, and ministers, and all civil magistrates, have always been wonderfully clear of superstition.

I will give a relation of a few facts, which will show the spirit of the Welsh. The celebrated Jeremy Taylor was obliged to leave England on account of the persecutions of the English revolutionists. He fled to Wales, and was kindly received by Mr. Vaughan of Golden Grove, (Lord Carberry;) his enemies from England followed him, and brought him before the court as

an enemy of the existing government ; but the Welsh judges quashed the whole proceeding, believing it to be a false charge ; but the poetry of the matter is, that the author of Taylor's biography takes occasion from this circumstance to magnify the liberality of the English. Taylor married a wife worth some property in Wales, and this may have contributed to some portion of his liberality.

A few years after, the Rev. Vavasor Powell, a Baptist minister, who had been one of the commissioners under Cromwell, was brought before one of the petty courts in which three magistrates sit to decide certain matters. Some of the partisans of the restored government brought Mr. Powell before them, and he was committed to prison to abide the decision of the court of Quarter Sessions. There were sixteen bailiffs and other persons present, whose duty it was to do the bidding of the magistrates. All but one refused, and he, after staying all night at Mr. Powell's house, which was near the road, made off in the morning, leaving the prisoner at his own house. Lest the man should be liable to punishment, Mr. Powell entered security for his appearance, but when he appeared the judges quashed the whole proceeding, and made great friendship with Mr. Powell, inviting him to a public dinner to take place after the adjournment of the court. I do not wish to draw invidious comparisons, but these matters were in perfect contrast to the conduct of Sir Matthew Hale towards John Bunyan ; and about one hundred and twenty years after, three Baptist ministers were brought before a court in Virginia on a charge of vagrancy, and were only delivered by the interference of Patrick Henry.

There were imprisonments and fines in Wales, under the act of uniformity, but when I read the history of the reigns of the Stuarts, by Macaulay, and compare the cruelties exercised in England and Scotland with what transpired in Wales, it is hard to conceive that the different regions were under the same government,

for when the magistrates were in a manner compelled to commit persons to prison, they would go again in a few days with tears and release them, telling them they knew they were suffering for righteousness' sake. Although the Welsh were generally very liberal, there were some villains who made themselves busy in prosecuting the non-conformists.

One case is the best commentary I ever saw on the parable of the unjust judge, and on that account I will relate it. A wealthy man had been very busy in the work of persecution, but had the misfortune to offend a very wicked woman. Whenever she met him, she abused him without stint or measure. The man at length fell sick with chagrin at the annoyance, and soon died, but the woman was not satisfied, till one day she entered the graveyard, and abused even his grave, which last act appeased her vengeance. When any misfortune happened to the persecutors, it was always pointed at by the most ungodly as a judgment from the Almighty, and grave writers on history tell us that these persecutors often came to a bad end, and without supposing any direct judgment, it is quite credible that wretches who could set the light and liberality of the Welsh at defiance, could not be far from perdition.

I will now turn to a more pleasing subject. About the year 1708, three years before Abel Morgan left Wales, a young man of the name of Enoch Francis, nineteen years of age, began to preach in the Baptist church at New Castle Emlyn, and in a few years fully made up for the loss of Abel Morgan, for besides serving the church at New Castle, he served its four branches, being aided by other ministers of less talent; and besides these labours he took his round every year to visit every Baptist church in the principality. His appearance was hailed everywhere as an occasion of joy, not only by his brethren the Baptists, but by other denominations, and by all classes of people. He possessed a mind of the highest order, and a constitution of the firmest sort; in fact his body and mind were both

cast in nature's finest mould ; although rather grave in his manner, yet he was a most pleasing companion. In his fiftieth year he lost his wife, who left six children, three sons and three daughters. About six months after, he set out for his regular tour to visit the churches, but when he had got as far as Fishguard in Pembrokeshire, he was taken sick of a fever, and died in two weeks. His wife had been buried at Kilvowyr, about twenty miles from the place where he died, and as soon as the news of his death was heard, the people in every parish, without distinction, made arrangements to carry his corpse through their own territory on a bier ; this was in the month of February, 1740, and the roads were lined by the people, who came many miles to look at the mournful procession.

Our historians say, that the sensation and deep sorrow which prevailed through all South Wales, was almost incredible. Many elegies were written and printed. But the one that is preserved by Mr. Thomas in his history of the Baptists, was made by Rev. Jenkin Thomas, pastor of the Independent church at Trewen, within a mile of New Castle ; he was nephew of Abel Morgan, and Dr. Richards says never had his superior in Wales as a poet, and was also a distinguished scholar. Such was the bard who composed the immortal elegy on Enoch Francis. A Mr. Jones published an edition of Thomas's history in 1839, continued ; but Mr. Thomas was much abridged. That elegy, although pretty long, is kept entire. In it the poet expresses the greatest admiration of his personal appearance, his fidelity to the cause of his Redeemer, and his splendid talents. He speaks of him as a husbandman and sower of seeds, as a shepherd, as a distributor of wealth, as a warrior, all in the finest strains of poetry, and then represents all the churches of the Baptists in Wales in different attitudes of mourning, in which he evinces the richest display of language ; and then exhibits his brethren in the ministry, in the fields, and on the walls of Zion, shedding the briny tears for their friend ; and

speaks of his published works and his orphan children, on whom he invokes the richest blessings of heaven; and finally speaks of his burial along with his lovely partner and many pleasant brethren; but his faithful soul had ascended to happy heaven to dwell in the presence of his God. This happened one hundred years almost before Messrs. Cox and Hoby wrote "The Baptists in America," yet they say that at that time the Baptists were looked upon as interlopers in many parts of England.

Mr. Francis had a cousin in the ministry, Abel Francis. Jonathan Francis, his eldest son, was long a faithful minister. Jonathan Francis had a son, Enoch Francis, pastor of a Baptist church at Exeter, England; the Rev. T. Boyce, of London, and Rev. William Strawbridge, well known to many in Philadelphia, were baptized at Exeter on the same day by the younger E. Francis. Nathaniel, the second son, a pious and promising youth, died at eighteen. One of his daughters married Rev. Stephen Davis, pastor of one of the Baptist churches in Caermarthen, who was also a man of considerable distinction in society as to wealth and influence; the Rev. Stephen Davis of Clonmel, Ireland, a missionary on behalf of the Irish Baptist Society, was, or is, a grandson of Rev. Stephen Davis above mentioned. Dr. Burchell some time ago gave an account of eight or ten of the most eminent Baptist ministers in England. I observed that the name of John Davis, son of the last Stephen Davis, was one of them. Mr. Francis's two other daughters were eminent Christians, and in prosperous circumstances, but the most eminent of his family after himself was Rev. Benjamin Francis of Horsley, in Gloucestershire, a fine poet. Several of his hymns are in Rippon's selection, and one or two in the Psalmist. His Welsh hymns are pretty numerous, numbering some hundreds, but in his English hymns he is rather too apt to use superlatives, a common fault with Welshmen in composing English poetry, because there is a copiousness of mean-

ing in Welsh words that a person acquainted only with the English cannot imagine.

It is impossible to conceive of a more pleasing circumstance, than a whole people in deep lamentation for a pious and unassuming Christian minister, especially of a sect everywhere else spoken against. It was a bitter lamentation of the prophet, "the righteous man dieth and no man layeth it to heart, that before the evil days the righteous are removed." Such was not the case in Wales when Enoch Francis died; the churches and the people generally thought that the loss could not be made up; but a young man named Timothy Thomas had commenced just before his death in the same church, scarcely inferior to Francis; and shortly after, his brother, Joshua Thomas, the historian; and a few years after, Zechariah Thomas, the younger brother, and many others in different parts of the principality. The above three brothers were all able men. Timothy died under fifty, being the third eminent minister raised in New Castle church, who died under fifty years, or in the fiftieth year, viz: Abel Morgan, Enoch Francis, and Timothy Thomas, the last died in 1768; Joshua about 1796, and Zechariah in 1817, after sixty years of faithful and able ministerial service. There were two ministers in London, sons of the two elder Thomases; Thomas of Peckham, and Thomas of Devonshire Square. Dr. Thomas, who went to India with Carey, was a son of one of them. There was an eminent minister, a son of one of the three brothers, in Wales, and the present pastor of the Baptist church at New Castle Emlyn, is one of their descendants, an able and worthy man, also named Timothy Thomas. I know no more of the history of this most worthy family, which produced so many able and faithful ministers, every one of whom adorned the doctrines of God our Saviour, by living a life unblemished!

There was also Thomas Evans, a minister who commenced about 1653, who had among his descendants about twelve, or at least ten ministers, many of them

very able; two are well known: Rev. Hugh Evans, A. M., principal of the Bristol Academy, and Rev. Caleb Evans, D. D., his successor, the same who died in 1791, having survived his father only about nine years. I have now given an account of the four most distinguished races of ministers among the Modern Welsh Baptists, viz: the family of Thomas Evans, and of Morgan Rhyddereh, and of his wife by the second husband, also of the Francises and the Thomases.

The Methodists, of the Calvinistic order, arose in Wales about the time of the great lamentation for the loss of Enoch Francis. Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris, Howell Davis, Peter and William Williams, David Morris, and many others arose among them, mostly men of fine education and eminent talents, and unblemished reputation. When a people have the grace to value the gospel, the Lord is sure to raise Shepherds to feed his flock. There arose many also among the Independents.

LETTER IX.

I HAVE mentioned, in a former article, that a letter was written by Aldelm, a Saxon abbot, to the Prince of Cornwall, which exhibits, in clear terms, the notions of the Saxons of those times, about the Christian religion, as well as the religious sentiments of the Welsh at that time, 692.

“To the glorious Lord Gurentius, King of the Western Kingdom, whom I embrace with brotherly love, and also all the ministers of God in Cornwall, to whom I desire the salvation of the Lord.

“When the ministers of England met in convention, and taking counsel for the good of all the churches, they desired me, unworthy as I am, to write unto you to implore you that you do not break the union of the universal church ; and that you do not embrace thoughts inconsistent with the Christian faith, and by that means deprive yourself of everlasting happiness.

“We have heard that there are ministers in your kingdom who reject the tonsure of Peter, prince of the apostles, and that they defend themselves by saying that they cut their hair as their fathers did, who were eminent in grace ; but they don't know that it was Simon the Sorcerer, who was the inventor of their tonsure, and that St. Peter is the author of the tonsure in use among us, and that it was ordained by him in the church for weighty considerations ; and there is among you another custom—more dangerous to the souls of men,—that you don't observe Easter at the time appointed by the Council of Nice, and in the manner of the Church of Rome. Beside this scandal, there is another thing in which the ministers of South Wales have departed from the common faith ; they think themselves so holy that they will not hold fellowship with us, neither will they unite with us in prayers, and will not commune with us

at the table ; and so abominable are we in their sight, that they will not drink out of the same cup without first scouring the cup.

“ This conduct is so opposed to the spirit of the gospel, that it calls for repentance and the deepest mourning ; and, inasmuch as these things are true, we desire you, in the humblest manner, and we charge you as you desire to attain to glory, that you no longer hate the doctrines and the rules of the blessed apostle Peter, nor hold in contempt the traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome ; because Christ said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and on this rock I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it ; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. If Peter, therefore, has obtained the keys of the kingdom of heaven, who that despise the ordinances of the church can be so presumptuous as to expect to go in through the gate into the paradise of God ? for if Peter received the power to loose and authority to bind in heaven and on earth, how can those that do not observe Easter, or wear the tonsure appointed by the Church of Rome, expect to be freed from their sins ?

“ It is in vain that the ministers of Wales excuse and defend themselves by saying that they reverence, from their hearts all the commandments and rules of the Old and New Testament, and that they believe with all their hearts that the Godhead exists in three persons, and is yet one infinite God ; and that they preach to the people the mystery of the incarnation, the death, the resurrection, and ascension of Christ ; and publish with diligence that there is a judgment to come, when all men shall be weighed in the balance, and receive according to their works ; but that they hope, by faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to appear among his holy followers at his right hand in glory.

“ But this can avail them nothing, so long as they remain out of the communion of the Holy General

Church. In a word; vain is the faith of that man who does not obey all the commands of St. Peter, because the foundation of the Church and the strength of faith rest chiefly on Christ, and consequently on St. Peter."

Here we have the fundamental principles of the faith of both Saxons and Welsh in the year 692, and that from the pen of Aldehn, one of the great lights of the Saxon church. From this it would appear that Peter was an adept at cropping hair. Cropping the cranium, and close attention to the decree of the Council of Nice, and conformity to Rome, were the principles of Saxon Christianity; while the Old and New Testaments were the guides of the Welsh, and their reliance on the works and merits of our Redeemer, through faith in him. And they continued steadfast for near a century after—altogether, seven hundred years, without the least deviation from the truth. And to me it is abundantly clear, that they were as correct at the close of the ninth century, as the continental churches generally were at the close of the second, thus having the advantage of seven hundred years in primitive times.

During all this time Druidism continued, and the Druids received their accustomed revenues; and this continued till the final subversion of their independence. To that cause, probably, may be ascribed the long purity of the Christian church, as there was no temptation thrown in the way of the Pagan priests to make a hypocritical profession of Christianity for the sake of worldly gain; and the worst punishment pronounced upon sinners by the Druids, was a return for a while to a lower grade of existence—to return to manhood, after suffering proper punishment, and finally arrive at heaven. Men in love with sin, will pursue it with an eternal hell in view, and some will stultify themselves by wresting the Scriptures to universalism. Druidism was a relief to both such classes, and probably saved the Christian Church, much as culverts do large cities.

LETTER X.

As everything connected with the state of religion in Britain, during the middle ages, will be interesting to the reader, I will give a short account of the most eminent Lollards, who were cotemporary with Wickliff, or a few years after him. The most distinguished, in some respects, was Sir John Oldecastle, a Welshman, and a native of the county of Monmouth. His Welsh estate was called Castell Hen; in English, Oldecastle. He married the Lady Cobham, and hence bore the title of Lord Cobham. Henry V. was born in the town of Monmouth, while his parents resided there. Sir John was his boon companion, while he was Prince of Wales; but as soon as the prince became king, he renounced his old habits, and his friend became a Lollard. They had been great friends, and were both possessed of fine talents, and very brave. The worst features in Henry's character were his popish bigotry and love of war, both of which his able but vicious father had taken pains to instil into him. As soon as the noble Welshman had embraced the pure religion of our Saviour, he used all diligence in spreading the knowledge of the truth; and, being a rich man, he kept about twenty pious men employed in teaching the principles of Christianity throughout the dioceses of Rochester, London, and Hereford. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, accused him of heresy; but the king, from his friendship for Oldecastle, would not suffer him to be molested till he had some conversation with him, during which the good man told the king that he believed the pope was the beast of Revelation, which filled the king with horror, and, finding him unshaken, he gave him up to his enemies, who sent him

a prisoner to the tower; but he escaped into Wales, where he remained in safety four years. The wily priests finding there was small prospect of getting him into their power from a country where there was no law against heresy, charged him with treason, that being a crime in Wales as well as in England. On that false charge he was arrested by Lord Powys, and taken to London, where he was hung by a chain over a slow fire till he died. So much for the tender mercies of popery. It is doubtful whether Lord Powys believed a word of the charge, and by arresting that distinguished Christian he brought an awful stigma on his own character.

Walter Brute was the fellow-student of Wickliff, and all Welsh historians assert that there were several Welsh students who associated with Wickliff and Brute, and were of the same way of thinking. On one point, however, they disagree, some of them saying Wickliff learned his Lollardism from the Welsh students; but Mr. Peter ascribes their conversion to Wickliff. But from the history of Brute, he appears, in all respects, to have been as distinguished a man as Wickliff; as to his personal qualities, Mr. Peter says, he opposed the taking of oaths, transubstantiation, paying tithes, the absolution of sins by the pope and priests, and said that the pope was antichrist and a deceiver. He was a man of distinguished family, a fine preacher, and preached extensively, and taught many persons of all classes. I ought to have said that Baptist writers assert that he opposed infant baptism. Brute was called before the Bishop of Hereford, and made a most noble defence, but escaped, after which nothing is said of him. The fact appears to be, that when the Welsh Lollards found that there were great storms gathering, they remained quiet in the remote regions among the Black Mountains. There was no law against them in Wales; but there was danger of the kings of England bringing an overwhelming force to destroy

them; and they probably would have done that, had not the Welsh chieftains found it to their interest to encourage Druidism and Lollardism as antagonistic to popery, as the papists were always inimical to that spirit of independence which the Welsh chiefs invariably maintained in their lowest state. But when there was any movement in England, there was always a corresponding one in Wales. That the Welsh Lollards took pains to hide themselves in time of danger is certain; and this is so obvious, that the Rev. J. Tustin, in his historical discourse, delivered when he was pastor of the church at Warren, Rhode Island, notices the fact, and says, that the difficulty of tracing the history of the Welsh Lollards arose from the circumstance; that it was their policy to conceal themselves. Mr. Tustin wrote exceedingly correct on the history of the Welsh.

Another cotemporary with Brute was an eminent poet and divine, who wrote several theological works. His name was John; but he was called John Kent, on account of his frequent and long visits to Kent Chester, the residence of Mr. Scudamore, son-in-law to the renowned chieftain Owen Glendower; and he was a friend of the great chief himself. He is often called Dr. Kent; but what was the nature of his doctorate I never could learn. It does not appear he was a preacher; but as he knew more than most men of his time, he was accused by the stupid papists of holding intercourse with the devil. He and Brute were Silurians (the eastern district of South Wales).

Cotemporary with these was David Ddu, or the Black of Cardiganshire, in Dimetia, the south-western district. He was also a poet and a learned man; he translated large portions of the Bible into the Welsh language. But a monk, Thomas Evan ab Rhys, appears to have preached very extensively, and was sometimes obliged to sleep in the open air, being denied the rights of hospitality in a country noted for hospitable

people; and the revival of religion was such that many of the monks of Margam, in Glamorganshire, left the monastery to spread a pure gospel.

Reginauld Peacock was a native of Carmarthen-shire. He was five years Bishop of St. Asaph, in Wales; but in 1444 he was removed to Chichester, in England, and there he taught publicly many things directly opposed to popery. His teaching gave no offence in Wales; but in England the Church became alarmed, and Peacock was summoned to appear before the archbishop, when he defended himself with great ability, courage, and patience; but, being condemned as an abettor of the doctrines of Wickliff, he was confined all his life in the monastery of Thorney, in Worestershire, with strict orders to the abbot not to allow him any writing materials, lest he should injure the Church by his writings. All the books allowed him were the Bible and mass book.

About the year 1350, William De Breton (or William the Welshman, in plain English,) wrote a work on the Bible, to explain all the difficult passages. When Erasmus published his first edition of the Bible, he left out the passage in the first epistle of St. John, "There are three that bear record in heaven," &c. Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, attacked him, and produced the authority of De Breton for the genuineness of the passage, and, in consequence, Erasmus restored it in his next edition; but the genuineness of the passage has been proved within a few years from works much more ancient than De Breton's.

Upon mature consideration, I have come to the conclusion that Lollardism in Wales did not arise from the labours of Wickliff; but that the Welsh Lollards, finding that the Dukes of Lancaster and Northumberland, Lord Clifford, and other distinguished men in England favoured those views, they put forth greater exertions; but when persecution arose in England they made themselves less conspicuous.

From that time till the Reformation they made no

extensive efforts to spread their tenets; and when the Germans and other nations began to move, the Welsh continued for some years quiet; but the reformers rallied them by telling them how their ancestors opposed the papacy more firmly than any other people, and now, when all other nations were moving, they were doing nothing. This had the desired effect, for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, popery is spoken of by Welsh writers as a defunct system. The edicts of kings and parliaments have but small influence on the minds of the Welsh; the appeal must be to their reason. Sir James Mackintosh said that the common people of Scotland were always what the lords and barons were in religion; but this has never been the case in Wales, for there has always been there a large body of men in the common ranks of life who had greater influence on the public mind in religious matters.

Mr. Peter, like other historians, stops to survey the ground in the reign of Henry VII., and says Wales then abounded in learned men; and the reign of Queen Elizabeth was the Augustan age of Welsh literature, as there were in that reign upwards of forty men of independent means, who devoted all their time to the cultivation of the muses, besides a great number of people of the humbler classes. Archdeacon Prys, of Merioneth, produced a metrical version of the Psalms, superior to that of the English or Scotch; and Captain William Middleton, brother of Sir Hugh, who brought the new river water to London, produced another metrical version, in the highest metres known in Welsh poetry. This work was composed on board of a man-of-war, which he commanded; the Middletons were natives of Denbighshire. At the same time a new translation of the Bible was made, in which some of the faults in the English translation were avoided, and is altogether considered a very excellent translation.

LETTER XI.

AS MANY men of eminent abilities have written on the revelations of Daniel and John, it would appear almost presumption in an humble individual to attempt to give any new light on the subject; "but there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." "Great men are not always wise." Of this last position we have abundant testimony in the writings of various men of great fame for learning and wisdom, in their remarks on the prophetic Scriptures; but whether I can give any additional light on the subject must be left to the judgment of the reader.

That we have every encouragement to read and study the book of the Revelations is evident from the introduction, for it is said to be "the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to make known unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass;" and in the outset there is a blessing pronounced on all who read and heard the words of the prophecy and kept the things written therein. I cannot conceive a better antidote against the various errors that have been propagated, especially those of the Papacy, than a clear understanding of the book of Revelations. The descriptions given there of the Papacy, and of the powers of the earth who were and are yet its supporters, are so graphic that it is a mystery to me how any man of sound mind, and to any considerable degree acquainted with the history of twelve or thirteen centuries past, can fail to understand its allusions.

But there is one page in the history of our race that has never yet been investigated, and till that is pro-

perly examined there will be a dark spot in the best expositions of the Revelations, which will disfigure it almost as much as if a limner were to draw a picture of "the human face divine," and leave a black spot where the nose ought to be. The page I allude to is the history of Wales. The eyes of all commentators have been so intensely engaged in viewing the actions of the mighty powers of Europe and other great divisions of our planet, that they have entirely overlooked the principality of Wales; as if the importance of a region or a nation, in prophetic developments, depended upon geographical extent, or the number of bipeds who contrived to get a subsistence there. If such were the case Judea would have cut a sorry figure in the history of our world, and China must have absorbed as great a share as is sometimes exhibited in their own maps of the world.

But I apprehend that extent of land and the multitude of people are small matters in the estimation of prophets, and of Him who has given them inspiration. "Them that honour me will I honour; but them that hate me shall be lightly esteemed." This is the great principle by which the importance of a people ought to be estimated by all who undertake to explain the prophetic Scriptures. The notoriety which is attached to wicked men in prophecy, arises from the necessity of the case, and not from the complacency of God towards them. Their prominence is the result of their enmity against the people and cause of the Redeemer, and the injuries they have inflicted upon the human race; the result will be that "they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh." This will be the result to wicked men and wicked nations—especially the Papacy, and all those nations founded on the ruins of the Roman Empire, "who agreed to give their strength and power to the beast in wearing out the saints of the Most High."

Nothing can be more plain than that the pure church of our Redeemer was to find protection and a

safe asylum during the twelve hundred and sixty years designated as the reign of the beast; for it is said that the woman, even the same that brought forth the male child or male son, had wings of a great eagle given her, that she might fly into the wilderness to a place which God had prepared for her. And it is emphatically called her place; and it is said that she should be fed there, and also that she should be nourished there, from the face of the serpent, or, in other words, out of his reach, and beyond his power to hurt. It is strange that so many eminent writers have attempted to explain the prophetic Scriptures without once stopping to inquire whether there was a civil state in Europe that never submitted to the Papacy, so far as to obey its dictates in the enforcement of its claims to universal control over the human mind, in matters of religious belief; and yet there was such a state in close vicinity to one of its most powerful supporters.

In my letters on the "History of Wales," I have shown that there is no evidence that there ever was a law there to make religious belief penal; but that two systems of religion did exist there, both in a great measure supported by certain revenues and the bestowments of land; that all honours and dignities attached to these systems were free from the control of the civil power; so that, in fact, the civil power was only a rampart thrown around them to defend them from external violence. I have also shown that multitudes of the primitive Christians fled there in the early ages, and found protection and a safe asylum. I have also shown that about the same year that the Papacy received its final establishment by the decree of Phocas, the Saxons, at the instigation of Austin or Augustin, the Pope's legate, came with a powerful army, for the purpose of destroying the primitive churches (over three hundred in number) then existing there; and that, after destroying the great college of Bangor Iscoed, they were defeated by the princes

of Wales, aided by the prince of Cornwall. Now this was a plain fulfilment of the prophecy that the serpent should send water as a flood out of her mouth to carry away the church, and of the earth, or secular power, swallowing that flood. The English writers have mentioned this invasion of Wales and the destruction of Bangor; but I never saw, in any of them, any account of the defeat of the Saxons very soon after by the Welsh. Had both sides of the story been told, it might have enlightened the minds of commentators, in some degree, on the twelfth chapter of Revelations, the latter part of which has been so far a blank to all commentators.

I have also shown, that in the time evangelical religion was lowest in Wales, Lollardism was so prevalent that it was characteristic of the people. In those times Lollardism and pure Christianity were synonymous terms; and I can bear testimony that the most enlightened preachers and writers in Wales, whenever the subject comes in the way, always exult in the fact that Wales and the Welsh people have been more especially blessed with the knowledge of salvation than any other people; and this is not a vain boast, but from a full knowledge of historical facts, which prove to a demonstration that pure Christianity existed there in a more eminent degree than it did in any other country.

The ablest minds have been engaged in its defence, to the exclusion of almost all other subjects—except such as tended to promote it, or the education of the people. Kings and princes might die, and nations might rise or fall with little notice; but when an eminent and faithful minister of Christ died, even of the sect everywhere else spoken against, the loss would fill the minds of the great mass of the population with the most profound regret. The finest strains of poetry, of the ablest minds in the principality, were called into requisition; and this not alone in the case of Enoch Francis, whom I have mentioned, but many

others; and this, too, when persecution was rife, not only in Europe, but also in many of the English colonies in America.

I am free to admit that a connected history of the Baptist churches cannot be traced in Wales, but there are many facts of history that indicate very clearly that such was the case. The circumstances I have stated in former articles about the Cor, or circuit system which prevailed in the early ages, was also in being among the Baptist churches in Wales till very lately, and is not yet entirely abolished. Dr. Rippon, of London, issued for a number of years, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a yearly periodical, called *Rippon's Register*, in which there were accounts of the Welsh Baptist Associations. Our late respected sister Mustin once favoured me with the loan of several of them. In these may be found the Church of Kilvowyr, with eight pastors, and Llanglofian, with about seven, and others with lesser numbers; now these churches had about as many meeting-houses and congregations as there were pastors, and there was no evidence that there was any design to imitate the primitive churches in this sort of order; but the fact of such close resemblance gives countenance to a general belief among the Welsh Baptists, that their order continued in regular succession from the early primitive churches. Popery made great strides there during the middle ages, and the control of the ecclesiastical property fell into the power of the papists. But as there was no law to enforce Popish dogmas, and the poets and literati of Wales were, to a considerable extent, inclined to Lollardism and Druidism, associations of pure Christians might and probably did exist. Nevertheless they found it expedient to avoid any great notoriety; they had all the enmity of the Papists, and, since 1284, were subject to the kings of England. Hence it was that the earliest Baptists were found in remote valleys, at a distance from large towns, and this is a strong presumption that they were

not raised through any foreign agency, but were indigenous.

Although the Baptist churches were independent, yet an independent church of that order sometimes had eight or ten congregations; hence I conclude that purely Independent or Congregational order was rather an English than a Welsh institution; for a question was once sent from Wales to an English Association, which met at Bristol, whether it was right for a church to divide when it had become so many congregations as to make it a serious inconvenience? The answer was that they should by all means divide, and establish those branches as independent churches. This shows that the Welsh Baptists did not consider themselves in any degree superior in wisdom to their English brethren; and it has been in a great measure by the advice and influence of the English that the Welsh Baptists have given up the circuit system; and yet within ten years I read a statistical account of about fifty branches, many of them having larger congregations and better houses of worship than the mother churches.

The Independents and Calvinistic Methodists are each more numerous than the Baptists in Wales, and there is a considerable body of Wesleyan Methodists, and some good congregations in the Established Church; but as I am upon the perpetuity of a pure church, both in doctrines and ordinances, I speak of the only body that has any reasonable claim to antiquity in its present organization: for it can hardly be asserted that either Daniel Rowland and his coadjutors, who raised the Calvinistic Methodists, or Bryan and other men who, after the death of Mr. Wesley, propagated his sentiments in Wales, were in their present organization a succession of the primitive church. That they constitute a part of the genuine church of our Redeemer, as now existing, there is no doubt, as many of them are true Christians; and if a member of a Baptist church is not a Christian he is not Christ's; in this respect these denominations are on equal terms. But my subject is

the preservation of a pure church in some wild country, during the last 1250 years, under complete protection, and distinguished in the Revelations from the two witnesses who prophesied in sackcloth, and distinct also from "the remnant of her seed," who still continued in those regions whence the church had fled after she had reached her asylum, and on whom the serpent wreaked his vengeance when he could not reach the mother. That the Holy Spirit makes a distinction between these different bodies of true believers, appears to me abundantly plain, notwithstanding the mass of confusion in which all commentators I ever saw involve the subject.

Much has been said of the Reformation, and it was a glorious event; but did the Germans, or the Swiss, or French, or Danes, or Swedes, preserve evangelical religion? I apprehend that there was in Great Britain a degree of energy in the mind and clearness of perception into the nature of gospel truth not known in any of those regions; and there is no part of Britain that can claim to be the Wilderness of Revelation but Wales, for sufficient reasons, viz., that the pure gospel church was cruelly persecuted both in England and Scotland for many centuries, and as for Switzerland, there is not unrestrained liberty of conscience there even in the present day. The Baptist churches in the United States are for the most part the successors of the original Welsh churches, and founded upon the same platform as the English and Welsh Baptists. For that reason I am inclined to believe that the vision in the 12th of Revelations was not intended to exhibit the state of the whole Christian church, but to show how God preserved the true church, (I mean that body which preserved the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel through all ages) till the Lord should destroy every enemy of his church. And I have no doubt that all vestiges of popery will be swept away, and the millennial church will recognize its descent through Wales; for both history and prophecy point directly in that way; for in no other country did the pure gospel

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church receive toleration, much less food and nourishment, for many centuries.

As for what is said of the coming of "the Pilgrims" to New England, it was a thousand years too late. That was an important event; it would have been still more interesting had those Pilgrims been generally better examples of the Christian character; but they were cruel persecutors, and "the woman" was not therefore a persecutor, but one seeking protection from persecution.

LETTER XII.

As there has been considerable pains taken of late by men of different denominations to prove a regular succession from the primitive church, I think it is a question that will bear examination; and I think also that there is in the Scriptures good ground to sustain the position, that the pure apostolic church was to be perpetuated, and this too so far as that God has regarded a certain set of Christian people as the true succession of the original primitive church; and this too while there were many faithful Christians in other countries, and persons regarded as true witnesses for the truth, and as much loved by the Lord as any; and I believe there was a region where this church existed throughout all ages, and that it was the purpose of God to preserve it as the seed from which the millennial church was to proceed. I believe also, that there was a region where there existed certain principles and predilections more favourable to the preservation of evangelical truth than other countries. If this was not the case, what reason was there for saying that God had prepared a place for the church, where they should feed and nourish her from the face of the serpent? I apprehend that there is an important meaning in these words—"from the face of the serpent"—that it signifies out of the serpent's power. I think, also, that food and nourishment have their importance. I feel very confident that the most faithful of our ministers feel the benefit of such things; compared with the blessings of salvation, pork and potatoes are very mean things, and yet such mean things are sometimes very convenient to the most eminent saints.

When we look at the prophecies, and read of a wo-

man clothed with the sun, having the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars, it is hard to descend in our mind from the contemplation of such splendid beauty, and realize that this was only a figure of the church on earth, and that this church is composed of men and women compassed about with many infirmities; and yet of such materials is the church composed. The error of commentators generally, is that they look upon the church described in the prophecies as a sort of abstraction; and on this account they talk about the church going into obscurity. But where is obscurity? They have never yet told us what is its length and breadth, its latitude or longitude, or whether the soil will produce food for men and women, or whether it is level or fertile, or wild and mountainous. The Revelator tells us that the woman (meaning the church composed of men and women,) fled into a place in the wilderness. It was at least a wild region, but capable of supporting men and women. These were not missionaries going to pagan lands to propagate the truth, but pious Christians flying to some place of refuge from the reach of enemies who were seeking to destroy them.

And inasmuch as English commentators have never told us the whereabouts of obscurity, where they all consign the flying church, I will give them a description of the wilderness. The whole of it lays east of the fifth degree of west longitude from Greenwich, and between the parallels of fifty-one and fifty-three degrees of north latitude, comprising an area of 8500 square miles. It is called Wales by foreigners; but the natives call it Cumry, because it is the land of the race of men of that name; being descendants of Ashkenas, or Ascanias, the elder son of Gomer, and Gomer being the elder son of Japheth, and Japheth the elder son of Noah, it follows that they are the elder branch of the human race. They are near one million of souls, and very near one-half of the adult population are members of evangelical churches. It is a wild,

mountainous region, and often called Wild Wales by the natives; this has been a familiar term for at least 1300 years. It was never subject to the papacy, except for five years, from 1553 to 1558, during the reign of a vile woman whom they call Bloody Mary, for she accomplished the death by burning of three faithful believers; and these made up the whole number of six martyrs put to death there, all by the power of foreign nations. The native population never put any person to death for their religious opinions.

Now, if any person who is posted up on the subject, will give us as good an account of the position of the place that commentators call "Obscurity," and the character of its inhabitants, we can then compare notes, and judge to which the church fled. The Rev. John Wesley says that it was Germany, and the flying of the church occurred when Boniface and his monks taught popery there; but D'Aubigne says it was a corruption of the gospel that they introduced. Dr. Adam Clarke says the church did not fly anywhere, but sank into coldness and formality in the Greek and Roman wilderness. Of course John must have known very little about the matter, for he said the church did fly; but Dr. Clarke says she did no such thing. And here I must confess that I differ from Dr. Clarke, for I would give John the preference at any rate; but how a man can flatly contradict the declarations of Scripture, although spoken in figurative language, is more than a plain man like myself can comprehend; for these figures were intended to be understood, and they may be clearly understood if men could drop their national prejudices and partialities.

I know that by claiming any superiority in any respect to the Welsh, a man cannot but subject himself to a certain amount of ridicule; but to ridicule anything that one knows nothing about, is not a mark of wisdom even in a doctor of laws or divinity. And we can easily prove that it was to Wales that the primitive Christians fled in the greatest numbers, and that

the right of private judgment in all matters connected with religion and civil rights were not respected anywhere else; and the very circumstance that the Christian Church was nourished and fed, indicates that these rights were respected somewhere during the reign of the beast and his horns. And if the question of the perpetuity of the primitive church is of any importance, it is incumbent on those that deny that honour to the Welsh to show where it was that the church was preserved, fed, and nourished.

Now the Scripture is very clear on one point, that God is no respecter of persons, and that in his sight justice and truth are as much accepted in a Welshman as though he was of the Anglo-Saxon race, or a Scotchman, or a German. How comes it, then, that when we show from authentic history that their laws were more just than those of any other people, except those emanating from Heaven, that we are charged with national vanity; and our unanimity in these matters, instead of giving additional weight to these considerations, subjects us only to a greater amount of incredulity?

The doctrine of succession has been used by errorists to sustain their errors, and they have led many persons astray by their pretensions. We are willing to be taught as to the history of any people who have respected the right of private opinion; but give us the facts of history, or show me wherein my interpretation of the vision fails. Is it not true that the church is composed of men and women? And while their spiritual life is sustained by that bread that came down from Heaven, they have a life also that has need of far different food. But these things are below the notice of the commentators. How can "the woman" clothed with the sun want the spoils of the poor sheep for her dress? but she has a nature that suffers from inclement weather. A thatched cottage to her is a Godsend, for it will shelter her from the inclemency of the seasons. A company of her persecuted seed

came to England in the reign of Henry II.; but they were whipped and treated with all sorts of contumely, and turned out to perish in an inclement season; little did they know that there was a place of refuge so near. And is it any wonder that they did not know, when with every advantage for investigating the history of Wales, a look at the footstool of Sardanapalus, or an old mummy from the catacombs of Egypt, would now command more money in England and the United States, by ten times, than a course of the ablest lectures on the laws and institutions of Wales.

I may be premature in my expositions of Welsh history; but the day is not distant when these matters will interest the minds of men far more than the pyramids of Egypt. It is because the nations are far less enlightened than many suppose them to be on all matters connected with spiritual religion and the nature and claims of truth; that a subject so interesting as the fact that unrestrained liberty of thought and action in all that pertains to the aspirations of the mind was so long maintained in Wales, that these facts have been so long unnoticed. And I write them because I owe that much to the cause of truth, and because I have given the subject a faithful investigation; and to me it is not a matter of vital importance whether men will believe me or not; it is enough that the duty has been fulfilled.

LETTER XIII.

A BRIEF examination of the "Revelations" of John may not be uninteresting to the reader. I remark that a large portion of the book is not prophetic, and some portions may be considered as the drapery of the vision. It has a main chain of prophetic visions; these consist of the book with seven seals. Under six of these seals are concealed the history of the Roman Empire, (with an allusion in the fifth to the martyrs,) till the overthrow of the pagan power, by Constantine, which is the subject of the sixth seal. But on the opening of the seventh, seven angels appear, having trumpets; under the sound of the first four of these, the western empire is overturned; then follows three woes, pronounced upon the inhabitants of the earth on account of the three trumpets that were yet to sound. At this point the vision changes from the western to the eastern portion of the empire, the fortunes of which are followed in the ninth chapter, when the Saracens appear under the fifth, and the Turks under the sixth; and this brings down the state of the countries constituting the eastern empire till the 11th of August, 1840, when the Sultan of Turkey came under the protection of the Quadruple Alliance, and the power of the Turks to afflict the nominal Christians within the empire was restrained. This leaves a great chasm in the prophecy, so far as relates to the western nations—of the proper Roman empire or fourth beast of Daniel.

In the tenth chapter a new vision appears, and the prophet receives a new commission, in consequence of which the seer had to return again to early times. But before the new series of visions commence, the

angel lifts up his hands to heaven, and swears by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that time should be no more, (or there should be no delay); but in the time of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God shall be finished, as he hath revealed to his servants, the prophets. From this it appears plain that the subjects of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth chapters are not subsequent but cotemporary with the fifth and sixth trumpets, the only exception is from the fifteenth to the eighteenth verse of the eleventh chapter, where the sounding of the seventh trumpet and its happy results is announced. But the seventh trumpet had its woe, and as nothing woful appears on its annunciation, we must look for its woe in the seven vials, for these constitute the woe of the seventh trumpet; and, according to this interpretation, these vials could not have been poured out before the year 1840.

In the following chapters, the eleventh to the fourteenth, both inclusive, the revelator goes over the whole ground five times. The first time he is told to measure the temple of God, and the altar and the worshippers, but to leave the outer court unmeasured, to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles for forty-two months, or twelve hundred and sixty days, denoting as many years, showing a great departure from primitive purity, by the largest portion of those that profess the Christian name, for twelve hundred and sixty years. This is evidently a general view of the subject; but then follows a more particular account of certain witnesses for the truth, no doubt referring to the Waldenses, and probably the Albigenses. The former broke off from the Church of Rome soon after the year 420, on account of the introduction of white robes, and continued, amidst much persecution, till 1686, when the King of France and the Duke of Savoy killed great numbers of them, and drove the survivors into Switzerland in the midst of winter, the infamous James Stewart, the second of that name, being then

king of Great Britain. But in the year 1688 a revolution occurred in Britain, which brought the illustrious Prince of Orange on the English throne, who had the fleets and armies of Britain and Holland at his service; the Waldenses returned to their valleys, and their enemies dared not to molest them. Thus, at the end of three years and a half, in 1689, the witnesses came to life.

In the last verse of the eleventh chapter another vision opens, with a view of the primitive church in her pristine purity, together with her great enemy, the Roman pagan empire, and the devil, the instigator of all its villanies. But the vision changes, and she who had just been seen with her crown, and her robes of light, becomes a fugitive, flying on wings to some wild region for protection from the face or from the reach and power of her enemies. Here we have Divine authority for the fact that there was one wild region where the pure Church of our Redeemer existed, and was fed and nourished through the twelve hundred and sixty years of the beast's reign.

In the thirteenth chapter we have an account of the enemies of the church and their doings during the prophetic period of twelve hundred and sixty years.

In the fourteenth, we have first a view of the whole body of believers on earth, without distinction; then follows the increase of light, signified by three angels flying through the midst of heaven, which ends in the Protestant Reformation; then succeeds a harvest and vintage, denoting bloody wars in Europe.

And now the consequences of the sounding of the seventh trumpet appear; for seven angels are seen having the seven last plagues, for in them was the wrath of God fulfilled. And here those that have obtained victory over the beast and his image, and the number of his name, have the harps of God, and sing the song of Moses and the Lamb, saying: "Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty! righteous and true are thy ways, O King of Saints!

who would not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy, and all nations shall come and worship before thee, for thy judgments are made manifest."

Thus we see that before any of the vials are poured out the church had obtained victory over the papacy, and saw such indications of the universal spread of Messiah's kingdom, and such clear indications of the Divine judgments upon their enemies, as to afford the fullest assurance that the glorious period for the universal spread of truth was at hand.

These two circumstances, viz. : the restraining of the power of the Turks to slay the third part of men, in 1840, and the bright anticipations of the church previous to the pouring out of the vials, fixes the period of the commencement of the sound of the seventh trumpet at the year 1840. Then follows the pouring of the vials. The first poured out his vial upon the earth, and a grievous and malignant sore fell upon the men who had the mark of the beast and worshipped his image. Could not this have been the potatoe rot and the pestilences that followed, which fell with such crushing weight upon the papists, especially those of Ireland. It was a terrible scourge that more than decimated a nation of eight millions. At the heels of this vial the French Revolution of 1848 came, which, I think, was the pouring of the second vial upon the sea or central kingdom of popery. Then followed the vial upon the rivers and fountains, or the neighbouring nations. Then came the vial on the sun, or revolution in the empire, and the emperor, by his own power and that of Russia, was able to overcome those that revolted against his power. Then followed the revolution in Rome, the seat of the beast, which filled all papists with terrible apprehension for a time; that was, I apprehend the fifth vial.

The sixth vial is poured out upon the river Euphrates, and the waters are dried up to make way for the kings

of the East, which signifies at least that certain obstructions to the march of armies from the regions east of the Euphrates should be removed; but as there is but one great military power beyond the Euphrates, viz., British India, this seems to indicate that Great Britain will be a party in the last great struggle between liberty and despotism. And now under the sixth vial, three unclean spirits, like frogs, are seen going out of the mouth of the beast, and the dragon, and of the false prophet. The dragon is the Emperor of Germany, the head of the house of Austria; the beast is the pope, or the papacy; but I am not sure which is the false prophet, unless it is the eastern antichrist, of which the Emperor of Russia is the head. These will collect the nations together, and they are collected under the sixth vial, but the war comes under the seventh, at the pouring of which a great voice comes from the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, "It is done." This is followed by terrible judgments and the fall of cities, and Babylon, or the power of the papacy, and the kingdoms which are its supporters come in remembrance before God to give her the cup of the fiercest wrath, but yet they rebel and revile God because of these plagues. And now in the beginning of the seventeenth chapter there is a long digression to show us the character and doom of the papacy, if not of Rome, its seat, which causes great lamentation among the kings and people of the Romish persuasion, and finally a strong angel takes up a stone like a great millstone and casts it into the sea, saying, "Thus with violence shall Babylon, the great city, be dashed down and never be found again." Then follows a description of entire and complete desolation, because in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints, and all that were slain upon the earth. But it is not certain whether the city of Rome will be involved in this desolation, or only the antichristian power.

And now, in the beginning of the nineteenth chapter, we have songs of praise by the heavenly powers, ascribing salvation, and glory, and power to the Lord our God, for his judgments are true and righteous, &c. After this, in the eleventh verse, he returns to give an account of the last great battle in which all the enemies of the church are destroyed, and these comprise all the despotic kingdoms of Europe. In this last battle our Lord Jesus Christ is represented as leading the armies which destroy these enemies, no doubt by his providence. According to my calculations, the armies of these enemies are now being gathered, for it is a remarkable fact, that it is only under the sixth and seventh vials the line between the enemies and friends of our Redeemer are distinctly drawn. And we see that Kossuth, the most distinguished republican of the present contest, is a decided Christian, and is acting on Christian principles, and the contest now about to be waged is in behalf of individual rights and liberty of conscience, which will open the way for the universal spread of pure Christianity; free protestant nations, particularly Great Britain, must take care to be on the right side, for most assuredly the time for the overthrow of all the enemies of pure Christianity is just at hand. Infidelity has nearly run its race, and the fact that liberty is well established in Britain and the United States, in connection with a strong religious belief, is making a deep impression upon the republicans of the old world.

I cannot see any reason why regal government may not continue in Britain, unless it opposes the kingdom of Christ; but most assuredly if the governing power in Britain takes part with the despots, the crown will fall. The pope attained to supreme power by the decree of Phocas in 606, and its lease of twelve hundred and sixty years is out in 1866. Less than fifteen years remain, and from present indications those years will be stormy,

and the kingdoms that support the papacy will fall about the same time. Appearances are often deceitful, but those kings are not endowed with almighty power, but there is an Almighty power that has fixed their destiny; and the fact that they have so long tyrannized over the human race gives them no security when the day of wrath shall come, and that day is at hand.

LETTER XIV.

I WOULD wish to address all the well-wishers of this work, and the public generally, on behalf of the work. What merit belongs to this history, arising from certain characteristics that I think will give it considerable value to the Welsh, and also to the American, is, that I have cut loose Welsh history from all connection with extraneous matter. The error of all Welsh historians, as far as I have seen, is that in giving the history of the race, they have included the various Celtic tribes, and all the nations of the Continent who are supposed to have any affinity, either in blood or language, with the ancient Cimmerian race, who, doubtless, were the first inhabitants of a large portion of Europe. This course is about as wise as if a man in writing the history of Vermont, would go into the history of the Anglo-Saxon race, and tell their origin in Germany and progress in England. But if a man is going to write the history of Vermont, let us know what was done in the Green Mountains. It is enough merely to say that they are of that race, and that their last remove was from "the fast anchored Isle," and that they still maintain the honour of their race. For what has the conquest of India or the settlement of Australia to do with Vermont or the battle of Bennington? This is the plan I have adopted in the history of Wales. That the Welsh are the chief branch of the Cimmerian race there is no doubt, and their history is of more value than all of the other branches combined. For "what is the history of Ireland?" "A blank, my Lord." (Shakespeare.) The Irish writers admit "that there is not one green spot in their history for the last six hundred years." But

there is an interest in Welsh history, if it is but in their audacious courage and self-will, which would never succumb to the papacy when all the most potent monarchs of Europe placed their necks and backs at the disposal of the pope and his minions. And we see it in Roger Williams, who went alone among savages, rather than suffer the dictation of priestlings; and in Cromwell and Milton; and in Daniel Williams, who laid before King William III. the terms on which he was to reign in Britain. We see it in Caractacus, the first of the race that appears in authentic history. His bravery in war, and his noble bearing in misfortune, have gained him a fame and admiration equal to the most successful of the human race. The interest of history does not depend upon the extent of territory, or the number of people, but upon the character of the people and the principles they have cherished. A single expedition of a nation to save a neighbouring people from destruction by a more potent nation, is of more real interest than all the conquests of the Romans. And the generous chivalry of Lafayette has done more honour to humanity than all the mighty deeds of Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and Bonaparte, combined. And here we have the history of a people who, though brave, never waged a war of conquest, and who oftener exercised their energy in defence of other nations than any other people; who never sunk under misfortunes, and who, in the long run, obtained victory over every enemy. For did they not obtain victory over ancient Rome under Constantine, and over England under Tudor? And the time is not far distant when they will witness the angel taking up a great stone, like a millstone, and casting it into the sea, saying, With violence shall Babylon be cast down.

Nations, as well as individuals, have their identity; and this consists as much in principles and language as it does in blood. And here is a nation which has maintained its identity, and its great principles, and its language almost unchanged, while the site of

Babylon has been lost. And the Persian, the Greek, and Roman Empires have been swept away, and the "ten horns" are ready to drop from the head of the beast, and yet they are there in the same mountains, speaking the same language still, not surpassed by any people in the purity of their morals, in the correctness of their religious principles, the ardor of their feelings uncooled, and their reason as unclouded as ever. Is it not well known that people in this country, when they go to hear a Welsh minister, always expect to hear something of great interest, and are seldom disappointed? And those that go to hear Welsh ministers are not the ignorant or superstitious, but the very elite of American minds; men who are accustomed to listen to the preaching of native preachers of the highest order. It is a great matter for the people of that secluded mountainous region to match, if not in some respects overmatch, American minds.

I have selected from "The Triads of the Social State," eighteen pages of pretty closely written matter connected with the laws, the jurisprudence, and social regulations of the Welsh, which will accompany these letters. There is in them some things that may amuse, but far more that will instruct and gratify the American people; and I am mistaken if they are not somewhat surprised that such splendid principles and laws as these could have existed in Britain, and still remain unknown to the people of the United States. How comes it that the English have neglected Wales and taken so much pains to search for the throne and footstool of Sardanapalas? But so it is. For just that much are physical matters superior in interest over the mental, in the estimation of the great majority of men. But here will be a work, though small, that will afford food for minds. It will, I think, have more interest to enlightened minds than any romance; and I have no doubt but the very circumstance that it is the production of a mind never disciplined under able

teachers, will not lessen its interest; for although born in Wales, I was but twelve years old on landing in this country. My habits of thought are American, for almost all I have learned I have learned in the United States. I received what little education I have in Charles street, in the district of Spring Garden, right on the edge of Pegg's Run, now Willow street. It was by the study of American laws and institutions that my mind was prepared to appreciate the excellence of the ancient institutions of Wales, which are so like them; on some points inferior, and on others superior. My learned countrymen, both in Wales and the United States, have awarded to me the palm of victory in writing the history of Wales. How comes this? Is the shop of the mechanic a better school of high mental exercise than Oxford or Cambridge? I took a peculiar course of mental discipline early in life, and for the benefit of our rising youth I will give some account of my system. It is partly Welsh and partly American; for believe me, dear youth, there is no better school than to study the great principles of these two nations, and both in the light of Divine Revelation. I took a very deliberate view early in life of my position in a world into which I was brought without any action of my own will, but nevertheless responsible for my own actions in it; and I saw very soon that there was a right and a wrong way; that there was in my nature certain propensities that were in opposition to the dictates of my reason; and amidst the jarring opinions that had obtained in the world, some might be right and others wrong. How to attain a knowledge of the right way and avoid the wrong, became a question of great interest; but there were in my father's house several copies of a book of ancient date which purported to be a revelation of the Divine mind, and contained all that was needful to guide the young in their strange journey, where every step in life was new. To this dear sacred book I betook myself early in life, so that my father, once in conversation

with a friend about concordances of the Bible, remarked that his son Sam had no need of a concordance. Whatever of mental power I possess, or of correct thinking, is due to having taken the Scriptures as "a light shining in a dark place."

In forming the mind I saw that there were two errors, one was to have a vanity of thinking differently from all other men, and the other was to follow implicitly the lead of others. How to avoid these extremes was another question; and where can a youth resort, but to Him who promised his Holy Spirit to guide into all truth? To him I did resort, and prayed that he would guide me in the right way. Nor was my prayer rejected; for I saw the way plain that every opinion of man was to be weighed in the balance of reason, and examined in the light of Revelation. I have sought for wisdom as a hid treasure, and valued its revenues more than gold. I have read the histories of all nations, and weighed their religious and political systems, and tried their principles in the points of their main strength, and all has tended to strengthen my faith in the "word of truth." When invited to go and hear new and strange doctrines I have refused, and when men have told me I ought to hear both sides, my answer was, that if I had a beautiful parlor, finished in exquisite style, was it to be supposed I would furnish it with old broken wheelbarrows and other trumpery. No, truly; there was in the Bible and in the works of learned and pious men just such furniture as suited my mind. And when duty called me to mix with infidels, all they said had just about as much effect on my mind as a stream from the spout of a tea-kettle would have upon the rock of Gibraltar. Infidels may say that this is prejudice; but it is not so. Prejudice is to judge without proper examination. Infidelity rests upon one point, viz., the denial of divine revelation; but if the mind is fully convinced of the truth of that, by reason and experience of its power to save, all the details of infidel principles are scattered to the wind.

A slight indulgence in reading romances I found would ruin the power of the mind; and, although I found a strong propensity to it, it was eschewed, as was also strong drink. All these things are ruinous to the immortal mind. It requires a strong restraint on the human mind to preserve it from deterioration. But in this are the issues of life and immortality; for what is the glory and dignity of the millionaire compared with the humble mechanic or labourer, who has made the word of God his guide, and has his soul feasted on "redeeming grace and dying love," and can look with confidence over Jordan to the green and flowery meads of immortality, and his soul forever at rest in the presence of his Maker and Redeemer; for, although we know but little of what we shall be, we do know that we shall be like our divine Redeemer, for we shall see him as he is. You may err on many things, as I have erred; so does the most stately ship, when buffeted by the contrary winds; but watch well the needle, and turn the prow in the right direction, and you will at length arrive safe in the haven of eternal peace and rest.

LETTER XV.

WITH respect to the question, whether Baptist churches existed in Wales through all ages since the first introduction of the gospel, I can only say, that it has been asserted in historical works, that Walter Brute, a cotemporary of Wickliff, did not approve of infant baptism, and there was no sprinkling in his time in Wales ; and I am satisfied from the general aspect of history, that the claim of the Baptists that they are the descendants in church succession of the Welsh Lollards, is by far the most clear, for we can fix the origin of every other denomination ; but the origin of the Baptists in Wales, as in other countries, is hidden in the “ remote depths of antiquity,” Under these circumstances, they are justified in claiming the important position of being a succession of the primitive Apostolic church, and inasmuch as it is plainly said in the twelfth chapter of the Revelations, that the church should flee into the wilderness to a place which God had prepared for her, where she should be fed and nourished from the face of the serpent, while at the same time other believers, denominated witnesses, were still existing in other regions, clothed in sack-cloth, and also others called the remnant of her seed, in those regions whence the church, denominated “ the woman ” had fled, and as Wales was the only region that allowed liberty of conscience in all Europe, our claim is sustained both by history and prophecy. But in this, we do not pretend to deny all other persons in Britain, and other countries who love our Lord, a place in his church ; but the question is, where were the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel maintained in their purity throughout the period denominated “ the

reign of the beast?" In answer to this question, it is not competent to show that Austin and his forty monks disseminated the dogmas of popery in England, or that Boniface and another horde did the same in Germany two hundred years subsequent to this, or that the Waldenses were preserved amidst cruel persecutions for many ages, for the Dukes of Savoy did their utmost to destroy them at different times. In Wales there was not only perfect liberty of conscience, but the kindest protection; their brave warriors always faced the foe. Popery was there for some centuries; so it is in the United States. But the priesthood cannot enact their *auto da fes* here; nor could they in Wales. Even at the time when the King of England walked barefooted five miles, and that to be whipped by the priests on the bare back, till the blood flowed over his heels, and the Emperor of Germany suffered the Pope to tread on his neck, at the same time using the most insulting language; the priests often cursed the Welsh, but always took care to get on English ground first. They valued their necks too highly to curse a Welshman, and remain within the reach of his sword. This is a fixed fact in all histories. And even now Wales is the very focus of pure Christianity in Europe, although there are many good Christians in other parts of that quarter of the globe, especially in England and Scotland; and it is a most important fact that the best principles in religion and civil government in the New World were disseminated by the early Welsh settlers. Their minds on such subjects were as clear as light. There is not an instance recorded in the history of these States, from the commencement of their settlement, of a Welshman giving credence to an accusation of witchcraft, or any other superstition, or countenancing any violation of the freedom of conscience in any man.

It is not pleasing to any intelligent man to see the history of his native land and his race turned into a nose of wax by ignorant or prejudiced writers, and still

less so when such misrepresentations tend to darken the ways of Providence, as foretold in the Holy Scriptures, which declare in such explicit terms, although in figurative language, that God had prepared a place for the church in some wild region, where she was fed and nourished out of the reach of her enemies. And I have already stated that pure evangelical truth was maintained in Wales through all ages, and that the church was defended there by a guard of 60,000 warriors, the bravest of all the human race. If truth was to be preserved through a living church, during the great apostacy, there was some object in view. And what could that object be, if it was not as the seed of the glorious millennial church? And if that was the design, where could that design be carried out so well to preserve the truth as in Britain, the great civilizer of the world.

My next point is to show that there was no other people but the Welsh that had the right sort of stamina to maintain the truth. We are not to measure the great nations now inhabiting Britain and the United States, for these nations did not then exist; for a portion of their ancestry were in Britain, debased by the power and vices of the Romans, and others in a state of barbarism in Germany and Scandinavia, from which state of degradation they were just emerging three hundred years ago. And their deliverance was greatly hastened by the victory of the Welsh, under the Earl of Richmond, over the army of England, under Richard III., which resulted in the establishment of a Welsh dynasty on the throne, and a great change in the national policy. But for that event I cannot see why England became Protestant any more than Spain or France, for I am sure that till then France maintained a far greater degree of independence of the Pope's domination than England. England is now the only country of all the ten kingdoms called "horns of the beast" that has thrown off the papal yoke; for Protestant Germany, Sweden, Denmark and Norway

were never subject to the Roman Empire, and, of course, could not constitute any of those kingdoms founded on its ruins, "who agreed to give their power and strength to the beast in wearing out the saints of the Most High."

That the minds of the Welsh were superior to all the ancient nations, is very clear, from their history and institutions, always excepting the inspired writers, but not excepting the mass of the descendants of Israel. This superiority appears in the clearer development of the faculty of reason, the highest faculty of the human mind. This is proved by the facts of history; for they never worshipped idols. They had a clearer idea of the nature of truth, in relation to its immutability and its claims on the human race, as to its reception and the rights of men to receive the truth, and acted according to its requirements; and they were the only nation known in history that did not dogmatize on religion, and enact laws to enforce their dogmas, with severe pains and penalties. They were, in fact, a people "seeking after the truth." Hence it was that, although in great darkness, under the Druidical religion, their minds were not case hardened like those of the Jews, who were so filled with self-righteousness and malice that when the true light came "the darkness comprehended it not." Nor were they like the Greeks and Romans, who never based their religion on truth, but upon the legal enactments of the civil power and tradition. Religion was valued in Wales only in proportion as it was believed to be founded on truth. It was that alone that gave it value; for the civil State never enacted laws to regulate the subject of belief, although as a matter of policy, it gave certain support to ministers of religion, both the Druidical and Christian, together with poets and minstrels. All that was required in order to obtain their stipends or lands, was that they had attained their degrees in their various orders. Even the order of nobility in Wales had the sole control of admitting members, although it is pro-

bable that in the outset the order was established by the National Assembly, and its rules defined, for the Welsh observed the strictest rules in such matters. The whole subject of religious truth being thus left free, it is natural to suppose that such a people would examine the subject with minds less biassed, and more open to conviction, than other nations; and when such a people received a new religion from choice, and upon conviction of its truth, it was natural for them to maintain it with more steadiness than such nations as were only governed by legal enactments, like the Romans who, when the emperors received or adopted the Christian religion, followed suit, and taking the gold cloth from the old black image of Jupiter, covered it with a fisherman's coat, and called it Peter, and this was about the sum and substance of the conversion of the Romans to the Christian faith. It was natural for such a people to introduce the images of saints into their worship, to fill up the vacuum left in their system by the banishment of the inferior gods; for both the Romans and the Greeks were as much Pagans after their conversion as they were before, only filled with deeper malice against the true followers of our Redeemer. This was the general rule in those nations; but there were individual exceptions. Between the other nations and the Welsh the rule was in inverse proportion; the evil-minded in Wales were the exception, and never had the legal power nor the weight of public opinion to sustain them in their opposition to the truth, even when all other nations had combined to destroy the gospel and its advocates.

We have Scripture authority that not only individuals but whole communities were more open to conviction and more candid than others; for the people of Berea are said to have been more noble in this respect than those of Thessalonica, although the latter people were in advance of the great mass of mankind. In reading ecclesiastical history and commentaries on prophecy, I have thought it passing strange that none

of these learned writers have ever noticed the important fact that a civil state existed in Europe throughout all ages, since the sixtieth year of the Christian era, till ten years after the King of England had renounced the Pope's supremacy, without a single enactment of any kind to obstruct the human mind in its inquiries after the truth of religion. At the same time, all the learned and well-informed natives assert that the truth of the gospel was maintained there during that whole period.

I do not intend to say that the Welsh were more ingenious in their reasoning than the Greeks. But the object was far different; for the Welsh reasoning was intended to elucidate the truth. The one great object of the Greek philosophy, generally, was to dress up falsehood in the garb of truth, and to abolish in the human mind all definite idea of a difference between truth and error. They had need of genius in such a work. The result has been that they and their apt scholars, the Romans, have given birth to the "mystery of iniquity," which has cursed the world now for more than 1200 years.

No problem in history can be more easily explained than the origin of those great principles of human rights now so much and deservedly prized in the world; for they originated in Wales, and were the law of the land there from its earliest history. The world is tardy in its acknowledgment, but the time is not distant, when the nations will do justice to Wales. I already see it "blushing round the spheres." The nations in general, as they now exist, received their first knowledge of Christianity mixed with errors from Rome. And it is because I want to turn the eyes of men from that seat of corruption, that I take so much pains to give the history of its most determined antagonist, which the Welsh nation undoubtedly were for a period of at least 1000 years.

Not only was the reasoning of the Welsh more conclusive, but their indomitable courage made them

suitable instruments to preserve the truth. "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Any man that looks at the general conduct of the Irish and the Welsh might suppose that the latter people are by far the most easy to control; but if once they come in contact with the two races, they will find that under that quiet demeanor there is a most determined will, and often a most obstinate spirit; he may ask advice, but almost invariably follows the bent of his own mind.

They are peaceable because they are intelligent, and generally virtuous. But if a man wants to understand the Welsh character, he can find it truly drawn by Knowles, in the character of Roger Williams. In him the Welsh character appears in a very high degree of sublimation. They were the right people to deal with the papacy. They cannot brook that control which the Roman priests exercise over their flocks. The dogmas of popery contradict the deductions of their reason. They are difficult to lead, and hard to drive. They put no value on the gorgeous displays of popery. A sound reason may convince their understanding, but any assumption of authority from Pope or bishop only creates contempt—bad materials out of which to make papists. The consequence is, that nearly all their churches are on the Congregational or Independent order; and a larger proportion of these are Baptists than is found in any country of Europe beyond all comparison.

The Welsh language excels all others, living or dead, for copiousness, for the regularity of its construction, and the strictness of its rules. Hence, it is never mixed, in conversation, with any other language. I believe this perfection in the construction of the language has been the result of sound reason and clearness of intellect. And I think that there is a closer connection between a correct language and correct principles than many persons would suppose. I have heard some men of considerable intelligence

• speak very lightly of our pretensions to a superior language; but it is not wise to hold in contempt the judgment of intelligent men who are masters of the Welsh language. I am not an accurate grammarian, but I understand the Welsh language as well as the English, and I give my full assent to the superiority of the Welsh. Is it reasonable to suppose that a people who, of all nations, have produced the most splendid code of moral and social principles, and have been the most accurate in their views of religious truths, are blunderers in language? The pronunciation of the Welsh language is difficult, but I doubt whether any language in the world can be more easily acquired as a dead language, as the original words are not very numerous. The copiousness of the language arises from the use of about three hundred prefixes and affixes, the use of which is easily understood, and invariable in their application. The Welsh language has borrowed nothing from any known language; its resources are all its own.

LETTER XVI.

ONCE more I take the liberty of reminding the public of my Welsh History, lest they forget it amidst the turmoil of life, and the Roman Catholics should steal our thunder; for a question of precedence lays between them and the Protestants. Already they are undermining me; for Dr. Moriarty, on St. Patrick's day, (the better the day the better the deed,) took away the renowned Aserius, of whom the Welsh are so justly proud, because he was the chief counsellor of King Alfred the Great, in making his reforms in the Saxon laws; and they not only took him from the Welsh, but made him an Irishman, although the rest of mankind, for one thousand years, including Aserius himself, always thought him a Welshman.

Moore, the Irish poet, (peace to his ashes,) had, some years ago, taken from us Morgan, commonly called Pelagius; and I have in my possession a number of the Boston Pilot, in which there is an article on the Chronology of Ireland, in which it is said that Henry, Earl of Richmond, commonly called Perkin Warbeck, was crowned in Trinity Church, Dublin, and, landing in England, was taken prisoner, and made a scullion in the King's kitchen. But the erudite writer does not tell us who the king was. It must, however, have been King Richard III., who Shakspeare, together with the whole of the historians, tell us was killed at Bosworth field; for he was the only King the Earl fought against. Heretofore, all the wise men (myself included) thought that the Earl of Richmond landed in Wales, and marching into England, killed King Richard, and mounted the throne, without saying, "by your leave, sir," to John Bull. And when Lambert

Simnel tried for the throne under false pretences, this same Earl, then King Henry VII., (of money loving memory,) defeated his army, and made him turnspit in his kitchen; and afterwards Perkin Warbeck was crowned in Dublin, but had his army defeated, and was afterwards beheaded, because he tried to escape from prison.

This is the vulgar history of these affairs. But ridicule apart, this is the kind of mental aliment that the Roman Catholics receive from their humane priests and journalists. But I am not going to feed your minds with such baseless stuff; for I am going to show you, both from prophecy and history, that the Christian church was fed and nourished in Wales throughout the reign of the beast. I will also prove to you that they had the best laws of any people, that they not only admitted inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but also found every citizen a homestead of five acres to live in. In this they excelled the people in this country; for this government will sell their lands to the Grand Turk, or, what is still worse, to the Pope, or the Emperor Nicholas, but care nothing whether the citizens have a place to lay their heads without paying rent, and failing to do that, they may go into the road and be lodged in jail as vagrants. If a foreigner was found in Wales by shipwreck or any other cause, the State was bound to support him till he was restored to his country, lest the stranger should die of hunger and cold.

But if I were to tell you all the lovely features of the Welsh institutions, you would think me only a braggart, for I have already received a hint of this kind from a distinguished man. But if I get one thousand good, reliable subscribers, (and I take it for granted every one who will give me his name is both,) I will "give chapter and verse" for all the material facts; nor will I claim any of the English, Scotch or Irish as Welshmen, for a very good reason, besides my honesty, that we have enough of our own men. The

wealthy have no need to turn thieves, if they did they ought to be hung "without benefit of clergy." For this was the Welsh law; that if any man stole to the amount of four byzants, it was a capital crime, unless it should appear he was in pressing want, and called at several houses and they refused to supply him. In that case, stealing was no crime in Wales. Being a Welshman myself, and finding in history more famous men than fell to the lot of any other people of the same number, I have no need to rob other nations.

Now I will give my readers some account of the meeting of the Bardic Institute, last September, at Port Madoc, in North Wales—an institution that dates beyond the Advent, being probably the most ancient literary institution in the world, and beyond a doubt, the most liberal of all ancient institutions, always excepting the pure Gospel Church.

The institute is invited to attend under the following proclamation :

"THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD."

"Know all men that an Eisteddvod (sitting) of the bards and minstrels will be held in the year of Christ, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, when the sun shall be on the point of the Autumnal Equinox, within the liberties of the town of Tre Madoc, in the province of Gwynedd, under the patronage of the county, and that of Mrs. Maddocks, Mrs. Gwynne, and Sir Love Parry, for the purpose of encouraging and cultivating native poetry and other sciences, and of granting instruction, patronage, degree and license to all those who shall apply for the same, according to the privileges of the bards of the Island of Britain, and there present the three primitive bards of the Island of Britain, namely: Plenydd, Alawn and Gwron, and with them, Ieuan Glan Geirionydd, Gwilim Caledfryn, Morys William, Gwilim Hiraethog, Gwilim Emrys, Ivan Madawg, Sion Wyn o Eifion, Alltud Eifion, and others, being all bards according to the rights and in-

stitutes of the bards of the Island of Britain, and hereby is given an invitation to all who may choose to repair hither, where no naked weapon shall appear against them, and where a judgment of a Bardic Gorsedd shall be pronounced upon all poetry and other literary productions, submitted to consideration in the eye of the sun and in the face of light."

"THE TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD."

The three worthies first mentioned, Plenydd, Alawn and Gwron, must have lived in the days of Auld Lang Syne; for they have been present in all the sittings of the Welsh bards from time immemorial, or at least it is so stated, but are unseen to mortal eye, and it is supposed they denote certain virtues. But the above is a correct copy of bardic invitations, and the order itself is the remains of the ancient druidical institution, but now composed only of bards and minstrels, for the third and most numerous branch, the druids, have become extinct on the death of the ancient religion.

At the above sitting a splendid oration was delivered by Rev. D. James, A. M., and F. S. A., Incumbent of Kirkdale, Liverpool, in which he said that when all the rest of the world was overshadowed by the gloom of Popery, the truth of the gospel shone brightly among the mountains and in the valleys of Wales, that the Welsh had fought the battles of liberty and of truth, and that any attempt by the English to abolish the language and destroy the identity of such a people was the greatest violation of propriety and justice.

Roman priests may lead their ignorant hearers by the nose; but when a learned Welshman makes a speech before the literati of his native land, he cannot lead them astray on historical facts, for they are too well and generally known; although from the circumstance of the ancient laws having been superseded by those of England three hundred and eight years ago, the importance of some of their liberal institutions are not, in all cases, properly appreciated, for they have

never seen them in operation. A man that has seen similar institutions in active and successful operation in the United States, can form a better estimate of their value; and I am free to admit that the science of government has been brought to a higher degree of perfection in this country than it ever was in Wales, although in relation to individual right to property the institutions of Wales were superior, as they secured to all citizens the use of five acres of land free, and five more for any excellence in any of the arts and sciences.

The trial by jury was in full operation in South Wales from the earliest period of authentic history; and the laws of evidence were as well understood by them as they are now among the Anglo-Saxon race.

Besides the five acre privilege, the Welsh laws provided that all personal property, such as cattle and grain, the implements of trade, clothing, books, musical instruments, and military equipments, could not be taken on any claim, "because it was unjust in the law to unman the man, or to uncall the calling."

I think I have a greater claim upon the friendship of the American people than Walter Scott, because I have made known to them these splendid principles and laws, whereas Scott had very little to say, except about bloody murders and fights among barbarians. Bulls can fight and bears can dance, but it takes men of sense and education to enact good laws and social institutions.

And besides that, I have for twenty-nine years engaged in political agitations, for the purpose of abolishing cruel and unjust laws, under the operation of which the dough-trough and the infant's cradle were often sold for rent. Such are, or have been, the barbarous laws of the boasted Anglo-Saxon race.

I want you, holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling, to unite and bring about that glorious time, when one man shall not build and another inhabit, and one man shall not plant and another eat; for this is

promised in "the word of truth." Many of you are faithful, and contribute liberally to spread the truth, and you do well. But it should be borne in mind that man has a physical as well as a moral nature, and if one suffers, the other sympathizes in the pain; and you can provide for physical wants at a cheap rate through the ballot box, for there is plenty of land. And if you don't wake up, Congress will waste the whole of it in a few years, except the barren and remote. I allude to no particular party. They are all alike; for they spend their time in jangling about anything, except the most important of all other things, viz., to make the most beneficial arrangement possible in the disposition of the national domain, under such arrangements as will conduce to the greatest benefit of the whole body of citizens, especially the lacklanders.

LETTER XVII.

WITH respect to what is said by English writers about the conquest of Wales, by Edward the First, I have already stated that Edward had no war with any of the Welsh princes, but Lleywellin, Prince of the Northern principality, which did not comprise more, at the outside, than one-fourth of Wales—all the others came in by treaty—and the king was compelled either to battle with their united force or grant them their conditions, which was complete independence of English legislation, and which placed Wales exactly in the same position as Hungary under the emperor, till the innovation a few years ago. Edward the First called a Parliament at Rhuddlan, in Flintshire, which confirmed the whole. A part of the building yet stands in which the Parliament held its sitting. But it is evident that the whole was only a scheme of the king, and, probably of the Parliament, for as soon as all was settled the king built three or four great castles, and cut roads, which occupied nine or ten years. He held the Archbishopric of York vacant, and applied its revenues to this object to aid his means. Accordingly, in the year 1292 or 1293, the king laid a tax on Wales, regardless of all treaties, supposing that with the advantage of garrisoned castles and open roads he could be able to subdue them, but failed. This account I have given in a former letter. There is a monument placed on the ground in Rhuddlan, with this inscription :

THIS FRAGMENT
is the remains of the building
where KING EDWARD THE FIRST
held his Parliament,
A. D., 1283,
in which passed the statute of Rhuddlan,
securing
to the principality of Wales
its judicial rights
and independence.

I have already given the authority of Lord Chatham for the fact that Wales never paid tax till the union in 1544, when they sent representatives to Parliament, after which they paid tax as willingly as any other people. King Henry the Eighth disowned the Pope's supremacy in 1534. In 1535 the Welsh petitioned the king to unite Wales to England as an integral portion of the kingdom. A law was immediately passed in Parliament for settling the preliminaries, but there were so many interests pending that it occupied nine years to effect it, which occurred in 1544. Up to that time the Welsh had opposed every attempt of the kind; although they were greatly annoyed by the lords of the marches, who had patents which exempted them from all jurisdiction of the Welsh laws, so that the country was in a measure lawless. But the fact that they sought the union immediately upon the suppression of the Pope's authority, points out the great objection, which was popery, as a legal power.

From these circumstances, I am well satisfied that the main objections of the Welsh to the union with England, was the fact of popery being there established by law, and having the power to drag innocent men and women to the stake for their faith in a pure gospel. The confiscation of the Abbey lands enabled the king, by purchase and exchanges, to relieve the Welsh of the annoyance from the lords of the marches. His father had bought out the claims of numbers, but Harry had greater advantages; and as there were

many monasteries in Wales he gave their lands to his Welsh friends, as he did those of the English monasteries to his English friends.

Besides all this, a chieftain of the name of Llewellyn died just at the time of the union. The eldest son claimed the whole estate under English law; but the younger brother put in his claim under Welsh law, and gained his share, because the act of the union had not been quite consummated at the time of the father's death—a decisive proof that Wales was never under the laws of England till the union, for the Welsh laws placed the children on equal terms.

Nevertheless large estates were held in Wales, because for many centuries the population did not increase, but rather diminished. The estates were often divided, but by marriage, and the deaths of many persons without heirs of their own estates, were generally as large as if there had been laws of primogeniture, or nearly so. It is, however, probable that the "land in expectancy," which was set apart for homesteads, had been given to the Welsh chiefs and lords of the marches, for that portion of the Welsh lands was not strictly private property—the citizens had only a life right to it. Sir James Mackintosh gives the true version, for he says that the Welsh were at last betrayed by their princes. Had they only sense enough to have established a republic, and chosen officers for stated periods, the English could never have brought them under, for they were superior in arms to the English, Scotch, or Irish, having defeated the English in their last conflict with tremendous odds; but a few years after, the English destroyed the flower of Scotland, at Floddenfield, without the advantage of superior numbers which they had at Bosworth. Notwithstanding which, the Welsh defeated them with dreadful slaughter, with only a twentieth part of the loss of men. A little more modesty would become English historians when they tell tales about driving the Welsh, for they have never yet given a single in-

stance in which they defeated the Welsh with an inferior force, but there have been many well authenticated instances the other way.

Sir James Mackintosh says that the kings of England bribed the smaller chiefs with offices and dignities, and with their aid overpowered the strong chiefs with numbers. The fact is, that the more powerful chiefs would have subdued the others, but they preferred to become vassals to the English kings. Still they would not submit to the English laws. Had the king persisted in that, they would have united, and brought out fifty thousand men. The submission to the crown of England, as an independent principality, was only an expedient or compromise, between the parties, and had the kings and nobility of England either faith or truth in their composition, it would have been a blessing to the Welsh as well as the English. But the purposes of God were accomplished, for the intercourse that was opened between the two people soon inoculated the English with Lollardism, and the united forces both came down upon France, which had imbued her hands in the blood of the Albigenses. And this might have been the cause of the preservation of the Waldenses, by making business for their enemies. It produced intermarriages between persons of the two nations, and this produced the Tudors, who expelled the Plantagenets, and the papacy, and Cromwell, who brought the head of the tyrant, Charles Stuart, to the block, and Milton, and many other master spirits. It led to the emigration of the Welsh to the British colonies in America, to disseminate the principles of religious liberty. They were mainly instrumental in planting the Baptist principles in the new world, the importance of which no one can calculate, for it is just beginning to be felt. When a Welshman propagates great and important principles, it is taken for granted that they forge the whole out of their own brains, for this is the case in relation to Roger Williams, and yet Williams only acted in conformity with the principles

of his race. Any other Welshman who was a true Christian, and possessed his abilities, would have pursued the same course; and not only natives of Wales, but their descendants, still retain by tradition and education from their parents, the same liberal views. Does any one suppose that Thomas Jefferson did not profit by the intelligence of his parents, who were of Welsh descent? Why should the youngest member of the committee of five appointed to draw up the Declaration of Independence, know more about inalienable rights than all the rest? Rights before the laws, and of which no law can justly deprive a man, was a fundamental principle of law in Wales.

Had the Declaration of Independence never been written, nor the British colonies become independent states, my children, who were all born in Pennsylvania, would have known all about inalienable rights. Nor do I believe that the knowledge of such facts would have ended with them, but would have been transmitted to their children, for it is manifest that the Welsh had more to do with the revolution in proportion to their numbers, than any other class, as one-fourth of the immortal signers were either of Welsh descent or born in Wales, while Wales only contained about one in thirty of the population of the British islands, to say nothing of the vast numbers of Germans and others from the continent of Europe, who had emigrated to these shores before the revolution. But the planting of Baptist principles in the new world was the crowning act of the Welsh, for it is sure to remould the whole face of society, taken in connection with the fact that prophecy has clearly indicated that *the church* was to be preserved *in a place in the wilderness*, and that in Wales alone the followers of our Redeemer had ever liberty to exist. The very circumstance of their having disseminated these principles in the new world clearly indicates what sort of principles the church in the wilderness maintained. Circumstantial evidence is sometimes as strong as that which is positive. The propa-

gation of the doctrine of inalienable rights, of the freedom of worship, and many other great principles belongs exclusively to the Welsh, for they were clearly taught in all ages in Wales, and the Welsh have been their most skilful propagators and defenders in other lands. Had the Germans or French possessed such principles as the Welsh, they would have put an end to popery many ages ago, for small as was the population of Wales, with the whole of mankind in opposition, they have retained their liberal tendencies. Whether I shall obtain a niche in the temple of fame or not, will be best known in future times, but certainly I have tried my utmost strength in maintaining the principles of truth and righteousness. I have made interminable war against oppression in every shape, as far as expediency and my sense of duty prescribed. If I have left one social evil untouched, it is not because I have any respect for it. I do not wish to be misunderstood on that head. I leave that to those who have the legal right in the case, the people of the slave-holding States; the responsibility rests on their shoulders. If they do well it will end well, but if the slavery of the coloured race is a sin, the sin will lay at their door. They have Moses, and the Prophets, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Apostles, let them hear them. I will not engage in the crusade and abuse against them. I know the difficulties in their way, and always loved to combat with difficulties, but had I been given my choice, I had chosen to combat with social evils, rather than to enjoy all the blessings that will fall to the lot of the happy inhabitants of this land, when all social evils are removed.

LETTER XVIII.

HAVING now brought my series of letters on Welsh history to a close, I will give the readers some further account of the motives that led to their being published.

In my early days I was the weakest of all my father's children, having never enjoyed much health till I was near thirteen years of age. It was the voyage across the Atlantic and the change of climate that gave me the first indication of an extended life, although I had all my life been subject to organic diseases, requiring great care, considerable medicine, and two surgical operations in the Jefferson college in this city.

It was when I was seven years old that I became exceedingly dissatisfied with my native land. The causes that seemed to lead to this feeling were various, one of the first was, that a constable died lamenting that he had ever gone to a cottage to levy for a small debt; the poor woman had the pot on the fire, making soup for her children, but instead of waiting till they had eaten, he poured it out into a hole near the door, where the poor children hastened with their spoons to get what they could out of it. His conscience was awakened in the last hours of life, when it was too late to make amends. This story and others of the like nature have haunted my mind all my days. Having heard that land was cheap in America I begged my father frequently, from the year 1796 till we left in 1801, that he would go to America. Another cause was the continued war between England and France, into which I feared that my brothers and myself would be drawn, without any benefit to ourselves, merely to satisfy the ambition of wicked men; but thanks be to the Father of all mercies, we arrived safe in this city

on the 19th of July, 1801, having been a week or eight days at quarantine, at the Lazaretto. Soon after we came in I found that there were many things objectionable here, and often formed in my mind the most extensive plans of operation, having in view nothing less than to change the whole system of social order, so far as to secure to every human being a place on the earth, where he might rest his weary limbs without paying to a landlord the money earned by hard labour, that ought to be laid out in food and clothing for his family. My first effort was to unite the energies of the whole family to place ourselves above the reach of urgent want, in these efforts my health was prostrated several times. I had obtained sufficient knowledge of two mechanical trades, by the age of eighteen, to work as a journeyman. During the sad prostration of health, under which I suffered, my mind roamed, and formed plans of the most extensive kind, and waking as from a dream, I would think what opinion my friends would form of me if they could know my thoughts; they would consider me only fit for a place in bedlam. It was in the fall of 1823 I found the first company that wished to make some improvement in the state of society; some of them are still living. They had been led into that way by the reading of a pamphlet on commonwealths, and learning that an attempt had been made in New York to found a community of goods, to be located in Virginia. Accordingly we formed a "Society for promoting Christian Commonwealths," of which I was soon after appointed secretary. This movement was occasioned by the wild philosophy of Robert Owen, of New Lanark, in Scotland, a native of Montgomeryshire, in Wales, a county adjoining Cardiganshire, where I was born. I had not the least faith in Mr. Owen's theory, as it was founded on the denial of the doctrine of human depravity, the very denial of which is deep depravity in itself, because it opposes experience, and gives the lie to the declaration of God, who has said that all the thoughts of man are

evil, only evil continually. I stated distinctly in the outset that Owen's principles were founded in error, that his doctrines of circumstances were carried far beyond the point of truth. Nevertheless, as circumstances have a mighty influence for good or evil, I was willing to try them to the utmost. At the same time my object was to secure to every family a homestead of twenty acres of land, and secure it from all process of law, for I considered that in justice, a state was bound to protect women and children, however unworthy the father might be, and that in forming the social state such measures ought to have been adopted as to prevent any of the citizens from being left houseless and homeless. For whatever may be said of inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuits of happiness, it is manifest that if a man has no portion of earth on which he may stand and raise the means of living, whatever be the theory of politicians, he has no right to live on this earth; he only lives on sufferance.

I will not now enter into a detail of the various means which were adopted by the reformers, for the failure of one plan induced the adoption of another. But during the whole I did all I could to forward these plans. Many of my fellow-citizens know me, and remember how I stood alone before Independence Hall, with a banner, which was seen over the whole ground, to canvass for votes, and be the object of ridicule to fools, who, because they could put in a few bits of paper, once a year, to decide who should enjoy the honour and emoluments of office, supposed that the true ends of government had been attained. In thus speaking I do not reflect on the founders of the Republic; they acted a worthy part, they established a government where the citizens had the power to make any improvements they chose, and that was what humanity had never gained before, at least not in so eminent a degree, and on such a splendid stage. To bring about these improvements I made every sacrifice

of feeling and means, and by our united labour the people of this country have enacted homestead laws in many of the states, and a large majority of the House of Representatives in Congress have passed a law giving every family a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres.

These are great objects gained in the course of thirty years of agitation, and prove that the American people have advanced much in intelligence. But the measure having failed in the Senate, attempts are made now to sacrifice the national domain by bestowing immense quantities of it on the several States, and some editors who suppose themselves exceedingly wise, think this to be the best disposition that could be made of it. But should this measure be adopted, we may be assured that much of it will be sacrificed to the system of log-rolling, and fall into the hands of speculators, as the millions of acres given to the soldiers have already done. The government of the human race has been so sadly mismanaged, that men in general have not opened their eyes to the duty of government.

Philosophers, in nearly all lands, have admitted that all men have by nature equal rights to the earth, and the position is undeniable. By what mystery of iniquity then, have the great mass of mankind been deprived of their natural rights, and the poverty and oppression of the multitude laid at the door of God's Providence? Is it beyond the power of the human mind to adopt some plan by which men may be put in possession of their natural rights, in that portion of the public domain not yet disposed of. The Congress of the United States have now at their disposal two-thirds of the fairest portion of the North American continent. They hold in their hands the fortunes of millions upon millions yet unknown. I hope they will not act the part of our first parents, who sold themselves and their posterity to the Devil for an apple. Little less culpable will be their conduct if they suffer this extensive public domain to fall into the hands of

speculators. They have before them the experience of near six thousand years of human misery, and they have it in their power to turn the tide, and it is evident that many of them wish to do it. God grant that some preventive may be applied to the present movement of squandering the public land on States and Railroad Companies.

It is in a great measure for the purpose of making the American people acquainted with the fact, that man's natural right was once regarded in the social state that the "Letters on Welsh History" were written. It is not pretended that the Welsh people or government were perfect, nor is it in order to magnify our national character, although I value the opinion of the Americans more than that of any other people.

But this is a small matter compared to the desire of seeing the North American continent the permanent home of the free and the happy.

This cause has been injured by the infidel tendency of many of its advocates. The great body of Christians have in consequence stood aloof, and many wondered how I could associate with them. The fact is, that when I have any object in view, which I consider it my duty to attain, I will pursue it, and if need be, harness old Satan and Beelzebub. Could I overturn the power of the Devil by setting the devils at loggerheads, I would be glad to do it. I know that many who engaged in these agitations had the most deadly enmity against the gospel, and they were not without hopes of doing it a fatal injury. Such undoubtedly was the view of Robert Owen. But there is a promise in the "word of Truth" that the time would come when one man would not plant and another eat, nor one man build and another inhabit. And as this could not take place till man was put in possession of his natural rights to the earth, and knowing that the words were spoken by a Being who cannot lie, and who cannot be frustrated in his designs by man or devil, I have gone on with full confidence in the justice of my course, and not without

a strong hope of seeing it prevail in this country, should I attain near my father's age at the time of his decease; but whether or no, if the cause is just, God is not at a loss for instruments. All that a man is required to do, is to perform his duty, and leave the consequences to God, he can take care of consequences. Fault has been found with citizens of foreign birth for meddling so much with politics. There is one important interest settled by the Constitution, and having been settled, I have never agitated it. I allude to slavery in the South. But in relation to the rights of the white population, the subject is left open, and it is the duty of every citizen to do all in his power to advance the interests of them all, at all times avoiding any attempt to invade vested rights, for no man in the land is more anxious than I am to pay every man his due, whether it be house rent or any thing else. I am myself disgusted with the movements of many foreigners. Some of them attempt to disseminate popery, others infidelity. They have a right to do it under our laws, and I do not wish to hinder them. But others have rights too, and rights in far better accordance with the spirit and design of American institutions. The ancient Welsh laws and constitutions awarded all the citizens five acres of land free, on the principal of natural right, and five more in virtue of any excellence in the arts and sciences, besides the exemption of all personal property. To agitate for the introduction of such provisions in the United States, is in perfect accordance with institutions already established, and provides the most effectual means for their perpetuity to the end of time.

TESTIMONIALS.

Rock Springs, (Shilo P. O.) Illinois, }
April 24, 1852. }

SAMUEL JENKINS, ESQ. — *Dear Sir* — I am much gratified to learn from the "Christian Chronicle," you are about publishing your "LETTERS ON WELSH HISTORY," with extracts from their "TRIADS." In my historical researches, I have found enough to convince me there is much for historians to learn from the records of that singular and unique people. Though there may be much of fable and "tradition" in the fragments handed down from remote times, as is the case in all ancient nations, I am satisfied from a careful exploration of such facts and legends as I can find in English, and conversation and correspondence with Welsh scholars, who have had access to those writings that remain untranslated in their native tongue, the true character of that people, and especially the *Druids* at the period of the introduction of Christianity among the ancient Cumry, is but very imperfectly known.

Nor do those who have not specially examined the subject know the amount of influence Wales has had in forming the elements of our national character. Few are aware of the admixture of Welsh blood in our population; nor the number of family names, that with some variations of spelling and pronunciation, are found in our country. In an article published in the *Christian Review* for January, 1851, I touched on this subject, and gave a partial list, but it admits of great enlargement.

In a lecture on the "*Elements of Western Character*," delivered to the Alumni, of Georgetown College, Ky., then under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Malcolm, and

of McKendree College, Illinois, then under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Wentworth, (both now citizens of Pennsylvania,) and on several other occasions by special request, I have given a more full exhibition of this subject. From this lecture I send you an extract, containing *my views* of this subject, after careful research, which I will call—*Sketches of the Welsh*.

For some of the prominent elements of our national character, and those which in a peculiar sense distinguish us from all other people, we are indebted to Wales, and the descendants of the ancient Britons. There are a much larger number of families in the United States, and especially in this great central valley, who are of Welsh ancestry by lineal descent and intermarriage, than people suppose.

The elements of Welsh character consist in a strong and vigorous intellect, indomitable energy, great courage, high moral sentiments, intense feeling, great vivacity, untiring zeal, and active benevolence. With the original Welsh character, is commingled the industry, enterprise, and piety of the Puritan, and the frankness and magnanimity of the cavalier. The Welsh are impulsive, yet prudent and cautious; firm, yet courteous. Their strong attachment to civil liberty is excelled only by their stern devotion to religious freedom and the rights of conscience. For seven hundred years they resisted the aggressions of the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans; defended with patriotic heroism their mountain fastnesses; and it was not until the thirteenth century they submitted to the crown of England, under Edward I., whose son, having been born in Caernarvon, was made Prince of Wales. Soon after that period, immigrants from Wales began to settle in England, and their influence was gradually but effectually felt on the morals of the phlegmatic Saxons, and over the chivalrous and impetuous Normans.

The Welsh have always drawn the correct line of demarcation between politics and Christianity; between the government of Cæsar and the prerogatives

of Jesus Christ. The separation of the true Christian churches from every form of human government was a radical and fundamental principle in all the ancient communities of Christians, which I recognize as churches of Jesus Christ in the early part of the Christian era, and through every period. But where do we find the sublime idea of the separation of politics and religion—of perfect mental freedom with due subjection to the “powers that be,” as a *human* idea. That it was of divine origin is taught by Christ in John vi. 36, and Matt. xxii. 21. But where do we find its practical existence in any political institution? As a *political* and *national* idea, it was carried out in practice only amongst the WELSH DRUIDS. There was the fountain of druidism—the original source from which in a perverted form, and blended with cruel rites, it prevailed among the Germans and Gauls. Cæsar and Tacitus are the only sources from which English and German historians have obtained all their knowledge of druidism, and the history and principles of this singular order. Their knowledge of the druids of Britain was obtained second-handed, and chiefly from Continental Europe. Welsh annals, known only to Welsh antiquarian scholars, are said to exist, and which cast new light on druidical character, customs and usages. Their true system and central government were amongst the ancient Britons, but historians in a strange country, wholly ignorant of the language, and having partial knowledge of the peculiar habits of a singular people, always misrepresent, and often exaggerate. Such, if I am not mistaken, are the “annals” of Tacitus, and the “commentaries” of Cæsar on British druidism.

Let us now look through Welsh glasses along the vista of the past. We discern in an obscure Island, on the western verge of the European horizon, a conclave of venerable men, assembled in a grove of oaks. The sacred mistletoe hangs in dark, green clusters along the branches, and, as they fancy, sheds down on them

the influences of wisdom, virtue, and piety. They are a body of *priests*, for they offer all the public and private sacrifices of the people. They are the *teachers*, for they instruct the people in the duties of religion, piety, and morality, and the youth in knowledge and virtue. They are the *scholars* and *philosophers* of a rude and barbarous people, for they penetrate the mysteries of nature, and develop her properties. They are *poets*, for they chant their lectures in verse, and weave immortal triads. They are *physicians*, for they study the anatomy and physiology of the human frame, and heal the sick. They are *scribes and historians*, for they are perpetuating their discoveries by marks and symbols on monuments. They are "Freemasons," and "Oddfellows," for they have secret conclaves, and know each other by mystic signs; and have forms of initiation which none but the brotherhood can understand. They are *statesmen*, for they make the laws and govern the people in all respects, except in war. They are *architects*, for they are planning and erecting temples from massive rock. They are *astronomers*, for they gaze on the heavenly bodies, and by some process, to us unknown, calculate their motions and laws. They are *astrologers* and *sooth-sayers*, for they fancy the stars on which they gaze have a mysterious influence over the birth and destiny of mortals, and calculate their fortunes accordingly. In government they are *republicans*, for their chief is elected by a majority of votes. They are *not Christians*, for the Messiah has not yet come, nor has the gospel been made known to the posterity of Japheth. No portion of the ancient revelation of God to the Jews has reached their Island. They are groping their way onward and upward by the dim lights of reason and experience.

Yet one ray of celestial light has fallen on their pathway;—one ethereal spark has electrified their minds. They have engraven it on their monuments and tombs;—adopted it in the mystic rites of their

worship, and chaunted it in verse to their listening disciples. It enters into the fabric of their government, and lays at the foundation of all their claims on the consciences of their votaries. When translated into our modern English, it reads

“TRUTH AGAINST THE WORLD.”

Its meaning is obvious. The human mind should have no coercion in the investigation of *truth*. No restraint should be laid on the adoption and propagation of *opinions*.

Though this fact of ancient Druidical history, probably was unknown to the distinguished statesman who wrote, “error may be safely tolerated, where truth is left free to combat it,” the idea is the same under another dress. “*Freedom in religion—freedom in speech—and freedom of the press,*” are now the “pass-words” of all friends of human liberty.

When the gospel was first propagated in Wales, and converts from the Druidical system to Christianity made, there was no persecutions from the priesthood or the government; a single exception in the early history of Christianity. How can we account for this unless there was some such great practical principle in Druidism? And the Welsh have been in every age the unflinching advocates of religious liberty. All our ideas and principles on this subject, deep-seated as they are in the hearts of the American people, are of Welsh origin, for this element in Puritanism came from Wales into England. The Lollards brought into England the principles of the entire separation of church and state, religion and politics; but the broad and general principles of entire mental freedom came from Wales. The everlasting twaddle about *Anglo-Saxon* influence and power in England has obscured many great facts of English history, and the continuous migrations from Wales to England, the great number of family names among her great men, and some of

the strong lineaments of English character, came from that quarter before the settlement of the American colonies.

And Wales, by its colonists, direct to America, and especially of Baptists, diffused these ancient principles in the old settlements of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware. And this class of people spread them through Virginia, and the Carolinas from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty years gone by. It was occasional attendance on the meeting days of a small Baptist Church in Virginia, while a student of law under the late Chancellor Wythe, and observing their simple and congregational mode of settlement, when all the members exercised the right of suffrage, that the late Thomas Jefferson caught the vast idea of a national, or state government, managed by the democracy. I give the late Charles Thompson, Esq., the intimate friend of Mr. Jefferson, and well known in the region of Philadelphia forty and fifty years since, as voucher for this statement. But enough said.

Yours respectfully,

J. M. PECK.

MESSRS. EDITORS: Some time ago I forwarded you another article on the "Baptists in Wales," in which, as in the first, I largely quoted dates, &c., from "Books recently published in Wales," but I fear that similar to many other letters that I have forwarded to America, it never reached its destination. The *Chronicle*, week after week, has arrived regularly, but in vain have I searched its interesting columns for my correspondence! I now feel sorry that pressing engagements at that time would not permit me to keep a copy of my letter, otherwise I would again send it you, because I cannot in any way account for its non-insertion.

tion, but by thinking that it has miscarried. I stated in that letter that it was my intention of giving to your readers a compendium of the generally received and published history of the "Baptists in Wales," in a series of twelve or fifteen letters, *and then* to compare the narration of one historian with the other, expose the discrepancies, and endeavour to arrive at something like correct data and faithful pictures. In this I have been anticipated by my talented brother Jenkins, whose extensive knowledge of the matter, whose sound judgment, and whose discriminating genius, enables him to surpass every other writer that I have seen and read on this interesting and important question,—and I think I have read all. I have shown his letters to many learned friends, they are highly delighted with them, and with myself, would be glad if brother Jenkins published his valuable remarks in an elegant volume. This is a great desideratum, for it would be an accession to our meagre ecclesiastical history. Trusting that this will come to hand safe, that you will have the kindness to let it appear, and let me know in a foot note whether my other correspondence reached your office or not,

Sincerely yours,

JNO. EMLYN JONES.

CARDIFF, WALES, Dec. 4, 1851.

P. S.—The letter alluded to never reached our office.—EDS.

In addition to the testimony of Mr. John Emlyn Jones, which appeared in the last number of the Chronicle, touching the correctness of the articles on Welsh history, that have appeared in the Christian Chronicle, the following is from Rev. David Davis, an Independent minister and poet in the west of South Wales:—

“I have lately sent you two newspapers, one in Welsh, and the other (the Caernarvon Herald) in English. In the last I have marked a part of the oration of Rev. David James, A. M., F. S. A., Incumbent of Kirkdale, Liverpool, and author of the Patriarchal Religion of Britain, or a Manual of Ancient Druidism, at the sitting of Tremadog, in which he said that ‘true religion continued in Wales while all the rest of the world was overshadowed by the darkness of Popery.’ I thought you would be pleased to learn that so distinguished an antiquarian was exactly of the same views as yourself on that point. Your views are strengthened by the fact that the English Lollards were in the habit of flying to Wales for safety. Sound divinity is found in the work of a number of the Bards of that period, and the boldest attacks on the Pope and the Popish priests and monks.

“The Welsh nation ought to feel thankful to you for bringing our stirring history and national peculiarities to the notice of the American people. The laws and social regulations of our nation, together with their religious tendencies and their love of liberty, is almost unknown to the rest of the world, because we have been shut up in a mountainous country; but I am glad that you have raised a corner of the veil to make known to the people of the new continent our history and renown.

“I should be glad to learn that you had published your excellent letters in a book, and that it had obtained a rapid and extensive circulation, as it deserves. Mr. John Emlyn Jones, a young and talented man from New Castle Emlyn, has promised to send a testimonial to the correctness of your views, either to you or the editors of the Chronicle, in which he will urge you to publish your letters in a book. I have informed him who you are, and who are your relatives. Perhaps his communication may be of more service than any thing I can send from these parts.

“I have shown your letters in the Chronicle to Mr.

Benjamin Williams, of Whitegrove, in the vale of Troeddyraur. He is the best historian in these parts. In a letter to me he says: 'I have read Mr. Jenkins' letters with much care, and have been peculiarly pleased with them. It appears he is a very correct historian, and that he has weighed everything he has read in the balance of reason. I should be glad to learn that he had published his letters in a book, and I should think that there is a sufficient number of Welsh in America to pay the expense, if no others would purchase the books.' "

TRIADS
OF THE SOCIAL STATE
OF THE
ANCIENT BRITONS.*

REMARKS.

THESE triads, or rather the system of teaching by means of triads, is ascribed to Dyvnwal Moelmud, a

* The triads here translated, are taken from the *Archæology of Wales*, vol. iii. p. 285, where they form a part of many of a similar nature, published in the same work, under the general denomination of "Triads of Wisdom of the Bards of the Isle of Britain." Strictly speaking, therefore, these are not the "Law Triads of the Ancient Britons," which occur in a subsequent part of the same volume of the *Archæology*. However, it has been thought advisable to retain the title adopted by Mr. Roberts. Dyvnwal Moelmud, to whom these triads are ascribed, (though the justice of this imputation may reasonably be questioned,) is thought to have lived about four centuries before the Christian era. According to the *Historical Triads*, he was the son of Dyvnwarth ab Prydain, and, according to the *British Chronicles*, the son of Clydno, a prince of the Cornish Britons. For translations of the triads relating to him, see the *CAMBRO-BRITON*, vol. i. pp. 45, 284; and vol. ii. pp. 145, 146. It may be proper here to add that this translation, from the pen of a distinguished Welsh scholar, was presented to the *CYMMRODORION* by the Right Hon. C. W. W. Wynn, to whose active interest the Society has been considerable indebted. The translation is printed literally from the MS. of the late Mr. Roberts; and such observations as may be deemed necessary to explain the text will be found in the following notes.—ED. TR.

British prince or king who lived about three centuries before the Christian era, and there is no doubt that some of these triads were composed by himself, but added to during many successive ages. This is a case similar to the Psalms. They are called the Psalms of David, although but a little over one-third appear to have been composed by him, for one of them is placed to the credit of Moses, and another composed after the return from Babylon, covering a period of nearly a thousand years. These triads undoubtedly describe the social state of the Cumry or Welsh for at least fifteen centuries, and to a considerable extent for the period that intervened between the submission of the Welsh to Edward the first till the union with England in 1544—a period of two hundred and sixty years, altogether about eighteen hundred years. Within that period there were considerable improvements or innovations upon the original institutions, for there were two revisions; the first occurred under Bran Vendigaid (Brennus the blessed), the father of Caractacus, mentioned in Roman history; the second revision was made in the reign of Howell, prince of South Wales, who died in the year 948. The reader will observe the vast respect paid to “worthy” marriage among the Welsh, and how tender were their laws upon the ignorant and the stranger, crimes that would have insured capital conviction in a native who was a citizen. If the perpetrator was a stranger, and ignorant of the language, there was a bar to capital punishment.

It may also be observed, that the great point aimed at in Welsh legislation was the benefit of the individual man. He had natural rights of which the law could not deprive him. This, in all cases of citizenship, amounted to five acres of land, together with cattle and grain, the implements of his calling, his books and military equipment; “because it is unjust in the law to unman the man, or uncall the calling.”

It will be seen here that, till within a very short time,

how much less regard to the man was paid even in this country.

There were kings and princes in Wales in a small way, and there were men of considerable wealth out of any official station, but with all this the poorest citizen had his five acres of land in virtue of natural right, and five more as privileges connected with certain trades and liberal professions. The punishment for theft was rather severe, for to steal to the value of four byzants was a capital crime. Necessity was a bar to capital punishment, if not a bar against any punishment; but it must be recollected that without the possession of a foot of land, the stealing of any thing amounting to fifteen pence was a capital crime in England till very recently, and the direst necessity was no bar to the penalty.

Burning was one mode of inflicting the death penalty. This was a revolting penalty, but it should be borne in mind, that in all other countries the penalty for believing in Jesus Christ, and worshipping him in spirit and in truth, was burning; in Wales it was no crime, being regarded as the highest virtue. To draw a naked weapon in a religious assembly was punishable as murder; for such assemblies "were under the protection of God and his peace." Another reason for the laws was that persons who frequented such places "did not trouble any whom they met" here. Innocence formed a panoply for its possessors. Meeting an armed man and killing him in a fair fight was a venal offence, but an assassin was put to death without mercy. No one dared to molest a man unarmed, nor a woman, nor *a man before his beard was grown*. Persons under fourteen years of age could not be subjected to capital punishment, and even persons who from their foreign origin were not citizens, had a right inalienable in three things—their wives, their children, and their movable goods. A man who was unjustly treated by the king himself was defended by his whole tribe or district; the chief was bound to

sustain his right, and the king had to make restitution like any other man, if he had taken more than the laws prescribed.

All men were presumed innocent till proved guilty. And it will be seen in these triads that the laws of evidence were as well understood then as they are now by any "Philadelphia lawyer," and yet the credit of the discovery of these laws of evidence has been given to Lord Bacon, because he explained them to the English. He might very easily have learned them from some of the Welsh records, which were in possession of the universities, written in excellent Latin. And besides all this, in South Wales a man could not be convicted without a fair trial before a jury of his peers. Moreover, the independence of a Welsh jury is proverbial; they consider themselves judges of the law and the facts. If a judge gives such explanations of the law as does not tally with their views, they will very readily tell him, "We know the law." Judge Blackstone, in his Commentaries on English law, when he gives eminent instances of close discrimination in juries, gives instances in Welsh juries. All this arises from the dignity which is attached to the man; in other countries the individual was nothing, the State was all, even in matters connected with religion. In all other countries there were objects and modes prescribed by law, which must be observed under the severest pains and penalties, no regard being paid to the interests and feelings of the individual; the reverse was the case in Wales, although the ministers of religion derived some support from the state as a matter of public benefit, "by making truth manifest, and to prevail with peace over disorder and riot;" but individuals were not compelled to comply with any doctrines or forms which they did not approve. Besides all which the authority that made provision for the maintenance of religion was derived from the people, through the elective franchise, possessed by all the citizens of the male sex whose beards were grown, and

all married women. And as no person could be deprived of a privilege once attained in Wales, except in punishment of crime, I have no doubt but that widows had the elective franchise.

The translation of these triads was made by Rev. Petēr Roberts, an eminent scholar. His English is not exactly the English of the American people, but the general spirit of them will be clearly understood, and they will bring to view a state of society, that no one unacquainted with Welsh history could have supposed to exist in Europe through the middle ages. It will also refute the pretensions of the papists, now so boldly assumed in this country, that liberal principles originated among the Roman Catholics. So far is the allegation from being true, that the papists made an interminable war upon these free institutions. This opposition would have crushed every spark of truth and freedom in any people but the Welsh.

Such has been the conspiracy against the rights of humanity for the last twelve hundred or more years, that had not the principles of truth and of human rights found a refuge in Wales, it would seem as if justice and truth would have been banished from the earth.

In this conspiracy against the heavens and the dearest rights of men was enlisted the papacy, and all the kings and governments of Europe, that of Wales alone excepted; and but for the circumstance that they broke the Norman power in England, I do not see but that England might now be as Popish as any other portion of Europe, for the French had maintained some degree of independence in church matters, but the English had been trampled upon by the Papacy. Philip the Fair, King of France, had removed the Pope to Avignon, to have him under his eye, but the kings of England, and the whole nation, were terrified at the approach of a messenger bearing a denunciation from the Pope.

The scene changed as soon as the Welsh expelled the Plantagenets, and placed the Tudors on the throne. The cruelty and bigotry of Mary may be ascribed to the Spanish blood and bigotry derived from her mother, and the overbearing temper of her father. The ascendancy of the Welsh, although not free from imperfection, was unfriendly to the tyranny of papacy. Although the Tudors themselves were despots, it became necessary to circulate the Bible as a counterpoise against the papacy. Nevertheless, there was a principle inseparable from Welsh ascendancy, for it is well known that the national standard of Wales was a red dragon, and the inscription on it was the national motto, "The Truth against the World;" it was the standard of truth. The English standard was the cross of St. George, which was the emblem of cruelty and superstition, as held by the Papists.

When the King of England deprived the Welsh of their independence, the English represented St. George piercing the Dragon, but at Bosworth field the Dragon proved that he was still alive, and trailed the standard of England in the dust. Whatever may be said to the contrary, these national emblems have a potent meaning. Nations have their characteristics and tendencies, notwithstanding individual exceptions. The liberal principles, now so much admired and cherished, obtained a permanent footing by the victory of Bosworth. The Protestant Reformation was only a demonstration on another portion of the kingdom of darkness, by the overruling providence of God. It favoured the truth in Britain, but was evanescent in itself, owing to the want of a proper stamina in the German mind, for it has gone into Neology. But in Britain the truth had a deeper soil; it had its munition of rocks in Wales, for it is apparent that under the following laws and social institutions there was a refuge for truth.

THE TRIADS OF DYVNWAL MOELMUD, CALLED THE TRIADS OF THE SOCIAL STATE,* AS COMPRISING THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE CYMRY, SUCH AS THEY WERE BEFORE THEY LOST THEIR PRIVILEGES THROUGH THE OPPRESSION, FRAUD, AND TREACHERY OF THE SAXONS.

TRANSLATED BY THE LATE REV. PETER ROBERTS.

1. THE three fundamental principles of a social state: privilege, possession, and mutual compact.†

2. The three fundamental principles of social compact: protection, punishment, and pre-eminence, in so far as each is beneficial to country and clan.

3. The three privileges and protections of the social state: security of life and person, security of possession and dwelling, and security of natural right.‡

4. Three things that dissolve the social state: affection, fear, and connections foreign to it.§

5. Three things that confirm the social state: effectual security of property, just punishment where it is due, and mercy tempering justice where the occasion requires it in equity.

* The original words, here rendered "social state," are *gwladoldeb a chydwladoldeb*, which appear to imply the general rights appertaining to a country and community. The words adopted in the translation are, therefore, perhaps as near as the English tongue will allow, though not fully expressive of the meaning of the Welsh.—ED. TR.

† The Welsh word is *cyvraith*, which implies, in a popular sense, "law." According, however, to its etymological construction, the meaning above given is accurate. In the Law Triads it is defined as "a just establishment that is made between a king and his subjects."—ED. TR.

‡ The word, here rendered "security," is *nawdd*, which appears to be synonymous with the *patrocinium* of the Romans, and, occasionally, with their *asylum*; in both which acceptations it occurs in the Laws of Hywel. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," by Wotton, pp. 14, 15, 118, &c.—ED. TR.

§ The word in the original, translated by "connections foreign to it, is *cymmudd*.—ED. TR.

6. Three things that destroy the social state utterly: cruelty instead of punishment, mercy perverting justice through partiality, and fraudulent judgment where a native or a stranger is debarred of his right.*

7. The three pillars of a social state: sovereignty, the law of the country, and distribution of justice.†

8. Three duties that are incumbent on each of these three pillars: justice to all, privilege and protection to all, and competent regulations for the benefit of the community as to instruction, information, and record.

9. Three things that defend the social state: power, privilege, and just punishment according to the established legal manner.

10. The three elements of law: knowledge, natural right, and conscientiousness.

11. The three ornaments of the social state: the learned scholar, the ingenious artist, and the just judge.

12. The three proofs of a judge (*that is, of his capacity as a judge*):‡ knowledge of the law, knowledge of the customs, which the law does not supersede, and knowledge of its times,§ and the business thereto belonging.||

13. Three things which a judge ought always to study: equity¶ habitually, mercy conscientiously, and knowledge profoundly and accurately.

* Literally it should be—"and a false judgment, whereby a man loses his natural protection (*nawdd*), whether he be a native or an alien."—ED. TR.

† More properly, the "office of a judge," or "legislature," (*yngneidiaeth*).—ED. TR.

‡ This is a note of the translator, as are all the parenthetical observations in italics.—ED. TR.

§ Qu. *terms*?—ED. TR.

|| *Prawv Ynad*, the Judge's Proof, forms the title of the third book of the Laws of Hywel. See Wotton's "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 186. And this book it was necessary every judge should thoroughly understand before he undertook the office.—ED. TR.

¶ Or "truth" (*gwirionedd*).—ED. TR.

14. Three things necessary to a judge, in order that he may know and conscientiously determine any claim or plea brought before him: to be earnest in his own zeal for the truth, and in searching it out by his own natural abilities; to inquire diligently so as to find out the truth from others;* and to be subtle in examining, so as, in any cause brought into his court, to discover deceit, which otherwise, though he were conscientious, might mislead his decision, and pervert justice: for a judge ought to be thoroughly clear in his knowledge of the cause brought before him, in order that his decision may be just and conscientious.

15. The three chief duties of sovereignty: an honourable mutual support (*on the part of sovereign and subject*); confirming instruction in the sciences of the country, (*the constitutional principles*), so that the support may be according to prescription and law;† and confirming the privilege of those who perform their just duties in clan and community, and also that of foreigners in protection of the community.

16. The three molestations of a state: dissociability, that is to say, breach of privilege‡ with respect to honest men and their property; injury,§ such as theft, murder, way-laying, or oppression contrary to law or prescription; and negligence, that is, inattention|| to

* There seems to be a little omission here. The translation should be, literally, thus—"To be inquisitive as to obtaining knowledge from other persons, and by other means, that may lead to the truth."—ED. TR.

† "And according to country and sovereignty," should have been added.—ED. TR.

‡ More properly, perhaps, "want of protection" (*gwallym-nawdd*); and "dissociability," immediately preceding might have been more accurately rendered by "injustice" or "a failure of justice:" the Welsh word is *annrawd*.—ED. TR.

§ The original is *anrhaith*, which may be translated here "violence." It means, generally, spoil or pillage, or any violent illegal act.—ED. TR.

|| "Want of consideration" appears to be a more appropriate version of the Welsh word *gwallymbwyll*.—ED. TR.

regular times, business, and duties, which are above the law and cannot be infringed otherwise than by common consent of country and sovereign, after their examination of past experience and of the necessity and advantage of any alteration.

17. Three things primarily honourable in a sovereign: protection of the good, punishment and prevention of evil, and a careful discrimination between what is right and wrong in any cause, so as to give a just judgment.

18. The three guardians of law: a learned judge, a faithful witness, and a conscientious decision.

19. Capital inflictions of punishments are three:* loss of life,† loss of limb, and exile by hue and cry of men and dogs:‡ and the king may direct which he pleases to be inflicted.

20. Loss of life may be inflicted three ways: by beheading, hanging, or burning; and the king or lord of the territory may direct which he pleases to be inflicted.

21. Punishments by distress are three: seizure of property, imprisonment, and forfeiture of privilege; when the privilege is forfeited, the person and his de-

* Properly speaking, capital punishment can only apply to loss of life: it would therefore have been better to render this passage by "the three supreme penalties of the law." The original words are merely *Tuir cosp gadarn*.—ED. TR.

† The word here translated "loss of life" is *eneidvadden*, and implies, literally, the emancipation of the soul from the body. According to the Law Triads three persons were anciently doomed to capital punishment, without hope of pardon, or, as we should now say, "without benefit of clergy." These were—a traitor to his lord, a malicious murderer, and a confessed thief for the value of more than fourpence.—ED. TR.

‡ What is here translated "exile by hue and cry," &c. is literally, "exile to outlawry by cry and pursuit of men and dogs." According to the Laws of Hywel, nine men, at least, were required to assist in a public hue and cry (*cyrch cyhoeddawg*);—and it appears from other ancient authority, that the pursuit was to be carried on until the culprit was driven into the sea.—ED. TR.

scendants to the ninth generation remain in the state of an alien.

22. Penalty by amercement* is inflicted three ways: by seizure of property when it is not paid according to the demand; obliging the person to labour and service till security is given for the payment; and public correction, that is to say, a publication by horn and cry in every court, sacred place,† fair, market, and regular assembly, of the offence for which the penalty was imposed. Neither of these three can be avoided but by a lawful payment of the amercement.

23. Three pleas in bar against the infliction of capital punishment by court or judge: that the accused is a mother who was, in the criminal case alleged, defending her child, or is a son who has not yet a beard, or is an alien who does not understand the language of the country.

24. There are three legal pleas on which capital punishment is remitted (*essoigned*): the incapacity, ignorance, or extreme necessity of the accused; either of these three excuse from and bar a capital punishment.

25. Three persons who are not to be subjected to punishment: one deaf and dumb from birth; a child before it attains understanding; and a natural fool, according to the common expression, "An idiot cannot be punished." But (*instead of punishment*) written notice on the royal posts or pillars‡ must be given, and proclamation made, with a description of the persons of such deaf and dumb person or natural

* The word is *camlwrrw*, which is often used in the Laws of Hywel in a more limited sense, and is there explained to be a fine of three kine or one hundred and eighty pence.—ED. TR.

† More properly here, perhaps, "village." The Welsh word is *llan*.—ED. TR.

‡ Mr. Roberts (the Translator) expresses his opinion here, that "there were two pillars before a court, and that this was the origin of the two blue posts before taverns for proclamations."—ED. TR.

fool, that the public may be on their guard against them, and hence it is said, "The fool goes on the post."

26. The three mutual ties of country and clan: paternity, filiation, and brotherhood; that is to say, paternity on the part of the government, in caring, directing, and providing for the welfare of the community; filiation in obedience to the paternity, for the sake of order and regularity; and brotherhood, in uniting with and aiding the other two in their respective capacities, so as to strengthen the connection between country, clan, and regular government.*

27. The three ties of brotherhood† and clan: just liberty of ingress and egress, common rights, and just laws.

28. Three things becoming civil society: the sciences of wisdom, the useful arts, and the accomplishments of refinement.‡

29. The three supports of the arts and sciences: instruction given by teachers privileged and perfectly skilled; privileges conferred for the sake of the sciences or arts to those who are skilled in them; and rewards secured by law to men of science and artists for what is regularly§ done by them according to injunction or agreement.

30. The firm grounds of social agreement: clear and decisive argument, which cannot rationally be withstood; security of rights, which cannot justly be in-

* The original expression is *teyrnedd dosparthus*, which is more correctly, "*discreet government*."—ED. TR.

† The word is *brodoriaeth*, and perhaps, means here "civil society," which "brotherhood" can hardly imply. The Welsh term, translated "brotherhood" in the preceding triad, is *brawdoldeb*, a word of different signification from *bradoriaeth*.—ED. TR.

‡ This triad was left untranslated by Mr. Roberts, since he considered it the same as No. 11; but this does not appear to be exactly the case.—ED. TR.

§ Perhaps "discreetly" or "skilfully" would be better: the expression is *yn ddosparthus*.—ED. TR.

fringed ; and steady distribution of justice, not to be perverted by one high in privilege or office.

31. Three things bring a state or community* to ruin : exorbitant privileges ; perversion of justice ; and an unconcern, which suffers the regulations of country and clan to fall into disorder.

32. Three things that continue firm only so long as they are on firm grounds : law, property, and internal peace (*peace of clan*).

33. Three things essential to every law of general obligation : power, equity, and conscientiousness.

34. Three things essential to the giving of a just judgment : † an active and sound mind ; a firm adherence to the laws ; ‡ and a conscientious decision, whether by judge or sovereign.

35. The three primary considerations of sovereignty : the necessities of the country and its allies the judgment of the wise, and the decision of the general voice of the state and its dependencies.§

36. Three things indispensable to a state of society : a chief, as king ; law, enacted by the general voice of the country (*rhaith gwlad*) ; and administration of justice.

* *Gwladoldeb* & *chydwladoldeb* ; “ the state and community.—ED. TR.

† *Tri deiniogaeth barn gyeiaen* ; “ the three perfections of a just judgment.”—ED. TR.

‡ Perhaps “ a punctilious decision according to law ” would be nearer the original expression, which is—*deddvoldeb gymmrawd ar gyreithiau*.—ED. TR.

§ *Rhaith gwlad*, here rendered “ voice of the state,” is described in the Laws of Hywel to mean the oath of fifty men who held lands under the king. And the Law Triads are to the same effect. See Wotton’s “*Leges Wallicæ*,” pp. 190 and 353. The word, here translated “ dependencies,” is *cymmrawd*, referred to in the last note, and which does not appear to have such a signification. The preceding word “ allies ” seems also to be somewhat incorrect as a version of *cywlad*. Perhaps the whole Triad would be closer to the original if it were thus altered :—The three chief duties of sovereignty : an attention to the necessities of the country and its dependencies ; to the discernment of the wise ; and to the legal decisions and common judgment of the community.”—ED. TR.

37. Three things indispensable to a civil community : a sovereign head ; union of suffrage in legislation ; and judgment by verdict collective from the union of common claim, whether in the native of the principal or adjoining country.

38. Three things indispensable to each of the three former : knowledge arising from common judgment of the circumstances ; justice arising from conscientiousness ; and brotherly love between country and united country, between a man and his countrymen, and between man and man. Where these are wanting, it is difficult to guard against great disunion and injustice.

39. The three primary objects of the social state : common defence ; common privileges of sciences and arts ; and the cultivation of the manners and usages of peace.

40. Three things that cannot be cultivated or improved save in a social state : agriculture, the privileged arts and sciences, and regular peace.

41. Three things that guarantee the peace of a fœderal country : primitive privileges (*or constitutional principles*) in common ; a common form of government ; and the cultivation of science,* protected equally in the fœderal country both by law and natural right.

42. The three ties of fœderation of a state : sameness of language, sameness of laws, and sameness of rights. Where these are not the fœderation cannot be firm.†

43. Three things that adorn a fœderation : laudable science, kind and steady conduct, and regular deportment in society.‡

* *Gwybodau doethineb*, “the sciences of wisdom.”—ED. TR.

† Perhaps this Triad would be more correctly rendered as follows :—The three common bonds of civil society ; a communion of language (*cyniaith*) ; a communion of judicial rights (*cymmrwd*) ; and a communion of privileges (*cymmrant*) : and without these no civil society can be firmly established.—ED. TR.

‡ The expression, here translated “kind and steady conduct

44. Three things that constitute a country: kindred, language, and rights; and these are called the ties to a country.

45. The three bonds of society: sameness of rights, sameness of occupancy, and sameness of constitutional laws.* Without these a social state cannot subsist.

46. Three things, without which there can be no (*social state of a*) country: common language, laws, and soil;† for without these it cannot support itself in peace and union.‡

and regular deportment in society," is *syberwyd cariadus*, a *chymmrawd ddosparthus*.—ED. TR.

* The original words are *cynawdd*, *cyrar*, and *cyraith*, which may be rendered "communion of protection, communion of tillage, and communion of laws." *Cyvar* seems to have implied, anciently, a kind of treaty of tillage or ploughing compact mutually agreed upon by two persons, in which sense it occurs in the Laws of Hywel, where it is prescribed that "whoever violates his *cyvar*, into which he has knowingly entered, shall forfeit, as a fine to the king, three cows, and shall indemnify his companion (*cyrarwr*) for all the loss he may have sustained."—See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 284. The ceremony of contracting this mutual obligation was somewhat solemn:—the parties binding themselves by an oath, with their hands united, that they would observe the terms of the contract until a certain portion of land, called *magl*, equivalent to about twelve days' work for one ox, was completely ploughed. See *ibid.* p. 279. The common acceptance of *cyrar*, at present, is an acre of land, though not of the same size as the English acre: it contains about 2822 square yards.—ED. TR.

† The words here used are *cyviaith*, *cyrraith*, and *cywardir*, with respect to which see the notes on Triad 42, and the last Triad.—ED. TR.

‡ The Welsh word, here translated "union," is *cymmrawd*, upon which some observations have been already offered in these notes, and which, it is here necessary to remark, Mr. Roberts does not appear to have translated upon two occasions alike: however, it is also proper to add, that the word may have too significations, according to its derivation, either from *brawd*, judgment, or *brawd*, a brother or fellow countryman. It seems to be used in the latter sense here, and, consequently, "union" is not an improper translation, although not embracing the full meaning, which is more strictly "*brotherly union*." ED. TR.

47. The three primary pursuits of a firm government: privileged trades, scientific knowledge, and agriculture; for from these three arise all other pursuits useful to a state; and, as the secondary pursuits depend on the primary, it is a necessity of state to establish the primary ones in a privileged and regular manner.

48. Three things without which no country is a good one: wood, stone, and wells of water.

49. Three things of common right to country and clan: an acorn wood;* hunting (*ground*;†) and an iron mine. Neither of these can become private property.

50. From these three a right of private property attaches to three things: the flesh of an animal taken in hunting when the carcass is flayed; acorns when gathered; and iron ore when dug up.

51. Three things that are the private property of a man in the social state, [that is to say, of such an one as is a native Welshman by priority of privilege:‡] his house; his cattle-fold and granary, (*or stack-yard*.§)

52. Every man, whether foreigner or Welshman, has

* It is a common tradition that acorns, as well as fern root, were used, amongst the ancient Britons, as a succedaneum for bread. According to another set of Triads, (*Triadd y Cludau*) the "three progressions without notice were those of hunting, corn-gathering, and an iron mine."—ED. TR.

† The word is *helwriaeth*, properly, perhaps, the diversion of hunting, not merely the *ground*. From the Law Triads it appears that there were annually three free or common hunts in Wales,—that of bees, of the fox, and of the otter. The latter is still common in many parts of the principality. According to the laws of Hywel, the royal hunt was to be pursued for the king's benefit, until the first of November, but, from that time until the ninth of the same month, the huntsmen were to hunt on their own account. "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 258.—ED. TR.

‡ The words between crotchets are omitted by the Translator.—ED. TR.

§ "Stack-yard" is more proper than "granary." The word is *ydarth*, a compound of *yd* and *garth*; but the word now commonly used is *ydlan*.—ED. TR.

a right of private property in three respects: his wife; his children; and his movable goods.

53. Every man has a peculiar property in three respects, which cannot be transferred, or given in payment of a fine: his wife; his children; and his *argyvreu*. By *argyvreu* are meant clothes, arms, and the implements of his lawful calling;* for, without these, a man is deprived of his station as a man, and it would be unjust in the law to unman the man, or uncall the calling.†

54. The three ornaments of a clan: book, harp, and sword; and these cannot be seized by distress of court or law.‡

55. Three persons that live fully privileged in a family, not being put to manual labour, work or office: an infant; one in old age; and the instructor of the family. These put not a hand to the sword, the horn, or the plough.

56. Three of privileged rank, against whom a weapon is not to be unsheathed: a bard; the chief of a clan; and a messenger from a bordering country.§

57. Three of common rank, against whom a weapon is not to be unsheathed; a man who is unarmed; a man before he has a beard; and a woman.

58. Three privileged places, wherein no weapons are to be unsheathed, (*opposed*): the session of country

* *Argyvreu* means also, the jewels and other property which a wife brings with her as her dowry. See CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. iii. p. 199.—ED. TR.

† The original expression is *anwriaw gwr neu anghelwyddu ccelvyddyd*.—ED. TR.

‡ There is something in this provision not unlike the modern English law, which privileges the implements of a man's trade from seizure for rent: it has been even decided that the books of a scholar or student come within the exemption, and on the same principle, no doubt, the harp of a musician.—ED. TR.

§ We learn from the Institutional Triads of Bardism, that it was one of the ancient privileges of the Bards that no naked weapon was to be borne in their presence, which agrees with this Triad as well as with No. 58 below. See CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 291.—ED. TR.

and lord; the session of assembly of maintenance, which is a general collective assembly; and the session of bards.

59. There are three national sessions, by privilege, in the island of Britain, [under the protection of the nation of the Cymry:*)] the session of the bards; which is the most ancient in dignity; the session of country and lord, that is to say a court of law, consisting of a general assembly of judges and constitutional assessors; and the session of union and maintenance, that is to say, a collective assembly of the nation, consisting of rulers, chiefs of clans,† and men of wisdom, from country and district, (*or border country*), [according to the ordinances of civil community and laws, as affecting a country in relation to itself or in relation to a border country;‡] by and with the assent and consent of country and country, ruler and ruler, and the agreement of privilege and privilege to act for the sake of peace and justice.§ And this shall bind all parties. No weapon is to appear drawn in these sessions, or within their limits, or during their continuance.||

* The words between crotchets are omitted in the translation.
ED. TR.

† The word is *pencenedlodd*, which is, perhaps, in some respects, synonymous with the "chiefs of clans," as the name was formerly understood in the Highlands of Scotland. For some remarks on the meaning of *pencenedl*, see CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. iii. p. 247.—ED. TR.

‡ The words between crotchets are omitted in the translation.
ED. TR.

§ The translation in this part is somewhat confused; but that may be, in a great degree owing to the peculiar idiom, and singular mode of expression of the Welsh tongue, which it is scarcely possible, in some cases, to transfer with literal exactness, into any other.—ED. TR.

|| The three sessions or assemblies, to which this Triad and the two following relate, may be described, in popular terms, as the bardic assembly, the court of civil judicature, and the conventional or extraordinary court. The Welsh terms are *gorsedd beirdd*, *gorsedd gwlad ac arglwydd*, and *gorsedd cynghyd cynnal* called, also, *gorsedd ddygynnull*. *Gorsedd*, it should be observed, is, more properly, a "court," or "congress," than a

60. There are three national sessions by privilege, to which are subject of right those who are interested as to protection, office, or dignity, or advantages accruing from trade or science, which are in the cognizance and jurisdiction of one or other of these sessions, and the subjection to them is of right, and due to the session whilst in deliberation, viz.—1. The session of the bards of the island of Britain, which has a judicial cognizance of every one who desires to profit by his talents in music, artificers' employment, or bardism; and all who attend the session are under its protection during the sitting, until its office and business are terminated. 2. The session of the king, or lord of the district (*shire**), and his assessors, judges, and barons; that is, every Cymro (*Welshman*), who is a proprietary of land, thus forming a court of justice and of law. 3. The session of general constitutional assembly; that is, a general assembly of country and its dependencies, to which the two preceding are amenable.† For, though the bardic session be prior in dignity, and the parent of all science, yet the session of general constitutional assembly takes precedence by right of power and necessity for the regulation and establishment of justice, privilege, and protection, in the country, its dependencies, and annexed and separated territories, in alliance. And without this general constitutional assembly, the other two could possess neither privilege nor power. For this session of general determination‡ of country and clan has three quali-

“session,” as above translated. Of the *gorsedd ddygynnull*, or conventional assembly, (which was also of three sorts,) full particulars may be found in the Law Triads, (Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. p. 329,) and in the *Leges Wallicæ*, p. 340. It would swell this note far beyond all due limits to insert them here.—ED. TR.

* The word in Welsh is *cyvoeth*.—ED. TR.

† The original expression is *ac i hon y dylyid warogaeth y ddwy ereill*, which is, literally, “and to which the two others owe homage.”—ED. TR.

‡ *Gorsedd rhaith ddygynnull* is the expression, which may be

fications, that is to say, it consists of the wisdom, the power, and the will of country and dependency, clan and united clan, in order to make, amend, and confirm law and union; and to confirm equity and privilege as to neighbouring countries, and territories in alliance, whether of borderers or separate, whether of foreigner or Welshmen, by common consent, so that in no part of the territories can it be withstood. This general session controls all other right of determination and of power, law, or authority, so that none other is equal to it; and it was this general constitutional assembly which first conferred the privileges of the lord of district, and his territory, and of the session of bards. In fact, it is evident that no privilege can exist but by the respect paid to it [this court] by country and clan.

61. There are three sessions of the Cymry, by the right of country and clan*:—1. The session of the bards of the isle of Britain;† the dignity and privilege whereof arise from its wisdom and constitution, and the necessity for it; or, according to other learned instructors, from its wisdom, constitution, and intent. The proper privilege and office of the session of bards is to maintain, preserve, and give sound instruction

rendered, “a court of conventional justice;” or, from the context, it may be called, “a general court of legislation.”—ED. TR.

* The words in the original are, literally, “three courts, (or assemblies,) according to the privileges of the country and nation of the Cymry.”—ED. TR.

† The *Gorsedd*, or Congress of the Bards, was a meeting of so much importance amongst the ancient Cymry, that some account of the time and manner of holding it may be here necessary. The following, as the most accurate hitherto published, is, therefore, extracted from the Essay on Bardism, prefixed to Mr. (now Dr.) Owen Pughe’s Translation of the Poems of Llywarch Hen.—“The regular times of holding a *Gorsedd*, or meeting, were the two solstices and equinoxes: subordinate meetings might also be held every new and full moon, and, also, at the quarter days, which were chiefly for instructing disciples. The regular meetings were supposed to be well known with respect to time and place; for there were appointed places as

in religion, science, and morality;* to preserve the memory of the laudable acts of individuals or clans; of the events of the times, and the extraordinary phenomena of nature; of wars, and regulations of country or clan; their retaliations on their enemies and victories over them; also faithfully to preserve the memory of pedigrees, marriages, liberal descent, privileges, and duties of the Cymry, and, when required by the other sessions, to publish what is necessary and

well as times." [This agrees with what Cæsar says of the Druids of Gaul. *Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. c. 13 and 14.] "Irregular meetings could only be held by proclamation; or, if arbitrarily held on urgent occasions, their acts required the confirmation of a *Gorsedd*, or public assent by subsequent proclamation. The *Gorseddau*, or meetings, were always held in the open air, and *in the face of the sun and in the eye of light*. The place was set apart by forming a circle of stones round the *Maen Gorsedd*." [The stone of Assembly:—it was also called *Crair Gorsedd*, or the Covenant Place of Assembly, and *Maen Llog*, or the Stone of Covenant.] "At the *Gorseddau* it was absolutely necessary to recite the bardic traditions; and, with this, whatever came before them was considered and determined upon. The bards always stood bare-headed and bare-footed, in their uni-coloured robes, at the *Gorsedd*, and within the *Cylch Cyngrair*, or Circle of Federation. The ceremony used on the opening of a meeting was the sheathing of the sword on the *Maen Gorsedd*, at which all the Presiding Bards assisted; and this was accompanied with a very short pertinent discourse. When the business was finished, the meeting was closed by taking up, but not unsheathing, the sword, with a few words on the occasion, when all covered their hands and feet. There were certain mottos used by the Bards; that for the general assembly of the isle of Britain was, *Gwir yn erbyn y byd*, The truth in opposition to the world. Those for the provincial meetings were such as had been adopted at the first establishment of them respectively. They were used as declaratory of the *cadair* or *talaith*, meeting or province, whereof the bard was a member, or of the meeting that enacted anything respecting the institution." Such were the principle features of a Bardic Congress, though it is not certain to what precise era the preceding account has reference. Other particulars may be found in the same work, as well as in Mr. E. Williams's "*Lyric Poems*," and in the first volume of the *CAMBRO-BRITON*, p. 445.—ED. TR.

* In the original, *syberwyd*.—ED. TR.

obligatory in the legal form of notice and proclamation. Farther than this, by office or privilege, the session of bards is not obliged to concern itself. The bards, therefore, are the authorized instructors of the Cymry of country or clan, having full privilege, more extensive than the common right of Cymry by birth; viz. (*in addition to*) five acres of ground free: also, each is entitled to a gratuity as due to his profession.*

* The duties and privileges, assigned in this and the preceding Triads to the conventional assemblies of the bards, accord so exactly with what is specified on the same point in the Institutional Triads of Bardism, that an extract from these latter cannot be out of place here.

1. The three primary privileges of the bards of the isle of Britain: maintenance wherever they go; that no naked weapon be borne in their presence; and that their testimony be preferred to that of all others.

2. The three ultimate objects of bardism: to reform morals and customs; to secure peace; and to praise everything that is good and excellent.

3. Three things forbidden to a bard: immorality; satire; and the bearing of arms, (*dwyn anwawl, dwyn anvoes, a dwyn arwau.*)

4. The three modes of instruction used by the bards of the isle of Britain: the instruction of voice; song; and usage by means of convention, (or congress).

5. The three delights of the bards of the isle of Britain: the prosperity of science; the reformation of manners; and the triumph of peace over devastation and pillage.

6. The three splendid honours of the bards of the isle of Britain: the triumph of learning over ignorance; the triumph of reason over irrationality; and the triumph of peace over depredation and plunder.

7. The three attributes of the bards of the isle of Britain: to make truth manifest, and to diffuse the knowledge of it; to perpetuate the praise of all that is good and excellent; and to prevail with peace over disorder and violence.

8. The three necessary, but reluctant, duties of the bards of the isle of Britain: secrecy for the sake of peace and the public good; invective lamentation demanded by justice; and the unsheathing of the sword against the lawless and depredatory.

For the remainder of these "Institutional Triads," see the second volume of Mr. E. Williams's "Lyric Poems," and the CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 290.—ED. TR.

2. The second is the session of country and territory,* that is, a session of judicature and legal decision, for the intent of justice and security to country and clan, (or the community generally or individually,) and their retainers and tenantry. For the departments of these several sessions are these: that of the session of general assembly to make laws when necessary, and confirm them in country and dependency,† which cannot be done without the concurrence of the dependency; the session of judicature decides on infractions of the law, and punishes them; and the session of bards teaches useful sciences, judges concerning them, and preserves the memory of family concerns regularly and truly; and neither of the three is to oppose pretensions of its own, in derogation of either of them, but, on the contrary, each should confirm, and co-operate with, the other two amicably. 3. The third session is that of the general constitutional assembly, the general and especial object whereof is to make such alterations for the better in the laws, or such new laws of country and district as may be necessary; by consent‡ taken in the districts of the chiefs of clans, men of wisdom and the sovereign paramount. The sovereign paramount, or sovereign head of the government, is the lineal heir in the eldest line of descent of the kings or princes of the district, and in him the authority§ rests; and his

* The same as the *Gorsedd Gwlad ac Arglwydd*. See the preceding note on this point. It would have been better, perhaps, if the translator had been uniform throughout in the names he has given to the respective assemblies.—ED. TR.

† This is the version of *gwlad a chywlad* almost always adopted by Mr. Roberts, and it appears to embrace the true sense of the expression.—ED. TR.

‡ *Gauraith cywlad*.—ED. TR.

§ *Cyffraw* does not appear to imply "authority." It means, generally, a commotion or agitation; in which sense it occurs in the Law Triads, where the "three commotions (or instigations) to revenge" are described to be "the shrieking of female relations, their seeing the bier of their kindred, and their seeing the unrevenged graves of their kindred." Is it possible that

determination is without appeal as the authority of the country.

62. There are three surreptitious* sessions. 1. When one who is a lawful magistrate, in the estate of a lord, is obliged to oppose a judicial decision, or enmities, or oppression; as, for instance, to alter or resist the laws of the king, he being obliged to convoko a particular or general assembly of country and clan on matter of constitutional right, when necessity demands it. Neither ought the community to oppose the magistrate who performs this duty; because that none but the lord can make a law, neither can he do so but by the consent of his country and clan in assembly; and there cannot be an assembly without notification of the place, time, intent of the meeting; and also provisions, shelter, lodgings, firing, and attendance. 2. The constitutional session of the chief of a clan, on a complaint of oppression or injustice on the part of the king or his judges, or when the law does not afford clear and permanent justice. In such case every Cymro has a right to his privilege by birth, and the chief of his clan has a sovereign authority to arrange the business with the aid and assistance of his clan and of men of wisdom; and the country ought not to oppose it. For the chief of a clan has a sovereign authority, and every native Cymro has the same in right of the chief of the clan; and the oaths of three hundred legal men, that is to say, men who owe service by tenure of land, shall confirm that which is done by

cyffraw should be in this place a misreading for *cyffrawd*, which has the meaning adopted by Mr. ROBERTS of "authority" or "influence?"—ED. TR.

* The word is *anghyvarch*, which, as here used, may be more properly rendered "extraordinary" or "extrajudicial." It certainly has the meaning of "surreptitious" on many occasions in the Welsh laws, but not in reference to a national council. See "*Leges Wallicæ*" in the index. And that the assemblies, here described, were of an "extraordinary" or "extrajudicial" character is sufficiently obvious from the context. *Anghyvarch* means, literally, "without notice."—ED. TR.

constitutional right arising from the authority of a native Cymro, by the protection and right of the chief of his clan. For every Cymro has a right to (*the produce of*) his labour, to (*making*) his complaint and his claim, according to his natural understanding, under the protection of the privilege of the chief of his clan; and every chief of a clan has a right to (*the support of*) the constitutional principles and voice of his country; and, when appeal is made to the voice of the country, has a right to its sovereignty, and every sovereignty has a right to (*the support of*) its territory (*over which it extends*) in the general voice of its assembly, least the law or privilege of the social state should be infringed. So that in this protection, (*viz. of the chief of the clan,*) every native Cymro has the privilege of his country, his voice, his authority, and his district, in general assembly. 3. The third (*of these sessions*) is one for the purpose of determining the merits of two or more laws, where they are held of equal authority, and by circumstances of the times, changes in the world, modes or states of life, the one tends more to injustice than the other. And that which is right cannot be done till it be known wherein the wrong consists; nor can any reformation be introduced unless the lord and community be apprised of it; neither are the lord and his people to introduce it without the knowledge and consent of their district, according to the regular prescription. For these purposes, (*of these sessions,*) legal notice and proclamation for a year and a day should be published, that a session of general determination, with the knowledge of country and clan, will be held, in order to consider what is wrong, and to reform it by just consent; and continue the discussion whilst there is just and necessary cause. And when a law is to be altered, due notice is to be given to country and clan, that they may know what is to be substituted for that which is to be repealed.*

* The legal provisions, embraced in this Triad, are so fully explained, that they require no illustration. The reader, who

63. Three things that are not to be done but by the joint will of country and district, and the paramount sovereign clan.* 1. Altering the law. 2. Deposing the king. 3. Teaching new doctrines, or introducing new regulations in the session of the bards. For these things (*as to the bards*) ought not to be done until country and clan is informed of their nature, their tendency, and regular order, according to the judgment of the learned who are authorised by law, and instructors of approved wisdom acknowledged by the general session of the bards of Britain, of country and district: where the purpose or discussion is in contravention to this, the doctrine is termed vain, and the profession of it obtains no privilege or profit. For neither law, nor regulation, nor profession, nor skill in any scientific respect, can acquire privilege until it be approved on examination by the judgment of the wise and learned, whose wisdom, and knowledge, and authority, have been privileged by country and clan. As to the deposition of a king; this can only be done by the unanimous voice of country and district. In a district the oaths of three hundred is the verdict in every territory of a lord, having a court of his own, subject to the court of the king in chief; and the majority of the districts shall confirm what is decided by the votes. The king in chief is the king or

is acquainted with the English common law, will be at no loss to trace an analogy, in more than one instance, with the ancient Welsh customs; and which, there can be no doubt, were well known to Alfred, who, accordingly, availed himself of them in the formation of his own famous code.—ED. TR.

* The original expression is a *chenedyl benbaladr*. Does the latter word imply the meaning here given it; or does it not rather signify, “especially” or “particularly,” as it is used in the Introduction to the Laws of Hywel? where it is said, that, when the Laws were completed, the invocation, employed in compiling them, invoked “the malediction of God, of that assembly, and of Wales more especially (*Cymru benbaladyr*) upon those who should transgress them.—ED. TR.

prince eldest in the line of descent of the kings of the whole country.*

64. Three ties of union that ought to be indissoluble as to country and clan. 1. The tie of country and clan, that is, a Welshman, wherever he be, in any country or district of Wales, is a Welshman of the same and equal social right in the one district as in any other, preserving still his particular right in the lordship of his native district. 2. The tie of government; for there ought to be but one king of all Wales, and he the lineal heir of the eldest branch of the princes of the whole country, and his word superior to the word of every other prince, that is to say, in the general session,† but not in other cases. For in all other cases the word of a prince or other lord, having a court of justice, is his word (*is absolute*) in his own territory and within its jurisdiction; and the eldest by descent is called king of all Wales, and king of Wales paramount. By Wales paramount, is to be understood the whole assemblage of the Welsh in all its territories and under its jurisdiction; each of whom is of equal right and privilege through its districts, except as to possessions and rights which are personal and particular, and not natural rights, such as those to land and offices in courts of justice. Hence the expression, "Every part of Wales is free to a Welshman." Moreover it is the prerogative of the king in chief to appoint and regulate the order of the general constitutional session, the session paramount, and the taking of the sense (*by voice*) of Wales paramount. Neither can an individual or a country, separately, do that which belongs to sceptre and sceptre paramount.‡

* According to the Editors of the *Archæology of Wales*, there is a defect in this Triad as it appears in that work, and from which this translation is made.—ED. TR.

† *Cynnull cywelad*, which may be more correctly translated "national assembly."—ED. TR.

‡ The Welsh expression here is *o baladr ac yn benbaladr*. *Paladr* means a shaft or spear, and may be here used meta-

3. The tie of the same common law, and right, and verdict. For the law, right, and verdict, ought to be uniformly the same to every native Welshman in every part of Wales, without distinction; because every part of Wales, without distinction, gives the same privileges to (*is the country of*) a Welshman, except as to particular private concerns, not dependant on his being a native of the country. Hence the expression, the country of Wales paramount; the race (*or clan*) of Welsh paramount; and the rights of Wales paramount.

65. Every Welshman by birth has three native rights, and in the term Welshman a Welshwoman is comprehended: * 1. The cultivation and tenure of five free acres of ground, in his own right, as a native Welshman; and the offspring of a sojourner, or foreigner, in the fourth degree of worthy marriages, that is to say, the great-grandson is included. 2. The use of defensive arms and signs, (*armorial bearings*, †) if a native Welshman of indisputably honourable descent, but not otherwise. 3. And the right of voting under the protection of the chief of his clan, which a male attains when he has a beard, and a female when she marries.

66. Vassals are of three descriptions, neither of which attains the rank and privilege of a native Welshman until the ninth generation. 1. A reputed son, that is, a son denied in a lawful manner by his father, or by injunction of law, because he was not born in worthy and regular wedlock; or, moreover,

phorically for sovereignty. With respect to the meaning of *penbaladr* on particular cases, see a note in the last page; but it is possible that it may here have a different application.—ED. TR.

* For want of corresponding words in the English language, the translation is here guilty of a little Hibernianism. The original expression is *ac eisoes dan enw Cymro y cauir ar Gymraes*.—ED. TR.

† *Arwyddion* is the Welsh word, and means “emblems,” or “banners;” but “armorial bearings” is the proper translation here.—ED. TR.

because he was born contrary to the law and privilege of country and clan. 2. A man who forfeits his patrimony and privilege by decree of it, as the penalty of misdemeanor, or criminal conduct, which deserves it. 3. A stranger, or foreigner, who fixes his residence in Wales. No one of these attains the rank and privilege of a native Welshman until the ninth generation. This was established by law, for three reasons, that is to say—

67. There are three reasons for vassalage, in consequence whereof irregular persons are not legal, or juridical.* 1. To prevent treachery from foreigners and their offspring. 2. To prevent foreigners from obtaining possession of the lands of the native Welsh. And, 3. To prevent celibacy, and the irregular and illegal propagation of offspring by fornication or adultery. Hence mercenary foreigners and their offspring, a denied reputed son and his offspring, and criminals and their offspring, are held to be in the same predicament to the ninth generation; and every foreigner and vassal must be under the oath and pledge of the lord of the district, and his lord proprietary. That is to say, his lord proprietary shall take the vassal under his protection, and give him land in his vassalage; and a stranger† shall be subject to the will until he attains the privilege of a native Welshman, in the fourth class of his offspring, by worthy marriages with Welshwomen by descent. These marriages are thus regulated: the son of a stranger, or foreigner, sworn to the lord of the district, who, with the consent of her clan, marries a native Welshwoman, attains, by this marriage, the second degree of descent and rank, and their children the third. If either of these marry a Welshwoman of worthy blood, he attains the fourth degree; and a son of this marriage

* *Cyrraith a chymmrawd* is the original expression.—ED. TR.

† *Mab aillt*:—see CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. iii. p. 261, in the notes.—ED. TR.

has the right of the fifth degree, he being (*called, or deemed*) the grandson of the original stranger. This son marrying a native Welshwoman, comes to the sixth degree of descent, and the son of this marriage attains the right of great-grandson to the original stranger, the (*nominal*) great-grandson being of the seventh degree. He, by marrying a native Welshwoman, attains the eighth degree in right of his wife, it being the right of every native Welshwoman to raise the degree of a stranger whom she marries, and a son of this (*nominal*) great-grandson, by such a marriage, attains the ninth degree, and is therefore termed the seizor (*goresgynnydd**) or taker of possession, because he seizes (*goresgyn*), or takes possession of his land, that is, his tenure of five acres, his professional rewards, his right as to the chief of the clan, and every other right common to a native Welshman. He becomes also the head of his family, and has the right of chief of clan as to them and their offspring, and also to his ancestors, if any of them be alive, whether it be father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, but no farther; and either of these in the right of the seizor shall acquire the right of a native Welshman. Also in pleas of land-tenure he is not termed the son, but the seizor of his father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, uncles, or cousins, when one or the other is worthily married. The seizor shall be chief of clan to all of them, when he attains perfect manhood; and each of them shall be man and relation to him, and his word authoritative over each of them, and he shall not be liable to oath or pledge (*as to a lord*), for the clan shall betake themselves to the seizor, and have their rights free, under the protection of their chief; nor shall they have their lands, saving such as they claim

* *Goresgynnydd* is, literally, a seizor, or occupant, but means, in the Welsh laws, a child in the fifth degree of lineal descent, as a grandson's grandchild. It is also used for an illegal possessor of land.—ED. TR.

by their particular degrees, or the protection of the ninth degree, that is, the seizor.

68. There are three privileged professions, with complete privilege, that is, to five free acres of land and professional fees to each person, who is of approved knowledge and practice (*in his profession*), exclusive and in addition to the land due to him as a native Welshman. These professions are bardism, mechanics,* and study, or book-learning.† Each of these has a right to five free acres in consideration of his profession, he being in character and practice of the one or the other, with approbation of a learned teacher of the profession. No one is to follow two professions, or, if he does, his full privilege can only be in right of one of them; for two professions or employments cannot be pursued at the same time with proper effect or regularity.

* The original word is *ferylltiaeth*, which does not seem to have quite the extensive meaning here given it. It implies more properly, perhaps, the art of metallurgy, or, in a still more confined sense, the craft of a smith, in which acceptation it is frequently used by the early poets and others. On one occasion (see *Cato Cymraeg*) *feryll*, however, occurs as a term for the Georgics of Virgil, whence the word may appear to have had the sense of "agriculture," or "tillage." *Ferylltiaeth* may be considered, therefore, to have a general reference to such trades as are concerned with metals, as well as with bodies that undergo the operation of fire, and hence it may be taken to have also the meaning of "chymistry." Dr. Davies, accordingly, renders it, in his Dictionary, *chymia*. See Triad, 73, *post*.—ED. TR.

† In the *Triodd y Cludau*, or Triads of Progressions, (which immediately precede these Triads in the Archaeology, p. 283.) The "three domestic progressions, under privilege of the national customs of the Cymry," are declared to be those of "a bard, a smith, or metalist (*feryllt*), and a harper." This provision for the protection of certain persons in the itinerant exercise of their several occupations has an evident reference to an early stage of society, to which, indeed, the *Triodd y Cludau*, from other features, have all the appearance of being adapted. *Clud*, it may be proper to mention, means, literally, a carriage, or movement: its use on the present occasion, however, seems to accord with the English word "progression," above adopted.—ED. TR.

69. There are three professions which vassals ought not to learn without permission of their lords proprietary, and of the lord of the district: viz. the three privileged professions, bardism, mechanics, and book-learning. And, if the lord proprietary and the king permit a stranger to learn either of these three professions, and to take up the character of it, and practise it, and their skill be approved, the law directs that they shall not be interrupted, but be permitted to proceed, and that they shall be freemen for life, each in right of the privileged profession, and also to be of right entitled to five free acres.* For rank has at all times been conferred on laudable professions and knowledge, for the sake of domesticating and settling country and clan, and cultivating habits of good manners, gravity, and wisdom, by regular instruction, and peaceable communion of privileges, throughout country and clan, and their connections. For there cannot be a peaceable domestication and settlement without the aid of the laudable professions; neither can these have force if those who practise them have not rank; and hence it has been adjudged, by law and general convention, that the professions ought neither to be impeded nor obstructed, nor deprived of their privilege, nor should they who follow these professions.

70. There are three who, from being slaves, become free men:† a bard, a mechanic, and a scholar; they being of another nation. That is to say, though the father be a slave and an alien, or vassal, the son, who arrives at the profession and practice and official privilege of either of the privileged professions, shall be a freeman for life, and have a right to five acres; be-

* The Welsh words are *pum erw rhyddion*. An *erw*, according to the Laws of Hywel, comprised, in length, sixteen yokes, of sixteen feet each, and two in breadth. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 139.—ED. TR.

† This would have been more correctly translated "Three sons of slaves that become free:"—in the original, *Tri mab rhydd o gaeth*.—ED. TR.

cause that no one of approved knowledge in either of these professions ought to be a slave or without privilege. But still, though the individuals, in right of their professions, shall be free, their children shall be slaves and aliens, and they are called "The three Slaves (*descended*) from Freemen;" and such they remain until they arrive at the degree of the seisor,* to take rank by descent, which thenceforward they do as native Welshmen. Yet, the learned say that an imperishable degree is due to a privileged profession, inasmuch as the descendants shall, in right of that profession, be one degree nearer to the seisor; and that, whereas in family descent the right of seisor is acquired only by the fourth man, by marriages it may be acquired by the third man, in right of such a profession; every such profession bringing the degree of the professor nearer to that of the seisor, because it is just that it should obtain a degree towards the seisin. The assertion, therefore, is this:—if the lord proprietary and the king permit one, who from a bond-man may become free, to acquire the character, service, and privilege of either of these professions, and honourable marriages are contracted, none of their descendants can afterwards become bond-men. Thus, by protection and privilege of a privileged profession, vassals, who are aliens, may, in the third man, attain the seisin and right of a native Welshman. [That is to say, it is lawful for a profession to have its full right and privilege of five free acres in common with a person claiming by blood and gentility of descent.†]

* The word here is *goresgynydd*; upon which see a preceding note.—ED. TR.

† The passage between crotchets was omitted in the translation. The words, here rendered "claiming by blood and gentility of descent," are *â braint ach a bonedd o waed cynhwyawl*. In the Welsh laws a gentleman by birth (*bonheddig cymhwyawl*) was one who was a Welshman both by the paternal and maternal side, and who had not numbered amongst his ancestors a slave, a foreigner, or one of ignoble blood. The fine for the murder of such a person was seventy-three cows, and, for

And the degree gained in right of the profession shall not fall or ever be taken away from the family.

71. There are three orders of the profession of Bardism. 1. The Chief Bard, (*Priv-vardd*,) that is to say, a Bard of full privilege, who has acquired his degree and privilege of a Bard of Session, by regular instruction by an approved teacher; his office is to keep up a memory of arts and sciences, this being his duty as a Bard regularly and fully instituted; and also to preserve the memory of that which concerns the country as families, marriages, pedigrees, armorial bearings, divisions of land, and the rights of the Welsh territory or nation. 2. The Ovate, (*Ovydd*,) whose degree is acquired in right of his possessing natural poetic genius, or, praiseworthy knowledge, which he shall prove by the correctness of his answering, he being examined before a regular and worthy Session (*Gorsedd*) of Bards; or, where there is no such Session, by a lawful sitting,* (*Eisteddvod*,) granted by the subject (*or clan*) of the lord of the territory; or by twelve of the judges of his court; or, if this be not the custom, by twelve freeholders (*brawdwyrr*) of his court, who act as judges. Moreover, the knowledge gained by regular instruction is not to be required of the Ovate to entitle him to his privilege, nor any thing more than that his knowledge is well founded. This is so regulated for the maintenance of science, lest there should be a deficiency of regular teachers, and the arts and sciences depending upon memory and regular instruction, should be lost; and, also, for the further improvement of arts and sciences, by the addi-

any inferior injury done to him, three cows and sixty pence. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 202.—ED. TR.

* The Translator, by rendering *gorsedd* a "session," has here been betrayed into a tautologous expression. *Eisteddvod* is, properly, as he translates it, "a sitting," or "session;" but *gorsedd*, as remarked on a former occasion, should have been rendered a "congress" or "assembly." *Eisteddvod* is a word, comparatively speaking, of more modern use.—ED. TR.

tion of every new discovery approved by the learned and the wise, and confirmed as such by them; and, also, lest the advantage, arising from the powers of natural genius and invention, should be repressed. 3. The Druid Bard (*Derwyddbardd*;) who must be a regularly instituted Bard of Session, of degree,* and of approved wisdom and knowledge, and of elocution sufficient to express what his judgment and intelligence dictate. This office has its privilege by a free grant adjudged to him by the sense of a regular court of the clan taken by ballot (*coelbren*.) His duty is to give moral and religious instruction in the Session of Bards, in the palace, in the place of worship, and in the family in which he has full privilege. Each of these has a just and lawful claim to five free acres in right of his profession, exclusive of what he is entitled to as a Welshman by birth. For the right by profession does not abrogate that by nature, nor the natural right the professional.†

* *Bardd gorseddog graddedig* are the words, and which may be translated "a bard regularly initiated and graduated."—ED. TR.

† The particular duties of the three orders of Bardism, enumerated in this Triad, are thus similarly described in the Institutional Triad of Bardism, quoted on a former occasion: "The three orders of Primitive Bards: the Presiding Bard, or Primitive Bard Positive, according to the rights, voice, and usage of the Bardic Conventions, whose office it is to superintend and regulate; the Ovate, according to poetical genius, exertion, and contingency, whose province it is to act from the impulse of poetical inspiration; and the Druid, according to the reason, nature, and necessity of things, whose duty it is to instruct." See CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 291. A more diffuse explanation of these several functions may be seen in the introduction to Dr. Owen Pughe's Translation of *Llywarch Hen*, and at the end of Mr. E. Williams's *Lyric Poems*. The three orders of Bards are described by some ancient writers, Greek and Latin, among whom are Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, who use precisely the same names as those above given, although they do not exactly follow the Welsh memorials in the duties they appropriate to them; but the mere conformity of the names is sufficient to vindicate the authenticity of the Triads,

72. There are three branches of erudition (*Ueno-riacth*) as to language. 1. That of interpretation in a court of law between a Welshman and a foreigner, who know no language in common. 2. Skill in portraying arms, laudable actions and marvellous occurrences, so that they who see (*the portraiture*) may understand its signification: and such portrayer is called the Emblem Bard.* And, 3. The knowledge of book and letter, and of reading and writing the Welsh language correctly, and keeping book-memory of the three subjects of the records of the Bards of Britain; viz., pedigrees of rank by marriage, descent of estates, and actions and information worthy of record. He, whose occupation is that of either of these three branches of erudition, claims five free acres in right of his profession, exclusive of his right as a native Welshman, and is to attend the court of country and lord, and be obedient to the court, the judges, and the assessors, when court or session is lawfully held; and, in remuneration for the information they afford, they are entitled, moreover, to free entertainment and presents by stipulation.

73. There are three principal branches of mechanic employment: viz., smith's work, carpenter's work, and mason's work, and the three are of equal privilege;

from which we farther learn that Bardism had its origin in Britain, and which accords with what Cæsar says on the same subject, when he tells us that Druidism had its foundation in this country, from whence it was transported to Gaul. See BELL. GALL. lib. vi. c. 13.—ED. TR.

* The original word here is *arwyddvardd*, which would have been more properly translated a "herald bard." The chief office of an *arwyddvardd* was, anciently, to bear a flag of truce between contending armies, and to discharge the other duties of a herald-at-arms, on which occasion he wore a white, or some other uni-coloured dress, to denote the sanctity or inviolability of his character. The name, as used in this Triad, appears to have reference to a period when the original functions of the office were grown obsolete, and when the *arwyddvardd* was become a mere genealogist, or recorder of family pedigrees and other domestic memorials.—ED. TR.

and whoever is of either of these trades has a full right to five free acres, exclusive of his right as a native Welshman, and is to be at the will of the lord of the district to instruct the slaves of the king or the lord, or any of their vassals, as far as the law permits; that is, under the obligation that no degree of the craft shall be granted to any of them but by consent of their lord proprietary and of the king.

74. There are three kinds of national professions of the Welsh nation. 1. The cultivation of the mind;* and in this respect it is the duty of the Bards of Session to keep record and give instruction, by their office, in the profession of Bardism. 2. Mechanic employments; and the mechanics are to preserve and improve their professions by the care of approved masters whose duty it is. 3. Family employments; and it is the duty of the chiefs of clans to oblige the chiefs of family to see that these are taught to all the family to the ninth degree and rank of relationship.

75. There are three principal branches of household arts:† cultivation of land; management of the dairy; and weaving. And it is the duty of the chief of the clan to enforce their being taught, and answer for their being so in court, and in place of worship, and at every assembly (*cyrch*) for worship.

76. There are three employments of the palace: distribution of justice; taking measures for the regulation and administration of the country and the law, and a permanent record of them; and communication by embassy with a neighbouring country.

77. There are three city professions: medicine,

* This is not a literal translation of *celvyddau doethineb*, the expression in the original: it means, more properly, the "mysteries of wisdom," which seems to be appropriately used with reference to the peculiar lore of the Bards, to whom the expression is here applied.—ED. TR.

† The original words here, and which are rendered "family employment" in the foregoing Triad, are *celvyddydd deuluaid*. ED. TR.

merchandise, and navigation. Each of these has a peculiar city privilege, which privilege is by grant of the lord of the district, with a security of the administration of justice, and is distinct from the privileges common to country and clan, for the security of regular commerce protected by justice.

78. The privileges of cities are three. 1. That citizens shall not be compelled to serve in any office except such as are comprised in the right and within the limits of their citizenship. 2. A protection which shall secure strangers or foreigners who frequent the cities for commerce from imposition or injury. And, 3. That no privileged markets shall be held except in respectable cities.

79. There are three employments of a gentleman: arms, horsemanship, and hunting. Neither of these is permitted to any but a Welshman by descent.*

80. There are three original rights of every Briton by descent. 1. A freehold possession, without restriction, of five acres of land. 2. A right of determining the constitutional law of the country, under protection and in right of the chief of his clan. 3. A right to the benevolence of the country in general (*clud cywlad*), that is to say, that he be free to go whither he will without loss of privilege or verdict, unless when in actual service of the country or of a court of law. For, where he is, so he is by law bound to perform it, and ought not be excused.

81. There are three persons whom every Welsh landholder ought to have and maintain: a wife; a man at arms, if he be not so himself; and a teacher of his family.

82. There are three things, no one of which can do well without the other two: a governor, valour, and legislation.† For these three are the means of protection, power, and a regular and firm security of property.

* See note on Triad 70, *antè*.—ED. TR.

† *Glyw, glew, a glwâd*.—ED. TR.

83. The three advantages of a Welshman by descent: five free acres, land in expectancy, and hunting.

84. Three things in common to the country and a border country: a great river, a great road, and an assembly for religious worship.* They are under protection of God and his peace, whilst no weapon is unsheathed by those who frequent them, or against any whom they meet. If any one, whether borderer† or foreigner, offend in this respect, the lord of the district has, on complaint made, a right to inflict the punishment of a murderer upon him.

85. Three persons privileged in a neighbouring country: a bard, a minister of religion, and a chief of a clan; and to no other than one of these three is the privilege of embassy due. No weapon ought to be drawn against either of these three, whether the neighbouring countries be in war or peace. For unless learning, religion, and political knowledge be privileged and protected, nations that are at war cannot be brought to be at peace, and it is therefore indispensably necessary to neighbouring countries that ambassadors should be so privileged and protected, that they may go and return in peace and safety, when their mission and office is by authority, for the purpose of concord.

86. Three things in common to a state: war, pleadings in a court of justice, and religious worship. For every native Welshman may be summoned to attend them; and they are called the three common (*or general*) occasions of assembly.‡

* More properly, perhaps, "a place of resort for religious worship." The word translated "assembly," is *cyrch*. According to the *Triodd y Cludau*, before referred to, the resort of religious people to a place of worship was one of the "three privileged progressions or movements;" the two others were the circuit of a king or elders within their dominions, and the assembling of bards in congress.—ED. TR.

† The original word is *brodor*, which ought to be translated a "native."—ED. TR.

‡ *Tri chyrch cyffredin*.—ED. TR.

87. The three domestications (*marks of domestication*) of a country: young children, dogs, and barn-door fowl. Where these three are, the place has the right of courts of law and place of worship, and, in consequence of all this right, other rights belonging to an inhabited country.

88. Three persons indispensably necessary to a clan: the chief of the clan, its vindicator, and its representative.* The chief must be the oldest in the family, so far as the ninth degree of kindred, who is in full strength of body and mind; and his right and office is to demand the benefit of the constitution and court of law in behalf of his man. He is also the speaker of the sentiments of his clan in the collected voting of

* The word in the original is *Teisbantyle*, about the real meaning of which there may be some doubt. In Owen's Dictionary it is translated "the centre of a homestead or representative of a family," the latter sense being of course figurative. Wotton, in the glossary affixed to his "*Leges Walliæ*," makes the following remark on the word—"Crediderim," he says, "*Teisbantyle* et militem et advocatum denotare, et per hoc patronam familiæ," thus making no allusion to the original and literal acceptation of the term. The word is evidently composed of *teisban*, a middle space, and *tyle*, according to Dr. Davies, the site of a house; which would agree with the sense given it, in Owen's Dictionary, of "the centre of a homestead." Hence, most probably, it came to be metaphorically applied to the patron or representative of a family, who, on certain occasions, was the *central* stay, upon whom the other members relied for their defence. Accordingly the character of the *Teisbantyle* was, by the ancient laws of Wales, invested with a particular dignity, if not sacredness, as the following Triads will testify:

"Three cavalcades that enhance a man's privilege: to ride to war, to a court of law, and to church; for he is then a *family representative*, and the punishment for killing him will be greater than if he were on his own concern."

"These crimes, on account of which a man is to be banished from his patrimonial territory: the murder of his lord, of the head of his family, or of the *patron of his family*, on account of their great atrocity."

The originals of these two Triads may be seen in the Archæology and in Wotton.—ED. TR.

the country, particular and general.* It is also the duty of every one of the clan to attend to him, and his duty to attend to every one of the clan. The vindicator of the clan leads it to the army, and to battle when necessary; he also prosecutes evil-doers, brings them to justice, and punishes them according to the sentence of the court and the judgment of the country. The representative is to act for the clan in court of law, place of worship, in battle, and in every assembly: he must be one of the men of wisdom in his clan, and so acknowledged by the votes of the heads of families,† and is of equal authority with the chief of the clan in all votings and legislation. His right is conferred by the consent of all his kindred,‡ to the ninth degree, collected by ballot, which is called the silent vote.

89. Three crimes that cause the son of the criminal person to forfeit his inheritance, and to fall into the class and unprivileged state of an alien to the ninth generation, or till, by a fourth man, he can obtain seisin by respectable marriages: killing the chief of the clan; killing his lord; and killing his representative: because these crimes are so grievous.

90. Three things that cause a Welshman to lose the right of his country and clan: removing wholly to a foreign country; joining wholly with aliens who are at war with the Welsh nation; and wholly surrendering himself to an army§ of a neighbouring nation when it is attacking the Welsh nation: because either of these is treachery to his country and his lord.

* The words are *yn rhaith ddygynnull gwlad a chywlad*, which appear to mean, as intimated on a preceding occasion, a general and extraordinary convention of the district.—ED. TR.

† The word here is *penteuluoedd*, respecting which see vol. ii. of the CAMBRO-BRITON, pp. 250 and 298 in the notes.—ED. TR.

‡ In the original, *a'i vrciniau gan raith ei genedyl*, which, literally translated, is, "and his privileges according to the decision of his clan, &c."—ED. TR.

§ It should be, "to a victorious army;" the words are *llu gorthoch*.—ED. TR.

91. There are three means by which a Welshman may recover the right of country and clan which he had lost: returning wholly from a foreign country, under pledge and bail, continued to the degree when he becomes seisor; suffering deprivation of all for the sake of Wales, when in a foreign country; and wholly resisting a hostile army, when, by waiting with it, he might have obtained reward and privilege.

92. There are three general claims to seisin of land: the claim of certain heirship, proved to be so by memory of court and place of worship; the claim of a vassal, in right of his fourth man by birth; and the claim of lawful purchase, by judgment of court and judge, when the sale is made to one who is pledged to the king or who is a native Welshman.

93. There are three special claims to seisin of land:† the claim of a lawful heir returning from a foreign country, or from sojourning abroad, when, he being thought dead, the land was adjudged, by court and verdict, to another; the claim of redemption, that is, when an heir general repurchases the land of his family, which had been sold in memory, observation, and hearing, of the country, the heir proving his pedigree, and depositing the redemption value in the hands of the judge of the court in which the claim and plea are discussed: in this case, the law says he ought to recover his land, and the judge is to pay the redemption value to whom it is due; and the claim of an alien, in right of his fourth man by descent, that is, of a seisor in law, by respectable marriages, who is to have his land in absolute free possession, and with right of

† The two species of legal claims, translated, in this and the preceding Triad, "general" and "special," are, in the original, *hawl goresgyn cyfredin* and *hawl goresgyn wahanreddawl*, which appear, from the context, to have the precise meaning given them by the translator: one referring to a man's natural or general right as a member of the community, and the other to his right under circumstances of a qualifying or particular nature. *Hawl* implies a legal process or suit, and is so frequently used in the laws of Hywel.—ED. TR.

common verdict, given to him by the lord, who is king of the country, over court, and its judgment, and who shall assign it to him under limitations.

94. Three pleas for land are to be decided by the country, viz., by the verdict of three hundred men when they are at issue. 1. The plea of an alien in right of his fourth man, by respectable marriages, when he claims his five free acres. 2. The plea of one who returns from a foreign country,* when he refers to proof (*of his claim*) by the hob, (*or stone at the back or side of the fireplace*,†) by the horseblock, or by the land-mark, (*or mearing stone*), which may be confirmed by credible memory, observation, and report. 3. The plea of redemption, that is, when the heir general deposits in the hands of the judge, or in the presence of a court of verdict and law, the redemption-value to be paid to him who bought the land of

* The original word is *carddychwel*, which means the state of being in exile, or alienated from one's native land, in which sense it is used by Cynddelw:—

Cynneddyv i Bowys, ban el ar dremyn
I dervyn diogel,
Na bo tro tramwy gyvarehwel,
Na bo caeth, na bo *carddychwel*.

It is the custom of Powys, when it goes on the watch
To the secure frontier,
That there should not be once a going into disgrace,
That there should be no slavery, no exile.

The word seems to be used, in this Triad, in the sense, given it by the Translator, of returning from exile.—ED. TR.

† In the Law Triads, (Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. p. 323,) this appeal to the fire or hob stone (*pentanraen*) is described as one of the “three dead testimonies” in favour of a man's right to a real estate, and which were to supply the want of living witnesses; and the reason of which, with respect to the *pentanraen*, appears in a subsequent Triad, No. 96, viz., because the “mark of the family” appeared on it. See, also, “*Leges Wallicæ*,” p. 302. It may be right to mention that *pentanraen* seems properly to mean the chimney-piece, on which, it is well known, it was formerly customary for the arms and other insignia of a family to be engraved.—ED. TR.

his family, with certain record of the transaction. Moreover, a redeemer of his property may possibly be one who is subject to him who bought the land of the seizor, and continue so till this redeemer proves his right of inheritance, and pays the just redemption-value to the possessor of the land, upon the hob, (*or hearth-stone*), or horseblock, or mearing-stone, or white-stone, next to the place, or into the hand of the judge of the commot, or on the wall before the court. When this is done, the country says he is to have his land, and the defendant the redemption-value.

95. Three pleas that are to be decided by verdict and voice of the country, in order to prevent a grievous injustice: 1. a plea respecting recognizance, to which the king is party; 2. a plea respecting land, when the claim is maintained or denied (*by force*); and 3. a plea respecting an opposition to law on the part of the king. In these cases the chief of the plaintiff's clan is to contest it in court of law and place of worship,* and this after public notice is given, and proclamation for a year and a day.

96. Three things that lead to error in law: uncertain claim; imperfect oral evidence; and irreconcilable records.

97. Three things that prevent the three preceding causes of error: 1. The keeping regular record of descent, rank, and respectable marriages, and of partitions of land and the circumstances connected with

* The Welsh word is *llan*, which Mr. Roberts, perhaps, is not justified in always considering as synonymous with "a place of worship." The word, certainly, has for some time had that acceptation in Wales; but, originally, it appears to have meant only a yard, or enclosure, as is observable in the compounds *gwinllan*, a vineyard, *perllan*, an orchard, and some others. Mr. Edward Llwyd, in his "Additions to Monmouthshire," in Camden's *Britannica*, conjectures that it may have acquired the meaning of a church, or chapel, "because yards or enclosures might be places of worship in the time of heathenism, or upon the first planting of Christianity, when churches were scarce."—ED. TR.

them. 2. Perfect evidence, both by certain oral testimony of witnesses, and by certain record of the recorder, whether he be alive or dead. 3. By the decision of the country, summoned by the chief of his clan, who brings his claim into court. Note also, that it was in order to prevent uncertainty of claim, that it was particularly regulated and enjoined as their duty, that the bards of session, privileged in degree, should keep record of descent, and rank, and of partition of land; and, for the same reason, of any one who removes the hob, the measuring stones, or boundary stones, without the knowledge of court and judges.

98. Three things that are unconscionable in legal processes: to determine a case finally before the truth be minutely inquired into; to decide contrary to the inevitable nature and tendency of times and circumstances; and to compel a man to that which is prejudicial to him, when neither law nor justice agrees with the sentence by which he is compelled.

99. Three things that preserve record of land and family, and are of force as witnesses: the hob (*pentanvaen*);* the stones of a limekiln; and the horseblock: because the mark of the family is to be on them; and an indictment for theft lies against him who shall remove either without permission of the lord of the district, confirmed by court and law. For these are sure evidence, and it is a capital crime in any one to destroy a sure evidence.

100. There are three other stones, for the removal of which an indictment of theft will lie: a boundary stone;† the white stone of the place of session;‡ and

* For a note on *pentanvaen* see the last page, where perhaps, however, "chimney-stone" would have been a more correct expression than "chimney-piece."—ED. TR.

† This seems to agree with the Jewish law. See Deut. xxvii. 17.—ED. TR.

‡ *Maen gwyn gorsedd*. Perhaps this has reference to the central stone, around which the *cylch cyngrair*, or circle of federation, was formed at the bardic congresses. But it should also

the stone of expectancy.* The removal of either is a capital crime.

101. Three things that no one is to do without permission of the lord of the district: to build on land in expectancy; to plough land in expectancy; and to destroy the wood of land in expectancy: and an indictment for them lies against him who does either. For all land lying waste, or in expectancy, belongs in common to country and clan, and no portion, great or small, of such lands, can justly be made private property.

102. Three things that are free to every man, whether native or stranger, and the law will not justify a refusal of them: water from a well, brook, or river; firing from a hollow tree; and a block of stone which is not in use.

103. Three things that are not to be taken to a foreign country without permission of country and lord: gold,† books, and wheat.

be observed, that the stones which formed the circle, were also called *meini gwynion*, or white stones, a circumstance which makes the meaning of the term here used somewhat ambiguous.
ED. TR.

* The original term is *maen gobaith*, which is, literally, "the stone of hope," and applies to the signal or directing stones, which were placed on mountains and other desolate tracts, for the purpose of guiding a traveller on his journey, similar to the direction posts now used for the same purpose.—ED. TR.

† It would appear from this Triad that gold was anciently the produce of this island; and there certainly are some circumstances which give great probability to the presumption. Our earliest poets, particularly Aneurin and Llywarch Hen, make frequent allusion to the golden torques, as worn by the British chieftains of that age; and it is well known that some gold coins of Cynvelyn or Cunobelinus, who lived five centuries earlier, have been discovered. Cæsar, indeed, states that the ancient Britons made use only of brass money and iron rings; but Tacitus, whose means of information, through Agricola, must have been much more perfect, expressly informs us that both gold and silver were found here. His words are—"Fert Britannia aurum, et argentum, et alia metalla."—*Vita Agric. c.*
12. This seems to place the matter beyond a doubt, or, at least,

104. Three things that are not be sold by an alien without permission of his lord proprietary, lest his lord should (*desire to*) buy them: viz. wheat, honey, and horses. If the lord will not buy them, he may sell them where he will, so that it be not to go to a foreign country.

105. Three things that pay mulct for murder* and receive no share of such mulct: a woman, a scholar, and one who does not pay the spear-penny.†

gives additional weight to the many notices respecting this precious metal that occur in our old writings.—ED. TR.

* The word is *galanas*, which signifies, in a first sense, murder, and is used in the Welsh laws as a satisfaction for murder. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," pp. 188, &c. 203, &c. The satisfaction varied according to the rank or degree of the person murdered: for the murder of a native born gentleman it was, as mentioned in a former Triad, sixty-three cows. Where this compensation was divided amongst a family, the share of a brother was a pound, that of a cousin six score pence, that of a third cousin thirty pence, that of a fourth cousin fifteen pence, that of one in the fifth degree seven pence halfpenny. This custom of satisfying a whole family for the murder of one of its members was common to the ancient Germans, of whom Tacitus says—"Luitur homicidium certo armentorum ac pecorum numero, recipitque satisfactionem *universa domus*." From the Germans the practice came to their descendants, the Anglo-Saxons; and it has hence been inferred that it was borrowed from them by the Welsh. But it is not improbable that a similar custom prevailed among most nations in an early state of society.—ED. TR.

† Mr. Roberts, in a short note on this word, conjectures that "the spear-penny must have been sacred." The meaning of this conjecture is not very obvious; but the fact seems to be, that the "spear-penny" (*ceiniarg baladyr*) was generally payable, as a fine for homicide, by such males of the murderer's family as were capable of bearing arms, whence the name was derived. To this, however, there were seven exceptions, that is to say, from the brother to the sixth collateral degree of kindred inclusive. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 193. The persons included within these exceptions are, therefore, those to whom this Triad has reference; although it appears, from the preceding note, that they were, in certain cases, entitled to a share of the fine. A divine was also exempt from the payment of the spear-penny.—ED. TR.

106. Three persons that ought to be kept from offensive weapons: a slave, a child under fourteen years of age, and an insane person, proclaimed such on the posts of country and lord.*

107. Three persons that are not to be compelled to bear arms: a bard of session, a scholar of court and place of worship, and a judge. And this because their station and office cannot be dispensed with: and, also, because no weapon ought to be in the hand of him who, by his profession and religious knowledge, is to act in right of God and his peace, and by his office according to the need of country and clan.

108. There are three who, when together in presence of the king or the lord of a court, confer the right of a court of justice on the house, or any other place where they are so: viz., the judge of the palace,† the priest of the palace, and the regent (*or lieutenant of the king*). Wheresoever these three are together, though the king be not present, the place has the right (*or power*) of a court of justice.

109. Three of whom the law takes no cognizance: one who is drunk, one not fourteen years of age, and one who, against his will, is compelled to act contrary to law.

110. There are three who cannot be indicted singly and solely on a plaint: a wife without her husband, a child under fourteen years of age without the father, and a vassal without his lord proprietary.

111. There are three whose word is no word (*is of no credit*), in anything whatsoever: a minister of religion who has broken his covenant, a witness who has been found to swear falsely, by his pledge of truth, in court, or any other place, and a notorious habitual thief.

* See Triad 25, p. 100, *antè*.—ED. TR.

† For the provisions of the Laws of Hywel, respecting the Judge of the Palace, *Ygnad* or *Brawdwr Llys*,) see "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 8, and CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 302.—ED. TR.

112. Three persons that cannot be insulted: a leper, a natural fool, and an alien not married to a native Welshwoman. But still there is a value set upon each of them by law, and whoever injures either of them in person or property is liable to a fine.

113. Three names that are given to him who gives public notice to the country: bad news (*garwgy-chwedyll*), cry of the country (*gwaedd gwlad*), and summoner (*rhingyll**), and he must have free way, whether on a road or off it, by day and by night, where-soever he goes in his official duty, whilst his horn, bearing the mark of the lord of the district, is in his hand.

114. There are three prohibitions of the unsheathing of offensive weapons, or holding them in the hand. 1. In an assembly of worship, as it is held in right of the Bards of Britain, and under the protection of God and his peace. 2. In a session of the country, (*as being*) court of country and lord. 3. The arms of a guest where he remains, the place being under the protection of God and the king.

115. There are three kinds of men (*in the special sense of the term*). 1. An alien born, that is, one who is by general descent a foreigner, as also his son and grandson, the mothers of each being foreigners. . 2. A settler in right of his mother, or one whose mother is a native Welshwoman; for which reason he is so called. 3. Members of the community (*brodorion*), that is, Welshmen by successive descent, in which there is no bondslave, no foreigner, no half-blood. Moreover, a settler in right of his mother shall, by his

* According to another copy, the triad is thus:—The three names of an apparitor (*rhingyll*): the cry of a country, the chancellor's terrible tale-bearer, and the apparitor." *Rhingyll* was the name of one of the officers of the royal household, under the Princes of Wales; and an account of his privileges may be seen in the CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 398. He filled the situation of a summoning officer or tipstaff, in which sense the word is still used in Caermarthenshire.—ED. TR.

fourth man, obtain the station of member of the community, in like manner, as a native Welshman.

116. The sons of three women inherit by law in right of their mother. 1. The son of a woman who is given in marriage to a foreigner, with the consent of her family. 2. The son of a woman sent as a hostage to a country of another language, if she prove with child there. 3. The son of a woman ravished by an alien. The sons of these women shall inherit in the right of their mothers, and their possession of the inheritance shall not be deferred to the ninth generation, as to any such son.

117. There are three wardships of land: a lord shall keep the land which falls to him by the death of an owner whose heirs are unknown, until it is claimed by the right heir; the land of a native Welshman who has lost his land and right till the ninth generation; the land of a child under age, till he becomes of age to take seisin of it.

118. The three denials of imputed (*or adopted*) children:* by the oath of the (*reputed or adopting*) father; if such father be dead, the chief of the clan shall receive or reject such son, upon the oath of seven of the clan; in absence of the chief of the clan, the oath of fifty of the clan shall reject such son. An imputed (*or adopted*) son is rejected (*exclusively or absolutely*); the son of a settler,† or a bond-slave, is tried in court (*as to his claim*) till his fourth man, or seizor in the ninth generation.

119. Three things that bar the rejection of a son by a clan: if the son be born in lawful bed, and reared for a year and a day without denial (*of his legitimacy*); if his nursing shall have been paid for, though he be

* The original word is *cysswynblant*, which means, literally, "children of attachment," and, in a legal sense, reputed children, or bastards.—ED. TR.

† *Mab aillt*, is the Welsh term, which is not correctly translated by "son of a settler." See the reference in a former note, p. 111.—ED. TR.

the son of an harlot; or if he be acknowledged by proclamation. After either of these three things is done, the father cannot deny him.

120. There are three ways of acknowledging a son: the father may on his own oath acknowledge or deny him (*so to be*); if the father be dead, the chief of the clan, in conjunction with seven sworn men of the clan, may acknowledge or deny him; if there be no chief of the clan, one and twenty men of the clan may acknowledge or reject him, viz., seven in lieu of the father, seven in lieu of the chief of the clan, and seven with the chief. On this occasion a solemn positive assertion, on oath, is not required, but merely their conscientious decision, according to the best of their judgment. The form of the acknowledgment is this: the chief of the clan takes, with his right hand, the right hand of the person to be acknowledged, and puts it in the hand of the eldest of the seven men, and it is thus passed from eldest to next eldest to that of the seventh. Moreover, there is neither preference nor exception as to these men, farther than that they be elders of the clan, and that they are under no obligation of sharing land with him. The forms of acknowledging and denying proceed in like manner.

121. Three ways of re-admitting an exile: a father on his oath, provided that such father be a Welsh citizen by descent; a chief of clan, upon the joint oaths of himself and seven others; and on the conscientious affirmation upon oath of fifty men of the clan, according to the best of their judgment. After this he shall have his citizenship.

122. The three oaths in bar: the oath of the chief, and seven elders of the same clan; the oath of twenty-one elders of the same clan; and the oath of the country, which is that of fifty yeomen. When the first cannot be had, the second is requisite; and, if the second cannot be had, the third must.

123. Three cases in which the oath of an individual is valid in his own cause: that of a woman for a rape;

of a man for an unnatural attempt, and of a father in acknowledging or rejecting a son by birth or adoption.*

124. There are three kinds of heirs: a son by marriage with a native by descent; a natural son, acknowledged upon oath by the father, for the sake of having heirs (but it is to be noted that a son, taken as such on the oath of the father, cannot claim rank;† and an adopted son who is of the clan, when there is neither a legitimate nor natural son.

125. Three women that pay no marriage-fee: the daughter of a king, or lord of the soil; the daughter of the heir apparent to the throne; and the daughter of the chief of a clan.

126. There are three royal authorities: the prince eldest in descent, as sovereign paramount, the lord of a country palatine, who is king in his own court; and the chief of a clan in governing and defending the rights of his clan and relations. Each of these royal authorities has the right of *cyfraw gwlad*; that is to say, of appealing to the decision of the country, where justice, according to law, cannot be otherwise obtained.‡

127. The three plagues of a clan: rearing the son of the lord, introducing a son wrongfully into a clan, and the guardianship of the head of the state.§

* In the first two cases the English law agrees with the ancient Welsh law, but not in the third.—ED. TR.

† The original words are—*sev, ni saiv hawl a dadl ar vonedd cysswynvab a gymmerawr ar lw tad*.—ED. TR.

‡ Upon the word *cyfraw* see a former note, p. 160. The words here rendered “appealing to the decision of the country,” are *luniaethu rhaith*; and, if the translation be correct, the meaning of *cyfraw*, as here used, is obvious, though it cannot have had that signification on the former occasion.—ED. TR.

§ The latter part of this Triad is not translated with sufficient accuracy. *Gwarchadw penrhaith*, the words in the original, do not mean strictly, “the guardianship of the head of the state.” *Penrhaith*, according to the Laws of Hywel, meant “a chief claimant, or juror,” who was bound to produce his twelve compurgators before he could establish his claim: after

128. Three things disgraceful to a man: felony, being ruled by his wife, and breaking the protection he had given.

129. Three things disgraceful to a king: breaking his protection, felony committed in his presence, and being ruled by his wife.*

130. The three duties of the clerk or secretary of the court: to take down the pleading in writing till the termination of the suit, to obliterate what was written when the suit is terminated, and to attend the lord of the court and his judges, in discharge of his office, at their pleasure.

131. The three commoners of a clan: the chief of the clan, the family representatives,† and the son of a woman, who, with consent of the clan, is given in marriage to a foreigner. That is to say, each of these

this, he first made oath to the fact he wished to establish, and in which his compurgators, (*rheithiwy*), relying on his veracity, afterwards joined him. When the *peurhaith*, however, was unable to produce his compurgators, he was to continue, in the meantime, in the custody of his family or clan; and hence the circumstance was numbered among the "three plagues of a clan." See "*Leges Wallicæ*," pp. 385 and 580.—ED. TR.

* Neither this Triad, nor the one immediately preceding it, is rendered strictly according to the original. Instead of "three things disgraceful," it ought to be "three legal injuries," which is the sense of *sarâad*. The word also occurs frequently in the Laws of Hywel, as the "fine or compensation" for such an injury. See CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. iii. p. 324, and "*Leges Wallicæ*," *passim*. But the most singular error in the version of these two Triads is that in the last line of both, where *bod gan ei wraig* is translated "being ruled by his wife." The sense, undoubtedly, is "that of some one else having criminal intercourse with his wife," or, in other words, cuckoldom, which might well be ranked as an "injury:" but it would be difficult to show in what way the voluntary submission of the husband to petticoat dominion could be so accounted. The construction now offered gives a consistency to the Triad, which it obviously wants at present, and, moreover, agrees expressly with the Laws of Hywel. See CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 251.—ED. TR.

† *Teisbantylle*: for some remarks on which see a preceding note, p. 177.—ED. TR.

three shall have the free privilege of the arable land of the clan,* the chief of the clan in right of his pre-eminence, the family representative, in right of his office and station, and the son, in right of his mother's relationship.

132. Three hearths (*the owners of which*) are to vindicate from the oppression of a lord: the father's, the eldest brother's, and that of the father-in-law.†

133. The three peculiar rights of the chief of clan: to imprison, to plead for the defendant against oppression, and to protect one adopted into the clan from injury, and imposition of burden not justified by law and conscience.

134. The three (*called or considered as*) parents: the father, the grandfather, and the great grandfather.

135. The three co-heirs of a man: a brother, a first cousin, and a second cousin.‡

136. Three that are to suffer death, without redemption by money: a traitor to his country and clan, an assassin, and one convicted of having stolen to above the value of four byzants (*besants*).§

137. Three thieves that shall not suffer capital punishment: a woman who joins her husband in a theft, a youth under age, and a necessitous person, who has gone through three towns, and to nine houses in each town, without being able to obtain a gift, though he had asked for it.||

* It appears from this explanation that *Tri cyffredin cenedyl*, translated "the three commoners of the clan," might have been more accurately rendered, "the three common proprietors, &c."—ED. TR.

† The three persons here named were, most probably, to stand forward, on any emergency, as the protectors of their family from any invasion of their privileges by the lord of the district.—ED. TR.

‡ See "*Leges Wallice*," p. 236.—ED. TR.

§ The original word is *byggant*, of the precise meaning of which we are ignorant. In another copy of this Triad the word is *ceiniawg*. See p. 99, *suprà*, in the notes.—ED. TR.

|| With the first two cases specified in this Triad the provi-

138. Three thieves that are punished by amercement: he who steals a dog, he who steals herbs from a garden, and he who steals a wild animal from the land of a fortified town.*

139. Theft is of three kinds: taking by theft, retaining what is stolen, and killing an animal that is stolen. Each of these subjects the offender to capital punishment,† and he cannot be redeemed by money.

140. There are three thefts redeemable by fine: theft by deception, theft by short weight or measure, and theft by concealing defects. These are redeemable by thrice the value.‡

141. Three things that appertain to every man personally:§ inheritance, right, and kind. Inheritance is according to the right (*to it*); and the right according to the kind; and kind is whether male or female, native or foreigner, young or old.

142. Three things free to a clan, and persons adopted into it in right of their mothers: wood, for building, from an unenclosed forest; hunting in unenclosed country, and gathering acorns in unenclosed country.||

143. There are three principal speakers¶ in a court

sions of the English law coincide: the last, however, seems to form a singular exception to the laws of most countries; yet it is difficult to say that it is founded in any degree of injustice. In the Law Triads ("*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 359), a person who steals poultry is substituted for a youth under age.—ED. TR.

* The Welsh word is *dinllan*.—ED. TR.

† The word here is *eneidvaddeu*, upon which see a note, p. 99, *suprà*.—ED. TR.

‡ For the Laws of Hywel, relating to the various descriptions of theft, see "*Leges Wallicæ*," pp. 222–223.—ED. TR.

§ The Welsh word which requires, in English, this periphrastical version, is *prïodolder*, which Wotton translates "*plena proprietas*," and which he describes as that species of possession which devolved upon the fourth man (*pedwarygwr*), or proprietary, who has been before alluded to in the course of these Triads.—ED. TR.

|| This is somewhat similar to Triad 49, before translated.—ED. TR.

¶ The Welsh word here is *tarodogion*, or tongued ones, which

of law: the lord, the assessor (*juryman*), and the bail.

144. There are, also, three who speak before the court: the pleader, the witness, and the crier of the court.

145. Three are silent in court: the lord hearing the judge and assessors (*or jury*), the judge and assessors hearing the plaintiff and defendant, and all of them hearing the witnesses till these are silent of their own accord: for the law says that a witness is not to be silenced lest the truth should be suppressed.

146. There are three means of law (*whereby it acts*): the lord to confirm justice, the bail or pledge to secure regularity, and the just judge or assessor, to make that which is true (*or just*) evident.

147. Three persons who ruin country and clan: a deceitful lord, an unjust judge, and a suborned witness.*

148. Three persons that shall suffer spoliation: he who will not abide by the decision of law, he who will not appear in the court of law, and he who kills one of his own country. That is to say, they shall suffer an attack of spoliation (*cyrch anrhaith*), whereby all their original property, that can be found, shall be

implies, in the Laws of Hywel, either advocates or witnesses, and which Wotton translates, literally, "linguati." According to the Laws of Hywel there were nine witnesses (*tavodogion*), who were to be credited on their single and unsupported testimony. 1. A lord between two of his vassals. 2. An abbot between two of his monks. 3. A father between two of his sons. 4. A judge concerning his own judgment. 5. A bail concerning his suretyship. 6. A giver respecting his gift. 7. A maiden as affecting her virginity. 8. A herdsman of the hamlet regarding his flock. And, 9. A thief on the scaffold, in respect to his associates in the theft. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 92, &c. It would appear, then, from this, that "witnesses" would have been a more accurate translation of *tavodogion*, as used in this Triad, than the word above adopted, and especially when it is compared with Triad 145, immediately following.—ED. TR.

* More properly, perhaps, "accuser," or "prosecutor:" the word is *cyhuddwr*.—ED. TR.

seized, without appraisement or oath concerning them, and, if any be killed, it is a capital crime.*

149. Three objects of detestation to their clan by proclamation: he who kills one of his own clan, a thief, and a swindler. And they are so called, because the avenger of the clan may of right proclaim them by public cry in court, in the place of worship, and in every regular assembly, and publish it on the king's posts.†

150. The three reasons for making laws: to teach men to avoid what is unlawful; to prevent what is unlawfully attempted; and to punish unlawful acts, according to their culpability, and the demands of justice.

151. The three excellencies of the law: to prevent oppression; to punish evil deeds; and to assure a just retribution for what is unlawfully done; and thus to maintain justice and peace in general, in country and clan, by means of these three.

152. The three honourable derivations of law: 1. From custom of country and clan from time immemorial. 2. From regulations of country, clan, and lord, in general paramount assembly. 3. From justice according to reason, circumstances, and necessity; or, as otherwise persons express it, according to the evidence of truth, the nature of the circumstances, and the dictates of conscience.

* In the Laws of Hywel, the three persons, subject to this legal spoliation, are somewhat differently mentioned. They are, "a person who will not abide by the decision of the law, in the presence of the king, a house-burner (*flamawr*), and one who kills his fellow-countryman." "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 327. The expression at the close of this Triad has reference, of course, to any resistance that might be made to the execution of this legal process.—ED. TR.

† See a preceding Triad, p. 100, for some account of the particular mode of publication here spoken of. Can the "avenger of the clan," here alluded to, have had any affinity with the "avenger" known to the Jewish law? See Numb. c. xxxv. v. 12 and 19.—ED. TR.

153. The three kinds of justice in law : justice as it depends on truth, on knowledge, and on conscience.* And, unless these three concur entirely, law does not deserve its name. Truth is the root of judgment ; conscience is the root of discrimination ; and knowledge is the root of guidance and conduct (*of a cause*) to its conclusion, by means of plaintiff, defendant, pleadings, and witnesses.

154. The three pillars of the advocacy of a suit in law : participation in a fine, in theft, and in arson : and the participation in either admits of nine degrees.†

155. The three pillars of the law : prescription or custom from time immemorial ; the king by legal authority ; and the decision of the country, in regular assembly, where neither prescription nor law have decided.

156. Three things that cannot be annulled or altered, except by decision of the paramount general session of country and clan, summoned by the head of the government : 1. A law established by the sovereign. 2. Immemorial prescription, against or concerning which no exception can be proved but that it militates against justice. 3. An agreement confessed by both parties.

157. There are three inevitable infractions of law, (*viz. : for which the only plea is that they were inevitable*) : infraction of a covenant confirmed by wit-

* Literally, merely "truth, knowledge, and conscience."—
ED. TR.

† This Triad is not very intelligible either in the translation or in the original, which is as follows:—*Tair colovn cynghaws : naw afaith galanas ; naw afaith lledrad ; a naw afaith tân.* The "nine participations in murder," (*naw afaith galanas*,) here mis-translated "nine participations in a fine," are particularly described in the "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 188 ; but their peculiar applicability here does not appear very obvious. It is not improbable, therefore, that there has been some error in the transcript of this Triad, which ought, perhaps, to have been, "*Tri cynhawawg cyvraith, &c.* See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 314.
ED. TR."

nesses ; infraction of a custom from time immemorial ; and infraction of a law by inevitable necessity.

158. There are three lawful infractions of a covenant : 1. When the lord is obliged to decide, the court being unable ever to come to a conclusion on the cause. 2. When illness prevents the performance. 3. Inevitable necessity.

159. In three cases the court and judges cannot proceed farther on that which has been determined, (or *has no power of revision*) : 1. When a just purchase of land, according to the common law of the society, has been made. 2. When a lord acts between the parties in defiance of equity. 3. When there has been a long sufferance (*not agreeable to the law*) on the part of the country. In these cases, the session of general assembly alone can take farther cognizance.*

160. Three things that establish a custom : its tendency to civilization ; its beneficial efficacy to country and clan ; and its authority derived from long duration and appeal to it, and when it is such, it is paramount to law by statute.

161. The three primary reasons for taking the voice of the country : to enact or repeal a law ; to decide where, because, from defect in the law, accidental circumstance, or necessity, it cannot otherwise be done ; and the right of country and clan to guard the law from infraction, by imposing (*penalties on*) the offender.

162. The three (*kinds of*) voice-men (*voters*) of a clan : † the chief of a clan ; the seven chiefs, who are his coadjutors ; and the family representative, that is to say, one of the family who is elected to the station because of his wisdom and learning : and this election is to

* The words, in the original, of this last clause are *sew gwlad a chenedyl benbaladr yn rhaith ddygymnull a biau barnu, ac nid amgen*. For observations on the meaning of *peubaladr* and *rhaith ddygymnull* see the notes on the former Triads.—ED. TR.

† The Welsh expression is *Tri gwyr rhaith cenedyl*.—ED. TR.

be by ballot, or silent vote of all the members of the family.*

163. Three things that make a man worthy of being chief of a clan: that, if he speak to his relation, he be listened to; that he will contend (*literally, fight*) with his relation, and be feared by him; and that, if he offer security, it will be accepted.

164. Three indispensable requisites to a voter:†
1. That he be a Welshman by descent, without default as to descent, total or partial in his pedigree. 2. That he be a competent man, (*of perfect use of his natural powers*). 3. That he be the master of a family, that is, lawfully married, and having children by marriage. For that, without these, there is no family in the understanding of the law, and that, for their sake, a man, who is master of a family, will avoid anything prejudicial to the rights or ties of society.‡

165. Three things indispensably requisite to a chief of clan. 1. That he have perfect use of his natural powers. 2. That he be the eldest of those who have that use of them in his clan to the ninth degree of relationship. 3. That he be master of a family, having a wife and children by worthy marriage.§ Then, every other man of the clan shall be his man and his relation, and his word shall prevail over the word of every one else of his clan.

* The original word, here rendered "family representative," is *teisbantyle*, for some remarks on which see a note on p. 177, *suprà*.—ED. TR.

† The Welsh term is *gwr rhaith*, more properly, perhaps, "a freholder."—ED. TR.

‡ The last limb of the sentence in this place is rather freely, if not loosely, translated. The original words are *sev ni wna wr yn anmraint ac yn anmrawd a vo perchen teulu, canys erddynt ev á wna gydwylbod*, which may, perhaps, be thus rendered, literally, "since a man, who is the master of a family, will not act against right or justice, because, for the sake of his family, he will do what is conscientious."—ED. TR.

§ The expression, always rendered by Mr. Roberts, "worthy marriage," is *priodas teitwng*, which may possibly imply "a legal or proper marriage," or, as is said in English, "lawful wedlock."—ED. TR.

166. Three things are requisite to a family-representative: that he be a Welshman by descent, with perfect natural powers; that he be a man of acknowledged wisdom, genius, and skill, in the honourable sciences of the country; and that he be master of a family by worthy marriage, having a wife and children. Also, he shall be elected by silent vote of the wise men of the clan, and be privileged in the protection and privilege of the chief of his clan; and shall act for, and in behalf of, the clan, as its man in court and place of worship;* and as man of chief opinion because of his wisdom and knowledge; and as its man, far and near, in the business and concerns of the clan; and shall have a right to a free claim of the spear (*penny†*) from each of his clan, in like manner as the chief; and in every assembly of the clan he shall be its instructor and adviser, and have an equal plough-land to his.‡

167. The three reasons for the institution of the family-representative. 1. To provide for occasions when the chief of clan cannot act. 2. To provide for a wise instruction of the clan. 3. To rescue from failure the wisdom of clan and country, and in general and particular, by appointing the most wise of the clans of the Cymry to be men of court and judgment in the general session of Cymru paramount; and, also, in session general of the lord of district, and his people;

* The Welsh words are *yn wr llys a llan*. For a note on the last word, see p. 181.—ED. TR.

† It does not appear that the sense perfectly warrants this parenthetical explanation. The original expression is, *a braint iddo drwydded paladyr o'i genedyl yn un a'r pencenedyl*, which seems to mean, that he had equally a right to the protection (by spears) of his family with the chief of the clan. With respect to the spare-penny, see p. 122.—ED. TR.

‡ From this and following Triad it is evident, that we were fully justified in regarding the *teisbantyle* as "the central stay of his family," and that, therefore, the etymological explanation of the name, which we have already offered, (see p. 177,) is very likely to be correct.—ED. TR.

and in every special decision by vote of country and clan, which could not be, were not the wise men thus privileged. Moreover, the wise men are not subject to precept or service for land; neither should there be an assembly without their being present, because the opinion of the wise is the best, and there is no certainty of the wisdom of the chief of clan; wherefore, every clan has, of necessity and of right, its family-representative.

168. Three things that make a complete man. 1. His bodily senses (*powers*) are to be wholly sound and perfect, the chief whereof are hearing, sight, and motion; for, the law says, the three co-equivalents of the body are hearing, sight, and motion. 2. Acuteness of thought, and intelligence in reasoning, and adorning discourse. 3. Fortitude. These three make a man completely fit to superintend the mind and the national sciences, warranted as being such by a teacher, or by proof, or by the silent vote of fifty Cymry by descent of his own clan.

169. The three ways of enacting and confirming those laws which are obligatory on the country in general. 1. By a general session of Cymru paramount,* that is, a general assembly of the heads of clans, and families,† and freeholders, from all the districts, territories, kingdoms, and religious departments‡ of the Cymry. For (*the name of*) Cymru paramount denotes but one country, one nation. And this session

* *Gorsedd dilygynnull Cymru benbaladr*, with respect to which see a note in p. 156, *suprà*, and the references there given. *Penbaladr* appears to have here a different meaning from that alluded to in a preceding note, p. 163.—ED. TR.

† This ought to be “family-representatives,” *teisbantyleodd*.—ED. TR.

‡ The only term in the original, at all synonymous with “religious departments,” is *corvenau*, which, however, is questionable in that sense. If the word be, as appears probable, a compound of *cor* and *men*, it may, with reference to this Triad, imply an extensive district or “circle,” as the latter word is used on the Continent.—ED. TR.

shall enact, abrogate, or amend laws, according as occasion shall require, by concurrent opinion, judgment, and assent of the assembly. 2. The second way is by prerogative of a confederate assembly of a country and district; that is to say, when the court of the government of a country, or the territory of a country, find the enaction of a new law, or the amendment or abrogation of a law, to be necessary, and notice of it shall be given, by proclamation, to all the courts within the territories of Cymru paramount, in order that such law may be enacted, amended, or abrogated, as it shall, by common vote and common decision, be deemed requisite. Thus the process shall be carried on through all the courts and clans, till their decision be known, and their common decision be obtained, without opposition and without dissent. When this shall have been obtained, the courts and sessions shall be advertised, by proclamation, for three years, of the decision obtained; and, at the end of the three years, the confederate assembly shall meet, and its decision in assembly is called (*that of*) session confederate of full power, (*gor-sedd gyvallwy*), and shall be published through all the government and territories, and be of equal force with the decision of the general session of Cymru paramount. 3. The third way of enacting or abrogating a law, by the full authority of country and clan, is by provisional proclamation and advertisement of it, until there be a confederate assembly; that is to say, that, whatever be the intention as to a law, it is necessary, in order to ratify such intention, that it be publicly proclaimed for one year and a day, by cry of country and district, in every court and place of worship, every fair and market, and every other regular meeting of country and district, until the decision of every court, country, and district be obtained, together with such amendments or corrections as may be approved of by country and district, and that there be no farther opposition: and, when this is known, it is again to be pro-

claimed, as before, for one year and a day, till the decision be perfect, the proclamation continuing in all for the space of three years. And then it will be held as the unanimous decision of Cymru paramount; and a law, so ratified, shall be the law of every country, territory, kingdom, court, place of worship, and district, and of the same force as if it had been confirmed by a general session: for, the constitutional law says, "*It had the assent and consent of Cymru paramount, therefore it is established.*" For if no appeal (*to a decision*) by vote is made within three years and three days, it shall be held, that country and district, clan and allied clan, ratify it, (*the law proposed,*) since no one can plead ignorance of that which shall have been thus lawfully proclaimed, as to time and place, whether in a sovereign dominion, an inferior kingdom, or particular government, and the opportunity of opposing it, or suggesting amendment, has been given.*

170. The three pillars (*principal assertors*) of the voice of the country. 1. The king of a province or

* There are several terms in this Triad which the Welsh scholar may, perhaps, think, are not translated with quite sufficient fidelity; but where the general sense is retained in an intelligible manner, it cannot be always necessary, even if it were not invidious, to descend to the captious minuteness of verbal criticism. In some cases it may be essential, as we hope has been seen in a few former instances, to ascertain the precise and literal import of a particular word; but we take this opportunity of remarking, that it has never been the aim of the writer of these notes to assume the character of a mere *auceps syllabarum*, by an idle assumption of philological learning, that could have no tendency to elucidate the general sense of the text: and, whatever may have appeared at variance with this assertion must be ascribed to his sincere conviction, that the translation of the passage in question was defective in some essential particular, dependent on the right understanding even of a single word. It may be said of a translation like this, as has been said of a poem,—

—ubi plura nitent in earmine, non ego paucis
Offendar maculis.—

And every competent judge will admit the general merit of Mr. Roberts's version.—ED. TR.

lord of a district. 2. The chief of clans. 3. The elders of a clan and wise men of the country; viz. the family representatives, whose right is confirmed by silent vote of the clan, that is, by regular ballot of its several elders.

171. Three have the power of assembling the country* to vote, or on other necessary occasion. 1. The king or lord of the soil. 2. The chief of clan. 3. The family-representative. And, by command of either of these, a country or district may be assembled, by regular proclamation, made according to custom and law.

172. There are three sessions of a country. 1. The general session of country and lord. 2. The session of a court of law and judgment, held by judges. 3. The session of bards, by privilege and custom of the bards of Britain.†

173. Three protections are general: the protection of a court of session or law; the protection of a place of worship; and the protection of a plough, or team, at work.

174. Three things are absolutely necessary to a session, or court of confederate assembly. 1. That it be warranted by the right and authority of him who calls and holds it. 2. That it has been proclaimed by public and lawful cry, for a year and a day, and which is to be repeated to the end of three years and three days. 3. That the time and place of its being held be fixed, in order that both may be regular: when they are so, nothing besides public cry and notice is requisite, and what is decreed (*in courts of law*) will be

* The original expression is *Tri cyfraw gwlad*. With respect to *cyfraw*, we must refer to a note on a former occasion. The right alluded to appears, from this Triad, to have belonged only to persons holding a sovereign character, whether over the state in general or some smaller community, and, according to the Triad quoted in the former note, p. 160, must have consisted in the privilege of convening the people, in a sort of tumultuary manner, on some extraordinary occasion.—ED. TR.

† See Triad 60, *supra*, p. 156.—ED. TR.

valid till a confederate assembly be held, throughout the extent of the jurisdiction of the session or court which makes the decree.

175. There are three kinds of votes according to law. 1. The votes in general session of country and district which determine the enactment, abrogation, or amendment of a law; and this is called the voice of government and district.* 2. The vote (*or voice*) of the country; which is called the vote of three hundred men. 3. The vote (*or verdict*†) of court, which is given by the assessors or elders of the country or clan, under protection and privilege of court, which decides the number of assessors, being from seven to seventy men.

176. Courts are of three kinds:‡ the court of hundred and commot;§ the court of the chief, viz. the king or lord of the soil; the court general of kingdom and district, which is paramount as to either of the others.||

* The words are *teyrnedd a chywlad*. The latter word occurs frequently in these Triads, and, when united with *gwlad*, Mr. Roberts has generally translated it, as observed on a former occasion, by “dependency.” Literally, *cywlad* may be rendered “a co-country,” as a compound of *cy* and *gwlad*; but its proper meaning appears to be a smaller country dependent upon, or united with a larger. Hence, *teyrnedd a chywlad* might have been justly translated “sovereignty and its dependencies.”—ED. TR.

† The word, which is translated “vote” throughout this Triad, and is parenthetically explained, in the last two instances, by “voice” and “verdict,” is *rhaith*. Wotton renders it “juramentum” (“*Leges Wallicæ*,” p. 353); but the translation above adopted appears to be most apposite to the present occasion. In the sense used by Wotton it applied to “fifty men holding lands under the king;” here it has reference to three hundred, apparently not having that distinction.—ED. TR.

‡ Literally—“There are three legal courts.”—ED. TR.

§ A commot (*cwmwd*) comprised, according to the Laws of Hywel, twelve manors and two hamlets. See “*Leges Wallicæ*,” p. 157, and CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. iii. p. 247-8. The court here mentioned appears to have been the origin of the English hundred court.—ED. TR.

|| The court here last described is, in the original, *Ulys ddygygnnull*, which Wotton translates “curia extraordinaria.”

177. The three authorities for the duties of court and law: the king's chief court, the law of the country, and the custom of both.

178. Law originates three ways: from necessity of circumstances, from the ingenuity of the wise (literally, *from the understanding of difficult or secret things which the wise possess*), and from the agreement of clan and government in their decision.

179. Three things absolutely necessary to a session and to law: obligation to perform the duties, memory of past experience, and discussion (or *pleadings*).

180. Three things that invalidate statute-law: long tolerance (*of the infringement of it*) by country and clan; changes of times and circumstances, which make the intent of a law or custom fruitless, and a contract confirmed by legal witnesses.

181. The three impediments to (*privilege or right by*) custom: uncertainty of rank, oppression by it, and bad example (*anganaith*). Either of these corrupts the custom, and the three together annul it.

182. There are three things which corrupt statute-law: * deception, concealment, and erroneous decision; when for a long time they have passed without notice. For, when they have done so, they cannot be understood or corrected because of the difficulty of ascertaining the equity of the case.

183. Three things which none are to be called to account for: an evil act not cognisable by law, an act which cannot be shown to be injurious, and anything found, the loser of which is not known. For either of these no one can by law be called to account, unless upon evidence; and, where this is not to be had, the cause must be dismissed, as at an end.

But the interpretation above given by Mr. Roberts appears to be the most appropriate in this place. With respect to *gorsedd ddygynnull*, see p. 157, *supra*, in the notes.—ED. TR.

* The expression in Welsh is *Tri phetrus cyraith*, which would have been more accurately translated—"The three ambiguities of law."—ED. TR.

184. The three conclusive attestations: by oath through (or *on*) the entrails, common confession (*of both parties*), inevitable circumstances which cannot be falsified.*

185. Three things that may trench upon the law: that which is done by the king in favour of truth and equity and for the sake of conscience and clemency; privilege which cannot be impeached; and a contract acknowledged by both parties, and confirmed by witnesses.

186. Three things that must be listened to by court and judge: a complaint, a petition, and a reply. In case of refusal to listen to either, he who is denied it has the privilege of appealing to his country, assembled by summons of the chief of his clan.

187. Three things that are declared in court and judgment: the claim, the answer, and the decision.

188. There are three things which the royal and judicial administration ought to guard, protect, and confirm in, [in the country and nation,] at the risk of life: truth, justice, and peace; or, according to others, truth, (*equity*), science, and peace.

189. The merits of a cause (*in a court of justice*) depend on three things:† sight, word, and act.

190. Three things that require no decision of general assembly of the country:‡ the king, the president of

* The words in the original are *a dichweiniau anesgorawl nas gellir petrusder crnynt*, which seem to imply "inseparable circumstances from which there can be no doubt," or, as we should say in modern phraseology, "an irresistible chain of circumstantial evidence." The word translated "attestations" is *tystiolaeth*, more properly, "testimony."—ED. TR.

† In the original the words are simply, *Tri deynydd hawl*. Wotton translates *deynydd cwm*, on another occasion, "the subject of an action." See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 566.—ED. TR.

‡ *Tri diwyneb gwlad*, which are very differently rendered by Wotton, whose words are "*Tria sunt quæ regionem vastant*."—"*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 319. The whole Triad, indeed, varies from that here given. Instead of *brenin*, *golychydwr gorseddawg*, *a chyvraith*, Wotton has *arghwydd*, *ofeiriad*, *a chyvraith*. Yet, perhaps, the Welsh word, which Mr. Roberts translates "pre-

session, and the law. That is when these three agree (*as to a decision*) no reference to the (*vote*) voice of the country is necessary.

191. Three pleas that are admissible for not obeying a summons to court or session. 1. Floods in rivers which have neither bridges nor ferry-boats. 2. Cry of the country to defend the borders against an incursion of the enemy, when the person is within hearing of the horns.* 3. Unavoidable illness oppressing him.

192. Three that are naturally incapable of speech (*in court*): a child under fourteen years of age, one keeping his bed because of pain or sickness, and one who is dumb, in the general use of the term,† or who is so by accident, and cannot read.

193. Proprietaries are of three descriptions: proprietaries by inheritance, retainers of the court, and men of learning. The first of the three are termed

sident of session," is more synonymous with *ofeiriad*, "a priest."—ED. TR.

* This has reference to the ancient custom of summoning the inhabitants together upon certain emergencies by the sound of trumpet or horn, and which was obviously of primitive origin. Accordingly, in the *Triodd y Cludau*, already referred to in these notes, the "three trumpet notes or conventions" are stated to be "the convention of a country by elders and heads of tribes, the horn of judicature, and the horn of battle and war;" and, in another Triad, "the horn of harvest, the horn of pleadings, and the horn of worship," are enumerated as the "three horns of general convention." It thus appears that the horn was employed on most public occasions on which it was necessary to bring the people together, as, we believe, it was until lately in the "gathering of the clans" among the Highlands of Scotland. And, with respect to the particular instance, in which the use of the horn is above noticed in the text, the *Triodd y Cludau* farther describe it as one of the "conventions of mutual compact," in which the "co-operation of every free native was required," which will explain the reason why the attendance of a person on the "cry of the country," when within "hearing of the horns," was to be admitted as a plea for not obeying the summons of a court.—ED. TR.

† *Mud cysevin*—"one who is originally or naturally dumb."—ED. TR.

commoners, (*lleygion**), and have a right of tenure on land and donative; the second have a right of office declared by the law; and the third, viz.: the men of learning, have the right of teachers, that is, to a contribution from every plough in the district, wherein he is an authorized teacher, and his land by privilege free, together with his free ingress and egress (or *maintenance*) in right of his knowledge.

194. There are three legal rights: right by nature, right to land, and right by office. Moreover, every right was established and put under the protection of country and clan by the general voice and the power (*in case of any infringement of the rights*) of summoning† (*a general assembly to take cognizance of the infringement*) given to the chiefs of clan.

195. There are three duties incumbent on the learned men who are the instructors of country and clan. 1. To teach their students (*lleygion*) in their families, and in the place of worship, and in the courts of the district and sessions of due assembly as to time and place. 2. To preserve a faithful record of privileges, duties, kindred, pedigrees, according to reputable marriages, of honourable deeds, and everything of superior excellence of country and clan, done in court civil or religious, in peace or in war.‡ 3. They are to be ready at every due time and place, when necessary to the country and clan which they serve, on condition of salary and free maintenance, to give instruction, advice, and information on sacred subjects, to declare what is faithfully recorded, to urge the improvement

* Does not *lleygion* mean, more properly, "laymen?"—
ED. TR.

† Here *cyfraw* appears to be translated more according to its true signification. See two notes on the word, pp. 160 and 202, *supra*.—ED. TR.

‡ This concurs with the duties assigned to the *arwyddvarden* in a former Triad. See p. 173. The word, translated "instructors" in this Triad, is *athrawon*. Dr. Davies perceives a resemblance between *athraw* and the Hebrew *thorah*, law, a derivative of *jarah*, to teach.—ED. TR.

necessary to country and clan according to the necessities (*negyddiaethau**) of country and border, county court civil or religious; to give due and legal form to notices and proclamations, and put them in the head of the crier (*i. e. make him commit them to memory*), and to book the decisions according to law or custom by a written record. More than this is not to be required of the instructors of the country, who are men of reading and writing, and of reflection and wisdom, lest it should render them unable to perform their duty as authorized instructors.

196. Three bonds which, united, bind the civil state:† knowledge, justice, and labour.

197. Three members of session that have free ingress and egress (*or maintenance*): a bard, a judge, and a family-representative.

198. Three that have the same privilege by accident: an artist who does what reflects honour on his profession for the advantage of the community, a foreigner who escapes from a ship wrecked at sea, and a feeble one (*brydd*), that is, one who, when in danger of losing his life, is saved by a Welshman.

199. Three persons who are privileged to free maintenance, and called the *fed* ones (*bydavawg*): one far advanced in years; a babe, male or female; and a foreigner of no common language. By *bydavawg* is intended one who is not liable to office or work, and has his thoroughfare‡ without expense by common contribution.

* This word means, literally, "refusals;" but it seems probable enough that Mr. Roberts has taken the sense of the passage, and that there is some mis-reading here. The editors of the *Archæology*, in a note on the word, suggest that it may have been erroneously written for *negesyddiaethau*, "the functions of a messenger;" but there seems no foundation for this surmise, when the meaning of the context is taken into consideration.—ED. TR.

† *Tri cyrrwym gwladoldeb*—"The three bonds of civil society."—ED. TR.

‡ The word translated here "thoroughfare," and, in former

200. Thoroughfarers (or *those who have free maintenance*) have their maintenance in three ways. 1. By five free acres. 2. If this cannot be done on account of circumstances, then by a plough-penny. 3. In failure of the preceding methods, by a spear-penny or spear-contribution,* that is, a contribution proportional to the case from every householder of the clan.

201. Three blows that are irreprehensible. 1. If a father strike his son to oblige him to learn, or to correct him for a fault. 2. If the chief of a clan strike his kinsman as a punishment for his neglect, or to make him attentive to duty or advice. 3. If a lord strike his man on the day of review or battle to make him do his duty.

202. The lord, when marshalling his men, may strike a man three ways: with his truncheon or wand of office, with the flat of his sword, or with his open hand. Neither of these is an insult;† for such striking is merely in order to correct, to teach, and guard against the worst.

203. There are three customary standing forms (*as to sessions*). 1. To appoint a proper day for the commencement of the session, for the pleading, and for judgment. 2. That the place be well known, within sight and hearing of country and clan, so that every one may know the place as well as the time of the year and the day. 3. The privilege of assembling peaceably and quietly by valid prescription of country and

instances, “ingress and egress,” and “maintenance,” is *trywdded*, and which may have either of the significations above given it. But, as used in these Triads, it seems to imply—a free maintenance or support at the expense of the country. *Trwyddedawg* occurs also in the Historical Triads, with reference to the “three privileged guests” at the court of Arthur; and, accordingly, Dr. Davies, in his Dictionary, renders the word by “*hospes liberè admissus*.”—ED. TR.

* The term is *cysswyn paladr*, which is afterwards explained. ED. TR.

† The original is *sarâad*, which, probably, means a fine for an insult. See a former note, p. 190.—ED. TR.

clan, and that there be no naked weapon against any one who goes to the session. Without such privilege no proper session can be held for the purposes of regulation, justice, or instruction as to country and clan, as equity, tranquillity, necessity or accident, in country or district, may require, or in a manner becoming a civilized country, when it is engaged upon laws or sciences to its benefit and its glory.

204. Three things that are absolutely necessary to constitute a court: the lord of the court as guarantee; a man of learning, or a reader, because of memory and declaration (*that which is, or is to be, recorded or expounded*); a judge or justice to decide. And without these there cannot be a court according to law.

205. Three things absolutely required in (*process of*) law: privilege, that is to say, authority; a judge; and witnesses. For without these there can be no process at law.*

206. There are three whose testimony is allowed by law: one who has a vote in the great assembly of the nation; one devoted to religious duties; and one who may be on a jury (*literally, one who, in conjunction with others, gives a verdict.*†)

207. Legal judgment (or *decision*) depends upon three things: testimony, circumstances, and conscience; and neither law nor justice can require more than a conscientious decision, as far as possible, according to testimony, truth, and equity.

208. The three chief officers of a court: the chancellor (or *president*), the advocate, and the apparitor; and these are called the requisite officers, because a court cannot be held without them.

* *Y bydd anghyfraw pob cyvraith.*—ED. TR.

† The version of this Triad is extremely periphrastical, as the Welsh reader will see upon comparing it with the original, which is as follows:—*O dri pheth y mae lyst cyvreithawl: gwr cyvallyey, gwr fydd, a gwr cymmrawd.* But it appears probable that the translation above given, however circumlocutory, embraces the true sense of the Triad, which, certainly, will not bear a very literal interpretation.—ED. TR.

209. Three sorts of persons that are to be provided with an advocate to plead their causes* by the king or lord of the court: a woman, married or single; one who is naturally dumb; and a foreigner who does not understand the language. The foreigner is also privileged to be supported at the expense of the state,† this being granted by country and lord, lest he should perish by hunger and cold, until he is restored to his station as to country and clan.

210. Three that are silent in session (or *general assembly*). 1. The lord of the soil, or the king; for he is not to open the business, but to listen to what is said, and, when he has heard all that is to be heard, he may speak what he may deem necessary as to the sense of the law and the decision that the law requires. 2. The judge, who is not to speak till he declares his judgment as to that which has been proved by evidence and declared by the assessors (or *jury*). 3. One who is surety for another, and who is not bound to reply to any but the judge or the assessors.‡

* The word here translated "advocate," is *tarodawg*. In the preceding Triad the original term is *canllaw*, which appears from the laws of Hywel to have been a more regular appellation, though *cynghaws* was also used in the same sense. *Tarodawg*, we have seen on a former occasion, (see p. 192 in the notes,) meant, generally, a witness, and, when used for an advocate, as in the Triad before us, it may have been synonymous with the "*amicus curiæ*" of the English courts, as indeed seems to be obvious from the occasions, as here described, on which his services were required. Possibly *canllaw*, above noticed, may have embraced the duties of an attorney rather than those of an advocate.—ED. TR.

† The original expression is *gan ddogued paladr*.—ED. TR.

‡ The word rendered "assessors" in this and most former occasions by Mr. Roberts, is *brawdwy*. *Brawdwr* occurs in the Laws of Hywel as the name for the judge of the palace, the fourth in rank among the officers of the royal household. See "*Leges Wallice*," p. 26, and CAMBRO-BRITON, vol. ii. p. 250. And it is evident that in that capacity he was invested with the functions of a chief judge. In the instance before us, however, it appears that the supreme judicial duties were lodged in the *ynad*; and, consequently, the *brawdwy* must have been, as Mr. Roberts interprets the word, "assessors," or jurymen.—ED. TR.

211. There are three pleas which cannot be discussed otherwise than before a judge and competent assessors. 1. The adoption of a person into a family, or rejection from it, or the determination of a claim to inheritance of one born in another country, or of a Welshman born returning from another country, in right of the mother to the fourth generation. 2. A plea concerning landed property. 3. Deciding on terms of peace between countries or clans, in times of war, or injuries; for, in such cases, no permanent decision is to be made save in the presence of the lord, or one substituted by him.

212. The duties of a judge in court are these three. 1. To send salutations (*embassies*,*) when necessary, on the part of the king, country, or clan. 2. To regulate and discuss causes civil and criminal in his court. 3. To confirm, by his legal sentence, the decision (or *verdict*) of the assessors (or *jury*.) [And that under pledges, if the law should require it.†]

213. There are three descriptions of judges. 1. The judge of the Supreme Court: this judge is to be the principal adviser and chief of the united council for the government of the state, and constantly to be with the king or lord of the soil, as record of the law, that every case brought forward may be justly determined; his office is that of justice over the whole realm. 2. The judge of a district, (literally, *commot*,) whose duty is to hold a court of judgment and record, and the court is to be held and pleas sustained where there is complaint or claim; for it is a maxim of the law that

* The word is *cynvarchau*.—ED. TR.

† The passage between crotchets was omitted by the translator. The word translated "pledges," is *gwystleidiaeth*, which seems to have reference to a sort of security that certain persons were obliged to give for the due performance of particular acts. Thus the parties in a real action were obliged to place their sureties or hostages (*gwystlon*) in the hands of the lord as a security for their abiding the event of the suit. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 124. The word may correspond with our present "bail."—ED. TR.

“It is best to judge upon view.” 3. The judge who is an assessor by privilege; that is to say, a man of landed property, and he is to be a member of a court giving verdict, in conjunction with others, in court of commot and hundred, in Dyved, Glamorgan, and Gwent, (*now the counties of Pembroke, Glamorgan, and Monmouth*;) for in those counties every man of landed property, who is capable of the social duties, is an assessor by the custom of those counties. To give a verdict, there must be not less than seven of such assessors, but there may be as many as forty-two: their decision is called the verdict of the court.*

214. Three that are incapable of the office of a judge. 1. One incapable of social duties, as being deaf or blind, maimed or a slaverer,† insane or dumb, or who has an impediment in his speech. 2. An alien, or the son of an alien, until he be seized of inheritance in the country, that is, till he acquires the right of descent, which is not acquired till the ninth generation, because the descendant of a foreigner is not to be preferred to those who are regularly descended. 3. One who is untaught in the law and sciences as cultivated in the country. For a layman, who is ignorant of the laws and customs of country and clan, cannot judge of rights to land or privilege of office, or the accessaries to murders, or many other questions of law, he not having been regularly in-

* What is here said fully justifies the conjecture offered in a preceding note respecting the duties of a *brawdwr*, which is the original appellation of the judge mentioned third in this Triad. It appears, then, that he held a situation of a similar character with that of an English jurymen of the present day; and, if it could be satisfactorily ascertained that the office existed anterior to the arrival of the Saxons, the origin of the far-famed “trial by jury” must still be traced, notwithstanding the scepticism of some celebrated writers, not to the “woods of Germany” but to the mountains of Wales.—ED. TR.

† The Welsh word is *clavr*, most probably a mis-reading for *clarar*, which means “leprous.” It does not appear what could have suggested to the Translator the interpretation of “slaverer.”—ED. TR.

structed, and no one, who is ignorant and untaught, ought to decide on any legal question whatsoever, as neither wisdom nor discretion, but rather a natural impulse of passion, is to be expected from such, and therefore no conscientious justice.

215. There may be injustice in judgment or verdict in three ways. 1. By deciding on that which is not in view of the court, or heard by it, and is not fully proved by those who could prove it. 2. By deciding on a cause contrary to law, whether it be the king, the lord of the court, or the assessor, who perverts the law in his decision. 3. When the judge is ignorant, and acts without warrant; and he is then said to be incompetent and unworthy. When a Welshman, by descent, is affected by such a decision, he is free to appeal to the decision of the country in an assembly, under the privilege and protection of the chief of the clan. So, likewise, a foreigner shall be defended by his patron, who shall claim for the foreigner the privilege of such an appeal, in the same manner as for a Welshman, in order that the foreigner may not suffer wrong. As to a foreigner, who inherits in right of his mother, the protection of the chief of the clan in his right, because it is that of every Welshwoman. Moreover, if a lord, who is patron of a foreigner, does what is unjust or unlawful towards him, the lord of the soil, or the king, is to protect the injured. If the offender be a servant of the king, or lord of the soil, the injured is to be protected by the king, or lord of the adjacent country, who is to judge according to law; and, if the foreigner flies (*to seek such redress*,) no hue and cry* after him is to be raised.†

* The original words are *corn gwlad*, "the horn of the country." Respecting the general use of the horn in public occasions, see a former note, p. 136. The parenthetical explanation given above, ("to seek such redress,") does not appear to be warranted by the original, which has merely *ar mab aillt yn fo*, having reference, rather, it would seem, to his flight from injury, than for redress.—ED. TR.

† As this Triad appears to be the last of those that have

216. Three losses that afford occasion of rapine: loss of man, loss of land, and loss of heritable goods. If the king or lord take more than the law permits, the loser may appeal to the country, and the taker shall pay for them and indemnify the losers; so, likewise, if any one else be the taker.

217. Three losses in which there can be no ascertainment:* of flower, bees, and coined money; because each species presents a perfect similitude, so that none of either can be claimed, unless there be proof or confession against the thief.

reference more immediately to courts of justice and their proceedings, it offers a fit opportunity for relating the manner in which a court was anciently holden in Wales, with respect merely to the station therein of the several persons principally engaged. For a detail of the whole proceedings in a cause, as they are minutely given in the Laws of Hywel, would far exceed the limits of a note. The following, then, is the ceremonial of the sitting, as derived from the same authority; it relates to the trial of an action for land. "The time for hearing the cause having arrived, the parties interested, together with their witnesses, shall come to the land in dispute, when they are to be placed in separate positions, in order to contest their right according to law. After this, the king, or whoever represents him, shall take his seat with his back to the sun, or the weather, lest they should incommode him. The judge of the court, or the chief judge of the commot, shall sit in front of him, and, on the left of either of them, such other judge or judges as may be present; and, on the right, the priests that may be in attendance. Next to the king, or his representative, shall be his two senators, and next to them, on each side, the men of noble or gentlemanly descent. A space shall then be cleared from them to the judges opposite, in order that there may be a clear passage to their tribunal. On the side of this space shall stand the plaintiff's advocate (*cynghaws*,) with his left hand to it: in the middle, the plaintiff; and, on the other side, his attorney (*canllaw*,) and the crier behind the advocate. Opposite, on the other side of the space, the defendant's advocate is to stand, with his right hand towards the space, the defendant next to him in the middle, and his attorney on the other side, and behind him the crier." The proceedings that follow are extremely curious, and well worth perusal. They are fully detailed in Wotton's "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 124, &c.—ED. TR.

* More properly "identification."—ED. TR.

218. Three persons that are to require a pledge of security from the king or lord of the soil, lest they should be wronged by them, and for the general safety.

1. One who is threatened with loss of life or limb, ought to require it, by oath on a sacred object, (or *relic*,*) or on the conscience, and as God is true, and may grant his protection. 2. One who objects to a legal decision, because of the detriment he has suffered in consequence. 3. A member of general session, who has been more than three days in a country without giving legal recognizance to the lord, or to the *brehyr*, that he will do none injury, though there be no complaint against him. The *brehyr* is a head of a family, possessed of landed property by regular inheritance, and who has a right of giving verdict in a court of law.†

219. There are three *crairs*, (*objects considered as sacred when sworn by*;) the rod or truncheon of him who offers up prayers to the Deity, the name of God, and hand when joined to hand. These are called hand-*crairs* (*llawgreiriau*). Three other forms of swearing are: by word and conscience, by word in sight of the sun, and by God and his truth. In after times the form of oath was: by the Ten Commandments, by the Gospel of Saint John, and by the holy cross.

* The original word is *crair*, applied, in the plural number, to the relics of saints which, as the Welsh were formerly in the habit of carrying them about their persons, became, as in other countries, the objects of superstitious veneration, and were, accordingly, used to give solemnity to an oath. *Nawdd y creiriau*, the protection of the relics, is an expression that occurs frequently in the Laws of Hywel.

† *Brehyr*, or, more properly, *brëyr*, was one who presided at certain courts, resembling the modern courts baron. Wotton considers the name to be derived from the Teutonic *freyherr*, a freeman, or freeholder; but it is more probable that it has for its origin the Welsh *bre*, a hill or eminence, from the nature of the situation in which the courts, whereat he presided, were held. *Brëyr uchelwr*, *mab uchelwr*, *gerda*, and *gwr rhydd*, appear to occur frequently, in the Welsh laws, in a synonymous sense.—ED. TR.

220. Three things that are indispensably necessary to constitute the recognition of a person: a certain home, privilege of country and clan, and an endowment, (or *property in land*,) warranted by the general assent.*

221. Three are privileged from attending to the war-horn, and taking the sword in hand, that is, from going to war: a bard, an artificer, and an officer of the court; because none of these can be dispensed with.

222. There are three legal weapons: the sword, the spear, and the bow, with twelve arrows in the quiver; and every head of a family is bound to have these in readiness against borderers, foreigners, or other depredators. But none are to have arms in their possession, except a Welshman by regular descent, or one of foreign descent, adopted in the third degree, to guard against malice or treachery.

223. There are three appropriations of land. 1. By breaking it up with the plough, and continuing it, without objection being made, till after the third ploughing is completed. 2. By the first hearth. 3. By priority of verdict; that is to say, by the first verdict in a court being given in favour of the proprietor of the land, he being a Welshman by regular descent, and that proof of this can be shown as far as the recurring terms of ancestry. The ancestry of a man are his father, grandfather, great grandfather, and so on to the ninth degree, and these are, by a common name, called *gerni*.†

* The original expression is *cyvarwys yn warantedig o gymmrawd*.—ED. TR.

† The precise meaning of the word *gerni* is, in some respect, ambiguous. For, although it is here declared to mean a man's ancestry to the ninth degree, it applies, according to other authorities, only to the fifth degree, and that apparently, not in an ascending, but in a collateral descending line. See Owen's Dictionary, *in voc.* Whatever may have been the general meaning of *gerni*, it seems, in its particular application, to have been employed to denote the seventh cousin, or seventh degree of kindred in collateral descent. As much has occurred in these Triads respecting the degrees of consanguinity anciently

224. There are three safeguards of a boundary: pre-occupation, privilege, and title; or, according to another

recognized by the Welsh laws, a scale of them, in a direct line, may not be considered out of place here. And it may be premised, that, as the proof of descent through nine degrees was, in many cases, necessary to entitle a person to the privileges of a native Welshman, the laws of Wales paid more than ordinary attention to this subject, a circumstance which may also help to account for the exactness with which family pedigrees are frequently traced in Wales through so many generations.

SCALE OF LINEAL CONSANGUINITY.

Tritavus	(6 <i>Gorhendaid</i>)	Ancestor in the sixth degree.
Atavus	(5 <i>Hendaid</i>)	Ancestor in the fifth degree.
Abavus	(4 <i>Tuid</i>)	Great great grandfather.
Proavus	(3 <i>Gorhendad</i>)	Great grandfather.
Avus	(2 <i>Hendad</i>)	Grandfather.
Pater	(1 <i>Tud</i>)	Father.

PROPOSITUS.

Filius	(1 <i>Mab</i>)	Son.
Nepos	(2 <i>Wyr</i>)	Grandson.
Pronepos	(3 <i>Gorwyr</i>)	Great grandson.
Abnepos	(4 <i>Goresgynydd</i>)	Great great grandson.
Adnepos	(5 <i>Caw</i>)	Descendant in the fifth degree.
Trinepos	(6 <i>Gorchaw</i>)	Descendant in the sixth degree.

Such is the scale, as we are enabled to make it out on consulting the best authorities, and which do not supply us with any names, that we can rely upon, beyond the sixth degree in the ascending or descending line, a singularity which is observable, also, in the Latin names. This scale will be found to differ in some respects from that adopted in Owen's Dictionary, under the word *tras*, and particularly by the introduction of *goresgynydd* as fourth descendant. The name, however, occurs so frequently in the Welsh laws in this sense, that we are not

book, 1. The *class*, that is, the distinction, by common claim, or common family. 2. The *privilege*, that is, a grant to one from the class, in recompense for what he has done for its benefit. 3. *Warranty*, conferred by the lord in session, as in justice due from a guarantee, or to foreign born, in right of the mother, in the fourth degree, or in any other case determinable by court or session. This is according to the law of Dyvnwal Moelmud, the most able legislator of the Cymry.

225. There are three records of clan. 1. Record of a court of law. 2. Record of the chief of a clan, in conjunction with his seven elders. 3. Bardic record.* The record of court depends upon the judge; that of the chief of clan upon his seven elders, as to rights and circumstances of the clan, which, when one chief dies, the seven elders are to impart to his successor. The

aware how it could, with propriety, be omitted. [In a former note (p. 167) *goresgyydd* is described as being in the “fifth degree of lineal descent;” but the term “grandson’s grandchild,” there applied to the word, proves that such description was a mere oversight.] With respect to *caw* and *gorchaw*, there may be some doubt as to their right application here; but, as not having any determinate meaning beyond that of remote descendants, they cannot be considered very objectionable. The collateral kindred, in a descending line, are traced, in Owen’s Dictionary, in the place last cited, in the following manner.—1. *Brawd* (a brother). 2. *Cevnder* (a cousin). 3. *Cyvyrdder* (a second cousin). 4. *Ysgiwion* (third cousins). 5. *Gwrthysgiwion* (fourth cousin). 6. *Ceiwyn* (fifth cousins). 7. *Gorcheiwyn* (sixth cousin). 8. *Gerni* (seventh cousin). 9. *Gwrthgerni* (eighth cousin). For the degrees of kindred that were, by the Laws of Hywel, to receive or pay compensation for homicide, see “*Leges Wallicæ*,” p. 197, and a former note, p. 184.—ED. TR.

* Mr. Roberts has, on this passage, the following note, the second, only, of his that occurs in the whole translation.—“The Hindoo sytem of arithmetic and algebra, translated by Mr. Colebrooke, are, in the original, in verse; and the science of the bards seems to have been conveyed in the same manner.” Of this there can be little doubt; and it has been surmised that the *Englyn Milwr*, or Warrior’s Triplet, used by Llywarch Hên, was commonly the vehicle of Bardic or Druidical lore.—ED. TR.

bardic record depends upon bards, authorized by their instructors and privilege of session. These three records are called the three authorities of record, and their duty is to determine every genealogical degree, and every right to an armorial bearing, because the right to armorial bearing arises from the right to land; and, where the right to the arms is proved, by record and blazon,* it becomes thenceforward evidence in every cause respecting property in land.

226. Three things that lead to the record of court, (*assist the memory of the court to recollect*): the remembrance of the agreement of both parties; the remembrance of the termination of a suit, wherein issue was joined, and the parties contradicted each other; the remembrance of injustice on the part of the lord towards his vassal in his court.

227. There are three testimonies of the dead as to land. 1. By the asseveration of the heirs, down to the great grandchildren, or lower, if the court think them credible, as to what they were told by their forefathers. Such are called, "informants according to memory and conscience." 2. Elders of country and clan, as to what they know of pedigree and descent. 3. The hearth-stone or hob† of the father, grandfather, great-grandfather, or other relative of the plaintiff, or the site where his relations built on the land, which is to be proved by the mark, and by the tradition of country and clan. And these shall be considered as evidence, where no better can be had, on the part of the defendant, in a suit brought into a court of law, or national assembly.

228. Three kinds of custom that are to be kept up. 1. A custom that ousts law, (*viz., as common law does statute law*). 2. A custom which, by its equity, takes precedence of law, where it is in force by the judgment of the king's court, and by use and obligation

* *Arwydd*, armorial bearings.—ED. TR.

† For a note on the *pentanvaen*, see p. 180, *supra*.—ED. TR.

beyond memory ; but the obligation is limited to where it has been confirmed by use. 3. A custom which has arisen from natural accident or circumstance. This kind of custom is not compulsory on plaintiff or defendant ; it merely puts a stop to process in court, and transfers the cause to the verdict of the country, that is, upon the oath of fifty of the elders of the clan ; and such determination of it is final. After this it is said to be law, and is recorded in court.

229. A man may lose his inheritance three ways. 1. By warning a border country against connecting itself with a lord and his clan.* 2. Betraying his lord, or a judge. 3. Killing a man through malice prepense. Each of these three forfeits his life, without redemption, and the descendants of each of them become foreigners, in the same state as other foreigners, before they enjoy anything in right of the mother.

230. Three things indispensably necessary to law: that a law be valid by the enactment or confirmation of the country and lord, that there be a court, consisting of judge and assessors, and a record of its transactions.

231. The record of its transactions is of three kinds: poetry,† the book of the court, and a reciter of poetry: that is, a bard authorized by an instructor, and by his memory, as to subjects of knowledge.‡

232. Knowledge has three objects: to learn, to exclude error, and to settle what is disputed.§

* This ought to be, more correctly, "his own lord and clan," which appears, from another part of the Welsh laws, to be the true meaning. It thus seems to imply a traitorous dissuasion of another country against an alliance with one's own, on any particular emergency."—ED. TR.

† *Cerdd ddauid*.—ED. TR.

‡ According to the Editors of the *Archæology*, there is an error in this Triad: "the reciter of poetry" (*gwybedydd o lin cerdd*) being but another expression for "poetry" before used. They therefore say, that the "record of a chief of clan and his elders" (*cov pencenedyl a'i henuriaid*) ought to supply the place of the tautologous part now inserted.—ED. TR.

§ Instead of "knowledge," the translation of *cov* should have

233. The three requisites of a bardic instructor : genius, which is the gift of God ; that he be taught by a (*bardic*) instructor ; and that his office be duly conferred upon him by a decree of session.

234. Three ornaments to a township : a book, an instructor who recites poetry, and a smith who is a good artificer.

235. Three requisites to a winter habitation : * firing, clear water, and a shepherd of the township.

236. The three requisites to a summer habitation : a booth, † a shepherd's dog, and a knife.

237. Three things necessary for one who makes a booth for a summer habitation : a roof-beam, forks to support the beam, and a pen for cattle or sheep : ‡ such a person is free to cut wood from any trees that are growing.

238. Three species of trees that are not to be cut down without the permission of the country or lord : oak, birch and buckthorn. (*Quare, service-tree ?*) §

been "record," which, in reference to the preceding Triad, is obviously its signification. And, perhaps, to "convinee" would be more appropriate than "to learn;" the original word is *gwybyddu*.—ED. TR.

* The word is *hendrev*, literally an old house, but supposed to be often used synonymously with *ganardy*, and thus opposed to *harotty*, a summer residence. See "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 399. *Hendrev* forms part of the names of many old mansions in Wales.—ED. TR.

† In the original, *bwd*.—ED. TR.

‡ The Welsh word is *bangor*, which is explained in Owen's Dictionary to mean "the upper row of rods, thicker than the rest, in a wattle fence, that strengthens or locks the inner parts together ; and in high fences," it is added, "it was common to have two or three such plattings." And, according to the Laws of Hywel, it was necessary, from the first of November until the end of the winter, that the wattle fence of a barn should be secured with three of these *bangorau*. "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 287. The word is said to be still in use in some parts of South Wales.—ED. TR.

§ In the original, *rharmwydden*.—ED. TR.

239. Three things requisite to a gentleman by descent: a tunic, a harp, and a cauldron, to be provided by a contribution.

240. Three requisites for a yeoman: a hearth-stone, a sword, and a trough; and he is to have a share of contribution.*

241. Three things that cannot be shared with another person: a sword, a knife, and a tunic. The owner may lawfully keep them to himself.

242. The three disturbances of landed property: a suit in court, the breaking of a plough, and the burning of a house.

243. The three powerful in the world (*that have little to fear in it*): the lord, an idiot, and he that has nothing.

244. Three that are not liable to be driven by force or necessity into exile: a woman, a bard, and one who has no landed property; because that neither is compellable to the public service of the country, to put hand to the sword, or attend to the horn of war, or hue and cry. The bard has the privilege derived from God and his peace; his office is to attend to poetry, and no one ought to be liable to serve two offices.† A woman is subject to her husband, who is her lord, and whose she is, and no one ought to deprive another of that which is his, whether it be a person or goods. The reason why one who has no landed property should not put his hand to the sword is, that it is not just he should lose life or limb for the sake of another, but be allowed his choice and preference. If, however, he takes the sword in hand, he is then termed feeble (*brydd*), and has the privilege of a *brydd*.‡

245. A Welshman of genuine descent may in three

* *Yn ddogued paladyr iŵdo* is the original expression in this and the preceding Triad.—ED. TR.

† As to the bard's privilege and duties, see two preceding Triads, pp. 154 and 171.—ED. TR.

‡ The nature of this privilege is seen in Triad 198, *suprà*.—ED. TR.

ways lose his right of inheritance, and his national rights. 1. By withdrawing himself entirely to a foreign land. 2. By wholly adhering to a foreign force fighting against his own countrymen. 3. By giving himself up wholly to a predatory force of borderers, and that willingly, when he might have made his escape.

246. Three ways whereby a Welshman may recover his national rights and his land free after they had been forfeited. 1. By a complete return from a foreign land to his own. 2. By having lost all for the sake of his country or his countrymen. 3. By wholly abandoning a depredatory (or *hostile*) foreign force, when he might otherwise have had property in land and privileges secured to him if he had fought with it.

247. There are three irrevocable quittances.* 1. A female by marriage, for she quits the privileges or rights of her own family, and acquires those of her husband, as approved of and established by the law, and is no more to re-assume the privileges or rights of her own family, and the law will not revoke what is done once with knowledge of the consequence (or *knowingly*). 2. One who, possessing hereditary land, and having gone to, and returned from, a foreign country, and recovered his land, goes determinately a second time to a foreign country. Such a person ought not in justice to return; and, if he does, his inheritance is not to be restored to him. The lord of the soil is to keep it in his charge till he learns to whom of the family it ought to go, and then give it to him. 3. An adopted son, whether received or rejected by the clan. By an adopted son is to be understood the son of another man, or a man's own son not born in wedlock,

* The original expression is, *Tri garychwyn heb attychwyl y sydd*. According to Dr. Davies, *dyn carychwyn* implies a man wandering about with his dray, or car; and hence it has been applied to a stroller, or vagabond. The passage, however, in which the word occurs above, may be rendered, literally, "The three wanderings which have no return," which is synonymous with the expression adopted by the translator.—ED. TR.

whom the adopter takes, according to law, into his clan, that he may be heir to the adopter.

248. There are three courts of country and law, distinct in jurisdiction and in form as to those who constitute a court:* one in Powys, one at Carleon on Usk, which is that of Glamorgan and Deheubarth (*the southern division*), and one in Gwynedd. But there is, moreover, one original consociate court, which is paramount over the three countries, viz., the general session of country and district, which determines by suffrage, in which alone laws can be enacted in Wales; that is to say, neither one nor other of those countries has a lawfully adjudged right to enact a law, unless in common consent with the others.

According to the custom of Powys, the court consists of a mayor, chancellor, one judge, who is a judge of the district, a clergyman, to write the pleas, and an apparitor; nor has it had any other officers by custom from beyond memory, or the tradition of the country, in Powys.

The court of country and law in Gwynedd is thus constituted, viz.: of the lord of the commot, unless the prince himself be present, the mayor, chancellor, judge of the district, the clergyman of Clydawg, or of Bangor, or of Penmôn, to write the pleas, and an apparitor.

The court of South Wales (*Deheubarth*), commonly called the court of Caerleon on Uske, consists of the prince, or king, or, in his stead, when he is absent, of the lord of the hundred, or commot; the mayor, chancellor, the man of learning of the court, to write the pleas and records, an apparitor, and a number of assessors, who give verdict.† In the southern division, Glamorgan and Gwent, every legal head of a family, possessing land, may be an assessor. The number of

* The Welsh words are *parth gorddawd ac ansawdd gwyr llys a'i swyddwyr*.—ED. TR.

† The translation here ought to be "of assessors or judges," *brawdwy'r neu ynaid*.—ED. TR.

assessors may be from seven to fourteen, one-and-twenty, or forty-nine; and their decision is called the verdict of the court.

In Powys and Gwynedd there is but one judge of the district: in the southern division, which comprehends Cardigan, Dyfed (*Pembrokeshire*), Glamorgan, and Gwent (*Monmouthshire*), there is, by privilege, a number of assessors, in right of land and family, and no assessor or judge of district; and the assessors are appointed by silent vote of the elders and chief of clan. Moreover, it is said that these three may form a court in South Wales, viz., the king, or, in his stead, the lord of the commot, a chancellor, who is a learned man, and a number of assessors, one or other of the assessors acting as apparitor in the court, or it may be done by the chancellor himself.*

SO END THE TRIADS OF DYVNWAL MOELMUD.†

* According to the Law Triads, the three supreme courts in Wales were those of Aberfraw, Dinevwr, and Mathraval. See Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. p. 335, and "*Leges Wallicæ*," p. 417. ED. TR.

† A doubt was expressed, in the first of these notes, as to the propriety of ascribing these Triads to Dyvnwal Moelmud. But this was merely meant in allusion to their present form, which, there is abundance of internal evidence to prove, must have been the work of a much later period. The fundamental principles, however, on which these interesting documents are founded, may reasonably be presumed to have been borrowed from the more ancient code of the celebrated legislator above mentioned, and of whose existence, some ages before the Christian era, the earliest Welsh annals speak in positive terms. Nor can it be deemed extraordinary, that his precepts should have descended to our times, when we reflect upon the peculiar advantages afforded in this respect, by the Bardic or Druidical Institution, one of whose elementary maxims it was to preserve, by means of oral tradition, the memory of everything that was worthy of being recorded.—ED. TR.

THE TRIADS.

IN the following chapter my chief design is to show my Christian brethren what a comfortable home the Lord prepared for the true church; for when God works, "His work is perfect." Where could she find a home but where her great principles were loved and cherished? In all other lands the principles of the Christian Church were exotics; but in Wales they had a congenial soil; for the national motto, "The truth against the world," was in perfect harmony with all the claims of Christianity.

Advice of Catwg the Wise to Taliesin the Chief of Bards, when he was his scholar.

Think before thou speakest. First, What thou shalt speak. Second, Why thou shouldst speak. Third, To whom thou mayst have to speak. Fourth, About whom thou art to speak. Fifth, What will come from what thou mayst speak. Sixth, What may be the benefit from what thou shalt speak. Seventh, Who may be listening to what thou shalt speak. Put thy words on thy fingers' ends before thou speakest them, and turn them these seven ways before thou speakest them, and there will never come any harm from what thou shalt say.

Catwg the Wise delivered this to Taliesin, the Chief of Bards, in giving him his blessing.

There are four original vices: first, anger; second, lust; third, laziness; fourth, fear. Where one or the other of these may be, there will be found every other evil to spring, for out of them grow every other evil in mind and action.—*Catwg the Wise.*

THE NULLITIES OF CATWG.

Without a teacher, without instruction.
 Without instruction, without knowledge.
 Without knowledge, without wisdom.
 Without wisdom, without piety.
 Without piety, without God.
 Without God, without everything.

APHORISMS OF GERAINT.

The seven primary materials of the world.

First, Earth, whence every body and density, and every substance and strength.

Second, Water, whence every liquid and moisture.

Third, Air, whence every breath and motion.

Fourth, The sun, whence all heat and light.

Fifth, Empyreum, whence every sensation, appetite, and affection.

Sixth, Pure spirit, whence every perception.

Seventh, God, whence all life, and power, and support unto the world of worlds.

And from these seven primary essences are all being and life, and on the order of God may the whole rest. Amen, saith the Blue Bard of the Chair.

Geraint, the Blue Bard of the Chair, was Bishop of St. Davids, and Archbishop of Wales, and President of the College of St. Davids. He was uncle to Asser the Wise, or Ascrius Menevensis, first Provost of Oxford College, and afterwards Bishop of Sherbourne, in the reign of King Alfred of England. Asser also wrote the life of King Alfred, and was his counsellor and teacher in the great reforms which the monarch introduced into the laws of England.

The life of Alfred, by Asser, is one of the most important documents of those early times, and sets the character of the King in so splendid a light, that many persons suspect that he, as well as Xenophon, who wrote the life of Cyrus, king of Persia, drew up a character which they thought becoming a good king

rather than what their heroes were in reality. Although the very actions of Alfred, in calling to his aid five of the most eminent scholars and philosophers in Europe, proves the excellence of his character. These five men were: first, Aserius; second, John Erginia or Scotus; third, John Menevensis; fourth, Grimbald; fifth, Neath. Grimbald and Neath were from Brittany; but the others were from the College of St. Davids. Erginia has been claimed by the Irish. I presume, however, that they would have claimed Aserius, too, had he not taken so much pains in his writings to let the world know that he was a Welshman.

THE TRIADS OF WISDOM.

First, There are three branches of wisdom: wisdom towards God, wisdom with respect to every fellow man, and wisdom with respect to one's self.

Second, The three recognitions which produce wisdom: the knowledge of God, the knowledge of the heart of man, and the knowledge of one's own heart.

Third, The three indispensables of wisdom, genius, science and discrimination.

Fourth, The three stabilities of wisdom: what is right, beautiful and possible.

Fifth, Three things will be obtained by wisdom: the good of the world, mental comfort and the love of God.

Sixth, In three things wisdom is apparent: genius, science and demeanor.

Seventh, The three exertions of wisdom: to understand nature by genius, to perceive truth by studying it, and to cultivate love and peace.

Eighth, Three things in a man that make him wise and good: qualities, science and power.

Ninth, Three things with which wisdom cannot exist: inordinate desire, debauchery and pride.

Tenth, Three things without which there can be no wisdom: generosity, abstinence and virtue.

The above is a specimen of the method of teaching by Triads, in use among the Welsh in the early ages, when all the rest of the world were involved in ignorance and barbarity. It may be noticed that, notwithstanding the constant reference to the knowledge of God as the supreme excellence, still there is not a word about human redemption by the Cross. The truth is, that the Welsh nation, perhaps above all others, had a supreme regard to God as the author and founder of all good. Yet they had, till a very late period, two distinct systems of religion, each having support, to a considerable extent, from the State, and each taught by its respective advocates; and their colleges were open to both parties.

Thus Taliesin, the Chief of Bards and a Chief of Druids, was educated under Catwg, a decided Christian, and President of a great college in South Wales. Both parties held Popery in equal detestation; for they both knew very well that the papists had departed from the doctrines of the Bible; and the authority claimed by the Pope over the minds and consciences of men were equally repugnant to the Christians and those of the ancient religion.

The Welsh had triads of history, triads of law, triads of the social state, and triads of politeness, as well as of wisdom. Their triads of politeness were far superior to the writings of Lord Chesterfield, as they were based on real goodness of heart and feelings of generosity, and altogether different from the hollow blandishments of the French school of politeness.

If we take into consideration the strength of the Welsh character, compared with that of many other nations, the laying of such a deep foundation for true politeness, and the allowance of such perfect liberty to the mind in its researches into the truth, in all matters both physical and spiritual, I should think it is a subject that will interest the minds of all men who are not case-hardened by national prejudice,

which I am satisfied is not the case with the generality of American Protestants. To them I am satisfied it will be a pleasure to learn that, while all the rest of the world was subject to the greatest bondage in body and mind, both were in the enjoyment of the most perfect freedom in Wales—a space of country larger than Massachusetts or New Jersey, and containing, for many centuries at least, twelve colleges well endowed, in which the system of teaching was not excelled anywhere, except it may have been at Athens; and in some respects more conducive to the promotion of religious truth than the schools of Athens ever were.

It is well known that, upon the founding of Oxford College, by King Alfred, the Welsh scholars had the whole of the learned professions, except those on religion. That branch was confided to Grimbald and Neath, for it is probable that Welsh religion was too radical even for King Alfred. It is also a matter of history, that in the tenth century, especially during the reign of Prince Howell, who commenced his reign in South Wales in 907, and died in 948, great numbers of the Saxon nobility sent their sons to be educated in the Welsh colleges. But, unfortunately, Owen, the son of Howell, being a wicked man, destroyed one of the colleges on that account, and greatly injured another, while at other times the Danes would land and destroy, and the Saxons in time of war added to the devastation. In these ways were all the Welsh seats of learning prostrated before the close of the twelfth century, although private teaching went on to a considerable extent, as our historians say that Wales abounded in learned men before the Reformation.

WISDOM OF CATWG.

The strength of the infant is his innocence.

The strength of the boy is his learning.

The strength of the girl is her beauty.

The strength of the prudent is his silence.

The strength of the wise is his reason.
 The strength of the teacher is his method.
 The strength of the poet is his genius.
 The strength of the leader is his sciences.
 The strength of the scholar is his penetration.
 The strength of the artisan is in his hand,
 The strength of the brave is in his heart.
 The strength of the orator is his confidence.
 The strength of the artist is his design.
 The strength of the virtuous is his patience.
 The strength of the godly is his belief and faith.
 The strength of faith is to be on the truth.
 The strength of the lover of truth is his conscience.
 The strength of the conscience is to see what is
 just.
 The strength of the just is his God.

THE EIGHTEEN VIRTUOUS EXCELLENCIES OF CATWIG THE
WISE.

1. The best deportment is humility.
2. The best practice is industry.
3. The best principle is truth.
4. The best genius is reason.
5. The best affection is compassion.
6. The best study is self-knowledge.
7. The best employment is peace-making.
8. The best care is to be just.
9. The best pursuit is knowledge.
10. The best disposition is generosity.
11. The best covetousness is to covet peace.
12. The best choice is the doing of good.
13. The best means of living is trade.
14. The best instruction is literature.
15. The best sorrow is the sorrow for sin.
16. The best comfort is gladness of conscience.
17. The best contention is who shall lead the best
life.
18. The best contemplation is concerning God.

THE EIGHTEEN VIRTUOUS EXCELLENCIES OF YSTYDVACH,
THE BARD OF KING VORTIMER THE BLESSED.

1. Fortitude in danger and affliction.
2. Patience in suffering.
3. That a man be strong in his resolution.
4. Wise in disputation.
5. Void of arrogance in fame and prosperity.
6. Humble in his deportment.
7. His actions dignified.
8. Persevering in his employment and pursuit.
9. Having an avidity for knowledge.
10. Liberal in his word, deed and thought.
11. Conciliatory in disputes.
12. Courteous in behaviour.
13. Hospitable in his house.
14. Peaceable in his neighbourhood.
15. Chaste of body and mind.
16. Correct in his word and deed.
17. Righteous in his life.
18. Compassionate to the poor and afflicted.

Catwg pronounced his friend victor; but Ystydvach declared that Catwg had excelled, as he had founded the virtues on humility, and the nation has bestowed on him the palm of wisdom.

THE TRIADS.—No. I.

OF all the ancient documents of Wales, the Triads, so peculiarly national, must be admitted to be the most deserving of our attention. And those which are called Historical, or “Triads of the Isle of Britain,” are particularly valuable, as well from their unquestionable antiquity, as from the interesting events to which they relate. The peculiarity of their construction, ignorantly assumed by some as a ground of objection, is amongst the most satisfactory proofs of the venerable authenticity of their origin. Their very defects too, such as the want of dates and connection, bear ample testimony to the early ages which gave them birth. And if to these be added the obscurity, or, it may be said, total inexplicability of the terms, used in some of them, little doubt can remain as to the remoteness of the era, to which they may generally be ascribed. Nor will it weaken this conclusion to observe, that in many of them, as noticed by a learned and ingenious writer,* are contained doctrines totally at variance with our divine religion, and which accordingly appropriate such to a period at least antecedent to the establishment of Christianity in the island.

From this general allusion to the authentic character of the ancient Triads, it may be worth our while to turn to a more particular, though to a brief, examination of their acknowledged origin. It is then to the Bardic or Druidical Institution, as it primitively existed in the country, that we must assign their first introduction. The encouragement of oral tradition, whether

* The late Rev. Peter Roberts, in his “Sketch of the Early History of the Cymry.”

by songs or aphorisms, formed a principal characteristic of that celebrated order. It was in this manner that they recorded the most memorable events of their country; and so it was, that they preserved for after-times their own rules and doctrines.* Poetry had thus for ages anticipated the functions of History; and in the Triads were embodied whatever might not admit of diffusion in the strains of the bard. These unwritten records again, being regularly recited at the bardic assemblies, were maintained for centuries in their original, or very nearly their original purity. The art of memory was thus reduced to a practical system, and it cannot be denied, that the form of the triad was most happily chosen for the purpose. Its conciseness, its simplicity, its general uniformity at once point out its advantages as the vehicle of traditional knowledge. And it deserves also to be remembered, that the number THREE has, from the earliest times, been held in peculiar veneration, and, it may have been, on this very account,—or, as has been justly observed, because it forms “a kind of limit to the natural power of repeated exertion, an idea so far at least founded in nature as to have become a favourite with the poets of all ages.” The Sect of Pythagoreans, in particular, with whom the Druids are presumed by some to have borne a resemblance in more points than this, regarded the triad as the first perfect number, and gave this as a reason for their triple libations, as well as for the tripod, from which were delivered the Oracles of Apollo.

The Triads, thus originating, continued to be in use during a long succession of ages, until the extinction of Bardism; varying therefore in their antiquity from the most distant times down to those which are commonly called historical, and even so far as the twelfth

* Cæsar bears particular testimony to this practice, and ascribes it, with his usual sagacity, to the proper cause,—“neque eos, qui discant, litteris confisos, mines memoriæ studere.” BELL. GALL. lib. 6, c. 14.

century. And that many of these were ever regarded of the first authority, is evident from the respect with which they are noticed by the most ancient Welsh bards, whose writings still survive, and especially by Taliesin, who wrote in the sixth century. Such, as have descended to this time, are preserved in some of our oldest MSS., and were, some of them, thus collected, it is supposed, as early as the seventh century.* Although all that now remain must have borne but a small proportion with those once in existence, "their number is sufficient," (to adopt the words of the estimable author already twice quoted) "to determine some essential circumstances as to the origin and history of the nation, and the real doctrines of the Bards. And it is so far a pleasing reflection, that a discovery is made of authorities that point out an origin in conformity with a general opinion, built upon the systems and ideas of the historians of other nations, without a knowledge of such records being possessed by the nation itself."†

These interesting remains may be classed under the various heads of history, bardism, theology, ethics and jurisprudence, exclusively of those that relate, in a more special manner, to language and poetry. Of the historical some are purely so, and others evidently blended with fable, yet, even in this view, conveying much curious tradition. It will be the object of this portion of the CAMBRO-BRITON‡ to supply translations of the Triads with reference to the classes above enumerated. The space occupied by the foregoing observations, will not allow a selection at present of more

* This is stated in E. Llwyd's *Archæologia Britannica*, p. 264, as the opinion of that celebrated antiquary, Mr. Vaughan, of Hengwrt. But it should be observed that the testimony of the old copyists of the Welsh MSS. does not go higher than the tenth century. The ancient Triads, however, were principally collected during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

† "Early History of the Cymry."

‡ The authority we quote from.

than the following, which are extracted from the historical and ethical Triads. The originals may be found in the second and third volumes of that valuable repository of Welsh learning, the "ARCHAIOLOGY OF WALES." * *

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.

I. THERE were three names imposed on the isle of Britain from the beginning. Before it was inhabited its denomination was the Sea-defended Green Spot; after being inhabited it was called the Honey Island, and after it was formed into a Commonwealth by Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, it was called the Isle of Prydain. And none have any title therein but the nation of the Cymry. For they first settled upon it; and before that time no men lived therein, but it was full of bears, wolves, beavers, and bisons.

[In the original the names translated *beavers* and *bisons*, are *Efeine* and *Ychain bânawg*. The description given of the first in the Mabinogion and the Poets, answers to the crocodile and not to the beaver. The literal meaning of the other term is *prominent oxen*, but whether, from their having high horns or hunches, like the buffalo, or from their great height of body, it does not appear certain; most probably the first. A better opportunity will occur for speaking of these animals in connection with an ancient and extraordinary tradition of the Cymry, as recorded in the Triads.]

II. The three primary divisions of the Isle of Britain: Cymru, Lloegr, and Alban, or Wales, England, and Scotland; and to each of the three appertained the privilege of royalty. They are governed under a monarchy and voice of country, according to the regulation of Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr; and to the

nation of the Cymry belongs the establishing of the monarchy, by the voice of the country and people, according to privilege and original right. And under the protection of such regulation ought royalty to be in every nation in the Isle of Britain, and every royalty under the protection of the voice of country. Therefore it is said, as a proverb, "A country is mightier than a prince."

III. The three privileged ports of the Isle of Britain: the port of Ysgewin, in Gwent; the port of Gwygyr, in Môn; and the port of Gwyddno, in Ceredigion.

[The present Newport, on the Uske, in Monmouthshire, was probably the first of these, and Beaumaris the second. The sea has overflowed the other, and formed the present Cardigan bay, where extensive remains of embankments are discernible, which protected a fine tract of level country, the territory of Gwyddno Garanhir, called Cantrev y Gwaelod, overflowed in the sixth century. A poem, ascribed to Gwyddno, of this disastrous event is preserved in the *Archiology of Wales*, vol. i. p. 165.]

IV. The three principal rivers of the Isle of Britain: Havren, in Cymru, [the Severn, in Wales;] Tain, in Lloeger, [the Thames, in England;] and Hymyr, in Deivr and Brynaich, [the Humber, in Deira and Bernicia, comprising the six northern English counties.]

V. The three primary islands lying off the Isle of Britain: Orc, Manaw, and Gwyth, or Orkney, Man, and Wight; and afterwards the sea broke the land, so that Anglesey (Môn) became an island, and in like manner the isle of Orc was broken, so that many islands were formed there, and other parts of Wales and Scotland became islands.

[Nennius, in his "*Historia Brittonum*," written in the eighth or ninth century, confirms the account given in this Triad. "Three considerable islands," he says, "belong to Britain; one on the south, opposite the

Armorican shore, called Guerth; another between Ireland and Britain, called Eubonia, or Manau; and another directly north, beyond the Piets, named Oreh. And hence it was anciently a proverbial expression in reference to its kings and rulers,—‘He reigned over Britain and its three islands.’ ”]

THE TRIADS.—No. II.

THE following "Triads of the Isle of Britain" are selected as containing all the notices in those ancient documents respecting the COLONIZATION of the ISLAND. In some instances they will be found to ascend beyond the date of other written records; while, in many, they are confirmed by the concurrent testimony of the most authentic historians. It may, therefore, reasonably be inferred, that equal credit is due to such memorials as seem to want this confirmation. These have all the internal evidence in their favour that can be derived from the probability of the several occurrences to which they relate, as well as from that light, with which the torch of etymology, when skilfully managed, never fails to illuminate the gloom of antiquity. In the attempts, therefore, which will be made to illustrate the ancient Triads, recourse will always be had to this criterion, where the occasion admits. And that this may sometimes be attended with the most solid advantage to the cause of truth must be evident from a reference merely to the etymology of the word CYMRY, which identifies them, beyond dispute, with the CIMBRI and CIMMERII of the Latin and Greek writers. Our early history has thus been vindicated in a most important particular: and the reveries of those authors, who have ascribed the origin of the word to GOMER or CAMBER, are effectually dissipated.

This, perhaps, would not be the most proper opportunity, even if the space allowed of it, to discuss the manner in which the earth was first peopled upon the dispersion of the Noachidæ, or immediate descendants of Noah. But it may be briefly premised, with reference to some of the following notices, that the coloni-

zation of Europe, which necessarily took its rise in the East, made its progress always and naturally along the course of large rivers. Thus the western coast of Europe was first peopled by those wandering tribes, who found their way along the banks of the Elbe, the Rhine, and the Loire.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

VI. The three National Pillars of the Isle of Britain.† First, Hu Gadarn, [Hu the Mighty,] who originally conducted the nation of the Cymry into the Isle of Britain. They came from the Summer-Country, which is called Deffrobani, (*that is, the place where Constantinople now stands,*) and it was over the Hazy Sea,‡ [the German Ocean,] that they came to the Isle of Britain, and to Llydaw, [Armorica], where they continued. Second, Prydaim, son of Aedd the Great, who first established government and royalty over the Isle of Britain. And before that time there was no justice, but what was done through favour; nor any law, save that of might. Third, Dyfnwal Moelmud, who reduced to a system the laws, customs, maxims, and privileges appertaining to a country and nation. And for these reasons were they called the three pillars of the nation of the Cymry.

[Hu the Mighty, or Hu Gadarn, is frequently mentioned in the Triads: where he is celebrated not merely for having been the planter of the first colony in the island, but for the introduction of several useful arts. He is likewise commemorated for “having made poetry

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57—9. Tr. 4 to 9, inclusive.

† The name in the original is Prydain throughout.

‡ This epithet is particularly descriptive of the German Ocean, the haziness of which is well known to mariners.

the vehicle of memory and record,"* which is here noticed with reference to what was said on this point in the CAMBRO-BRITON. It would exceed the present limits to enter into all the particulars relating to this remarkable character, as they may be collected from the Triads and the Bards. Another occasion will, no doubt, occur for doing justice to the subject. The words above included in a parenthesis, with reference to Constantinople, do not belong to the original Triad. They are the addition of a commentator, as early, it is thought, as the twelfth century, when, it is but reasonable to presume, that many documents, no longer extant, may have existed in support of the interpretation. However, it must be acknowledged, that the name of Deffrobani is now involved in much obscurity. The Summer Country may without risk be conjectured to have meant Asia generally; and the late Rev. Peter Roberts has observed, that "there is a very high degree of probability that the word Deffrobani, or rather Deffrophani, is accurate in reference to Constantinople as the district of the Phani or Pæonians."† Some ingenious conjectures with respect to this name may also be seen in Mr. Davies's "Celtic Researches," p. 165. Taliesin, in his poem entitled "*Ymarwar Lludd Bychan*,"‡ has the following lines, which may be regarded as a partial confirmation of the tradition recorded in this Triad.

"Llwyth lliaws, annaws eu henwerys,
Dy gorescynnan Prydain prif fan Yny
Gwyr gwlad yr Asia a gwlad Gafis."

A numerous race, fierce they were called,
First colonized thee, Britain, chief of Isles,
Men of the country of Asia, and the country of Gafis.

Commentators have been unable to fix upon the precise situation of Gafis. The most plausible supposition

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 71. Tr. 92.

† "Early History of the Cymry."

‡ Arch. of Wales, vol. i. p. 76.

is that of Mr. Peter Roberts, in the work above cited, who considers it to have meant the modern Kassa, anciently Panticapes, which, written in the languages of the Cymry, would be Pant y Căpes, the Low Country or Valley of the Kapes. Kassa, the ancient capital of Crim Tartary, is situate on the Black Sea, about one hundred and fifty miles north-east of Constantinople, and corresponds with the course followed by the Cimmerii or Cymry in their emigrations from the East into Europe. Herodotus describes them (*Lib. iv.*) to have made an early settlement in Lesser Tartary. Dyfnwal Moelmud, above mentioned, is supposed to have lived about four hundred years before the Christian era. According to the British Chronicles he was the son of Clydno, a Prince of the Cornish Britons. He is celebrated in three other Triads for the national service here recorded. When Hywel Dda embodied his famous code of laws in the 10th century, he made considerable use of the compilation, attributed to Dyfnwal.]

VII. The three Social Tribes of the Isle of Britain. The first was the nation of the Cymry, that came with Hu the Mighty into the isle of Britain, because he would not possess lands and dominion by fighting and pursuit, but through justice and in peace. The second was the tribe of the Lloegrwys [Loegrians], that came from the land of Gwasgwyn [Gaseony], being descended from the primitive nation of the Cymry. The third were the Brython, who came from the land of Armorica, having their descent from the same stock with the Cymry. These were called the three Tribes of Peace, on account of their coming, with mutual consent, in peace and tranquillity; and these three tribes were descended from the original nation of the Cymry, and were of the same language and speech.

[It appears from this Triad, that there was a distinction between the Lloegrwys and Brython in their affinity to the Cymry. The former were, indeed, of the same family; but the latter partook of a more

immediate descent with them, no doubt through those who went to Armorica when Hu and his followers came here.* The Loegrians may have derived their name from at one time inhabiting the banks of the Loire, anciently the Liger. And it is not improbable that they were of the same stock as the inhabitants of ancient Liguria, in the West of Italy.† The origin of these people has always been considered a matter of obscurity, some tracing them to the Gauls or Germans, and others to the Greeks. The name is quite in favour of the supposition just hazarded, which would, upon the authority of this Triad, give them a similar origin with the Cymry. The Brython may have been so called from their warlike habits, which the term implies. Had the word been spelt Brithon, it might have had reference to the custom of painting the body, common, according to some writers, to the early inhabitants of this country. The name is supposed by some to have given birth to that of the island. An opportunity will hereafter present itself for discussing this point. What portion of the country was occupied by these two colonies cannot now be accurately ascertained; but it is thought that the Loegrians settled in the more mountainous parts,‡ while the Brython proceeded in a south-eastern direction towards the neighbourhood of the first settlers.]

VIII. The three Refuge-seeking Tribes, that came into the Isle of Britain, and who came in peace and by the consent of the nation of the Cymry, without weapon or violence. The first was the people of Celyddon [Caledonia], in the North; the second was the Gwyddelian [Irish] tribe, who dwell in Alban [the Highlands of Scotland]; the third were the men of Galedin [*probably* Holland], who came in naked vessels to the Isle of Wight, when their country was

* See the former Triad, p 241.

† Liguria comprised that portion of the country, of which Genoa was the capital.

‡ See Triad 9, *post*.

drowned, and where they had land assigned to them by the nation of the Cymry. They had no privilege of claim in the Isle of Britain, but land and refuge were granted to them under restrictions: and it was stipulated that they were not to possess the privilege of native Cymry until the end of the ninth generation.

[Celyddon, literally Coverts or Shades, was the ancient name of that part of the island, which the Romans, with their general fidelity of interpretation, called Caledonia. The root of the word is Cêl, a shelter or retreat; whence too the Ceiltiad or Ceiltwys, in English Celts, had their denomination, as inhabiting woods and coverts; a fact noticed both by Cæsar* and Tacitus,† with reference to the Britons and Caledonians, and descriptive also, perhaps, of the early colonists of all countries. Gwyddel, to this day the name for an Irishman, has likewise an analogous derivation, and implies an inhabitant of woods and wilds. The radical word is Gwŷdd, trees or shrubs.]

IX. The three Invading Tribes, that came into the Isle of Britain, and who never departed from it. The first were the Coraniaid [Coranians], who came from the country of Pwyl. Second, the Gwyddyl Ffichti [Irish Picts], who came to Alban by the sea of Llychlyn [Denmark]. Third, the Saeson [Saxons]. The Coranians are situated about the river Humber and the shore of the German Ocean; and the Irish Picts are in Alban, on the shore of the sea of Denmark. The Coranians and the Saxons united, and brought the Loegrians into confederacy with them by violence and conquest, and afterwards took the crown of the monarchy from the nation of the Cymry. And there remained none of the Loegrians, that did not become Saxons, except such as are found in Cernyw [Cornwall], and in the district‡ of Carnoban, in Deira and

* Bell. Gall. Lib. v. c. 15. † Vita Agric. c. 26 et 33.

‡ There is no English term by which the original word *cwmwd* can be translated. The French *commune* has a similar meaning.—Ed.

Bernicia. Thus the primitive nation of the Cymry, who preserved their country and language, lost the sovereignty of the Isle of Britain, through the treachery of the tribes seeking refuge, and the devastation of the three invading tribes.

[The Coraniaid, above mentioned, are probably the same with the Coritani. In another Triad* they are stated, by an ancient annotator, to have come originally from Asia. They are also mentioned in two other Triads, in one of which they are said to have come to Britain in the time of Lludd, son of Beli, and brother of the celebrated Caswallon, or Cassivellaunus. The etymology of the name (if indeed it be originally Welsh) is not very clear, unless it can be deduced from Cawri, or Cewri, signifying anciently chieftains or heroes, and, by implication, warriors, or men of generous habits. There is also an ambiguity respecting the term Pwyl. It has been thought to mean Holland; but according to Mr. Edward Llwyd, it was the ancient appellation of Poland. Llychlyn, above translated Denmark, may mean generally the North, as the same word does in the poems of Ossian, as well as in our own bards. Literally it is the Lake of Pools; a pleonasm applicable enough to the Baltic. Alban, now the general name for Scotland, is literally the Highland only, and was so used formerly. Cernyw signifies, most probably, a projecting ridge or promontory: there is a point of land in Armorica which has a similar name.]

X. The three Invading Tribes, that came into the Isle of Britain and departed from it. First, the men of Llychlyn, after Urb Lluyddawg had taken the flower of the nation of the Cymry from this island, in number sixty-one thousand men of war and cavalry, and the people of Llychlyn were driven across the sea to the country of Almaen [Germany] by the Cymry, at the end of the third age. Second, the hosts of Ganvel

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 78.

the Gwyddel, [Irishman], who came to Gwynedd, and were there twenty-nine years, until they were driven into the sea by Caswallon, the son of Beli, son of Mynogan. The third were the Cæsarians, [Romans], who, through violence, continued in this island upwards of four hundred years, until they went to the country of Rhuvain, [Rome], to repel the hostile concourse of the Black Invasion, and never returned to the Isle of Britain. And there remained of those only women, and young children under the age of nine years, who became a part of the Cymry.

[Urb Lluyddawg, or Urb with the Mighty Host, a Scandinavian chieftain, is recorded in another Triad as a leader of one of the "three emigrating hosts of Britain." The people, who thus accompanied him, are thought to have settled on the confines of Greece. Fuller particulars of this occurrence may be seen, in the account of Urb, in the Cambrian Biography. The Scandinavians, who came hither with this chief, fixed themselves on the eastern coast, from whence they were not dislodged till about a century afterwards. The Irish invasion, here recorded, must have happened a short period before that of the Romans. It may be observed of the latter, that the circumstance commemorated with respect to the women and children, although not mentioned by the Roman historians, has every appearance of probability.]

XI. The three treacherous invasions of the Isle of Britain. First, the Red Gwyddelians of Ireland, who came into Alban; second, the men of Denmark: and third, the Saxons. For they came into this island in peace and by the consent of the nation of the Cymry, under the protection of God and his truth, and under the protection of the country and nation. And they made an attack, through treachery and outrage, on the nation of the Cymry, taking from them what they could of the sovereign dominion of the Isle of Britain; and they became combined with each other in Lloegr

and Alban, where they remain to this hour. This happened in the age of Gwrtheyrn.

[With the exception of the invasion of the Red Gwyddelians, or Irishmen, so called probably from the colour of their hair, the events, noticed in this Triad, are well known from other historical sources. The conduct of the Saxons, on the occasion here alluded to, has given their arrival in this country a sufficient title to be classed amongst the "treacherous invasions of Britain." Gwrtheyrn, or Vortigern, is commemorated in other Triads for a disgraceful union of treachery, intemperance, and other dissolute qualities. Yet he was a prince of ability, to which cause must perhaps be ascribed his re-election to the throne, after having been once deposed. He died about the close of the fifth century.]

THE TRIADS.—No. III.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XII. THE three Combined Expeditions that went from the Isle of Britain.

The first was that which went with Ur, son of Erin, with Armipotent, of Scandinavia. He came into this island in the time of Cadial, son of Erin, to solicit assistance under the stipulation that he should obtain from every principal town† no more than the number he should be able to bring into it. And there came only to the first town, besides himself, Mathutta Vawr, his servant. Thus he procured two from that, and four from the second town, and from the third town the number became eight, and from the next sixteen, and thus in like proportion from every other town; so that for the last town the number could not be procured throughout the island. And with him departed threescore and one thousand; and with more than that number of able men he could not be supplied in the whole island, as there remained behind only children and old people. Thus Ur, son of Erin, the Armipotent was the most complete levyer of a host that ever lived; and it was through inadvertence that the nation of the Cymry granted him his demand under an irrevocable stipulation. For in consequence thereof the Coranians found an opportunity to make an invasion of the island. Of

* Ach. of Wales, vol. ii. 55—60. Tr. 14 and 15.

† The word in the original is *Prifgaer*, which means a fortress, or fortified town of the first order, not perhaps exactly correspondent with our modern idea of town, although that word is used in the translation.

these men there returned none, nor of their line or progeny. They went on an invasive expedition as far as the sea of Greece, and, there remaining, in the land of Galas and Afena, to this day, they have become Greeks.

The second Combined Expedition was conducted by Caswallon, son of Beli, the son of Manogan, and Gwenwynwyn and Gwanar, the sons of Lliaws, son of Nwyfre, with Arianrod, the daughter of Beli, their mother. Their origin was from the border declivity of Galedin and Essyllwg, [Siluria], and of the combined tribes of the Bylwenwys; and their number was threescore and one thousand. They went with Caswallon, their uncle, after the Cæsarians, [Romans], over the sea to the land of the Geli Llydaw, [Gauls of Armorica,] that were descended from the original stock of the Cymry. And none of them, or of their progeny, returned to this island, but remained among the Romans in the country of Gwasgwyn, [Gaseony,] where they are at this time. And it was in revenge for this expedition that the Romans first came into this island.

The third Combined Expedition was conducted out of this island by Elen, the Armipotent, and Cynan, her brother, lord of Meiriadog, into Armorica, where they obtained land, and dominion, and royalty, from Maesen Wledig, [the Emperor Maximus,] for supporting him against the Romans. These people were originally from the land of Meiriadog, and from the land of Seisyllwg, and from the land of Gwyr and Gorwennydd; and none of them returned, but settled in Armorica, and in Ystre Gyvaelwg, by forming a commonwealth there. By reason of this combined expedition the nation of the Cymry was so weakened and deficient in armed men, that they fell under the oppression of the Irish Piets; and therefore Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, [Vortigern,] was compelled to procure the Saxons to expel that oppression. And the Saxons, observing the weakness of the Cymry, formed an oppression of treachery, by combining with the Irish Piets, and with

traitors, and thus took from the Cymry their land, and also their privileges and their crown.

These three Combined Expeditions are called the three Mighty Arrogances of the nation of the Cymry; also the three Silver Hosts, because of their taking away out of the island the gold and the silver, as far as they could obtain it by deceit, and artifice, and injustice, as well as by right and consent. And they are called the three Unwise Armaments, for weakening thereby the island so much, as to give place in consequence to the three Mighty Oppressions,—that is, those of the Coranians, the Romans, and the Saxons.

[Ur, here mentioned, is the same with Urb Llyuddawg, noticed in Triad X. At what period he arrived in Britain does not appear very evident; but it must have been some time previous to the Roman invasion. Nor is it certain to what part of Greece or its vicinity he and his followers emigrated. Galas may mean Galatia, or Gallogræcia, so called from a colony of Gauls or Celts, by whom it is supposed to have been peopled. When St. Jerome was there, in the fourth century, he recognized the Celtic tongue, which he had heard spoken at Trêves. That part of Galacia called Paphlagonia, was formerly inhabited by the Heneti, from whom originated the Veneti in Italy, also of Celtic extraction. With respect to the expedition of Caswallon, Cæsar himself seems, in some degree, to confirm the account here given, although the amount of the force which accompanied him seems to be over-rated. Cæsar's words are, "In Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod, omnibus ferè Gallicis bellis, hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat." (*Bell. Gal. Lib.* 4, c. 20.) Galedin, mentioned above, and also in Triad VIII., may have been a part of the Netherlands; and Bylwennwys the Boulognese. But these conjectures are, by no means, offered positively. The expedition of Cynan took place about the end of the fourth century. Meiriadog, the place whence he was distinguished, comprises the north-eastern division of what

was anciently Powys. Seisyllwg was the name of parts of the present counties of Brecon and Glamorgan; and Gwyr and Gorwenydd were Gower, and the adjacent part of Glamorgan. Ystre Gyvaelwg was, most probably, some portion of what is now Normandy: the name implies a district comprehending a junction of brows or ridges of hills. The name of Vortigern, it may be noticed, given to Gwrtheyrn, mentioned in this and a preceding Triad, belongs to the Irish dialect, and was first applied to him by Bede, who might have learned it from his Irish teachers in Iona.]

XIII. The three Mighty Oppressions of the Isle of Britain that combined together, and therefore became one oppression, which deprived the Cymry of their privileges, their crown, and their lands. The first was that of the Coranians, who confederated with the Romans, so that they became one; the second, that of the Romans; and the third, that of the Saxons, who confederated with the other two against the Cymry. And this came from God, as a punishment for the three mighty arrogances of the nation of the Cymry, as their intentions could not have been founded in justice.

THE TRIADS.—No. IV.

THE Triads which are selected for this number, are of a more miscellaneous description than those that have preceded them. The first that follows, may be styled a Constitutional Triad, while the five others seem to unite a mixture of history and mythology. And of these the last two contain, as will be seen, that traditionary reference to the Deluge, which is undoubtedly the most extraordinary of all the ancient memorials preserved by the Cymry. An allusion to this remarkable tradition was made in the first number; and its very interesting character requires here a few preliminary observations of a more general nature than those which may be submitted in the sequel, to explain its peculiar connection with this country.

In the whole history of the world the most momentous event is unquestionably the Deluge. Nor is there any other that can bear the most distant comparison with this in the tremendous impression it must have left on the memory of mankind for many subsequent ages. Hence we find the early annals of all ancient countries more or less impregnated with the recollections of this dreadful calamity. In some the account preserved corresponds, in a singular manner, with that of the sacred volume:* in some again fable has evi-

* This is particularly the case with the history of this event as given by Lucian, (*De Dea Syria*, vol. ii. p. 882,) wherein Noah is described as Deucalion, and the scene of the Deluge laid at Hierapolis, in Syria. Diodorus Siculus likewise observes, (*Lib. i. p. 10*,) that “in the Deluge, which happened in the time of Deucalion, almost all flesh died,” which accords exactly with the expression used, on the same occasion, in *Genesis* c. vii.

dently been engrafted upon the original history; while in others the genuine substance is scarcely discernible through the cloud of mythological attributes, with which it has been invested. Yet all have retained one common and remarkable characteristic, in appropriating this great event, as they do, to those particular nations in which this tradition has been found to exist. Thus we have the inundation of Attica, in the reign of Ogyges,—that of Samothrace, before the age of the Argonauts,*—and that of Egypt, during the Trojan war: while the people of Thessaly, Phocis, Syria, Epirus, and Sicily have alike laid claim to the great flood of Deucalion, the Noah of the Pagan world, and have, each of them, localised the occurrence to some spot in their respective countries.† The Hindus too have preserved, in their singular mythology, a similar vestige of this general tradition, “which,” to borrow the language of the late Mr. Roberts,‡ “every nation, that has ancient records, has retained and applied to its earliest abode after the dispersion, when the memorial of that event was confounded with other emigrations.”

It cannot therefore be considered extraordinary, that the Cymry, a people confessedly of the most ancient origin, should likewise have treasured some account of that grand catastrophe, or that, following the example of other nations, they should have confined its operation to that spot, where, after their departure from the East, they made their first settled abode. Accordingly we have the “bursting of the

* This deluge is said to have been occasioned by the overflow of the Euxine, which the ancients considered merely as a large lake. Samothrace was an island in the Ægean Sea, the inhabitants of which were particularly superstitious, and supposed all mysteries to take their origin there.

† Xenophon enumerates five inundations in different countries, all apparently so many variations of the genuine account. And Strabo notices the tradition of such an event having caused the first emigration from Tauric Chersonese.

‡ Early History of the Cymry, p. 41.

lake of floods" numbered as one of the "three awful events of the Isle of Britain," and the "ship of Nevydd Nav Neivion," which conveyed the male and female of all animals upon that disastrous occasion, reckoned as one of its three greatest achievements. And the very oxen of Hu the Mighty, and the other animals, introduced into the narrative, accord in so curious a manner with the fabulous circumstances appropriated to the Deluge in other countries, that they tend strongly to confirm the claim of the Triads, in this instance, to the genuineness and antiquity of their memorials. "These," Mr. Davies very justly observes in reference to this subject,* "are evident traditions of the Deluge; and their locality, as well as other peculiarities, furnishes sufficient proof, that they must have been ancient national traditions. Such memorials as these cannot be supposed to have originated in a perversion of the sacred records during any age subsequent to the introduction of Christianity. The contrary appears from their whimsical discrepancy with historical fact." And "this account," he adds with the same judgment, "has no appearance of being drawn from the record of Moses: it is a mere mutilated tradition, such as was common to most heathen nations."

In contemplating this interesting relic of the primitive lore of the Cymry, we are naturally led to regard it as adding one more to the numerous testimonies, previously furnished, to the truth of the Mosaic History. But indeed, with respect to the important fact of the Deluge, it must be the very infatuation of scepticism, to question the miracle, when not only the history and mythology of the Pagans, but the very phenomena of the earth, as they exist at this day, concur in its vindication. However, it cannot but be a gratifying proof of the authenticity of the Welsh records, as well as of the antiquity of their origin, to

* Mythology and Rites of the Druids, pp. 95, 96.

find them confirmed in this singular instance, as they are in so many others, by those concurrent testimonies, which the world has ever considered as unimpeachable. And it may be hoped, that the time will yet arrive, when the antiquary or historian, of whatever country, in his search after truth through the darkness of past ages, shall not consider his task complete until he has fully explored the venerable remains of our national literature.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XIV. The three Pillars of the Commonwealth of the Isle of Britain. The jury of a country, the kingly office, and the function of a judge.

[A singular coincidence with some of the fundamental principles of the English Constitution is observable in this Triad. And, it is not too much to presume, that, as Alfred, in laying the ground-work of that great political edifice, employed, amongst his counsellors, one or two learned Welshmen, and particularly the celebrated Aserius Menevensis, he may have borrowed many valuable suggestions from the ancient institutions of the Cymry. *Rhaith Gwlâd*, translated above "the jury of the country," is explained in the laws of Hywel Dda to mean the oath of fifty men from amongst those who hold land under the king."]

XV. The three Losses, by Disappearance, of the Isle of Britain. Gavran, son of Aeddan, with his men, who went to sea in search of the Green Islands of the Floods, and nothing more was heard of them. Second,

* The originals of these Triads may be found as follows:—the *first*, Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 57, Tr. 3; the next *four*, Ib. p. 59, Tr. 10 to 13 inclusive; the *last*, Ib. p. 71, Tr. 97.

Merddin, the Bard of Ambrosius, with his nine scientific Bards, who went to sea in the house of glass, and there have been no tidings whither they went. Third, Madawg, son of Owain Gwynedd, who, accompanied by three hundred men, went to sea in ten ships, and it is not known to what place they went.

[Gavran, here mentioned, was a distinguished chieftain during the close of the fifteenth century. He is described in another Triad as one of the three faithful tribes of Britain. The Green Islands of the Floods, in the original *Gwerddonau Llŷon*, have been supposed to mean the Canaries, or the Cape Verd Islands. Merddin was a cotemporary of Gavran: he is farther commemorated in the Triads as one of the three Christian Bards of the Isle of Britain. In what this singular account of his "disappearance" took its rise it would be difficult now to discover. But similar legends are common to other countries. Nennius, in his "*Historia Brittonum*," makes mention of a Tower of Glass, which appeared, in the middle of the sea, to some Spanish soldiers. And in a Spanish romance of "*Alexander*," written in the thirteenth century, is a long account of the hero's descent into the sea in a house of glass. The same story is also to be found in a German romance about the year 1100. And in the continuation of the "*Orlando Furioso*," some of the spirits, summoned to Demagorgon's Council, are described as sailing through the air in ships of glass, "*gran' navi di vetro*." All these extraordinary fictions were, most probably, founded in one common tradition, of which the reason is now lost. Both Mr. Roberts and Mr. Davies conceive Merddin's House of Glass to signify a sacred vessel emblematic of the Ark; and the latter farther considers it to be only a symbol of initiation into the Druidical Mysteries.* With respect to Madawg's emigration, the principal authorities

* See Mr. Robert's "*Cambrian Popular Antiquities*," p. 78; and Mr. Davies's "*Mythology and Rites of the Druids*," pp. 211, 270, 277, and 522.

that confirm this account, were noticed in the Second Number of the CAMBRO-BRITON. He was a younger son of Owain Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, and left his country in consequence of the contest for the succession, which took place amongst his brothers upon Owain's death. His first emigration is said to have taken place in 1170, and his final departure or "disappearance," as it is above called, about two years afterwards. There are strong grounds for believing that the descendants of this prince and his followers are at this day in existence in the remote wilds of the North American Continent. And it may be interesting to add, that a young man, a native of Wales, is at present endeavouring to explore the presumed settlement of this colony, with every reasonable prospect of succeeding in the object of his spirited enterprise, so as, in one way or other, to set this long controverted question at rest.]

XVI. The three Oppressions that fell on the Isle of Britain, and came afterwards to an end. First, the oppression of the Horse of Malaen, which is called the oppression of May-day; and the oppression of the Dragon of Britain; and the oppression of the Half-apparent Man. That is, the first was transmarine; the second from the frenzy of a country and nation under the pressure of the violence and lawlessness of princes, and which Dyvnwal Moelmud extinguished, by forming an equitable system of mutual obligation between society and society, between prince and prince, and between country and country. The third was in the time of Beli, the son of Manogan, and which was a treasonable conspiracy, and he extinguished it.

[The circumstances, recorded in this Triad, are so enveloped in mystery, as scarcely to afford a chance of any rational interpretation. The original names are *March Malaen*, *Draig Prydain*, and *Gwr Lledrithiawg*. With respect to the first it may be noticed, that it is still a proverbial expression, in reference to what has been squandered or thrown away, to say,

“it has gone on the horse of Malaén.” Yet, if this personage be the same with Melen, or Malen, recorded in another Triad* as one of the three recognized demons of the Isle of Britain, it may correspond with the Bellona of the ancient Mythology, with which the name seems to bear some affinity. *Draig Prydain* may also be rendered the Prince or Generalissimo of Britain. *Lledrithiawg*, translated “Half-apparent Man,” implies strictly one who has the power to appear or disappear at will. The Triads commemorate three persons, as having been possessed of this illusive faculty.]

XVII. The three Dreadful Pestilences of the Isle of Britain. First, the pestilence from the carcasses of the Gwyddelians, who were slain in Manuba, after they had oppressed the country of Gwynedd for twenty-nine years. Second, the pestilence of the Yellow Plague of Rhos, and which originated from the carcasses of the slain; and whoever went within reach of the effluvia fell dead immediately. And the third was the pestilence of the Bloody Sweat, in consequence of the corn having been injured by wet weather, in the time of the oppression of the Normans, under William the Bastard.

[The Gwyddelian or Irish Invasion, here alluded to, is recorded in Triad X. translated in the Second Number of the CAMERO-BRITON. The Yellow Plague of Rhos, which the old poets personify as a yellow serpent, happened during the reign of Maelgwn Gwynedd, about the middle of the sixth century, in the district, which occupies the sea-coast between Conwy and the Vale of Clwyd. The event, last recorded, requires no explanation.]

XVIII. The three Awful Events of the Isle of Britain. First, the rupture of the Lake of Floods, and the going of an inundation over the face of all the lands, so that all the people were drowned, except

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. 16, 17, and 71.

Dwyvan and Dwyvach, who escaped in a bare ship, and from them the Isle of Britain was re-peopled. The second was the trembling of the Torrent Fire, when the earth was rent unto the abyss, and the greatest part of all life was destroyed. The third was the Hot Summer, when the trees and plants took fire with the vehemency of the heat of the sun, so that many men and animals, and species of birds, and vermin, and plants were irretrievably lost.

[On account of the very interesting nature of this and the following Triad, the strictest regard has been observed, in the translation, to the peculiar phraseology of the originals. The traditionary record, which they contain, possesses intrinsic evidence of its high antiquity; and a part of it furnishes, as has been premised, an unquestionable memorial of the Deluge, and that so singularly dissimilar from the scriptural history, as wholly to preclude all suspicion of being founded upon it. *Llyn Llion*, translated the Lake of Floods, means, in its more extensive sense, an inexhaustible aggregate of waters: and the old poets have accordingly applied it to the Deluge. Dwyvan and Dwyvach, the names of the two persons who survived this catastrophe, signify literally the divine male agent, and the divine female agent, epithets that must be allowed to be singularly applicable to the renovators of the human species, to those whose important function it was

Populos reparare paternis
Artibus, atque animas formatae infundere terræ.*

Dwyvan may also be synonymous with the Welsh names Dylan and Dyglan, which strongly resemble Deucalion. With respect to the two calamities by fire here recorded, they must have happened in very early ages; the former apparently owing to a volcanic eruption,

* Ovid. Metam. Lib. i. l. 363.

and the other to the preternatural heat of the sun. The well-known fable of Phaeton had probably a metaphorical allusion to the latter of these occurrences: and Hesiod's sublime description of the conflagration of the earth may likewise have owed its birth to some such catastrophe.]*

XIX. The three Primary Great Achievements of the Isle of Britain. The ship of *Nevydd Nav Neivion*, which carried in it the male and female of all living, when the Lake of Floods was broken: the prominent oxen of *Hu the Mighty* drawing the crocodile of the lake to land, and the lake broke out no more; and the stones of *Gwyddon Ganhebon*, whereon might be read all the arts and sciences of the world.

[The names that occur in this Triad are very remarkable. *Nevydd Nav Neivion* plainly designates Noah. The words, taken abstractedly, imply Floater, Float of Floats, which is synonymous with Neptune, Lord of Lords. Sir William Jones, in his Hymn to Nariana, has the same idea. *Nav* is still a common word for Lord, in which sense it occurs in the metrical Psalms: and *Neivion*, its regular plural, is also employed in ancient compositions to denote the Creator, although it occasionally seems to apply to Neptune. Thus an old poet has the following couplet:

“Y nofiad a wnaeth Neifion
O Droia fawr draw i Fon.”

The swimming, that Neivion performed
From great Troy yonder to Mona.

The similarity between the names of *Nav* and *Noah*, and more particularly *Naus*, one of the Patriarch's appellations in the East, deserves also to be here noticed. The Ship of *Nevydd Nav Neivion*, therefore, can only mean the ark, which is accordingly numbered as one of the three chief works of the Isle of Britain, upon

* See his *Theogonia*, l. 689 to 704.

the same principle that the Deluge is described as one of its three awful events. The drawing of the crocodile, or whatever be the animal, which the Triad calls *avanc*,* out of the lake, has, of course, a reference to the preceding achievement. A similar exploit is recorded in the Hindu Mythology, in which Vishnou is celebrated for destroying the monster, that had occasioned the Deluge, and recovering the earth and the *veds*. It is a singular fact, too, that the hippopotamus and crocodile were equally symbols of the Deluge amongst the Egyptians, and were both employed, in common with the wolf, as emblems of Typhon, whom they regarded as the cause of every evil, and consequently of the general inundation.† Some of our ancient bards, among whom are Gwynvardd Brychein-iog and Iolo Goch, make allusion to Hu and his oxen: and the tradition is still prevalent in many parts of Wales, the drawing of the *avanc* out of the water being appropriated to different lakes. Amongst these are one in Caernarvonshire, and another on the Hiraethog Mountain, near Denbigh, called *Llyn dau Ychâin*, or the Pool of the two Oxen. At *Llan Dewi Brevi*, or St. David's of the Lowing, in Cardiganshire, they formerly showed, as a relic, a large horn which they pretended belonged to one of Hu's oxen; and there is still extant a piece of music, imitating the lowing of oxen and the rattling of their chains in drawing the *avanc* out of the water. In the Mabinogion, or Romantic Tales, one of the achievements of Paredur is the slaying of the *addanc y llyn*, or crocodile of the lake, at the Hill of Lamentation. And a poet of the

* According to the Welsh Laws this animal was at one time common in Wales; and Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of it as being found in his time in the river Teifi. It has also been called *addanc* and *llostlydan*, which latter seems to mean the beaver, an animal that is said to have been seen in Nant Ffroncon, in Caernarvonshire, at no very remote period. *Addanc* is merely *avanc*, written according to the Dimetian dialect.

† See Plutarch's "*Isiris and Osiris*," and Diodorus Siculus, Lib. i.

fifteenth century, in soliciting a suit of armour from his patron, compares the workmanship to the "wonderful scales on the fore legs" of the *avane*. Many other particulars might be enumerated, all tending to confirm the extraordinary tradition preserved in the Triad, the precise reason of which, however, must still be considered inexplicable. It is somewhat remarkable that the Arkite Divinity, Dionusus, another name for Noah, was represented by some of his votaries in the shape of a bull: and in the Orphic Hymns he is called *ταυρογενής* and *ταυρομετωπος*.^{*} His inseparable companions, too, the Centauri, are described as horned; and certain ships of old were called *βουκενταυροι*, whence the Venetians took the name of their Bucentaur. The Egyptians, too, it may be added, thought the horns of a young ox or bull bore a resemblance with a *lunette*, which was with them an emblem of the ark. From all this it may reasonably be inferred, that bulls or oxen had, in most ancient countries, some share in the fabulous circumstances ascribed to the Deluge.* The names given to the oxen of Hu, are *Ninis* and *Peibio*.—With respect to Hu himself, it would be impossible here to do adequate justice to the various particulars recorded of him. But an opportunity will soon be selected for entering into a separate and full investigation of this remarkable character. The stones or tablets of Gwyddon Ganhebon seem to correspond with the inscribed pillars of Seth or Hermes; or they may have a reference to the hieroglyphical or Runic inscriptions, which have been found in various countries, both on artificial obelisks and natural rocks. But, whether historical or fabulous, the tradition here preserved is well worthy of a more minute examination. Gwyddon Ganhebon is also commemorated in the Triads as having been "the first man in the world who composed poetry."

* Many interesting particulars, relating to this inquiry, may be found in the 2d volume of Bryant's learned "Analysis of Ancient Mythology."

THE TRIADS.—No. V.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XX. The three Primary Tribes of the nation of the Cymry: the Gwentians, or the men of Essyllwg; the Gwyndydians, or the men of Gwynedd and Powys; and the tribe of Pendaran Dyved, which comprehend the men of Dyved, and Gwyr, and Ceredigion. And to each of them belongs a peculiar dialect of the Welsh.

[Gwent, in its strict application, was the present county of Monmouth, divided into Uwehgoed and Isgoed, or above the wood and below the wood, having Caerwent, or Venta Silurum, for its capital. Essyllwg or Essyllwyr was a more general appellation, and was the Siluria of the Romans—Gwyndyd is another name for Gwynedd, only varied in the termination, and used in a more extensive sense, like Venedotia. The Romans comprehended the Gwyndydians in the more general name of Ordovices. Dyved, Gwyr, and Ceredigion are Dimetia Proper, or Pembrokeshire, Gower, and Cardiganshire. Pendaran was a peculiar title of the Prince of Dyved, and is so used in the Mabinogion.]

XXI. The three Sovereigns by vote of the Isle of Britain: first, Caswallawn, the son of Lludd, son of Beli, son of Mynogan. Second, Caradawg, the son of Bran, son of Llyr Llediaith. Third, Owain, the son of Maelen Wledig: that is, sovereignty was assigned to them by the voice of the country and people, when at the time they were not elders.

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 64. Tr. 16—20.

[We have the testimony of Cæsar, that Cassivellaunus or Caswallawn was thus elected. See Bell. Gall. l. 5, c. 9. Caradawg, here mentioned, was the celebrated Caractacus, who so gallantly opposed the Roman power in the time of the Emperor Claudius. Tacitus describes him as one, "*quem multa ambigua, multa prospera extulerant, ut ceteros Britannorum imperatores præmineret.*" Annal. l. 12, c. 33. He is farther noticed in the Triads as one of the "three good persecutors of the Isle of Britain," on account of his long and successful annoyance of the Romans. Llediaith, applied in this Triad to Llyr, implies one of imperfect or barbarous speech, which was probably some peculiarity caused by his intercourse with the Romans. There may be some doubt, whether Macsen Wledig was Maximus or Maxentius. His son Owain had a dignified rank in the British History, but he is not to be found in the Roman.]

XXII. The three Holy Families of the Isle of Britain: the family of Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr Llediaith, who was that Bran, who brought the faith in Christ first into this island from Rome, where he was in prison, through the treachery of Aregwedd Voeddawg, the daughter of Avarwy, the son of Lludd. Second, the family of Cunedda Wledig, which first granted land and privilege to God and the saints in the Isle of Britain. The third was Brychan Brycheiniawg, who educated his children and grand-children in learning and generosity, so as to enable them to show the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry, where they were without faith.

[Bran was the father of Caradawg or Caractacus, mentioned in the preceding Triad, and, upon the defeat of his son by the Roman General Ostorius, he and his family accompanied him as hostages to Rome. It is not improbable, therefore, that, upon his return to Britain, he may have had the glory of first introducing Christianity into this island. Aregwedd Voeddawg was the Boadicea of the Romans. She has also been

thought to be the same with Cartismandua, mentioned by Tacitus, as queen of the Brigantes; but there appears no affinity between the names. Cunedda was a chieftain of the North Britons, probably during the fifth century, when he is said to have retired to Wales with his children, in consequence of the incursions of the Saxons. Brychan also lived during the fifth century, and was one of the supreme sovereigns of Ireland. He came with his family to Wales, and settled in Garth Madryn, which from him was afterwards called Brycheiniawg, whence the name of the present Brecknockshire. His children are said to have been four-and-twenty in number: he died about A. D. 450.

XXIII. The three Guests of Benign Presence of the Isle of Britain: Dewi, Padran, and Teilaw. They were so called, because they went as guests into the houses of the noble, the yeoman, the native and the stranger, without accepting either gift, or reward, or victuals, or drink; but what they did was the teaching of the faith in Christ to every one, without pay or thanks; besides, to the poor and the needy they gave gifts of their gold and their silver, their raiment and their provisions.

[Dewi, mentioned in this Triad, is the same personage with the celebrated St. David, though many particulars are introduced into the popular account of the Saint, which do not belong to the genuine history. From this, as we find it in the CAMBRIAN BIOGRAPHY, it appears that St. David, who lived in the fifth century, was a native of Pembrokeshire, and the son of Sandde ab Cedig ab Caredig, son of Cunedda Wledig, of whom some account has just been given. St. David was originally Bishop of Caerlleon in Gwent or Monmouthshire, at that time the metropolitan church of Wales, a distinction, which, from his interest with Arthur, Sovereign of Britain, he procured to be transferred to Mynyw, since called, from him, Ty Dewi, and, in English, St. David's, to which place he accordingly removed. St. David is celebrated for having,

about the year 522, in a full Synod, held at Llan Dewi Brevi, in Cardiganshire, confuted the Pelagian Heresy, at that time prevalent in the country.* He is said to have died at a patriarchal age about the year 542, after having exercised his spiritual functions for 65 years. And he is described as having united to extraordinary knowledge a great share of personal accomplishments.† He was the founder of several churches in South Wales; where there are nineteen, that were originally dedicated to this Saint, besides those that have, in later times, adopted his name. St. David is farther recorded in the Triads as Primate of the Welsh Church during the sovereignty of Arthur, and also as one of the three canonized Saints of Britain. Padarn and Teilaw were also Bishops and cotemporaries of St. David, and, with him, have ever been considered as among the most distinguished Saints of Wales. There are several churches in South Wales dedicated to both of them. Padarn, who came over from Llydaw (Armorica) with Cadvan, first instituted the collegiate church of Llanbadarn Vawr; and Teilaw was the founder of the college of Llandav, afterwards converted into a Bishopric, and which the Welsh still call "Esgobaeth Teilo."]

XXIV. The three Treacherous Meetings of the Isle of Britain. The meeting of Avarwy, the son of Lludd, with the disloyal men, who gave space for landing to the men of Rome in the Narrow Green Point, and not more, and the consequence of which was the gaining of the Isle of Britain by the men of Rome. Second, the meeting of the principal men of the Cymry and the Saxon claimants on the mountain of Caer Caradawg, where the Plot of the Long Knives took place, through the treachery of Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau; that is, through his counsel, in league

* See Camden's *Britannia*, Gibson's Edition, p. 641—643.

† See the "History of Pembrokeshire," in the *Cambrian Register*, vol. ii. p. 203.

with the Saxons, the nobility of the Cymry were nearly all slain there. Third, the meeting of Medrawd and Iddawg Corn Prydain with their men in Nanhwynain, where they plotted treachery against Arthur, and consequently strength to the Saxons in the Isle of Britain.

[The first event, recorded in this Triad, is confirmed in a singular manner by Cæsar, in the account he gives of his second landing on this island. The Narrow Green Point, here mentioned, was in the Isle of Thanet. Cæsar indeed attributes the want of opposition, which he experienced on this occasion, to the fear excited by the multitude of his vessels and the formidable character of his armament;* but it is quite as probable, that it was owing to such a cause as is commemorated in this Triad. Avarwy, or Avarddwy Bras, as he was also called, was, no doubt, that Mandubratius, a chief of the Trinobantes, whom Cæsar expressly notices as having deserted the Britons and come over to him in Gaul some time before his second invasion, a circumstance that well accords with the narration here given of his treacherous conduct. The cause, assigned by the Roman historian for this act of Mandubratius, is the murder of his father by Caswallawn or Cassivellaunus.† Avarwy is also recorded in the Triads as one of the three disgraceful men of Britain. The Plot of the Long Knives, or *Twyll y Cylllyll Hirion*, to which allusion is here made, is sufficiently known from other sources. It took place about the year 472, when Hengist, having invited the British chiefs to a conference on Salisbury Plain, caused them all to be treacherously assassinated. This sanguinary deed is generally supposed to have been perpetrated within or near the celebrated structure of Stonehenge. Cuhelyn, a bard of the sixth century, is said to have written a poem expressly on Hengist's Massacre: and Taliesin has been thought to allude to

* Bell. Gall. l. 5, c. 8.

† Id. ibid.

it in his Song on the Sons of Llyr.* A custom is still retained in Wales of kindling fires (*Coelcerthi*) on November eve as a traditional memorial of this plot, though the practice is of older date, and had reference originally to the *Alban Elved*, or New Year. And it may have been at the celebration of this festival, or of some similar one, that Hengist's treacherous assembly was holden.† Medrawd, who lived in the sixth century, is recorded in several Triads for this act of baseness. It was his usurpation of the sovereign power in the time of Arthur, and his confederacy with the Saxons, that occasioned the battle of Camlan, in 542. Iddawg Corn Prydain, who conspired with Medrawd in this treacherous action, afterwards embraced a religious life; and his name is to be seen in the Catalogue of the Welsh Saints.‡]

* Arch. of Wales, vol. i. p. 66.

† In the Chronicle of Tysilio the Conference is said to have taken place on May-day, which was the time of the great Druidical Meeting.

‡ See Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 45, where he is called Iddew.

THE TRIADS.—No. VI.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN*.

XXV. The three Arrant Traitors of the Isle of Britain: Avarwy, the son of Lludd, the son of Beli the Great, who invited Iwl Caisar and the men of Rome into this island, and caused the oppression of the Romans; that is, he and his men gave themselves as conductors to the men of Rome, receiving treasure of gold and silver from them every year. And in consequence it became a compulsion on the men of this island to pay three thousand of silver yearly as a tribute to the men of Rome, until the time of Owain, the son of Maesen Wledig, when he refused that tribute; and, under pretence of being contented therewith, the men of Rome drew the best men of the Isle of Britain, capable of being made men of war, to the country of Aravia, and other far countries, and they returned not back. And the men of Rome, that were in the Isle of Britain, went into Italy, so that there were of them only women and little children left behind; and in that way the Britons were weakened, so that they were unable to resist oppression and conquest, for want of men and strength. The second was Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, who, after killing Constantine the Blessed, and seizing the crown of the island, through treason and lawlessness, first invited the Saxons into this island, as his defenders, and married Alis Ronwen, the daughter of Ilengist, and gave the crown of the Island to the son he had by her, whose name was Gotta, and on that account it is that the kings of London are called children of Alis. Thus by the conduct of Gwrtheyrn the Cymry lost their lands,

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 62, Tr. 21—28.

and their privilege, and their crown in Lloegr. The third was Medrawd, the son of Llew, the son of Cynvarch; for, when Arthur left the crown of the Isle of Britain in his custody, whilst he went against the Emperor in Rome, then Medrawd took the crown from Arthur through treason and seduction; and, so that he might preserve it, he confederated with the Saxons, and by reason thereof the Cymry lost the crown of Lloegr, and the sovereignty of the Isle of Britain.

[The events of which this Triad treats are so fully detailed, as to require but little illustration. And this becomes the less necessary as the same occurrences were noticed, though not with the same minuteness, in the last Number of the CAMBRO-BRITON.* An additional opportunity, however, presents itself here to refer to the confirmation, which these memorials receive from the ancient classical and other writers. The tribute, above mentioned to have been paid by the Britons, is expressly noticed by Cæsar, who, in speaking of his departure from the island after his second invasion, has the following passage:—"Obsides imperat, et quid in annos singulos vectigalis populo Romano Britannia penderet constituit; interdicat atque imperat Cassivellauno, ne Mandubratio neu Trinobantibus bellum faciat."† This extract furnishes also another proof of the treacherous conduct of Avarwy, or Mandubratius, as imputed to him in the Triads. A short notice respecting Gwrtheyrn, or Vortigern, was given in a former Number;‡ and, with respect to the action here related of him, although passed in silence by some ancient authors,§ it is particularly detailed by Nennius, who describes Hengist as having inveigled Vortigern into this marriage while under the influence

* See p. 267, Triad XXIV. and the Annotations.

† Bell. Gall. lib. v. c. 22.

‡ No. 2, p. 248.

§ Among those who ascribe the conquest of the Britons to force and not artifice, are Gildas, Bede, and the writer of the Saxon Chronicle, who make no mention whatever of Alis Ron-

of intoxication, and as having obtained from him in consideration of it the Province of Kent. Constantine the Blessed, in Welsh *Cystennyn*, appears in the British Chronicle as the 80th King of Britain about the year 390, when the Roman dominion in this country was fast approaching to its close. There is a church in Arvon, dedicated to *Cystennyn*. It may be proper to mention here, that two other copies of this Triad are preserved in the *Archæology**, one much more diffuse than this, and differing from it in some particulars, and the other considerably shorter than either.]

XXVI. The three Secret Treasons of the Isle of Britain: first, the betraying of Caradawg, the son of Bran, by Aregwedd Voeddawg, the daughter of Avarwy, the son of Lludd, and delivering him a captive to the Romans; the betraying of Arthur by Iddawg Corn Prydain, who divulged his plan; and the betraying of the Prince Gruffydd, the son of Llewelyn, by Madawg Min. And from these three treasons there followed complete subjection of the nation of the Cymry: and nothing but treachery could have subdued them.

[An allusion was made in Triad XXII. in the last Number to the "Secret Treason," here ascribed to Aregwedd Voeddawg: and we find the same account given by Tacitus, if indeed Aregwedd and Cartismandua be the same person.† The historian, in describing

wen, called by the Saxons Rowena. On the other hand, the account, as transmitted by the Triad and Nennius, is also detailed by William of Malmesbury and Caradog of Llanearfan. And they have been followed by Humphrey Llwyd, Camden, and Verstegan. Thus, the balance of authorities seems to be in favour of the tradition above recorded

* Vol. ii. p. 4. and 19.

† It has been before remarked (No. 5. p. 265.) that there is no resemblance between the names of Aregwedd Voeddawg and Cartismandua, while there is a strong affinity between the former and Boadicea. However, the circumstances, related of Cartismandua by Tacitus, seem to accord exactly with those ascribed by the Triads to Aregwedd.

the conduct of Caradawg or Caractacus after his defeat by Ostorius, says, "Cum fidem Cartismanduæ, reginæ Brigantum, petivisset vinctus ac victoribus traditus est nono post anno quam bellum in Britannia ceptum."*—The treachery of Iddawg Corn Prydain was noticed in the last number. Madawg Min, here mentioned, was Bishop of Bangor in the beginning of the eleventh century. The treasonable action, recorded of him in this Triad, is not the only one with which his memory has been charged: he is also accused of having, by his treacherous artifices, occasioned the death of Llewelyn ab Sitsyllt, father of Gruffydd.]

XXVII. The three Brave Sovereigns of the Isle of Britain: Cynvelyn Wledig; Caradawg, the son of Bran; and Arthur. That is, they vanquished their enemies, so that, except through treachery and plotting, they could not be overcome.

[Cynvelyn Wledig, mentioned in the British Chronicle as the 68th King of Britain, is the Cunobelinus of the Roman writers. He most probably succeeded Mandubratius as Chief of the Trinobantes, and he also governed the Novantes and Cassii. The conquests, made by this Prince, rendered him the most powerful in the southern part of Britain, and well entitle him to the epithet bestowed upon him by this Triad. He died about A. D. 40, leaving, according to Suetonius, three sons, but, according to the British History, two only, Gwydyr and Gweirydd. It was the refusal by the former of these to pay the customary tribute to the Romans, that is said to have occasioned the invasion of this island by Claudius. It had been punctually discharged by Cynvelyn. There are few to whom the name of Arthur is not familiar. But the Arthur, commemorated above, is a very different character from the hero of Romance of the same name, and who performs so important a part in the Mabinogion, although they are generally confounded together in the popular

* Annal. Lib. xii. c. 36.

account. The Arthur of history, who perhaps took his appellation from the other, was the son of Meirig, a Prince of Glamorgan, in the beginning of the sixth century. About the year 517 he was called by the States of Britain to the supreme command, for the purpose of opposing the Saxons, whom, according to Nennius, he defeated in twelve battles. His successful career, however, was at length brought to a close by the treachery of Medrawd, already recorded, which produced, in 542, the battle of Camlan, so fatal to the Britons, and which terminated at once the life and the glory of Arthur. This chieftain is celebrated by Talesin, Merddin, and Llywarch, who were his contemporaries.]

XXVIII. The three primary Battle Princes of the Isle of Britain: Casswallawn, the son of Beli; Gweirydd, the son of Cynvelyn Wledig; and Caradawg, the son of Bran, the son of Llyr of Barbarous Speech.

[An account has already been given, in the course of these illustrations, of the chieftains who form the subject of this Triad.]

XXIX. The three Fair Princes of the Isle of Britain: Rhun, the son of Maelgwn, Owain, the son of Urien, and Rhuvon Bevr, the son of Dewrarth Wledig.

[Rhun succeeded his father Maelgwn as nominal Sovereign of the Britons, and reigned over Gwynedd from 560 to 586: he will be found described in another Triad as one of the Golden-banded Sovereigns of Britain. Owain was cotemporary with Rhun, and is commemorated elsewhere as owner of one of the three steeds of desperation. Rhuvon Bevr was likewise of the same period. In another Triad* he is called Rhuawn Bevr, the son of Dorarth Wledig. He fell in battle, and his body is said to have been purchased by its weight in gold, for which reason he is also recorded

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 6.

as one of the three golden corpses. Hywel, son of Owain Gwynedd, has the following lines on this Prince :

Ton wen orewyn a orwlych bedd ;
Gwyddva Rhuvon Bevr, ben teyrnedd.*]

XXX. The three Plebeian Princes of the Isle of Britain : Gwriad, the son of Gwrien, in the North ; Cadavael, the son of Cynvedw, in Gwynedd ; and Hyvaidd Hir, the son of Saint Bleiddan, in Morganwg. That is, sovereignty was given them for their renowned exploits and virtuous qualities.

[These three Princes lived also during the sixth century, a period which appears to have been pregnant with men of renown, whether as Princes or Poets. Gwriad bore a part in the famous battle of Cattraeth, which forms the subject of the Gododin. Cadavael, who had the surname of Wyllt or Wild, is consigned to disgrace by another Triad, as having inflicted one of the "three heinous hatchet blows," whereby he caused the death of Iago ab Beli, Sovereign of Gwynedd. In other copies of this triad Gwriad and Hyvaidd are described somewhat differently.† But this is a circumstance in no way affecting the general authenticity of these ancient documents. On the contrary, the trivial variations, which they occasionally exhibit, remove all suspicion as to any forgery or contrivance in their compilation. There are three copies of the Historical Triads preserved in the Archæology.]

* "A white wave, mantled with foam, sprays over a grave,
The tomb of Rhuvon the Fair, chief of princes."

† Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 17.

THE TRIADS.—No. VII.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XXXI. The three Banded Tribes of the Isle of Britain: the tribe of Caswallon Law Hir; the tribe of Rhiwallon, the son of Urien; and the tribe of Belyn of Lleyn. That is, they were so named, because there was neither head nor sovereign over them, so far as the privilege of their families and territory extended, if they were questioned within such limits, but the voice of the country and people prevailed.

[Caswallawn Law Hir, or Caswallawn with the Long Hand, was Sovereign of North Wales from 443 to 517, when he died, after a reign of 74 years. Rhiwallon lived also in the early part of the sixth century; and Belyn about a century later. Other copies of this Triad† relate the circumstances thus. "The three Banded Tribes of the Isle of Britain: the tribe of Caswallon Law Hir, who put the fetters of their horses on their feet by two and two in fighting with Serigi Wyddel (Serigi the Irishman) at Cerig y Gwyddyl (the Stones of the Irishmen) in Môn; and the tribe of Rhiwallon, the son of Urien, in fighting with the Saxons; and the tribe of Belyn of Lleyn in fighting with Edwin at Bryn Cenen (Bryn Edwin) in Rhos. The privilege, thus acquired by the three chiefs here named, secured their exemption from all superior jurisdiction save that of the jury of the country or national inquisition.‡]

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 62—3. Tr. 27—33.

† Id. ib. p. 12 and 16.

‡ The words in the original are "rhaith gwlad," which were explained in No. 4, p. 256.

XXXII. The three Golden-banded Ones of the Islo of Britain: Rhiwallon Wallt Banadlen; Rhun, the son of Maelgwn; and Cadwaladr the Blessed. That is, it was given them to wear bands of gold about their arms, and about their necks, and about their knees; and thereto was attached the privilege of royalty in every country and territory of the Isle of Britain.

[Rhiwallon Wallt Banadlen, or Rhiwallon with the Broom Hair, lived about the middle of the sixth century, and is celebrated in another Triad as one of the "three men most distinguished for their knowledge of natural history." Rhun succeeded his father Maelgwn in the Sovereignty of North Wales about 560, and reigned till 586: he is also called one of the "three immaculate Princes of Britain." Cadwaladr was the last nominal King of the Britons. He abdicated the throne in 686 and retired to Brittany, from whence he went ultimately to Rome, where he died in 703. It was, in all probability, his dedication to a religious life at the latter place, that gave him the epithet of "blessed," appropriated to him in this Triad. There are two churches consecrated to Cadwaladr, one in Denbighshire, and the other in Anglesey. The following explanation of the names, here applied to these chieftains, occurs in the two other copies of this Triad.* "Those men were so called gold banded ones, for that no horses could be obtained suitable for them on account of their size, so that golden bands were put round their ankles over the haunches of their horses behind them, with two pans of gold under their knees; and hence the knee-pan was so named." From this explanation it does not appear, that the "golden bands," mentioned in this Triad, were of the same nature with the *torch* or *torques*, so generally worn by the ancient Britons as a mark of distinction. Indeed the expression in the original is *hualogion*, which means strictly "golden fettered;" whereas *aurdorchogion* would have been

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 5 and 17.

used to designate the wearers of golden chains. This, therefore, is not the proper opportunity for offering any remarks on that ancient custom.

XXXIII. The three Cavaliers of Battle of the Isle of Britain: Caradawg with the Brawny Arm, and Llyr the Armipotent, and Mael ab Menwed of Arllechwedd. And Arthur sang to them the following *englyn*:—

Sef ynt fy nhri Chadfarchawg,
Mael Hir a Llyr Lluyddawg,
A cholofn Cymry Caradawg.*

That is to say, they were the best of all battle horse-men: and therefore dominion and power were given them as they chose. And it was their disposition to do nothing but what was discreet and just, to whatever country or power they came.

[Caradawg, here mentioned, was a Prince of the Cornish Britons during the sixth century, of which period were also Llwyrr and Mael. They were all three likewise cotemporaries of Arthur, and fought in his battles, as may be inferred from the *englyn* here quoted, and which, in all probability, was added by some ancient annotator.]

XXXIV. The three Generous Princes of the Isle of Britain: Rhydderch the Generous, the son of Tudwal Tudelud; and Mordav the Generous, the son of Serwan; and Nudd the Generous, the son of Senyllt. Their principles were, that they failed not as to anything in the world whatsoever to such as besought it, whilst they possessed it, or could obtain it by gift, or loan, or present; whether sought by friend or foe, relative or stranger.

[Rhydderch, who is frequently celebrated by the old poets for the quality here ascribed to him, was a Prince of the Stradclyde Britons during the early part of the sixth century. He signalised himself as a war-

* These are my three Cavaliers of Battle,
Mael the Tall and Llyr the Armipotent,
And that Pillar of my Cymry Caradawg.

rior on several occasions. Mordav and Nudd were contemporary with Rhydderch: the latter was descended in a direct line from Maxen Wledig, the Emperor Maximus or Maxentius, according to the Chronicle the 79th King of Britain at the close of the fourth century.)

XXXV. The three Crimson Spotted Ones of the Isle of Britain: Arthur, Morgan the Courteous, and Rhun the son of Beli. When they went to war, no one would remain at home, so greatly were they beloved; and there was neither war nor conflict, but they were victorious in it, where there was neither treachery nor ambush, and therefore came the proverb, "The three men, who made men wherever they went, were Arthur, Morgan the Courteous, and Rhun the son of Beli: the three people, who made men wherever they came, were the men of Arthur, the men of Morgan the Courteous, and the men of Rhun the son of Beli."

[According to Caradog's History, Morgan, here mentioned, was a Prince of Glamorgan during the ninth century. And he is stated to have died in 1001 at the advanced age of 129 years, having lived to see the dominions, which he had abdicated, enjoyed both by his children and grandchildren. Some account of Arthur was given in the last Number.* The chieftain here called Rhun, if he be not the same that is mentioned in the last Triad but one, was the great-grandson of Maelgwn, Prince of Gwynedd, and must have lived in the beginning of the seventh century. In the other copies of this Triad, Llew Llawgyfes, who lived in the fifth century, supplies the place of Arthur, who is, however, made supreme over the other three for the distinction conferred on the chieftains here mentioned. The epithet "crimson-spotted," here used, is, we may suppose, synonymous with "blood-stained." The word in the original is *rhuddfanogion*.]

* See page 273.

XXXVI. The three Hostile Ovates of the Isle of Britain: Greidiawl the Hostile Ovate, and Envael the son of Adran, and Trystan the son of Tallweh. And they had the privilege that none could oppose them, wheresoever they wished to go in the Isle of Britain, so that they did not go unlawfully.

[It is difficult to say precisely what is meant by the term, here rendered "hostile ovate." The Welsh word is *galofydd*, which will also bear the interpretation of "regulator of hostility." *Gal* means literally a stranger or enemy (for the terms were anciently synonymous); and *ofydd* was the appellation given to one of the orders of Bardism.* *Galofydd* may, therefore, imply one of those privileged heralds, belonging to a strange tribe or nation, who, as we find from the Convention-Triads of Dyfnwal Moelmud, had, under the civil constitutions of the Cymry, a right of unobstructed progression through the country, exactly as stated in this Triad. The three persons, here named, all lived about the sixth century. Trystan, who is commemorated in several other Triads, is the same personage with Sir Tristram, hero of the Romance of that name written by Tho. of Ercildun.† In the two other copies of this Triad Gwgon Gwron, also a chief of the sixth century, is substituted for Envael and with the greater appearance of being correct.]

XXXVII. The three Obstructors of Slaughter of the Isle of Britain: Grudneu, Henben, and Aedenawg;

* The *Ofydd* or *Ovate* was emphatically the Poet of the Bardic System. The Institutional Triads describe his peculiar function to be the exercise of poetical genius. Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus make particular mention of the *Ovate* as one of the three Druidical orders: and hence, most probably, was derived the *Vates* of the Romans. The office of herald was expressly assigned to the *Ofyddion* during their three years' probation previous to their admission into the higher orders of Bardism.

† Mr. Walter Scott has recently published a new Edition of this old Romance.

and their qualities were, that they went not out of battle and war but on their biers, when they were not able to move either finger or tongue.

[It appears, from all that can now be learnt of these warriors, that they were sons of Gleisiar, a chieftain of the Northern Britons about the close of the fifth century, a period, which called forth the martial energies of that people in a peculiar manner, from the frequent contests to which they were exposed with the Saxons and Picts. The other copies of this Triad give them the designation of the "three brave ones," an expression perfectly consistent with the more remarkable one here adopted.]

THE TRIADS.—No. VIII.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XXXVIII. The three Conventional Monarchs of the Isle of Britain: first, Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, when a systematical regality was established over the Isle of Britain and the adjacent islands; second, Caradawg, the son of Bran, when there was conferred upon him the war-supremacy over the whole of the Isle of Britain, to resist the incursion of the Romans; and Owain, the son of Maesen Wledig, when the Cymry resumed the sovereignty, agreeably to their natural rights, from the Roman Emperor. That is, they were called the three Conventional Monarchs, from these rights being conferred upon them by the convention of country and boarder-country, within the whole limits of the nation of the Cymry, by holding a convention in every territory, commot, and cantrev in the Isle of Britain and its adjacent islands.

[According both to Cæsar and Tacitus, and particularly the latter, the inhabitants of this island, upon their discovery by the Romans, consisted, like the Gauls and Germans, of several independent tribes governed by their own chiefs. Yet, when influenced by the prospect of a general advantage or a common danger, these separate states became united in one body. Upon these occasions a chieftain or monarch was chosen from amongst a convention of the whole country as stated in this Triad.† It was thus, that

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 63 Tr. 34—36.

† One of the Institutional Triads of Dyvnwal Moelmud (Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. p. 290, Tr. 59) describes particularly how this convention was holden, and in his *Triodŷ y Cludau*, before noticed, it is reckoned as one of the “three conventions by sound of trumpet.” See Arch. of Wales, vol. iii. p. 283.

Caswallawn was elected to the supreme command against Cæsar, Caradawg against the Romans in the time of Claudius,* and Arthur against the Saxons. And we have here Prydain and Owain recorded as two other conventional monarchs of the Isle of Britain. The former of these is a very remarkable personage in the annals of the Cymry: yet writers are not perfectly agreed, whether to assign to him a real or a fabulous character. According to the Triads, however, he was the son of Aedd Mawr or Aedd the Great, one of the first colonists of this island: and he is recorded in several of these ancient documents, one of which has been already translated,† as among the chief of the ancient benefactors and lawgivers of his country. From the same authority we also learn, that the Isle of Britain derived its name from him. Mr. Davies seems to consider Prydain to mean the Regulator of the Seasons, and consequently as synonymous with Apollo, or, at least, with the Sun,‡ But the Triads make no allusion to any mythological attributes, but speak of him in every instance as having had a real existence. The dignity, here said to have been conferred on Caradawg and Owain, has been before noticed.§ Owain lived at the close of the fourth century and is to be found amongst the saints of the British Church.]

XXXIX. The three Hallowed Princes of the Isle of Britain: Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr Lleidiaith, who first brought the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry from Rome, where he had been for seven years, as hostage for his son Caradawg, whom the men of Rome carried into captivity, after being betrayed, through the enticement, deception, and plotting of Aregwedd Voeddawg; second, Lleirwg, the son of Coel son of Cyllin the Saint, called Lleuwer Mawr [Great Splendour], who founded the first church

* See CAMBRO-BRITON, No. 5. p. 168, Tr. xxi.

† No. 2, p. 241.

‡ Celt. Res. pp. 169 and 190.

§ No. 5, p. 265. ♦

in Llandav, and which was the first in the Isle of Britain, and he bestowed the privilege of country and nation, with civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, upon those who might be of the faith in Christ; third, Cadwaladr the Blessed, who gave sanctuary within all his lands and possessions to those who fled from the infidel and lawless Saxons, who sought to destroy them.

[The circumstances, here related of Bran, have been already detailed in a Triad previously translated,* in which his family is styled one of the "three holy families of the Isle of Britain." The *Bonedd y Saint*, or Genealogy of the Saints, also mentions Bran as one of the first of the nation of the Cymry, that embraced the Christian faith, and enumerates three persons, Ildi, Cynvan, and Arwystli Hen, as having accompanied him from Rome on his return to this country: and there is still a church in Gwent dedicated to the former of these three. The probability, therefore, of this account is very great: and it is remarkable, that Bishop Stillingfleet, in his *Origines Britannicæ*, conjectures, without being aware of the testimony of our ancient records, that some of the British captives, carried to Rome with Caradawg, may have been instrumental in planting Christianity in this island. The present Bishop of St. David's too, in one of the many works, by which he has promoted the cause of useful and religious learning,† is even disposed to conclude, that St. Paul himself accompanied or immediately followed the family of Caradawg on their return to Britain. This event took place about the year 58: and, with reference to this date, it deserves to be mentioned, that Gildas fixes the introduction of Christianity into Britain at a short period before the defeat of Boadicea, which happened A. D. 61. Lleirwng, the son of Coel, and, according to the Genealogy of the Saints, the great grandson of the celebrated Caradawg, appears in

* No. 5, p. 265.

† "Christ and not St. Peter the Rock of the Christian Church," p. 14.

the *Brut y Brenhinoedd* or Chronicle of the Kings, under the name of Iles, as the seventy-third king of Britain. Bede and other writers give him the appellation of Lucius, which is but a Latin version of the epithet *Lleuver*, applied to him in this Triad. Before he founded the church of Llandaff, as here mentioned, he is said to have made application to Rome for teachers to diffuse the light of Christianity in his dominions, when two persons, called in the Welsh records Dwyvan and Fagan, were dispatched to Britain for the purpose. Nennius ascribes this event to the year of Christ 167, when, he says, "King Lucius with all the chiefs of the British people received baptism in consequence of a legation sent by the Roman Emperors and Pope Euaristus."* Bede fixes the date at A. D. 156, which, however, according to the *Brut y Benhinoedd*, was the year of Lleirwg's death in the city of Gloucester. There is a church in Glamorgan dedicated to Lleirwg, who, like others of his countrymen in ancient times, united the characters of a prince and a saint. An opportunity occurred in the last number† for giving a general, though brief, account of Cadwaladr: and the particulars, here recorded of him, require no further explanation.]

XL. The three System-formers of Royalty of the Isle of Britain: Prydain, the son of Aedd Mawr, Dyvnwal Moelmud, and Bran, the son of Llyr Llediaith. That is, their systems were the best systems of Royalty of the Isle of Britain, so that they were judged superior over all other systems, that were made in the Isle of Britain.

[This Triad requires but little elucidation. Enough has just been said of Prydain and Bran: and a short notice of Dyvnwal Moelmud appeared in a former Number.‡ The latter is to be found in the Chronicle as the twenty-first king of Britain, more than three

* According to other accounts, the Pope, or rather Bishop of Rome, at this time, was Eleutherius.

† P. 277.

‡ No. 2, p. 243.

centuries before the Christian era. Of an age so remote it cannot be expected that much certain intelligence should now remain. However, it is pretty generally admitted, that this prince was amongst the first to make any great improvement in legislation, and that he made the first regular division of the kingdom into hundreds and commots, for which reason he is here styled one of the "three system-formers" of Britain. His laws were extant in the time of Gildas, who translated them into Latin. Hywel Dda, as mentioned on a former occasion, availed himself largely of them in the compilation of his famous code; and they are also presumed to have been of great service to Alfred the Great, to whom they were communicated by Aser Menevensis. Some Triads, including the Institutes, ascribed to Dyvnwal, are preserved in the *Archaology of Wales*, and contain much curious matter with respect to the principles of government in an incipient state of society.]

THE TRIADS.—No. IX.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XLI. The three Arrant Drunkards of the Isle of Britain: Ceraint the Drunkard, King of Essyllwg, who in his drunkenness burnt all the corn far and near over the face of the country, so that therefrom a famine came; second, Gwrtheyrn Gwrthenau, who gave the Isle of Daned [Thanet], in his drink, to Hors [Horsa], for permission to commit adultery with Rhonwen, his daughter, when he gave claim also to the son, that thereby might be born, upon the crown of Lloegr, and added to that treason and plotting against the nation of the Cymry; third, Seithenyn the Drunkard, the son of Seithyn Saidi, King of Dyved, who, in his drink, let the sea over the Cantrev y Gwaelawd, so that there were lost of houses and earth the whole that were there, where formerly were found sixteen fortified towns, superior to all the towns and cities of Wales, (leaving as an exception *Caer Llion* upon *Wysg* :) and Cantrev y Gwaelawd was the dominion of Gwyddnaw Garanhir, King of Ceredigion; and that event was in the time of Emrys Wledig; and the men who escaped from that inundation landed in Ardudwy, and the country of Arvon, and the mountains of Eryri, and other places not before inhabited.

[We have no other memorials of this Ceraint. *Essyllwg* was, as before mentioned, another name for *Siluria*. The treacherous conduct of Gwrtheyrn or Vortigern, above detailed, has been already alluded to. In the *Archæology of Wales*, vol. i. p. 165, there are

* *Arch. of Wales*, vol. ii. p. 64. Tr. 37—44.
(287)

some verses on the inundation of Cantrev y Gwaelawd, or the Lowland Hundred, composed by Gwyddnaw above mentioned, who had a palace in this district. The remains of three ancient stone embankments are still traceable, severally called *Sarn Cynvelyn*, *Sarn y Bwch*, and *Sarn Padrig*. The latter is particularly conspicuous, being left dry at low water to the extent of about nine miles; and the sailors of the neighbouring ports describe its whole length to be twenty-one miles, beginning near Harlech, and running out in a S. W. direction.*]

XIII. The three Humble Princes of the Isle of Britain: Manawydan, the son of Llyr Llediaith, after the carrying into captivity of the family of Bran ab Llyr, his brother; and Llywarch Hen, the son of Elidir Llydanwyn; and Gwgon Gwron, the son of Eleuver Gosgorddvawr. These three were bards; and they sought not for dominion and royalty, after they had attached themselves to song, while they could not be debarred therefrom: so it was on that account they are called the three Humble Princes of the Isle of Britain.

[The wandering of Manawydan, who was a Prince

* Mr. Davies, in his "Mythology and Rites of the Druids," (p. 240 *et seq.*) discusses at some length the history of this event, as recorded in the Triad; and with his usual happy talent of turning history into fable, he throws a veil of mythological obscurity over the whole account. In a word, he supposes it to be no more than a perverted memorial of the Deluge, and says, that the "landing upon the mountains of Snowden is like the landing of Deucalion upon Mount Parnassus." But the Triad merely says, that those "who escaped the inundation, landed in Ardudwy in the country of Arvon and the mountains of Snowden," which, surely, can only mean the *vicinity* of the mountains, and not on their *summits*. Allowing, therefore, all due weight to the ingenuity of Mr. Davis's hypothesis, it is clearly at variance with the written documents on this subject, and, what is perhaps of greater importance, with the tradition of the country. Some observations on this occurrence may be seen in Mr. Edward Williams's "Lyric Poems," vol. i. p. 78, and also in the Cambrian Register, vol. ii. p. 490.—Ed.

of Siluria, is the subject of one of the tales of the *Mabinogion*. He is described in another Triad as one of the "three chiefs who had golden cars," and as having gone in his car to settle the boundaries between his territory and Dyved. Llywarch Hen has been introduced to the reader's notice in the eighth number. Gwgon Gwron is said to be the son of Peredur, the son of Eleuver Gosgorddvawr, in the other two series of Triads. Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 4 and 15.]

XLIII. The three Monarchs of Deivr and Brynaich: Gall, the son of Dysgyvedawg; and Difedel, the son of Dysgyvedawg; and Ysgavnell, the son of Dysgyvedawg. These three were bards; and, after they had attached themselves to song, they had conferred upon them the monarchy of Deivr and Brynaich.

[In the first series of Triads, p. 4, of the second volume of the *Archæology*, the father of these three Princes is called Dyssyvndod; and in the second series, p. 13, he is named Disgyvndawd. In another Triad the three brothers are recorded as having achieved the "three praiseworthy slaughters of the Isle of Britain." Deivr and Brynaich are Deïra and Bernicia.]

XLIV. The three Ruddy-speared Bards of the Isle of Britain: Tristvardd, the bard of Urien Rheged; Dygynnelw, the bard of Owain ab Urien; and Avan Verddig, the bard of Cadwallon ab Cadvan. They were three bards; and they could not be separated.

[The second series of Triads, Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 18, has Arovan, the bard of Seleu ab Cynan, instead of Tristvardd, the bard of Urien. The reason of these bards being thus distinguished was, that, according to the bardic system, the members were not allowed to bear arms.]

XLV. The three Supreme Servants of the Isle of Britain: Caradawg, the son of Bran ab Llyr Lediaith; and Cawrday, the son of Caradawg Vreichvras; and Owain, the son of Maesen Wledig. That is, they were so called, for that of their free will all the men of the Isle of Britain, from the prince to the slave, became

their followers, at the need of the country, against the progress of the foe and devastation; and whenever these three men went to war, there was not any one of the men of the Isle of Britain but would go in their retinue, there being no desire of remaining at home; and these were three bards.

[The names only are given in the two other series of Triads, without any explanation of the distinction here conferred on them; and in the second series, p. 12, the Triad runs thus—"The three Supreme Servants of the Isle of Britain: Gwydar, the son of Rhun ab Beli; and Owain ab Maxen Wledig; and Cawrdav, the son of Caradawg." Enough has already been said of Caradawg son of Bran, and of Owain in former numbers. Cawrdav was a warrior of distinction during the sixth century; but the particulars of his exploits are no longer known. There are two churches dedicated to him, one in Arvon, and the other in Gwent.]

XLVI. The three Fetter-wearing Kings of the Isle of Britain: Morgan Mwynvawr, of Morganwg; Elystan Glodrydd, between Gwy and Havren; and Gwaithvoed, King of Ceredigion. That is, they were so called, because they wore fetters in the exercise of all the functions of sovereignty in the Isle of Britain, and not bandlets, or crowns.

[Morganwg is Glamorgan; Gwy and Havren, the Wye and Severn; and Ceredigion is Cardiganshire. The custom of wearing golden fetters or bands was common to the ancient chieftains of Britain, as we learn from another Triad before translated.*]

XLVII. The three Bandlet-wearing Kings of the Isle of Britain: Cadell, King of Dinevwr; Anarawd, King of Aberfraw; and Merwyn, King of Mathraval. They were also called the three Bandlet-wearing Princes.

[Cadell, Anarawd, and Mervyn were sons of Rhodri Mawr, or Roderic the Great, who succeeded to the

* See CAMBRO-BRITON, No. 7, p. 247, Triad XXXII.

sovereignty of Wales in 843. On his death, in 877, he divided the Principality between the three sons here named, giving to the first Deheubarth, to the second Gwynedd, and to the last Powys. Dynevr, Aberfraw, and Mathraual were the royal palaces of these divisions respectively: but the first of these, the seat of Lord Dynevor, is the only one that retains any vestige of its ancient celebrity.]

XLVIII. The three Foreign Kings of the Isle of Britain: Gwrddyled Gawr; and Morien Varvawg; and Constantine the Blessed.

[We have no memorials as to the first two names, unless they be the same as are mentioned in the Gododin. An account of Constantine has already been given.*]

* No. 6, p. 271.

THE TRIADS.—No. X.

TRIADS OF THE ISLE OF BRITAIN.*

XLIX. The three Arrant Traitors, who were the cause, by means whereof the Saxons took the crown of the Isle of Britain from the Cymry. One was Gwrgi Garwlwyd, who, after getting a taste for the flesh of men in the court of Edelfled, King of the Saxons, liked it so much that he would eat nothing but human flesh ever after; and, therefore, he and his men united themselves with Edelfled, King of the Saxons, so that he used to make secret incursions upon the nation of the Cymry, and took male and female of the young, so many as he ate daily. And all the lawless men of the nation of the Cymry gathered to him and the Saxons, where they might obtain their full of prey and spoil, taken from the natives of this Isle. The second was Medrawd, who gave himself and his men to be one with the Saxons, for securing to himself the kingdom against Arthur; and by reason of that treachery great multitudes of the Loegrians became as Saxons. The third was Aeddán the Traitor, of the North, who gave himself and his men, within the limits of his dominions, to the Saxons, so as to be enabled to maintain themselves by confusion and anarchy, under the protection of the Saxons. And because of those three Arrant Traitors the Cymry lost their land and their crown in Loegria: and, if it had not been for such treasons, the Saxons could not have gained the Island from the Cymry.

[This Triad, and the one that follows, contain the

* Arch. of Wales, vol. ii. p. 65. Tr. 45, 46.

only notice that occurs in the perusal of British records, of cannibalism being known in the Island. The name of *Gwrgi* implies a cannibal; for *Gwrgi Garwlwyd* is literally the *rough brown dog-man*. The reader is already acquainted with the history of Medrawd from former Triads.* Aeddan, here mentioned, is also recorded in a Triad called the “three exterminating Slaughters,” as having ravaged the territory of Rhydderch the Generous, the chief of Alclwyd, the present Dunbarton. According to Merddin, a battle was fought between Rhydderch and Aeddan at Arderydd in Scotland, in which the former was victorious. This battle, which has been fixed at A. D. 577, is called in the Triads one of the “three frivolous battles,” because it originated about a lark’s nest. [The name of Aeddan occurs also in the Gododin.]

L. The three men, who were Bards, that achieved the three good Assassinations of the Isle of Britain. The first was Gall, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed the two brown birds of Gwenddolau, the son of Ceidio, that had a yoke of gold about them, and they devoured daily two bodies of the Cymry at their dinner and two at their supper. The second was Ysgavnell, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who killed Edelfled King of Loegria, who required every night two noble maidens of the nation of the Cymry, and violated them, and the following morning slew and devoured them. The third was Difedel, the son of Dysgyvedawg, who slew Gwrgi Garwlwyd, that was married to the sister of Edelfled, and committed treason and murder conjointly with Edelfled upon the nation of the Cymry; and that Gwrgi killed a male and female of the Cymry daily and devoured them; and on the Saturday he killed two, that he might not kill on the Sunday. And these three men, who achieved the three good Assassinations, were Bards.

[Triad XLIII, in No. 10, gives a farther account of

* No. 5, p. 268.

these three Bards. Triad XXVIII. of the second series in the *Archæology*, page 13, says that the birds of Gwenddolau guarded his treasures of gold and silver, instead of the golden yoke. Gwenddolau is frequently mentioned by Merddin in his *Afallannau*, and appears to have been the bard's patron. He fought on the side of Aeddan in the battle of Arderydd, above alluded to, and in which he was slain. There may be some improbability in the circumstances detailed in this Triad; but it does not therefore follow, that the gross practice it records had no foundation in fact. The vices, monstrous and barbarous as they seem, may have existed, though the manner in which they were displayed, has been exaggerated.]

A P L E A

FOR THE

PRESERVATION OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

THE three indispensables of language: purity, copiousness, and aptness.

The three ways, whereby a language may be rendered copious: by diversifying synonymous words, by a variety of compounds, and by a multiformity of expression.

The three qualities, wherein consist the purity of a language: the intelligible, the pleasurable, and the credible.

The three supports of language: order, strength, and synonymy.

The three correct qualities of language: correct construction, correct etymology, and correct pronunciation.

The three uses of a language: to relate, to excite, and to describe.

The three things that constitute just description: just selection of words, just construction of language, and just comparison.

The three things appertaining to just selection: the best language, the best order, and the best object.

The three dialects of the Welsh language: the Ventesian or Silurian, the Dimetian, and the Venedotian. And it is allowable in poetry to use all of them indiscriminately, agreeably both with the opinion and authority of the primitive bards.

- I am indebted for most of the thoughts contained in this article to an unknown writer whose production, in the Welsh language, appeared in the "*Drych*," in 1851. The translation is by no means a *literal* translation, as it has been attempted to give a turn to the subject more congenial to the English reader's ear, and more especially adapted to the genius and feelings of the American. No violence whatever is done to the original in any departure from its spirit; and the translator feels very sure that many of the descendants of *Gomer's* children, who from circumstances have necessarily lost the use of their mother tongue, will be glad to be told, how venerable for its antiquity, how famed for its poetic beauties and copiousness, and to how extensive a portion of the world's surface the language of their forefathers has heretofore served as the vehicle of thought and communication.

"I desire not to see the extinction of *any* language, if it can be avoided, because from the origin and progress of languages we best learn the history of nations, together with their migrations from one country to another. Languages tend to confirm the history of nations, and not unfrequently are the only monuments left us of the revolutions which a people may for ages have passed through, but who may have left no *written* records behind them."* Such is the view and the estimate of the far-famed Dr. Johnson on the value and preservation of *all* languages, as given by him in a letter he wrote in reference to printing the Bible in the *Gaelic* language. In the present day there is, perhaps, less diversity of opinion on the subject of preserving the language and literature of a people than there was when Johnson lived. One of the greatest of the advocates for the extinguishing of the Welsh language, by law, made this concession, that, "however insignificant a language may be, it ought not to be neglected!" But we venture to go farther than

* Anderson's Historical Sketches of the Native Irish, p. 135.

this, and say that every language should be cherished and cultivated, especially if it contain writings worthy the study and attention of the learned, or while its perpetuation is essential to the comfort and happiness of the people who use it. We intend in a brief essay to show that our language, the Welsh, has these claims to protection and cultivation. And, first, we assert, that ignorance alone has presumed to state that the Welsh language contains no literature worthy of attention and of preservation. We have nearly two thousand manuscript works, containing select remains of the writings of authors through every century, from the fifth downwards; and in the later productions of the Welsh press we have a compendious selection of these authentic writers, in order, under the title of “Archæology of Wales.” The Welsh were indisputably a literary people when the surrounding nations of Western and Northern Europe were in comparative ignorance. No stronger proof of this fact ought to be demanded than is found in the *Triads*, to which we beg to refer, on which account these ancient apophthegms cannot be otherwise than interesting to the historian and antiquarian. These embrace the *only* correct account of Britain’s earliest history. They describe the various early tribes of its inhabitants, their forms of government and laws, their towns, &c.

We may view them also in the light they have shed upon our true origin, since brought from their concealment. Prior to their publication, the generality of the Welsh possessed but a confused notion of their ancestry, or their own history. “Geoffrey of Monmouth” had led them to believe in the fabulous adventures of Brutus ab Sylvius, coming from Troy—many a Welshman was taught to trace his genealogy through Priam, Jupiter, and Saturn, and so on up to Gomer himself. The *Triads*, however, have dissipated all this traditional romance, and have brought to light the arrival and the history of “*Hu* the mighty,” with his peaceful followers. The world was long deluded

by the groundless fabrications of the Monks of Glastonburg, respecting the first introduction of the gospel into Britain. They insist that "Joseph of Arimathea" first published the strange fact that the Saviour Jesus Christ, who was sacrificed and buried, had become the death of deaths. Others will have it that the apostle Peter and others again give the converted persecutor of Tarsus the honour of having first planted the peaceful banner of the Lord Christ upon "the white cliffs of Britain." Thus the matter in dispute, though of some importance, as a point of history, lay hid in doubt from age to age. Ecclesiastical Historians dreamed not of "The Triads of the Welsh!" In these faithful *Chronicles*, however, the truth is found—and their testimony established beyond dispute—by comparing the record they bear with Roman history. It is proven that "Bran ab Lluo," and the "blessed captivity" that accompanied him, were the chosen results to convey the gospel treasure to our forefathers. It is fairly inferrable from the history and circumstances, that they were fellow prisoners with Paul; and in all probability through his ministry they received "the truth which maketh free." It may be truly asserted that the English of the present age would have known but little of their own history and progress, had it not been for Welsh historians. The same is true respecting the Irish and their history—both civil and ecclesiastical. Is not this an argument for the preservation of the Welsh language, if there were none other? 2dly. We feel indebted to our language for many of the traits of a national character we bear. Nations, lowest in the scale of ethics and philosophy, boast their prowess and their conquests: and the same spirit is seen in those more civilized. If a measure of vain glory appear in this it admits of one excuse—that is, it indicates a deep patriotism. There is not a single European nation can boast so remote an origin, or take a retrospect of their past history without a blush, as the Welsh. Though

bold and daring to defend their rights, they loved peace. Their love of peace led them to forsake their beloved Ddeffro Cain to dwell in Britain; and during twelve hundred years, in which they defended their rights by the sword, they never carried their arms to invade the rights of others, and to plant their banner upon walls they had never raised. Oppression alone excited them to the battle field. The last to repair to it, they were the last to quit it. Through every form of treachery and intrigue they stood erect, and scorned every foreign yoke.* Contention and intestine divisions, it is true, at length subjected them to the power of enemies: yet though reduced, they continued unbendingly to resist—uniformly opposing the payment of the tribute laid on them.

Time at length brought them a Ruler—in the person of the Earl of Richmond, who won their hearts—since when, who were more peaceable subjects, more faithful to their rulers? How many nations have been swallowed up and disappeared in the time since “Hu the Mighty” led his tribes across the seas to Britain’s shores, till then unknown?—and their very remembrance is passed away as a dream! Where are the mighty kings, and their kingdoms, who in their day shook the world, and it trembled under their power? We interrogate history: Tell us hoary registrar of the grave! Could not the conquests of power—could not the institutions, based on the wisdom and knowledge of all ages, preserve such nations from sinking into oblivion? The answer is, No! The Assyrian and the Chaldean empires supposed these things would eternize their names: but lo! ages have slept upon the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. Where also is ancient, imperial Rome, with her towering Latin language, covering half the known world? Ah! her sceptre is departed: that sceptre which ruled a world

* “The Britons, who never bowed their necks to foreign yoke.”—*Yalden*.

for ages! the throne of the twelve Cæsars was trodden under foot by the Goths. Where is Carthage? A foreign semi-barbarous race trample on the dust of Hannibal. The very names of all these nations, as such, are known no more on earth. The *Welsh*, as a *nation*, had a cotemporary, independent existence, when all these named powers existed in all their magnificence and splendor. The Welsh continue to exist: their name remains unchanged, and their inherent characteristics remain unchanged. What has preserved them in existence and unchanged while the waves of oblivion have swept over nations much more powerful? If they lost their independence, they yet retained their name, and their characteristics, almost pure—and this, most assuredly, by their adherence, their unswerving adherence, to the *language*, and the customs of their fathers. When their brethren dwelling in Cornwall, just in sight of them, neglected their vernacular tongue, they soon lost all else that distinguished them as belonging to the Welsh family. 3dly. The simple habits and primitive manners of the Welsh have often called forth the praise of strangers. In the lapse of time it frequently happens that we hear certain epithets applied to nations of people; indicative of certain qualities or characters they exhibit. Thus the brave Englishman, the shrewd Scotchman, the *cute* Yankee, &c., but we hear the Welshman alone designated *honest*. “The honest Welshman” being a proverbial expression. The simplicity of manners we here allude to, forms no small ingredient in the happiness of the Welsh people. As a community, they live in great contentment with their humble fare, their innocent enjoyments, and their mountain homes. We believe that should they suffer, the loss of their language, which is a complete defence against all foreign intercourse, they would at the same time suffer a great decline in their unsophisticated manners and habits, and would become much

more exposed to the immoral influences, and consequent ills which surround them.

It has been considered as one of the earliest signs of the decline of Roman greatness, that their youth neglected their own language, feigning to be enamoured of, and aiming to speak the Greek—Juv. Sat. vi. They soon became enervated, and their effeminacy, rather than the incursions of the Vandals, hastened their conquest and their downfall. The loss of the Welsh language would tend to a great change in the harmless lives and manners which now mark the inhabitants of their peaceful hills and valleys; and which render the principality a quiet and safe abode to dwell in. 4thly. As a nation, we love to remember each other, and to sympathize with each other; but what in the social state forms the firmest bond, that binds the different classes and conditions of society together, that makes a nation *one*, like a common language, and that the language of our fathers and our mothers? The maddened builders of Babel could be united till their language was confounded: when that event befel them, they soon became a dispersed people. A still enlarged intercourse among the varied classes of the Welsh people, in their vernacular tongue, is the best protection it is capable of receiving, will best strengthen the bond of national feeling, and will assuredly increase that supremest happiness of nations, no less than of individuals—unity and brotherhood. 5thly. We hold our affection toward each other and toward our country in the highest estimation, and believe we can apply in all its force and meaning, the language Goldsmith has applied to the mountain inhabitant of Switzerland, to our own feelings, when separated from our own “sweet home:”

“Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms;
And the loud torrent, and the whirlwind’s roar,
But bind him to his native mountains more.”

This is not more true of the Swiss than it is of the native Welsh. To the enemies of our beloved language, we would say, in the mournful plaint of the man Micah, of Mount Ephraim, “ye have taken away our (dearest possession,) and what have we more?” Take away this, and you take away the pillar of our characteristic simplicity and our innocence; what would remain to the native Welshman? Only his craggy heights—his brown-clad hills—a country and a people shorn of their greatest pride, their highest valued boon, and that which has tended so essentially to elevate their character—their language! But the consideration above all others, why the Welsh language should be preserved and loved, arises from the striking fact that half a million of the inhabitants of Wales employ it as the *only* medium of intercourse. It is the channel through which their religious and their general knowledge come to them. They aim not—and from the zeal and fervency of their attachment to their own—they seem not to desire an acquaintance with the English tongue. From the time when the Welsh were subdued to English power and English laws by the first king Edwards, efforts have been made, and sometimes enforced by kingly and parliamentary edicts for the suppression and extinction of their language. And not only have such laws been promulgated, ecclesiastical power, public threatenings and secret intrigue have all been set to work for the same purpose, but all in vain.

The language of Gualtier Meechain, in one of the late Bardic conventions in Wrexham—“The envenomed arrows of the enemies of our native tongue have recoiled upon themselves. The Welshman had only to turn his face and smile.” Instead of signs of decay, our language is exhibiting all the tokens of a new spring-time of life—literally it is “bringing forth in old age.” It is understood, spoken, and written, more generally and more correctly than has been seen for

ages past. "Offas Dyke," considered the line of separation between the two people, and betwixt the Welsh and English tongues a thousand years ago, continues only as the line of demarcation in our own day. There are localities, not a few, where the Welsh, and the Welsh only, is used on the English side of the "Ditch." Thus the great body of our nation are found to continue firmly attached to the language of their fathers; and, since three hundred years of oppression, and three hundred more of comparative neglect of it, have left it in existence, and strengthening with its age, so shall another six hundred years of similar treatment—should it be doomed to meet it—only augment and increase the Welshman's adherence to his beloved, and, as *he* thinks, most euphonious and musical mother tongue. We discover then, that it is not the work of an age to blot out of existence a language such as the *Welsh*: even should it be accomplished ever. And here an important inquiry suggests itself, what would be the condition of the nation—of the multitude—while the great transition was being wrought? Hundreds of years must elapse in the experiment, ere the half million of inhabitants scattered over the hills and valleys of Wales should acquire the knowledge of a new language. What in this great hiatus of time shall they do? Shall generation after generation go down to the grave without a single instruction offered them in the language they understand? "Nothing," says the pious and learned Bishop Heber, "tends more to shackle and fetter all original genius and talent, than to neglect or discourage the vernacular language of a country." This would be no less than *one* of the "woes" of the Welsh people, should either power or malice ever succeed in withholding from them the teachings their circumstances, as well as their aspirations always prompt to, through the only channel they love, their own language. They would sink to a condition of moral darkness and degra-

dation now unknown among them. See a proof of this, in the neglect and consequent results of neglecting the native Irish. It is said that nearly three millions of the Irish population, understand only the Erse: there is scarcely a book ever printed in that dialect, it receives no attention or cultivation, and not an effort is made to render it a medium of information to those who use it. The result, as might be expected, is, that in those portions of the country where the *Erse* only is spoken, there the greatest insubordination and disregard of order and law constantly prevail. Superstition and disorder spread their wings over their wide vales, cruelty and murder whet their daggers in secret. Their nights they devote to plunder and spoil—the flames of burning dwellings yielding them light—while the moans of their victims is the music in which they revel. Is it asked, what in modern times has made the difference, so wide, of improvement in the principality of Wales, while Ireland is become “a habitation of dragons?” No other, or no better reply can be returned to this inquiry than that one great cause of the disorders and miseries of Ireland is the entire destitution of the means of knowledge in their own tongue, and the attempts made by *compulsory measures* to force upon them a language and customs they have a perfect dislike of. This tended to degrade, and finally to render them cruel and barbarous. It is then an important and powerful reason why the Welsh language should receive the attention and protection we plead for it, to preserve us from so much to be dreaded a doom!

This is the surest, perhaps the only means of improvement on which we can rely, the preservation and love of our language; it ministers essentially to our comfort and happiness in the present life, and is more especially conducive to that formation of character which shall prepare for the future and better life, after death. But let those who would extinguish our language, yet further consider the consequences of their

presumption. Is it so, that they would have the Welsh tongue proscribed till our population had all learned English? Would they banish it from our churches, our schools and our Bibles? and thus deprive half a million of immortals of the bread of life, because, forsooth, the homely vessel from which they obtain it, is, *in their view*, too plain and unadorned, and thus rob the children of affliction and sorrow of that only solace which sweetens the cup of life, enshrouding even the grave with clouds and darkness? Let such dreamers blush, and dream no more of reducing to barbarism a nation of such people, with a shallow and vain promise of benefiting their posterity, hundreds of years hence!

7thly, Some objections to the preservation of the Welsh language, not yet noticed, must now be presented.

§1st. The opponents are so kindly disposed to say, they do not design the extinction of the language entirely, they would have it preserved and cultivated as a dead language. We thank them for their tender mercies! But if we have shown that the comfort and happiness of our nation rests, very greatly, upon its unviolated continuance among them, we consider the objectors fully replied to. Further, if they evince so little regard for the thing living, could we expect an increased respect for it when dead?

§ 2d. It is argued that all the subjects of a government should use but one language, for the convenience of business, and the administration of justice in its courts. It is admitted that this were very desirable. It were more desirable even that *all* the world were of one language; but who shall dare reverse the ordinances of divine Providence. While we allow that there is difficulty in dispensing public justice, where the judge, prisoner, witnesses, jurors, &c., may be of different languages, yet, can no course be arranged for the removal of these difficulties, less objectionable, and less repulsive than the abolishing the language of our fathers? Should not men be selected for all these offices who were skilled in both the languages required? or, at

least, why not establish competent interpreters in all courts of law, or elsewhere? the supposed difficulties would all be removed by a process, thus simple and practicable. It is well known that the laws of England were administered in all the courts of England, and for the English people, in Norman French, for hundreds of years, yet no one moved for the extinction of the English language, that the people might learn that of, the law. § 3d. We will quote the late Mr. Walters, a superior scholar, in reply to those who insist we should change our native tongue, for the facilitating of business and trade. He remarks, "Whether it be of more importance to a few moneyed merchants, and a few shrewd speculators, that there should exist one or more languages in this country (Great Britain), is an inquiry beneath the notice of the patron of its literature and languages; inasmuch as the personal aggrandizement of such minority, is of vastly less importance than the temporal and everlasting interests of myriads of the people." § 4th. It is frequently asserted that our common people, the poorer classes, would have been much advanced in the arts and in morals, if the English language had been the language of the country; because, says the objector, the boundless fields of intellectual wealth, in that language, would have been within the reach of the Welsh. We demur entirely to this statement, and reply, that the number, in any country, who apply themselves to these things, no matter how great the advantages, is so small, that the statement is of little or no force. In our midst, indeed, there is scarcely a child who may not receive the elements of an English education, in almost every locality in the country; nevertheless, the loved Welsh is the language of the hearth and of the family. As to our peasantry, and others of *one speech*, they are not a whit more ignorant than their English neighbours in similar circumstances. True, that in large manufacturing towns and cities, circumstances throw the illiterate and rude into the society of the

more refined and polished; here the untaught may appear to some advantage placed beside our mountain herd; yet we venture the assertion, that a Welshman taken from the sides of the wild Snowdon and measured by any standard of intelligence with an Englishman, taken from the fens of Lincolnshire, the Welshman we say, would not suffer at all in the comparison.

The highly praiseworthy efforts of all parties in the establishment of Sabbath and Day-schools combined, have left hardly a cottage in all the country without its readers; and we almost risk the assertion, that there is found as great a number of persons who can read among the poor in Wales, as among an equal number in any other country. If we are yet urged to forsake, or neglect our native language because there are no learned writings in it, and embrace the English because such writings abound in it. We should pause and inquire whether there be no danger in the experiment. Like our first parents, *we* might pay a price too dear for our knowledge. The "freedom of the press" is in every country a blessing above all price, yet the number is not small among the best of citizens in all countries where the blessing is known, who deplore its abuse, who meet at every turn—either to the eye, or to the ear, the glaring proofs of this abuse in the caricature or the travesty of everything solemn and sacred. If the Welsh native then is debarred the advantages of some knowledge because he is restricted to the use of his native tongue, it is most certain he stands uncontaminated by the disorganizing productions of Hetherington, and the little less than blasphemous writings of Carlyle. The book-shelf of the Welsh cottager, moreover, is not literally sterile and barren: he has the choice of some fifteen or twenty monthly and weekly periodicals; besides these, his native language is enriched by eight or ten commentaries on the whole, or on important portions of the sacred Scriptures. The language abounds in works—many of them ably translated—others original, on

nearly every scientific subject. The native press, hitherto, has pursued a course unharmed by the obscurities and ribaldry of the English, their neighbours; long, long may it continue that course. Irreligion and scepticism have found no response to their advances in it yet. The wide-spread licentiousness of works in the English language—works that mock at the hopes and consolations—temporal and eternal—of their readers, of authors who quaff the cup of sensualism, and dissolve the pearl of the gospel in the draught—men who, while they don the sacred mantle of freedom and liberty, betray her holy claims by hiding the wedge in the folds of their garments.

These invaders of human peace and happiness have permitted but few countries to escape their debasing and destroying influences, but Wales only! What has operated as a barrier to prevent the poisonous streams of their atheistic and peace-destroying principles from mingling with the waters of the Dee and the Severn? The only reply is, our native loved language has saved us. The desolating torrent never reached Wales—the language has arrested its course—the bands of sceptics and troublers, not knowing the language of our mountain homes, found it necessary to abandon and leave us in possession of our quiet. In an age of rebellion and disquiet, when rival princes struggled for the ascendancy, the Welsh as a people showed all fidelity. From the time a prince descended from one of their own race—a grandson of Owen Tudor—ascended the throne of Britain, peace and quiet has marked their history. In times of peril, of scarcity and want, when large portions of Britain have been convulsed with fearful agitations and internal dangers, the Welsh peasant has carolled forth his contentment and happiness, while he turned his furrow, leaving his cares to Him who rides upon, and rules the storm and calm. At various periods, when the very foundations of the Social Fabric shook, and threatened to fall, what preserved quiet and peace in Wales? We repeat it, it was to be

attributed mainly to the native language. This was an invulnerable defence against the attacks of the disorganizers. But few, comparatively, among the native Welsh, were cognizant of the enemy and his evil designs, and that few possessed too large a share of the virtue-loving principle, and the fear of God to lend themselves as instruments of evil and disorder. In all we have written and said, we disavow the least intention of wishing to persuade any from acquiring a knowledge of the English language. It contains treasures above all price. Our aim is to prove that the largest measure of comfort the Welsh people can enjoy, is connected with the preservation and cultivation of their own tongue, and that they would gain nothing by the change we have been discussing. Neither do we desire to keep the multitude in darkness; in every section of the country the staunch friends of the native Welsh are the most zealous and earnest in their efforts to diffuse general intelligence to all around them. Upon the whole we see no signs of decay and extinction to the Welsh language. It is the language of the sanctuary and the Sabbath-school still. True there is more English spoken in Wales than a century ago, but that is no marvel. Has not the population greatly multiplied? the intercourse proportionally increased? and every form of intelligence spread widely in the same period?

We can recognize but one or two localities on the confines of England, however, where the native Welsh tongue has lost ground in late years. At times we discover it gaining in practice. Some few years ago a number—amounting to some hundreds—of Cornish miners arrived and settled in Flintshire; nearly all of them now use the Welsh tongue, and many of their children hardly know any other. Thus it would appear that our venerated mother tongue, *Quam vetat musa mori*, stands in need of no *special* aid to secure its perpetuity. Rendered sacred by the eloquence of its Bards, and having survived the shocks of untold

generations, and the total extinction of many other tongues, its own recuperative strength will preserve it from extinction. Its continuing to exist through all the vicissitudes and changes of so many ages past, proves that it contains imperishable elements in its own original, essential constitution, and the manner in which it has sustained itself against all opposition, proves also that, "no fear need be felt that its doom is near." It may be fairly presumed that other languages received a coeval existence and nurture, till they had even attained to old age, in company with the Welsh; but the Welsh had become a hoary-headed lady—her bards and sages bald and sightless, ere history had hung upon the breasts of modern science and erudition, or reclined in the lap of time. A language which thus, not only in its youth, but no less in its antiquity claims veneration, and stretches beyond the knowledge of memory, of history, and of man, must possess in itself the elements of a self-preserving principle which neither the lapse of ages nor the mutations of time can effect—*it must be immortal.*

CONCLUSION.

IN concluding this work on Welsh History, I would wish it to be clearly understood that there has nothing been written with a view to disparage the character of the English or the Anglo Saxon race generally. So far from it that I consider them to be in point of energy, the first of all the human race; but of the justness of the term Anglo Saxon, as applied to the English speaking race, I have great doubts, for the Saxons and Angles were only a thin layer, overspreading the population of England, and keeping them in a state of subjection. Such also was the Norman element, overspreading the whole, nevertheless each accession of these warlike races gave additional vigor to the national character, although it spread disaster and violence over the country for a time. The English nation had never manifested so much vigour as they did under the Tudors, who seem to have been the only sovereigns of England since the Norman conquest that understood clearly what was the correct policy to pursue.

I have already stated what advantage the English derived by the infusion of a Welsh element into the population, a people that wished the pope to the Devil and held the dogma of the Divine right of kings in contempt. Kings were chosen by majority of votes, and deposed by the same process when considered unworthy of their office, this accounts for the words of Oliver Cromwell who said that he would as soon run his sword through a king as any other man. Oliver was descended from Welsh ancestors of a princely family. It is easy for historians to flatter a numerous

nation, for it will bring grist to their mill in the sale of their books. The Scotch writers have found this out. But let them trace the history of men connected with the Welsh, who by any means have attained a high position in other lands, they will find that almost invariably they have discovered much talent and energy. They will nowhere discover such a base race as the Stuarts. A nation is not accountable for the acts of individuals, but when so many instances of talent occur from one people, and they few in numbers, it ought to exonerate them from the contempt of mankind.

It is not fair to misrepresent the ancestry of a nation. We totally deny the impeachment of English historians, that our ancestors were driven out of England by the Saxons. Nor are we the descendants of the thieving Picts, according to Moore, the Irish historian and poet. If there was anything disgraceful in the character of these races, let the English and Scotch bear it; the Welsh have enough that is reprehensible without assuming the delinquencies of others. It will be found in the Triads, that the Welsh and "Wales Paramount," are always spoken of as having a distinct nationality, the people being the descendants of the Cymry, who came over the German sea with Hu the Mighty. The want of discrimination in this matter will spoil any history of the early state of Britain.

Dr. Goldsmith wrote a very attractive history of England, but some years ago a man of the name of Pinnock made considerable alterations in it, and now it is something like a work of Michael Angelo, IMPROVED by some common house painter; and yet this is the work now used in schools, both in England and the United States. Let any man of sense look at the character he gives to Henry the 7th. He makes him an undutiful son, a bad husband, an unkind father; and every advantage England ever gained from him, was the result of his vices. England had suffered

much from her vicious kings : but it seems in this instance that vice had become the friend of England. If the vices of a Welshman are beneficial to a nation, what will be the virtues of a Welshman, but life from the dead?

I do not, however, wonder that other nations form a wrong estimate of the Welsh ; their principles have never been popular. The slaves in our southern States feel additional importance if they are owned by a distinguished master. All the honour and advantage the common people of England gained by the wars with the Welsh, was to be led in great hordes by their Saxon and Norman masters, to crush the last germ of liberty in Wales. This brought them no advantage, as the efforts they made under Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, to throw off the cruel yoke, clearly proves. It was not so much by gaining advantages over the Welsh that the English gained some portion of liberty, but by the Welsh giving such a check to the Norman power. It was the constant policy of king Henry the 7th to raise the common people of England, and to keep the nobility within proper limits. For this purpose he fined them for every misdemeanor, by which means he put it out of their power to do mischief without killing them, for he was of all kings the most sparing of human blood. The English felt exceedingly restive under his government, and often rebelled ; but there were men of sense in the nation ; besides that, the king was sustained by the whole power of the Welsh. During one of the outbreaks in that reign, Sir Rice ab Thomas hastened with 1500 horsemen, trained and disciplined by himself, and Henry was himself "the wise king."

Some of the English writers admit that he hated the vassalage in which the people of England were held, with perfect hatred. - He had been brought up in Wales, where the people were free. Ever since he was able to sit in a chair, he had been in attendance at their public and private entertainments where he

was called "the Young Dragon," under which title he was addressed by the poets, and called upon to rise for the deliverance of his country. A dragon is a standing title for a prince or king in Wales, especially among the bards. It is somewhat extraordinary that such a writer as Macaulay is at a loss to account for the conduct of the English in rallying under a bastard race. I have given the reason, a very cogent reason too, sustained by the finest army in Europe of its numbers, and not "the scum of England and the rabble of Brittany." It was this that began to raise England to its present power. Henry Tudor had imbibed a taste for learning in Wales, by associating with the poets and literati. Tudur Aled, poet Laureate to Jasper Tudor, his uncle, was one of the most distinguished poets that Wales ever produced. On looking over some old Welsh Magazines, in my possession some time ago, I saw a piece of poetry by Tudur Aled, on our Saviour as the great teacher. That gave me great pleasure, for it seemed to indicate, in some degree, the cause that led the Tudors to treat the pope so cavalierly. They knew there was a better teacher; hence it was that the first time he offended a Tudor, his authority was denied and abolished in England.

On a general view of the history of Wales, one of its most prominent features is the popular power everywhere manifest in Church and State. The order of church government is very clearly revealed in the New Testament, but all nations have formed what they call churches in imitation of their civil governments from the papacy, which was in conformity to the despotic imperial power of Rome, to the Baptists, which is as near as need be, a fac simile of the Welsh government, where all men, *whose beards were grown*, and all married women, had the elective franchise, and governed even kings by their votes. Faith and repentance being the needful qualification in the one case, as the beard and marriage in the other, but in each the authority is in the people, "for in the term

Welshman is included Welsh woman." Here is the grand cause of maintaining the truth in Wales. The introduction of any other power beside that of the people was an innovation upon Welsh principles, while in other nations despotic power was the order of the day; remove the external pressure and the Welsh naturally reverted to their favorite theory of congregational order, where the power of the people is paramount, and republicanism is sure to follow in its train.

In an article on the moral and social condition of Wales, in Blackwood's Magazine for September, 1849, it is asserted (to the evident horror of the writer), that nine-tenths of the Welsh are republicans, as the natural result of their church order, which is generally and almost exclusively Congregational. Had the Welsh been as numerous as the Irish, I have no doubt, that the great Christopher North would have died from horror, as one republican is generally as good as three or four of the minions of kings. I might eulogize on the military prowess of the Welsh in former ages, but war is a revolting subject, my only object being to prove that in consigning the care of the church to the Welsh, divine wisdom is manifest, for in this instance, and this alone, in past ages, the fiercest nation in Europe protected the humble followers of our Redeemer, the lions became the protectors and guardians of the flock of Christ, while in all other lands the wolves tore them to pieces, for in the fierce nature of the Welsh there was a trait of nobility that would not impose upon the virtuous and helpless. This feature is more prominent at the present time in the Welsh than any other people in Europe, this is the reason why we never witness any destitution among the Welsh emigrants on first landing in this country, for they never send over any helpless people, these they take care of at home, while they are always ready to aid families who they suppose will be able to help themselves in the new world. This aid is always given on the score of kindness, for the Welsh would disdain the thought of throwing a

burden upon another nation. There is more regard to national character among the Welsh than other nations of Europe. All other nations are glad to throw the dregs of their population upon the United States. The Welsh will not aid any man to emigrate that has lost the reputation of an industrious man, they argue in their parish meetings, in remote sections, that to send persons of bad or doubtful character upon another independent nation, is a gross insult and a just cause of war. Is there any greater evidence wanted to prove the nobleness of national character than the fact of cherishing freedom of thought and action on the subject of religion? If this is not true nobility I must confess that my estimates are all wrong, for this is the very trait of national character that so much endears in my mind the history of Wales, and it is this that I most admire in the United States. My great aspirations have been to bring the laws of this country into conformity with another feature of Welsh institutions, in relation to natural right in land. Wales allowed a homestead of five acres, and five more in numerous cases on the ground of merit. Let the Americans grant each family thirty acres, and their splendid government will continue while time endures. If men's natural right to a home on the earth is disregarded, it will not be many generations before multitudes of houseless vagabonds will be found ready to join in support of any leader who will furnish them with food and clothing, for hunger will banish every consideration of liberty or patriotism; "oppression makes a wise man mad," how much more so the comparatively ignorant and vicious? These improvements in the social condition of the human race have engaged my mind from early life; they have been my ruling passion, but whether I shall live to see them brought into active life or not, is a matter of comparatively small personal interest to me, if my name is written in the book of life. The hope that the propensity of men to imitation, and the well known fact that the American mind

is wide awake for any real improvement in the physical, social, or moral condition of men has been with me a great inducement to lay before the reader these ancient Welsh institutions, which worked so beneficially for a period of eighteen hundred years, and have only been superseded by the English laws three hundred and eight years.

27 *

HABILIMENTS AND ARMS

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITONS, OR WELSH.

A COMPLETE knowledge of the habiliments and implements of war of the Welsh in the early ages, would doubtless be interesting and instructive. It would be interesting because exhibiting the changes which a succession of ages produce; and instructive, by showing the progress, the improvement, and the diligent study of the sciences and the arts. It may be very difficult, nay impossible, for us to obtain a thorough knowledge of these matters, because of the silence of history in general on the subject; we will, however present some facts, testified by credible writers upon the subject, who have written of the dress and battle-arms of the early Welsh. We find the earliest mention of the dress of the Britons in the works of Julius Cæsar; and his language is, "They clothe themselves with skins, and paint their bodies with the juice of some plant of a blue colour, by which they render their appearance in war very terrible. They let their hair grow long, but permit the beard only on the upper lip." Their war instrument, he proceeds to say, "was the dart, which they threw with unerring aim from their war-chariots into the ranks of their enemies; to this they added a short spear for their infantry, and at the lower end was appended a bell, which they used to clang in concert and with violence when they went to battle, intending by this to strike terror into their enemies." Cæsar further informs us, that he found two quite different kinds of inhabitants in Britain.

Those inhabiting the eastern coast, Kent, Sussex, &c., (with whom he seems also to have been best acquainted,) being far advanced in civilization and culture over those who inhabited the interior of the country. Strabo speaks of the more civilized portions of the aborigines, probably inhabiting Kent, Devonshire and Cornwall, that they attired themselves in long black vestments, reaching to their ankles. Doubts have been entertained, whether it was a common custom with our ancestors, the Welsh, to stain their bodies or not. Some maintain it was customary with them in war only: others, that the custom was practised at their festivals, and on other similar occasions. Pliny has averred, that at their festivals they imitated the Ethiopian in colour, and went naked, together with their wives and children, to the performance of their religious rites.

Some authors have asserted that the custom of painting their bodies became more common among them after the arrival of Julius Cæsar in Britain. Such assertion may have no foundation, other than that the Romans became more acquainted with them, and with their manners and customs, than they could at first have been, after residing among them on the island a few years. Others again suppose it actually became more customary to stain their bodies, as described, after the landing of Cæsar; and that for the purpose of inspiring their conquerors with terror! It has been supposed this staining could be removed by washing; but it is more probable it was done by scarifying the parts, as is done by the islanders of New Zealand and the Pacific Ocean, in our own times. Tacitus, a Roman historian, born in the reign of Nero, speaking of the Britons, says, "They arm themselves with heavy swords and light shields, under which they shelter their bodies from the darts of the Romans." Roman historians of the time tell us that the chiefs of the Britons wore long garments prior to the birth of Christ, (see Varro,) of hairy, ponderous material: but Herodian, speaking of the common people, says they went naked, wore

iron rings upon their necks, and round their waists, considering these as ornaments; they also drew rude figures of wild, ravenous beasts on various parts of their bodies. It has been supposed, also, that they went naked, not wishing to cover these figures, which in their view formed their greatest beauty. It has been further suggested, that these rude figures were imprinted on their children while young by the process of burning, and then employing the coloring materials, thus fixing it for life. Speed, in his "Chronicle," speaking of the bringing of Caradoc before Augustus Cæsar, says he presented himself thus—"Nearly the whole of his body was marked with variously formed animals in different colors, an iron chain hung on his neck, and another round his middle—his hair was long and curly—his beard, unshaven only on the upper lip, hung parted gracefully on his breast. "The same writer describes the queen, Budding, thus, "She wore a blue mantle, of variegated colors, over her other garments; her hair reached below her waist, she had a chain of gold on her neck, and a short spear or dart in her hand." Mr. Whitaker, in his History of Manchester, says the Welsh never adopted the Roman style of head-dress, but always continued to wear their own forms of hats and caps, forms handed down to us upon ancient coins of seventeen hundred years coinage—and their make is not very unlike those of Wales of modern times. When the island had become entirely subdued by the Roman power under Agricola, the Britons began to imitate their Roman conquerors in many of their customs; and among others, in their modes of dress. The Druids, the Bards, and the Ovates, however, retained their peculiar habiliments. They permitted the beard to grow to their waist: they appeared abroad in a flowing mantle, with capacious sleeves, and in their hands a staff, of seven or eight feet long, grasped by them, in the middle. The Druid's dress was always white, emblematical of their sanctity and their zeal for the truth, considering it also the color of light and

of the sun. The Bards were habited in blue; they considered this color the emblem of peace, and also of truth and sincerity; thus they would wear nothing of mingled colors. The garb of the Ovates was green, representing the earth, the contemplation and study of which they made their principal employ. The disciples, or scholars, wore garments blending all the three colors we have noted above. It would appear that the first arrival of the Saxons effected little or nothing in the modes of dress of our Welsh ancestors, and this, mainly, because the Britons held them in contempt, together with their manners and customs, on account of their deceit and treachery. Aneurin, an author of celebrity in the early part of the sixth century, in his poem, the *Gododin*, states that in his time the chiefs and warriors of the Welsh Britons wore chains of gold as ornaments about their necks, to which Ilywarch Hen, a poet of some few years later date, attests. He also says: Awful and fierce appears the horseman, in chains of silver and gold. So late as 1692 one of these chains was dug out of the earth, in a garden near Harlech castle, in North Wales. It measured four feet in length, and weighed eight ounces. It is now in the family of lord Mostyn, of Mostyn, in Flintshire, N. W. The very earliest ruler, or reigning monarch, of the Britons, or Welsh, is said to have been named *Dywfwal Moelmud*, and the time of his living, fourteen hundred and thirty years prior to the Christian era. It is recorded that he was the first who wore a golden crown in Britain. In the laws of "Howel the Good," notice is taken of the prices of various articles of dress, and the most noted are the brycan, the mantle, and the breech. The prices of various ornaments in use are given in the same laws; many of these were discovered some years ago on opening some old tumuli on Salisbury plain. Others have been brought to light in various parts of the country. In an old copy of the same work, made about the twelfth century, which belonged to the noted Edward Llwyd the antiquary,

is seen a representation of a king, or chieftain, sitting in judgment, attended by the nobles, the elders and officers of his court.

In this representation the king is shown attired in a mantle with long flowing sleeves, decorated with various trappings as ornaments. The mantle is open from the sleeves down on both sides; the head-dress displays some costly stones set in it, and a cross surmounting all! The nobles and elders wear long garments, with sleeves of ample width, reaching to the elbows; thence to the wrists are seen close-fitting sleeves, tightly grasping the arm. The judges appear in mantles of loose capacious dimensions, closely bound round the neck, with openings in the sides through which the arms appear, and small caps, as a covering for the head. The priests appear in a monkish attire, their heads shaven on the top. The lawyers and pleaders are attired similarly with the judges, but have no cap. The plaintiff and defendant appear in the ordinary dress of the country; one of the sheriffs wears a short skirted dress, scarcely reaching to the knee; the other a flowing mantle, and very ample sleeves. A likeness of Pabo Post Prydain, who lived about the end of the fifth century, may yet be seen in the churchyard of Llanbabo, in Anglesea, attired in his kingly dress. It is gathered closely about the neck, and is made to button before, or in front, all the way down. It has two openings for the play of the arms, surrounding which, as well as around the neck-band, are decorations of costly stones; the borders are also beautifully ornamented with furs. Under this appears another garment; the sleeves are made in this to button tightly to the arm down to the elbow. In his hand he holds a sceptre, surmounted by a flower; his crown appears to be of gold adorned with pearls, the upper rim with flowers.

A statue of Rhys ap Gruffydd, in Saint Davids, Pembrokeshire, who died in 1196, is habited in the following manner—a helmet of foreign construction,

tapering upwards, and not concealing the face, is worn on his head ; a net-work of iron protects the shoulders. Below this the breast-plate, bearing the image of a lion upon it, around the whole a gorgeous belt, on which suspends a long sword ; his thighs, legs and feet, are covered with plates of iron. David ap Gwylim, who lived about the year 1400, describes his own dress as being a *trousers* and jacket, a belt around the waist, to which he hung a ponderous sword, and over all was a loose mantle bound with furs, and a trencher hat on his head. A monumental stone in the priory church of Carmarthen exhibits the famed knight, Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his wife in the costume of their times. His hair is in flowing curls on his shoulders, a collar, composed of iron, on his neck ; his shield displays various implements of war engraved on it, his arms and legs are wholly protected by plates of iron, and over the whole a mantle or cloak. His lady appears dressed in the fashion of English ladies of that period. She has a cap, of four cornered shape, and a chain about her neck. Her outer garment or gown is short, (a la Bloomer,) not reaching over the petticoat, and is bound round the waist by a golden band, the ends of which extend below the knee in front ; over all she wears a mantle with flowing sleeves. From that time the higher classes in Wales have assimilated in dress to the English fashions ; though in the mountainous regions, and in the rural districts, they long adhered to their ancient modes ; and even yet, in some parts of the country, as any traveller who has visited Wales may have observed, they cling to some of their ancient customs, their dress not differering greatly from what it was several generations past : change, however, is slowly but gradually working its way, and the simplicity, neatness, and economy of their russet, their flannel, and their *bombast a gwlan*, their favorite cotton and woollen *material*, of which their Sunday and holiday-dress used to be always formed, these are slowly yielding their hold to the gayer fabrics of Manchester, of

Spital Fields, and other foreign articles of luxury and show.

A few observations will be necessary in relation to the term slave, as it is used in the Triads. It does not appear that there was any system of slavery in Wales, because the law is laid down that all men had a right in three things, their wives, their children, and their movable goods. Nevertheless there were three sorts of men considered in relation to privileges; the first in dignity were native Cumry of pure blood, being free from all foreign mixture—these were all entitled by natural right to five free acres of land, &c., they were also, in point of native dignity, equal to the prince, unless it was forfeited by crime.

The second class were native born men, who were sons of foreign fathers, and of native women of pure blood, who had married with the consent of their tribe or clan; these had certain privileges through the mother, and the fruit of the third successive marriage, called “the fourth man” of the alien, was a full citizen, and became the head of his clan; these were called citizens by privilege, but were equal with men of pure blood in all rights and privileges.

The third and lowest order were foreigners, and their descendants till the ninth generation, for so long it took foreigners to obtain citizenship in Wales, unless they intermarried with natives, which I suspect was not very common on account of the pride of blood among the Welsh—these persons were not allowed to reside at all in Wales, except they could get a patron among the wealthy to whom they had to swear allegiance, and were employed as farmers and gardeners, and in other services; they were not called upon to do military services, because it was not just to compel a man to jeopardize his life to protect the property of others. Such was the law, but if the foreigner of his own accord took up the sword, he was entitled to the privilege of a brudd. The word used by the translator for brudd is, *feeble one*, but I think improperly. Humble one would

be nearer the original, as he was still below a citizen. The descendants of criminals were also placed in the state of aliens. Although these terms were hard, still it appears that numbers came, probably on account of security for themselves and families, under the protection of the warlike race who occupied that "Stony Paradise."

If at any time they considered themselves oppressed by their patrons, they had a right to seek the protection of another chief, who was bound to see their wrongs redressed, and no hue and cry could be raised against them when they went to seek protection. The Welsh of former ages were notorious for writing romances, which were called tales for the entertainment of youth; they were founded upon real characters, many of them are on Arthur and his knights. These Welsh romances were translated into many languages, so that when the crusaders went to Palestine they found that the tale of Arthur and other Welsh heroes were well known in that part of Asia. The Saxons, and some of the northern princes who inhabited Scotland, were described as cannibals. In the composition of the triads of history these romances were taken for true history; Besides this the Welsh were fond of figurative language, which throws more confusion on the historical triads. Nevertheless the triads, especially the more ancient, bring to light some things of great interest, and bear on their face evidence of authenticity. They also agree in many instances with Roman and other histories. Those triads that speak of cannibalism, and the two brown birds of Gwenddolen to whom two youths, a male and female, were given for their dinner, and two more for their supper, may be considered to be something like the nursery tale of Blue Beard as to truth. However, Gwenddolen was a real character, a prince who reigned in some part of Scotland, and was a persecutor of the Christians. About the year 570, Rhydderch, surnamed the Generous, Prince of Stradclyde, invaded his territories with a view to compel him to desist from perse-

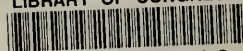
ention, and killed him in battle. Rhydderch was one of the surviving commanders of king Arthur. This war occurred about 28 or 30 years after the death of Arthur. Such a persecutor was sure to be held in great execration by the Welsh romance writers, because it was difficult for them to conceive of any criminality in religious belief, therefore to put a man to death for his religious opinions was considered in Wales quite as bad as if a man was killed for feeding the hungry, or clothing the naked. The bitterest complaint made by the last Llewelin against the English in the time of Edward the first, was that they had killed some religious persons in his dominions. This tender care of religious people throughout all ages will be an everlasting honour to the character of the Welsh. Future ages will view their national history, as the greenest spot in human annals, and their pride of blood is a standing refutation of the story told by English writers that they have been made up of odds and ends, and by fugitives from various other regions. There was no way for fugitives from Saxon valour and cruelty to get into Wales, unless they could conquer a people who had set the power of imperial Rome at defiance, as the laws of Wales were made for the purpose of preventing foreigners from settling among them, lest they should betray them, and take away the land of the Cumry. It was this strictness that preserved their language and national identity, and with these the knowledge of gospel truth.

THE END.



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