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All Donations will be acknowledged in the *Transactions* of the Society.

RECORDS OF MORVILLE.

By H. F. J. VAUGHAN.

A FEW years ago, when staying at Aldenham, the writer, upon looking over some old books in the Chaplain's Library, found the accompanying notices of a Shropshire family written upon the margin of a devotional manual, dated 1622, and containing the "Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Such gleanings form valuable data for the genealogist and archaeologist, and, being probably the only record we have of the family to which they refer, are worthy of attention even when not taking into account the quaint, pious expressions of their author or authors.

January.

Mr Robert Sherwood dyed the 1st of this month 166—
God rest his soul.

My deare Father dyed the 2nd of this month God rest
his sole.

1688, My brother Harry dyed 28 of this month God
rest his sole.

February.

My Sonne Piter Browne was borne God blesse him the
eighth of this monthe 1666 according to the english
account.

I was married the 10th of this month 166½.

March.

My daughter Mary deyed the 9th of this month God rest
her sole 1724.

My daughter Catherin Browne was borne the 14th of this
month according to our english account 1670 God
blesse her.

April.

April the —^d died my Aunt Mary Browne 1684 God rest
her sowle.

My Mother died y^e 10th of April 1719.

My daughter Frances the younger was borne April 23rd 1674.

May.

My sister Francois Greenwood May y^e 6th.

My daughter frances Browne was borne the 2 of May God blesse her 1668.

My daughter Elizabeth Browne was borne the 27 of May 1697 God blesse her & was confeirmd y^e 21st of October 169—.

July.

Henry Brown ye son of S^r Charles Brown was born & baptised y^e 13th day of July 1699 and dyed.

Henry Browne was borne the 25 of July God blesse him 1664.

August.

Charles Browne was borne the 9 of August 1663 God blesse him.

Mary Browne was borne the 28th of August 1665, God blesse her.

Mary Browne was born ye 22 of August 1700 God blese her.

September.

I wos married ye 24 of September 1693.

October.

My grandmother Margaret died the 21 of October.

November } the margin destroyed.
December }

At the end of the same book was an ancient altar bread, similar to those used by Roman Catholics for particles for the Service of the Mass. In another book of the same collection, and apparently belonging to the same family, the name Browne occurred, and the following coat of arms:—Argent, on a fess, sable, three bezants, and in chief a greyhound courant of the second. These books seem to have come from the Wenlock Mission, which formerly flourished under the patronage of the Acton family, and was in existence as late as the time of the present Lord Acton's mother, the Lady Acton (née D'Alberg), who subsequently became the wife of Lord Granville. It is possible that they were the property of the family of Browne of

Caughley, though the arms borne by the present representative of that family (according to Burke's *Landed Gentry*) are those of the Brownes, Viscounts Montague, of Midhurst, in Sussex ; they were brought to Aldenham when the Mission at Wenlock was discontinued.

There would seem to be no doubt that the family of Browne belonged to the Church of Rome, and since during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was not only great difficulty but also danger in bringing Roman Catholic books, whether works of devotion or of controversy, into this country, they became proportionally rare and valuable, and the possession of so many by this family implies that they were people of some wealth or standing. No doubt their books became the property of the Mission when they either died out or left this part of the country, and were so removed from Wenlock, when no longer used, to Aldenham, the seat of the chief Catholic gentleman of that neighbourhood. It may be noted that the Actons, who are undoubtedly one of the oldest of the Salopian county families, conformed to the Established Religion, and the first Baronet of Aldenham, as well as his family, were Protestants. The ancestors of the present Lord Acton, who is well known not only as the collector and possessor of the finest library in the county, but also for his literary attainments, have, however, for several generations been Roman Catholics, and held high positions at foreign Courts. Lord Acton has considerable property on the Continent, where he resides during several months of the year.

Aldenham has been in the family from time immemorial. We find Edward Acton, of Aldenham, in the tenth year of Richard II. (son of William Acton, of Acton Burnell), who married Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Sir Fulke le Strange, Lord of Betton Strange, by his wife Margery (*Additional MS.*, 14,314). There is a picture of the house as it formerly existed still preserved in one of the rooms at Aldenham, wherein

appears at the end of an avenue a mediæval gateway with two towers. The family was much enriched by the marriage of Walter Acton, Esq., of Aldenham, in 1623, with Frances, the daughter and heir of Edward Acton, of Acton Scott, by Katherine, daughter of Thomas Powell, of the Park, Whittington. Their son Edward was created a Baronet on account of his loyalty to Charles I., January 17th, 1643, and died in 1659, aged 59, having married Sarah, the daughter of Richard Mytton, of Halston, co. Salop, by Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Owen, of Condover.

The family of Mytton is celebrated in Shropshire annals as representing one of the coheirs of Sir John Burgh, Eleanor by name, who brought to her descendants a representation of the old Princes of Wales, and to her husband also, the large and valuable territorial domain of Mawddwy. In modern times, the name has become well known from the eccentric and extravagant career of the well known John Mytton. Sir Edward rebuilt the house at Aldenham, according to an inscription on the west end of it. He left issue Walter, Thomas, William, Robert, Richard, and two daughters, who died unmarried. Of the sons, Thomas Acton, the second, was of Gatacre Park in Shropshire, and died in 1677, aged 56, having married Mabell, daughter of Clement Stoner of London, son of Clement Stoner of Stapleford Abbott, co. Essex, by Mabell, daughter of Roger Harlakenden, of Earl's Colne in the same county, by whom he had issue Edward, Thomas, Clement, Sarah, wife of William Whitmore, and Rachel, wife of Rev. John Eyton, of Eyton; she died 1706, having had issue Thomas and Mabell, with others. Thomas is progenitor of the Eytons of Eyton on the Wildmoors; and Mabel married George Whitmore of London, a younger son of William Whitmore of Apley, by his second wife, Dorothea, daughter of John Weld. Their daughter married John, son and heir of Thomas Stokes, of Stoke Milburgh, co. Salop. William Acton, the third son of Sir Edward, died circa 1657, having

married Mary, the daughter of Arthur Weaver, of Bridgnorth, and afterwards of Morville in right of his wife Jane, daughter of John Smith, who seems to have been the heir of her nephew, slain at the Battle of Edgehill in 1643, on the part of the King. (*Additional MS.*, 14,314.) By this match William Acton had a daughter and heiress, Jane, or Joan, who married Walter Moseley of Mere, in the parish of Walsall and co. Stafford, and whose eldest son, Acton Moseley, Sheriff of Staffordshire in 1757, was ancestor of a family subsequently seated at Buildwas, co. Salop, and Leaton, co. Stafford. Robert, the fourth son, died unmarried. Richard, the fifth son, was a Captain in the Navy, and died at Bridgnorth, leaving issue by his wife, Lydia, a daughter Lydia, wife of John Darling, of London. The eldest son succeeded his father as Sir Walter Acton, of Aldenham, and married Catherine, daughter of Richard Cressett, of Upton Cressett (an estate which joins that of Aldenham), by whom he had a numerous issue. He was Member of Parliament for Bridgnorth, and died in 1665, being succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Edward Acton, Bart., who married Mary Walter, a Somersetshire heiress, by whom he was father of three sons, firstly, Sir Whitmore Acton, his successor, who, by Elizabeth Gibbon, was father of a son and heir, Sir Richard, the last Baronet of this branch, who died in 1790, leaving only daughters; secondly, Edward Acton, of Acton Scott; and thirdly, Rev. John Acton, vicar of Clun, who, by Beatrix his wife, had issue, Edward Acton, of Acton Scott, whose will is dated March 20th, 1774, and who succeeded his uncle Edward at Acton Scott, where also he was buried in 1775.

This latter Edward Acton, of Acton Scott, married Anne, daughter and heiress of William Gregory, of Woolhope, co. Hereford, by whom he had a sole daughter and heiress, Susannah Acton, wife of John Stackhouse, of Cornwall, whose descendants succeeded to the Acton Scott property. Upon the death of

Sir Richard Acton of Aldenham, in 1790, the title and estates reverted to the descendants of his great uncle Walter (second son of the above-mentioned Sir Walter Acton and Catherine Cressett), who married Catherine, daughter of Oliver Pocklington, of Brineton, in Huntingdonshire, by whom he had a numerous issue; Edward, the eldest son, born November 11th, 1679, was a banker in London, and married Catherine, daughter of John Steventon, of Dothill, near Wellington, by whom he had, with other issue, Edward Acton, born June 11th, 1709, who lived principally in France, and while there married Catherine, daughter of Francis Bois de Gray. They had issue three sons, first, Sir John Francis Edward, born 1736, and who succeeded Sir Richard in the Baronetcy; second, Joseph Edward, born 1737; and third, Philip Edward, born 1740. The eldest of these was the talented officer who attained a position of such eminence and distinction in Italy, and having married (by Papal dispensation) his niece, Mary Anne Acton, was father of the late Sir Richard Ferdinando Acton, Bart., of Aldenham, who was born 24th July, 1801, and was father (by the only daughter of the Duc D'Alberg, through whom he acquired an extensive Continental estate, and who married secondly the Earl Granville) of the present Lord Acton of Aldenham.

Some of the earlier members of this family resided at Longner, which came into their possession by the marriage with the co-heiress of Strange. In Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, mention is made of Robert de Acton, Deputy-Sheriff in 1237, Edward de Acton, Sheriff in 1383, who married the co-heiress of L'Estrange, and so gained a moiety of Longner, and who appeared as witness on behalf of the family of Burnell against Sir Thomas Morley on the question of the coat of arms, a lion rampant sa. crowned and armed, or., which the Burnells had borne for some time. Walter Acton, eighth in descent from this Edward, was Sheriff in 1683, and Sir Whitmore Acton,

Bart., of Aldenham, in 1728, the grandson of Walter. Sir Whitmore Acton married Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Gibbon, and great aunt to the well-known historian. Blakeway, in his account, very justly remarks upon an ill-natured report which had been started respecting a member of the family, adding most truly that "those whose exaltation has been rapid are ever liable to the attacks of envy."

The genealogist who delights in following out the different descendants of a family, holding the principle "*Fors non mutat genus*," knows well that many now occupying simply a position of respectability, some simple peasants, and some who have even sunk to a lower stage, carry with them the blood and representation of some of our oldest and most interesting families. It is the mark of a small mind, and one not suggestive of great nobility in its owner, to despise all who are not equally endowed with the goods of this world, and in a country where the law of primogeniture holds, as in this country, it is evident that there must be many descendants of junior branches of good families in very humble positions.

The arms of the Acton family, i.e., *gules two lions passant in pale argent between nine crosslets*, or, are the same as those of L'Estrange, with the crosslets for difference, and were evidently taken from their forefathers of that family. An inspection of the pedigree will make it evident that they were connected with most of the chief houses of Shropshire. Aldenham, their seat, is situated in the parish of Morville, about three miles from Bridgnorth. The hall stands on high ground, and is approached by a double avenue of magnificent trees at a considerable distance apart, in the middle of which the drive gradually ascends. The entrance is embellished with very handsome gates, enriched with floral and scroll work in iron, above which are the armorial bearings of the family. On the west of the park is another very fine avenue of oak trees running in the direction of Wenlock, and from

the higher ground are magnificent views of the Clee and Meadowley Hills, and the common land around Shirlet. There are some relics of King Charles in the hall, who is said to have passed a night here, though the chief attraction is the very extensive library, which has been principally collected by the present owner. Besides the hall at Aldenham, there are two other good residences on the estate, one at Acton Round, a village adjoining Aston Eyre and about two miles from Aldenham, and the other in the village of Morville. The latter is a very interesting old mansion, though much modernised. The ceiling of one of the rooms is ornamented in stucco, and amongst other devices is a heart, with the sacred name "Jesu" across it. The Morville property belonged to a family named Smith, whose pedigree appears in *Additional MS.*, British Museum, 14,314, and their arms are given as sable, a bend inter, six martlets argent. There was a copy of the descent of this family in the possession of the late S. Stedman Smith, Esq., of Burcote, near Bridgnorth, which he kindly gave to the writer.

Richard Smith, of Morville Hall, co. Salop, temp. Henry VIII., married Mary, daughter of . . . Grey, of Cliffe, near Wemme, co. Salop (others say Sturry of Cliffe), and was father of Roger Smith of Morville, M.P. for Bridgnorth, who possessed the tithes of the Prebends of Underton, Walton, and Morville, and died circa 1565. It is worthy of remark that on the 4th June, 1556, Sir John Perrott granted the Manor of St. James', Bridgnorth, then lately a chantry, to Roger Smith of Morvell. This Roger married Frances, daughter of Richard Cresset of Upton Cresset, co. Salop, and had issue, George Smith, of St. James', Bridgnorth, and of Morville (thirty-third Elizabeth), who was buried at Morville 9th January, 1600, his will being proved at Doctors' Commons. He married twice, firstly, Mary, daughter of . . . buried at Morville 25th March, 1590, and secondly Margaret, daughter of Robert Pigott, of Chetwynd, by whom he

had issue Leighton Smith. By his first wife he had issue John Smith, of Castle House, Bridgnorth, buried at St. Leonard's in that town, 28th January, 1636, who also married twice. His first wife was Anna, daughter of Thomas Vernon, of Haslingden, co. Chester, who was buried at Morville 6th June, 1662, leaving issue Martha, who died an infant. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Richard Masterson, of Nantwich, co. Cheshire, who survived him.

This family of Masterson is very ancient, as may be seen by reference to Ormerod's *Cheshire*. Many of its members seem to have been at the Battle of Flodden, and it was probably then that the senior branch, which was seated at Masterson, died out, leaving co-heirs, of whom Mary, fourth sister and co heir of John Masterson, of Masterson, married Richard Turner, of Sutton Coldfield, co. Warwick, barrister of the Middle Temple. Argent a mihrind erect sa. The mother of Mary, wife of the above John Smith, was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Grosvenor, of Eaton, co. Chester. By his second wife, John Smith had issue George Smith, Esq., of Morville, a Burgess of Bridgnorth, M.P. 1624, who married Jane, daughter of Sir Hugh Brawn, of Newington, co. Surrey, Knight, and had issue John Smith, of Morville, Esq., who died prior to 1655. These two last are both named Henry in *Additional MS.*, 14,314, and the latter is stated to have been slain at Edgehill in 1643, on the side of Charles I. Upon the death of this John (or Henry) Smith, the property went to his father's sister, Jane Smith, then, however, the wife of Arthur Weaver, Esq., of Bridgnorth, descended from a Herefordshire stock. They had, with other issue, a daughter, Mary Weaver, who lived in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, where she died in 1709, having married William Acton, Esq., of London, a younger son (as previously mentioned) of Sir Edward Acton, Bart., of Aldenham, and by him was mother of an only child, Jane, wife of Walter Moseley, of the parish of Walsall.

The Morville estate, of course, went to the son of Arthur Weaver and his descendants, becoming in this way vested in Anthony Weaver, M.D., who died without issue, leaving the property to his sister Anne, wife of John Blayney, of Gregynog, Sheriff of Montgomery in 1716, a descendant of Prince Brochwel Ysgythrog of Powys, through Brochwel ab Aeddan. They had issue a son, Arthur Blayney, of Gregynog, co. Montgomery, and Morville Hall, born 11th February, 1716, Sheriff of Montgomery in 1764, but who died unmarried, and was buried at Tregynon, 6th October, 1795, being ninety-seven years old. He devised his estates to his cousin, Susannah, daughter of Anthony Weaver, of Castle House, Bridgnorth, who in 1767 was married at Bath, to Henry, eighth and last Viscount Tracy.

The estates of both families centred in their only daughter and heiress, Henrietta Susannah Tracy, born in 1776, who by her marriage, 29th December, 1798, with Charles Hanbury (who thereupon assumed the additional name and arms of Tracy), conveyed them into that family. The Tracys are said to descend from Harold, the Saxon, and also from Goda, sister of Edward the Confessor, wife of Walter de Mantes. In Rudder's *History of Gloucestershire*, William, son of John de Sudeley, by Grace, daughter of Henry de Traci, Lord of Barnstaple, co. Devon, and brother of Ralph, Baron Sudeley, is said to be the knight who bore so prominent a part in the tragic end of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, and that writer makes him lineal male ancestor of the subsequent Tracy family. William, Sheriff of Gloucestershire in 1449, married Margery, daughter of Sir John Pauncefoot, and his eldest son, Henry, married Alice, daughter and heir of Thomas Baldington, of Adderbury, co. Oxon (argent on a chevron, sable inter, three pellets, as many roses of the field. *Harln. MS.*, 1543.) Of their issue, the third son, Ralph, was a monk, the second, Richard, or his nephew of the same name,

had a daughter Anne, wife of William Gower, of Worcestershire, while the eldest, Sir William, Sheriff of Gloucester in 1512, was one of the first to embrace the reformed religion, and so after his death his body was exhumed and burnt for heresy. Avice, daughter and sole heir to Thomas Tracy, was wife of Francis Folliott, ancestor of the Lords Folliott, and whose grand-daughter Ellinor Folliott, married William Gower, of Boughton, co. Worcester. The Hanbury family, a branch of which became owners of Morville, as before related, also descend from a Saxon stock, and the name has been variously derived, signifying either the "high town" or the chief of the border. In the time of Edward the Confessor, Hanbruach was chief of the district now called Hanbury, co. Worcester, and was succeeded by his son Urso, lord at the time of the Norman Conquest, and who seems to have been one of the very few Saxons who were able to retain their lands. His son Ralph succeeded, and was followed by his son Roger, mentioned as holding land in Hanbury A.D. 1125. He was succeeded by his son, grandson, and great grandson successively, the latter of whom is called Hambyrie of Hambyrie, and was living in the time of Richard Cœur de Lion. His son Geoffrey was living in 1217, and left three sons, Geoffrey, John, and Adam, a priest. Of these, Geoffrey was heir, and living at Hanbury in 1315. He had issue, Robert, King's Chamberlain, temp. Edward III., Nicholas of Feckenham, Henry, son and heir, Chief Justice of Common Pleas for Ireland, obit. 1353, John and Geoffrey. The heir of the estates, Henry, joined the Earls of Lancaster, Warwick, and Hereford, against the King, for which he suffered imprisonment, but was released through the efforts of his uncle, John de Hanburie, and finally pardoned in 1318, after which time he seems to have risen in the good graces of the King, since in 1322 John Manners was under his custody, and in 1326 he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland. He left two sons, John and Reginald, his heir, Member for

Worcester in 1362, who was succeeded by his son Roger, and he by his son John, living in 1400. To this point there is a common ancestry to all the Hanburys. This John, however, left four sons, from whom the several branches derive.

To give an account of all the chief lines of this eminent family would be beyond the scope of the present work; it must suffice to say that from William, the eldest son and heir, descended the Hanburys of Hanbury Hall, co. Worcester, the representative of whom, about the year 1500, disinherited his brothers, and left the seat and part of the estate to a natural daughter. From John, the second son, who was of Beanhall in the parish of Feckenham, co. Worcester, descended, through Edward, Humphrey and Anthony, Walter Hanbury, of Beanhall, in 1568, who married twice. By his first wife, Ursula, daughter of Edward Sprott, of Ashmorebrook, co. Stafford, he had issue seven daughters (one of whom, Frances, married Thomas Berkeley, of Salop) and three sons, the eldest of whom, Walter, born 1558, married Ursula, daughter of Godfrey Somerford, of Somerford, co. Stafford, in 1584, and was buried at Feckenham, 20th March, 1618, his wife being buried at the same place, 24th August, 1612. They left issue (besides a son Anthony, who died an infant), Anthony, baptized at Feckenham, 1595, who married and left issue, William, baptized 1593, Humphrey, baptized 1594, and four daughters. The second son of Walter Hanbury, of Beanhall, by his first wife, was Joshua, born 1567, married in 1592, at Feckenham, and buried 25th July, 1598. His wife was Margaret, daughter and heir of Morgan of Hunt End, co. Worcester, and they had issue John of Beanhall, who married thrice, and left issue, Thomas, baptized at Feckenham, 25th July, 1597, and three daughters. Walter Hanbury, of Beanhall, married secondly Cicely, daughter of John Rouse, of Rouselinch, co. Worcester, by whom he had issue four daughters and five sons, of whom the fourth, Sir John Hanbury,

Knight, was a citizen of London and also of Kelmarsh, co. Northampton, who by his wife, Mary Whethill, had a daughter Mary, wife of Sir Miles Sandys, of Brinsfield, and a son Edward, of Kelmarsh, co. Northampton, whose grandson, Thomas Hanbury (son of John), Sergeant-at-law, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of George Clarke, of Watford, co. Northampton,¹ and was by her ancestor of the Lords Bateman. There

¹ Note on the Clarkes.—This family has been one of some distinction. It was derived from Warwickshire, in which county Richard Hammond was of Willoughby, temp. Edward I., and was succeeded by William Clarke, whose son and grandson bore the same name, and the last, by his wife Agnes, was father of Richard, Robert, and Sir John, a brave and fortunate soldier, who took prisoner Louis d'Orleans, Duke of Longueville, at Terouenne, 16th August, fifth Henry VIII., for which service he had an augmentation of his arms granted to him, viz., on a canton sinister, azure, a demi ram mounting argent armed, or, between two fleurs de lis of the last, over all a baton dexterwise of the second. Sir John died 5th April, 1539. Gwillim says :—"Argent on a bend, gules between three ogresses, as many swans, ppr. by the name of Clarke, and is the coat armour of Sir Francis Clarke, of the city of London, Knight, of George Clarke, of Watford, in Northamptonshire, Esq., of Robert Clarke, of Long Buckley, and of Samuel Clarke, of Norton, both in the said county, Esquires." Sir George Clarke, of Watford, married Barbara, daughter of Robert Palmer, of Hill, co. Bedford, and was father of, first, George, who obit. 1689, leaving issue by his wife Mary, daughter of Philip Holman, of Warkworth, five daughters and coheirs, of whom Elizabeth married Thomas Hanbury, of Kelmarsh; second, Robert, of Long Buckley, who by Frances, daughter of John Cotes, of Woodcote, co. Salop, had issue Sir Robert, who married Frances, daughter of Colonel James O'Brien, of Ireland, and had issue. Of this family was the Venerable Unwin Clarke, Archdeacon of Chester, and his brother, Colonel Clarke, of the Scots Greys, who was present and took part in the Battle of Waterloo. Their uncle, Isaac Clarke, married Mary Bidwell, of Thetford, co. Norfolk, party per saltire or and gu, four roundels each, charged with a martlet all counterchanged, and by her had, firstly, William, who left issue; secondly, Thomas, who died unmarried, aged 91, 6th February, 1875, and is buried at St. John's, near Worcester; thirdly, Mary, married to Benjamin Walsh, son of Francis, a descendant of Walter Walsh, of Ireland, and Lady Magdalen Sheffield; fourthly, Sarah, married to Leonard Bidwell, of Thetford, co. Norfolk, her cousin; and fifthly, Jane, died 10 June, 1880.

was also a son of John de Hanbury, 1400, named Thomas, who left a son named John. But our interest chiefly attaches itself to the descendants of Richard, third son of John de Hanbury, 1400. He married twice, being father, by his second wife, Margery Tynter, of three sons, first, Henry, of Milton, ancestor of the Hanburys of Hampshire and Sussex; second, John, of Walton; and third, Thomas, a priest. But by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of . . . Smyth, of co. Worcester, Richard Hanbury had issue a son and heir, Richard, of Elmsley Lovat, co. Worcester, who married (*A Visitation of Worcestershire* says she was second wife) the daughter of . . . Bassett, by whom he had three sons, first, John, of Elmsley Lovat; second, Thomas, citizen of London; and third, William. They all married, and left issue. The eldest, John, had two wives, firstly, Elizabeth, daughter of John Broade, of Elmsley Lovat, and secondly a daughter of . . . Bradley. By his first wife he had issue Philip, who died s.p., and Richard, a citizen and goldsmith of London, who married Alice, daughter of Jasper Fisher, one of ye six Clerks in ye Court of Chancery, and had issue two daughters, coheirs, the elder of whom, Alice, married W. Coombes, but died s.p.; the younger, Elizabeth, was wife of Sir Edmund Wheeler, of London and Worcester, she died 1634, having had ten children, four sons and six daughters. The male issue of the first marriage thus becoming extinct, we pass on to those by the second, foremost amongst whom stands Richard, third son, of Elmsley Lovat, of whom we shall speak presently as representative of this branch, and Robert, the fourth son.

We may, however, here remark that Philip, who in the Toddington Pedigree is called elder son of John, and whose mother must in that case have been the first wife, is in *Harln. MS.*, 1566, placed after Richard, of Elmsley Lovat, and consequently sprung from the second wife; he lived to be an old man, but died without issue. John himself was buried at

Elmsley Lovat, 13th April, 1559, and his fourth son, Robert, was baptized there 26th September, 1550, but, migrating to Wolverhampton, lies buried there, having been interred in 1601.

There are several doles and other benefactions to the people of Wolverhampton from the Hanbury family, who held a good position both here and in the neighbourhood. Robert's son John, who is also buried at Wolverhampton, had issue by his wife Dorothy Rabye, a son Robert, of Wolverhampton, buried there 8th April, 1651. He married twice, firstly, Lettice Fellowes, of the Wergs, a property near Wolverhampton, where Shaw says, in his time, were some of the finest oaks in the parish, and secondly Elizabeth Acton, of the Aldenham family, whose arms, impaled with her husband's, and contemporary with themselves, are still in existence in the family. Robert Hanbury left issue by both his wives; by the first he had Francis of Norton Hall, in the parish of Norton Canes, co. Stafford, who succeeded him, and whose brother, John Hanbury, 1660, was guardian of the children of Captain Stone, who had married a Miss Hanbury, and was a well-known Parliamentary leader. Francis was the first who owned Norton Hall, an estate which, with many others in Staffordshire, had formerly belonged to the family of Rugeley, also one of those which espoused the cause of the Parliament, and of which Colonel Simon Rugeley was a member, who in April, 1644, relieved Tong Castle, in Shropshire, and took Eccleshall Castle, in Staffordshire, after seven weeks' siege, and to whose uses were given large weekly contributions from several parishes, together with the money collected from Sir Edward Littleton (a Royalist) and his tenants. Francis Rugeley, by a deed of 20th February, 1562, had sold Canke and other large estates, which would include Norton Canes, to Richard Hussey, of Albright Hussey, an old moated mansion in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, now belonging to the Corbets of Sundorne Castle.

It is worthy of note that Edward Hussey, of Albright Hussey, had married a daughter of Francis Rugeley, but by her had no issue, and his son Richard (who by his second marriage was father of Elizabeth, wife of Francis Hanbury, according to a family account) had for his mother Frances, daughter of Edward Chamberlaine, of Astley, co. Warwick. Francis Hanbury, of Norton Hall, had by Elizabeth, his wife, a son and successor, Robert Hanbury, of Norton Hall, who married at the Abbey Church, Shrewsbury, by licence, 1st April, 1704, Frances Moseley, of the parish of Walsall. The parentage of this Frances Moseley is not given in the register, but there can be little doubt that she was the daughter of Walter Moseley, of the Mere, in the parish of Walsall, both because there was no other family of Moseley which could be described as Moseley of Walsall, except that family, and also the fact that Robert's grandfather had married as a second wife one of the Actons of Aldenham, and, as previously stated, Walter Moseley's wife was of the same family; thus a connection between the two already existed. This and the coincidence of dates, would seem sufficiently to corroborate the family account that she was daughter of Walter Moseley, of the Mere, in the parish of Walsall.

It is worthy of observation that Walter Moseley's mother was Dorothy, daughter of Francis Billingsley, of Astley Abbots, co. Salop, whose mother was Frances, daughter of William Acton, of Aldenham, which gives another connection between these families. Robert Hanbury was not a happy possessor of the family estates; lacking the virtue of prudence, his affairs became embarrassed, and having, with the aid of his son, cut off the entail, the Norton Hall property was sold in 1727. It is to this affair that reference is made in Harwood's *Erdiswick*, under the description of Norton:—"Two-thirds afterwards belonged to the family of Hanbury, one of whom sold them circa 1730, to Christopher Wood." The ancient Manor House of

Norton stood a considerable distance north-east of the Church, and some traces of its moated site are still visible. Robert Hanbury was succeeded in the remains of the family property by his son Robert, who, as mentioned above, had aided his father in cutting off the entail, and by his wife Anne (buried at Norton, 16th December, 1742) left issue three sons and three daughters, Anne, Sarah, born 20th December, 1739, and Elizabeth, born 19th September, 1731. Of the sons, Thomas Hanbury, of Birmingham, who was buried at Norton 10th February, 1773, married Mary Dalton, and their daughter Mary was wife of William Sparrow, and by him mother of William Hanbury Sparrow; Robert, baptized at Norton, 21st October, 1736, married Mary, daughter of Richard Arblaster, whose wife was the granddaughter of Ferrers Fowke, of Wyrley, co. Staffordshire, and had issue an only child, Sarah, born 1756, wife of Daniel, son of Henry Turner and Catherine, elder daughter and co-heir of Thomas Jordan, of Birmingham, and Catherine Lea. This Sarah Hanbury was brought up by her mother's relatives at Norton, and married when so young as seriously to offend her relations, hence sprang up a coldness between them. By Daniel Turner she had three sons, who died without issue, and seven daughters, of whom Catherine, her eldest child, was born 13th July, 1775, and married at Bilston, 1802, George Jones, by whom she had three children, John, Theodosia, and Eleanor; her youngest child, Martha, was born March 12th, 1797. After the death of Mr. Turner, she married a Mr. Smith, but by him had no issue.

John Hanbury, of Norton, the eldest son, was baptized 23rd September, 1732, and died in 1792, leaving issue by Mary his wife (who was buried 2nd November, 1816, aged 78), a daughter Sarah, who died young, and three sons, Robert of Milford, ob^t 1856, John of Leacroft, ob^t. 1851, who was also of Curborough, and William of Moreton, near Rugeley (formerly the property of the Wolseleys). He married

Miss Miller, of Llanrothal, co. Hereford, and had issue two daughters, Anne, wife of . . . Twigg, by whom she had issue, and Mary, wife of . . . Thompson, M.D., s.p., and three sons, Rev. John Hanbury, rector of Thatcham, co. Berks, who died unmarried in 1869; William, the heir, of Moreton, who was the great restorer of the wealth of the family, and died unmarried 1871; and Robert, of Tamworth, who died 1850, leaving by his wife Mary Anne, daughter of Major Bamford, of Wilnecote Hill, co. Warwick, a son Robert William Hanbury, of Norton, and other estates which were left to him by his uncle, and of Ilam Hall, co. Derby, Member of Parliament for North Stafford.

The arms of the Hanburys of Staffordshire, who represent, as stated above, the second branch of the Elmsley Lovat family (though they have been supposed by others to represent the Beanhall family), are engraved on the margin of the map in Plot's *Natural History of Staffordshire*, and are, or., on a bend engrailed, vert, cotized, sable, three bezants, with a crescent argent in chief for difference.

We now return to Richard, the third son of John Hanbury, of Elmsley Lovat, but whose descendants are his representatives in the eldest male line. He married Margery, daughter of Francis Bradley, and had two daughters and two sons, John, of whom presently, and Philip, who married and had issue. There is a branch of the family now seated in Essex, both wealthy and of good position, in writing to a member of which the late Lord Sudeley says:—"I have all my life understood that your family, with its different branches, are derived from the same common ancestor as myself and Lord Bateman," and from a comparison of the dates it would appear most probable that they must be the descendants of this Philip Hanbury. Richard Hanbury of Pontymoil, born 1610, died 20th December, 1695, married Cecill, buried at the Friends' Burial Ground, Pontymoil, 14th March, 1662, and had two sons,

Charles, baptized 6th December, 1631, and Richard, who, by his wife Mary (buried 18th 9 month, 1731), had (with others), two sons, who left issue Capel Hanbury, of Bristol (born 22nd 9 month, 1678), and Charles, who married, firstly, Miss Brace, and secondly, Candia . . . (died 15th 2 month, 1759). This Charles Hanbury was born at Pontymoil, 12th 4 month, 1677, and buried there 7th 9 month, 1735, having had issue by both wives. He was succeeded by his son, John Hanbury, born at Llanvihangel Ysterne, Llewernne, co. Monmouth, 15th 6 month, 1700, and died at Coggeshall, 22nd 6 month, 1758, who married Anne, daughter and heiress of Obadiah Osgood, gent., of Goodrings, co. Essex, by Elizabeth, daughter of William Mackett, of London, married at Devonshire House, 28th 12 month, 1705. This Anne or Anna Osgood was not only heiress of her father, but also of her uncle, John Osgood, of Holfield Grange, Coggershall, co. Essex, who died 21st 3 month, 1730, æt 52, and so brought a large Essex property into this family, which became their seat. Their son, Osgood Hanbury, married Mary, daughter of Sampson Lloyd, banker, of Birmingham, 18th January, 1757, and had issue five sons and three daughters. Of the sons, John died young. Osgood succeeded as heir; Charles (of Halstead) married Priscilla, daughter of John Bland, and had issue; Richard died an infant; and Sampson, of Poles, near Ware, co. Essex, married Agatha, daughter of Richard Gurney, of Norwich, but died without issue. Osgood Hanbury, the second, but eldest surviving son, succeeded his father; he was born 15th June, 1765, and married 19th August, 1789, Susannah Willet, daughter of John Barclay, by whom he had, with other issue, Osgood, born 4th July, 1794, married Eleanor Willett, daughter of W. Hall, by whom he was father of the present Osgood Hanbury, of Holfield Grange, born 30th May, 1826.

Having noticed this junior branch of the family, we return to John, the eldest son of Richard Hanbury, of

Elmsley Lovat. He was an eminent Parliamentary and Member for the city of Gloucester. In conjunction with his brother-in-law, W. Capel, he raised forces on behalf of the Parliamentary side, and was a witness of the Installation of Oliver Cromwell, 26th June, 1657. He was born in 1574, and dying on the 10th of July, 1658, was buried at the Church of St. Nicholas, in the city of Gloucester. By his wife Anne, daughter of Christopher, sixth son of Edward Capel, of How Capel, co. Hereford, he had issue five sons and a daughter. Of the former, John died unmarried. Capel succeeded his father. Richard was the second surviving son, Christopher the third, and John the youngest. Capel Hanbury purchased an estate at Pontypool, co. Monmouth, and was founder of the iron works there, though he chiefly resided upon some property which he possessed at Kidderminster, and is buried in the Church there. He married twice; by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir . . . Smith, co. Kent, he had no issue, but by his first wife, Elizabeth Capel, he had a son, John Hanbury, born 1664, better known as Major John Hanbury, of Pontypool. He began life as a student of the law, but relinquished that in favour of the iron works, which he much improved. For three Parliaments he sat as Member for the city of Gloucester, and also became a Director of the South Sea Company. He married in 1701, Albinia, daughter of John Selwyn, of Matson, co. Gloucester. With her he gained a considerable property, but she died in 1703 without issue, whereupon he took to wife Bridget, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Ayscough, Knight, of Stallingborough, co. Lincoln, who, being in high favour with the Duchess of Marlborough, brought her husband in contact with the Duke, of whose Will he was made Executor. Miss Ayscough was the grand niece of the unfortunate Anne Askew, the daughter of William Askew, of South Kelsey, by whom she was, it is said, forced into a marriage with a gentleman named Kyne. Upon her becoming an adherent of

the doctrines of the Reformers, he drove her from his house, and she went up to London, resuming her maiden name, where she subsequently became a Lady of the Household to Queen Catherine Parr. Being a steadfast adherent of the ideas which she had taken up, she was seized, so cruelly torn asunder by the rack as to be unable to walk, and was carried thence to Smithfield, where, with others, she was burnt, 1546.

Upon the accession of George I., Major Hanbury was chosen Member for Monmouth, which he represented until his death in 1720. Having shewn great kindness to a gentleman named Williams, they became fast friends, the latter standing Godfather to his son Charles, to whom he left a fortune of £70,000 at his death, with the injunction to invest the sum in land, and assume the name and arms of Williams. By his second wife, Major Hanbury had issue, John, born 1705, obit. 1736, s.p.; Capel, of Pontypool Park, born 1707, obit. 1765; Edmund, killed by a fall from his horse; Sir Charles, K.B., of Coldbrook Park, who assumed the name of Williams, and died, 1759; George, who took the name of Williams at his brother's death; Thomas, who left a daughter Anne and six other children, who died without issue. Of these, Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams married Lady Frances, youngest daughter and co-heir of Thomas, Earl of Coventry, and had two co-heirs, first, Frances, who married William Anne, fourth Earl of Essex, and was mother of the fifth Earl; and Charlotte, wife of Robert Boyle Walsingham, younger son of the Earl of Shannon. George Hanbury-Williams succeeded his brother in the Coldbrook Park estate, and by his wife Margaret, daughter of John Chambre, of Llanfoist, co. Monmouth, had issue, with others, John, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Johnes, of Croft Castle, but died s.p.; and Ferdinand, the progenitor of the family of Hanbury-Williams, of Coldbrook Park. Major Hanbury's eldest son married, but died without issue, whereupon Capel Hanbury, his brother, who was

Member for Monmouth, succeeded to the Pontypool Park estates, and married 7th October, 1743, Jane, daughter of Thomas Charles, fifth Viscount Tracy, the grandson of John, third Viscount Tracy, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, created 1st July, 1643, Baron Leigh, of Stoneleigh, co. Warwick, by Mary, daughter and co-heir of Sir Thomas, eldest son of Lord-Chancellor Egerton. The first Lord Leigh was the great grandson of Sir Thomas Leigh, Lord Mayor of London, 1555, by Alice, the daughter of John Barker, of Wolverton, co. Salop, and niece of Sir Rowland Hill, from whom they received a large fortune.

Capel Hanbury left at his death, besides two daughters, who died unmarried, an only son, John Hanbury, born August, 1744, who was also Member of Parliament for the county of Monmouth, and died 4th April, 1784, at Rouen. By his wife, Jane, he left issue three sons, first, John, born 27th January, 1775, died unmarried; second, Capel, born 6th October, 1776, assumed the name of Leigh, and by Elizabeth, his second wife, daughter of Thomas Bates Rous, of Courtyrala, co. Glamorgan, was progenitor of the family of Hanbury-Leigh, of Pontypool Park, co. Monmouth; he died 27th September, 1861, having been poisoned by mistaking some medicine; third, Charles, born 1777, married (as previously stated) 29th December, 1798, Henrietta Susannah Tracy, only daughter and heir of Henry, eighth and last Viscount Tracy, who brought the Morville property into the family. Charles Hanbury assumed the additional name and arms of Tracy, and in 1838 was created Baron Sudeley, of Toddington; he died in 1858, having sold the Morville property (except the advowson of the living) to Sir Richard Ferdinand Acton, Bart. It consisted of 116 acres, including the Hall, most of the village, and the lower part of the present avenue up to Aldenham. The advowson was sold subsequently to the present Lord Acton. Lord Sudeley's family bear for arms,

or, a bend engrailed, vert cotized, sable. It is worthy of remark that Edmondson, in his *Heraldry*, assigns this coat to the Staffordshire branch of the family, and says that the Gloucestershire branch bore their bend gules, both, however, charged with the three bezants. These bezants are said to have been added as a difference to the descendants of the third house by Dugdale in 1663.

And now our labours draw to an end. Having given some account of these manuscripts, with their Catholic piety, and kindly reverence for and remembrance of those who have passed away, we have been led on to speak of the family by whom they were subsequently preserved, and so still further we perused the history of those so nearly connected with them and their property. Thus comes before us a picture of life ever varied, yet ever repeating itself. Goodness and benevolence ever interspersed and shining out with true lustre, whether dressed in the garb of Catholic or Puritan, Churchman or Quaker. We have met with some of high estate, some of low, who yet equally drew their blood from the same source, related and connected by marriage, looking back to a common ancestry, and feeling a common interest in old family estates, though now so divided. What better example could we have of the oneness of the human family, what greater incentive to brotherly love and charity, and that sympathy and compassion which we should always feel for each other? The writer has been told by one now dead, who, however, assisted at the sport, that the deer which were formerly in the Park at Aldenham were captured and sent to Attingham, the seat of Lord Berwick, near Shrewsbury, where they were turned out to stock the Park. His informant was then a young man, whose father was a tenant on Lord Berwick's estate. The only memento of the deer at Aldenham now left is the lofty park paling, which still nearly surrounds their former abode.

In conclusion, it only remains for the author to thank those members of the several families and branches of families hereinbefore named, for their kindness in supplying him with information, extracts from family papers, copies of registers, &c., &c., &c., by means of which he was able to bring his work to a successful termination; nor must he omit several of the clergy, from whom he received valuable assistance, and to whom also his thanks are therefore due.

CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF THE PARISH OF CARDINGTON, CO. SALOP.

1693.

P ^d for bread & wine y ^e first Communion	...	0	13	6
P ^d for Book of Common Prayer	...	0	10	0
P ^d for bread & wine at y ^e Second Communion	...	0	14	0
P ^d for bread & wine at Easter	...	1	7	3
It ^m for a Book & proclamation for y ^e day of thanksgiving	...	0	1	0
It ^m for a Book & proclamation for y ^e monthly fast	...	0	1	2
It ^m for a form of prayers to be used in y ^e church	...	0	0	6
It ^m to Irish people y ^t came w th a pass	...	0	0	6
It ^m p ^d Roger Mancells legacy to y ^e next Church Wardens to buye an ornament for y ^e Church accord ^g to his will	...	1	2	0

Memor' y^t Roger Mansell's legacy beinge 1^l 2^s 0^d was laid out in y^e yeare of our Lord God 1703 towards y^e makeinge of a new window in y^e Church betweene y^e Bell house & Church Portch in Cardington beinge an ornament to y^e Church accordinge unto his will.

1694.

Item given to pore people w th letters of request	...	0	2	9
Item p ^d for a book concerning ye fast	...	0	1	0
Item p ^d for a book	...	0	1	0
Item p ^d for a fox head	...	0	1	0
Item p ^d for the Alterac'on of the book of Common Prayer	...	0	0	6

1695.

Itm p ^d for a load of Slate & carriage	...	0	9	6
Itm p ^d Tho: Preene for poynting y ^e Church & Steeple	...	6	12	0
Itm p ^d for Crests 2/ & for gathering of moss 6/	...	0	8	0
Itm p ^d for a booke of injunctions	...	0	1	0

AM

Itm p ^d for a Booke of Articles & another for y ^e Minister	0	2	0
Itm p ^d for a Booke for a ffast	0	1	0
Itm p ^d for a Booke of Thanksgiving	0	1	0

1696.

Itm paid for a Booke for a fast	0	1	0
Itm payd y ^e Aparitour for another prayer booke	0	0	6
Itm paid to Geo. Dallow for getting hewing & laying y ^e flags in y ^e Church	1	15	0
Itm payd for a Booke for a fast	0	1	0

1697.

Itm gave the Ringers uppon y ^e proclamation of peace	0	2	0
Itm p ^d y ^e Parritter for 2 Books	0	1	6
Itm for one Prayer Booke	0	0	6

1698.

Payed for Candle to ring Corfu	0	1	0
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1699.

Itm for a Book & y ^e Bishop's Letter	0	1	0
Itm for Candels to ringe Curffulls	0	1	0
Itm for a Book of Articles	0	0	6
Itm receaved for two Burialls in y ^e Church	0	6	0

1700.

P ^d for exchanging y ^e Com'on cupp	1	11	0
P ^d for repairing y ^e weather cock	0	6	6
P ^d for a Book of Acts of Parli ^{mt}	0	2	0
P ^d y ^e Clerk for cleaning y ^e Church against M ^r Archdeacon's cominge	0	1	0

Mem' Roger Mansell's legacy of £1 5 0 was paid towards
y^e making of y^e new window in y^e Church between y^e Steeple
& Church Porche An'o 1703.

1701.

P ^d y ^e Parritter for a booke & a note to alter y ^e names in y ^e booke of Com'on Prayer	0	1	6
P ^d Thomas Baker for cloth to mend y ^e Kings Arms & for y ^e doeinge of itt	0	3	0

1702.

P ^d for a Booke & Papers	0	2	0
P ^d for a new Beear	1	5	0
P ^d y ^e Baretter for another Booke	0	1	0

P ^d for a new Dyall Poste & for makeinge Culleringe & oylinge Carriage & puttinge itt upp & mendinge y ^e Dyall	0	10	0
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1703.

P ^d for two books for fasts	0	2	0
P ^d for changing y ^e Com'on Flaggons	0	1	6

1704.

P ^d to a Traveller w ^{ch} had great loss by water	0	1	0
P ^d to a Traveller w ^{ch} came out of Turkey	0	1	0
P ^d for a new Hearse Cloth	1	12	6

1705.

P ^d y ^e Ringers att y ^e Thanckgiveing	0	2	0
P ^d for mendinge y ^e Surpless	0	2	6

1706.

P ^d to y ^e Ringers y ^e first Thanksgiving	0	2	0
P ^d for a Book for y ^e Thanksgiving	0	1	0
P ^d to workmen for stripping lathing & slating y ^e Church	7	0	0
P ^d for scubling y ^e Slate	0	3	0
P ^d to y ^e Ringers another Thanksgiving	0	2	0
P ^d at y ^e Court att Ludlow	0	11	0
P ^d my Journey & a Book for y ^e Thanksgiving	0	2	0
P ^d for a book for y ^e fast on y ^e 9 th of April	0	1	0
P ^d for a Book for a Thanksgiving	0	1	0
P ^d for directions to alter the Common Prayer	0	0	6
Rec ^d for breaking y ^e ground in y ^e Church for Priscilla Whitefoot	0	3	4

1707.

P ^d for Candles to ring Curfeu	0	1	0
P ^d for a Book for a thanksgiving	0	1	0
P ^d for binding the Church Bible	0	2	6
P ^d for a Book at y ^e Visitation	0	1	0

1708.

P ^d for half a thousand of large Slate for the Church	0	10	0
P ^d Rich ^d Moore for slateing the Church	2	0	0
P ^d for a Book for a Thanksgiving	0	1	0
P ^d to y ^e Ringers on y ^e thanksgiving	0	2	0
P ^d for another Book for a Thanksgiving	0	1	0
P ^d to the Ringers y ^e 2 ^d thanksgiving	0	2	0
Spent at Ludlow about Souldiers	0	2	0

1709.

Spent when we set the work at y ^e Steeple	...	0	1	0
P ^d the Parriter for a Book	...	0	1	0
P ^d Mr Atkess for Levarises and concerning Thomas Whettall	...	0	9	6
P ^d to the Baly	...	0	1	4
Spent at y ^e Court	...	0	2	0
P ^d to y ^e Baly for keeping Whettall's three bease...	...	0	2	0
P ^d the Parriter for a thanksgiving book	...	0	1	0
P ^d to the Ringers a thanksgiving day	...	0	2	6
P ^d for shatting the bell tounge	...	0	0	6
P ^d for two new locks for y ^e poors box	...	0	1	6
P ^d the Parriter for a book for a fast	...	0	1	0
P ^d for a pурс to keep breef mony in	...	0	0	4

1710.

P ^d for a Book for y ^e Clerk	...	0	3	6
P ^d for 2 thanksgiving Books	...	0	2	0
P ^d y ^e thanksgiving day	...	0	3	0
P ^d for cleaning y ^e Church Plates	...	0	1	0
P ^d for changing one Plate & Gun & buying one Plate...	...	0	2	0
P ^d for writing a Catalogue of y ^e Church Writings	...	0	0	6

1711.

P ^d for pointing the Church y ^e North side	...	0	12	0
P ^d for repairing the Great Bell	...	0	6	0
P ^d for a Booke	...	0	1	0

1713.

P ^d for 2 Books of Articles	...	0	1	0
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1714.

P ^d for ringing on y ^e Coronation day	...	0	3	0
P ^d for 2 p ^r clamations	...	0	2	0

1715.

Spent at measuring y ^e Church Lands	...	0	2	0
P ^d for a Book of thanksgiving	...	0	1	0
P ^d Mr Rich ^d Smith for Paper & writing over an old Terrier of y ^e Church land y ^t was gone to decay	...	0	1	6
P ^d Jno ^r Langford for measuring & copying the Church land in a Terrier	...	0	5	0
P ^d to a Letter of Request	...	0	2	6

Mem' that two years' Legacy of Roger Mansell y^e one beinge due in y^e year of o^r Lord God 1707 y^e other due in y^e year

1714 y^e whole beinge 2^l 4^s 6^d was laid out in y^e year of o^r Lord God 1716 to paint y^e Kings Armes in y^e Church anew itt beinge an Ornament to y^e s^d Church accordinge unto his Will.

1716.

P ^a to John Bromley for adorning y ^e Church	...	0	5	0
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1717.

P ^a for proclaiming y ^e Child that was left in y ^e Church Porch in Shrewsbury Bridgnorth & Wenlock	0	2	6
P ^a Widdow Pigg for clothing y ^e child that was left in y ^e Porch	... ..	0	5	0
P ^a for getting a Pass & Petition written and signed for y ^e Soldier	... ..	0	3	0

1718.

P ^a for pulling down the Bell	... ..	0	1	0
P ^a for carriage of y ^e bell to the water & from	... ..	0	9	0
P for carriage of y ^e bell by water	... ..	0	9	6
P ^a for hanging y ^e bell	... ..	0	3	4
Spent at hanging y ^e bell	... ..	0	2	0
P ^a to y ^e Bellfounder	... ..	0	15	9
P ^a for takeing it out of y ^e Court concerning the Bell	... ..	0	0	4

1719.

P ^a to M ^r Piles Register concerning the book of Common Prayer	... ..	0	3	2
For a frog lock link & 2 Staples for y ^e bell house door	... ..	0	0	2
For writing in y ^e Common Prayer Book	0	0	6

1720.

Rec of Ralph Woofe for breaking up a Grave in y ^e Church	0	3	4
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1721.

P ^a for a Prayer Book for y ^e Fast	0	1	6
P ^a Clog Topps for y ^e Wench att Plash	0	1	2
For mending y ^e Font lidd	... ..	0	0	3

Mem^m that Roger Mancell's Legacy due in y^e yeare 1721 was layd out in reneweing of y^e Epitaph over y^e s^d Roger Mancell's with Leafe Gold itt being decayed.

1722.

P ^a for a booke of thanksgiving	0	1	0
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1724.

For a Book of Common Prayer	0	13	0
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1725.

For mending y ^e Carv'd Work	0	10	4
For pointing the top of y ^e steeple	0	4	4
For mending y ^e Desk	0	0	8

1726.

P ^a for a new Surplice & making	3	6	0
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1728.

Mem^m y^t Roger Mancell's Legacy due for the yeare 1728 was fourteen shillings of it paid for a new Font in the Church it being an Ornament to the Church according to his Will.

1729.

For taking in a Certificate to Ludlow concerning y ^e Church yard fence	...	...	0	2	6
P ^a fees to M ^r Stephens & M ^r Hords	...	...	0	3	10
P ^a for a Book of Homilies	...	...	0	4	0

1730.

My journey to Ludlow concerning the Church yard fences	...	...	0	2	6
Then p ^a to the Proctour his fee	...	...	0	3	4
P ^a to the Proctour to attend the Archdeacon's Court concerning the fences	...	...	0	1	0
P ^a to M ^r Stephens to speak to M ^r Hords to take up a Certificate concerning y ^e Church yard fences M ^r Hords refused to take in the Certificate till M ^r Stephens went to him	...	...	0	1	0
Then p ^a to M ^r Hords to receive the Certificate	...	...	0	2	2
P ^a to Tho. Hamonds for bowing & cieling one Bay in the Church	...	...	6	0	0
P ^a to Bromley & others to help at y ^e repairing the King's Arms in the Church	...	...	0	1	0

1731.

P ^a to M ^r Ric. Corfield because no Apprentice was sett out in y ^e year 1730	...	...	0	2	0
P ^a for 12 Bottles of Wine & 7 loaves of Bread against Easter	...	...	1	4	7
P ^a for 13 Bottles of Wine	...	...	1	6	0
P ^a for 2 quarts of Wine more	...	...	0	4	0

1735.

Gave two Persons y ^e came by w th a pass as theire touns ware cut out	0	1	0
P ^d for a prayer for y ^e Princes to put in y ^e Church Book	0	0	6
P ^d for a Booke of Articles	0	0	6

1738.

P ^d rebuilding y ^e Church Hayments & flaging in y ^e Church	2	8	10
P ^d a new Com'on Prayer	0	14	0
P ^d fees of Court when y ^e Hayments were presented	0	5	2
For a form of prayer for y ^e Royal family ...	0	0	6

1739.

For a Form of Prayer for the Fast	0	1	0
Spent & to get assistance to pool down y ^e Bell ...	0	4	0
P ^d W ^m Perry for laying down the Stones in the Ch. Alley where Rich ^d Woof was inter'd ...	0	1	0
P ^d for Work done in 2 ^d floor in the Steple ...	0	3	4
P ^d for weighing & putting the Bell on board ...	0	1	6
P ^d the Bellfounder	10	6	4
P ^d for Carriage of y ^e Bell to the water & back again	0	10	0
P ^d for making a new Wheel & putting him in place... ..	1	0	0
P ^d for carage of the Bell to Gloucestr & back again	0	19	0

1740.

P ^d Mr Tillitson for y ^e King's Arms	4	16	6
P ^d for a Form of Prayer for y ^e Fast	0	1	0
P ^d the Parriter for an additional Form for the Royal Family	0	0	6

One pound & fifteen shillings of Mr Mancel's Legacy was laid out towards putting up the Kings Arms as an Ornament & the remainder doing the Arch and Cornish & washing the Beams in the Church.

1741.

P ^d to Child for new gearing for y ^e Great Bell with y ^e ould Iron & for altering y ^e tounge of y ^e Bell	0	14	0
A Book for y ^e Fast... ..	0	1	0
For a Journey to Stretton concerning a Work- house	0	2	0

1742.

For a prayer book for y ^e fast...	0	1	0
--	-----	-----	---	---	---

1743.

Visitation Expences	...	...	1	2	7
For both o ^r Journeys to Cleobury to seal the Articles	...	...	0	6	0
P ^d for a Form of Prayer	...	...	0	1	0
For a Journey to Ludlow with Sabery's child	...	...	0	2	6

1744.

P ^d for a Form of Prayer	...	...	0	1	0
P ^d Rich ^d Mapp for mending the Breef Box	...	...	0	0	2
P ^d to M ^r Baldwin for the Hearse Cloth	...	...	1	14	6

1745.

P ^d for a Form of Prayer	...	...	0	1	0
P ^d for a Form of Prayer or Thanksgiving	...	...	0	1	0

1746.

P ^d Yeomans for Moss	...	...	0	1	6
P ^d W ^m Perry for mossaing y ^e Church	...	...	0	5	1
Church Slated & new raftered					
P ^d for 2 Books for Thanksgiving Days...	...	...	0	2	0

1747.

P ^d for an Order concerning the distemper'd Cattle	...	...	0	1	0
P ^d for 6 Balls for the Pulpit	...	...	0	4	0
Rec ^d Mancell's Legacy & apply'd it in painting the pulpit being an ornament according to his will	£1	2	0.		

1748.

P ^d for on Act of Parliament	...	...	0	1	0
P ^d for ringin on the thanksgiving for the Pease...	...	...	0	2	6

1749.

The Church new slated

1750.

P ^d for an Alteration in the Common Prayer	...	...	0	0	6
P ^d for Wine for the Communion	...	...	3	4	0

1751.

P ^d M ^r Sankey of Cardington for timber for to make a Windles to let down y ^e Great Bell	0	1	6
---	-----	-----	---	---	---

Account of y^e Expences of taking down of y^e
Great Bell att Cardington is as followeth—

Imprimis				0	2	0
P ^d Mapp & his son	...	...	...	0	1	0
Joshep Manox...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Edmund Haberley	...	...	...	0	2	6
P ^d for Ale	...	...	...
P ^d Thomas Bishop of Enchmarsh for weigh-						
ing and carriage of y ^e Bell and putting				0	9	0
him on board Charles Jones Vessel	...			0	0	4
For Ale	...	...	...	0	0	4
Postage of Letters	...	...	...
				£0	15	8

1752.

P ^d for a Paper for y ^e propagation of y ^e Gospel	...			0	0	6
Making 3 new Wickets & Stile into the Church-						
yard	...	...	...	4	1	4
P ^d for 4 Bosses for y ^e use of y ^e Faunt	...			0	2	0
Expences about the Great Bell—to Gloucester &						
hanging	...	...	...	5	6	0
For bords & nails to put behind y ^e Coat of Arms				0	0	9
Work done in the Church	...	...	...	3	9	9
P ^d Charls Jones of Salop owner by Rudhall's						
order for y ^e casting of y ^e Bell	...	...	...	17	6	0
1741-2 Gallery erected in the Church.						

W. A. L.

BIRDS OF SHROPSHIRE.

BY WILLIAM E. BECKWITH, EATON CONSTANTINE.

(Continued from p. 395 of Vol. II.)

IN my former paper on this subject, written in 1879, I included 224 species. I am now, through the kindness of several correspondents, able to add 6 more, that have occurred either within the limits of the county or close upon its borders.

I have also obtained some information on the breeding habits of a few of our rarer residents, which, I trust, may prove of interest.

PEREGRINE FALCON, *Falco peregrinus*.

The following instance of a pair of these fine falcons, building about twelve miles from the boundaries of Shropshire, is worth recording:—In 1879 a pair of Peregrines built in the Berwyn Mountains, near Pistyll Rhaiadr. The female was unfortunately shot on the 10th of June, and is now in the possession of Mr. Charles Kempster, Nesscliffe, to whom I am indebted for these particulars. The male, however, soon obtained another mate, but I cannot say whether they eventually reared a brood.

GOLDEN ORIOLE, *Oriolus galbula*.

The Rev. Canon Butler kindly informs me that about the year 1866 he saw two Golden Orioles at Harnage, near Cound. He at once recognised them, having the year before been travelling in Italy, where they are common.

BEARDED TIT, *Calamophilus biarmicus*.

This rare Tit appears to have been resident at Aqualate, on the borders of Shropshire, in former times, though it has not been seen there for some years. Garner, in his *Natural History of Stafford*, published in 1844, says that this species "has occurred at Aqualate;" and the Rev. John Meredith, of Kinnerley, has kindly contributed the following interesting notes:—"A pair of Bearded Tits bred in the 'Mere Meadow,' at Aqualate, about 1849 or 1850. The late Sir Thomas and Lady Boughay knew of the nest, and the young ones fled in safety. Another

nest was afterwards found, from which two eggs, now in the possession of Mr. Francis Boughey, were taken. Both nests were built in gorse-bushes." This is, I fear, the last instance of their breeding in the locality.

SHORE LARK, *Alauda alpestris*.

On the 9th of December, 1879, I saw a female specimen of this rare lark, in the flesh, at Mr. Henry Shaw's. It had been killed near Enville, close upon the borders of Shropshire. On writing to Mr. H. A. Payne, who had sent it, he kindly replied—"I shot the Shore Lark within a mile of Enville: it was quite alone in a grass field when I found it."

HAWFINCH, *Coccothraustes vulgaris*.

Since writing my paper on 'Shropshire Birds' in 1879, I have obtained the following information respecting the breeding of this bird in the county. The Rev. W. H. Wayne kindly informs me that, about the year 1865, a pair of Hawfinches built in a tall hawthorn tree at Tickwood, near Ironbridge, and that some of the young birds were caught as they came to eat the peas in the garden.

In 1878, a labourer living on Cound Moor, saw two old birds feeding their young, which had only just left the nest. He caught and reared one of the young ones, which proved to be a female Hawfinch. It is now in his possession, and has become exceedingly tame.

In 1879, Mr. Henry Gray, of Ludlow, a very careful and accurate observer of birds, wrote on the 30th of July, to tell me that he had twice within the last week seen *old and young* Hawfinches in a garden, near his house in Ludlow; and in a subsequent letter he added "Mr. McBain, son of Lord Windsor's head gardener, told me that there were three Hawfinches' nests in the apple trees at Oakley this Summer, and that the young flew from two of them, but the third was forsaken." This last nest, containing two eggs, Mr. Gray afterwards most kindly procured for me, and it is now in my possession.

CHOUGH, *Fregilus graculus*.

In the Spring of 1880, I saw a specimen of the Chough that had been killed about 1862, by Payne, then gamekeeper to Mr. Ormsby Gore, near Gobowen. He found two of them on a hill during a very severe gale, and shot one, which he stuffed, and still possesses. These birds had, no doubt, been driven by stress of weather from the Welsh coast, along which a few are still to be found.

LITTLE BITTERN, *Botaurus minutus*.

A fine and nearly adult male specimen of this small Bittern is in the possession of Mr. W. Sparling, Petton Hall. It was shot by his gamekeeper on the 19th of May, 1880, near Crosemere Mere.

The first recorded British example of this Bittern appears to have been obtained in Shropshire. Pennant, in his *British*

Zoology, published in 1812, thus mentions it :—"This species was shot as it perched on one of the trees in the Quarry, or Public Walk, in Shrewsbury, on the banks of the Severn ; it is frequent in many other parts of Europe, but is the only one we ever heard of in England."

POCHARD, *Fuligula ferina*.

Though I have no doubt that this duck sometimes breeds in Shropshire, I can only bring forward one instance of its really doing so. Colonel the Honourable F. C. Bridgeman informs me that he found a Pochard's nest, with the eggs slightly incubated, at Tong Mere, on the 14th of May, 1875.

TUFTED DUCK, *Fuligula cristata*.

I have before mentioned a single instance of this species breeding in Shropshire, a nest having been found by the late Mr. W. H. Slaney, at Hatton, about the year 1855. But now, through the kindness of Colonel the Honourable F. C. Bridgeman, I am able to place this handsome duck among our resident wild fowl. Writing from Weston Park, near Shifnal, in 1880, Colonel Bridgeman says—"Seven or eight pairs of Tufted Ducks remain to breed here every year. They began to do so about *ten years ago*, and then only one pair remained ; but the number gradually increased, and now we have seven or eight pairs every summer. On the 6th of May, 1871, I took a nest with the eggs nearly hatched ; and I found a nest with the young only just hatched on the 3rd of July, 1874."

Colonel W. S. Kenyon Slaney also informs me that in 1878 and 1879 a pair of Tufted Ducks reared a brood on a pool at Hatton, the locality where they had bred some five and twenty years previously.

LONG-TAILED DUCK, *Fuligula glacialis*.

I am indebted to Colonel the Honourable F. C. Bridgeman for a notice of this rare northern species having occurred in Shropshire. Colonel Bridgeman writes—"A Long-tailed Duck, a young male, was killed by Lord Newport at Tong Mere on the 6th of November, 1871." This specimen, a bird of the year, is now in Lord Bradford's collection at Weston Park.

HARLEY CHURCH, CO. SALOP:

By REV. W. A. LEIGHTON, B.A. (CAMP.), F.L.S., &c.

THE Church consists of a western tower, nave, north aisle, and chancel, with a porch to the south door. The tower, 10 feet 10 inches square, and walls 3 feet thick, is of three storeys, the lower one open to the nave by an arch with plain lined imposts and square piers, and lighted by a large perpendicular west window of three lights; the second storey is lighted by a small lancet on north and south; the upper storey lighted on either side by a decorated window of two lights, and surmounted by battlements. The nave is entered from the south porch by a very rude circular door, and has in the south wall two square-headed mullioned windows. It is open to the roof, which has rude beams, and is supported on the north side by three rude wooden pillars. It is 40 feet 5 inches long by 16 feet 10 inches wide. The north aisle is 7 feet 8 inches wide, and is lighted at the east by a small mullioned window of two lights, with trefoiled head, and at the west by a small trefoiled light. The chancel is 24 feet by 14 feet. There is no division between it and the nave, only a slight break and part of the old screen remaining. At its east end are three very narrow lancets, on the north two very small lancets, and on the south a square-headed mullioned window of two lights. The priest's door is square. The font is a circular bason, standing on a smaller circular shaft and a circular pedestal, plain and massive.

Such was the state of the Church in 1827, but since that date it has been *restored*: the north aisle entirely

removed, the nave rebuilt with clumsy decorated windows on north and south, and a small arch made between nave and chancel, and screen removed.

In the tower were three old bells with the following inscriptions :—

1st gr'e mi el o p n

2nd gra an na o

3rd gr'a ma ria p n

But at the restoration these were re-cast.

In Mr. Wm. Mytton's MSS. are these memoranda :—
 " Mem. no Township.—Farms, Blakeway & Rowley.—
 A field here, called y^e Castle-Hill, but in y^e Franchise
 of Wenlock.—Land mostly arable.—Plash brook runs
 eastward of the Church to Sheinton; it rises at Plash.—
 Breadth of y^e Church, including N. aisle, 23 ft. 6 in. ;
 Breadth of y^e Chancell 13 ft. 6 in ; length of chancell
 23 ft. 5½ in ; length of church 40 ft. ; length of Belfry
 13 ft. 6 in ; breadth of belfry 10 ft. 9 in ; breadth of
 church exclusive of N. aisle 16 ft. 5 in. Part of Harley
 Town (viz. 4 Houses) is within y^e Franch' of Wenlock.
 —Glebe land at 20£ p. ann. ; Wakes after Mich^s
 day."

There is a tradition in the parish that the Harnage family of Belswardine was accustomed to bury at Leighton Church, but that on one occasion, in taking a corpse across the river to Leighton, it was upset into the water, and on that account the Harnages were subsequently interred at Harley in the north aisle.

RECTORS.

- 1301 Richard de Kynsedelewe
- 1305 Thomas de Langeton resigned 1312
- 1313 John de Leicestre ob. 1331
- 1331 Henry son of Richard de Harley ob. 1353
- 1353 Sir John le Panner ob. 1368
- 1368 William de Stapelford resigned 1403
- 1403 Sir William de Conyngton
- 1406 W^m Stepulford
- 1590 Thomas Benil

1652 Rich^d Wicksteed bur^d 1659

Fowler

1664 Rich^d Phillips bur^d 1667

1668 Benjamin Jenks bur^d 1724

1724 William Painter bur^d 1747

1747 John Greaves bur^d 1775

1775 James Dewhurst bur^d 1781

1782 Edmund Dana resigned

1782 J. Gibbons

W. Greenham present Rector.

On stone tablet, east of chancel (now removed to the north wall of chancel).

Venerabilis Vir Ben : Jenks ¹
In hac Ecclesiâ per 56 Annos
Docendo, Vivendo, Scribendo,
Animis Lucrandis incubuit.
Tandem, Domino Vocante,
Servus Bonus & Fidelis,
Cœlo maturus,
Intravit in Gaudium Æternum
10^{mo} Die Maji, A.D. 1724.
Ætatis Suse 78^{vo}
Hoc Monumentum
Martha
Conjux amantissima
M. S. P.

Arms:—*Arg.*, 3 boars' heads couped, 2 & 1, *sa.* with a chief indented *sa.* impaling *gu.* a fesse vair *az.* & *arg.* between three mullets 2 & 1 *arg.*

Hic posuit Ben.
Jenkes exuvias I. H. S.
² *εὑπρεος* prudentis
πίτερος, Mariæ conjugis
chariss. generosis na-
tæ, parentibus ter-

ricolis, Cœlitus auct'
. . . ptimo Maximo. Quæ
.
.
.
deposuit
18 Die Octobris
A.D. 1761.

¹ Of this Rector the following short notice appears in Salisbury's *Border Counties' Worthies*, Ser. I., p. 113 :—Jenks, Benjamin, a pious divine of the English Church, was a native of Shropshire, rector of Harley in that county, and chaplain to the Earl of Bradford. He died in 1724, aged 78, and was buried in Harley Church, of which he had been minister fifty-six years. He wrote two vols. of *Meditations*; *Family Devotions*, 12mo; *Submission to the Righteousness of God*, 12mo, and other religious pieces of considerable merit and usefulness.

² This word in my notes (1827) is *εὑπρεος*, but I am puzzled with it, if I have copied it accurately, which cannot now be ascertained, as this lower part of the monument has been entirely destroyed.

On slabs in Chancel floor.

Her y^e Body of *
 Richard Bowen y^e Son
 of Richard Bowen by
 Mary his wife of Bloton
 in y^e Parish of Clun
 was buried y^e 16 day
 of November. 1710.

Mary Jeffreyes of *
 Munslow parish was
 Interred under this
 Stone next to her Son
 Richard Bowen
 March 22. 1711.

F. J. *
 Ob^t June y^e 5. 1721.

E. J. *
 Jul. 1704.

On a brass. *

Intus hic Jana Freeman vidua ex stem-
 mate Generoso oriunda, nec modo vul-
 tus amani venustate par sexui men-
 tis autem acutæ dotatus superans,
 morbo inveterascenti tandem victori cedens
 pieque animam effluens
 Carnis onus deposuit Maii 12^o 1692.

Here lieth the body of *
 Richard Corfield of this
 Parish Gent, who died Feb.
 the 2nd . . . 5 in the 57th
 Year of his
 age.

Here lieth the Body *
 of M^{rs} Dewhurst
 Daughter of
 S^r Richard Hene
 of Winkfield in the
 County of Berks
 Baronet

* All the inscriptions marked thus are removed or destroyed.

who departed this
Life June the 30th 1752
in the 37th year of
her age
In cælo quies.

W. Painter *

Rector of this Place
ob^t Oct. 7. 1747
æt 67.

M^{rs} Abigail *

Harrison
died March
29. 1693.

On a loose brass in the Chancel. *

Richardus Fermor infans filius
Richardi Fermori armigeri ex
Jana uxore sua pudicissima super-
stes sex solu' hebdomadis et die unico
obiit vicesimo quinto Febr : a^o 1598,

On slabs in the Nave. *

Here lieth y^e body of Edward
Eldest son of Richard Corfield of
this parish Gent. by Jane his second
wife who departed this life y^e
10th day of November 1708 aged
23 years and eight months
Also near this place lyeth Richard
second son of Richard Corfield
Gent. by Jane his second Wife
who departed this life y^e 25 day
of June 1705 aged 14 years
nine months

Here lieth the Body of *

M^{rs} Anne Lawley
who departed this life
the sixth day of March
in the year 1771
Here lieth the Body of
. . . Henrietta . . .
. . . departed this life
the thirtieth day of July
in the year 1775.

On slab in north aisle (now outside).

Dor : Harnage the
Wife of Edward
Harnage Esq. of
Bellwardine who
departed this life
the 20 Day of May
1715 aged 64.
Edward Harnage
Esq^r
Dyed Sep. the 12
1789.
A. 45.

On a slab now fixed outside north wall.

Here lyeth
the body of
Edward Har
neage of Belzwar
dine Esquire who
departed this life
the 26 day of February
Anno Domini 1677
aged 36 years.

On a modern slab near the above.

William Harnage born 1699 died 1762.
Mary his wife buried 1752.
Henry Harnage born 1783 died 1764.
Mary his widow buried 1765.
William Henry Harnage born 1763 died 1820.
Mary his widow died 1845 aged 74.
Caroline Helena
wife of Sir George Harnage Baronet born 1796 died 1855
Captⁿ Sir George Harnage B^r R.N. born 1792 died 1866.

In the north aisle is a large slab, inlaid with brass, representing a man and woman under a double canopy, adorned with pinnacles (now destroyed, consequently not represented in the plate). The man is habited in armour of the time of Henry VI.

The man has the head bare, resting on an open helmet; plate collar round the neck, with two rows of chain-mail; large shoulder plates, with an angular

projection on each, extending greatly in front, and nearly meeting on the breast; large elbow pieces and cuffed gauntlets without fingers, that on the right hand formed of five overlapping plates, whilst that on the left hand is of a single piece; cuirass globose of two overlapping pieces extending to the waist; below to the fork are three overlapping taces, to the lower one of which are appended by two straps flaps of a single piece, covering the front and back parts of the thighs; in the fork a small triangular plate, beneath which appears a small portion of chain-mail; knee-pieces with indented projections on the inner and outer sides, plates above and below; feet covered with overlapping plates ending in an acute point; spurs rowelled; resting on a greyhound; baudrick or belt coming from the right hip to the left thigh diagonally, to which is appended a sword, and on the right hip a small dagger.

The female is habited in a gown with an enormous train, part of which is gathered up and hangs over the left arm. Head-dress of the steeple fashion, which came into vogue about 1461.

The hands of both are joined on the breast, and raised in prayer.

Beneath is this inscription. Under the man :—

*Putrida lapsa caro co'sumit' ut flm' agro
Carne' cu' flato de' erigat' ethere claro
Et fui p' dextra ponat' sorde repulsa
Ela' dextra sit lacrima semp' abulsa.*

Under the woman :—

*Quis quis eris qui tra'sieris sta p' lege plora
Su' quod eris fuera' q' quod es p' me p' cor ora
Mors vita' mactat aia'm x'ps q' rebibat
Terra' tra' tegat spiritus alta petat.*

Beneath the man are eight boys in loose gowns, their hands closed and raised in prayer. Beneath the woman are five girls in flowing gowns, low at the neck, and hanging waist-belts, plain caps on their heads, their hands joined and raised in prayer.

The corners of the slab have had four shields of arms, one only of which at the lower part on the right or male side now remains, and bears these arms:—Quarterly per fesse indented, in the first quarter a bird; 2nd & 3rd ermine; impaled with first, 3 bends & 2nd on a chief a bird.

There is no inscription to indicate the parties deceased, but the arms are those of Lacon of Harley, and the bird in the first quarter may be a martlet indicating a fourth son. (See Plate.)

This fine brass was, on the destruction of the north aisle, removed to its present position in the floor of the lower storey of the tower, now used as a vestry.

PARISH REGISTERS.

The old Registers are lost or destroyed. The following entries are taken from the MSS. of Mr. W. Mytton and Rev. Edward Williams:—

- 1590 Benil s. of Tho^s (clk) & Joyce bp. Nov. 17
- 1594 Harnage Jane d. of Fra^s of Belsardyne Esq. bur^d Mar. 31
- Corbet Roger bur^d 22 (about 1603)
- 1605 Panton Rebecca d. of Timothy gen^r bp. Dec^r
- 1607 Charlton Alice widow bur^d Apr. 20
- 1608 Lakyn Fra^s s. of W^m bp. Jan. 16
- 1610 Crompton Marg^t d. of Tho^s C. gen^r bp Oct 7
- 1611 Mason M^{rs} Mary widow bur^d Mar. 4
- 1622 Langley Rich gen^r bur^d Sep. 29
- 1622 Sprot Fra^s of Wigwig & Grace Scrivener of Harley
m at Topley in Dioc. of Hereford
- Sprot George Bet, parson there Nov. 2
- 1623 Sprot Fra^s s. of Fra^s of Wygwygg & G. bp. Aug.
- 1625 More Tho^s s. of Jasper & Marg^t bp.
- 1625 Sprote Wyllham s. of Fra^s of Wygwygg & Grace bp.
Sep. 11
- 1652 Wicksteed Rich^l Rector his w. Sarah b^d Aug. 28
- Detton Mary w. of Rich^d gent. b^d Jan. 30
- 1653 Sprott Rl. of Wigwicke gen^r b^d June 20
- 1654 Cotton John s. of John gen^r bp. July 24
- Wolley John & Anne Jenkin m^d Oct. 3 by or before
Harcourt Leighton of Plash esq^r Just. of y^e Peace for
y^e Co. of Salop &c.

- 1656 Lee Dorothy d. of Edw. gen' bp Feb. 26
 Sprott Francis of Wigwigg gen' b^d at Harley Oct 2 aet. 92
- 1659 Clough Dorothy d. of Richard, of Wigwigg gen' b^d Feb. 6
- 1658 Sprott Elizth d. of Francis of Wigwigg & Mary gen' n.
 Jan. 17
- 1659 Taylor W^m gen' b^d May 24
 Wicksteed Mr Rich^d Min^r of Harley & Kenley b^d Nov. 19
- 1663 Sprat Mesties b^d Aug 26
- 1664 Detton Joshua s. of Rich^d & Frances gen' bp Mar. 16
 ("There was one Mr Fowler Rector here bet. Wicksteed &
 "Philipps who removed as is s^d to St. Mary's in Salop.")
- 1664 Philipps Ri : Rector signs y^o Reg^r
- 1667 Detton Rob. s. of Rich^d & Frances bp Aug. 27
 Philipps Rich^d Rector b^d Jan. 6
- 1668 Jenkes Ben. signs y^o Reg^r
- 1669 Sprott Anne d. of Fra^s & Mary of Wenlock bp Aug. 15
 Detton Elizth d. of Rich^d & Frances bp Jan. 1
- 1671 Detton George b^d June 3
- 1672 Lutwitch Martha d. of Leighton & Jane bp Feb. 20
 Detton Rich^d s. of Rich^d & Frances bp. Mar. 17
- 1675 Detton Mary d. of d^o bp 29 Sep.
 Lutwitch Jane b^d Nov. 19
- 1677 Harnage Edw. Esq. bd Feb. 27
- 1678 Detton Abigail d. of Rich^d & Frances bp Apr. 28
- 1683 Detton Anne d. of d^o bp Dec. 26
 Sprott Elizth d. of W^m & Elinor bp Dec. 26
- 1685 Sprott Marg^t d. of d^o bp. Aug. 12
- 1687 Harnage Elinor b^d Apr. 21
- 1687 Evans Elizth widow b^d Nov. 8 aged above
 100 years (ut computatur)
- 1689 Sprott Tho^s s. of W^m & Elinor bp. June 9
- 1690 Harnage Mary of Belwardine b^d Mar. 26
- 1695 Sprott Tho^s b^d Apr. 24
- 1695 ——— W^m s. of W^m & Marg^t bp. Jan. 12
- 1696 ——— Ann of Wigwic b^d July 22
 ——— Rich^d of Wigwick b^d Nov. 17
- 1698 ——— Frances d. of Fra^s & Elinor bp. Mar. 31
- 1702 ——— Francis of Wigwig b^d Oct. 15
- 1708 Detton Rich^d b^d Mar. 5
- 1710 Sprott Mary of Wigwig b^d June 27
- 1715 Harnage Sir Rich^d of Belwardine a worthy member of
 Parliament b^d Nov. 30
- 1723 Woolaston Rich^d m^d to Rebecka Jan 18
 Detton Mr Rob^t b^d June 1
 ——— M^{rs} Frances widow b^d July 15

1724 Jenks Benj. Rector b'd May 14

1724 Painter W^m Rector succeeded

1702 Sprott Elioner d. of Fra^s & Elioner of Wigwig bp.
Jan. 10

The existing Register begins 1745.

Rev^d M^r Painter bur^d Oct. 10. 1747

1748 Marg^t Dicken b^d May 20

M^{rs} Judith Ellis of Broseley bur^d Sep. 4. 1769

M^{rs} Alice Dewhurst bur^d July 5 1752

1752 M^{rs} Harnage b^d Oct. 7

M^r James Dewhurst bur^d Dec^r 1759

M^r John Dewhurst bur^d July 30 1760

M^{rs} Panter b^d Dec. 30 1761

M^r W^m Harnage bur^d Dec. 30 1762

M^r W^m Henry Harnage bap. July 31 1763

M^r Roberts bur^d Oct. 14 1763

M^r Henry Harnage bur^d July 22 1764

M^{rs} Harnage bur^d Jan. 1 1765

M^{rs} Dod bur March 31 1766

John Greaves of Wroxeter Bachelor and Alice Dewhurst of
Harley Spinster married 6 July 1769 present Henry
Corbet Dewhurst & Anne Mytton

Alice d. of Rev. M^r Greaves & Alice his w. bur^d May 21 1771

M^{rs} Newton bur^d July 3 1771

James s. of M^r John & Alice Greaves bp Feb. 4 b^d July 22 1772

M^{rs} Greaves w. of Rev^d M^r Greaves bur^d August 3 1772

M^r Thomas Evans of Leighton & M^{rs} Sarah Corfield of Harley
marr^d 17 April 1773

Ann Painter b^d Feb. 12 1774

Rev. M^r John Greaves bur^d May 13 1775

M^{rs} Henrietta Dewhurst b^d Aug. 3 1775

James Dewhurst inf. b^d July 30 1777

Ruth Ann d. of Henry Corbet Dewhurst & Joanna his wife
bap. Oct. 4 1778

Henry Corbet s. of Henry Corbet Dewhurst & Joanna bap.
Oct. 23 1779 bur^d 1780

Rev^d M^r James Dewhurst late Rector bur^d Nov. 22 1781

Joanna d. of Henry C. Dewhurst & Joanna bp. June 27 1781
adm^d into y^e Church 1782

1781 Sep. 12 bur^d M^{rs} Ann Hall of this Town

1782 Thomas Evans Curate

Rev^d Edmund Dana Rector resigned

Rev. J. Gibbon succeeded.

PEDIGREE OF HARNAGE OF BELSWARDYNE & SHINETON CO. SALOP.

Compiled from Herald's *Visitation*, 1623; Burke's *Baronetage*; Blakeway's *Sheriffs of Shropshire*; and Parish Registers and Monuments.

Arms: *Arg.* 6 torteauxes 3, 2, and 1 *gu.*

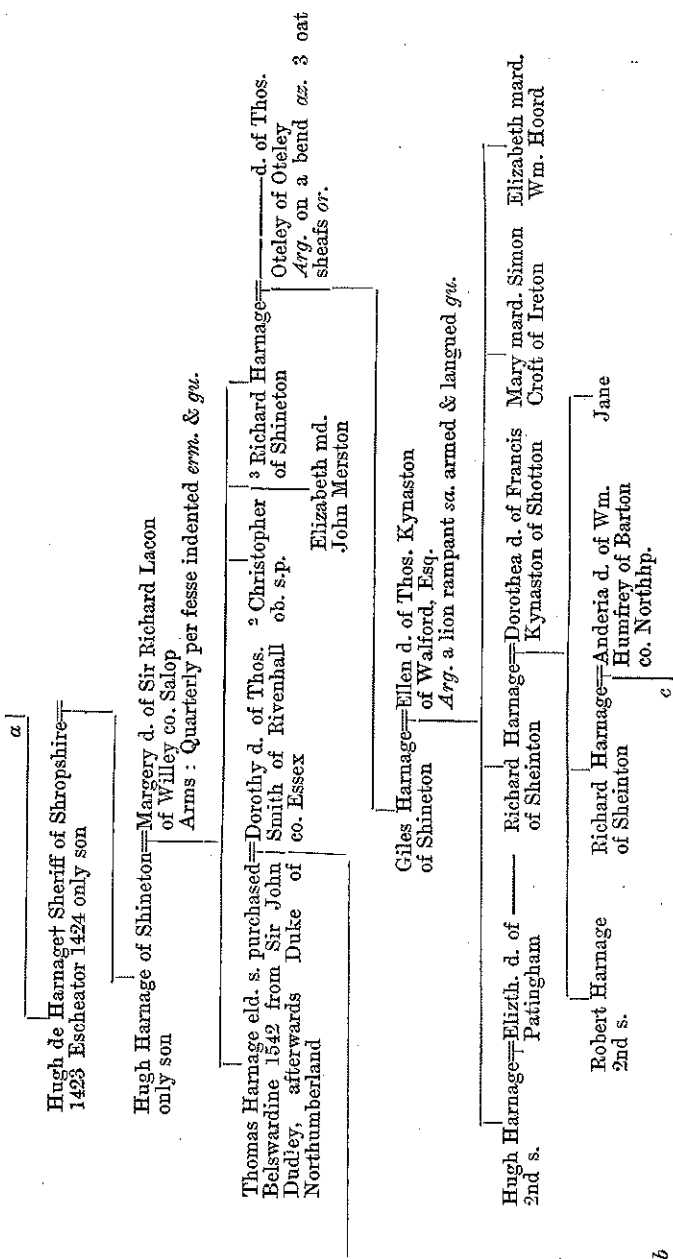
Richard Harnage *—d. of Piart or Peiart
of Harnage 1384 | of Norbury co. Salop

William de Harnage—Joyce d. of Robt. Scriven of Frodesley Alice md. Hugh de
co. Salop, *arg.* guttee de sang, a lion Dudmaston
rampant *sa.*

Hugh de Harnage† M.P. for Bridgnorth—Margaret heiress of Sheinton co. Salop
1402 & 1419 Bailiff of Bridgnorth | (tend. Wm. Sandford of co. Salop)
1403

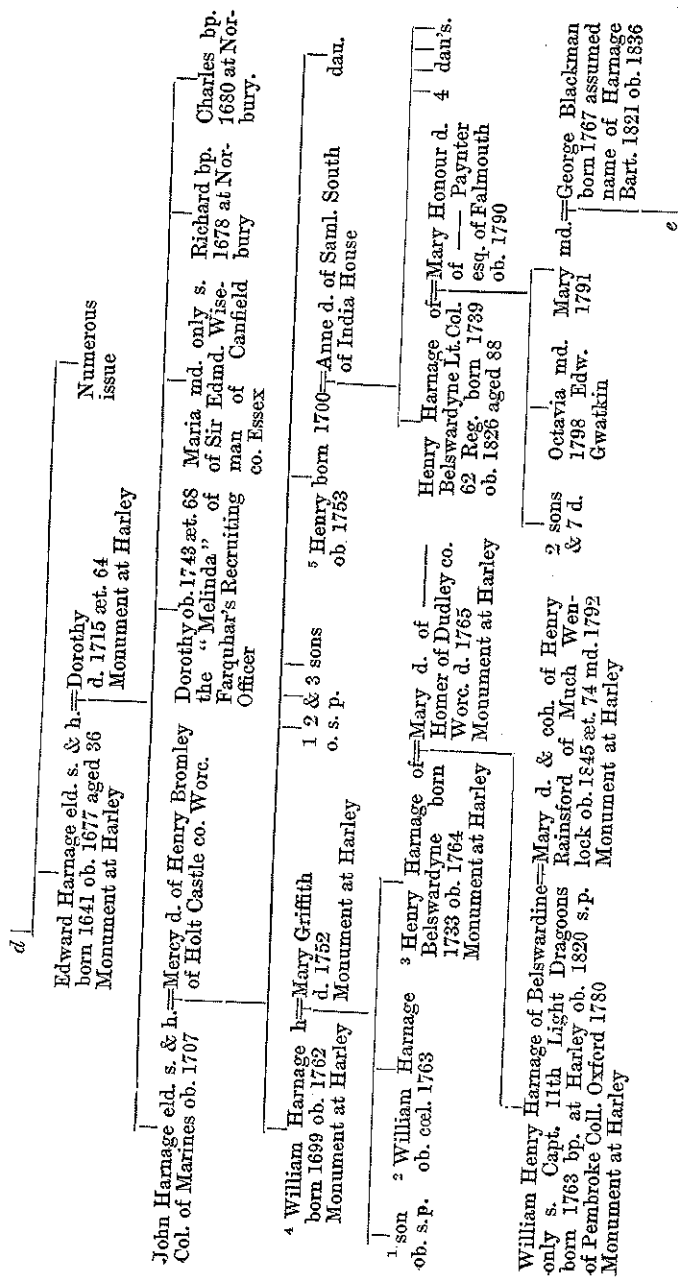
* Her. Vis. gives this as William.

† These two Hughs are omitted in Her. Vis., 1623.



c		Jane	Thomazina d. 1658 at Shineton
John Edward s. p.	Humphrey Harnage of Sheinton— 1623 ob. 1663	Elenor remarrd. Thos. Jackson 1667	
	Richard H. bd. at S. 1685	Mrs. Kath. Harnage burd. at Shineton 1670	Alice bd. at S. 1683
Francis Harnage of—1st, Anne d. of Sir Richd. Mainwaring—2nd, Grace d. of Sir Edwd. Littleton Belwardine 1584 Knt. of Ighfield co. Salop 1580 md. 1582 remd. Silvanus Lacon of West at Pitchford 1560 Coppice co. Salop <i>Arg. 2 bars gu. quartered with</i> <i>chequey arg. & sa.</i>			
Edward Harnage of Belwardyn— eld. & only surviving s. (1623— Her. <i>Vis.</i>) died 1659	Dorothy d. of John Heath of Orton co. Chester	Thomas Francis Dorothy s.p.	Margaret md. Robt. Medcalfe Elianora ob. 1687 burd. at Harley
		Mary ob. 1690 burd. at Harley	Jane md. George Foord of co. Devon ob. 1594 burd. at Harley
Edward Harnage of Belwardyn— eld. s. born 1610 (1663 Her. <i>Vis.</i>) ob. 1663	Mary d. of William Mynne of Somerton co. Oxford ob. 1690	Sir Richard M.P. for Bishops Castle d. 1715 burd. at Harley	* Thomas—Sarah 2nd d. Colonel of of Judge. Marines Jefferies 1623
			* Vincent et. 2 in 1623

* Burke names this George. From this alliance the fine portrait of Judge Jefferies probably came to Belwardine.



<p>Sir George Harnage = Caroline Helena d. & col. of Bartlett 2d. Bart. s. & h. born Goodrich of Saling Grove co. Essex 1792 Capt. R.N. ob. born 1796 md. 1826 ob. 1855 1866 Monument at Monument at Harley</p>	<p>Capt. John Lucie born 1793 o. s.p. & celebs</p>	<p>Revd. Henry Harnage born 1794 ob. 1853</p>	<p>Edward born 1798 ob. 1861</p>
<p>Sir Henry George Harnage 3d Bart = Elizabeth Sarah Maude only s. & h. born 1827 3d. d. of Rev. Edwd. Egremont of Wroxeter</p>			

HARNAGES FROM OTHER SHROPSHIRE PARISH REGISTERS.

Williams H. b^d July 22. 1575 at Upton Magna
John H. & Margery Bayley m^d 1570 at D^o
Eliz. H. & W^m Cale m^d 1575 at D^o
Frances H. d. of Edw^d bp. 1613 at Claverley
Cecilia H. w^o b^d 1620 at Pontesbury
Mary d. of Dan^l H. b^d at D^o 1623
Alice d. of d^o bp 1626 at D^o
John H. b^d 1685 at D^o
Sarah H. w^a bur^d 1689 at D^o
Ales H. w^a bur^d 1694 at Holy Cross Shrewsbury
Ellen H. b^d 1577 at S. Julian Shrewsbury
Tho^s H. & Mary Pettryche m^d 1581 at D^o
Jane d. of Dan^l H. bp. 1635 at D^o
Alice d. of d^o & Jane bp. 1636 at D^o
John s. of John & Martha H. bp. 1676 at S^t Chad Shrewsbury
Mary H. of Hissington p'sh b^d 1689 at Norbury
Rob^t H. of Frodesley gent. b^d 1620 at Condover
Eliz. w. of Dan^l H. of Dodington b^d 1632 at D^o
Edw^d H. of Erdington gent. bur^d 1617 at Quatford

THE COUNCILS AND PARLIAMENTS OF SHREWSBURY.¹

By CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

SECTION I.

It must be a cause of deep regret to all who are interested in the literature and former condition of North Wales, that a country, possessing such numerous and striking claims to attentive consideration, should have produced within itself so few writers of its own history. And the same feeling will arise upon seeking through the pages of its native authors for a connected view of the various circumstances which influenced its political institutions, and finally led to its extinction as an independent sovereignty. An acquaintance with these subjects must be drawn from extraneous sources of information, since the Welsh annals themselves supply but very inadequate materials for the narrative. Nor, if we turn from the relation of national events to the peculiar construction of the language, in which we wish to find them conveyed, rich as it may be in its attractions for philosophical analysis, inviting the subtle speculations of etymologists by its pure and unchanged vocabulary, and developing, as it were, the very elements of primitive speech, shall we find that it has escaped the same comparative degree of neglect. We may indeed grow bewildered by the intricate mysteries of its Triads, become perplexed by the visionary interpretation of Bardic Maxims, and lament the weakness of our faculties whilst endeavouring to unravel the prophetic books of Merlin and the obscure wisdom of Catwg and the Cymry; the thoughts may

¹ From *Arch: Camb*: Vol. 2, 1847.

yield themselves to the pleasing fascination of its melodious poetry, be captivated by the monorhythmic stateliness of the Englynion, and the liquid harmony of the Cowydd, by the flowing muse of Aneurin, and the royal inspiration of Llywarch Hên: we may become enchanted by the wildness of its traditionary lore, admire the profound sagacity of its legislators, and regard with earnest admiration its long array of tutelary saints and heroes; and yet, after all our enthusiasm, obtain but a very superficial insight into the national character.

A keen discernment of the actual value of that kind of knowledge, derivable from existing antiquities, though still clouded by too fond a reliance on fabulous chronology, has, within a late period, become greatly extended, and it continues gradually arresting public attention. Yet it may be reasonably doubted whether the importance of preserving these remains, as anything more than mere objects of idle curiosity, is a sentiment so fully recognized as it deserves. It is indeed very questionable, with all the interest that has been excited, whether the duty of delivering them for the use of posterity, unimpaired by neglect or wilful injury, is a principle their proprietors conscientiously understand.

In glancing, meanwhile, at the many obstacles which still intercept a fair prospect over this extensive field of observation, it must not be supposed that the different exertions hitherto made have escaped the grateful notice of the present enquirer, since it is owing perhaps not more to the intrinsic interest of the subject, than to the erudite labours of Llwyd, Davies, and Owen Pughe, and to the agreeable essays of several anonymous contributors to those valuable Welsh serials which are now extinct, that his own attention became first aroused. He cheerfully acknowledges his great obligations to all of them, and wishes to confess how strongly their unpretending exertions have impelled him to seek for fresh supplies of information. Whilst,

however, he must not be considered as undervaluing the least effort that has been made, still less as attempting to depreciate its legitimate influence on his own feelings, he must honestly state that when looking at its magnitude, he thinks that very little has been accomplished, illustrative of the entire subject. It cannot be otherwise than irksome to expatiate on such deficiencies. Yet they must be gently noted, or the chasms of Welsh history may probably remain, for years in advance, unclosed. It is too apparent, indeed, to all who will permit their patriotic sympathies to flow in a natural current, that the valiant struggles of the Welsh for self-protection, their dauntless resistance to oppression, to capricious exaction, and injustice, have hitherto received only partial and imperfect examination. A succinct and unprejudiced survey of their national character under all its varied aspects of individuality, and of primeval simplicity, from the time of Brutus to Cadwaladyr the Blessed, an account of the real exploits of Arthur, divested of the puerilities of the Mabinogi, and the embellishments of middle-age romance, still remain to be written. Much is left for investigation in the circumstances under which the doctrines of Christianity were delivered by Dyvan and Germanus to the Welsh Church, as well as in the security their disciples found from Saxon cruelty in this secluded asylum. The true intention of those various monuments of stone which lie so profusely scattered over the sublime heights of Arvon, amid the unsheltered plains of Mona, and the dreary fastnesses of Ardudwy, has never been rationally set forth. Their connection with the sepulchral rites and solemn superstitions of the Celtic race, who have consecrated them to our protecting care, their identity with remains existing among the Northern tribes, who adopted the same unsettled and nomadic habits of life, and their incidental notice in the earliest effusions of the Bards, though meriting the most profound attention of ethnographers, have experienced little beyond the casual in-

spection of a passer-by. If we descend to questions of more recent date, we shall behold them shrouded under the same kind of incomplete research, and the progressive happiness which we shall perceive arising out of established institutions, the influence of music and of song, the thirst for martial glory, and the fatal consequences of intestine discord, as they pass before the mind in review, will too clearly intimate how much remains to be performed, before the world can fully comprehend the peculiar character of this important country.

As time moves rapidly onwards it consigns the memory of the past to oblivion, and admonishes the witnesses of its stealthy flight to rescue its evanescent memorials from decay. Whoever undertakes, then, to gather up for the use of succeeding generations any of the scanty materials that can be saved from destruction, will discharge a duty both generous in itself, and deserving the approbation of futurity. The present outline neither attempts so lofty an aim, nor yet to complete the unfinished picture which has been exhibited. That honourable task, indeed, must be accomplished by some one who can, unremittingly, devote many years to the enquiry; who, with silent industry, will be contented to collect from private evidences, from public documents, from personal examination, and from the interchange of thought among minds intent upon the same pursuit, all such facts as the devouring course of ages has spared. Nevertheless, a long cherished interest in these subjects has urged the writer to attempt something towards their elucidation, and the ensuing remarks are offered rather under the impulse of that feeling, which can only exist amongst natives, or those whom birth and education have, as it were, naturalised to the adjacent district, than presented as a finished sketch of the important events chequering the later history of North Wales. Having been placed on the confines of either country, and habituated for many years to hearing the language of one, spoken with

the accent of the other, a Borderer may probably be cleared from the suspicion of taking an unfair view, or of having his mind warped by national prejudice, when he brings before the reader's consideration some of the concluding acts of that great struggle for independence which terminated in the disastrous subjection of the Welsh, and in the complete extinction of their ancient sovereignty.

Without needlessly entering into the various causes which from time to time excited the mutual jealousies of those two contending powers, without discussing the petty feuds, or that exterminating system of warfare which was equally adopted by both, or dwelling upon the pretexts so readily seized upon for making fresh attacks, it will be sufficient introduction to the present enquiry simply to state, that at a very early period the English and Welsh came into hostile collision, and that even going back so far as the ninth century, we shall perceive the often disputed question of tribute constituting the ostensible reason for invasion. To a nation so sensitive of provocation, so proverbially irascible as the Welsh, the idea of being looked upon as a conquered people, and compelled to pay homage, as inferiors, to their stranger assailants, could not fail of exasperating, or arousing their fiercest passions, of awakening a spirit of heartfelt resentment, and impelling them onwards into vigorous resistance. No wonder, then, that we may so often see them rushing dauntlessly forward in defence of their common country, forgetful, for the moment, of all those private dissensions and fatal animosities which were in reality the latent cause of their weakness, and resolving to yield up even life itself rather than recede an inch from their native soil, or part with one of their inherent rights. Offa had vainly tried to check their impetuous inroads by that gigantic Dyke, which, spurning all the natural obstructions of mountain and morass, may still be traced from the mouth of the Wye to the parish of Mold, in Flintshire. The conflict of St. Stephen's day, however,

proved how utterly insufficient was this stupendous effort of wild and tedious industry to break the assaults of his enemies, still less to prevent his own army from disgrace. Does the inglorious retreat of Egbert from Anglesey, a monarch under whom the sevenfold powers of the Heptarchy became first virtually united, fail to shew how thoroughly imbued with patriotic energy were the followers of Mervyn when they retrieved the sad disaster of Llanvaes, and drove the Saxon from the island? Does the resistance of Rhodri and Gwyrriad to the confederated Danes and the Mercian Berthred, stamp the ancient Briton with the brand of cowardice? Does the field of Gwaith Hirbarth refuse to vindicate the bravery of Howel, or the battle of Llanwennoc the prowess of Einion? Is the heroism of Anarawd, or Rhodri's revenge at Cymryd, only a tradition echoed by the rocks of Conwy? Was the destruction of Alfred's forces near Brecon, and the routing of the mingled array of Northmen and Saxons at Crosford, only the image of the chronicler's dream? Are there no characters still to be traced on the filial pillar of Eliseg in the vale of Llangollen? But let us desist from recounting these valiant exploits of a people so profuse in life, and confine the attention more closely to the moving causes of their subjugation.

These may be sought for, first, in the peculiar nature of their Government. It was an Elective Monarchy: to this must be attributed the perpetual discord that reigned in the councils of the favoured prince, as well as the restless intrigues which weakened his authority, or disturbed his repose. The law of Gavelkind, by which the lands of the father were equally divided at his death among his sons, or the lands of a brother, if he had no issue, among all his own brethren, by constantly diminishing the patrimonial estate, impoverished and weakened the possessors. So imperfect a notion of what actually constituted political power undoubtedly afflicted the country very greatly, nourished all those internal disorders which kept it in a state of

turbulent excitement, and invariably prevented a prompt and determined co-operation in defence of the common interests. This law, which was not repealed until the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII., was most prejudicial to the general strength of the nation. By perpetually changing the owners of the soil it held the reigning prince in a state of extreme uncertainty; his prospects of support and his government became equally fluctuating, and that unhealthy condition of affairs was soon induced which rendered the country a sickly, and an easy, prey for the rapaciousness of the first daring invader to take advantage of. These two circumstances in the constitution of North Wales will at once disclose the origin of those intestine broils which afflicted the nation, perpetually harassing to its rulers, and paralysing their best intentioned exertions, since they had, in fact, the irksome task of appeasing civil confusion and discord before they could effectively take the field against their foreign enemy.

In illustration of what has been advanced, we find Madoc ap Meredyth, the last prince of Powys, dividing his kingdom by the law of Gavelkind amongst his three sons, and, thus separating the paternal inheritance, it immediately fell under the power of the English crown. We see how, for the sake of personal aggrandisement, or to gratify private enmity, after they had all fought together in the same cause against Henry I., Owen Cyveilioc and Owen Vychan despoiled one of their neighbouring allies of his possessions in Powysland; we see Owen Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gryffydd quickly profiting by their acts of treachery and injustice, sharing betwixt them the recently acquired territory, and then adding to it the lands of Cyveilioc. We find Cadwaladyr unnaturally driven forth as an exile by the same Owen Gwynedd, and compelled to seek an asylum, from his brother's cruelty, in the court of the English king: we find Prince David ruthlessly shutting up his brother Gryffydd for years in the desolate stronghold of Criccaeth, deaf to the

entreaties of that courageous bishop of Bangor who implored his release (and who subsequently placed his kingdom under an interdict, in consequence of his refusal to listen to his prayers,) impervious to all feeling of natural humanity and affection, and only brought at length to a sense of compassion by the threatening retribution of his royal uncle.

These, as we have observed, were two powerful causes of the secret weaknesses of the Welsh, two constant obstacles to their social happiness, and to their advancement in the principles of sound legislation. However great an amount of obloquy then has rested upon the national character, or however justly reproach may attach itself to individuals, some extenuation must be sought for them in this explanation. The uses of the age must help to palliate such transgressions; something, too, must be attributed to the reckless spirit of the times, as well as to the faults of a system which unavoidably and unconsciously produced such pernicious effects upon the community at large. And certainly, if we would fairly estimate the conduct of the Welsh chieftains towards each other, or if we would wish to pronounce an equitable opinion on the amount of wickedness supposed at that period to be attached to such transactions, we must do it by placing them in contrast with the contemporaneous crimes of the English court.

The cruelties of Cadwallon and Madoc ap Rhiryd, the latter of whom slew two, and the former three, of his uncles, outrages, if viewed by themselves, sufficiently revolting to all our sense of private duties or public morality, yet are not, in themselves, greater instances of guilt than Offa's revenge upon Ethelred, or Edward's upon Adelwulf, whilst they must be certainly reputed as much less unnatural than Elfrida's treacherous assassination of her step-son. Nor will the whole annals of Celtic barbarism reveal any actors more detestable than Ælfleda and Eadburgha, who remorselessly imbrued their hands in the blood of

their husbands. What are the murders of Morgan ap Cadwgan and Howel ap Ievan, when set in opposition with the brutal defacement of Elgiva's beauty, by the priestly Odo, or with Eleanor's relentless triumph over the fair Rosamond? How light is the faithlessness of ap Cynan, when balanced against the ingratitude and perfidy of William Bruce! Owen's abduction of the wife of Gerald can hardly be deemed more heinous than Edgar's violation of Wulfroeda. The imprisonments of Iago and Llewelyn ap Iorwerth were not more iniquitous than Beaucherk's savage treatment of his brother Robert at Caerdiff; than Henry the Second's conduct to his wife and daughter-in-law; nor than the rebellion and fraternal strife of his children. Surely the beheading of Puleston was as impartial an act of retribution as the ignominious execution of Maelgwyn Vychan, and far more merciful than the butchery of Rhys ap Meredyth, at York, and Prince David, at Shrewsbury. Can the lapse of ages obliterate from the pages of history the inexpiable atrocities of John upon his defenceless nephew, or his pitiless confinement of Eleanor, at Bristol; can it purify the Tower from the foul deeds of Richard III? The universal opinion of a more civilised era has not stamped the internecine struggles of the sovereigns of North and South Wales with more opprobrium than it has assigned to the Jewish massacres of Cœur de Lion, or to the sanguinary wars of the Roses. But instinctive horror recoils from pursuing such sickening recitals, and offended humanity would willingly veil them in oblivion.

There was also another reason for the misery and disorders incessantly convulsing the nation. The imposition of tribute, an exaction obnoxious from its origin, was a ceaseless cause of discontentment, tyranny, and dispute. The victory of Athelstane, at Hereford (A.D. 933), is perhaps the earliest instance of this hateful tax being actually paid, since the days when Caradoc's unconquered soul resisted Roman

domination, although the indiscreet counsel of Rhodri had previously recommended it to his descendants. Edgar, it is true, consented to commute the stipulated delivery of gold for three hundred wolves' heads, hoping, by that means, to rid the country of animals which had so injuriously ravaged the flocks of both kingdoms. But we hear no more of the subject at all until the days of Harold, when the Welsh, worn out by his restless persecutions, were again reduced to bear the odious burden, and compelled to deliver up hostages for its proper fulfilment. We know not, indeed, how long they then continued to discharge it with punctuality, but we may be certain, as the oppression was impatiently endured, it would be evaded at the earliest moment that presented a fair opportunity for resistance. The next notice, however, that occurs is in the reign of the Norman conqueror, who exacted their homage, and an oath of fealty, as feudal chief. He evidently considered them as on the same footing with his other vassals, but an early outbreak shewed how entirely he had mistaken the national character of the Welsh. Certainly, when Stephen concluded his peace, more than a century afterwards, their freedom was unconditionally granted, and the hateful question of homage not even mentioned. A similar lenity was not, however, experienced during the reign of his successor, whose victories over Owen Gwynedd terminated by enforcing the performance of the empty ceremony in the heart of the vanquished country, where he also received the two sons of the fallen prince as securities against future disobedience. This treaty (A.D. 1158), forced rather by necessity than fear upon the Welsh, kept them only for a short period in a state of humility and subjection; for the natives of South Wales, having gained an important advantage in the meanwhile over the English troops, immediately asserted their independence. Although they could only retain it for a brief space of time, yet this was sufficiently long to inspire their countrymen in the

North with similar hopes of liberating themselves from their own yoke.

And now do we behold, for the first moment, the subsidence of private jealousies, and the chieftains of Gwynedd, Powys, and Dinefawr, vigorously uniting themselves together to retrieve the disasters which weighed down the energies of their country. Had they always been actuated by so wise and generous a spirit, it would have been easy to foresee the prosperous results of such a confederacy. But this policy was unhappily uncongenial to the natural disposition of the people. The strength of the present league had the effect of averting the barbarous intentions of Henry, who was bent upon utterly exterminating his adversaries from sea to sea. The camp of *Caer Drewyn* still bears testimony to the precautionary skill that was exerted on the emergency. Even as the heavens fought against the kings of holy writ at *Megiddo*, so did they now pour out their fury upon Henry. The long ridges of the *Berwyn* interposed their lofty acclivities to his savage ambition, and the peaty waters of the *Ceiriog* were stained with a fresh tinge by the blood of his slaughtered followers. The monarch himself scarcely eluded death as he crossed the stream. His forces were on all sides ignominiously routed. He had only left to him, after "*Corwen's day of glory*," the brutal revenge, so common to the age, of retaliating his losses on the defenceless hostages consigned to his charge, and he consoled himself under his disgrace by putting out the eyes of the four Welsh princes as soon as he reached London.

Circumstances like these will serve to convey some idea why the feelings of the Welsh were continually in a state of irritation, why there existed such bitter animosity to their Saxon neighbours. At a time, too, when prædatory incursions upon each other were regarded rather in the light of chivalrous forays than ruptures of the peace, there was always something to excite the suspicions, or provoke the hostilities, of both

parties. They lived with passions sensitive of every pretext for mutual collision, and earnestly sought for, rather than strove to avoid, new opportunities of gratifying their revenge.

It may be reasonably enquired, whether the Welsh had any sufficient grievance to warrant their defection when truces had been agreed upon, and whether there existed in reality any justifiable motive for their hostile movements? In reply to this question it may first be stated, generally, that a free born tribe would naturally be found impatient of coercion; they could hardly suffer their wanderings to be impeded by the artificial outline drawn by Offa; and they would fearlessly deride the bodily mutilation threatened by Harold, for passing over its boundary. They could not possibly regard with sentiments of affection a line of kings whose undistracted efforts were directed to making fresh acquisitions, from their own contiguous territory, and whose wakeful policy lay in placing its inhabitants, when conquered, under a severity of laws unknown in the more powerful state. Or, descending into later ages, they could not cheerfully acquiesce in all the commercial restrictions, the pecuniary amercements, or the fifteen penal disabilities which affected them in their principal transactions with the English. How could they behold themselves shut out from all posts of honour and of confidence, and foreigners usurping the distinctions which their own prowess had paved the way for creating? The English barons might exult in having extorted their charters of liberty from the Plantagenets, but the scattered remnants of the ancient Britons could only depend upon the righteousness of their cause; their personal valour could alone shield their homes from desolation, and themselves from extinction.

Their actual condition shall, however, be placed more distinctly before the reader's view. The first statute of Westminster (3rd Edw. I. A.D. 1275), which contained such important provisions for the redress of evils in the

realm where it was enacted, declared that as the king's writs were not current either in the Marches, or in Wales itself, the inhabitants were dependent on the absolute will of the sovereign (clause xviii). In the second year of Edward of Caernarvon, it was decreed that all bailiffs, king's officers, and sheriffs, should not be made by the justices of Wales without the assent of the chamberlain, a functionary invariably appointed by the crown; and that no Welshman should hold these offices, provided an Englishman could be found to discharge the duties. The same document in which the foregoing answer was conveyed, set forth the immense injury suffered by the people of North Wales through the defect of the royal briefs, and the neglect of suits in Chancery. (Rot. Parl. vol. i. p. 273.) In the 27th of Edw. III. (A.D. 1353), the merchants were prohibited under forfeiture of all their lands and tenements, from exporting their wool, which 7th clause of the *Ordinacio Stapularum*, though equally applying to the English and Irish, must have been peculiarly injurious to a pastoral people, who supported themselves by their flocks, like the Welsh (*Statutes of the Realm*, vol. ii. p. 334. Rot. Parl. vol. ii. p. 246-7). Again, when the citizens of Hereford complained that their Welsh creditors enforced the payment of their debts, and seized upon their goods and chattels in exchange for their own merchandise, a royal writ was promptly issued to the justices to prevent this honest method of redress; and it is almost needless to add that replevin immediately followed the annoyance of distraint. (Rot. Parl. vol. ii p. 397.) It might be supposed these acts were all that injustice could frame; but more severe provisions remained to be established in the reign of Henry IV. In the second year after he ascended the throne, he summoned a Parliament to Westminster, when the deliberate voice of the assembled representatives ordained that no one whole born in Wales should purchase lands upon the Marches or Borders; that they should neither bear office nor

armour, and that such as dwelt in franchised towns should produce sureties for their good behaviour. (Statutes of the Realm, 2nd Hen. IV. chap. xi.) The next act of his reign (4th Hen. IV. A.D. 1402, chap. xxvi. to xxxiv.) followed up the same stringent ordinances, by decreeing that no Englishman should be convicted in Wales, and that no minstrels should be suffered to gather the people together. How vainly was the instrument of the domestic harper endeavoured to be silenced and broken; how fruitless was it to check the magic effusions of Bleddyn, Casnodyn, and ap Gwilym! The Unbenaeth Prydain might have been hushed for a little space in those rude halls where it was once so joyfully sung, but the strains of liberty could never be effaced from recollection; the martial Cornbuelin might be unstrung, and the mellow sounding Crwth lie tuneless upon the mournful hearth, but their music would live in the undying affections of the people: the aged bard might be driven into banishment, as an eyeless, mutilated spectre, but still

The harp of Cambria would, in other hands,
Remind the Cambrian of his father's fame.

The statute goes on to state that no assemblages should be made throughout the country, that they should neither victual their castles, nor retain them, nor fill any post of honour or dignities whatsoever. Even Englishmen, if married to Welsh women, were declared to be similarly incapacitated. The discredit of such enactments must not rest entirely against the king; his lords and commoners must equally share the blame of such harsh and impolitic measures. The petitions of the latter indeed asked for them; the Parliament bore a close resemblance to its present form, and the powers of each estate were fully settled; so that this was, undoubtedly, a legislative assembly, and the clear interpreter of the national voice. How was it possible, then, for neutrality to exist? or how could confidence, or sincerity, or friendship, spring out of such vicious

maxims of government, and such popular ill-will? But no sooner are these restrictions removed than the political disease is at once cured; no sooner are the laws of the two countries consolidated, then anarchy and discontentment instantly die away; and a new body, full of strength and beauty, occupies their place.

———— Simul alba nautis
 Stella refulsit,
 Defluit saxis agitatus humor,
 Concidunt venti, fugiuntque nubes,
 Et minax (quod sic volnere) ponto
 Unda recumbit.

And may it not be asked, how did England, so tardily alive to the advantages derivable from leniency and conciliation, though having already, for more than two centuries, witnessed their happy fruits in her treatment of Wales, endeavour to reap profit from the trial? how did she govern herself in succeeding years, or learn to compose her differences with her other dependencies? did experience remove her prejudices, or severity increase her power? were religious animosities and civil contest more easily suppressed by persuasive argument, or by the shackles of tyranny? Let the enactments, remaining so long unrepealed on her statute books, answer the questions; let the fiscal duties imposed upon her foreign colonies testify how utterly powerless she found herself to enforce such arbitrary restraints; let her oppressive taxation of America shew her entire want of prudence and magnanimity. The imagination may indeed still tell how the heroic bark, which carried Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd across the desert waters of the ocean, wafted with its crew the seeds of that liberty and independence which, withering or crushed in their native soil, were destined to produce "the mighty Spirit of the Future" in the distant West; but, as the more conscientious duty of considering the real cause of Cambria's fall is the intention of the present sketch, it must be restricted, as much as possible, to matters of fact.

SECTION II.

It has already been mentioned that the question of homage perpetually involved the Welsh princes in disputes with the English crown, and it evidently appears that this imposition was never complied with until every expedient had been adopted for avoiding it. At an earlier period there might, indeed, have been some doubt as to the exact nature of this claim; it is not very clear how far it might have been virtually recognised, but when King John ascended the throne, the intestine divisions of the Welsh had so weakened them, that, unable any longer to struggle effectually against their neighbours, they formally submitted to a domination which they had in reality no power to resist. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth was about to espouse Joanna, the natural daughter of the English monarch, and this alliance afforded a good opportunity for placing the peace of the two kingdoms upon a secure foundation. Before this marriage the Welsh prince entered into a formal treaty with her father (1201), in the presence of the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph, the High Justiciary, and several of the chief nobility, when he swore perpetual fealty in the most ample manner. On other occasions there might have been some reservation, but on this the feudal homage was complete, the form was fully expressive of vassalage, and, as far as it was possible for a public instrument to effect such an object, the dependance of the Welsh crown was unconditionally acknowledged.

On reading the clauses of this treaty,¹ we find them couched in a spirit of international wisdom, apparently very equitable, and the regulations laid down for the trial of disputes of any border conflicts that might arise, are seen standing in singular relief to the general usages of any age characterized, in other respects, by numerous acts of injustice and barbarism. A charter,

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 84.

issued in the preceding year in favour of the Jews, may be alluded to here, as remarkably analogous to it in these respects, though Llewelyn obtained by homage what this persecuted race had to procure at the cost of four thousand marks.¹ This may seem like a large sum for purchasing so uncertain a possession as the royal favour, but it was a thousand marks less than Walter de Gray paid to the same monarch for the chancellorship a very few years afterwards. In looking at the result, we find the comparison strictly maintainable, since the fidelity of the Welsh prince and John's conciliatory conduct towards the Jews were both equally transient.

It is highly probable that this union betwixt Llewelyn and Joanna had for a time the effect of softening the animosities which disturbed the repose of both countries. John treated his son-in-law with great affection, and settled upon Joanna, as her dowry, the manor of Ellesmere,² in Shropshire; she also held lands in Condover, in the same county;³ even his chaplain, Ostricious, was provided for at the royal charge until the king

¹ See the Charter 2nd John, i. 49, as printed in the admirable *History of the Jews in England*, by John Elijah Blunt, Esq., p. 182.

² At the time of the general survey, Ellesmere was held by Earl Roger, and subsequently under the Crown by David, the son of Owen, who married Emma, sister of Henry II. Llewelyn had full seisin of the manor in the 6th of John (Rot. Lit. Claus. 23), and of the castle in the same year (Rot. Lit. Pat. 51). It appears, from the patent rolls of the 10th year of this reign, that Bartholomew Turot was governor of the castle at that time, and ordered to give it up to the custody of the Earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, and to Thomas de Erdington. So that the king reserved the disposal of the government of the castle, Ellesmere being a frontier town and of importance to the marches, and gave merely the rents and profits to his son-in-law (Rot. Lit. Pat. 88); and in proof of this, we find amongst the entries on the Roll of the Great Pipe, 13th of Hen. III., that Llewelyn made a payment of ten pounds a year for his land in Ellesmere. (See the Grant, Rot. Chart. 147.)

³ She held lands in Cunedure de Balio Regis to the amount of £12 13s. a-year. (Rot. Magn. Pip. 13th Hen. III. See the writ for this assignment Rot. Lit. Claus. 12, 6th of John.)

could provide him a suitable benefice.¹ Soon after these events, Gwenwynwyn, chief of Powys, was summoned to attend a council at Shrewsbury (Oct. 1202), and Llewelyn seized the opportunity afforded by his absence to invade his possessions. Under ordinary circumstances there would have been nothing remarkable in such a proceeding, but it gave rise, on the present occasion, to an unhappy estrangement of the English monarch's regard for his son-in-law. We know not indeed what constituted the offence of the Prince of Powys-land, but in the convention held at Shrewsbury on the vigil of St. Denis (May 24, 1208), he was compelled to swear fidelity to the English king, and covenanted to give him immediately twenty hostages for the full observance of the treaty, and if he did not procure more than twelve of the number in the course of the eight following days, he consented to remain as a forfeited captive, in the monarch's power, till the remainder were placed at his disposal; whilst, on the other hand, John undertook to preserve his territories free from inroads and damage during the interval. Whilst engaged in this stipulation, John had not calculated on the ambitious views of his son-in-law, who, with the natural disposition of his countrymen, had long cast a wistful eye over the more fertile possessions to the south of the Berwyn, nor had he believed his disposition was incapable of being wrought upon by the favours he had already experienced. It might, indeed, be stated in vindication of Llewelyn's aggressions, that he conceived he had an indefeasible right to the allegiance of the Prince of Powys-land; whatever claim, however, he might set up in this respect, it was always indignantly resisted.

Taking advantage, then, of these circumstances on the Borders, and the confused state of affairs in England, Llewelyn vigorously invaded the neighbouring territory,

¹ The king allowed Ostricius five pounds a year until he could provide for him, which he afterwards did by procuring him a prebend in Ellesmere. (Rot. Claus. 5, 43, 60.)

and carried his arms into the southern Principality. It was for a short time only that he could pursue his course of devastation, for meeting with a timely check from the army of the English king, he yielded himself up to the monarch's clemency, and received a gracious pardon by the hands of Ostricious, his chaplain, whom he had dispatched to Bristol (Dec. 26, 1208), for the purpose of obtaining it.¹ This was not, however, the first occasion on which the Welsh Prince had to entrust himself to the tender consideration of John; as in the second year of this reign, the monarch addressed a writ ordering Llewelyn to meet Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Geoffrey Fitz Piers, son of the Earl of Essex, at Shrewsbury, to speak together on the subjects then in dispute. He had previously invited him to a conference at Westminster, and granted him, according to the usual custom, a safe conduct for himself and followers, but it does not appear that Llewelyn thought proper to comply with the king's wishes.²

It might naturally be supposed that the late advances of the English monarch would have served in some degree to soften the impetuosity and check the ambition of the Welsh Prince; but, in point of moral feeling, these two leaders stood on an equality, and whilst the one, forgetful of his sworn fidelity and of the recent forgiveness he had experienced, was again carrying desolation through Powys-land, the other, in a spirit of revenge for his inability to punish his enemies by the open chances of war, savagely put all the hostages to death who were confided to his charge. This act of atrocity must have struck all the noble families in both countries with terror, and taught them the necessity of vigorously uniting themselves together for self-protection.

All at once Welsh discords were forgotten, and the three chieftains, who had recently been at war with

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 102.

² Rot. Chart. 103, 104.

each other, now only thought of the most effective measures to ward off the invasion of the English king. A pretext was afforded them in the cruel execution of Rhys ap Maelgwn, a Welsh noble only seventeen, who had been executed, in obedience to the royal commands, by the constable of Shrewsbury Castle.¹ Such an act of barbarity was sufficient excuse for Llewelyn marching with his troops towards this ancient town, where he gained admittance (A.D. 1215) without much resistance; and resumed the ancient sovereignty of Pengwern, after it had been lost to his ancestors for upwards of four centuries.

A possession obtained with so little difficulty was as speedily lost. The unquiet spirit of Llewelyn led him to make new conquests in South Wales, and during his career of victory in that quarter, he received intelligence that Gwenwynwyn, Prince of Powys-land, had forsaken his cause and again placed himself under the protection of the English monarch. The unwelcome news struck very deeply in Llewelyn's mind, because the Prince had great power and influence throughout the country, and was moreover capable of furnishing powerful resistance to the incursions of his enemies upon the marches. It was in vain that he sent Bishops and Abbots to remonstrate with him upon this defection, that he reminded him of his oath of allegiance so lately taken, or that he bade him read his written promises of faithful adherence to his own cause.² He had therefore no alternative left him but to chastise a vassal who was both undeserving and insensible of more lenient treatment. It is interesting to trace the movements of the belligerent parties at this period; to follow Llewelyn as he hastily traverses the southern principality, and observe him disposing as he thought fit of its castles, cantrefs, and commots to his supporters, pursuing, in fact, a career of uninterrupted

¹ Price, p. 232.

² Price, pp. 241, &c.

prosperity until he became acquainted with Gwenwynwyn's abandonment of his engagements. The English king's attention meanwhile was urgently called both to these outbreaks and the more formidable insurrection of his own Barons; excommunicated by Innocent the Third, menaced by Lewis the Dauphin of France, and assailed by his most powerful subjects, he knew not whither to turn for tranquillity. He now sought in turn the friendship of the Welsh, who, with that tone of independence which had always characterized them as a people, refused to support the treacherous intentions of a tyrant. In revenge for their firm resistance to his wishes, he immediately destroyed the castles of Hay and Radnor; as Clun belonged to the Fitz-Alans, it probably shared no better a fate, whilst Oswestry was burnt to the ground.

John passed rapidly forwards to Shrewsbury, where he tarried four days, thence to the castle of Bridgenorth, and so on to the West of England. In less than two months after these events, death gave that repose to his spirit which his own line of conduct would never have procured him, and for a brief interval there was peace established between the two kingdoms.

At the time Henry III. ascended the throne, it can, however, scarcely be said that contentment generally existed amongst his subjects. The Barons had suffered so many years of thralldom under his father, that they could scarcely venture to entrust at once the sacred charge of their liberties to the keeping of so untried and youthful a personage as the new monarch, and they soon expressed this sense of their distrust by calling upon his advisers, since he was of too tender years to exercise any legal acts in his own person, to ratify the great charter so recently obtained from his predecessor. He had not in fact been more than two weeks in possession of the crown, before his subjects demanded the establishment of the rights they had been so long and vigorously contending for; nor did

they consider it sufficient guarantee for their perpetual security to receive at this earliest moment their simple confirmation, since they repeated their demands the following year, when a few additional clauses, probably to make amends for the omission of some expunged, were incorporated in the statute.

If the English looked with such suspicion on their sovereign, bound to him as they were by so many ties of national dependence, of fealty, or of feudal tenure, can it then be presumed that the Welsh, who virtually owed none of this allegiance to the Saxon suzerain, and who were not vassals to the race of the Plantagenets, would tamely acquiesce in the mandates of their commissioners without uttering a murmur of expostulation? It is truly most unreasonable to regard them during the long reign we are entering upon as being in a state of rebellion. They were not, in the first place, looked upon in the same light as their neighbours; they already possessed an inheritable throne, and a native monarch who had the first claim upon their obedience. Whatever respect therefore was manifested to Henry in his nonage must have been the spontaneous effusion of their native kindness and generosity, a feeling akin to that which still greets the English wanderer amid their romantic land. When we consider the line of policy adopted by his own people, both during this and later periods of his reign, it will be seen that Henry could adduce no paramount claim for such a display of their affection. There is certainly no ground for expecting that to defection from Llewelyn the Welsh should also have added greater attachment to their oppressors than Henry's own people evinced. The transactions of the period will, however, best be understood by examining the official records which have been preserved, though it may be not unadvisable to bear in mind that, as all these documents embody the statements of one side only, there is a possibility of their being imbued with the colouring imparted to them by those who were interested actors.

The English Barons, during the first two years of Henry's reign, had been sedulously cultivating the friendship of Llewelyn, and up to this point the aspect of affairs in the North was prosperous. But as soon as their confederacy with the French king was broken through and himself defeated, it became the interest of Henry's advisers to weaken the growing power of Wales. William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, was naturally anxious to urge forward a measure of this nature, as he had suffered from Llewelyn's incursions in the south. Gallo, the Papal Legate, who had recently conveyed to the Welsh Prince the sentence of excommunication, and those of the nobility who were appointed to manage the business of the state during the minority, accordingly summoned him to appear at Worcester (12th Feb. 1218) and render homage. That nothing might seem outwardly deficient in respect, an honourable escort was ordered to attend him hither, and the same prelates and nobles subsequently witnessed his extorted confessions. There is to those who, after this lapse of time, can dispassionately scrutinize the hidden motives of the agents who performed a part in the scene that was acted, something truly repulsive and pitiable in the conduct of men, who, having once secured the person of the royal Prince, should take perfidious advantage of his restraint to effect his humiliation.¹ The provisions of Magna Charta, which decreed so justly how all causes of dispute should be settled, were thus soon forgotten; a circumstance not much, indeed, calculated to excite surprise, when we find the clause itself omitted² in Henry's very first con-

¹ *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 150.

² These very important clauses do not exist at all in the charter granted in the first year of his reign in the Durham Manuscript, which has been hitherto adopted as the one of greatest authority, but are supplied in the printed copies from an entry transcript in the Red Book of the Exchequer at Dublin. In the charter of the second year of Henry's reign they are altogether wanting. The reader will hardly forget, as he passes over the events which will be noticed in

firmation. On the present occasion the Welsh monarch surrendered Caermarthen and Cardigan Castles, as well as bound himself by oath not to harbour the king's enemies. By way of striking a balance and somewhat softening matters, the council permitted him to hold the custody of Gwenwynwyn's lands in North Wales and Montgomeryshire, of which the Prince of Powysland had been despoiled by John, Llewelyn contracting during the Prince's minority to furnish reasonable subsistence for the children, whether they were brought up in England or Wales, as well as covenanting to pay the dowry of Margaret, the widow. Another document in the Clause Rolls issued by himself sets forth that he agreed to hold the aforementioned castles, with all their appurtenances, until Henry himself came of age ; to keep them in repair at his own cost, and to defend them against the King's enemies, receiving power in the meanwhile to appoint officers over each, and to exercise the government over their appropriated jurisdiction. He also consented that the King's bailiff should hold his court in these respective castles and territories for England according to the law of England, and for Welshmen by that of Wales ; giving up as hostages for the due observance of these articles Maelgwn, the son of Rhys ; Rhys, the son of Griffith ;

the ensuing narrative, that the following clauses were in the provisions granted at Runemede, but erased on the first opportunity after John's death. That this fact should now be noticed for the first time, as it is presumed, is one among many proofs to show how partially the history of the fall of Welsh liberty has hitherto been considered. The words are these :—

"Si Rex Walenses dissaisierit vel elongaverit de terris vel libertatibus vel de rebus aliis in Anglia vel in Wallia, eis statim sine placito reddantur, et si fuerint dissaisiti vel elongati de tenementis suis Angliæ per patrem vel fratrem Regis sine iudicio parium suorum, Rex eis sine dilatione justitiam exhibebit eo modo quo exhibet Anglicis justitiam de tenementis Angliæ, secundum legem Angliæ, et de tenementis Walliæ secundum legem Marchiæ, et de tenementis Marchiæ, secundum legem Marchiæ. Idem faciant Walenses Regi et suis."

Madoc, the son of Griffith ; and Marenduc, the son of Robert.¹

There was also confirmed to Joanna, by a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Warwickshire, the manor of Budiford (Bidford) in that county, which had been granted to her by John as part of her marriage portion² Subsequently leave was given to hold a market there on Tuesdays, provided it did not interfere with those in the neighbourhood.

It is very easy to perceive that the small favours which were now shewn to Llewelyn were in themselves not only of a temporary duration, but were coupled with so many guards and restrictions, that they were in truth scarcely any favours at all ; they were rather the means of secretly destroying his personal freedom, and of gradually entangling him in the meshes of an artful policy, from which it would be impossible to extricate himself.

We have no means of ascertaining what was the real state of feeling existing between the two countries during the interval of this arrangement and Henry's visit to Shrewsbury. On the 1st of May, however, he addressed a letter, from Campden, in Gloucestershire, to Llewelyn, informing him that he was on the road to meet him ; that Fulke de Breaute would give him safe conduct to Shrewsbury, where he wished, in conjunction with the legate, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, to hold a Colloquium with him on the Monday after the Ascension.³ The uneasiness Llewelyn felt at the unnatural conduct of his eldest son Griffith, might have been an inducement on his part for complying with this invitation. But besides the prudence of coming to some explanation with the English council, for those outrages committed by Griffith in keeping possession

¹ Rot. Claus. 226, 417, 419.

² Rot. Claus. 378, 379.

³ *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 159.

of the cantref of Merioneth, in defiance of his father's threatening, there were differences which required settling betwixt himself and the Earl of Pembroke. An arrangement indeed respecting these complicated disputes was attempted, but very badly conceived, since all that was effected was to proclaim a truce that should continue until the feast of St. Michael following, which was leaving the real question at issue as unsettled as before. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that in less than a week after the expiration, the influence of William Marshall should so far prevail as to give an unfavourable colouring to the deeds of Llewelyn in South Wales, and bring him into fresh difficulties.¹

One permanent effect, however, of this Colloquium was to place David, the second son, under the English king's guardianship, a protection afforded him to the disparagement of his brother, both in consequence of his being the legitimate son of the English king's sister, and because he was likely to be a less dangerous enemy to fill the Welsh throne.² Henry remained at Shrewsbury until the 8th of May, 1220, and left the county by way of Bridgenorth, for Westminster.

SECTION III.

The preceding paragraphs will have conveyed some idea of the disturbed and suspicious state of feeling which pervaded the hearts of the Welsh during the long reign of Henry III. The course of events, indeed, ran dark and troubled, and there seemed already but a faint prospect of their ultimately being able to stem the current that was setting so strongly against their liberty, and gradually diminishing their hopes of main-

¹ See the different grievances alleged on the part of the Earl of Pembroke in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 164, from the Close Rolls, 4 Hen. III.

² *Fœdera*, vol. i. p. 159.

taining independence. Occasionally a gleam of light burst forth to cheer their drooping energies; some temporary advantage inspired them with fresh courage, and the political mistakes of their adversaries were not entirely without their value, by reanimating the sinking spirits of the oppressed. An illustration of this may be taken from the transactions in which Llewelyn was engaged during the summer of 1223. He must long have felt the necessity of taking active measures for his self-preservation, and in an age when the distinction betwixt petty feuds and national warfare was scarcely definable, when the least pretext for a rupture of existing truces was speedily seized, or a trivial misunderstanding adjusted by an appeal to arms rather than by negotiation, some aggressive or defensive movements would naturally arise out of such an uncertain state of relationship. It cannot be said that there was ever any mutual wish for peace; if armed neutrality existed, this was the utmost that either party desired. No wonder, then, that Llewelyn, exasperated by the Flemings having seized the castle of Cardigan, should have retaliated the insult by ravaging the adjacent territory, and profiting by the absence of the English, should soon afterwards have laid siege to De Breos's castle of Builth, and penetrated into Herefordshire and assailed Kynardsley. The Earl of Pembroke was engaged at this period in Ireland, so that the Welsh Prince had a fair opportunity of pursuing the object of his ambition without interruption. Had he met with some formidable check in his success, it might probably have taught him moderation in his march of triumph. But as we have already observed, moderation was a virtue little understood, and it can only be stated as a palliation for the cruelties which stain the pages of history, that if Llewelyn put the garrison of Aberteifi and Caermarthen to the sword, the Earl of Pembroke inflicted similar atrocities upon the unfortunate subjects of Llewelyn, destroying all before him as he marched through that prince's country.

In the meantime Henry III. was secretly endeavouring to paralyze the influence of his rival, and had sent for one of those formidable instruments from the court of Rome which should compel him to make atonement and submission under the penalty of an interdict. He had invited him under safe conduct to Worcester, but it does not appear that he presented himself at the conference. Letters patent, however, set forth that Llewelyn swore that he would make recompense within reasonable time for the injuries he had done to the English monarch, from the day of his capturing the castle of Kynardsley till that of his forgiveness. This official deed, which does not deign to make any allusion to the savage excesses of William Marshall in Pembrokeshire, received the attestation of the primate, some of the English prelates, and several of the nobility. Yet it does not appear to have been of much service to the court, who, probably aware of their incapacity to enforce its provisions, postponed their fulfilment till Henry's arrival at Shrewsbury. This visit, delayed by various excuses from time to time, yet always procrastinated under the hope that when it actually happened, the denunciation from Rome would effectually intimidate, if not extinguish the courage and the hopes alike of the Welsh Prince, was however at length accomplished, and the king reached Shrewsbury towards the close of September, in the eighth year of his reign. Was it feebleness of purpose, or the neglect of his council, or conscious inability to effect by force what Henry so earnestly longed to put into execution, that occasioned all these delays? Perhaps all conspired together; perhaps some sense of moral justice struggled within the youthful monarch's breast, and made him swerve from his first intention; perhaps the private epistle¹ Honorius had previously addressed to himself, an epistle in which regal duties were laid down with a sincerity very unusual, might have secretly influenced

¹ See this in Rymer. v. i. p. 177.

his mind, and caused him on three several occasions to put off the meeting : it is, however, certain that his visit to Shrewsbury, where the act of humiliation was intended to have been performed, passed away without any public expression of royal dissatisfaction. A few writs, of a miscellaneous character, were all the acts of business of which we find any mention made in the documents of the period. When, a little later in the year, the dreadful epistle came from Honorius, Henry had departed from the Welsh frontier,¹ and there is no information left us as to the effect it produced upon the object of its denunciation. But, judging from subsequent events, its influence was merely transient.

It becomes tedious to pursue a perpetual recurrence of similar transactions, and if a few brighter passages should, as it were, fortuitously in the lapse of years mark the actions of either party, we as speedily find them obliterated by excesses. Thus we read of Henry's penetrating beyond the English barrier, and of his vain attempt to extirpate a mighty forest where the Welsh were in the habit of retreating for protection ; of his unholy conflagration of a religious house as he was driven forth from the country (1228) ; of his partitioning the Honor of Montgomery to the great justiciary Hubert de Burgh ; we read of the conjugal infidelity of the monarch's sister ; of the perfidy of her paramour De Breos of Builth (1230) ; and of the ignominious penalty he paid to her injured lord ; nay, of the king's having officially offered to the Irish as much of Llewelyn's land as they could conquer ; and amid such just causes for exasperation, with these inexorable insults still fresh in recollection, and the asylum of the monks at Cridia still reeking with smoke, the prince of Aberffraw and lord of Snowdon is again invited to a conference under safe conduct, at Shrews-

¹ See the Letters of Prorogation, in Rymer, v. i. pp. 178, 179
See the Letter of Excommunication, in Rymer, vol. i. p. 180.

bury.¹ His messengers, Instructus and Philip, who were deputed to arrange a truce, had also safe conduct afforded them in coming to speak with the king, which was to last from the 24th of November until the Circumcision, and this privilege was subsequently extended on more than one occasion, and the like exemption from injury on their return home.² In the same way Edenevet Vaghan and Eignan Vaghan, who came to the Colloquium on the Sunday after the Ascension, and all those whom they brought with them to it, had safe conduct during its progress, and this notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication they had received. For greater security the bishops of Chichester and Winchester, Simon de Sedgrave and Ralph Fitz Nicol, were sent to meet and escort them to the king.³ Other messengers partook of the same favour, if such indeed it may be called, and there was evidently a strong endeavour made to accommodate the existing rupture. Henry appointed Gilbert de Weston, or in his absence, Roger de Abbolisle, rector of the scholars of Shrewsbury, as his proctor at the present Colloquium,⁴ and the business by apostolic delegation was to be conducted

¹ A writ for safe conduct is printed in Rymer, v. i. p. 182, from which, and an entry on the Close Rolls, p. 135, it appears that Henry met Llewelyn, his wife, and son, at Shrewsbury, in friendly conference in the tenth year of his reign, on which occasion he commanded the Sheriff to grant his sister siesin of the Manor of Conover. Henry stayed in the town from Aug. 26 to Aug. 29, 1226, when he left the county by way of Bridgenorth. At this interview, which seems to have been of a most amicable kind, Llewelyn, at the king's request, restored the lands he had taken possession of, belonging to Hugh de Mortimer, Fulk Fitz Warin, and Thomas Corbet (Rot. Claus. 155). In December, the following year, he granted his sister the Manor of Ralegh (*Fœdera*, i. 184). In 1229 the king received the homage of David, Llewelyn's son, "pro beneficio nostro," as the charter states, upon which he allowed him yearly £40 from the Exchequer, thus soon taking advantage of him to establish a claim to the same subservience afterwards. (*Fœdera*, i. 196.)

² Rot. Pat. 16 Hen. III. m. 7, 9, 10.

³ Rot. Pat. i. m. 6. dated at Wenlock, May 24.

⁴ Rot. Pat. 16 Hen. III. m 6, Tested at Abingdon, 10 Oct.

before the bishop of Ely and the archdeacon of Norwich, on Friday next after the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist (1232). A letter is entered on the Clause Rolls from Henry to the prince of Aberffraw upon the matter before us, pressing the former's intention to go to the Marches, and there hold a conference respecting the re-establishment of peace; and that if sickness or any other impediment prevented his attendance, his brother Richard earl of Poictou, and Hubert de Burgh, would fill his place at the council.¹ This convention was regarded as so essential for the peace of the two kingdoms that a writ was issued from Windsor in the preceding July, prohibiting justs and tournaments, lest they should interfere with the proposed negotiations.² On the appointed day the Commissioners³ assembled in the noble collegiate church dedicated to St. Mary, and ratified the following propositions. Namely, that mutual restitution should be made of all the lands and possessions seized upon during the late war, and that Isabel, the wife of David (Llewelyn's son), and the daughter and heiress of William de Breos, should have a reasonable portion of her patrimony assigned to her, she guaranteeing that the tranquillity of the realm

¹ Rot. Claus. 16 Hen. III. m. 14. dorso.

² Rymer, vol. i. p. 205.

³ On the part of Henry, they were Ralph de Neville, Bishop of Chichester and Chancellor, Alexander de Stavenby, Bishop of Lichfield, Richard Marshall Earl of Pembroke, John de Lacy Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, Stephen de Segrave, Justiciary, and Ralph the son of Nicholas the Seneschal. On the side of Llewelyn were John Devenet (Ednyvedd?) his Seneschal, Werrenac his brother, Iman (Einan?) Vachan, and David the Priest. Early in the year a visit was issued, nominating John le Strange and John Fitzalan to meet the Bailiffs of Llewelyn at Griffin's Cross, on Monday of the octaves of the Purification, to make and receive amends for the infraction of the truces which had previously existed betwixt the parties. (Rot. Claus. 16 Hen. III. m. 15. dorso. Westminster, Jan. 23). Henry invited the Welsh Prince to a conference at Colewent, in Gloucestershire, in the beginning of the 17th of his reign; but he excuses himself under the plea of the great inundations, Rymer, vol. i. p. 200.

should on her part be duly preserved. Upon perusing this simple engagement, we cannot help observing that the obligations were reciprocal, that the treaty was made on fair and equal terms, that the contracting parties seemed to stand upon an independent footing. Just, however, as the clauses were in their spirit, they were found not to be binding very long on either party, for some of the English barons revolting soon afterwards, they were extremely glad to enter into a league with the lord of Snowdon, for mutual defence and assistance.

The sudden defection of the powerful family of the Marshalls, and the desertion of even Hubert de Burgh, were incentives to future exertion which the Welsh prince could scarcely have conceived likely to arise; but when the eyes of these influential personages were fully opened to the tyrannical conduct of a Sovereign who, though of tender age, was yet matured in duplicity and crime; when these men, who had previously lived in such bitter hostility to the Welsh prince, came humbly to sue for his co-operation; he might at once have doubted their sincerity, and turned away his sight from rays of hope apparently so faint and delusive. But their rebellion had actually burst out, and he doubted not the prospect which began rapidly to extend before his ambition; he armed himself in his advancing age with all the impetuosity of youth, and once more indulged the fond expectation of transmitting the British dynasty to a long race of descendants. Again we see Llewelyn in his march, shall we say of conquest? Rather in a course which is to be traced by the devastation of Brecknockshire, by the burning of Clun, doomed a second time to conflagration, by the destruction of Oswestry and Red Castle, and by those various acts of pillage and violence which the victorious army exercises towards the defenceless inhabitants of the district through which it passes. These things soon aroused Henry from his pusillanimity and idolence. He felt himself impotent to check the progress of his adversary,

and could only look to a renewal of the outward good feeling lately existing as the means of liberation from a state of thralldom equally disgraceful and oppressive. In fact the terms in which the truce was drawn up that brought about a temporary accommodation evidently declared the improved condition and the increased power of the lord of Snowdon, who, now in a position to dictate his own terms, stipulated that all those who had sided with him should be restored to their honours and estates.

In the eighteenth year of his reign (1234), when Gilbert Marshall had been reinstated in Henry's favour, we again hear of a Council being held at Shrewsbury, in which the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Lichfield and Rochester took active steps to confirm the peace of the two countries; and by their exertions a truce was fixed for two years, under the usual conditions of mutual recompense and indemnity for the late injuries.¹ It was not long after this that Llewelyn had reasonable grounds for complaint against the English. During the proposed cessation of hostilities, William Marshall, the Earl of Pembroke, had seized upon the castle and territory of Morgan of Caerleon, for which transgression the monarch found himself called upon to promise immediate redress.² This interruption to the truce agreed upon at Shrewsbury in 1234, and afterwards extended for the term of an additional year at Tewkesbury,³ occasioned another convention to be held at the latter place,⁴ when the king in person confirmed the terms laid down by the primate, who had directed that recompense should be made for the outrage, that during the time no new castle should be built on the Marches, nor any dilapidated one repaired, and that neither party should

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 213.

² Rymer, vol. i. p. 223. (Feb. 13, 1236).

³ Oct. 12, 1234.

⁴ July 11, 1236.

afford protection to the enemies of the other. Then came the question of arbitrators for pacification, who were to see that the provisions were reciprocally adopted and executed; all the preliminaries in short were formally complied with. In such a position were the relations of England and Wales when the latter kingdom was deprived of the ruler, who for fifty-six years, had with such successful vigour protected its liberties. The military transactions in which we have witnessed him engaged, the difficulties in which he was involved, the incessant watchfulness indispensable for his self-protection, entitle him to the highest reputation which was obtainable in the age when he flourished, namely, that of a prince vigilant for the independence of his country. As a leader of its armies, his talents were always equal to the occasion. His own genius and daring frequently made amends for the want of numerous and more disciplined forces; and if the course of warfare sometimes partook of inexcusable and unrestrained violence, the fault is rather attributable to the spirit of the times, than to any cruel propensities naturally residing in his bosom. There are few deeds of harshness and barbarity indeed connected with his life, but what when calmly examined will be found to be capable of explanation; and they may be traced to some indispensable precaution, or to some extraordinary cause of provocation, whether we refer to the prædatory system of warfare in which he was continually engaged, to the infidelity of his queen Joanna, and the summary execution of her paramour, or to the unnatural disobedience of his own children. Llewelyn had truly no ordinary motives to direct as well as to justify his actions, whilst at all events, in those days of misapprehended justice, the punishment he bestowed was deemed both appropriate and necessary.

The aged warrior closed his life amid the lamentations of his grateful countrymen. It is said that Conwy Abbey received his royal body for interment, and that his funeral obsequies were performed there with an

honourable and mournful regard for his virtues. But the poetic genius of the people, rather let it be said their language of daily discourse, has in imagination consigned his remains to a more suitable resting-place, and has fixed his sepulchre on one of the loftiest mountains of Caernarvonshire, where, rising above the huge and shattered rocks cast down by the wasting hand of time, as a beacon to the bewildered mariner, or as a guide to the humble shepherd, CARNEDD LLEWELYN rears its lofty summit to heaven, and proclaims the name of THE PATRIOT PRINCE.

Llewelyn left two sons, the youngest of whom he nominated as his successor. It has been stated by other writers, who have glanced at the history of this period, that seeing his end approaching, and overcome by age and infirmities, he urged David his favourite to place himself under the protection of the king of England, and offer homage for the inheritance. But this would have been acting in direct contradiction to the whole line of policy he had adopted throughout his life, and have betrayed a weakness very inconsistent with his lofty character. Nor in fact is there sufficient evidence of the concession to justify our belief in it. The testimony of one of those mendacious annalists, whose limited means of obtaining information are on a level with their contracted habits of thought, their prejudices and their credulity, is shewn by the official documents still in existence to be utterly unworthy of notice. That Llewelyn should have counselled his son to acquire thus early the allegiance of his own vassals, is not only a probable origin of this distortion of facts, but what we know to have really happened. It forms the subject of complaint in two letters separately addressed (March 8th, 1238,) to the father and the son, that the latter had taken active steps before the prince's death to engage, as he in fact in some degree succeeded in doing, the homage of his nobles and other influential subjects in North Wales and Powys-land. (Rymer, vol. i. p. 235).

The new ruler had barely possessed his dignity a month before he was summoned to a Council at Gloucester. How different a convention was this to the last Henry had endeavoured to hold in that city, and under what an altered aspect was its business conducted! At that time the English monarch, meanly passive, crouched before his own rebellious subjects, and unmanned, looked with fearful apprehension at the designs of the unconquerable lord of Snowdon. Now were his fortunes on the ascendant; he had become reconciled to his ministers, at least a thousand marks from each had purchased their restoration to royal favour; his sister was espoused to Frederick emperor of Germany; he had just strengthened his interests by marrying Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Provence, and had lately concluded a peace with the king of France. Henry naturally imperious, tyrant at once and slave, would eagerly avail himself of his present advantageous position, to effect the entire overthrow of his dangerous rival. He invoked the Pope's assistance in the commencement, and placed himself in intimate correspondence with the court of Rome, a support which ultimately tended, nearly as much as his own arbitrary conduct, to cripple the exercise of his prerogative, and hurry on his own disgrace. David, on the other hand, was surrounded with difficulties. His fraternal enmity to Griffith, whom he had closely imprisoned on the sea-girt rock of Criccaeth,—behaviour pitiless as the western storms which beat against that wild fortress,—and his seizure of nearly the whole of his territories, had greatly exasperated the people. Notwithstanding the precautions he had adopted to strengthen his power, this unnatural conduct had alienated him from their affections, and he had no sooner ascended the throne than he plunged the nation into a civil war. It was at this uncertain crisis, before intestine commotions had subsided, and ere his own possession of the Principality had become secure, that Henry summoned him to a council at Gloucester.

SECTION IV.

We have seen in the last Section the improved position of Henry, and the difficulties that surrounded David, at his accession. Will it excite surprise, then, that the conditions of peace with England should be unjust and greatly humiliating to the weaker party? As an illustration of their harshness, we find that after David, with his vassals, had performed their homage, it was fixed that in all future matters of dispute he should abide by the decision of the Pope's Legate, who, as president, and assisted by the bishops of Norwich and Worcester, Richard Earl of Poitou, the King's brother, and John de Monemue, on the part of Henry; and the bishop of St. Asaph, Idenevet Vaghan, and Eignan Vaghan, on the side of David; were appointed as arbitrators; and that for any transgression David should commit, he should unconditionally submit himself to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and censure of the Legate, or, his functions having ceased, to the archbishop of Canterbury. These proposals, by which David had promised to give up the independence of Wales, were scarcely arranged, and involuntarily, it may be said compulsorily, signed at Gloucester, before we hear of another mandate commanding the Welsh Prince to attend in London, signed November 31.¹

In the meantime, David had again gained possession of his unfortunate brother, and elated by the capture, felt in no wise disposed to listen to the summons, since in plotting his ruin, he believed he was procrastinating his own, whilst the gratification of his revenge upon his helpless kinsman was a desire more ardently indulged, than even a regard for his own personal honour and safety. He was equally indifferent to another summons to meet Henry, at Worcester.² A third appointment to enter into a defence of his conduct was

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 239.

² Rymer, vol. i. p. 240.

made at Shrewsbury, which we will now examine, and to this he felt compelled to pay more attention.

Henry had commanded the Welsh Prince to meet the arbitrators here on the Sunday before Palm Sunday (March 17), but some of the parties being absent, the meeting was postponed until one month from Pentecost, the 16th of June (1241).¹ But David seems again to have evaded meeting the commissioners, being unwilling to trust himself to an interview which was likely to be fraught with so much danger to himself. However, upon the Sunday next before the Invention of the Holy Cross (that is, the Sunday before May 3), the day upon which the Marchers consented to go into arbitration, and to appoint others in the place of those who were absent, as well as to receive and execute justice according to the form of peace that had been entered into, Thuderius, David's steward, Ennius Parvus his chancellor, and Phillip son of Ivor, clerk, appeared at Shrewsbury as his proctors; when a dispute arose betwixt them and Ralph de Mortimer, and the steward of Chester and Griffin, concerning justice which they claimed, according to the deposition of witnesses produced before Stephen de Segrave and others, the King's deputies. In consequence of this disagreement, a day was appointed for the parties to meet a month after Pentecost, at the bridge of Maneford (Montford Bridge), beyond Shrewsbury.² By a writ dated May 27th,³ Henry de Audley was authorised to escort David and his followers to this place of meeting, but it does not appear that the Prince availed himself of the safe conduct.

In consequence of this repeated neglect, coupled with the numerous complaints alleged against him, Henry wrote a sharp epistle from Marlborough, on the 14th of June, stating to David that he had learnt that he had drawn some of the men of Kerry from the King's

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 241.

² Rot. Claus. 26 Hen. III. m. 8, dorso.

³ Rot. Pat. 25 Hen. III. m. 6.

allegiance, and had ravaged the lands of Ralph de Mortimer, and others; that he had seized a ship, laden with corn, belonging to Chester; at which conduct he was greatly surprised and concerned, and especially, since he had neither met, nor sent anyone to confer with the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, John Fitz Geoffrey and Henry de Audley, whom he, on his part, had sent to Shrewsbury to make and receive amends, for injuries inflicted on either side. He therefore desires him to signify before the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula (August 1), how he will make atonement and reparation for such misdeeds.¹ This epistle called the Welsh Prince to a sense of propriety, and he could no longer avoid coming to an explanation on the points at issue. We find Henry at Shrewsbury on the day after the time just mentioned, and on the 7th of August granting safe conduct to David to meet him there.²

If the Welsh Prince had felt great apprehension of intrusting himself within the walls of Shrewsbury, at an ordinary conference, his fears would become hugely augmented when he learnt that the King was there at present with a numerous force, with which he was prepared to carry war into the heart of the Principality.

In the meanwhile, David kept his brother in close confinement, notwithstanding he was under excommunication by the Bishop of Bangor for this act of cruelty. It is very improbable that Henry really felt any compassion for his sufferings; but we know that whatever desire he might have had for his release from captivity, it was only that the prisoner might be transferred to his own custody. During the fifteen days the King remained at Shrewsbury, many

¹ Rot. Claus. 25 Hen. III. m. 7, dorso, dated Marlborough, June 14.

² The letters were issued to this effect to the Bishop of Hereford, the Master of the Knights Templar in England, John son of Geoffrey, and Henry de Audley, dated Shrewsbury, August 7 (Rot. Pat. 25 Hen. III. m. 4).

of the Welsh nobles came and tendered their submission. Amongst their number was Sena, the wife of the unhappy Griffith; who swore allegiance, and offered to give up her two sons, David and Roderic, as pledges that she would keep the peace. She entreated him to procure her husband's release from confinement; but Henry awaited an opportunity when this act of grace might be performed with the greater advantage to his own designs. Openly, however, he now espoused the side of the defenceless Princess; for, on the thirteenth of August, he issued a writ, stating that he would freely accept all the Welsh, their wives, children, and goods, who would come and partake of his friendship, and show their fealty and service to Griffith, son of Llewelyn, late Prince of Wales, and his sons. At the same time, he published a free pardon to all who would come to his peace, and show fealty and service to Griffin, the son of Wenunwen.¹ In less than a week after this declaration of his favourable disposition to the cause of Griffith, we find him at Chester,² where he gave power to the abbots of Basingwerk and Chester, to conduct the bishop of St. Asaph, and David, the clerk of David, the son of Llewelyn, to the Grange of Lith, to speak with those whom they will of the King's council.

As soon as David became acquainted with the manifesto issued at Shrewsbury, he foresaw the cloud gathering, which, in a short period, poured out its fury on his devoted head. With nearly the whole of his subjects in hostility against him,—universally execrated for his barbarous treatment of Griffith,—with the censures of the Church still in operation,—and a powerful English army already quartered at Rhuddlan, he found himself driven into the last extremity; and lost no time in negotiating the best terms he could for his own safety.

¹ Rot. Pat. 25 Hen. III., m. 4.

² Ib. Tested Chester, Aug. 19, 1241.

SECTION V.

On the 29th of August, 1241, David addressed a letter to the English monarch, in which, besides offering to release Griffith and his son from prison, as well as others whom he held in restraint, he promised to abide by the judicial decision of either country, as the case might be, respecting the possession of his brother's territory, that he would reimburse Henry for the expenses of the war, and pay the usual homage. These with several minor concessions he swore to on the holy cross, which was carried before him, and confirmed them in the royal tent at Rhuddlan the day following.¹ He, moreover, engaged to keep the peace towards England, binding himself and heirs faithfully and constantly to serve the English crown, and that if ever they receded from the service due towards Henry and his successors, their lands should be for ever forfeited. One naturally considers such surrenders as these both full compensation for the past and sufficient security for the future, since it is difficult to conceive what further humiliation either personal dignity or the honour of offended nations could require. But such degradation was incapable of appeasing the secret ambition of the relentless monarch, who, already bent upon enslaving his own subjects, would treat with all the unfeeling injustice that a haughty and treacherous disposition could suggest, a prince who, no longer an antagonist, fell as a suppliant before the feet of his conqueror. From a document quoted by the historian of Shrewsbury, it may be inferred that David had already complied with the harsh stipulations of the treaty of Rhuddlan. The learned author of the most valuable contribution to local history which our country has produced, whose narrative of the intercourse betwixt the English and the Welsh does not usually treat the latter with much sympathy, confesses, however, on this occasion, whilst adverting to these circumstances, that the litigious spirit of

¹ Rot. Pat. 25 Hen. III. m. 1. Rymer, v. i. p. 42.

Henry continued to press harder conditions upon his unfortunate nephew, and he admits that the new concessions the prince covenanted to make were not likely to be of long duration. It must, in fact, be granted, that a monarch who looked upon cunning and rapacity as the natural accomplishments of royalty, and whose general course of action was directed by a spirit of cruelty and revenge, would seize upon any, the first, pretence for annihilating his helpless rival. The period soon arrived that gave him a fresh opportunity of exercising his merciless prerogative. At the late interview at Shrewsbury, Senana, the wife of Prince Griffith, came as a mournful suitor on her husband's behalf, and as we have seen, offered her own sons, David and Roderic, as hostages for her imprisoned husband's fidelity. She presented herself at the last Council, imploring the intervention of a powerful king, beseeching him by all the claims that kindred and oppression could make upon his sense of humanity, to mediate for the release of the royal captive. And moved by a prospect of turning her cause of distress into an instrument for his own purposes, Henry demanded the liberation of his nephew; yet it was but to transfer the charge of the unhappy prince from the sea-girt rock of Criccaeth, to a custody more secure. The locality was indeed changed, the wild music of the ocean no longer fell on the wretched prisoner's ear, but the keepers were still equally unnatural and devoid of pity. Walter Grey, archbishop of York, was appointed to take care of the royal prisoner, who, with his son Owen, was carried to London and consigned to the Tower. He had still one faithful friend left to him in his troubles, whose courage and sympathy never wearied; the bishop of Bangor made another effort on his behalf, but it was ineffectual. Shortly afterwards, Griffith himself made a last struggle for liberty, and endeavoured to elude the vigilance of his keepers; attempting to let himself down from the top of the building, by a line formed out of the bed-clothes and hangings of his

prison, he fell headlong to the ground, and miserably perished in the tower ditch.¹

From this time, David being left without a rival to the throne, there were no more intestine divisions amongst the Welsh, though the jealousies existing between the two countries burned as actively as ever. The removal of one of the princes brightened the prospects of Henry III., and gave him fresh confidence in completely reducing the kingdom to subjection, an object he never lost sight of, though he finally attained it only by the loss of much military glory, by personal disgrace, and the natural death of the ruler who had proved such a valiant assertor of the national liberty.

The next heir to the Welsh throne was Sir Roger Mortimer, in right of Gladys, daughter of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, but the nobility, deeming that an Englishman would scarcely feel the same intense devotion to their cause as a ruler chosen from the line of their ancient race, set aside his legal pretensions, and elected Owen and Llewelyn, the two sons of Griffith. This decision gave general satisfaction to the Welsh, and became the means of enabling them to consolidate their power as well as preserve the peace betwixt the two countries. Yet we must not omit to mention that it was a peace purchased by concessions more severe than any previously extorted. For, besides giving up four cantrefs, all that portion of territory lying betwixt the frontiers of Cheshire and the Conwy, which may be

¹ Rot. Pat. 28 Hen. III. m. 6. Henry allowed his nephew a mark a day for his subsistence, whilst in custody. The Liberate Rolls, 25 Hen. III. m. 5, have an entry commanding the Sheriff to find reasonable sustenance for Griffith, son of Llewelyn, and other Welsh prisoners, whom the King had sent to be safely kept in the Tower of London. Dated, Chester, Sept. 4. An entry on the Patent Rolls, 28 Hen. III. m. 6, further states that the king will not attribute to the Archbishop of York the accident which befell Griffith, son of Llewelyn, late Prince of North Wales, who, in trying to escape from the Tower of London, fell and broke his neck, nor the escape of the other Welsh prisoners, which occurred through the negligence of the King's servants, in whose custody they were. Dated, Westminster, Sept. 30.

said to embrace the modern counties of Denbigh and Flint, they agreed to hold the remainder of their kingdom by the tenure of military service. Thus reduced to a state of complete vassalage, the often denied homage followed as a natural consequence. Limited as they were, the Welsh were now left to enjoy the fruits of this discreditable and enforced negotiation, and having no longer any apparent chance of ameliorating their political condition, their turbulence broke out within themselves. Civil discord and fraternal strife placed in the end Llewelyn on the throne, of which, amid continual warfare, he retained firm possession for several years. Outbreaks and conflicts on the Borders were frequently arising during the ensuing period, and we read of little else than a recurrence of events similar to those hitherto described. Affrays on the Marches, alternate aggressions, unjust encroachments, pillage, summary vengeance, temporary cessation from hostilities, and a short truce, are the common facts detailed in the transactions of this period, and if we meet with any variation of the narrative it is only found in the change of fortune from the arms of one assailant to the other, or in the unscrupulous disregard for ratified treaties. At this more advanced age of civilization we look with amazement at the actions of men so remorselessly and mutually cruel. We seek in vain for something to palliate their excesses, for something which shall throw a veil over their unrestrained violence and wash out the stain of their crimes, but we can perceive nothing. The worst passions of the human heart were called into exercise, and the guilty vengeance, if provoked by one party, met with sanguinary and quick redress. We see all the moral instincts and faculties of men eclipsed, and the soul darkened to a sense of truth and justice, and all the energies of two great people converted into the fearful elements of inextinguishable hatred, desolation, and bloodshed.

Occasionally there was a pause, not less called for by the general voice of humanity than by absolute

necessity. It was during one of these unhappy respites from contention that Henry made another endeavour to place the relations of England and Wales on an improved footing. The wish might have arisen from a selfish motive, but at all events it proclaimed to the world the semblance of a desire for peace on his part when he again attempted this adjustment of the existing dissensions. In Llewelyn, who now ruled the affairs of Wales, he found no unworthy descendant of his illustrious namesake. Like a true vindicator of national freedom, he had conducted the business of his principality with vigour, and stood out for his rights, with great inferiority of numbers, as firmly as his circumstances would allow. He never quailed before his more powerful adversary; it may be said he rather courted than shunned the chances of hostile collision. Suddenly there arose a threatening cloud in the distance. The scattered elements of confusion had been slowly gathering to this point for some time past, but Henry's attention had been arrested by other troubles; and the state of Wales was unperceived, or, at least, it did not openly attract his attention. It was nearly twenty years since the last council had been formally convened to Shrewsbury; and, during this long interval Henry had been fully occupied by the menacing attitude of his own subjects. He had experienced the distrust of his parliament. The clergy and nobility had put some restraint in their national council upon his demands (January, 1244); they had, upon another occasion (November 3, 1244), positively refused an aid against the Welsh; they had given significant utterance to their grievances (February 12, 1248); they had resolved upon withholding their supplies (January 27, 1253); insisted on his faithful observance of the English charters and liberties; and wrested from him an unfettered Council, or what, in modern technicality, would be called a popular mode of representation. The spirit of the English was completely roused, and, for a while at least, a check was imposed on the

monarch's arbitrary practices. All this should have taught him the value of timely concessions and moderation; but the lessons of wisdom were only enforced upon him by bitter necessity, or the sword; and the aristocracy, for the contest lay with them rather than with the people, had much peril to undergo before they obtained redress or security. The king was fated to propound a constitutional problem for the benefit of futurity. It was partially understood in the Parliament of Oxford, but more fully proved on the downs of Lewes; and posterity has echoed the justice of the solution. The remote consequences of the baronial struggles could not be foreseen by those who were the actors; they perceived but faintly the rising image of liberty—the outline was shapeless and indistinct—yet they were enlightened by its halo. They caught a glimpse of its effulgence, and pursued it with all the enthusiasm of patriots and heroes; and when at last, after a series of civil wars, they grasped the object of their inspiration, and with earnest eagerness infused its spirit into their institutions, it was done with calmness and prudence. Their hands rested from violence, and they converted the results of their triumph into instruments of peace. They were content to lay the foundation of a dynamical polity, which kept progressively extending until it has arrived at its present development, when we see the lowest degrees of right as equally respected as supreme authority and the most hallowed dignity. The state of England was undergoing this kind of active fermentation during the twenty years intervening since the last Council; and the elements of civil discord had not subsided, when Henry found it necessary to turn his thoughts once more to the threatening prospects of the Welsh frontiers. He accordingly ordered his army to meet at Shrewsbury, on the Nativity of our Lady (September 8, 1260), to overawe the insurgents. For ten years the Principality seems to have lain in profound repose, only interrupted at the close of this period by the

malicious representations of the Mortimers, or others of the nobility, who had never been favourable to the ruling dynasty. Llewelyn had occasion to justify his conduct against their malevolence, in epistles addressed on various occasions to the English court; and he had too much reason to make complaints of the incursions of the Marches Barons.¹ Preparations for active warfare with the Welsh were announced in writs to the several bishops, in 1257, and they were summoned to furnish aid on the occasion.² During this year several conflicts took place, and the confederacy, formed generally amongst the Welsh, most frequently gave a prosperous turn to the chance of war. In the following year the celebrated convention was held at Oxford, and we find safe conduct granted to Llewelyn's envoys, which shows that the duration of tranquillity was still precarious. The people were generally looking forward to some important change in the government of England to this assembly. Nor were they deceived in their expectations; for it had the effect of entirely disorganising, for a time, the existing prerogatives of monarchy, by temporarily throwing the king, as a captive, into the hands of some of his own most powerful and ambitious subjects. His weakness and misconduct, his necessities and extravagance, had alienated the regard of his people, and greatly diminished his authority. They indeed, generally forbearing and always vigilant, began to show resistance to a power which they had never previously disputed. The English kings had taxed them at pleasure, and carried out their measures sometimes by violence, always without either the apparent sanction of the aristocracy, or any offer of remonstrance from the inferior part of the community. Like his ancestors, he attempted, but not so successfully as they did, to command the supplies for his French and Welsh wars, for his Sicilian expe-

¹ Rymer, vol. i. p. 389.

² *Ib.* p. 362.

dition, and the Pope's assistance, without the consent of the contributors. This was no new encroachment upon their bounty, but the appeal to relieve his distresses became too oft repeated and too exorbitant for them to answer, and hence arose their restraint of the royal power and those provisions at Oxford which for a time threatened its very existence. The alternation of triumph at Lewes and Evesham served to restore the proper balance, whilst the provisions of the Parliament ensured some kind of regular and legislative enactments for the future.

At this assembly, styled by the king in his letters patent, a Parliament, a truce was concluded with Llewelyn for a year. There were none of the usual conditions coupled with it, and the amicable relations betwixt the two nations were sustained a little longer; and we advisedly say only a little longer, for in less than a month Henry wrote a sharp letter to him, complaining of a breach of his promises. There is, however, no reason for believing he had just cause for remonstrance at this particular interval, the contravention of the existing treaties being probably magnified by the interested representation of Roger de Mortimer and his adherents, whose pretensions, as we have already seen, being set aside, he would thenceforth naturally look with jealous eyes at anything favourable to the interests of his more successful competitor for the Principality, and his relation of every feud would be distorted in proportion to his unmitigated antipathy.

Twenty years, as we have previously intimated, had passed away before the Borders became the scene of any further convention. Beyond this period the arrangements could no longer endure, and the uneasiness arising from the constantly recurring acts of mutual provocation at last imperiously required fresh alleviation. We need not diffusely enquire into specific causes of distrust and grievance. Foregoing facts have been detailed in vain, if they have not left the impression on the mind that the contest on the part of the Welsh

was thoroughly national. It was an incessant war of skirmishes and ambuscades. The first onsets were usually in their favour, but in the sequel superior numbers gained the victory, and the vanquished retired among their mountains, having been driven to cede, after every defeat, some new portion of their territory. It would be a profitless recital to narrate the numerous conflicts which took place during the period referred to, or to institute a comparison betwixt the prosperous issue to either combatants; at one time fortune smiled on the formidable ranks of the Welsh, who defeated Prince Edward near Chester; at another, we find the page of history sullied by some act of treachery on the part of the English commissioners, who, feeling themselves superior in number to the deputies of Llewelyn, put several of them to the sword, an unlooked-for act of perfidy, which brought down summary death in turn on Patrick de Canton, the English mediator. Such was the sense of confidence entertained between the belligerents, and such were the prospects of any proposals of amity being lasting. The truce, therefore, agreed upon at the ford near Montgomery, in 1259, was not likely to be established more securely than any preceding negotiations. Accordingly, in the ensuing year, Henry summoned a general array at Shrewsbury, to proceed against Llewelyn and his son Griffith. All the great military leaders were desired to attend with suit and service on this occasion; the bishops and abbots received similar letters, and every measure was taken to put a final check upon a power that had been a source of such unceasing uneasiness; all these preparations ended, however, by prolonging the truce of the ford of Montgomery, when Henry, believing everything was quiet, set sail for France.

A little later we find the Bishop of Hereford (Peter la Aquablanca), addressing a letter to the king, filled with complaints about the incursions of the Welsh; other movements are made against them by Prince

Edward; and the final traits of this long reign. The King and his son had marched a second time together to Shrewsbury (1267), and the presence of both of them at the head of a large army induced Llewelyn to enter into fresh negotiations, rather than risk the chances of an engagement. The English had already marched as far across the border as Montgomery, when the Welsh deemed it prudent to acquiesce in the terms offered to them by the representatives of a nation whom they had no longer the power of effectually resisting. The interposition of Cardinal Ottoboni might have had some influence in modifying the language of the last convention of this reign, but at all events it was couched in language creditable to the contractors. After stipulating the restoration on either side of all the illegally usurped territories, and the saving of the fealty of the Welsh to Llewelyn, it covenanted that he should pay the usual homage to Henry, as suzerain, and a sum of 30,000 marks, for the injuries inflicted in the recent aggressions. It acknowledged the right of the Welsh ruler to the fealty of his own barons, granted him undisturbed possession of four cantrefs formerly annexed to his territory, and finally, it confirmed the title of Prince of Wales, which had been usurped by Edward, upon Llewelyn and his descendants. All these clauses were arranged at Shrewsbury in the month of September, 1267,¹ and solemnly ratified in the presence of all the contracting parties, at Montgomery, in the

¹ It appears from the Patent Rolls, 49 Hen. III. m. 13, that on the 12th of June, Simon de Montfort and Roger de St. John had power given them to treat with Llewelyn in the king's name, concerning the disputes between them, and arranging terms of peace; and from the same authority we learn (m. 12) that on the 22nd of this month, Llewelyn the son of Griffin paid a fine of 30,000 marks, and the King received him and his coadjutors into favour, and ordered that the letters obligatory which he or David, son of Llewelyn, his predecessor, had made to the king contrary to their rights and liberties, should be destroyed; and that he should have possession of the Principality, castles, &c., doing the king the services due to the kings of England. Dated, Hereford, June 22,

month of October following; thus establishing quietness for the remainder of Henry's life.¹

SECTION VI.

When Edward I. succeeded his father on the English throne, he was absent in the Holy Land, and it was nearly two years before he was enabled to direct his attention personally to the state of Wales. Immediately, however, that the right of the crown had devolved upon the new possessor, Walter Merton, the chancellor, addressed a letter to Llewelyn, desiring him to appear before the abbots of Dore and Haughmond, the royal envoys, at the ford of Montgomery, and take the oath of fidelity to his sovereign. But not being satisfied with his proxy, the bishop of Bangor, and after waiting for the chief himself some time, they returned without fulfilling the object of their mission. This was subsequently represented as a great act of contempt and disobedience, though the reasons alleged for Llewelyn's absence seem sufficiently plausible. A few days later he was reminded of the three thousand marks he was annually bound to pay into the exchequer, a sum now greatly needed towards the unlimited expenses of the Crusades, and the bishop of Chester, who was commissioned to receive the amount, seems to have been as unsuccessful as his ecclesiastical brethren.

About this time Llewelyn had commenced the erection of a castle at Abrunol, near Montgomery, and had seated a small colony there, for whose convenience he had established a fair. The king's advisers considering this an encroachment, and, what seems more difficult to be understood by those who are now living under more extended commercial regulations, a loss also to the neighbouring merchants, immediately issued an admonitory letter, desiring him to desist at once from his undertaking.

Such were the transactions happening within six months after Edward began to reign, and they cer-

¹ *Fœd.* v. i. p. 474.

tainly offered but a slight prospect of conciliation and peace for the future. When, therefore, Llewelyn was urged to present himself at the English king's coronation, he took the opportunity of replying to the suspicions under which he was lying, by explaining to Lord de Gray that the bishop of Bangor had duly attended on his behalf at the ford of Montgomery, but that as regarded the payment of two thousand marks to Poncius de Mora, the debt due to Henry III., and the three thousand owing to his son, as he had no advisers with him except his brother David and the Bishop of Bangor, a prelate whose unshaken attachment to him under all his difficulties must for ever endear him to the regard of his countrymen, he was therefore not competent to entertain the question.

The chancellor continued to press still more closely upon the Welsh prince, and proceeded to nominate a commission in which the various transgressions and injuries alleged to have been committed on the part of the Welsh should be investigated, the former place of meeting being fixed upon for conducting the enquiry. The Sheriffs of Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, Gloucestershire, and Salop, with all persons from the Marches, were invited to attend and prefer their complaints. There was the fullest encouragement afforded for the relation of grievances and the adduction of accusations. Gregory X. had been appealed to as an arbiter during the agitation of the business, and he interested himself on behalf of the Welsh, as far at least as was compatible with the temporising habits of the pontificate. Upon the king's return home (July, 1274) in the second year of his reign, he at once began to display that energy and activity which never forsook him through life. These distinguishing qualities enabled him successfully to accomplish the extension of the English frontier into the west and northern parts of Britain, though in this, as in most other instances, the dreams of ambition and the progress of conquest were signalized by those marks of barbarity and injustice

OF SHREWSBURY.

which equally darken the moral sense of rectitude as they dim the brightest reputation. The Welsh wars and the sanguinary treatment of the last of the Celtic princes have left a stain upon his character, which his domestic virtues, his undaunted prowess, and his judicial labours, can never erase from the page of history. Within three months after his coronation, Edward left London with the intention of going into Wales. From Northampton a letter was addressed to Llewelyn, stating that the king meant to be at Shrewsbury on the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Andrew, for the purpose of receiving his fealty, but being induced to vary his route from Northampton to Cliffe (King's Cliffe), where the Plantagenets had a royal house, he was seized with an imposthume, and the interview was postponed until the quindene of St. Martin, when he was directed to appear and render the expected homage. The monarch further reminded him about the debt of two thousand marks due in his father's reign, which had now become augmented by the six thousand due since his own accession to the throne. This accumulation, which he was summarily ordered to pay into the hands of the king's officers, was probably more than in the impoverished state of the country the Welsh ruler had the means of raising. Yet each year's delay helped to increase the amount, besides placing him under the colourable suspicion that he never intended to free himself from the obligation.

In the following year the injunctions were renewed, and Bogo de Knoville, sheriff of Shropshire, received instructions to take the prince's homage at Chester, but in doing so, to act with wariness and prudence, and on no account to enter into a parley with him in an unsafe place.¹ The king's injunctions were soon

¹ Amongst the ancient letters in the Tower, No. 1341, is preserved a curious letter in Norman French, giving an account of Wales, probably written about this time by the same individual; it has been considered sufficiently deserving of insertion here in a translated form, together with the original.

afterwards reiterated to the same effect, the place

"To the Noble Peer, if it pleases him, Edward by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine: his Bachelor Roger de Knovile, Greeting, Honor, and Reverence in all things: Know, Sire, that there are three brothers, Howel son of David, Llewelyn son of David, and David son of David, the most valiant and of the greatest* power of the land of Arwystly: and they would willingly come to your feet, if so it might be, that they might have your Letter Patent that you would maintain them in right, and it seems to me that they demand no outrage.† Wherefore, dear Sire, I pray you, if it please you, to send them your letter. Know, Sire, that Mr. Piers Corbet (who) lives at Montgomery, has ten covered horses, since you lately sent me your letter concerning what he was requiring; and so if it pleased you that he might have a letter that he might undertake your service against the day of his plea in London. And, Sire, Adam de Montgomery (who) lives at Montgomery, has five covered horses, and who has for retinue all his people, except the corps which went to meet you at Worcester. And, know, Sire, that all things are going on well in our parts, thanks to God, and that every day damage is done upon your enemies. And the people of Pool have turned and have done homage to Mr. Griffin. And the people of the Gorsor to Mr. Piers Corbet, full five hundred and more. And a great part are turned to you of the land of Kery. And know, Sire, that the people of Treys Ford‡ are turned to Mr. Griffin, of whom there may be six hundred men and more. Acquaint me, if it please you, with your will in all things. Adieu. And know, Sire, that I have received (to lay) at your feet the four vills of the land of Montgomery.

"A noble Rey si lu pleist Edward par la grace Deu Rey de Engleterre Seignur de Irlaunde et Dux de Aquitaine le son Bachiler Boges de Knoville saluz honur et reverence en tute choses. Sachet Sire ke il sunt treis freres Houwel le Fuz David, Louwelyn le Fuz Davit, et David le Fuz David le plus vailans et de greynde poer de la terre de Arewistly et volunters vendreyent a voster pes si issi fust ke il ussent voster lettre patente ke vus lur meintendret en drayture e me semble que il ne demaundent nul houtrage. Par unt cher sire jo vus pri si vus pleist ke vus voillet voster lettre enver. Sachet Sire ke munsire Peres Corbet a demore a Mungomery a dis chevaus covers, puske vus me maundastes dereynement voster lettre de quei Sire il prierit et jo si vus plust ke il pust aver une lettre ke il se pust essonier de vostre servise encuntre le jur de sun play a Lundres. E Sire Adam de Mungomery ad demore a Mungomery a cinc chevaus

* Query *grande*, or great?

† Literally:—or the "nothing outrageous;" "nothing derogatory to the King to grant;" nothing unreasonable.

‡ Query Trefflwyd?

being changed to Westminster, and again they came to nothing.¹

It was at this time that Llewelyn, driven to the last extremity, thought of soliciting the intervention of the Pope. The letter to his Holiness has been preserved, and it sets before us another view of the existing disputes. In forming a judgment upon the relative causes of provocation, we shall do well to recollect that the aggressions which disturbed the peace of the borders were not altogether on the side of the Welsh. Those who dwelt on the confines of both states owing but a doubtful and enforced allegiance to either, and easily able to escape the punishment of their lawless actions in one kingdom by passing over into the other, would thus give to the country in which they had sought refuge the obloquy of their misdeeds. Can we suppose it improbable, for instance, that the rude inhabitants of remote districts like those touching on the forests of Clun, Mochtre, and Radnor, would not take advantage of their impervious and unobserved situation to make

covers, et unkore ay retenu ce gent tuz fors sun cors ke est ale cunte vus a Wyrecestr : et sachet Sire ke tute choses ben unt en nos parties la Deu merci et cheun jur si fesum damage sus vos enemys. E le gent de la Pole sunt turnes et unt fet homage a mun sire Griffin. E le Gent de le Gersor a mun sire Peres Corbet ben Cinc cens et plus. E une graunt partie sunt turnes a vus de la terre de Kery. E sachet Sire ke le gent de Treys Foyd sunt turnes a mun Sire Griffin dont il poet aver seec cens humes et plus. Voster volunte en tute ecotrores si vus plust me maundet. Adeu. E sachet Sire ke jo ay resu a voster pes tute le quater viles de la tere de Mungomey."

¹ The king summons Llewelyn, son of Griffin, prince of Wales, to be at Westminster within three weeks of Michaelmas, to do homage and fealty to the king. Chester, 10 Sept. v. (Rot. Pat. 3, Edw. I. m. 10.)

Llewelyn, son of Griffin, prince of Wales, having treated with contempt the king's summonses to be at Chester, Westminster, and Winchester, at different times, to do homage, is now summoned before the king within fifteen days after Easter, to do what the King's court shall consider right. Winchester, 23 Jan.—*Ib.*

Guncelin de Badesmere is ordered to send persons with the king's letters, to summon Llewelyn, as above. (Rot. Claus. 4 Edw. I. m. 17, dorso).

forays upon their neighbours, and when pursued too hastily, what more easy than to seek a secure asylum in the Principality, which thus became involved in the outrages of English subjects? To put the matter, however, completely out of doubt, Llewelyn's letter to the Pope speaks of various unwarranted assumptions of his territory by King Edward, of the support afforded to disaffected barons, as well as to fugitives and felons, who had compassed his death. Moreover, that he cited him to a place to pay his homage, which it was impossible for him to approach with safety, being surrounded with those who were his bitterest enemies, even such persons whom rebellion and crime had driven from their own country.¹ So far, in fact, from denying the proffer of homage, the Welsh prince mentions that he had even requested a place should be fixed upon not liable to these objections. The death of the Pope shortly after this epistle was written, deprived the prince of his intercession, and with him perished the last person who might have propitiated King Edward's sympathy and forbearance. Nor was this the only misfortune which now befel him, for his younger brother David, together with Griffith ap Gwenwynwyn and his son Owen, broke out into a conspiracy against him, which meeting with a timely detection, they took flight for Shrewsbury. Here they were hospitably entertained until Edward had the means of giving them a reception still more offensive to their kinsman.

Matters could not longer remain in such a precarious condition, and accordingly in a great council of the English nobility, held in the fourth year of Edward's reign (1276), after reciting the previous, among other, reasons, it was decreed that war should forthwith be

¹ If the king, in the present expedition into Wales against Llewelyn, shall conquer him, he will give parts of Wales to Owen, his elder brother, whom he (Llewelyn) has disinherited and keeps in prison, and parts to David, his brother, whom he has also disinherited. Flint Castle, on Monday, the morrow of the Octaves of the Assumption of the Virgin. (Rot. Pat. 5, Edw. I, m. 6.)

vigorously carried into the Principality. The tenants in capite were commanded to meet the king at Worcester; the Marches were fortified, and every mode of communication interdicted with the Welsh prince or his allies.

Roger de Mortimer was appointed captain of the King's army;¹ whilst to give the movement the sanction of religion, the prelates united in sending Llewelyn an admonitory letter, urging him to desist from his rebellion. The grave and heinous offences these devoted ecclesiastics allege him to have committed, certainly contrast suspiciously with the actions of Edward, whom they characterise as so entirely pacific. General unanimity of feeling, however, seems at this time to have pervaded the councils of the English king, nor was he himself wanting in any of the qualifications requisite to guide the impulse he had given to his subjects. Peers and bishops, abbots and abbesses, were alike enjoined to furnish assistance towards the expedition. Every sheriff throughout the kingdom was similarly commanded to press the royal feudatories into military service, and that the Welsh prince might understand that his enemy was determined to concentrate all his energies on his subjugation, the laws were suspended regarding the holding of pleas at Westminster, the seat of government was removed from London, and the business of the Exchequer and king's bench; together with other official matters, transacted at Shrewsbury. The Liberate Roll contains an entry authorizing the treasurer and chamberlains to pay Joseph de Kauncy,

¹ Roger Mortimer is appointed captain of the king's army and fortifications in the parts of Shrewsbury, so that he annoy Llewelyn and his accomplices as much as he can. Worcester, 7 July. (Rot. Pat. 5. Edw. I. m. 9.)

Safe conduct till Mid-Lent, for the messengers whom Llewelyn, son of Griffin, shall send to the King. La Bruere, 14 Jan. (Rot. Pat. 5 Edw. I. m. 24.)

Summons of the army at Worcester, in the Octaves of St. John the Baptist, to suppress the rebellion of Llewelyn, son of Griffin, prince of Wales. Windsor, 12 Dec. (Rot. Claus. 5. Edw. I. m. 12 dorso.)

prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, eleven pounds, for the expenses of conveying rolls and tallies of the exchequer.¹

Edward himself arrived in Shrewsbury at the close of August, and passed his time until the middle of September betwixt this place and Rhuddlan, person-

¹ Treasurer and chamberlains ordered to pay Joseph de Kauncy, prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in England, eleven pounds, for the purpose of conveying rolls and tallies of the Echequer from Westminster to Salop. Shrewsbury. 16 Oct. (Liberate, 5, Edw. I. m. 1.)

£10 to be allowed to Bogo de Knovill, late sheriff of Salop and Staff., for carriage of rolls, &c., of the Exchequer from Shrewsbury to Westminster; also 30s. for carriage "*hernesii Alianore de Monte forti uxoris dilecti et fidelis nostri Lewelini filii Griffini principis Walliæ*," from Worcester to Whitchurch. Westm. 15 Nov. (Liberate 6, Edw. I. m. 1.)

£10. 14s. 4d. to be allowed to Bogo de Knovill, sheriff of Salop and Staff., which he expended "*in reparatione scaccariorum nostrorum de recepto et Judaismo infra castrum nostrum Salop, et bancorum nostrorum prope castrum illud, ad placita nostra ibidem tenenda.*" Salop, 28 Nov. (Liberate 6, Edw. I. m.)

The king wishes the Exchequer to be removed from Westminster to Shrewsbury, and orders the barons and chamberlains to remove the rolls, memoranda, and tallies, thither at the king's expense. Rothelan, 16 Aug. (Rot. Claus. 10, Edw. I. m. 2.)

The king wishes the Bench to be held at Salop during pleasure, and orders the Pleas to be adjourned to that place. Devises, 10 April.

Also that the Exchequer be removed from Westminster to Shrewsbury. (Rot. Claus. m. 6.)

Twelve marks to be allowed the executors of John de Cormayles, late sheriff of Som. and Dors., which the same John delivered to John de Sumers, late constable of Shirborn Castle, for the custody of Emeric de Montfort. Acton Burnel, 20 Oct. (Liberate 11, Edw. I. m. 2.)

£8 2s. 6d. to be allowed to Roger Springehos, late sheriff of Salop and Staff., for the expenses of Grono, son of David, Edenevet ab Eynon, Yerewarth ab Huva, Madoc ab Keneverth, Howel Goch, Yereworth ab Madoc, Eynon Voel ab Gnasiran, Tegwaret Goch, and Egwistil, the king's hostages dwelling in the castle of Bridgenorth, from June 5 to Aug., viz., 8d. a day for each, and 3d. a day for a person who kept them. Also 78s. for the carriage of the rolls, writs, memoranda, &c., of the Exchequer, from Salop to Kidderminster, and thence to Westminster. Vale Royal, 6 Sept. (Rot. Liberate, 11 Edward I. m. 4.)

ally superintending the expedition. The effect of this vigorous course of action was fatal to Llewelyn's independence, and he was compelled to enter into an agreement to pay fifty thousand marks for admission to the King's favour, to cede to the Marcher barons the lands they had taken possession of, as well as finally to perform the oft-demanded fealty. These, with other particulars, forming the substance of a lengthy treaty of peace, concluded at Aberconwy, and subsequently ratified at Rhuddlan, were the means of staying for a little while longer the effusion of blood.

A treaty enforced, rather than entered into with cheerful good will, could not continue permanently binding upon the humiliated vassal.¹ It would, in fact, only endure until the propitious moment should arise for re-asserting the rights which duplicity had invaded, or hostile force had crushed. Family dissensions had indeed long exercised their baneful influence

¹ The terms of this treaty might have been more readily acquiesced in on the part of Llewelyn through his desire to espouse the lovely Eleanor de Montfort, then a captive in the king's hands, whom he married immediately afterwards. The following entries on the Liberate Roll detail some of the expenses during her restraint.

Rex baronibus de seaccario. Allocate Bartholomæo Le Jovene, constabulario castri Bristol, xc. libras quas per præceptum nostrum liberavit diversis hominibus qui nuper ceperunt Almaricum de Monte Forti et Alianoram sororem suam: de dono nostro. T. R. apud Turr. Lond. 18 Julii. (Liberate 4. Edw. I. m. 5.)

£93. 18s. 4d. to be allowed to Geoffrey de Picheford, constable of Windsor castle, for the expenses of Alianor de Monti Forti and her family dwelling there from Michaelmas-day, a°. 4, to Tuesday after the Feast of St. Augustin, the Apostle of the English, a°. 5. Windsor, 1 June. (m. 3.)

£64. to be allowed to Roger de Coleshill, sheriff of Som. and Dors. for the expenses of Almaric de Monte forti and others, prisoners in Corf castle, from the Eve of the Purification, a°. 4, to Tuesday after the Feast of St. Mark, a°. 5, viz., 64 weeks. Westminster, 29 April. (m. 6.)

£25. 10s. to be allowed to Geoffrey de Pycheford, constable of Windsor castle, for the support of Alianor de Montfort and her family from Tuesday after the Feast of St. Augustin, a° 5, to Michaelmas. Westm., 18 Jan, (m. 3.)

in weakening the power of the Principality. At length awakened to a sense of the misery of their intestine discords, the Welsh chieftains besought the brothers to unite against the common enemy. On former occasions it has been noticed what success this natural alliance brought to the scattered mountaineers, and in this, their last important struggle, it may be seen how much firmer would have been their position had they acquired the art of conquering their national jealousies. They had at length learnt by experience that nothing would satisfy Edward but unconditionally yielding to the yoke of his tyranny. They had tried what effects could be produced by mildly stating their causes of complaint, but the answer they received was of too evasive and dark a nature to mislead them. The conferences were long continued, but all the negotiations came to nothing, and the question could only be settled by an appeal to arms. The first encounter was favourable to the Welsh. It was indeed a severe blow to the English monarch when he heard that his troops were defeated at Moel-y-don. Yet what could a mere handful of undisciplined troops effect, when the flower of all the English forces were arrayed against them? and though extraordinary acts of valour distinguished the little band in their next conflict in Radnorshire, the issue was destructive to the unhappy patriots. This action, near Builth, terminated in the death of Llewelyn, and after his fall (1282) the cause of freedom was entirely lost. The sovereignty,¹ indeed, devolved upon his junior brother, but, alas! it was only an empty title; the inheritor of a Celtic throne was a wretched fugitive, chased like one of the mountain wolves from his lofty shelter, now seeking security in the steep fastnesses of his native hills, hidden in the morass or in the dark solitude of woods, equally im-

¹ The Great Roll of the Pipe, 5 Ric. I., acknowledges the title of Queen as belonging to the Welsh sovereign consort. "In terris datis Emmæ Reginæ de Nowales, xxiii. s. & iv.d."

pervious to light as to human footsteps. He wandered a famishing, despairing outcast. His life, rather than his dominions, was the first object of safety. How much pain would he have been spared, how much disgrace would have been saved his relentless persecutor, had he died in this melancholy extremity! Some wretched creatures (their names have been transmitted in dishonour on the documents of the time) who had shared the princely bounty, were found perfidious enough to divulge the lurking-place of their royal master. With his wife and children he was carried before Edward ab Rhuddlan, who sternly refused to admit the fallen captive into his presence, and immediately ordered him to be placed in close confinement. Harsh and unexpected as this treatment appears, it was however only the prelude of the royal sorrow, since worse usage was in reserve.

An entry upon the Welsh Rolls (25 June, 11 Edw. I.) states that Anian ap Ivor and other Welshmen delivered to the king, whilst he was at Aberconwy, that portion of the most precious wood of the Cross, brought into Wales by St. Neot, from the Holy Land, called by their countrymen *Croysseneight*, which had belonged to Llewelyn and his ancestors; in reward for which act of sacrilegious spoliation they had the privilege granted to them and their heirs in perpetuity of being exempt from all military service except in the four cantreds, and then not at their own charge. Besides this relic, about the same time Edward received the jewels and regalia of the ancient British kings, together with the crown of Arthur. Now, also, he contemplated removing the see from St. Asaph to Rhuddlan, which, in consequence of the royal sojourn, the construction of a new castle, and the great influx of Englishmen, was growing into a flourishing place. The famous Statute of Rhuddlan, which will always remain a testimony of his comprehensive mind and legal acumen, was not passed until the following year. These passing incidents serve to show that Edward

could direct his attention as well to circumstances of minor importance as to the extension of conquest. With the same enlarged conceptions he issued commissions, a little later, to enquire into the injuries done in the late wars to the Churches and other property in Wales; amongst others, to the Cathedral of St. Asaph, the Convent of Friar Preachers at Rhuddlan, and to Strata Florida. The inhabitants of Rhuddlan itself, together with those of Aberconwy and Caernarvon, partook largely of the royal grace, receiving ample charters, by which they were free from toll in all parts of the realm.

David, in the first instance, was consigned to prison at Rhuddlan. His sons remained with him until the middle of July, when the King sent a writ from Caernarvon to Henry de Lacy, ordering him to deliver Llewelyn to Richard de Boys, to whose charge was also consigned by Reginald de Grey, Justice of Chester, Owain, the other son. Both of them were to await further mandates, the dark nature of which we are only permitted silently to conjecture. The father was subsequently removed to Shrewsbury, where a great Council of the English nobility was summoned to enquire into the most prudent method of treating the hapless captive. He was already prejudged by the tone of the royal injunction, which spoke of him as one who was versed in treachery, fraud, intrigue, incendiarisms, and human slaughter; yet these unsparing invectives were adroitly tempered with specious lenity towards the culprit, and ostensibly, the barons were wheedled by the idea that the king wished to entertain the question of dealing with him as an exile or an orphan; enriching him from the demesne of the crown, sheltering him under monarchical protection, and placing him honourably among the illustrious retainers of his court. It could not be difficult for those to whom such insinuations were addressed to comprehend the insidious intimation.

On the 28th of June, 1283, the formal process was

issued for attendance at Shrewsbury, on the morrow of St. Michael (Sept. 30). More than a hundred temporal peers were summoned, besides nineteen justices and members of the Council, two citizens from each upwards of twenty towns, and two knights from each county in England. About half of this collective assembly sat upon the trial.¹ It was soon finished, and the devolved upon the judges to pronounce their sentence.

The end of Llewelyn was entirely worthy a warrior prince; he died on the battle-field defending the liberty of his country, not less in the path of glory than in the sacred exercise of a martyr's duty, receiving in his last moments the solemn peace and benediction of the Church. The hand of vengeance, however, which was too short to reach him living, outraged his mutilated body when it was cold and powerless. His brother David expired under the most unnatural sufferings. Ingenuity strove with inhumanity to render the mode of execution an indelible stain upon the judicial notions of the age. Torn to pieces by horses, then hung and beheaded, his heart and bowels plucked out from his palpitating corpse, the mangled carcase distributed among four of the chief towns of England, which, to the eternal infamy of a barbarous age, and to glut the greedy appetite of sycophants, savagely congested the possession of his quarters, and the head, stuck up at the Tower of London, by the side of his brother's, were the last acts of this mournful tragedy.

We know not the ultimate lot of his widow. The fate of his sons was discreetly hidden from the knowledge of the world. But we are informed that the daughters of the two last princes of Wales sought, under the habit of nuns in the monastery of Sempingbam, a more certain tranquillity than regal life could

¹ In the list of persons summoned an asterisk is fixed to about half the number, and it is possible that such a mark indicated the names of those who attended. Parl. Writs, v. i. p. 15.

bestow. With this fearful proceeding ended the independence of Wales as a separate kingdom.¹

¹ A search through the Great Rolls of the Pipe, and other contemporary documents has not thrown any additional light on this most interesting question. The Welsh Rolls of 10 and 11 Edw. I. contain protections for the people in the Welsh expedition with the King, and summonses to attend him with horses and arms, and also orders for provisions to be sent into Wales. The writ for payment of expenses of pickling and salting the Prince's quarters, alluded to in the author's account of the Parliament of Acton Burnell (*Arch. Journ.* ii. 337), has hitherto eluded his researches.

SHROPSHIRE VOLUNTEERS IN 1803-5.

By ASKEW ROBERTS.

THE Invasion Scare of 1798, particulars of which, as regards the county of Salop, have already been given,¹ was chiefly remarkable for the immense amount of money that was raised by voluntary subscriptions to supplement the national taxes. That of 1803, led almost every able-bodied man in the kingdom to arm and train as a soldier. A bill passed for the Defence of the Country enacted that the name of every man within a certain age should be collected and registered, distinguishing those engaged in any Volunteer Corps, or in the Yeomanry. Each person was required to state on what terms he was willing to be armed, trained and exercised for the defence of the kingdom, in the event of actual invasion. The Militia force was also largely augmented. Indeed so much pressure was put, officially and otherwise, on the stronger sex, that a local newspaper of July 20, 1803, said, "It is somewhat paradoxical in the present state of affairs, that several gentlemen have joined the Volunteer Corps to avoid being made soldiers!"

The relations between England and France became truly critical early in 1803. On the 13th of March Bonaparte publicly insulted Lord Whitworth, our Ambassador, at the Tuileries. Matters rapidly came to a crisis: Lord Whitworth left Paris on May 6, and the French Ambassador, General Andreossy, was requested to leave London. War was declared May 18, after a

¹ See "Shropshire Patriotism in 1798," vol. I, *Trans. of Shrop. Arch. Society.*

little more than a year's suspension of hostilities. England was aroused to the utmost pitch of excitement, and in less than three months 300,000 Volunteers had enrolled themselves.

Shropshire in common with the rest of the nation exerted itself to the utmost. Indeed its county regiment was said to be one of the largest in the kingdom. On the 13th of July, 1803, at a General Meeting of Lieutenancy, which was very numerous attended, the following resolutions were passed :—

That at the present important crisis it is a duty incumbent upon Persons of every Description voluntarily to come forward and use their utmost Exertions for the Defence of their Country, and the Preservation of its Constitution; and that their Exertions should not only be voluntary, but vigorous, so as to baffle the efforts of an Enemy aiming at nothing short of the Destruction of both.

That it is the Opinion of this Meeting, that the County be constituted into the five following Divisions :—

- 1st.—The North : Comprising the Hundreds of Pimhill and Oswestry.
- 2d.—The East : The Hundred of Bradford.
- 3d.—The West : The Borough of Bishop's Castle, and the Hundreds of Clun, Purslow, Overs, and Munslow.
- 4th.—The South : The Borough of Bridgnorth, and the Hundreds of Brimstree, Shottesden, and Wenlock.
- 5th.—The Centre : The Hundreds of Shrewsbury, Condover, Ford, and Chirbury.

That the following Gentlemen be recommended to the Commissioners of Lieutenancy, as proper Persons to be signified to his Majesty as Lieutenants of the Divisions :—North, John Kynaston Powell, Esq. : East, John Cotes, Esq. : West, John Oakeley, Esq. : South, Thomas Whitmore, Esq. : Centre, John Corbet, Esq.

That the several Gentlemen proposed as Lieutenants of the Divisions be requested to transmit forthwith to the Clerk of the General Meetings, the Names of such Deputy Lieutenants or Magistrates as they shall think proper to recommend to the Commissioners of Lieutenancy to be Inspectors of the several Boroughs and Hundreds in their respective Divisions; and of such Gentlemen, Clergymen, or Principal Yeomen as they shall think proper to be Superintendents and Agents of every Parish or Township under the Inspectors.

That it be recommended to the several Lieutenants of Divisions to enter into a Book such Offers of Service as they may receive, whether from Individuals to serve as Infantry, Cavalry, Pioneers, Guides, or otherwise; or to furnish Coaches, Chaises, Chairs, Cars, Waggon, Carts, or other Carriages, Barges, Boats, or other Vessels, or Horses; and also from Millers and Bakers; and transmit Copies thereof to the Clerk of the General Meetings, to be laid before the Commissioners of Lieutenancy.

That such Parts of the Proposals as more particularly relate to this County be printed and sent to the several acting Magistrates and Deputy Lieutenants.

A letter from The Lord Hobart to Mr. Kynaston Powell, stating His Majesty's acceptance of a Proposal by the *Ellesmere Canal Company* for conveying of Troops, Stores and Baggage belonging to his Majesty along the Coast, free of Expence, being read:—Ordered: That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to the Proprietors of the Canal for their very Liberal Offer.

Resolved Unanimously: That the Proceedings of this Meeting be communicated to his Royal Highness *Prince William of Gloucester*, Lieut. General of his Majesty's Forces in the North-West District.

The next business was to raise the Volunteer Companies, and so great was the enthusiasm that this was a comparatively easy task. In little more than a week from the holding of the meeting, we are told that "such was the spirit and loyalty of the Gentlemen and Yeomanry of the county, that a regiment of Infantry offered to his Majesty (by Mr. Kynaston Powell), and graciously accepted, was raised and completed."

Mr. Kynaston Powell's regiment was drawn from all parts of the county, and in addition to it there were local corps, in Shrewsbury and other towns; cavalry, as well as infantry; details connected with which will be given anon. Before the month of July was out Prince William Frederick, the Lieut. General of the district, paid the county a visit, and his presence seems to have infused life and animation everywhere. In the next few months it would appear that the business of life—Sunday and weekday—was marching and

countermarching; consecrating military standards; ball practice; reviews and inspections. The newspapers helped to fan the flame, and if editorial indignation could have exterminated the "hated Corsican," he would speedily have gone to a place from which an invasion of England would have been impossible.

By the courtesy of Mr. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A., editor of *Local Gleanings of Lancashire and Cheshire*, I have been favoured with a copy of the War Office List dated Oct. 1, 1804, which gives the names and dates of appointment of all the Shropshire Officers; and this list I have compared with the local records from the newspapers of 1803-5, and have given the results where variation exists, or any record is published worth preserving.

BRADFORD NORTH—CAVALRY.

Captain: Andrew Corbett—7 Sep. 1803.
 Lieutenant: Thomas Pigott—7 Sep. 1803.
 Cornet: John Kilvert—7 Sep. 1803.

CLEOBURY MORTIMER—LOYAL.

Captain: James Compson—15 Dec. 1803.
 Lieutenant: John Fox—7 Sep. 1803.
 Ensign: James Stevens—7 Sep. 1803.

From unofficial lists, published in the newspapers at the time, I find (under date of October 1803) Sir Walter Blount named as Captain of this Corps, and Compson and Fox bracketed as Lieutenants. The name of the Ensign is given as James Stephen.

HALESOWEN—CAVALRY.

Captain: Joseph Carruthers—9 June 1803.
 Lieutenant: John Ellis Sutton—9 June 1803.
 Cornet: Richard Bloxridge—9 June 1803.

On Aug. 28, 1803, the Hales Owen troop were presented, after Divine Service, with an elegant stand of colours, by the lady of William Hamilton, Esq., in front of The Leasows, Mr. Hamilton's residence.

LUDLOW AND BISHOP'S CASTLE—CAVALRY.

Major Comm: William Walcott—7 Sep 1803.

Captains: James Bayley Toldervey—7 Sep 1803; William Adams—10 Jan. 1804.

Capt. Lieut. and Captain—James Kennersley—7 Sep 1803.

Lieutenants: Thomas Horne—7 Sep 1803; Henry Lloyd—10 Jan. 1804.

Cornets: Robert Trench, Samuel Horne—7 Sep. 1803; John Molyneux—10 Jan. 1804.

In the lists given in the newspapers under date Oct. 20, 1803, John Syer is named as Captain, William Adams as Lieutenant, and Henry Lloyd as Cornet. Molyneux had not then joined. Syer resigned early in 1804, hence the promotions. There was a troop of Ludlow Yeomanry Cavalry in 1801, and on May 21 of that year colours were presented to it by the Hon. Lieut. Col. Clive (in the absence of his niece) and consecrated by the Rev. Mr. Alban, chaplain of the corps. On Oct. 5, 1804, after an inspection by Col. Chayter, in Oakeley Park, a standard was presented to the Ludlow and Bishop's Castle Cavalry by Lady Powis and her daughters Ladies Charlotte and Harriot Clive. At the same time a standard was also presented, by these ladies, to the Ludlow and Cleobury Volunteers.

LUDLOW—LOYAL.

Major Comm: Richard Salwey—7 Sep. 1803.

Captains: Edward Rogers, Jonathan Green—7 Sep. 1803; John Beebee Morris—14 Apr. 1804.

Lieutenants: William Lloyd—7 Sep. 1803; William Preece—13 Dec. 1803; Richard Taylor—14 Apr. 1804.

Ensigns: Jacob Smith, John Dyke—13 Dec. 1803; Edward Wellings—14 Apr. 1804.

Chaplain: Charles Taylor—14 Apr. 1804.

In a list dated Oct. 1803, J. B. Morris, and Thomas Vaughan Langley, are given as Lieutenants; William Preece and Edward Wellings as Ensigns. In Dec. 1803, the local papers give:—"Thomas Hill Lowe, Esq., Captain; Ensign William Preece, Lieutenant, vice Langley, resigned; Jacob Smith, gent., Ensign, vice Wellings, resigned." Mr. Beebee Morris was made Captain on the resignation of Mr. Lowe; at which time Mr. Richard Taylor was promoted, and Mr. Edward Wellings, jun., gent., took his place as Ensign. In March 1805 (six months after the date at which the official list I quote was issued) Lieut. Preece resigned, and Ensign Wellings was promoted; and at the same time W. Gardner and Thomas Wellings, gents., were appointed ensigns. In the newspapers this corps is called the "Ludlow and Cleobury

Mortimer Infantry." On Jan. 1, 1805, the officers and privates connected with it presented Lieut. Col. Salwey with a silver cup and two goblets, to the value of £100, in recognition of his services.

MORFE—LOYAL.

Lieut. Col. Comm: Edward Gatacre—22 Aug. 1803.
 Major: Wm. Yelv. Davenport—22 Aug. 1803.
 Captains: Ra. Br. Wylde Browne, Henry Jones, Edward Gatacre, William Whitmore, Richard Tyrwhitt—22 Aug. 1803; J. Clarke, Thomas Devey—15 Dec. 1803.
 Lieutenants: Thomas Barnfield, William Skelding, James Farmer, Joseph Bryan, Thomas Bache, — Macmichael—22 Aug. 1803; Matthias Purton, Andrew Harding, Francis Moore—15 Dec. 1803.
 Ensigns: James Eykeyn, W. Rose, William Perry, Andrew Thompson—22 Aug. 1803; John Bache, John Jones Morvil, Richard Backhouse—15 Dec. 1803.
 Quarter Master: William Skelding—14 Mar. 1804.

In Feb. 1805, Col. Gatacre was appointed to the 1st Shrop. Reg., on which Thomas Whitmore, Esq., became Lieut. Col. of the Morfe battalion. In March of the same year W. Parry, gent., was appointed Quarter-Master, in the place of Skelding, resigned; W. Bradley, gent., was appointed Surgeon, and the Rev. Sherrington Davenport, Chaplain. In May 1805, Lieut. Matthias Parton was promoted to a Captaincy, and Ensign Richard Backhouse was made Lieutenant in his place. In some of the announcements the newspapers call this the "Morfe and Royal Oak Infantry." The War Office list of 1804 gives the "Royal Oak" quite distinct from the Morfe, as will be seen further on, but in 1806 I find it officially described as the "Morfe and Royal Oak Battalion."

NEWPORT—LOYAL.

Major Comm: Ralph Leeke—22 Aug. 1803.
 Major: Washington Cotes—21 Jan. 1804.
 Captains: Joseph Dickenson, Wm. Wycherley Brooks—22 Aug. 1803; Thomas Baddeley—15 May 1804.
 Lieutenants: Ambrose Brooks, Thomas Browne, Thomas Collier—22 Aug. 1803; John Proudfoot—26 May 1804.
 Chaplain: John D [ryden] Pigott—11 Feb. 1804.
 Surgeon: John Jones—14 Mar. 1804.

The name of Charles Morris is given in a list of Oct. 1803, as Captain, Baddeley being the Lieutenant. His promotion took place on the death of Captain Morris, In Feb. 1805, Major Leeke

was announced to rank as Lieut. Col. Comm., and John Proudfoot, gent., was made Adjutant. On Apr. 22, 1804, colours were presented to the corps by Mrs. Leeke of Longford, and consecrated by Mr. Pigott,

OAK—ROYAL.

Captain: George Baylis—22 Aug. 1803.

Lieutenants: Chappel Woodhouse, John Meeson—22 Aug. 1803.

Ensign: Richard Ward—22 Aug. 1803.

OSWESTRY RANGERS—CAVALRY.

Major Comm: Geo. Henry Warrington—7 Jan. 1803.

Captain: William Hamilton Martin—24 Feb. 1804.

Lieutenants: Lawton Parry—7 Jan. 1803; Thomas Salter—20 Oct. 1803.

Cornets: Henry Bowman, Thomas Holwell—20 Oct. 1803.

Chaplain: Joshua Venables—24 Nov. 1803.

Adjutant: Arthur Davenport—8 Nov. 1798.

Surgeon: Robert Cartwright—24 Nov. 1803.

This company was raised in 1797, Mr. Mytton of Halston (father of the celebrated John Mytton) being the Captain-Commandant. The Chaplain was the Rev. Turner Edwards, Vicar of Oswestry, who consecrated the colours on the Bailey Head in 1797. At that period Mr. L. J. Venables was Cornet, and received the colours, and Mr. Lloyd was Lieutenant. Mr. Mytton died in 1798, and Mr. Lloyd resigned. The vacancies were filled up as follows:—G. H. Warrington, Captain; L. J. Venables, Lieutenant; John Rogers, Cornet; A. N. Davenport, Adjutant. In May, 1799, Owen Ormsby, Esq., of Porkington, was made Major-Commandant, which office he resigned at the end of 1802, when the following promotions took place:—Capt. Warrington to be Major; Lieut. Venables, Captain; Cornet Lawton Parry, Lieutenant. On the resignation of Lieut. W. Lloyd, in Oct., 1803, Thomas Salter, gent., was appointed Lieutenant; Henry Bowman and Thomas Holwell, gents., Cornets, in the place of Morrall and R. Croxon, resigned. Mr. Martin was made Captain on the resignation of Mr. Venables in Feb., 1804. How long the Corps was kept up I cannot say; but in Oct., 1809, when the enclosure of Dudleston Heath was taken in hand, the natives were so infuriated that they defied all law and order, so Major Warrington and the Oswestry Rangers appeared on the scene, and “kept the ground” whilst the Surveyors went on with the work.

OSWESTRY ARTILLERY.

Captain: John Bradbridge—28 Apr. 1804.

First Lieutenant: Edward Croxon—22 Aug. 1803.

Second Lieutenant: Wm. Henry Newenham—22 Aug. 1803.

In Dec. 1803, Thomas Newenham, Esq., was Captain of the Artillery; and it was on his resignation Mr. Bradbridge was appointed. In Feb. 1805, the names are announced of Edward Edmunds, gent., as Lieutenant, and Thomas Downes, gent., as Ensign, and in the local papers of May, 1805, we have again "Edward Croxon, gent., Lieutenant" leading to the supposition that at some period he had resigned, and been re-appointed.

SHREWSBURY—LOYAL.

Lieut. Col. Comm.: Charles Oakley, Bart.—24 Nov. 1803.

Lieut. Colonel: Thomas Pemberton—24 Nov. 1803.

Major: Fra. Knivet Leighton—14 Mar. 1804.

Captains: Robert Pemberton, Richard Scott, Thomas Mason, William Prissick, William Coupland, James Mason, William Hazeldine, Samuel Milner, Adjutant—7 Sep. 1803.

Lieutenants: John Eaton, Thomas Panting, Joseph Asterley, John Carline, John Ellis, John Wickstead—7 Sep. 1803; William Wood—27 Dec. 1803.

Ensigns: John H. Haycock, William Teece, Thomas Farmer Dukes, John Williams, W. Cooper—7 Sep. 1803; John Crawford Jones, Joseph Birch—27 Dec. 1803.

Chaplain: Henry Cay Adams—27 Dec. 1803.

Paymaster: John Oakley.

Adjutant: Samuel Millner—7 Sep. 1803.

Quarter Master: William Harley—7 Sep. 1803.

Surgeon: William Clement—7 Sep. 1803.

Assistant Surgeon: — Bennett—7 Sep. 1803.

The first appointments are notified at the end of August, 1803. The Lieut. Col. Commandant was Baldwin Leighton, Esq.; and the Lieut. Colonel Sir Charles Oakeley. The post of Major was offered to Major Edwardes, and declined, and was accepted by the then Mayor of Shrewsbury, Mr. Burton. A month later Mr. Baldwin Leighton became Mayor of the county-town, and on the 12 Oct. it was announced in the papers that "our most respectable townsman, Col. Baldwin Leighton, Mayor of Shrewsbury, after his long and meritorious services, is appointed Major-General in the army, and of the Northern District of England." This necessitated his resignation of office in the "Shrewsbury Loyal." Lieut. Col. Oakeley was promoted to the post of Commander, and promotion being declined by Major Burton, Thomas Pemberton, Esq., of Millichope, became

Lieut. Colonel. At that date there was a Lieut. Salkeld who resigned, and his place was filled by William Wood, gent. Major Burton resigned in Feb. 1804, and Mr. Knivet Leighton was appointed Major. The *Salopian Journal* of Sep. 19, 1804, says:—"Mr. Eaton, senior Lieutenant in the Corps of Loyal Shrewsbury Volunteers, has been promoted to the command of the 3d. Company, vice T. Mason, Esq., resigned; and Mr. Haycock, late Ensign of the 1st Company, has succeeded to the Lieutenantancy vacated by Capt. Eaton. These promotions we expect to see soon announced in the Gazette." Our Official List shows that this change was not gazetted on the first of the following month. In May, 1805, William Harley, gent., (the Quarter Master I suppose) had the rank of Ensign conferred on him. On Jan. 18, 1804, Lady Oakeley presented Colours to this Corps, in the Quarry; "so great was the throng of spectators, that the whole of the troops could not find room." The Colours were taken by a detachment of Capt. Pemberton's Company, and lodged in The Abbey.

¹ SHROPSHIRE CAVALRY—FIRST CORPS.

Major Comm: William Cludde—17 May 1798.

Captains: Thomas Eyton—16 May 1798; Richard Emery—3 Feb. 1804.

Lieutenants: William Briscoe—17 May 1798; Thomas Jukes Collier—3 Feb. 1804.

Cornets: William Masefield—17 Feb. 1801; Thomas Meire—3 Feb. 1804.

Adjutant: Thomas Kyle—20 May 1800.

The "First Corps" was the one originally called the "Wrekin Company," to which colours were presented by Mrs. Cludde on Apley Castle Grounds in 1798.

¹ There is some confusion in the references to these four companies in the Shrewsbury papers of 1803-4. As early as Jan. 1797, at a meeting of Lieutenantancy for Shropshire, the following gentlemen offered to serve in the Provisional force of Cavalry to be raised for the county:—John Hill, Esq., jun., T. J. Powys, Esq., Rowland Hunt, Esq., W. Walcot, Esq., and R. Betton, Esq. In May 1798, there was a meeting of Lieutenantancy to consider the propriety of substituting a Yeomanry Cavalry in lieu of Provisional Cavalry, for Shropshire; and the thanks of the meeting were accorded to Major Hill and other gentlemen who had tendered their services to Government to raise the Provisional Cavalry; and to the Hon. William Hill, Thomas Eaton, jun., Esq., W. Cludde, Esq., Henry Jervis, Esq., and others "to whose services the county were much indebted." In May 1798, the town of Shrewsbury pledged itself to raise a troop of Cavalry. The "Provisional" forces were, I presume, merged into the four Corps of the War Office list, although it would appear by the newspapers that they retained their original names in the mouths of the public.

SECOND CORPS.

Major Comm : Hon. William Hill—20 June 1798.

Captains : Thomas Jelf Powis—20 June 1798 ; Charles Dallas,
Thomas Lloyd—3 Feb. 1804.

Lieutenants : Joshua Peele, John Beck—27 June 1798 ; W.
Egerton Jeffreys—20 May 1801.

Cornets : Charles Stanier, Joseph Meire—20 Sep. 1798 ; Lloyd
Bailey—20 May 1801.

The "Second Corps" seems to have been known as the "Shrewsbury Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry," and, under date May 1801 I find a newspaper paragraph giving "Commissions in Capt. Powys's troop of Shrewsbury Yeomanry Cavalry, signed by his Majesty," which included William Egerton Jeffreys, gent. to be Lieutenant, vice T. Mason, resigned; Lloyd Bayley, gent. to be Cornet, vice Jeffreys promoted. Mr. Thomas Lloyd, who became a Captain in Feb. 1804, had previously been Lieutenant, and was promoted on the resignation of Capt. Hammer. In July 1805 Major (or Captain as he is styled in the newspapers) Powys died, and Lieut. Beck was made Captain; Cornet Meire, Lieutenant; John Dobson, gent., Cornet. At the same time John Southern, gent, was appointed Quarter-Master; Rev. Hugh Owen, Chaplain; and Samuel Sandford, gent., Surgeon. To go back to 1798. On Nov. 29 of that year there was quite a gala day in Shrewsbury on occasion of presenting the standards to "the three troops" of Yeomanry Cavalry, by the Corporation. The names of Lieut. Beck, Capt. Powys, and Capt. Hammer, are mentioned as receiving the colours, and the Rev. Hugh Owen was at that period the Chaplain: all being names connected with the "Second Corps" of the later official lists.

THIRD CORPS.

Lieut. Col. Comm : John Hill, jun.—3 Nov. 1803.

Major : Henry Jervis—3 Dec. 1803.

Captains : John Hill—27 June 1798 ; Peter Davies—30 Oct.,
1803 ; Richard Hill, bart.—3 Nov. 1803 ; John Walford—
3 Jan. 1804 ; Thomas Dicken—14 Mar. 1804.

Lieutenants : Thomas Lloyd Bayley—3 Nov. 1803 ; John Over-
ton, William Grinsell—3 Jan. 1803 ; George Downward—
14 Mar. 1803.

Cornets : Samuel D. Grinsell—3 Nov. 1803 ; George Bradbury
3 Jan. 1804 ; William Wickstead, Daniel Griffith—14
Mar. 1804.

Chaplain—William Judson—14 Mar. 1804.

Surgeon : James Essex—14 Mar. 1804.

The "Third Corps" was probably that known originally as the "Hawkstone Company," to which colours were presented in 1798

by Mrs. Corbet of Shawbury Park. In the War Office list Mr. Henry Jervis's appointment as Major is dated 8 Dec. 1803, but he was one of the first, if not the first, to raise a Company in the county, at Market Drayton. According to unofficial lists, when Mr. Peter Davies was appointed Captain of the Third Corps in Oct. 1803, it was by promotion. Before that date Sir Richard Hill was Captain; he was then made "Captain by brevet," and Davies took his place, Cornet Dicken taking rank as Lieutenant, William Grinsell, gent., and George Downward, gent., being appointed Cornets in the room of Dicken and Bayley. There was no Major until Mr. Jervis was appointed, and it would appear he had previously been Captain, for a newspaper list of Jan. 1804, states that Walford, Overton, W. Grinsell, and Bradbury were all raised a step by Captain Jervis's promotion. There is also a Samuel Davies mentioned as Captain, promoted in Jan. 1804, who resigned the following month. In a Diagram showing the relative strength of the Volunteer Army of 1806, this is called "Shropshire Cavalry—1st Reg.," the others retaining their titles of First and Second "Corps." It then numbered 800, the others being respectively 124 and 180.

FOURTH CORPS.

Captain: Rowland Hunt—20 Sep. 1798.
 Lieutenant: John Edwards—20 Sep. 1798.
 Cornet: Thomas Evans—20 Sep. 1798.
 Chaplain: Thomas Pressland—20 Sep. 1798.

"Fourth Corps." This never seems to have been really amalgamated with the others, for in an official table issued in 1806, we have it entered as the "Pimhill Light Horse." In our Official List of Officers for 1804, the date of Mr. Thomas Evans's appointment is 20 Sep. 1798, but in a newspaper list he is stated to have been gazetted in Oct. 1803, vice Thomas Walford resigned.

1 SHROPSHIRE.

Colonel: John Kynaston Powell—9 July 1803.
 Lieut. Colonels: John Corbet, Corbet Corbet, Bart—9 July 1803.
 Majors: Henry Cressett Pelham, Edward Plowden—9 July 1803.

¹ May 28, 1804, great crowds assembled at Shrewsbury to witness the proceedings connected with the presentation of Colours, by the Corporation, to the regiment of Shropshire Volunteers (under the command of Colonel Kynaston Powell) then on 21 days permanent duty in the town. At noon the Mayor, Aldermen, and Assistants, attended by a number of respectable gentlemen, and the band of the Shrewsbury Volunteers, proceeded in two boats very handsomely fitted out, from Mardol Quay, up the Severn to the field, where the regiment had already assembled. When they landed they

Captains : Phillip Charlton, Edward Dimmock, William Morral, Thomas Wollaston, Hon. Thomas Kenyon, Joseph Sutton, Benjamin Benyon, William Holt Davidson, William Church Norecup, Charles Oakeley, Owen Roberts, Richard Heber—9 July 1803; Andrew Corbett, Robert Clark, Henry Harnage, Hugh Owen, Longueville Jones, William Sparling—12 Sep. 1803.

Lieutenants : Francis Lloyd Bayley, Richard Marigold Noneley, Francis Lee, Randal Edwards, James Aris, Thomas Sutton—9 July 1803; Christopher Scott, Edward Kynaston, Thomas Maddox, Charles Page, Peter Pritchard, Richard Croxon, Lewis Cooke, Richard Spendlow, James Parry, James Kent, John Griffith, John Jones, Thomas Oswald, William Poole, Robert Price, John Brazier, Stephen Hassall, Edward Stokes, John Bellyse, John Price, John Marston, Roger Blakeway, Lewis Evans—13 Sep. 1803; Henry Cotton, John Williams—1 Nov. 1803; John Fallowes, Samuel Tudor—15 Nov. 1803; F. Quarne—9 Jan. 1804; Samuel Moore Lawrence, Arthur Downes (adjutants)—10 Mar. 1804.

Ensigns : George Anderson—9 July 1803; William Jackson, John Kynaston, Edward Snaxton, George Jebb, John Ireland, Robert Edwards, Andrew Outlaw, Samuel Brain, John Hincksman, John Croxon, George Walmesley, Thomas Aldersey—14 Sep. 1803; George Green—1 Nov. 1803; Thomas Birch—15 Nov. 1803; Noel Lloyd—16 Nov. 1803; Reginald Heber—10 Mar. 1804.

Chaplain : [Rev.] Edward Kynaston—9 July 1803.

Paymaster : Edward Kynaston [Esq.]—9 July 1803.

Adjutants : Samuel Moore Lawrence (lieutenant)—14 Sep. 1803; Arthur Downes (lieutenant)—10 Jan. 1804

Quarter-Master : Richard Tomlinson—15 Nov. 1803.

In the newspaper lists of officers in Sep. 1803, there is the name Robert Lloyd amongst the Captains, and Robert Clarke is described as Capt.-Lieutenant. In the earliest list, Francis Quarne stands as Adjutant, which post he resigned in Jan. 1804, when Downes was appointed. In Nov. 1803, there was a Mr. Alleyne, who, according to the unofficial lists gave place to William Sparling, Esq., as

were conducted by an escort to the "General's Colour:" the regiment presented arms, and the officers saluted the Mayor; who then handed the Colours to the Bishop of Waterford, by whom they were dedicated. The Mayor then presented the Colours, and Joseph Loxdale, Esq., deputy recorder, read an address to the Colonel, to which that officer replied. The men afterwards "marched past," and the Corporation lunched with the officers, and took boats for home again. Concert and Ball at the Lion Rooms in the evening.

Captain in May 1804. Mr. Fallows, gazetted Lieutenant 15 Sep. 1803 took the place occupied by Mr. Cureton of Hordley, who was thrown from his horse going home from Ellesmere, and killed. He was buried with Military honours. There are several promotions and changes that might be enumerated, but they are scarcely worth the space they would take. Very soon after the War Office List of Oct. 1804, was prepared, promotions took place, in consequence probably of resignations. Thus at the end of that year, or beginning of the next, Ensigns Jackson, Ireland, Hinksman, and Outlaw, were made Lieutenants, and two new names—Robert Perrott and John Rowland, gent.—appear amongst the Ensigns. In May 1805, Adjutant Lawrence was promoted, and Robert Slater, gent., became Quarter Master in the place of Tomlinson, who was also promoted. In July of the same year Nathaniel Parker, Esq., and William Hanmer, Esq., were appointed Captains, in the room of Jones and Oakley, who resigned. Lieutenants Croxon and Cooke resigned at the same date, and in consequence Ensigns Aldersey and Birch stepped into their places. To complete the changes at that date, I may add that Thomas Acton Wollaston, gent., was appointed Ensign in the place of Mr. Jebb, who had joined the army. On Dec. 16, 1804 (Sunday evening), the Wem division of this regiment stepped forward on the field of exercise, and voted a handsome sword to their Adjutant, Lieut. Samuel Moore Lawrence, as a token of his attention to duty.

WELLINGTON.

Lieut. Col. Comm : Thomas Eyton—22 Aug. 1803.

Major : Edward Cludde—22 Aug. 1803.

Captains : Henry Williams, John Rocke, Egerton Leeke, William Anstree [? Anstice]—22 Aug. 1803.

Lieutenants : Robert Henshaw, Richard Mountfort, Edward Bennett, — Anstice, William Tranter—22 Aug. 1803.

Ensigns : William Cartwright, — Tranter—22 Aug. 1803 ; William Palin, William Rodenhurst—17 Dec. 1803.

Chaplain : John Rocke—17 Dec. 1803.

In July 1805, Ensign Tranter was promoted, Lieut. Bennett having resigned. At the same time William Henry Cope was made Ensign. There was a Company called "The Wellington Fencibles" as early as 1795 ; and a record exists of their being called out to quell a bread-riot at Madeley in the month of July in that year.

WENLOCK—LOYAL.

Lieut. Col. Comm : George Forester—7 Sep. 1803,

Major : Cecil Forester—7 Sep. 1803,

Captains: Richard Collins, George Goodwin, Francis Blythe Harries, John Pritchard—7 Sep. 1803.

Lieutenants: George Evans, James Clayton, Charles Guest, Alexander Brodie—7 Sep. 1803.

Ensigns: Francis Pitt, Timothy Yate, Robert Ferriday, John Onions—7 Sep. 1803.

This Company had only been disbanded in June, 1802, after the short-lived Peace of Amiens, and on the 1 Jan. 1803, those who had composed it presented Major Forester with a silver bowl worth a hundred guineas "as a token of their humble gratitude to him for his attention and liberality to the Corps." In Feb. 1805, Major Forester became Lieut. Colonel; Capt. Collins, Major; Lieut. Guest, Captain; Ensign Ferriday, Lieutenant; and Humphrey Hinton, gent., was appointed Ensign. In July of the same year Lieut. Ferriday resigned, and Ensign Onions was promoted; Christopher Banks, gent., being appointed Ensign. On June 4, 1801, the Wenlock Company, under the command of Major Forester, had colours presented to it by Lady Catherine Forester, and consecrated by the Rev. Townsbend Forester. "The Apley division of the Brimstree Loyal Legion kept the ground."

WHITCHURCH—LOYAL.

Lieut. Col. Comm: John Knight—22 Aug. 1803.

Major: John Barnes Watson—22 Aug. 1803.

Captains: Samuel Lowe, Edward Payne, James Broomfield, William Gregory, George Corser, John Trevor—22 Aug. 1803.

Lieutenants: Richard Corser, Robert Powell Grindley, George Minor, George Nailor, John Edwards—22 Aug. 1803; Henry Clarke—31 Jan. 1804; William Mingay (Adjutant)—26 May 1804.

Ensigns: Thomas Prince, John Jones, Richard Brooks, Robert Harper—22 Aug. 1803; William Reddrop, Samuel Parker—31 Jan. 1804.

Paymaster: George Naylor—22 Aug. 1803.

Adjutant: William Mingay (Lieutenant)—22 Aug. 1803.

Quarter Master: John Edwards—22 Aug. 1803.

Surgeon: William Jones—22 Aug. 1803.

There are other names in the first newspaper lists. There was a John Gregory, Lieutenant in 1803, who resigned when Ensign Henry Clarke was promoted in Feb. 1804. At the same time William Reddrop was made Ensign, vice Clarke, and Samuel Parker, gent., Ensign in the room of R. Reddrop, who resigned. The same unofficial list of 1803, that mentions John Gregory, also

gives William Jones as a Lieutenant; George Naylor and Richard Reddrop as Ensigns. John Edwards, in the same list, ranks as Ensign. In a later list, towards the end of 1803, the Rev. John Collier is entered as Chaplain, and Adjutant Mingay is stated to be late Capt. Lieut. and Adjutant in the Westmoreland Militia. In Dec. 1803, a newspaper list gives some entirely new names in the Loyal Whitchurch Volunteers, viz.:—Ensign T. Netherclift to be Lieutenant, vice Vincent, resigned; William Stare, gent., to be Ensign, vice Netherclift, promoted. In March 1805, there were the following changes:—Capt. Lowe to be Major, vice Watson, resigned; Lieut. Corser, Captain, vice Lowe; Lieut. Edwards, Captain, vice Trevor, resigned; Edward Carlton, gent., to be Ensign. Ensigns Harper and Prince became Lieutenants in consequence of these promotions. At the same date Ensign Parker was made Quarter-Master on the resignation of Mr. Edwards. In May 1805, there were further changes: Lieutenant Carlton became Captain, vice W. Gregory, resigned; in consequence of which Parker became Lieutenant, and John Brereton, gent., took his place as Ensign. John Jones, too, resigned, and was succeeded as Ensign by Thomas Jones, gent., and there was another new Ensign appointed—Thomas Reddrop, gent.

The numerical strength of the Volunteer forces in Shropshire at the end of 1803, was set down at 900 cavalry, 5022 infantry. In 1806, the numbers were augmented to 6551, made up as follows:—

EFFECTIVE STRENGTH IN SALOP.

Loyal Ludlow and Cleobury, infantry, 378, Lieut. Colonel Richard Salwey.
 Morfe and Royal Oak Battalion, 815, Lieut. Col. Thos. Whitmore.
 Loyal Newport, infantry, 443, Lieut. Col. Ralph Leeke.
 Oswestry Rangers, Infantry, 104, Major G. H. Warrington.
 Pimhill Light Horse, 65, Captain Rowland Hunt.
 Loyal Shrewsbury, infantry, 640, Lieut. Col. Sir C. Oakeley, Bart.
 Shropshire Cavalry, 1st Corps, 124, Major W. Childe.
 " " 2nd Corps, 180, Major Hon. William Hill.
 " " 1st Regiment, 300, Lieut. Col. John Hill.
 Shropshire, 1,993 Colonel J. K. Powell.
 Loyal Wenlock, infantry, 352, Lieut. Col. Cecil Forester.
 Loyal Whitchurch, infantry, 527, Lieut. Col. John Knight.
 Hales Owen, cavalry, 38, Captain Joseph Carruthers.
 Ludlow, &c., cavalry, 150, Major William Walcot.

Oswestry Artillery, 102, Captain John Broadbridge.
Wellington, infantry, 340, Lieut. Col. Thomas Eyton.

Total, 6,551.

It will be seen by this Table that there were some companies in existence when the Official List was issued in Oct. 1804, that had either been disbanded, or merged into others, when the Table of 1806 was prepared. I find, too, in a solitary announcement in a Shrewsbury paper of Nov. 1803, the existence of another company indicated, reference to which I do not find elsewhere. The paragraph merely states that "— Jarvis, gent., and John Portal, gent.," have been appointed Lieutenant and Cornet of the "Whitchurch Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry."

Some of my readers who lived in the first quarter of the present century will remember how, when they were young, the favourite game of juveniles everywhere was "playing at soldiers." One record is preserved, where this game no doubt became, to the players, a very serious business indeed, and with this I conclude my narrative. In the papers of 1803 we are told that, with the approbation of Dr. Butler, the young gentlemen of Shrewsbury School formed themselves into two companies; the "Dismounted Cavalry," under the command of Captain Evans, and the "Infantry," under Captain Gilby. Colours were presented to these juvenile companies—with much ceremony—on Sep. 26, 1803: Miss Evans, a young Warwickshire lady, made the presentation to the cavalry, and Miss Kynnersley to the infantry. The Cornet and the Ensign, who respectively received the Colours from their Captains, were sons of W. Oakeley, Esq., of Tanybwldh, and Valentine Vickers, Esq., of Cranmere.

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

SHROPSHIRE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, ESTABLISHED 1835.	SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ESTABLISHED 1877.
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SHROPSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society was held in the Museum, at Shrewsbury, on Tuesday, Dec. 7, at half-past eleven, Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., one of the vice-presidents, in the chair. The attendance was unusually large, owing, no doubt, to the fact that Mr. Leighton had been announced as chairman, and the natural wish of the Members to support him on the occasion.

Amongst those present were, the Revs. Canon Butler, W. A. Leighton of Shrewsbury, J. Evans, Whixall, J. Mitchell, Alberbury, Messrs. W. Wilding, Church Stretton, J. Bodenhams, Newport, Askew Roberts, Oswestry, Dr. Cranage, Wellington, Revs. C. H. Drinkwater, T. Auden, S. W. Allen, Messrs. J. Morris, J. Sharpe, T. Onions, Oldroyd, T. Southam, S. C. Southam, J. P. White, W. Beacall, C. Cortissos, J. Calcott, W. Phillips, R. Taylor, J. P. Smith, E. J. Parry, A. B. Deakin, H. W. Adnitt, of Shrewsbury, &c., &c.

The Hon. Secretary (Mr. Adnitt) read the Annual Report, which was as follows:—

The Council of the Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society again have pleasure in presenting their Report and Statement of Accounts to the Members. The Accounts show that the number of Members has but slightly decreased, and this has been occasioned by deaths and removals; the Council venture to hope that the number may be made up by the exertion of the present Members, and believe that if a special effort was made by those interested, the list might easily be increased to 350, which is the number of the copies of the *Transactions* printed.

The Accounts show a balance in hand of £63 5s. 4d., which is less than the balance in hand at the commencement of the year by £5 14s. 9d., but it must be remembered that the Council have purchased during the year a fine copy of *Eyton's Antiquities*, at a cost of £22, and made also other purchases of interest to the Museum.

During the year the *Transactions* have been issued to the Members, and the Council beg to thank all the contributors for their valued papers, and especially Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.P., for a further instalment of the Corporation Records of Oswestry, and the Rev. W. A. Leighton for his transcript of Taylor's MS., so far as it relates to Shropshire.

The Council in doing this cannot but refer to the late disastrous fire at the Shirehall, and venture strongly to suggest that the records of the county and borough may be at once carefully gone over, and, as far as possible, copies made. They feel thankful that those valuable documents, which were in the Strong Rooms, and the paintings, were entirely preserved.

At the Museum a considerable amount of work has been done by the curators, in arranging the different sections, but they find that, as referred to in the last report, they are sadly hindered for want of room, and the Council feel strongly that the time must shortly arrive when it will be imperative to take steps to erect or acquire a building worthy of the county and borough.

During the year valuable donations to the Museum have been received, which are acknowledged in the *Transactions*. The Council, in presenting their thanks to the donors, would especially mention a most interesting collection presented by Mr. T. C. Walker, formerly of Shrewsbury, and also W. Muckleston, Esq., of Meole Brace, for his donation of the Records and Charters, &c., of the Guild of Mercers and Goldsmiths, he being the last surviving member. Since the year has closed, a very large and valuable donation has been received at the Museum from T. Stanley Eyton, Esq., and the Misses Eyton, consisting of the late T. C. Eyton, Esq.'s, choice collection of shells, fossils, &c., which will be more fully recorded in the next year's report.

The Committee feel they cannot conclude without referring to the death of the late T. C. Eyton, Esq., who, from the foundation of the Museum, was a most earnest worker in the Zoological Section, and also the donor of many of its contents.

The number of visitors to the Museum have been by payment of 6d., 411, £10 15s. 6d.; 3d., 156, £1 19s.; total, £12 4s. 6d.; members' orders, 605; total, 1,172. Several societies have also been admitted free.

The Council have only to add that their thanks and those of the Members are due to the Editorial Committee, especially to the Rev. W. A. Leighton, and also to the Hon. Sec., Mr. Adnitt, for his willing exertions for the welfare of the Society.

The Council again solicit donations of objects of interest relating to the county, especially books, prints, drawings, coins, and specimens illustrating the archaeology, botany, zoology, and geology of the county.

Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P., said—Gentlemen, as your Chairman it is my duty to move the adoption of the Report. The development of this and kindred societies is a most undeniable evidence of the attractiveness of Archæology, and of the natural and becoming pride which intelligent men feel more and more, in what remains to them from generations past. I think I may congratulate the Society on the character of its supporters. The list, I hope, may become even larger, but nevertheless at present I think it contains the names of almost every peer connected with the county, and most of the principal landowners. It contains moreover a number of professional men, and men whose occupation lies chiefly in trade and agriculture; and I think it contains, without exception, all the men and women in Shropshire who are professional antiquaries. Gentlemen, as a member myself of several antiquarian societies, and also of what I suppose may be called the parent society, namely, the Chartersed Society of Antiquaries in London, I have often wished that a more direct intercommunication between antiquarian societies could be brought about. The affiliation of local societies to the London Society would add strength to the one and dignity to the others, and give great encouragement to antiquarian pursuits throughout the whole

country. I understand that we may have an opportunity ourselves this year of showing hospitality and attention to the Cambrian Archaeological Society, which purposes shortly to meet in Shropshire. I hope it will be found acceptable to our Council to give them an appropriate welcome. Gentlemen, the historical monuments of England will never be safe until they are regarded as precious in the eyes of all Englishmen. Not the Government, or a committee of the British Museum, but the people themselves must guard the evidences of their history. The antiquarian Societies are fitting custodians of such treasures, and upon us is voluntarily imposed the obligation to set the example. More often than some persons think an ancient monument has an absolute commercial value, and people will pay money for the privilege of seeing it. As an example I will mention Shakespeare's house at Stratford, and the famous stones on the Salisbury Downs. But in cases where money is out of the question, sentiment is usually found to be strong enough to induce the educated to subscribe for the sake of preserving an old landmark, even though the mark can be only recognised by the eye of an antiquary. Let me mention some instances in our own immediate neighbourhood. The mound of Oswestry Castle, the ruins of Ruyton Castle, the remnants of Wroxeter, the very hall in which our own Museum is collected, "Vaughan's Palace," as it was called in the old days, one of the rare specimens of the Domestic architecture of the 14th century, still extant in Shrewsbury, all these are examples of places saved from neglect by the associated action of private individuals. Perhaps, gentlemen, I shall not be overstepping the scope of a Chairman's address if I venture to throw out a suggestion. There is in Shrewsbury, as we all know, a precious and almost unique example of mediæval architecture and monastic manners, in the stone pulpit of the Abbey. Its conventual surroundings have now for a long time been removed from its neighbourhood. It stands like an unwelcome monitor in the centre of a railway station. There is difficulty in approaching it, to examine it is almost impossible. Danger threatens it on every side. Could not the Council of our Shropshire Archaeological Society, or might not individual antiquaries, enquire how far it would be practicable to move the pulpit to some more congenial site—and how far those most interested in the Abbey to which it belongs would be willing to afford it a safe and dignified resting place, where it might be seen and appreciated? The removal of Temple Bar and the erection of it afresh elsewhere, stone for stone the same as it was, is a precedent in point. The figures in the front of the Town Hall, the one of Richard Duke of York, removed from the tower of the Welsh Bridge, the other of an angel bearing the arms of France and England, removed from the Castle Gate Tower, are precedents of our own. Gentlemen, it is an agreeable subject of congratulation that we are growing too big for our present premises, which we have occupied for 45 years. No more appropriate hall than the one we now rent could we possibly obtain, and we should certainly

make the most of it. I should be very sorry for it to be given up, but it is crowded to excess; we have been obliged to decline some valuable collections of natural history for want of room. We have lately received from the family of Mr. Eyton a most rich gift of shells and fossils. Our library is increasing; our maps and pictures require wall room which we cannot give them; so the time seems to have come when the antiquaries and naturalists of Shropshire might endeavour to provide themselves with two houses, one wholly devoted to natural history, and the other wholly devoted to archæology. For my part, I should be sorry to see a new building erected. I should like an old building better. One of the many ancient houses of Shrewsbury would afford a characteristic habitation for the Archæological Society of Shropshire. Gentlemen, if I am not improperly detaining you, I would say a word on the literary work and objects of our Society. The tendency of modern thought, which affects archæology as well as every other branch of knowledge, demands the production of proofs rather than the repetition of tradition. Therefore, we are more and more desirous of publishing original documents, noted and explained, of course, but yet depending for their main value on the fact that they are original. The number of original documents in Shropshire is enormous. Some of them have lately had a narrow escape. The contents of no manuscripts are safe unless they are printed. I will only refer to one class of them now—namely, the parish registers. They form one of the principal sources from which parochial histories are written. We are particularly desirous of encouraging that branch of our work. The church register is usually the oldest book in the parish, and the parish books often contain a fund of information beyond mere entries of account. The more of these original facts and figures which we can publish the better. The parochial registers are the annals of the people. They are the only authority to which we can refer, previously to the present century, for an approximate census of the people. They mark the migration of the population from one locality to another. In the prevalence of certain names they indicate varieties of race. They are our guides in testing the average duration of human life in the past three centuries. They are the highest evidences for proving family descent and pedigree. But, gentlemen, not one of these invaluable records of the English nation is perfect. They have perished, and they are perishing. 15,000 unindexed volumes in 15,000 places are from necessity a sealed book both to the student and to the nation. By those who have thought of these things, frequent proposals have been made to provide a remedy. Sir Thomas Phillips in 1832, Lord Romilly in 1837, Horace Mann in 1857, Lord Lyndhurst in 1860, Southerden Burn in 1868, have all endeavoured to draw attention to this subject, and have all failed to bring about a practical remedy because the popular mind remains still uninstructed and only partially interested. If the clergy, who are the custodians of these priceless records, and the antiquaries, whose business it is to teach the people the value of such things, were to combiné in urging upon the Government the paramount

importance of saving the Registers from further decay, I doubt not but that a plan might be devised, at comparatively small cost, for printing and indexing every register in England, and making up volumes according to counties, and indexing again the larger collections, and thus making reference easy and destruction impossible, and removing from amongst us a national discredit. Gentlemen, I regard this Association as the highest and indeed the only collective authority in Shropshire which has a claim to speak to the public on archaeological matters. The occasion of our annual meeting appears an appropriate one for making known our opinions and endeavouring to give effect to them, and for enlarging our influence. I beg leave to move the adoption of the report.

The adoption of the report thus moved by the Chairman was seconded by Dr. Cranage and carried.

The Rev. J. Mitchell then proposed, and Mr. Oldroyd seconded the re-election of the Council, with the addition of the names of Dr. Calvert and Mr. Calcott. The Rev. S. W. Allen proposed and the Rev. J. Evans seconded the re-appointment of the office-bearers of the Society. Mr. R. Taylor proposed and Mr. Askew Roberts seconded Mr. Onions and Mr. Oldroyd as auditors. Mr. Beacall proposed and the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater seconded a vote of thanks to the Donors to the Museum. Mr. Phillips proposed and Mr. Calcott seconded a vote of thanks to the Editors of the Society's *Transactions* and to the Hon. Sec., to which the Rev. W. Allport Leighton and Mr. Adnitt responded.

This was all the routine business. Canon Butler proposed the vote of a further sum of £10 to increase their collection of specimens of Birds, and suggested the destruction of some of the worm-eaten animals that now took up too much space in their rooms. Dr. Cranage, in seconding the motion, urged that they should not attempt to make a little British Museum of their building, but confine themselves to Shropshire specimens. Mr. Parry and the Rev. C. H. Drinkwater urged that the Council should keep an eye on the Schools with a view to its being a probable Museum of the future.

THE RUINS AT WROXETER.

The Rev. T. Auden said he and Mr. Phillips had been appointed by the Council to report on the condition of the excavations at Wroxeter, and they had done so. The man in charge did his work on the whole satisfactorily, but new fencing was wanted. Mr. Phillips supplemented what Mr. Auden had said, and it was agreed that they, with the addition of Mr. Beacall and Mr. White, should form a committee to execute the necessary repairs. It was also resolved that the question of rent should be laid before the Duke of Cleveland, who owned the property.

THE ABBEY PULPIT.

In reference to the remarks of the Chairman as to the removal of the Abbey Pulpit, an interesting discussion arose, in which Mr. J. P.

White, Mr. Taylor, and others took part. The general feeling was that no removal should be made unless the safety of the structure required it, although some held strongly to the opinion that as it now stood, a desolate looking object shorn of its surroundings, it would be better at once to take measures for its removal to a public spot near the Abbey.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

The Hon. Sec. said he had received a letter from the Rev. Trevor Owen, secretary of the Cambrian Archæological Society, saying that they had purposed meeting at Church Stretton in August.—The Chairman thought that arrangements should be made to co-operate with the Society when it made its visit, and give it a welcome,

THE ANNUAL EXCURSION.

THE Annual Excursion of 1880 came off on Tuesday, Aug. 31, the Ludlow district being the one visited. Amongst those who assembled were the following :—Rev. W. A. Leighton, Rev. Canon Butler, Mr. Callcott, Mr. J. P. White, Rev. C. H. Drinkwater, Mr. J. P. and the Misses Smith, Rev. Loftus Owen, Rev. S. W. Allen, Mr. and Miss Jebb (The Lyth), Rev. Holland Sandford, Rev. W. C. Sparrow, Mr. C. Harper, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Whittaker (Manchester), &c. The first place visited was Stokesay Castle, where a paper was read by the Rev. J. D. La Touche, Vicar, after which the party proceeded to Ludlow to explore the Town, the Church, and the Castle. The members and friends then dined at the Feathers Hotel, and after the cloth was drawn Mr. Leighton read a paper on the Ancient Deanery of St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury.

July, 1881.

LIST OF MEMBERS, AUGUST, 1880.

Acton, Mrs. Stackhouse, Acton Scott, Salop (*deceased*)
 Adnitt, Mr. W. H., Shrewsbury
 Allen, Rev. S. W., Shrewsbury
 Auden, Rev. T., Shrewsbury

BERWICK, Right Hon. Lord, Attingham
 BRADFORD, Right Hon. Earl of, Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire
 BROWNLOW, Right Hon. Earl, Belton, Grantham
 Babington, C. C., Esq., F.S.A., F.R.S., 5, Brookside, Cambridge
 Barber, John, Esq., Prospect House, Wellington, Salop (*deceased*)
 Barnes, Thos., Esq., The Quinta, Chirk
 Barnes, Major J. R., Brookside, Chirk
 Barton, Rev. J., Hadley Vicarage, Wellington, Salop
 Beacall, W., Esq., Shrewsbury
 Beckwith, W. E., Esq., Eaton Constantine
 Benson, R. A., Esq., Lutwyche Hall, Much Wenlock
 Benthall, F., Esq., F.S.A., Hexton, Amphill, Bedfordshire
 Beresford, Robert De la Poer, Esq., M.D., Oswestry
 Bibby, J. J., Esq., Hardwick Grange, Shrewsbury
 Bedford, The Right Rev. Bishop of, Stainforth House, Upper Clapton,
 London
 Blockley, Mr. John, Coleham, Shrewsbury
 Bodenham, J., Esq., Edgmond, Newport, Salop
 Borough, J. C. Burton, Esq., Chetwynd Park, Newport, Salop
 Boucher, J. B., Esq., Bryn Derwen, Oak Hill, Surbiton, Surrey
 Boughton, Sir C. H. Rouse, Bart., Downton Hall, Ludlow
 Boughton, Miss Rouse, Larden Hall, Wenlock
 Bratton, James, Esq., Shrewsbury
 Bridgeman, The Hon. and Rev. Canon, The Hall, Wigan
 Bridgeman, The Hon. and Rev. J., Weston-under-Lyziard, Shifnal
 Brooke, Rev. J., Houghton Hall, Shifnal (*deceased*)
 Broomhall, J., Esq., J.P., Surbiton, Surrey
 Burd, E., Esq., M.D., Newport House, Shrewsbury
 Burd, Rev. J., M.A., Chirbury Vicarage, Salop
 Burd, Rev. F., Neen Savage, Bewdley
 Burr, G., Esq., Oaklands, Shrewsbury
 Butler, Rev. Canon, Shrewsbury

CLEVELAND, His Grace the Duke of, Raby Castle, Durham
 Calcott, John, Esq., Oakley Street, Shrewsbury
 Calvert, E., Esq., LL.D., Shrewsbury
 Campbell, C. M., Esq., Shrewsbury
 Caswell, Mr. S., Shrewsbury
 Childe, Rev. E. G., Kinlet Vicarage, Bewdley
 Cholmondeley, Rev. R. H., Hodnet Rectory, Salop
 Clayton, Rev. E. ff, The Rectory, Ludlow
 Clive, Ven. Archdeacon, Blymhill Rectory, Shifnal
 Clowes, Rev. Albert, Clee S. Margaret, Bromfield, Salop
 Cooper, C. J., Esq., Bridgnorth
 Corbet, Sir V. R., Bart., Acton Reynald, Shrewsbury
 Corser, Rev. George J., Burrington Rectory, Ludlow
 Corser, G. Sandford, Esq., Shrewsbury
 Cortissos, C., Esq., Shrewsbury
 Cosens, F. W., Esq., F.S.A., 27, Queen's Gate, London, S.W.
 Cotes, C. O., Esq., M.P., Woodcote, Newport, Salop
 Cox, H. Ponting, Esq., Wem, Salop
 Cranage, J. E., Esq., Ph.D., Wellington, Salop
 Childe-Pemberton, C. O., Esq., Millichope Park, Church Stretton
 Corbett, John, Esq., M.P., Impney, Droitwich

Darby, Mrs., Little Ness, Shrewsbury
 Davies, Rev. Prebendary, Moor Court, Kington
 Davies, Mr. R. E., Kingsland, Shrewsbury
 Davies, J. Sides, Esq., The Poplars, Oswestry (*deceased*)
 Day, W. S., Esq., Lyndhurst House, Hendon
 De Bunsen, Rev. H. G., Donington Rectory, Albrighton, Wolverhampton.
 Deakin, Mr. A. B., Shrewsbury
 Downing, William, Esq., Fern Cottage, Acock's Green, Birmingham
 Drayton, Mr. G. A., Shrewsbury
 Drinkwater, Rev. C. H., St. George's, Vicarage, Shrewsbury
 Dukes, Rev. E. R., Windsor House, Shrewsbury

Edgell, R. A., Esq., Claremont, Shrewsbury
 Edwards, Samuel, Esq., 4, Eliot Park, Lewisham
 Edwardes, Sir H., Bart., Wooton Hall, Ashbourne
 Edye, Thomas, Esq., 5, Paul's Road, Camden Square, London
 Egerton, Rev. Canon, Middle Rectory, Shrewsbury
 Evans, W., Esq., Abbey Foregate, Shrewsbury
 Evans, Rev. Canon W. Howell, The Vicarage, Oswestry
 Evans, Rev. J., Whixhall Vicarage, Whitechurch
 Evans, Mr. P., Wyle Cop, Shrewsbury
 Everett, A. E., Esq., City Chambers, New Street, Birmingham
 Everall, Mr. R., The Priory, Shrewsbury
 Eyton, T. C., Esq., F.Z.S., Eyton, Wellington, Salop (*deceased*)
 Eyton, T. Slaney, Esq., Walford Manor, Baschurch
 Eyton, Rev. Robert W., Winchfield House, Hants,

Feilden, Rev. O. M., Frankton Rectory, Oswestry

Gasquoine, Rev. T., B.A., Northampton
George, Mr. E., Column Villas, Shrewsbury
Gleadowe, Rev., R. W., The Rectory, Frodesley, Salop
Goodwin, Wm. Henry, Esq., Bank Buildings, Hastings
Griffin, Harecourt, Esq., Pell Wall, Market Drayton
Grazebrook, Geo., Esq., F.S.A., Oak Hill Park, near Liverpool

HARLECH, Right Hon. Lord, Brogyntyn, Oswestry
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Statement of Accounts to June 24th, 1880.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
1879. Balance brought forward from last Account	69	0	1	By Rent of Museum 1 year to Lady Day, 1880	30	0	0
By Subscriptions and Arrears to June 24th, 1880.	269	17	0	" Miss Hewitt's Salary to May 2nd	30	0	0
" Entrance Fees, Museum	12	14	6	" Incidental Expenses.	3	7	1
				" Rent of Land from Duke of Cleveland, open to the public as the Wroxeter Excavation, to Lady Day, 1880	3	18	6
				" Poor and other Rates on ditto	0	9	1
				" Coals to June 24th, 1880	4	15	0
				" Water Rate	0	10	0
				" Cost of Printing Journal of Society, as per Estimate, Messrs. Woodall and Venables	119	10	11
				" Paid for Drawing and Lithographing Illustrations, Printing Circulars, &c.	26	15	6
				" Stamps for Posting Transactions	8	10	6
				" Subscription to Midland Union of Natural History Society	1	5	0
				" Expenses connected with Annual Excursion	1	12	2
				" Purchase copy of <i>Eyton's Antiquities</i>	22	0	0
				" Sundry Purchases	8	11	6
				" Balance of account for Case of Birds	5	9	0
				" Insurance, Museum	3	3	6
				" Sundry small Accounts	2	10	11
				" Collector's Salary and Commission	10	8	0
				" Stamps, &c., including One Subscription paid in error	4	19	7
				" Balance to next Account	63	5	4
					<u>£351</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>

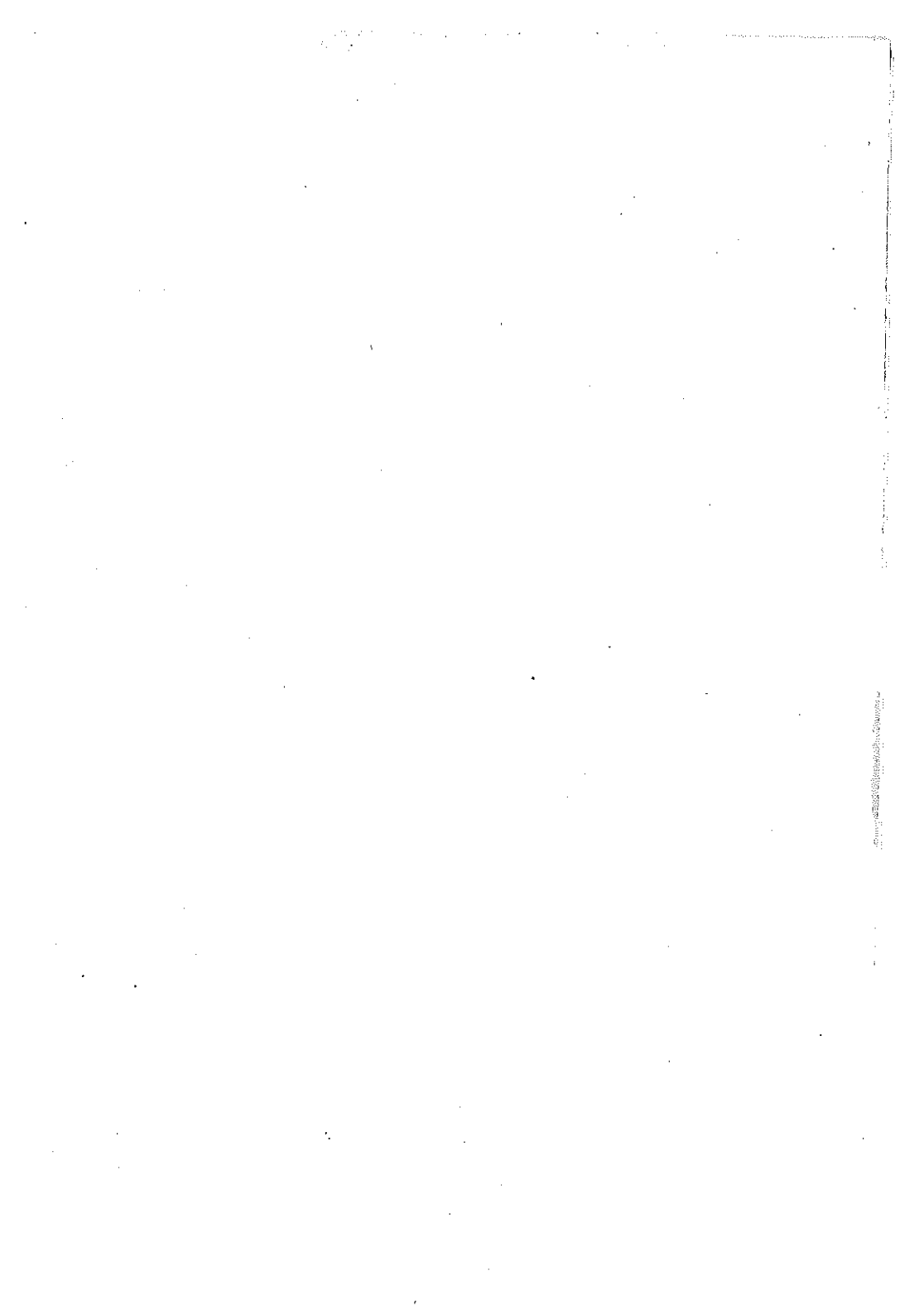
December, Examined with the Vouchers, and found correct.

THOS. ONIONS.

By Balance in hand brought down ...

£351 1 7

63 5 4



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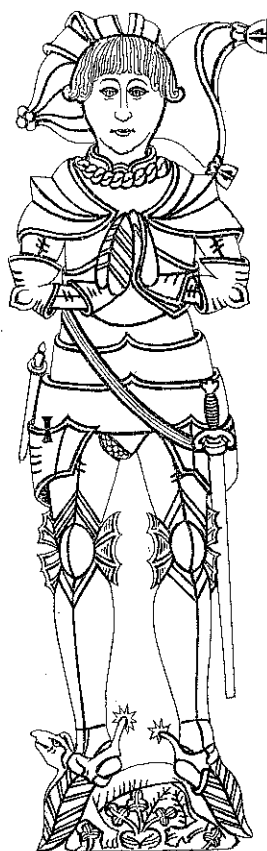
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July, 1881.



potius lapsa cura columit ut fuit agro
 carne in flato de erigat ehere cloro
 et in p dextra ponat lorde repulla
 gla quera sit lacrima lenq annulla

Quis quis eris qui trahens ita plege plora
 Su quod eius iura q quod es pme pcor ora
 mors vna martat aiam xps q tenuat
 terra tra legat spiritus alta preat

