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Identity, Language and Landscape in Early Modern Literature from Wales and the Marches

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Identity, Language and Landscape in Early Modern
Literature from Wales and the Marches

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Abstract

Many studies on Welsh Writing in English dismiss texts from before the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: my thesis adds to the growing field of scholarship on pre-nineteenth century Welsh Writing in English, which primarily focuses on eighteenth century texts, to show the need to also be inclusive of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century Wales was a very different country from what it would become in later centuries, owing to its relative autonomy under the administrative jurisdiction of the Council of Wales and the Marches and its legendary status resulting from the legacy of Geoffrey of Monmouth. As a result, Welsh Writing in English from this period of time is different than that from later eras; it is about a country finding its place in a still relatively recent political union.

The texts discussed include English translations of the Latin texts of Humphrey Llwyd and John Owen, as well as English language writing by David Powel, Henry Vaughan and Morgan Llwyd. While all of these writers were born in Wales, I will also consider the writing of two non-Welsh writers based in or around Wales, Katherine Philips (often described as an ‘English exile’ in Wales) and Thomas Churchyard, from the nebulous borderland region of the Marches who has been likened to a ‘ventriloquist’. The first chapter concerns itself with Humphrey Llwyd’s *The Breviary of Britain* and the way in which Llwyd uses chorography in order to depict the landscape and language of Wales. Chapter two’s focus will be on David Powel and his *Historie of Cambria* where I will analyse how Powel depicts the history and culture of Wales, while also circumnavigating the politics surrounding his patron, Lord Sidney, and the Council of Wales and the Marches. In the third chapter, I examine the poetry of Henry Vaughan and Morgan Llwyd, two seventeenth-century poets of opposing religious and political ideologies, from their regional contexts in Brecknockshire and Wrexham respectively. The fourth chapter inspects the way in which Thomas

Churchyard's *Worthines of Wales* and the poetry of Katherine Philips reflect perceptions of Wales during their particular eras in order to see what impact Wales had on the socio-political fabric of the islands. Finally, in the fifth chapter I explore several different English translations of the epigrams of John Owen, an ex-recusant Welsh poet who had moved to England, to assess to what extent translation affected the meaning of Owen's repertoire: this chapter focuses on the epigrams that most concern Wales. My aim in this thesis is to investigate the ways in which Welsh identity manifests itself in writing landscape, language, history, religion, myth and politics, as well as through *hiraeth* – a feeling associated with sadness and nostalgia for what has been lost – in order to establish a body of texts for early modern Welsh Writing in English.

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Introduction

Since its inception, the field of Welsh Writing in English has tended to focus mainly on nineteenth and twentieth century writing by writers including, but not limited to, Saunders Lewis, Dylan Thomas and Brenda Chamberlain. Some critics, such as Dafydd Johnston, have made the claim that Welsh writers in English from before the twentieth century belong to ‘English literature in general’.¹ As a result of this, writing from earlier centuries has often been dismissed; ‘treated as aberrations if they are noticed at all, as shameful examples of the ‘contributionism’ of a willingly assimilated people’.² Recently, however, scholars such as Sarah Prescott, Willy Maley, John Kerrigan, Stewart Mottram, and Philip Schwyzer have expanded the field, whether tangentially or comprehensively, to include the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries. These critics have done much to unearth the vibrancy of Welsh Writing in English in the early modern period. Their scholarship highlights that further work needs to be done to cement the period as one of the founding cornerstones of Welsh Writing in English; some themes from this earlier period continued to be used in nineteenth and twentieth-century texts.

In this thesis I will be focusing on Welsh writers writing primarily in English during the late sixteenth to the mid seventeenth centuries in order to see how they portray Wales and Welsh identity. The writers and texts that I will examine are Humphrey Llwyd and his *The Breviary of Britain* (1573) David Powel’s *History of Cambria* (1584), selected works of Henry Vaughan from *Silex Scintillans* (1650) and *Olor Iscanus* (1647), the English language poems of Morgan Llwyd, Thomas Churchyard’s *The Worthines of Wales* (1587), the poetry

¹ Dafydd Johnston, *A Pocket Guide to the Literature of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1994), p. 1.

² Bethan M. Jenkins, *Between Wales and England: Anglophone Welsh Writing of the Eighteenth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2017), p. 1.

of Katherine Philips, and the epigrams of John Owen. While some of these texts were in Latin, such as Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain* and the epigrams of John Owen, I am including them as they were translated into English shortly after their initial publications.

Each of these writers was selected to not only show a chronological progression through time, but also a change in geographical location. My first chapter explores the way in which Humphrey Llwyd portrays the history and geography of Wales through language in his chorographic *The Breviary of Britain*. This text formed the basis of David Powel's *History of Cambria*, which I will consider in my second chapter in terms of the way in which Powel presents history as something that impacts Wales and the Marches. In my third chapter on Welsh writing in the borderlands, I will discuss the English-language poems of Morgan Llwyd, as well as select poems from Henry Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* and *Olor Iscanus*. These two poets were chosen due to their contrasting geographic positions as poets in the north and south of Wales, as well as their conflicting political and religious beliefs. In my fourth chapter, I examine the way in which non-Welsh writers within Wales and its borders portray Wales and Welsh identity. In order to do this I will explore the poems of Katherine Philips, a female poet from London who lived in south west Wales with her husband, and Thomas Churchyard's *Worthines of Wales*, a male writer from the Marches. After examining English writers living in Wales or on its peripheries, in my final chapter I will consider the various English translations of the epigrams of John Owen, a Welsh poet who had moved to England.

In every chapter I will address questions specific to each work with the aim of answering the broader questions regarding writing and identity. The first of these will interrogate how identity in Wales changes across time and place, especially with regard to the political narratives of the texts. By answering this I will ascertain the extent to which Welsh identity was impacted by the political paradigms from the late sixteenth to the mid-

seventeenth centuries. The second question I will address explores whether each writer's choice of language, whether English or Latin, and to what extent this choice connects to their depictions of identity. In doing so, I aim to prove that Welsh identity was not strictly limited to the Welsh-language literary spheres and did, in fact, exist in English-language texts. The third question for consideration is based on the idea of local identity and whether this had any impact on a wider sense of Welshness, alongside political and religious affiliations. In examining this, I will demonstrate that forms of local identity co-existed harmoniously and simultaneously alongside a wider national Welsh identity. Furthermore, I will examine to what extent Welsh identities were affected by *hiraeth* – an untranslatable concept which refers to a sense of wistfulness for an unreachable or unattainable time or place – historical and legendary material, and notions of religious or political identity. By examining these I will show how *hiraeth*, history, legend, politics and religion all combined to create one cohesive Welsh cultural memory. Finally, I will explore what exactly it meant to identify as Welsh at this point in time, especially for writers who made the explicit decision not to write in their, mostly, native Welsh language.

In order to answer these fundamental questions, in each chapter I will pose specific questions tailored towards the particular texts that are under consideration. In my first chapter I will focus on the way in which Humphrey Llwyd reconciles his Welsh identity and history with the conflicting political ideas of time, the way that Llwyd depicts Welsh culture and traditions in the wake of laws designed to restrict the Welsh way of life, how his chorography and chronicle contributes to notions of *hiraeth*, and in what way Llwyd establishes the pedigree of Wales through the Greek and Latin spheres of Classicism. The aims of this chapter are to examine how a mid-sixteenth century writer responds to the repercussions of the political union between Wales and England after experiencing them for several decades, and to what extent this had an impact on the cultural and historical foundations of Wales.

My second chapter continues to examine the chronicle, but focusing upon David Powel's *The Historie of Cambria*. In this chapter I will interrogate the way in which Powel interprets and uses the history of Wales to challenge the Anglocentricity of the time. Following from this, I will explore the impact Powel's text had on Sir Henry Sidney's presidency of the Council of Wales and the Marches, and on subsequent perceptions of Welsh history. Finally, I will examine to what extent Powel's identity as a Welsh person is reflected in his text, and also how much influence Powel's patron, Sir Henry, exacted upon the composition of the text. As in the previous chapter, the objectives are to see how a late-sixteenth century writer responded to the politics of the time, specifically with regard to the Council of Wales and the Marches under the presidency of Sir Henry, and whether this had any impact on Welsh historical and cultural identity.

Moving on from chronicles and chorography, my third chapter examines the poetry of Henry Vaughan, from *Silex Scintillans* and *Olor Iscanus*, and the English-language poetry of Morgan Llwyd. In this chapter I will consider the ways in which both writers, the former a Royalist, the latter a Parliamentarian, respond to the politics of the time in their poems. I will also explore how each writer echoes Welsh poetic traditions within their English-language works. Finally, I will consider the ways in which each poet used their poems to shape identity, whether religious, national or local. This chapter is primarily focused on analysing how two Welsh poets from the mid-seventeenth century responded to the extreme political upheaval of the Civil War and to what extent this impacted on Welsh identity.

My fourth chapter interrogates the writing of two English writers who both wrote about Wales from the inside, as Katherine Philips did in her poetry, or on the outskirts, as Thomas Churchyard did in *The Worthines of Wales*. These two writers may not seem the most natural of pairings because Katherine Philips is a mid-seventeenth century female poet and Thomas Churchyard is a male prose writer who produced his works towards the end of

the sixteenth century. However, they are both examples of English writers heavily influenced by Wales. In Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales*, I will first consider the way in which (as an outsider) he depicts Wales and to what extent he echoes other English perceptions at the time. Secondly, I will discuss how Churchyard presents Wales, analysing his descriptions of the more urban areas, its castles and its historical figures. Finally, I will analyse how Churchyard treats the bordering Marcher lands as almost an extension of Wales itself and whether, as a Marcher man himself, this has any ramifications on his identity in this nebulous borderland region. I will then move on to examine how Katherine Philips depicts south-west Wales in her poetry and in what way location shaped her social and political landscapes. Furthermore, I will explore the way in which she interacts with Welsh correspondents in her poetic network, the Society of Friendship, and how these relationships were shaped by her life in Wales. Finally, I will examine in depth "On the Welch Language" and in what way it reflects the English language culture of south Wales.

In my final chapter I will analyse the epigrams of John Owen, a Welsh writer who was living and writing in early seventeenth-century England. Although his epigrams were written in Latin, I will primarily be working from the roughly contemporaneous English translations by John Vicars, Thomas Pecke and Thomas Harvey. I will first examine what aspects of Wales Owen portrayed in order to ascertain how his home was still important to him despite living in England. I will also explore how Owen depicted Wales as an equal partner alongside England and Scotland as a result of the Union of the Crowns in 1603. I will investigate which poems each writer decided to translate into English, analysing how each translator deals with Wales, as well as to what extent their editions were influenced by their existing or potential patrons. Finally, I will ponder how Owen writes about Welsh people and the way he navigates the matter of the Prince of Wales and whether any issues of ethnicity arise here. The purpose of this chapter in particular is to explore the issues surrounding a

Welsh writer living and working in England, as well as to ascertain the afterlives of what was once a hugely popular poet who has since fallen into obscurity.

Before moving on to my first chapter, in the remainder of this introduction I will introduce concepts to which I will refer frequently throughout this thesis. The first of these is what I will nominally call ‘national identity’. However, by this I am not referring to the modern notion of it which E. J. Hobsbawm identified as being crucial to ‘the last two centuries of the human history of planet Earth’.³ Instead I am using ‘national identity’ for a time where nationalism in its modern definition did not yet exist. However, while the term may be somewhat anachronistic, it is possible to see some signs of ‘national’ identity within the texts I selected. For this, I turn to Anthony D. Smith whose important work on ethnic and national identity gave us five fundamental characteristics that constitute national identity:

1. An historic territory or homeland.
2. Common myths and historical memories.
3. A common, mass public culture.
4. Common legal rights and duties for all members.
5. A common economy with territorial mobility for members.⁴

The majority of these features can certainly be discerned in the texts under discussion. For example, Humphrey Llwyd, David Powel and Thomas Churchyard all fulfil the first and second features, each of these writers describing the geography of Wales as well as the myths and history of different regions. The poets Henry Vaughan, Morgan Llwyd, Katherine Philips and John Owen all partially satisfy the third feature, showing that their poetry helps create a non-Welsh language culture within Wales which, when viewed alongside the Welsh-

³ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 1.

⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p. 14.

language literary tradition, builds the foundations for a bilingual mass public culture. The final two features do present some problems, firstly that Wales did not exist as an independent political entity, and secondly that what political autonomy it harnessed was controlled from outside its borders in the English Marches. However, as much as Wales was linked politically with the Marches, they were also connected to Wales, as I will demonstrate through examining Sir Henry's patronage of David Powel in my second chapter. Therefore, any notion of what Wales was at the time must also include recognition of the English Marches.

The second concept I would like to briefly outline is that of *hiraeth*. This Welsh word, which has no satisfactory translation into English will appear throughout this thesis. *Hiraeth* is often translated to refer to a sense of grief-stricken homesickness for a place, or a sense of nostalgia or wistfulness tinged with sadness.⁵ In this thesis I will be interpreting *hiraeth* to refer more to a yearning for a return to a lost Welsh past, whether that is the pre-Roman (or Cambrian) Wales of antiquity, steeped in the legendary tales popular during the Tudor period, or a longing to return to how Wales was before the Civil War fractured communities along religious and political fault lines. These two interpretations of *hiraeth* may seem to be quite different, yet they are both characterised by an almost Romantic sense of emotionally charged nostalgia for the past, regardless of whether that past was based on historical fact, legendary fiction or in living memory.

As Welsh Writing in English from the perspective of sixteenth and seventeenth-century texts is a particularly neglected critical field, I have drawn upon three authors, who I perceive as having limitations in their discussions surrounding Welsh Writing in English. The

⁵ 'Hiraeth', *GPC Online* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies, 2014) <http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html?hiraeth> [accessed 18 January 2017].

first of these is Belinda Humfrey who, in her essay ‘Prelude to the Twentieth Century’,⁶ claims that between Shakespeare and the First World War ‘only two writers can be described conscientiously as great Anglo-Welsh writers [...] Henry Vaughan (1621-95) and John Dyer (1699-1757)’.⁷ My main contention with Humfrey in this statement is the absurd assertion that these are the only two writers prior to the First World War who could be considered to be ‘great Anglo-Welsh writers’.⁸ I will demonstrate this throughout the course of my thesis by examining Vaughan as well as other writers from Wales from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century.

My second dispute is with the phrase ‘great Anglo-Welsh writers’ itself. What constitutes a ‘great’ writer? In the context of this statement, Humfrey is perhaps looking at the writers from an Anglocentric perspective, clouded by the concept of the English literary canon, which leads her to demarcate the time period as beginning with the ‘age of Shakespeare’,⁹ the central figure of the English literary canon against whom all others are compared.¹⁰ To further this point, Humfrey refers to Vaughan and Dyer as ‘Anglo-Welsh’ writers (a term which, since its inception in the 1940s, is conceptually fraught and now unacceptable),¹¹ insinuating that the two poets are not quite Welsh, thus making them acceptable to be declared as ‘great’ writers within the English literary tradition despite their Welsh backgrounds. In this thesis I make an effort to call writers from Wales ‘Welsh writers’, irrespective of their proficiency in the Welsh language and because the linguistic landscape of Wales at this time was too homogenous to call them wholly Welsh writers of English.

⁶ Belinda Humfrey, ‘Prelude to the Twentieth Century’, *A Guide to Welsh Literature: Welsh Writing in English*, ed. by M. Wynn Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), VII, pp. 7-46.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ Harold Bloom, *The Western Canon* (London: Harcourt Brace, 1994), p. 2.

¹¹ Joseph P. Clancy, *Other Words: Essays on Poetry and Translation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), p. 56.

Furthermore, Latin was also prominently read by the elite and the educated across the whole of Wales and England,¹² particularly by a number of the writers I will examine who were all educated at Jesus College, Oxford. Furthermore, for those instances where I refer to English writers – Katherine Philips and Thomas Churchyard – I refer to them respectively as an English writer in Wales or a Marcher writer, the latter of which I will explain further into this introduction.

What Humfrey does do well is to raise the concept of *hiraeth*, which she uses to describe Vaughan's "“love-sick heart” for union with God’.¹³ However, I will be applying *hiraeth* more liberally to not just Vaughan, but all writers I examine throughout this thesis. Moreover, I will use *hiraeth* more loosely than Humfrey to refer to more than just love-sickness for God, but a general sense of grief-stricken nostalgia for Wales and its landscape, language, history, culture and politics. I will build upon Humfrey's brief work on *hiraeth* in order to demonstrate how it constitutes a feature of Welsh writing in this period.

Moreover, Humfrey demonstrates quite readily the way in which the Welsh landscape is used in writing during the period through the way in which Vaughan transforms Wales into a heavenly and spiritual land.¹⁴ Along the same lines, Humfrey also shows how topical Vaughan's poetry is, reflecting as it does the political climate of Wales at the time.¹⁵ I will adopt a similar mode of analysis when considering the other writers in this thesis in order to see how each of them reflects both the geographic and political landscapes of their respective regions of Wales. It is likely that both these facets will also feed into perceptions of *hiraeth*,

¹² Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 43.

¹³ Belinda Humfrey, 'Prelude to the Twentieth Century', p. 9.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

geographical nostalgia reflecting the physical passing of time, and politics associated with a more abstract sense of cultural and historical remembrance.

It is commendable that Humfrey recognises the possibility of Vaughan being a Welsh writer when many other critics strip him of his identity. Jonathan S. F. Post, for example, claims that Vaughan is ‘remembered as the single instance of a seventeenth-century poet who became memorable once he became a poet of transcendence’.¹⁶ The implication here is that Vaughan only became ‘memorable’ when his poetry moved beyond what was explicitly about Wales. However, Humfrey could have done so much more than to write off every other writer from Wales as not being ‘great’. This dismissive attitude towards early modern writers from Wales is indicative of a historical twentieth-century bias within the field of Welsh Writing in English¹⁷ which is beginning to be eroded thanks to the efforts of critics such as Sarah Prescott and Philip Schwyzer, among others. Therefore, this thesis will draw on the many points that Humfrey raises, but widens the scope of non-Welsh language writers in Wales; it will be inclusive of writers who may not have otherwise been considered, due to them not being ‘great’ enough from the perspective of an Anglocentric canon.

The second critic who has done much to move early modern English-language Welsh writing from the margins is John Kerrigan. In his book *Archipelagic English*, Kerrigan develops J. G. A. Pocock’s ‘New British History’.¹⁸ The New British History argues that no part of the ‘Atlantic archipelago’, as Pocock calls it, can be considered without also relating it to the rest of the ‘nations’ forming the archipelago.¹⁹ While the attempt to move away from

¹⁶ Jonathan S. F. Post, ‘Henry Vaughan’, *The Cambridge Companion to English Poetry: Donne to Marvell*, ed. by Thomas N. Corns (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1993), pp. 256-74 (p. 256).

¹⁷ David T. Lloyd, *Writing on the Edge: Interviews with Writers and Editors of Wales* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 7-9.

¹⁸ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ J. G. A. Pocock, ‘The Atlantic archipelago and the War of the Three Kingdoms’, *The Discovery of Islands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 77-93 (p. 77).

Anglocentric history is to be commended, this method raises a number of questions. Firstly, and most pertinent for to the subject of this thesis, is that Wales is often not given the same amount of attention as England, Scotland and Ireland, instead being reduced to an appendix to England – an ‘England-and-Wales’ state, despite the relative autonomy Wales enjoyed between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries as part of the Council of Wales and the Marches. Indeed, Pocock places Wales as equal with Cornwall and Ulster, below England, Scotland and Ireland, ‘There may therefore have been an English history, a Scottish history, an Irish history, at other levels a Welsh or a Cornish, an Argyll or an Ulster history’.²⁰

The second issue I take is the perception of Wales as not being a large contributing factor to the overall tapestry of ‘Archipelagic’ history as a result of its separate language and its incorporation into England long before the ‘War of the Three Kingdoms’ in the thirteenth century. On the contrary, the body administering Wales from the fifteenth century to the Glorious Revolution – the Council of Wales and the Marches – demonstrates that it had enough political clout as a region to be distinct from England, surviving longer than its counterparts in the north²¹ and south-west²² of England. It is because of the liminal nature of border regions that I consider the Marches as being an extension of Wales into England; similar to the Derridaen idea of a painting’s frame as being as much a part of the painting as the art itself: ‘Neither work (*ergon*) nor outside the work (*hors d’oeuvre*), neither inside nor outside, neither above nor below, it disconcerts any opposition but does not remain indeterminate’.²³ Derrida’s idea of framing serves as an analogy for Welsh Writing in English as it is just as important to examine texts influenced by the ‘borders’ – linguistic, geographic, cultural – as it is for those written at the centre. From this, I believe, it is worth investigating

²⁰ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 87.

²¹ John Cannon, *A Dictionary of British History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 179.

²² Joyce A. Youings, ‘The Council of the West’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960) 41–59.

²³ Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 9.

the role of Wales and the Marches as a combined semi-autonomous region during the time period I am focusing on, and on the kinds of non-Welsh language literature produced in the area.

Kerrigan draws literary connections between each of the four nations, rather than the three as Pocock suggests, of the British Isles, from texts written between 1603 and 1707. Kerrigan describes the islands as ‘culturally as well as politically, a linked and divided archipelago’,²⁴ a relationship which I have used to inform my readings of David Powel’s *Historie of Cambria* as well as the epigrams of John Owen. The contradictory notion of the nations being ‘linked and divided’ is of particular importance, as it shows that, despite the politics of religion and history, each nation held onto their own forms of culture. This thesis in particular focuses on the English-language literary culture in Wales, including the Marches based on the political links between the two areas governed as they were by the Council of Wales and the Marches in Ludlow.

However, while Kerrigan’s focus is between 1603 and 1707, my analysis begins and ends earlier (c. 1570-1670); it starts with Humphrey Llwyd’s *The Breviary of Britain* first published in English in 1573 and ends with the civil-war poets Henry Vaughan, Morgan Llwyd and Katherine Philips. Kerrigan’s chapter on Vaughan, Llwyd and Philips was particularly important as an inspiration for this thesis.²⁵ Drawing from Kerrigan, I consider each writer’s works less in terms of their spiritual and religious meanings, but instead the way in which Vaughan and Llwyd’s poetry reflects, not only the political mood in their areas, but also the Welsh landscape around them. For Katherine Philips, I consider the personal relationships with her Welsh friends as well as her connection with the area of south-west Wales in which she lived.

²⁴ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. i.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-219.

In his introduction, Kerrigan states that Vaughan's status as a Welsh writer has been the subject of many disputes.²⁶ However, despite Roland Mathias's rejections of Vaughan's Welsh status,²⁷ Kerrigan notes that 'the arguments for reading Vaughan as "No Englishman" are strong and can be developed'.²⁸ It is this statement that led me to investigate Vaughan as a Welsh writer, particularly looking at his more secular works as examples of Welsh Writing in English from the seventeenth century. The pairing of Vaughan and Morgan Llwyd appears logical, since both writers were active at the same time, the former in south Wales and the latter in north Wales; they constitute opposites in terms of politics and religion. Indeed, Kerrigan coupling the two poets has demonstrated this already, yet in his chapter on these poets he focuses on their spiritual writing whereas I will contextualise them both as Welsh poets, relating their works to the regions in which they were active as well as the way in which their political ideologies are reflected in their writing.

In his introduction, Kerrigan also states that in a number of chronicles 'the Welsh projected themselves as representatives of a Britishness that the Tudors were bringing to fulfilment. Once again, the ideology of union both enabled and limited the realization of what we would now call national identity.'²⁹ One of these chronicles is Llwyd's *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum*, which is translated by Thomas Twyne as *The Breviary of Britain* and I analyse in my first chapter. However, while Kerrigan argues that it 'both enabled and limited' Welsh identity, I will demonstrate that it enables the formation of identity more than it limits it. Kerrigan's argument here could also be applied to David Powel's chronicle, *Historie of Cambria*, as a result of the way in which the text was funded by Powel's patron, Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord President of the Council of Wales and the

²⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁷ Roland Mathias, 'A New Language, a New Tradition', *Scintilla*, 6 (2002), 161-82.

²⁸ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 9.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 42.

Marches.³⁰ On the contrary, there is evidence within the text to show that, despite Sidney's patronage, Powel still retained an element of creative freedom in the composition of his text. Therefore, I will analyse to what extent his work conveyed his own biases towards Welsh depictions of history, particularly in his introduction.

When Kerrigan speaks of a 'Britishness that the Tudors were bringing to fulfilment',³¹ he follows the assumption that the 'Tudors' were necessarily aware of the history contained within the name. Clifford S. L. Davies suggests that Henry VII did not ascend to the English throne as a result of his Welsh background, but instead through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, which allowed him to claim succession from Henry VI.³² Indeed, this could therefore show that using Welsh history, lineage and myth to reinforce Union and Tudor claims to the throne was a sign of 'Britishness', synonymous with 'Welshness'. Davies makes other claims that substantiate this view of it being a one-way relationship between Wales and the Tudors. He argued that: 'If Henry VII was less keen than is sometimes thought about his Welsh origins, Henry VIII apparently showed no interest in them at all,' and also 'This Welsh tradition had little resonance in England until the later years of Elizabeth, when there was some revival of interest in Cadwaladr.'³³ From this it can be argued that any attempt to apply what was, in effect, a myth constructed by Geoffrey of Monmouth³⁴ to the English crown, is an anachronistic attempt to appropriate the legends and myths of Wales in order to justify the Union of England and Wales.

³⁰ Peter R. Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British Inheritance', *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter R. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 8-42 (p. 24).

³¹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 42.

³² Clifford S. L. Davies, 'The Tudor Delusion', *The Times Literary Supplement* (London: The Times Literary Supplement, 2008) <http://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/the-tudor-delusion/> [accessed 14 February 2017].

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966).

However, Deborah Fisher disagrees with Davies' assertions, arguing that many people at the time perceived the Tudor line as Welsh and attempted to portray themselves as having some form of connection with Wales.³⁵ This is most aptly demonstrated by Philip Schwyzer who, while writing about William Shakespeare's own lack of claim for Welsh heritage, lists several notable Renaissance figures who did, including Thomas Churchyard, William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth and Philip Sidney.³⁶ While it may be argued that claiming Welsh heritage could be symbolic of historical prestige, it can most likely instead be attributed to the renewed 'interest in Cadwaladr' and the prophecy attributed to him by Geoffrey of Monmouth, as Davies suggests.³⁷

Just as Henry VII began what we now refer to as the Tudor dynasty with the rallying call to arms in Milford Haven and the channelling of Cadwaladr with the unfurling of the Red Dragon at Bosworth,³⁸ the Elizabethans, faced with the prospects of an uncertain future with the failure of the Tudor line, turned back to the legends of Cadwaladr. From this, we can ascertain that people were not simply coveting Welsh heritage for prestige but were, in a sense, grasping at straws to continue the legacy of Cadwaladr. Indeed, attempts were even made to strip James Stuart of his Scottish identity and graft onto him a more Welsh one, as George Owen Harry, a Welsh clergyman,³⁹ demonstrated in a 'royally sanctioned'⁴⁰ genealogy.⁴¹ Harry's *Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch* was used by poets, such as

³⁵ Deborah Fisher, *Royal Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 47.

³⁶ Philip Schwyzer, 'Thirteen Ways of Looking Like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries', *Shakespeare and Wales*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), pp. 21-41 (p. 22)

³⁷ Clifford S. L. Davies, 'The Tudor Delusion'.

³⁸ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 117.

³⁹ Bertie George Charles, *Harry, George Owen (or Owen, George) (c. 1553-c.1614)*, *antiquary* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-HARR-OWE-1553.html> [accessed 15 January 2018].

⁴⁰ Philip Schwyzer, 'The Jacobean Union Controversy and King Lear', *The Accession of James I: Historical and Cultural Consequences*, ed. by Glen Burgess, Rowland Wymer and Jason Lawrence (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), pp. 34-47 (p. 36).

⁴¹ George Owen Harry, *The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James, by the grace of God, King of great Brittain, &c. with his lineall descent from Noah, by divers direct lynes to Brutus, first Inhabiter of this Ile*

William Warner, to further substantiate James' claims to the crown by drawing on his Welsh links,⁴² thus suggesting that, for the nobility at least, the interest in Cadwaladr was wholly centred on dynastic continuity rather than superficial claims to be Welsh. I will demonstrate this by examining Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales*, a man who, despite his claims, was little more than a commoner.⁴³

The dismissive attitudes towards the role of Wales in the literary fabric of the archipelago as seen in the writing of Pocock (and, to some extent, Humfrey) is, perhaps, a result of Wales having its own distinct literary background resulting from the existence of the Welsh language and the low numbers of English speakers in most of Wales at the time. Geraint H. Jenkins estimates that 'the majority, probably the overwhelming majority, of the inhabitants of Wales were monoglot Welsh speakers'.⁴⁴ While this was the case, it is worth noting that 'Following the upheavals of the Civil War and the Interregnum, however, things changed rapidly', with English gaining more of a foothold in market towns and administrative centres such as Wrexham, Cardigan and Carmarthen.⁴⁵ However, the texts that I am analysing were written by Welsh humanists whose education was heavily influenced by England and who were 'products of an anglophone education'.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Gwyn A. Williams tells us that Welsh as a language of patronage had been superseded by both English

of Brittain; and from him to Cadwalader, the last King of the Brittish bloud; and from thence, sundry ways to his Maiesty: wherein is plainly shewed his rightfull Title, by lawful descent from the said Cadwalader, as well to the Kingdom of Brittain, as to the Principalities of Northwales and Southwales: together with a briefe Cronologie of the memorable Acts of the famous men touched in this Genealogy, and what time they were. Where also is handled the worthy descent of his Maiesties ancestour Owen Tudyr, and his affinity with most of the greatest Princes of Christendome (London: Stafford, 1604).

⁴² William Warner, *A Continuance of Albion's England* (London: Kyngston, 1606), p. 378.

⁴³ Raphael Lyne, 'Churchyard, Thomas (1523?–1604)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5407> [accessed 15 Feb 2017].

⁴⁴ Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White, 'The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales', *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997) pp 45-122 (p. 45).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75-6.

⁴⁶ William P. Griffith, 'Humanist Learning, Education and the Welsh Language 1536-1660', *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 289-315 (pp. 289).

and Latin,⁴⁷ suggesting that Latin was just as prevalent in Wales as English amongst the educated elite.

With English and Latin being alien to the majority of the rural Welsh population, it suggests that these texts were being produced for those living in the more bilingual market or administrative districts, patrons living outside England and, in the case of Latin, for a continental readership. This does not necessarily mean that the nation lacked its own sense of identity; on the contrary the different languages could have allowed writers to represent Wales in different ways to readerships with varying levels of understanding of Welsh culture. While Welsh texts are beyond the scope of this thesis, it stands to reason that they were produced for a readership already well-versed in the nation's history, culture and legends, albeit in the form of medieval poetry and genealogies. English language texts, such as Powel's chronicle, allowed writers to engage with an English society which, as Davies referred to earlier, had a renewed interest in Cadwaladr and the issues of dynastic continuity that the legend entails. Latin texts, on the other hand, show that Welsh writers and scholars were not confined to simply an archipelagic discourse, as Pocock and Kerrigan would lead one to believe. Rather, texts like Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain* and the epigrams of John Owen, allowed writers to engage with continental readers on matters of nationhood, history and religion by using the lingua franca of higher learning throughout western Europe.⁴⁸

This leads me to the third scholar who has informed my critical thinking – Philip Schwyzer, one of the very few critics who has focused on writers, such as Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel.⁴⁹ Schwyzer's work, in particular, forms the basis of my arguments in each chapter on them. However, while much of what Schwyzer argues in his text may be

⁴⁷ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 131.

⁴⁸ William P. Griffith, 'Humanist Learning, Education and the Welsh Language 1536-1660', p. 297.

⁴⁹ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain with selections from the History of Cambria*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).

considered controversial from an Anglocentric perspective, which I will go into more detail in my first chapter, he simultaneously does not make many claims that would situate Llwyd and Powel as Welsh writers. Interpreting Llwyd, Schwyzer returns to the way in which Llwyd refers to himself as a ‘Cambro-Briton’, which, Schwyzer claims, makes him ‘at once a Welsh patriot, a British nationalist, and a cosmopolitan participant in international humanist networks, [since] he refused to draw distinctions between any of these roles.’⁵⁰ With this, Schwyzer is avoiding the risk of explicitly pigeon-holing Llwyd into one particular category. While it is possible to argue that Llwyd is all of these things, which will be demonstrated in my first chapter, I also believe that the term ‘Cambro-Briton’ could be interpreted in another way in order to show that Llwyd is defining himself through the antiquity of Wales and the ancient Britons.

While Schwyzer provides a large amount of historical context on Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel and their texts, he gives less analysis of the text beyond annotations. In my first two chapters where I explore these two texts, I will be combining the context Schwyzer gives in his introduction about the writers with an analysis of each text, as little work on them has been done before. The authorial contexts Schwyzer provides for Llwyd and Powel will help shed some light on the identities of the text and prove that they are early examples of non-Welsh language writing from Wales. As with other writers, the themes of language, landscape, history, culture and politics all play crucial roles within not just the body of *The Breviary of Britian* and *Historie of Cambria* but also their constructions. While both focus primarily on the landscape and history of Wales, in doing so they are responding to concerns occurring in their contemporary Wales. For Llwyd, writing originally in Latin, I will show that these are questions of historical and national legitimacy raised by continental scholars critical of the Galfridian legacy, that is the influence of Geoffrey of Monmouth on cultural

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

and historical perceptions of England and Wales, whereas for Powel I will demonstrate that the matters he responded to were influenced by the Sidneys, and the problems they faced in domestic politics.

Finally, while Schwyzer does include some extracts from Powel's *Historie of Cambria*, he does not go into a great amount of detail about Powel or the text, instead drawing upon the connections with Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain*.⁵¹ My second chapter will build on these foundations, before moving on to address the key points of my thesis. While Schwyzer at one point describes Powel's text as a 'revision' of Llwyd's,⁵² I will set out to treat *Historie of Cambria* in its own right and not simply an adaptation or translation of a Llwyd's *Cronica Walliae* (1559). The extracts Schwyzer provides from *Historie of Cambria* were selected for their 'intrinsic interest and historical influence, as well as with an eye to distribution throughout the period'.⁵³ Calling these extracts 'interesting' and 'influential' implies those parts not included are neither of interest nor influence. In my second chapter I will look beyond this and analyse the text as a whole.

From what Humfrey, Kerrigan and Schwyzer have already achieved in this field and the limitations that I perceive within their work, I will affirm that it is a mistake to dismiss Welsh writers who are not considered 'great' in terms of the English literary canon. I will demonstrate this by arguing the worth of each writer in terms of their contributions to the literary fabric of, not only Wales, but also archipelagic and continental discourses. While a text's 'worth' is purely subjective, I will attempt to quantify 'worthiness' in terms of the way in which each text responds to matters of history, landscape, language, religion and politics. By doing so I will show how the texts reflect the multiple different versions of identity in

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 15-24.

⁵² Ibid., p. 17.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 23.

Wales over the course of approximately a hundred years, whether this is regional, national, spiritual or political, and how the identity of Wales shifts from the western coasts to the eastern borders, and from the end of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Chapter 1

The Welsh Identity in Language and Place in

Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain*

During the sixteenth century, the Tudors – hailing originally from Wales – sought to establish and legitimise their dynasty. In order to do this they relied on chronicles that detailed the traditions and folklore of the ancient Britons, particularly Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (1136). Monmouth's work recounted the lineage of the kings of ancient Britain from the supposed first settlement by Brutus of Troy up to the death of Cadwaladr. The importance of this is that it provided a legitimate mandate for the Tudors to rule over England and Wales, as they claimed to be descendants of the ancient British kings due to their Welsh ancestry.¹ This indicates that during this part of history, Welsh and British history and tradition were synonymous. Indeed Schwyzer tells us this, stating that the history of Wales applied to the entire island of Britain.² It is through this that the Tudor dynasty utilised and appropriated Welsh history and tradition in order to justify the burgeoning British imperial ideology.

However, Geoffrey of Monmouth did have his critics. Among these were Polydore Vergil and Hector Boece, who did not subscribe to the history that was portrayed within Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, instead claiming that it and its source

¹ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 6.

² Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 40.

material were entirely fictitious.³ However, this did not stop the Tudors and contemporary writers from basing their ideology upon *Historia Regum Britanniae*. Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain* is said to be partly written in defence of *Historia Regum Britanniae* in the face of such criticism.⁴ However there is more to Llwyd's text than this. Therefore, this chapter will focus on examining the ways in which *The Breviary of Britain* reflects the Tudor dynasty's penchant for everything Welsh, particularly by looking at Llwyd's descriptions of Wales, in terms of its topographical and toponymic qualities, and its language. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how Llwyd's works present a Wales whose history is thoroughly intertwined with that of the other nations in the British Isles, as well as showing how the Wales that Llwyd portrays is also culturally distinct, despite its history of English subjugation, and thus has its own identity.

Specifically, I will be addressing the following issues: how Llwyd reconciles his Welsh identity and the Welsh history with broader political ideas at the time; the way in which Llwyd portrays Welsh culture, traditions and way of life in the wake of laws that can be seen to inhibit such aspects of life in Wales, how chorography and chronicle may contribute to Llwyd's sense of *hiraeth*, and in what way Llwyd establishes the pedigree of Wales through referring to its history with the Classical spheres of influence where Latin and Greek texts reign supreme. I will also consider the way in which water has a dual function as a medium of spirituality as well as a demarcator of land to show how religious and regional identity is affected by rivers and lakes, the sea and its shores.

To begin with, I will examine the way in which Llwyd divulges the intricacies of the Welsh language to his audience to demonstrate the way in which he portrays the language

³ Patrick Collinson, 'Truth, Lies and Fiction in Sixteenth-century Protestant Historiography', *The Historical Imagination in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 37-68 (p. 45).

⁴ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales*, p. 440.

and its prevalence at the time. It is clear from the outset that Llwyd places a great deal of importance on the Welsh language as the ancestral tongue of the island. This is apparent through the way in which he describes how he will detail ‘the geographical description of all Britain, set forth with the most ancient names, as well Latin as British’ (ll. 378-9).⁵ In doing this, Llwyd is granting Welsh equal prestige with Latin, implying that the two languages held equal sway in ancient Briton. However, by calling it ‘British’ rather than Welsh, Llwyd is also aging the language significantly – the language that the ancient Britons would have spoken would almost certainly have been quite different from the language that Llwyd spoke. Llwyd is transforming the language into a living connection with the past and asserts his desire to impart knowledge of this bygone age, ‘I purpose to entreat a little knowledge of the British tongue’ (ll. 385-6). This statement presents Llwyd as the one person who knows the truth behind the toponymic places in Wales, thus putting himself at odds with other scholars, ‘wherein I must disagree from the opinions of learned men’ (ll. 379-80).

Philip Schwyzer establishes in his introduction to the edited copy of Llwyd’s works that the ‘Welsh words and phrases encountered in the pages of *The Breviary* are typically several steps removed from the Welsh commonly spoken and written by Llwyd’s contemporaries’.⁶ This is also reflected in Llwyd’s ‘mildly eccentric approach to Welsh orthography’,⁷ which pervades the text. For a number of the digraphs present in the language, Llwyd expresses them differently to the majority of his contemporaries. One such example of this is as follows, ‘Double DD, as it is commonly written amongst our countrymen, or amongst the learned after this manned DH’ (ll. 404-5). This is also the case for LL, ‘We have

⁵ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain with selections from the History of Cambria*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013). All subsequent textual references are from this source unless noted otherwise.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

also a peculiar letter to ourselves, which the ruder sort fashion like LL, but the better-learned write with LH' (ll. 413-4). It is apparent that Llwyd considered himself to be akin to an intellectual *uchelwr* – a ranking that once denoted privilege, nobility and leadership,⁸ but had been transformed into a more Anglicised elite whose 'traditional authority in their communities was now unchallenged and sanctioned by English law'.⁹ Indeed, Llwyd's authority on the history and traditions of Wales and its language had been validated in the English-language by Thomas Twyne earning the patronage of Edward De Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, for his translation.¹⁰

Throughout this section on the pronunciation of the Welsh alphabet, Llwyd makes comparisons to other languages. Typically, he relates the pronunciation of each letter to its Greek or Hebrew equivalent, for example, 'CH expresseth the nature of X, called *chi*, among the Grecians, and hath no affinity with the pronunciation in French or English of the same aspiration, but is sounded in the throat, like *chet* in Hebrew' (ll. 400-3), thus serving to show how learned he is in matters of orthography. However, the best demonstration of this is in his account of – in his terms – LH, which 'the ruder sort fashion like LL' (l. 413-4). Llwyd details how other languages – particularly Spanish and German – also have a digraph for *ll* or *lh* yet they bare no similarities with the Welsh versions' (l. 414-7). Llwyd proceeds to explain how the 'Mexicani' make use of a similar sounding letter, 'which the Spaniards express by *ll*, but because I was never amongst them I doubt whether it be so or not, for ours is sharp in the hissing' (ll. 419-21), referring to the Aztec language Nahuatl.¹¹ This section seems to not only educate those literate in Latin about the nuances of the Welsh language, but also to

⁸ 'Uchelwr', *GPC Online* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies, 2014) <http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html?uchelwr> [accessed 1 Feb 2018].

⁹ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, p. 34.

¹⁰ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, ll. 1-4.

¹¹ George L. Cowgill, *Ancient Teotihuacan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 6.

demonstrate Llwyd's abilities as a polyglot: he mentions how he was 'never amongst' the 'Mexicani', but perhaps had been amongst speakers of the other languages he discussed.

Llwyd devotes the remaining part of this section on the Welsh language to one of the defining features which sets it apart from English, Latin and the other major languages of early modern Europe in its peculiarities – the morphology of consonants – or mutations. Llwyd's reasoning for why this occurs is that it is to 'avoid evil sound' (l. 450). This directly relates to an aural history of the Welsh language and performances by the bards, where the lyrical qualities of speech might be hindered by clashing plosives, fricatives and trills that may cause offence to their patrons. In observing how mutations operate, Llwyd provides an example of the relationship between word and identity,

A 'head' is called *pen* in our tongue; 'out of the head', *o ben*, or 'his head', *ei ben*, 'with a head', *â phen*, or 'her head', *ei phen*, 'my head', *fy mhen*. Here you see a strange mutation of this letter, when it is called in one place *pen*, in another *ben*, in the third *phen*, and last of all *mhen*. (ll. 453-7)

This passage, one of many examples indicating how different letters are mutated in monosyllabic words, also highlights Llwyd's perceptions of his identity as a Welshman (which will be discussed further in this chapter), as he calls the language 'our tongue'. With the text originally in Latin, Llwyd is engaging here with a more international, scholarly audience, which he informs how there was in fact a distinction between the identities of the English and Welsh at the time, despite the incorporation of Wales into England with the Laws in Wales Acts 1535 and 1542.¹² These Acts legally incorporated Wales into England, dividing the land up into English-style counties, while annexing others along the border to England. They banned the use of the Welsh language in office, and abolished Welsh law

¹² Ivor Bowen, *The Statutes of Wales* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1908).

through the establishment of the Council of Wales and the Marches and the Court of Great Sessions. The ramifications of the clauses prohibiting the use of the Welsh language, in particular, would have been even greater if Elizabeth I had not unwittingly saved the language as a result of her 1563 edict for the Bible to be translated into Welsh.¹³

In 'The Description of Britain', Llwyd shows us how his perceived intelligence was intrinsically linked with his Welsh identity, stating that the nature of the Welsh language 'hath troubled many learned men' (l. 480). The implications of this are twofold. Firstly, it suggests the language is not one that can simply be learned, perhaps owing to its perceived heritage as a link to an ancient land and lost past, and must instead be lived with. Secondly, it could also refer to the way in which scholars are troubled by a language which appears just as old and unchanging as Latin despite the history of Roman dominion. Llwyd uses Aristotle's *De Mundo* in order to affirm this heritage by placing it within the domain of Classicism so that he is able to challenge scholarly perceptions of Wales and the British Isles. Somewhat hypocritically, Llwyd states that Latin – his medium of communication – is not suitable for recounting the history and description of Britain:

Whereby I, as one not sworn to maintain the opinion of any man, but following reason, the faithful guide and leader of the wise, do constantly avouch that the derivations and deductions of the antique names of Britain and the parts thereof are not to be sought out of the Greeks and Latins, but forth of the most ancient British tongue. For, how shamefully the Latins have corrupted the names of the kings and places of the land, while they study for the finesse of their tongue, it is manifest to all those which being furnished with any skill of the tongues come to read the Roman histories. (ll. 509-518)

¹³ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales*, p. 314.

Llwyd holds ancient British history in high esteem, and disparages the classical accounts for Latinising the people and places, thereby masking their true heritage. While this is a source of tension within the original Latinate version of the text, it is necessary in order for his message to reach a wider scholastic field. Within this Llwyd aims at unveiling this heritage through revealing the original ‘British’ names for people and places, and the meanings concealed within them.

In doing so, Llwyd placed himself in opposition to his contemporaries – specifically Hector Boece, a Scot, and Polydore Vergil, an Italian – because he defended and used Geoffrey of Monmouth as one of his sources,¹⁴ and these two scholars in particular subscribed to opposing sources of Scottish and Latin origin. While we now know that Geoffrey of Monmouth’s works were inaccurate, at the time the Tudors had invested so much into them that it became ‘semi-official doctrine’.¹⁵ However, Schwyzer explains that Llwyd’s work should not solely be treated as a defence of Geoffrey of Monmouth, as it owes more to Tacitus and ‘contemporary learning and classical erudition’ than to Galfridian tradition when read as an incomplete survey of the three nations inhabiting the islands of Great Britain.¹⁶

Llwyd first turns his attention to the meaning concealed within the word ‘Britain’. He explains how the root of the name comes from the ‘British’ (l. 593) words ‘Pryd’ and ‘cain’, meaning ‘comeliness and beauty’ and ‘white’ (ll. 607-8). According to Llwyd, these two words combine to mean ‘a fair and fertile land’ (ll. 611-2). This contradicts the commonly held belief that the name of the land was derived from Brutus, indeed, Llwyd admits this himself, saying ‘for our countrymen unto this day do call a Briton *Brituun* (which word cometh not from the ancient name of the island, *Prydain*, but from Brutus, the king) (ll. 642-

¹⁴ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, p. 76.

¹⁵ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), p. 123.

¹⁶ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, p. 5.

4). This is significant, as it shows that Llwyd denied this particular part of the belief extolled by both antiquarian scholars of British history and those in positions of power. Here is a Welshman – a ‘Cambro-Briton’ in Llwyd’s own words – reclaiming his land from classical myth by offering an alternative Welsh etymology.

Llwyd’s repetition of his new etymology is observed at the beginning of his section entitled ‘The Division of Britain’ and has some repercussions on the names of the constituent parts of the island. He remarks that ‘Britain, which more rightly (howbeit more strangely) ought to be called Prydain, is divided into three parts: Lloegria, Albania, and Cambria’ (ll. 652-4). In Geoffrey of Monmouth’s myth, each part is named after one of Brutus’ sons – Locrinus, Albanactus and Camber respectively. Llwyd does not posit a theory as to the etymology of Lloegr, the Welsh name for England, and to this day the etymology is still a mystery. Rather than using the Welsh names for England, Scotland and Wales – Lloegr, Yr Alban and Cymru – Llwyd instead chooses more Latinised versions of the translations. This creates tension between the Latinate ideas that Llwyd rejects and the Latinised forms which he appropriates, and could be seen as an attempt to engage with the international scholarly community while simultaneously challenging their perceptions of the world.

Towards the end of this section, Llwyd demonstrates the pedigree of Welsh by explaining how the Welsh words for English and Englishman are *Saesneg* and *Saeson* respectively. Both are clearly loanwords of ‘Saxon’, with *Saesneg* featuring the ‘-eg’ suffix which denotes a language. Indeed, Llwyd uses this to show how this predates the English, ‘our countrymen, retaining the first name, do call all Englishmen *Saeson*, and their tongue *Saesneg*, and know not what these words ‘English’ and ‘Englishman’ meaneth’ (ll. 784-7). Llwyd asserts that the Welsh are the true descendants of the Britons by insinuating that the version of Welsh that he, and the rest of Wales speaks, is directly descended from that spoken by the pre-Saxon Britons who originally coined their neighbours *Saeson*.

‘The Description of England’ – Its Relation to Wales

This anxiety to show how the Welsh and their language predate England and the English is found throughout Llwyd’s work, most notably in the section entitled ‘The Description of England’. He begins by underlining how much of what is now in England was once part of Wales:

But let us return to Lloegr, which in times past was environed with the British Ocean, the rivers of Severn, Dee, and Humber, but now, since the realm of England stretches forth beyond Humber to Tweed, we will also stretch forth the name of Lloegr so far. And although the Englishmen do possess beyond Severn Herefordshire, the Forest of Dean, and many other places, yet we hold that they dwell in Wales, not in Lloegr, and are taken almost everywhere of all other Englishmen for Welshmen. (ll. 798-805)

In this passage, Llwyd is reappropriating a part of England by calling it Lloegr. This suggests that the pre-England land known as Lloegr was smaller than what later became England. Therefore, Llwyd deems it appropriate to ‘stretch forth the name’ to apply to what we now understand as England. Llwyd’s assertion that the land stolen from Wales – ‘beyond Severn, Herefordshire, the Forest of Dean, and many other places’ – is based on how many of the people and places in this disputed territory and beyond into what Llwyd would say is Lloegr speak Welsh or have their names derive from Welsh origins, ‘in certain places both the people and the Welsh tongue have encroached more into England’ (ll. 806-8).

From here Llwyd begins his description of ‘Lloegr, or England’ (l. 810), starting with Kent, or Caint (the Welsh name for Kent), as he would rather have it named. In this first section, Llwyd sets out his argument for the British – or Welsh – origins of quintessentially

English locales. This first instance within Caint is the port that Llwyd alleges the Romans call ‘Doris’ – ‘Doris is undoubtedly the same which both the Englishmen and Britons, reserving the ancient name, at this day do call Dover’ (ll. 834-6): Dover is the ‘ancient name’ that the Britons gave to the town before the Romans called it Doris. However, this ancient name would actually be a corruption of the Welsh word for water – *dŵr* or *dwfyr* in Middle Welsh, according to Llwyd (ll. 836-7). This appears to be at odds with what the residents of Dover believe to be the true etymology of the name as Llwyd well knows: ‘I am not ignorant that the Dovarians stoutly defend that their town heretofore was called Rutupium’ (ll. 837-8). Llwyd also says that this water etymology applies to other places within Kent as evidenced by their Latin names – ‘Durobrevis’, Rochester, and ‘Durovernum’, Canterbury, ‘It is manifest that these towns took their names of water, which is *dŵr* in British [and modern Welsh], and Durivern amongst us plainly signifieth water which floweth out of a place where alders grow’ (ll. 855-8).

Water features quite readily in the etymologies that Llwyd provides, thus demonstrating that water for him was a key aspect in demarcating territory in the Welsh language. In these previous examples the water is being associated with additional geographical features in order to signify that it is separate from other places. Geography has long been used as a means to draw contested borders between one land and another, such as the Rhine separating parts of Germany and France, and the Alps marking Italy from Switzerland. The same process can be observed in Llwyd’s opinion that the Welsh border stretches to the Rivers Dee and Severn (ll. 798-9). Llwyd here is falling back on simplistic, ‘natural’ borders such as rivers to show geopolitical tensions between Wales and England, regardless of the identities of those living on each side of the river, rather than the official and artificial border of Offa’s Dyke.

Llwyd's linguistic reclamation of English regions continues with 'Southsex', Sussex; 'Southtrey', Sussex; Berkshire, and even the Isle of Wight, which Llwyd explains as coming from 'Gwydd, which in our tongue signifieth perspicuous or easy to be seen, as *gwyddgrug*,¹⁷ that is to say a perspicuous heap, *gwyddfa*, a perspicuous place (by which term the most highest of mountain of all Britain, in Caernarfonshire, is called)' (ll. 910-4). As with Llwyd's previous use of 'Britons', in his discussion of the origins of the Isle of Wight's Welsh name, Llwyd insinuates that the Welsh name came first as it was what the Britons called it; 'Gwydd' must be its true name, in his opinion, as the Britons inhabited the island before the English arrived on its shores.

Llwyd draws a link between the etymologies of both Cornwall and Wales as being of Germanic origin, derived from the Anglocentric paradigm of the island, thus dismissing the more Francophone etymology which his contemporary and rival Vergil subscribes to:

Here it is to be noted that the Saxons did thrust the relics of the ancient Britons into those straits. Who, because they used the British tongue, which the Saxons understood not, they termed them Cornwalas, that is to say Welshmen of Cornavia, or Cornwall, as they called also our countrymen Welsh Britons, after the German guise. This is the true etymology or cause of the name, and farewell to them which, pleasing themselves in the invention of the name, do call it 'Cornu Galliae', to say a horn of France, wherein Polydorus, as in other things also, uttereth his ignorance. (ll. 936-45)

This establishes the effect that the Saxons had on the ancient Britons, detailing the way in which their arrival and tendency to conquer caused the displacement of some of the Britons to more remote regions of the island. Indeed, Llwyd's evidence for displaced populations of Britons extends further than the shared Germanic etymology between Cornwall and Wales to

¹⁷ Also, coincidentally, the Welsh name for Mold in Flinshire.

their common language, ‘They speak the British language, and all their words almost are found like unto ours, but they differ somedeal in construction of speech’ (ll. 948-9). By referring to them as the ‘Welshmen of Cornavia’ and speakers of the ‘British language’, Llwyd implies that the Cornish are the same as the Welsh because of the similarities in language and the treatment that they received from colonists on the island, such as the Saxons:

The Cornishmen and those [the Britons] were one nation, which both the kings’ names being like in both countries [...], and also the proper words and names for all things almost one [...] do prove manifestly (ll. 688-95).

These previous English counties and shires – Sussex, Berkshire and the Isle of Wight, also including Devonshire, Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, ‘do make the third kingdom of Saxons in Britain, which they call West Saxons’ (ll. 981-3). However, Llwyd says that their King, Egbert, who ‘having subdued all the other’ was the first of the Anglo-Saxons to ‘obtain the monarch of Lloegr’ (ll. 983-4). This suggests Llwyd may have believed it was around this time that Lloegr first became Saxon and therefore, these regions once made up the pre-England Lloegr. This area was then transformed into the Kingdom of Wessex, which Llwyd calls ‘West Saxons’, King Egbert having subdued or displaced the native British population, thus becoming the ‘first of the Germans’ (ll. 984) to hold the title.

After this, Llwyd turns his attention to the ‘countries’ north of the river Thames. This in itself suggests that Lloegr was not as expansive as Cymru would have been – consisting of the land south of an imaginary line running between the estuaries of the rivers Severn and Humber and excluding what is now Cornwall and Devon – if it was able to be absorbed by the Kingdom of Wessex. Indeed, Eric P. Hamp has a theory as to what Lloegr may have meant:

Provisionally, I propose Lloeg(y)r [...] ‘having a nearby border, being from near the border’. Functionally the Celtic term *Lloeg(y)r* is the exact opposite of the Germanic term in English, *Welsh*, originally singling out not the foreignness but the nearness of the neighbour.¹⁸

If this is truly the case then the Britons living in Cymru had no animosity for the *Lloegyrwys* – the inhabitants of Lloegr – due to their closeness geographically and their shared language. While Lloegr has been reinterpreted as the name for England, the term *Lloegyrwys* has since faded into obscurity, being replaced by *Saeson* in as much the same way as the Saxons replaced the Britons living in Lloegr. As Llwyd demonstrated clearly how Lloegr is used to denote the land and *Saeson*, the people living there, it suggests that, although the demographics shift over time, names of places still offer an insight into ancient Britain.

The land Llwyd describes next was once inhabited by the tribes that referred to each other as *Cymry*, thought to mean ‘fellow countrymen’, but were now part of England. This is evident through the way in which he incorporates names of British tribes and their princes into the chorography, as ‘over against Kent, on the other side of the Thames, lie the Tribobantes, whose prince was Mandubracius, or as other [*sic*] write Androgorius; our countrymen call him Afarwy’ (ll. 986-9). In doing this Llwyd is showing the historical Welsh links to the area, thus allowing him to make his case for a British empire by recalling these ancient pre-Roman princes. In Llwyd’s time, these areas with strong Welsh ties had been reduced to simply the border areas, including Shropshire which I will discuss in connection with Thomas Churchyard in my fourth chapter. Furthermore, in the description of Cambridgeshire – a region inhabited by the Iceni – Llwyd is keen to assert how the English names for places within the county are corruptions of their purer Welsh forms:

¹⁸ Eric P. Hamp, ‘Lloegr: The Welsh Name for England’, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 4 (1982), pp. 83-5 (p. 85).

Cambridgeshire, whose chief city in old time the Britons called Caergrawnt, the Englishmen Grantchester, [...], but now corruptly is commonly called Cambridge [...] Not far off is the Isle of Willows, not of Eels as some have written. For *helig* in the British tongue signifieth willow trees, wherewith those fens do abound. (ll. 1107-1113)

In a similar vein, Llwyd mocks the Saxons for their ignorance towards the British language in their misnaming of the River Avon, ‘for *afon* in British signifieth a river, and the Saxons hearing the Britons so term rivers supposed that it had been the proper names thereof, whereby it came to pass that many notable rivers in England were called by that name’ (ll. 1167-70). This suggests that the corruption of names did not just come through renaming but also through misapprehending what Llwyd considers to be the language that is symbolic of (and most in tune) with the land in Britain.

English linguistic colonization also extended to the Anglian kingdom of Northumberland. However, unlike the Saxons who corrupted and misunderstood the language of the land, the Northumbrians made their mark on the landscape by committing acts of bloodshed:

Etheldred King of Northumberland most cruelly slew two thousand monks of the famous monastery of Bangor, men excellently learned, and such as (contrary to the custom of others) got their living with travail of their own hands. (ll. 1180-3)

This detail within the ‘Description of England’ indicates Llwyd’s eagerness to present the British populace, in this case the monks, as victims of unjustified war rather than uncivilised heretics. This is notable through the way in which Llwyd explains that the monks of Bangor-on-Dee ‘got their living with travail of their own hands’ (ll. 1183-4), perhaps insinuating that these monks had more in common with Protestant clergyman than with Catholicism. The fact

that the King of Northumbria – whom Llwyd names Etheldred – had slain these monks helps to prove that they represented a different form of Christianity than that of the Northumbrian Angles; Llwyd argues that this bloodshed would not have happened if it ‘had not been at the motion of that bloodthirsty monk whom they call Augustine’ (ll. 1184-5). This directly establishes an opposition between the pre-Catholic British Christianity that was believed to exist in Wales – and is often cited as a reason for the break from Rome – and Catholicism.¹⁹ Llwyd may be championing the Protestant cause in Wales due to his belief that ‘the souls of the Welsh could be saved more swiftly through the medium of Welsh’.²⁰

Llwyd’s account of these details is somewhat problematic, specifically, he attributes the bloodshed to ‘Etheldred’ rather than Æthelfrith, as Bede records in his writing.²¹ Furthermore, Æthelfrith, being the King of Northumbria, was an Angle. However historians, such as Felicity Heal²² and Gwyn A. Williams, state that the monks were slain by this Saxon King.²³ However, this contradiction might be brushed aside by there not being much of a distinction between Angles and Saxons, and there is some evidence that both the Angles and the Saxons were derided by the English in the sixteenth century:

Later English nationalism, [...], would celebrate a trio of specifically English virtues: the English language, racial descent from the Anglo-Saxons, and parliamentary and legal traditions and privileges. By contrast, in the Tudor era all of these were objects of significant anxiety, if not outright contempt.²⁴

¹⁹ Adam Coward, ‘Exiled Trojans or the Sons of Gomer: Wales’s Origins in the long Eighteenth Century’, *The Roots of Nationalism: National Identity Formation in Early Modern Europe, 1600-1815*, ed. by Lotte Jensen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 167-84 (p. 169).

²⁰ Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Welsh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 154.

²¹ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Leo Sherley-Price (London: Penguin Classics, 1990), pp. 107-8.

²² Felicity Heal, ‘Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past’, *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. by Paulina Kewes (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006), pp. 105-128 (p. 121)

²³ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 43.

²⁴ Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory*, p. 6.

Ultimately, due to the way in which he interrupted his description of England in order to deliver this tale, it most likely did not matter that much to Llwyd who slew the monks. What mattered was that the atrocity was committed against the Welsh and their pre-Roman Christianity.

Llwyd demonstrates the dichotomy between British Cymru and Roman Lloegr as a result of the changes that the Romans brought to those particular landscapes of Britain. In looking at Worcester – ‘Vigornia, [...] old time called of the Romans Brangonia, of the Britons to this day Caerwrangon’ (ll. 1194-5), Llwyd notes that ‘all the greater cities that lie upon the east shore of the rivers Severn and Dee were builded to resist the irruptions of the Britons into Lloegr’ (ll. 1197-9). This attests to the fragile nature of the tense relations between the different peoples inhabiting the islands that would later be known as ‘Great Britain’. Indeed, Llwyd tells us that placement of these cities along the Wales-England border shares similarities with the way in which the Romans ‘erected many notable cities on the west shore of the Rhine, to restrain the forcible invasions of the Germans into France’ (ll. 1200-2). This demonstrates that rivers – such as the Severn, Dee and Rhine – were perceived to be natural boundaries between nations and regions, able to be transformed into highly defensible man-made structures with the express intent to restrict the flow of a particular group of people beyond their designated space.

This tense relationship was not limited to the Welsh and the Romans but also extended to the Anglo-Saxons, as discussed previously in relation to the monks of Bangor-on-Dee. Llwyd tells of how the village of Wroxeter – or Viroconium in Latin – was once the main urban centre within Shropshire until the Saxons razed it to the ground. However, this act of violence against the Romans by the Anglo-Saxons is also, according to Llwyd, directed against the Welsh as well. Llwyd posits the idea that Pengwern – ‘the head of a place where alders grow, and was the seat of the kings of Powys’ (ll. 1208-10) – was situated in this place

before the people of Powys were forced to flee further West. While Llwyd claims that Pengwern was once possibly an early site of the court of Powys, its exact location is not known, and it did not last long as it is widely known that Mathrafal was a more prominent seat for Powys.²⁵ Llwyd himself believes that, for etymologic reasons, Pengwern is situated where Shrewsbury is now located: ‘from whence the English name Shrewsbury is derived’ (ll. 1210-1), though now Shrewsbury is known as Amwythig, a ‘fortified place’, in Welsh. This name, to the ejected Welsh population, suggests that Shrewsbury was isolated from them and defined only by its foreboding external appearance rather than the typical toponymic language used elsewhere to define a landscape.

‘The Description of Wales’ – Creations of History

Llwyd begins his description of Wales by recounting how the nation was united under one king after the ‘British destruction’ in true onomastic fashion by referring to ‘a very ancient book written of the laws of the Britons’ (l. 2427-8) wherein he alleges that ‘all the people of Wales assembled together at the mouth of the River Dyfi to choose a king’ (ll. 2430-2). He continues in Welsh, ‘Ac yno y doethant gwyr Gwynedd, a gwyr Powys, a gwyr Deheubarth, a Reynnwc, ac Eylluc, a Morganuc’ (ll. 2432-3).²⁶ Llwyd does not provide a source for this quote so it is likely a fabrication, using antiquated Welsh – such as ‘doethant’ and the three divisions of Deheubarth, ‘Reynnwc’, ‘Eylluc’ and ‘Morganuc’ – in order to give it provenance. However, it is notable that Llwyd is contradicting Gildas in that he

²⁵ David Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132-1293* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), p. 51.

²⁶ Twyne translates this as ‘and thither came men of Gwyned, and men of Powys, and men of Deheubarth, and of Reynnucia, and of Syllucia, and Morgania’ (ll. 2434-6).

alleges that the people of Wales chose Maelgwn as their new king, whereas Gildas strongly condemns Maelgwn:

O thou dragon of the island, who hast deprived many tyrants, as well of their kingdoms as of their lives, and though the last-mentioned in my writing, the first in mischief, exceeding many in power, and also in malice, more liberal than others in giving, more licentious in sinning, strong in arms, but stronger in thine own soul's destruction, Maglocune, why art thou (as if soaked in the wine of Sodomitical grape) foolishly rolling around in that place pool of thine offences?²⁷

The list of unjustified offences are extensive, ranging from having undue influence on regions across his borders as a 'high king' to violent rule and his funding of British Christianity across the whole of Wales.²⁸ None of this detail is present in Llwyd's work. Instead, he portrays Maelgwn as a king whom the people of Wales chose for themselves, making it seem as if Llwyd is implying that the people of the three kingdoms of Wales were united in their desire to have Maelgwn as the King of Gwynedd – the most powerful of the three kingdoms. This is contrary to historical fact, where Rhodri Fawr is credited with uniting the people and kingdoms of Wales. Llwyd paints Maelgwn as a sort of de-facto leader of the whole of Wales despite only being the King of Gwynedd:

It is easily gathered that this country was subject unto divers petty-kings or earls, unto the time of Roderick the Great, who obtained the monarchy of all Wales, the year of Our Lord 843, dividing it into three parts, which he left in possession of his three sons. (ll. 2443-7)

²⁷Gildas the Wise, *The Works of Gildas and Nennius*, 'De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae', ed. and trans. by J. A. Giles, (London: Bohn, 1841), p. 29.

²⁸Ibid., p. 29-32.

The impact of this is that Llwyd is portraying a unified identity for the people of Wales by 560 AD when Maelgwn was crowned King (despite Wales consisting of three separate kingdoms – Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth – until Rhodri Fawr united them in 843 AD). Llwyd is insinuating that the people of Wales had a shared and cohesive identity separate from their easterly neighbours. The possible existence of a Welsh national identity based on the crowning of Maelgwn, as well as the nineteenth and twentieth-century Welsh centred on ideas of religious Nonconformity, the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church and industrialisation, demonstrates that national identity coalesces around prevailing issues of the time. For sixteenth and seventeenth-century Welsh identity, this could be understood to be focused around Union.

The Kingdom of Gwynedd – The Central Power

Beginning his section on Gwynedd, Llwyd describes what was the ‘chiefest of these kingdoms, which the inhabitants call Gwynedd, Englishmen North Wales, and the Latin writers corruptly Venodotia’ (ll. 2465-7). This is one of the few occasions in which Llwyd places a Welsh toponym at the top of the linguistic hierarchy, followed by English – which is typically at the bottom – and then the ‘corrupt’ Latin. This might suggest that Llwyd is claiming that Latin writers – such as his rival Polydore Vergil – did not truly know Wales as much as they thought, and were misrepresenting the land through their Latin toponyms.

In geographical terms, Llwyd portrays the Kingdom of Gwynedd as being a veritable fortress, surrounded on all sides by difficult terrain to navigate:

On the west and north sides it hath Vegivium, or the Irish Ocean, at the south-west and by south the River Dyfi, whereby it is cut off from South Wales. On the south and

east sides it is severed from Powys and England with high hills, and sometime with waters unto the force of the River Dee. (ll. 2467-72)

The affinity the Welsh had with their land and weather exacerbated this; the Welsh most often employed guerrilla warfare in order to confound and ward off intruders: ‘Cannily using their knowledge of difficult terrain, which was entirely unsuited to heavy cavalry or snail-like machines, the Welsh forces proved hard to subdue.’²⁹ However, the difficulties faced by opposing armies would eventually be overcome through the military developments of the Edwardian Conquest.³⁰

Llwyd describes Arfon as the ‘second region of Gwynedd [...] the best fortified part of all Wales, for it containeth the highest mountains and rocks of all Britain’ (ll. 2490-2). He states that Arfon translates into English as ‘above Anglesey’ (l. 2491). However, on maps – from his own map of Wales as found in Abraham Ortelius’ *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*³¹ to standard contemporary day maps – Anglesey is portrayed as being above the Welsh mainland. This suggests that, for Llwyd, the Princes of Gwynedd had a differing worldview, wherein they saw Anglesey to be below the mainland, the Princes thus looking onto the natural fortress behind which they had sequestered themselves. Indeed, the royal dynasty of the Kingdom of Gwynedd held their court on Anglesey and also named themselves after the royal seat, being known as the House of Aberffraw (ll. 2475-7). This demonstrates how the terrain of Gwynedd was paramount to the stability and security of the Kingdom. However, during Edward I’s conquest, fundamental weaknesses were exploited: ‘Edward’s seaborne assault on Anglesey synchronized with attacks on the mountain front, supported by Welsh auxiliaries and a massive programme of forest clearance and fort-building’.³²

²⁹ Geraint H. Jenkins, *A Concise History of Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 83.

³⁰ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 226.

³¹ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London: Norton and Bill, 1608), p. 13-14.

³² Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 84.

Moving south of Arfon to Meirionnydd, Llwyd places great emphasis on the aquatic attributes of the once sub-kingdom of Gwynedd. For example, he describes the coast through its bounty and subsequent popularity with others within Wales, ‘by occasion of great herring taking, is much frequent by people of divers countries’ (ll. 2513-5). The relationship between the people of Meirionnydd and water extends beyond fishing. This is exemplified by ‘Lake Tegid’, often translated to tranquillity or beauty, ‘through which the river Dee, which we call *Dyfrdwy* [...] floweth’ (ll. 2516-8). Llwyd does not provide his own English or Latin translations for Llyn Tegid – now known in English as Bala Lake. This suggests that the lake had no official name in English or Latin. This can be explained through English not being spoken in this area. Llwyd explains that Llyn Tegid is special by demonstrating how it is home to a unique species of fish – most likely the *gwyniad*, ‘it is worth noting that there is in that pond a peculiar kind of fish which is never found in the running water; neither salmons, whereof the river [Dee] is full, do ever enter into the lake’ (ll. 2518-21). Llwyd explains that ‘these two countries [Arfon and Meirionnydd], of all Wales, came last into the power of the Englishmen’ (ll. 2522-3), thus providing one reason why some aspects of its geography and fauna, such as Bala lake and its native fish, may not have acquired an English name.

Llwyd finally describes the last part of the Kingdom of Gwynedd, Y Berfeddwlad, ‘that is to say, the inward and midland region’ (ll. 2538-9). He situates this region in history by explaining how it held the ‘seat and palace of the later kings of Britain [...] as namely of Maelgwn, Cadfanus, Cadwalla [...], and of Cadwaldr’ (ll. 2537-41) in Gogarth. In this section, Llwyd devotes a lot of time – particularly in comparison to other places – to describing his home town, Denbigh. Indeed, he refers to Denbigh as ‘my sweet country’ (ll. 2554-5) before going on to illustrate the beauty he sees within the land where he was raised.

Unlike many of the other places he describes, Llwyd provides a detailed description of Denbigh telling the reader how it is:

Compassed well nigh about with very fair parks and standing in the entrance of an exceeding pleasant valley, aboundeth plentifully with all things that are necessary to the use of man' (ll. 2555-7).

He continues by providing examples of the produce of the land in and around Denbigh:

The hills yield flesh and white meats; the most fertile valley, very good corn and grass. The sweet rivers, with the sea at hand, minister all sorts of fish and fowl' (ll. 2557-60).

These extracts are somewhat reminiscent of other contemporary writings describing and extolling the virtues of the Americas and Africa as rich, fertile lands ripe for colonization. For example, in Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana*, Raleigh tells us of a town named Toparimaca which, by his account, was 'very pleasant, standing on a little hill, in an excellent prospect, with goodly gardens a mile compass round about it, and two very fair and large ponds of excellent fish adjoining'.³³ Furthermore, in *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent*, Richard Hakluyt tells us of 'a countrey so pleasant so fruitefull, lacking nothing at all that may seeme necessarie for mans food'.³⁴ The common thread running through all three is an advertisement of fertile land which is ripe for being worked by man. However, contrary to Raleigh and Hakluyt, Llwyd is not presenting Denbigh as a New World, perhaps showing that colonising distant lands is unnecessary when equivalents exist far closer to home.

Llwyd also portrays Denbigh as a central business hub with connections beyond the confines of the island:

³³ Sir Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Empire of Guiana* (London: Robinson, 1596), pp. 66-7.

³⁴ Richard Hakluyt, *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America and the Islands Adjacent* (London: Hakluyt, 1582), p. 96.

Strange wines come thither forth of Spain, France, and Greece, abundantly. And being the chief town of the shire, standing in the very middle of the country, it is a great market town, famous and much frequented with wares and people from all parts of North Wales (ll. 2560-4).

While it may or may not be true that wine came to Denbigh from countries such as Spain, France and Greece, the hyperbolic nature of such claims provides a sense of Llwyd's pride for his hometown and its heritage as a bilingual market town. This comes across particularly through the way in which Llwyd accounts for this as '[t]he indwellers have the use of both tongues and, being endowed by kings of England with many privileges and liberties, are ruled by their own laws' (ll. 2564-6). Here Llwyd is suggesting that the populace enjoyed luxuries that were unavailable to others in Wales due to the nature of Denbigh being a hub for bilingual business. However, this contradicts the historical fact that the native population within boroughs that were centred around Anglo-Norman fortresses – such as Denbigh – were either restricted to the usage of English language and English law, or displaced entirely into the surrounding regions in favour of an English speaking, loyal populace:

The burghers in these “English boroughs” were granted privileges while the indigenous population was often forcibly moved to different locations. Moreover, Welshmen were forbidden to acquire land in the English boroughs, to carry weapons there, and to marry into borough families.³⁵

The implication of this is that by the time Llwyd was writing his chronicle, towns such as Denbigh were reclaimed by the Welsh population, with the once English colonists now being assimilated and integrated into Welsh culture. This is most apparent through the way in which Llwyd alleges that the people of Denbigh have ‘the use of both tongues’, most likely

³⁵ Marion Löffler, ‘English in Wales’, *A Companion to the History of the English Language*, ed. by Haruko Momma and Michael Matto (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp. 350-357 (pp. 350-351).

referring to Welsh and English. Furthermore, Denbigh being a ‘business hub’ could also provide an explanation for the presence of bilingualism in the town as, by this time, English had become the language of commerce.³⁶ This bilingualism presents an image of both Welsh and English cultures being able to coexist together. According to Llwyd, the language once ousted from the town by Edward I in the late thirteenth century had, by the sixteenth century, managed to reinstate its place within the castle walls. Therefore, Llwyd is writing his Latin text within this geographic space of a bilingual Denbigh. Llwyd’s status as a trilingual writer is quite well documented. The majority of his texts are in Latin, such as *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* which Thomas Twyne translated into English, there is least one English text in *Cronica Walliae*, an adaptation of *Brut y Tywysogion*, and two known works in Welsh.³⁷ This positions Llwyd as not just a Welsh writer, but also an archipelagic and continental writer as different languages correspond to different readerships.

Unlike Denbigh, Llwyd only briefly describes the nearby town of Ruthin; ‘an ancient town and castle of the Greys, from whence the most noble family amongst the Englishmen took beginning’ (ll. 2576-8). Through aligning himself with the Greys and not their enemy – Owain Glyndŵr – Llwyd reveals his opposition to Glyndŵr and the rebellion he led in the early 1400s. Later historians, such as Gwyn Williams, portray the rivalry between the Lord of Ruthin and Glyndŵr with more sympathy towards the Welshman, contrary to Llwyd’s claims:

Glyn Dŵr ran up against his powerful neighbour, Reginald de Grey, lord of Ruthin, an intimate of the new king, Henry IV. The quarrel was over common

³⁶ Geraint H. Jenkins, Richard Suggett and Eryn M. White, ‘The Welsh Language in Early Modern Wales’ (p. 57).

³⁷ R. Brinley Jones, ‘Llwyd, Humphrey (1527-1568)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16867> [accessed 5 March 2017].

land which de Grey had stolen. Glyn Dŵr could get no justice from king or parliament.³⁸

These different accounts of history creates some tension between Llwyd's ideology of Britishness – Glyndŵr being one of the many remaining living representatives of the overthrown royal dynasties of Wales – and the Tudor dynasty that had its foundations in a Welsh rebel. Glyndŵr, after all, led a rebellion against Henry IV, a Plantagenet, but ultimately failed, while Henry Tudor, from Pembroke, would successfully lead an army against Richard III to become Henry VII of England. Of course, it is likely that, in aligning with the Greys, Llwyd was attempting to avoid making any libellous comments against an influential family. Though no longer Lord of Ruthin, the Grey family was now in possession of the more illustrious title of the Earls of Kent.³⁹

Llwyd interrupts his chorography, with a digression on the British Church. He talks about 'Elbodius, Archbishop of North Wales', otherwise known as Elfodd, and his act of reconciling British Christianity with Roman Catholicism with regard to the date of Easter. The difference between the two is that:

For the Britons, imitating the Asiatic Church, celebrated their Easter from the fourteenth day of the moon unto the twentieth; when the Romans, following the Nicene Council, keep their Easter from the fifteenth to the one and twentieth' (ll. 2587-91).

He appears to take the side of the British Church, despite the reconciliation, saying that the Nicene Council 'follow that uncertain rule of the motion of the sun and moon which they call the Golden Number, being therein very foully deceived' (ll. 2594-6). What follows is a clear

³⁸ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 106.

³⁹ G.W. Bernard, 'The Fortunes of the Greys, Earls of Kent, in the Early Sixteenth Century', *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), 671–685 (p. 671).

expression of indignation over the treatment of the British Church by Roman Catholicism, echoing prevailing contemporary attitudes towards both religion and nation present in England and Wales. These attitudes refer specifically to the prejudice against Catholicism stemming from Henry VIII's break from the Roman Catholic Church and the fact that specific parts of Wales at the time were intensely Catholic.⁴⁰

Llwyd continues with his description of Wales, next detailing Tegeingl. Oddly for Llwyd, who may have some historical inaccuracies stemming from Geoffrey of Monmouth, but is otherwise quite geographically and linguistically accurate, he makes some serious geographical and linguistic errors within this passage, specifically about Ystrad Clwyd.

Llwyd tells us:

Afterward, being inhabited by Britons – coming forth of Scotland and driving the Englishman thence – with the valley of Clwyd, Ruthin, and Rosse, make one kingdom, which Marianus calleth Streudglead, our countrymen term it Ystrad Clwyd, that is to say, the Soil of Clwyd (ll. 2609-13).

In actuality, what Llwyd seems to be attributing to north east Wales was, in fact, the Kingdom of Strathclyde – a once Cumbric kingdom that was perhaps absorbed into the Kingdom of Alba.⁴¹ Indeed, Llwyd says that 'their last prince' was called Dunwallo (l. 2616), whom Schwyzer identifies as Dyfnwal III.⁴² This confusion may have arisen due to the similarities between Cumbric and Old Welsh; the name 'Strathclyde' was originally Ystrad Clud, thus evidently having the same etymological roots as Ystrad Clwyd, though referring to the river Clud rather than the river Clwyd. However, it is possible that, to Llwyd and his contemporaries, there was no distinction between the Welsh and the Cumbrians of the

⁴⁰ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990*, (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 114-5.

⁴¹ Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 270.

⁴² Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, p. 116, n. 276.

Kingdom of Strathclyde, because both peoples were perceived as ancient Britons, since their occupied lands were collectively known as Cymru.

Following this error, Llwyd makes further attempts to distance himself and Welsh Christianity from Catholicism by discussing the ‘superstitious worshipping of the virgin Winifred’ (l. 2626). Llwyd’s use of ‘superstitious’ echoes its earlier occurrence in the text where Llwyd references Augustine of Canterbury, thus reinforcing anti-Catholic rhetoric often employed by Protestants. The word ‘superstitious’ itself also conjures up magical or supernatural connotations which – being anathema to Christianity as heretical – has the effect of making Catholicism appear more akin to witchcraft than Protestantism. Llwyd does not mention the legend behind Winifred, instead only stating that the spring came ‘boiling up suddenly out of a place which they call Sychnant, that is to say a dry valley’ (ll. 2626-8). However, Llwyd does praise the water of Winifred’s Well, suggesting that there is a deeper link between the land and its waters that extends beyond any notion of Catholic possession. Llwyd says that the water ‘breedeth moss of a very pleasant savour, is also most wholesome unto man’s body both for washing and drinking, and of very good taste’ (ll. 2629-31), thus highlighting how, as with Denbigh, the land and its waters exist to be worked and consumed rather than to be worshipped.

On the other hand, Llwyd also subscribes to the possibility that the water does indeed hold the miraculous properties venerated by Catholics, since, ‘many being washed therein were cured of divers infirmities wherewith they were born’ (ll. 2632-3). This contradiction between Llwyd’s derision of the ‘superstitious worshipping’ of Catholic saints and subsequent admission of the miracle suggests that the healing properties are innate in the land, transcending the Catholic ideology that was imposed upon the space. Llwyd is keen to express the regenerative properties within land and water. While baptism, as one of the most

basic forms of water utilised for a spiritual purpose, is a sacrament across the confessional divide,⁴³ Llwyd is essentially claiming that Catholic baptisms rely too heavily on superstition.

Llwyd's stance could also invoke ancient British beliefs, particularly as he calls the river Dee, which runs through Holywell, 'Devanus', and later refers to it as 'Deva'. This sheds some light on the etymologies of the three names given to the river in the three languages of Wales at this time. The Latin 'Deva' is said to be derived from the Brythonic word 'Dēva', meaning goddess.⁴⁴ The Welsh 'Dyfrdwy' also shares the same root as the Brythonic word. The English name for the river, 'Dee', derives from the Latin name. This etymology of 'river of the goddess' suggests the belief that the river Dee held miraculous powers extended further back in time to the pre-Roman British society that named the river.

Llwyd ends his discussion of the constituent parts of the ex-Kingdom of Gwynedd and turns his attention to the Kingdom of Powys. He begins with a harrowing tale involving an unnamed king who was a follower of 'Pelagius's heresy' (l. 2641). Pelagianism was the belief that mankind was not born with sin and could freely choose to do good or evil, thus making sacraments, such as baptism, redundant.⁴⁵ This king would not heed the direction of German Altisiodorensis, or St. Germanus of Auxerre, 'by the secret and terrible judgement of God, with his palace and all his household was swallowed up into the bowels of the earth' (ll. 2643-5). In its place, according to Llwyd and legend, is a 'standing water of an unknown depth' (l. 2646) called Llyncllys. While Schwyzer gives the etymology as deriving from *llyn* meaning lake, and *llys* meaning palace, Llwyd himself refers to it as 'the devouring of the palace' (l. 2647), suggesting that it comes from *llyncu*, to swallow, rather than the word for lake.⁴⁶ By referring to this legend so soon after talking about Winifred's Well, Llwyd

⁴³ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 185.

⁴⁴ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2006), vol. 1, p. 1444.

⁴⁵ Orlando O. Espín, *An Introductory Dictionary of Theology and Religious Studies*, ed. by Orlando O. Espín and James B. Nickoloff (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2007), pp. 1017-8 (p. 1018).

⁴⁶ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain with selections from The History of Cambria*, p. 117.

highlights the importance of water as a spiritual medium within Wales through, in this case, the miraculous ability to heal both physical and moral infirmities through a direct relationship with the divine.

With all of his criticisms of ‘superstitious’ worship and monks – Llwyd is in fact subscribing to the Catholic idea of St. Germanus’s intervention in stopping the British Church from breaking away from the Papacy and Augustinian tradition.⁴⁷ On the other hand, this short tale could just be a part of Llwyd’s survey of the land in that he notes how that there are ‘many churches found in the same province dedicated to the name of German’ (ll. 2647-8). This contradiction could be resolved by the fact that the churches in this region of Wales that were named after St. Germanus,⁴⁸ such as Llanarmon-yn-Iâl, Llanarmon Mynydd Mawr and Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiniog, were established by the British Church and demonstrates the severity of the perceived threat the Pelagian heresy held for British Christians. Such contradictions from Llwyd are, however, inherent within the compromise in Protestant and Catholic worship and doctrine that was the Elizabethan Church Settlement.⁴⁹

The Kingdom of Powys – A Turbulent Borderland

Llwyd paints a picture of Powys as being a land torn apart by invasion from beyond its borders by Saxons and later the Normans. Indeed, he says this was due to the way in which the ‘land was plain and near to England’ and this was the reason why it was ‘much vexed with continual war by Englishmen, and afterward by the Normans’ (ll. 2654-6). Llwyd claims that the nature of the war over this region of Wales is the reason why it ‘did first

⁴⁷ T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350-1064* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 50.

⁴⁸ Garmon Sant in Welsh.

⁴⁹ Leo F. Solt, *Church and State in Early Modern England, 1509-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 79.

experiment the yoke of English subjection' (ll. 2655-6). Here, Llwyd first describes the temperament of the people of the Welsh Marches, whom he refers to as 'Britons' (l. 2662), colouring them as not quite English yet also not entirely Welsh:

Which brooding stout men, and such whose nature could not abide to be at rest, but given to murder and excursions, not only procured infinite trouble unto the kings of England, but wrought also great injury unto their neighbours the Welshmen. (ll. 2657-61)

This reputation would last for as long as the Welsh Marches existed. Llwyd describes the way in which Maelor – one such border region – was 'divided into twain', using the River Dee as a natural border separating the Saxon half, which was once in Flintshire, from the Welsh half in Denbighshire (ll. 2668-71). This use of the river as a natural, partial border can be seen elsewhere, separating, for example, Cornwall from Wessex with the Tamar, as well as the Welsh half of Maelor from the English half with the Dee. Indeed, Llwyd, and later David Powel, uses rivers as a way of clearly defining the borders between one place and another, arguing that the Welsh border extended to meet the banks of the river Severn, which Llwyd describes as being one of two rivers dividing Wales from England (ll. 1990-2).

Once again, Llwyd turns his attention to the 'rubbish and relics of the most famous monastery' (ll. 2673-4) at Bangor-on-Dee which is situated within this borderland. Here, Llwyd goes into more depth about the virtues of this British monastery, painting it as a utopian society:

In the same were two thousand and one hundred monks, very well ordered and learned, and divided into seven sorts, daily serving God. Amongst whom, those which were simple and unlearned by their handy labour provided meat and drink and apparel

for the learned, and such as applied their study. And if anything were remaining they divided it unto the poor (ll. 2675-80).

However, Llwyd alleges that the monastery ‘hath also vomited forth to the world the most detestable arch-heretic Pelagius’ (ll. 2682-3), thus distancing himself from a theological concept at odds with the Protestant beliefs held by society during his time, despite the fact that Pelagius’s doctrine was British. Charles Thomas claims that Pelagianism was often seen as a ‘spiritually-couched protest against social oppression and corruption’, particularly in Britain during a period of ‘civil unrest and ecclesiastical deivisions’⁵⁰. Therefore, Pelagianism became synonymous with dissent – enough so that St. Germanus was sent on a mission to eradicate it. In rebuking Pelagius, Llwyd is showing that he is assenting to the religious status quo of Elizabethan England and Wales.

What follows is an extensive account of everything that happened at the British monastery at Bangor-on-Dee, which I discussed previously, Llwyd condemning all who were involved with its destruction. Llwyd begins by denouncing the two primary aggressors at play near Bangor-on-Dee – the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglo-Saxons – by directing his indignation at Augustine ‘the most arrogant monk’ (ll. 2684-5) and Aethelfrith’s act of war. As a result of this war, Llwyd mourns the loss of the monastery, particularly the knowledge that it contained:

The whole house from the very foundations, together with their most noble, library, more precious than gold, was razed down and destroyed with fire and sword’ (ll. 2687-9).

⁵⁰ Thomas Charles, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 53.

Llwyd's portrayal of the two factions – the British monks and Augustine – further demonstrates the pervasive anti-Catholic, pro-Briton ideology within this text. For example, he describes how the British monks 'came unto him humbly and meekly as it became Christians to do' (l. 2693). Augustine, on the other hand, is portrayed as prideful, 'sitting in his regal seat, disdained to rise up unto the British bishops' (ll. 2691-2). The language used here creates the impression that Llwyd perceived Augustine to be more than the Archbishop of Canterbury as he had a 'regal seat' and the authority to 'rise up' against the Britons, making him seem like the de-facto ruler of the Kingdom of Kent, because of his papal relations. Furthermore, if the British monks were, as Llwyd portrays them to be, perfect Christians of humble and meek nature, then it necessitates Augustine to be described as the opposite, 'they [the British] behold the same both judged and said that he was not the minister of the most gentle and meek lamb of Christ, but of Lucifer' (ll. 2694-5).

Augustine's retaliation is perceived by Llwyd to be mainly down to the personal slight made against him and only partly 'because they agreed not in some points' with both Augustine's own theology and that of the Church of Rome (ll. 2697-700). This reinforces Llwyd's British ideology in this passage. His retelling of this story ends by highlighting the might and regality of the Archbishop of Canterbury, thus demonstrating the power the Roman Catholic Church held in the Anglo-Saxon part of the island:

He so stirred the hate of the Englishmen against them [the British monks] that shortly after, as I said, by Aethelfrith, through the aid and help of Ethelbert King of Kent, provoked thereto by Augustine, the monks which desired peace were most cruelly slain. And afterward the Britons, under the conduct of Brochwel King of Powys, were vanquished (ll. 2700-5).

By blaming Augustine for the massacre of the monks, Llwyd is effectively absolving the rulers of blame. What this achieves is to depict Catholicism as a persistently manipulative force that remains a threat to Llwyd's vision of a Protestant Britain.

Following on, Llwyd recounts reports in other chronicles that Britons elsewhere rose up to avenge the slain monks and were victorious:

Until that at length, being aided with power from Belthrusius Duke of Cornwall, Cadfan King of North Wales, Meredoc King of South Wales, and heartened forward by the oration of their most learned abott Dunetus, who commanded [...] that everyone should kiss the ground in remembrance of the communion of the Body of Our Lord, and should take up water in their hands forth of the River Dee and drink it, in commemoration of the most Sacred Blood of Christ which was shed for them, who having so communicated, they overcame the Saxons in a famous battle and slew of them [...] a thousand, threescore and six.' (ll. 2705-15)

Through the act of these four separately ruled British regions uniting against a common foe, it is suggested that they have a strong sense of a shared identity. This unity is exemplified through the act of drinking from the River Dee. The river, as I have already established, has a strong spiritual weight with the Britons in Wales, but here it takes on further symbolic meanings. Most prominently, the land and water of Wales undergoes something akin to transubstantiation in a Eucharist, thus showing how these separate regions all belonged to the same British Church, uniting them on religious means.

However, the way in which Llwyd presents it, with the kissing of the Welsh land and the partaking of the Welsh water as symbols of unity, gives it an air of 'proto-nationalism'. By this I mean that the rulers involved are basing their allegiance to each other on an ideology grounded in a shared language and religion, a kinship through geographic proximity

and a mutual enemy to designate as the ‘Other’ against whom they are able to define themselves. This kind of identity – one that is based upon language and culture – has been claimed by Rhys Morgan to be a defining aspect of Welsh identity of this time, describing how Welshness is ‘defined by descent and place of birth [...] a Welsh culture characterised by a distinct history and language.’⁵¹

Llwyd then turns his attention to ‘the second region of Powys [...] which now only enjoyeth the name of Powys’, referring to Powys Wenwynwyn. Once again, he defines the area in terms of its geographical description, stating that it ‘now containeth only three *cantrefi*, lying wholly on the north side of the River Severn – which is the second river of Britain, falling from the high mountains of Plymnonia, and rising forth of the same head with Wye and Rheidol, and running through Arwystli and Cedewain in Powys, maketh speed to Shrewsbury’ (ll. 2731-6). By describing it mainly through its rivers Llwyd shows how Powys Wenwynwyn feeds much of mid-Wales and the bordering English counties thanks to Plynlimon, the tallest of the Cambrian mountains and the source of the rivers Severn, Wye and Rheidol. Llwyd continues by stating how the water ‘floweth forward through Bridgnorth, Worcester and Gloucester, from which, not far off, it ebbeth and floweth, and between Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall beareth name of the Severn Sea’ (ll. 2736-9). Thus he demonstrates the size of Powys Wenwynwyn, as it stretches from the western coast of Wales at the mouth of Afon Rheidol to the border with England south along the rivers Severn and Wye.

Llwyd concludes his survey of north Wales by briefly looking at Montgomeryshire. On the etymology of Montgomery, Llwyd explains that ‘Welshmen call [it] Trefaldwyn, that is to say Baldwin’s town, but the Englishmen term it Montgomery, of the builder Roger of

⁵¹ Rhys Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558-1641* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 5.

Mont Gomer' (ll. 2757-9). The naming of this town is symbolic of its status within the border region where the land crossed hands many times before finally ending up as Welsh territory. The town itself was founded by Roger de Montgomerie (1005-1094), one of William I's Norman barons, hence its strikingly non-Welsh, non-English name.⁵² It was only when Baldwin de Boulers took the Lordship of Montgomery that it gained its Welsh name – Trefaldwin. The implication of this is that Montgomery was unwelcoming towards the Welsh and that it was not until Henry I's reign that the Welsh repopulated the town, giving it a Welsh name. The implications of this are that it signified a waning influence of the Norman warlords, as the population were able to return to a Welsh way of life rather than a Norman one that had been imposed upon them.

About the county itself, Llwyd states that it 'is hilly, and by reason of plentifulness of pastures very good for grazing of cattle, abounding with many waters, and bringing forth tall men, very well-favoured, much addicted unto idleness and unprofitable games' (ll. 2764-8). He also notes that 'you shall find many rich English farmers amongst them, whenas the landlords themselves, which will take no pains, do become very poor' (ll. 2768-70). It appears that Llwyd is describing how the people of Montgomeryshire have become accustomed to an easier way of life as opposed to the hard toil of mountain farming elsewhere in Wales. Llwyd here is drawing a distinction between the farmers in the fertile valleys on the eastern borders of the shire, both Welsh and English, who flourish economically and physiologically in comparison to those exclusively Welsh farmers in the west who have to rely on the extreme conditions in the mountains where the land is less fertile due to the lack of water and irrigation.

⁵² J. F. A. Mason, 'Montgomery, Roger de, first earl of Shrewsbury (d. 1094)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23953> [accessed 25 July 2017].

The Kingdom of Deheubarth – The Forgotten South

Llwyd does not give as much attention to south Wales as he does to north Wales, perhaps indicating that, for him, south Wales was not as important a part of the country as the former Kingdoms of Gwynedd and Powys. He begins this final section on his description of Wales by recalling its old name, Deheubarth, ‘that is to say the right or south part’ (l. 2806). If we divide Deheubarth into its two constituent words we get *Deheu* and *parth*. The latter simply means ‘region’. However the meaning of the first word is quite complex. *Deheu* often features in words relating to the south, such as *deheuwr*, a southerner, and *deheuwynt*, the south wind, however it also has links to ‘rightness’, such as the translation for ‘the right-hand side’, *deheulaw*, and *deheurwydd* meaning ‘dexterity’, which has its origins in the Latin *dexter*, meaning ‘on the right’. Indeed, Arthur Wade-Evans explains that the people of Deheubarth ‘might be described as *Deheubarthwyr* or *Brittonnes dexteriales* or simply *Dexteriales*’, differentiating them from the *sinestrali* of the north.⁵³

Llwyd once again defines the land of Wales by its links to water by being ‘wholly compassed with the Irish Sea, the stream of Severn, and the rivers Wye and Dyfi’ (ll. 2807-8). By describing Deheubarth as, ‘wholly compassed’, Llwyd is not a geographically secure place like Gwynedd is in the north, with the water in this case serving to depict the area as open and vulnerable, as opposed to isolated behind mountains. The differing uses of water by Llwyd perhaps show some degree of bias towards Gwynedd, where water is showed to be a form of security, as the epicentre of medieval Welsh society and culture, with those lands further away having waterways that are depicted as less secure and more vulnerable to

⁵³ Arthur Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Laws: Being a Text of the Laws of Hywel the Good* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), p. 333

invasion. For Deheubarth, being ‘wholly compassed’ by rivers and the sea carries with it connotations of being surrounded by areas of turbulence over which they have little control.

Llwyd does not seem to be that appreciative of the merits of Deheubarth, both in terms of what he says about it and how little he talks about the region in comparison to Gwynedd and Powys. Indeed, Llwyd claims that, ‘although the country be very fertile and the land rich, and far more bigger then Gwynedd, [...] it was counted the worser’ (ll. 2808-11). According to Llwyd, the reasons why this region is less favoured are two-fold. Firstly it is chaotic where ‘*uchelwyr*, that is to say the noblest and chiefest men, refused to obey their kings’ (ll. 2811-2) as part of the Principality, and secondly because it did not have the geographic security that Gwynedd enjoyed, ‘also by reason that the sea-coasts thereof were continually molested by the Englishmen, Normans, and Flemings’ (ll. 2812-4). It was this instability in the social and geographic power structures of Deheubarth that caused the region to fracture. Where princes were once of ‘great authority in Wales’, after acts of treason ‘they were no longer termed dukes, nor princes, but *arglwyddi*, that is to say lords’ (ll. 2817-20). Deheubarth’s downfall was due to this lawlessness – the resulting Civil War and the death of Rhys ap Gruffudd led to a power vacuum as the *arglwyddi* lost their influence. This vacuum was quickly filled in by the Marcher Lords as they ‘endeavoured to possess all by force and craft’ (ll. 2822-3) until the Acts of Union.

Llwyd begins his description of South Wales by first outlining Ceredigion and its borders, ‘on the north hath the Irish Sea, on the east the river Dyfi, whereby it is divided from Gwynedd, and towards Powys very high hills, on the south, Carmarthen, and on the west, Dynetia’ (ll. 2830-3). This once again shows the way in which geography was an integral part of regional identity, where rivers and mountain ranges are used as a means of differentiating one place from another. However, this is not the only facet to identity. Llwyd shows how this is the case by stating that ‘their tongue [...] is esteemed the finest of all the other people of

Wales' (ll. 2833-4). Here, Llwyd is referring to the dialect of Welsh spoken by the people of Ceredigion which, while 'the finest' does not match, in his opinion, the dialect spoken in the north:

And Gwynedd's the purer, without permixtion, coming nearest unto the ancient
British. But the southern most rudest and coarsest, because it hath greatest affinity
with strange tongues (ll. 2834-7).

Here Llwyd is also making a distinction between not just north and south but the different regional dialects within. For the case with south Wales, the 'affinity with strange tongues' most likely refers to the previous 'molestation' of the region by various invaders. This is a stark contrast to the purity of the Gwyneddian voice, where the relative isolation supposedly resulted in very little linguistic change. However, by placing the emphasis on the people of Gwynedd, inferred to be the direct descendants of the ancient Britons, Llwyd offers an alternative view on history by emphasising the historical provenance of the former Kingdom of Gwynedd.

Continuing on Ceredigion, Llwyd gives the reader information on Richard de Clare, an English noble with a strong navy, who built several castles along its coast, particularly at the 'mouths of Dyfi and Ystwyth' before returning to reside in England (ll. 2839-41).

However, in true fashion, Llwyd demonstrates the way in which the Welsh are the true custodians of their land by telling of how these garrisons were besieged, which eventually led to de Clare's downfall:

Being boldened by his great power, he intended by an over-rash enterprise to go aid
them [his men] by land. But at Coed Grano, not far from Abergavenny, he was slain
with all his army by Iorweth of Caerlleon. And so those forts returned again unto their
old lords (ll. 2841-6).

The purpose of reporting this serves to show how the Welsh have mastery over their land yet not their coasts. Richard de Clare invaded by sea, giving a very real example of the ‘molestation’ of the unprotected and easily accessible south west Wales coast.

From here Llwyd’s discussions about Ceredigion are insubstantial. However, reserves his interesting points for Christianity in pre-Roman Wales and its militaristic moral code. He tells us that ‘Welshmen, above all other nations, were accustomed to reverence churches and attribute much honour unto ecclesiastical persons’ (ll. 2851-3). According to Llwyd, these holy places were of such importance that the ancient Britons would have been unable to respond to attacks if their enemies had seized them or the land they are situated on:

They used not once to touch the most deadliest foes they had, and such as were accused of treason, if they escaped unto the church. Yea, not so much as their enemies’ cattle, if they fed in any pastures or leazes which appertained unto the Church. (ll. 2854-8)

However, it would be wrong to assume that this is a pacifist form of Christianity. As Llwyd continues, ‘when they be armed and going unto battle, if they fortune to meet with a priest on the way, they will cast down their weapons and require benediction with a stooping head’ (ll. 2858-60). This relationship between soldier and priest demonstrates one way in which the British Church operated at the time. The soldiers are effectively agents of the Church through the blessings they receive, thus depicting the Church as distinct from Anglo-Saxon Catholic churches due to the relationships between land, from holy waters and ecclesiastical landscapes, and the language associated with these locales.

Llwyd next heads to the far south-western coast of Wales, introducing ‘a region of ancient time termed of our countrymen Dyfed, of Ptolomaeus, Demetia (for Dynetia), in English, West Wales, and now Pembrokeshire’ (ll. 2871-3). The majority of Llwyd’s

commentary on Pembrokeshire revolves around the bishop's see of St. David's or, as he calls it, Menevia. He describes how 'sat there five and twenty archbishops' (ll. 2881-2), thus depicting the importance of St. David's as the religious centre of British Christianity. However, he continues, using Giraldus Cambrensis as a source, to tell the story of how this Archbishopric came to lose its power and status to Canterbury. The last Archbishop of St. David's listed by Giraldus was Samson, who would later become the Bishop of Dol after fleeing to 'Armorica, or the lesser Britain', now known as Brittany, in order to escape a period of plague and pestilence (ll. 2882-3). With this, Llwyd is providing a link between Wales and Brittany, perhaps suggesting that the two regions shared a common religious background as well as a 'British' identity. However, while Samson found much success in Brittany (ll. 2884-6), Llwyd explains how the Archbishopric of St. David's suffered in comparison:

But ours, by occasion of the Saxon war and their own poverty, lost their ancient dignity, notwithstanding all bishops of Wales were consecrated by the Bishop of Menevia, and he of them, as his suffragans, until the days of Henry I, whenas Bernhard was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. (ll. 2886-91)

Llwyd also describes what must have been a belief or tradition followed by the Bishops of St. David's and how Morganeu, the thirty-third Bishop of St. David's since David himself, broke it, 'and he, the very same night when he first tasted flesh, was slain by pirates' (ll. 2894-7). Philip Schwyzer relays the legend and how Giraldus 'appeared in a vision before another bishop, saying 'Because I ate flesh, I am become flesh'.⁵⁴ This suggests that vegetarianism was a belief held by the British Church or at least the Bishops of St. David's. Indeed, some accounts of prelapsarian life were presented as being wholly herbivorous, an idea which

⁵⁴ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, n. 306, p. 124.

appears elsewhere such as in John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, where all carnivorous beasts emerge as a result of the Fall, 'Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl, / And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving, / Devour'd each other'.⁵⁵ Previous accounts from Llwyd of dietary habits from around Wales suggests that meat was not widely eaten, with the people of Denbighshire having plenty of 'white meats' (l. 2558) – i.e. dairy produce, bread and pottage – and the monks at Bangor-on-Dee who took vows of poverty and 'got their living with travail of their own hands' (ll. 1182-3). Furthermore, the 'poverty' (l. 2887) of the time also suggests that meat was an unaffordable commodity for lay people, in comparison with the relatively wealthy monasteries, with livestock primarily being used sustainably for its dairy produce.

Llwyd ends his chorography of Pembrokeshire by discussing the towns of Pembroke and Tenby. Llwyd describes how this south-western 'sea-coast of Wales remained unto the Englishmen' (l. 2911). Llwyd demonstrates the Anglicisation of this region through giving Tenby's name first in English and then in Welsh, contrasting other areas of Wales where Welsh precedes English (l. 2914). Indeed, John Speed in his own chorography, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*, would later call Pembrokeshire 'little England beyond Wales',⁵⁶ thus signifying how the county had a reputation for its Englishness that subverts its position as a south-western promontory within Wales. However, this terrestrial view of Pembrokeshire does not adequately represent the region for its maritime virtues. Llwyd only hints at this, firstly through the recognition of Aberdaugleddau – meaning the 'Mouth of Two Swords' – as the 'old time' British name for Milford Haven (ll. 2902). Unlike the English name, the Welsh name captures the physical appearance of the dual peninsulas

⁵⁵ John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler (Harlow: Longman, 1997), x.710-13.

⁵⁶ John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (London: Basset and Chiswel, 1676), sig. Hhh1r.

cut in two by the rivers Cleddau Ddu and Cleddau Wen – Cmeaning sword⁵⁷ – and lends the town a somewhat militaristic presence, something that is missing in English. Furthermore, Llwyd states that this area ‘is at this day possessed and inhabited by Flemings, sent thither by Henry I’ (ll. 2917-8). This is in itself an indication of how easy it is to land at Milford Haven and helps to emphasise the ‘molestation’ of the southern coast. Llwyd portrays the people descended from the Flemish in distinctly non-Welsh ways. For example, it is possible to compare these ‘stout and rough’ (l. 2918) Flemish people with the tall men of Montgomeryshire, highlighting the physical differences between them. However, the Flemish population were equals with the Welsh in both battle and tongue, thus earning Llwyd’s respect:

The people, being stout and rough, defended themselves and theirs valiantly against the Welshmen. And although many times, especially by Cadwaladr, Cynan, and Hywel, sons of Owain, Prince of Gwynedd, and Rhesus, son to Gruffudd of North Wales, and lastly by Llywelyn the Great, [...], who had in his army thirty thousand men, they were almost destroyed and slain. Yet have they always recovered their strength again, and unto this day are known from Welshmen by diversity of their manners and tongues. (ll. 2918-26).

Llwyd’s next focus is on Carmarthen, introducing it first as Maridinia and then through its most famous reported inhabitant – Merlin. However, Llwyd takes umbrage with the notion that the city was named after Merlin, ‘By which name [Maridinia] it was so called and known, long before the birth of that very well learned man whom the Englishmen corruptly call Merlin, but our countrymen Myrddin’ (ll. 2929-31). By introducing the city in such a

⁵⁷ ‘Cleddyf, Cleddau’, *GPC Online* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies, 2014) <http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html?cleddau> [accessed 20 Feb. 2018].

way, Llwyd is enabled to air his own theories on Merlin's name, that he was actually named after the city, using Welsh linguistic morphology as his primary evidence:

Neither did the city take name of him, but he of that, whereas he was borne. We call the same Caerfyrddin by reason of propriety of the tongue, where we change M into V (the consonant, for whom our countrymen do use F), in the castle and city of Myrddin. (ll. 2932-5)

Llwyd also appears to take offence at the accusations levied towards Merlin about him being the son of an incubus stating, that his 'the rude, common people' only believed such things. This is particularly interesting because it seems to distance him from two of his sources – Giraldus Cambrensis and Geoffrey of Monmouth – as they both subscribed to what Llwyd would consider Merlin's demonic heritage as a result of their depictions of Merlin's prophecy.⁵⁸ However, this could also be a case of Llwyd projecting his own intellectual insecurities founded in his reliance on the disputed Geoffrey of Monmouth. By defending Merlin's 'passing skill in the mathematics and wonderful knowledge in all other kind of learning' (ll. 2937-8), Llwyd is also defending his own similar aptitudes in the face of his own more classically oriented critics such as Vergil.

Indeed, this comes to the fore in Llwyd's section on Gwent, wherein he launches into a diatribe against 'the ridiculous authority' (l. 2996) of his two self-proclaimed rivals, Boece and Vergil. Both Boece and Vergil deny that Gwent was once named Siluria. Boece locates the region in Ayrshire⁵⁹ while Vergil claims it is not possible to categorically state what lands the Silures inhabited.⁶⁰ As evidence for the Welsh location of the Silure, Llwyd turns to

⁵⁸ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture*, vol. 1, p. 1324.

⁵⁹ John Bennet Black, 'Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*', *University of Aberdeen: Quartercentenary of the Death of Hector Boece* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen Press, 1937), pp. 30-53 (p. 42).

⁶⁰ Polydore Vergil, *Polydore Vergil's English History*, ed. by Sir Henry Ellis (London: Nichols and Son, 1846), p. 48.

Ptolomaeus, who ‘layeth the Siluri next unto the Demeti [Dyfed] and Maridunum [Carmarthen]’ (ll. 3008-9) and Tacitus. Llwyd claims that Tacitus once said that the tribe resided near Spain, to which Llwyd responds that ‘these are far more near Spain than any part of Scotland, wherefore it is more like that they dwelt here, rather than in Scotland’ (ll. 2998-3000). Adding further to Llwyd’s provocation of Boece, he continues to say that Tacitus also did not mention the Silures as being among the tribes of Scotland:

Whereas in fair discourse he describeth the expedition of Agricola against the Albani, or Scots, he never maketh mention of the Siluri, which was the most warlike nation of them all. And undoubtedly, if they had been in Scotland he would never have passed them over with silence. (ll. 3000-5)

By referring to the Silures as ‘the most warlike nation’ he is provoking his Scottish rival by insinuating that quite the opposite is true of Scotland. However, Llwyd is not one to simply rely on classical evidence and thus turns to ‘the most ancient book of the British laws’ (l. 3010), which mentions a province of Wales named Syllwg and its people the Syllŵr, whom the Romans called Silures. Having the final say on the matter, Llwyd thus concludes that ‘it were but a jest’ to suggest that the Silures were from Scotland, defending them as part of the Welsh nation.

Llwyd provides yet another example of the brutality endured by the Welsh at the hands of foreign conquerors, this time referring to William de Braose, the once favourite of King John, and the massacre at Abergavenny. In doing so, he is providing further evidence to support the ‘otherness’ of the Britons as being culturally and historically distinct from the invaders. Indeed, Llwyd tells us that de Braose, ‘under pretence of love and friendship’, summoned Seisyll ap Dyfnwal and his eldest son to a Christmas day banquet, and taking advantage of their piety, had them ‘most cruelly slain by [his] guard, which were put ready in

armour for that purpose' ll. 3059-64). However, the brutality against Seisyll did not end there as his youngest son, Cadwaladr, an infant, was murdered 'despiteously before the mother's face' (ll. 3066-7). De Braose's actions would later earn him the epithet of the 'Ogre of Abergavenny' by the Welsh,⁶¹ a fall from the favour of King John, and the starvation of his wife and son at Windsor Castle by order of the King.⁶²

Conclusion

Throughout the course of his text, Llwyd is keen to assert the importance of Wales, its language and its history in a Tudor discourse. In looking at the etymology of places he shows the original extent of the Welsh/British language in England, thus offering an alternative and more native perspective on the geo-social history of England. In doing the same for Wales, Llwyd is establishing that these meanings are still widely understood and acknowledged by a Welsh-speaking majority who have historically been conquered, subjugated and colonized by Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman conquerors alike. By revealing these meanings, Llwyd is demonstrating the integral relationship between the Welsh language and its geography, with place names that reflect their surroundings.

Llwyd uses this link between language and land in order to demonstrate the way in which identity has evolved within each former kingdom of Wales over the course of time. In Gwynedd, Llwyd focuses primarily on how its mountainous terrain, networks of rivers and ragged coastlines contribute towards a sense of security and how that conveys a sense of linguistic isolation, culminating in a Welsh heartland where places are more likely to have

⁶¹ Meic Stephens, *The New Companion to the Literature of Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 540.

⁶² Brock W. Holden, 'King John, the Braoses, and the Celtic Fringe, 1207-1216', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 33 (2001), 1-23.

names that are transliterated into English rather than translated. For Powys, Llwyd shows how the fluid movement of people – Welsh and otherwise – has made its mark on the landscape with places that may have widely differing names in English to Welsh. This fluid movement also serves to blur the boundaries and linguistic identity of places on either side of the England-Wales border, as they take on names that are either more English than Welsh or more Welsh than English. However, when it comes to Deheubarth, Llwyd does not show as much interest in the region as he did for Gwynedd and Powys. Here, land and water instead serves to make this kingdom weaker and more prone to invasion. This portrayal is perhaps a result of it being conquered much sooner than the other two kingdoms, putting it on the periphery of the centres of Welsh history and culture. This comes across in *Mercia Wallia* – the conquered Deheubarth – particularly through the way in which Llwyd demonstrates how Welsh-language toponyms had been supplanted by loose Anglicisations of the Welsh names or entirely different names in English from the original Welsh ones. For Llwyd's own identity, however, it is quite clear that he shows a bias towards the Denbigh area, which is noteworthy simply by the space he dedicates to the area, despite it being on the edges of the old Kingdom of Gwynedd, while other nearby areas either got less coverage or were ignored altogether.

Llwyd ties the history of each region into the shared history of Wales, showing how the influx of various conquering armies had caused each kingdom to temporarily unite against common enemies, often in retaliation for the deaths of one of their equals. These alliances, while appearing to be short, also occur quite regularly, suggesting that the shared history and language offered few obstructions to a more formal alliance. Furthermore, Llwyd's use of the British Church and its threats from Roman Catholicism can be seen as a reflection of sixteenth-century discourse. The purpose of this is to attempt to justify the break from Rome by evoking an earlier British Church that shares many similarities in its ideals

with sixteenth-century Protestantism, while also recalling ideas of a prelapsarian Edenic life. This depiction of pre-Roman, pre-Catholic Wales as a sort of Garden of Eden brings with it the implications of postlapsarian life on the island being attributed to the loss of land and the arrival of Catholicism. Llwyd is thus suggesting that the Tudors, being of Welsh origin and yet the rulers of England and instigators of the break from Rome, represent the culmination of these efforts of an alliance intent on reuniting Wales with the formerly British-speaking lands of Lloegr. The unification of the kingdoms of Britain becomes an attempt to reconnect with the prelapsarian ideals of an ancient British Church. This chorography could therefore be interpreted as an attempt to educate a wider scholarly discourse on the 'true' history of the islands of Great Britain and the tense relationships between Wales and England, internally between the three Kingdoms, and between its history and the accepted classical paradigms of Catholicism.

Chapter 2

Presentations of Welsh History in David Powel's *The Historie of Cambria*

The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales has three main sources. First and foremost is Humphrey Llwyd, the eminent Welsh historian, whose original text, *Cronica Walliae* (itself a translation of an unnamed Welsh source) was possibly the medieval Welsh chronicle *Brut y Tywysogion*.¹ Llwyd's text was written in 1559 yet remained unpublished until David Powel expanded on and completed the text in 1584.² David Powel was the vicar of Ruabon, but also had ties to other leading scholars at the time, such as John Dee and Richard Hakluyt.³ However, he is much better known for being the private chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, the president of the Council of Wales and the Marches between 1560 and 1586, and later the Lordy Deputy of Ireland. The Council of Wales and the Marches was an administrative body between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries that governed Wales and the English counties of Shropshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Cheshire and Gloucestershire. Sidney's leadership over the council was becoming increasingly fraught and tenuous towards the end of his presidency, and this led him to task Powel with amending Llwyd's original text in such a way as to support his position as president in the face of his crumbling support.⁴

These three figures all left an undeniable mark on the text. Llwyd as the author of the original *Cronica Walliae* who wrote in order to correct other chroniclers on their supposedly unjust depictions of Wales. Furthermore, Llwyd also aimed to open non-Welsh eyes to what

¹ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain with selections from The History of Cambria*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer, (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013), p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

³ David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America 1500-1625* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), p. 404.

⁴ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'Sidney, Sir Henry (1529–1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25520> [accessed 25 July 2017].

he considered to be the true history of the island, as seen in the following passage from

Cronica Walliae:

But having a good grace and plesaunt stile to utter thinges in the Latine tonge and finding him selfe in a countrey where every man ether lacked knowledge or sprite to set furth the historie of ther owne countrey, toke this enterprise in hand to ther great shame and little to his owne praise, because he a bleinde leader shall draw a greate number of undiscrete and rash followers, as well geographers and cosmographers as croniclers and historiographers, to the dark pitte of ignorance where I leve them at this tyme, remittinge the reader to the apologie of the Britishe historie againste the calumnious and sclanderouse tauntes of the said Virgile written by Sir John Price Knight where the reader shall see all his erroures confuted at large.⁵

Powel, the editor, continues in a similar vein as Llwyd in attempting to teach an English audience greater respect for the Welsh and to show that the Welsh are ‘a peaceable and law-abiding people’,⁶ provided they have correct and fair leadership:

So that now the country of Wales (I boldly affirm it) is in as good order for quietness and obedience as any country in Europe. For if the rulers and teachers be good and do their duties, the people are willing to learn, ready to obey, and loath to offend or displease.⁷

While Powel’s words here are strikingly patriotic, for example ‘boldly’ affirming Wales to be its own distinct country on par with any other land in Europe. In this, he was working symbiotically with his patron, Sidney. Where Powel is claiming that the Welsh are law-abiding when ruled fairly and justly, Sidney is aiming to prove through Powel that he is the

⁵ Humphrey Llwyd, *Cronica Walliae*, ed. by Ieuan M. Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2002), p. 65-6.

⁶ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

fair and just ruler the Welsh require, as Schwyzer explains: ‘The publication of *The History of Cambria* gave the Lord President a means of countering his critics by demonstrating the historical efficacy of leniency, and, more to the point, the disastrous consequences of punitive and inconsistent rule.’⁸

Powel’s edition of the text proved enduring, serving as one of the primary sources of Welsh history in the English-language – being revised by William Wynne in 1697, and reprinted in 1702, 1774, 1812 and 1832 – until the publication of John Edward Williams’ *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* in 1911.⁹ It is the long-lasting appeal of this text that makes it one of the most important English-language texts to come out of Wales from this period. With his text, David Powel was writing the history of Wales for an English readership in the same way that Theophilus Evans would for a Welsh audience in his highly influential *Drych y Prif Oesoedd*, first published in 1716.¹⁰

In the first section of this chapter I will explore how Llwyd and Powel interpret and utilise the history of Wales, its princes and its kingdoms, to challenge the Anglocentric paradigm that has influenced scholarship on this period. In order to do this I will examine the rhetoric that both Llwyd and Powel use in order to convince their readers to question the epistemological precepts underpinning their perceptions of Welsh history and its connections to England. From here, I will also consider the conflict created between Powel’s version of history expressed through his annotations and that of Llwyd, which can serve to pull Powel’s translation in two similar but still different directions.

⁸ Ibid., p. 20.

⁹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 395.

¹⁰ Geraint H. Jenkins, *The Foundations of Modern Wales: Wales 1642-1780* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 246-8.

Following on from this, I will examine the impact Powel's text had on both Sidney's presidency and subsequent literary and historical publications concerning Wales. In doing this, I will examine how and why *The Historie of Cambria* captured the imaginations of both the Welsh and the English for such a time. I will consider instances of myth building, such as reinforcing legends as fact, or detailing the lineage of Welsh royalty and their contemporary descendants. Through this I will display how Powel's text is crucial to understanding the cultural dynamic within Wales from when Llwyd began his original text to its completion by Powel and beyond into its afterlife.

Finally, I will focus on how the identity of Llwyd, Powel and, to a lesser extent, Sidney are reflected within the text. To achieve this, I will study the way in which Powel and Llwyd express their own opinions on events and people from Welsh history, as well as examining to what extent the two writers identify as Welshmen. In order to highlight the patronage of Sidney impacting upon the composition of the text, I will also examine the potential conflict between Powel's Welsh identity and the task of portraying positively Sidney's presidency of Wales and the Marches.

The reasons for analysing these ideas are to see to what extent Powel's occupation and status as a Welsh chaplain for a Marcher lord has an impact on the identity of his text. Furthermore, by looking at the way in which the text became, to some, the definitive version of Welsh history, it will be possible to see how it influenced the way in which seventeenth century Welsh identity was fashioned and received. However, as the text is wholly focused on Wales, it can be inextricably linked to Powel's identity rather than Sidney's. Therefore I will begin by briefly giving some biographical information that demonstrates the circumstances which led to Sidney becoming Powel's patron.

All through his life, Powel dedicated himself to both the Church of England and the preservation of Welsh history and culture. A prime instance of this is the way in which he ‘took up the history at the point where Geoffrey of Monmouth left off’, thus showing the continued importance of Galfridian history in Welsh society.¹¹ His career as a clergyman began at the age of sixteen with his studies at Jesus College, Oxford, graduating in 1573 with a BA, and an MA in 1576.¹² Throughout the 1570s Powel was employed as the vicar of Ruabon in Denbighshire, the rector of Llanfyllin and vicar of Meifod, both of which were in Montgomeryshire, before returning to Oxford to study Theology in the early 1580s with the support of St. Asaph Cathedral.¹³ It is after these studies that he came to the attention of Sir Henry Sidney and was hired as his private chaplain at Ludlow. While serving Sidney, Powel was tasked with producing *The Historie of Cambria*, thus giving him the reputation of being a ‘staunch Welsh patriot’.¹⁴ These two constants within Powel’s life – his Protestant faith and his Welsh nationality – are often of equal importance, and epitomised through his championing of the Bible in Welsh. However, due to the nature of *Historie*, Powel’s Protestant faith does not play as considerable a role as might be expected, although the text is particularly patriotic in its tone as I will prove.

Sir Henry Sidney, as President of the Council of Wales and the Marches, had a more overtly political role than Powel, being the Lord. Towards the end of his tenure, his grasp over the Council was becoming less secure and increasingly fraught, as Sidney was often accused of neglecting his position in favour of Ireland as its Lord Deputy. Indeed, several of

¹¹ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p.440.

¹² Ronald H. Fritze, ‘Powel, David (1549x52–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22643> [accessed 1 Sept. 2015].

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

his allies warned him of such mounting tensions, as evidenced in a letter from Sir Francis Walsingham:

Your lordship had need to walk warily, for your doings are narrowly observed, and her majesty is apt to give ear to any that shall ill you. Great hold is taken by your enemies for neglecting the execution of this commission.¹⁵

Observing that ‘her majesty is apt to give ear to any that shall ill you’, suggests that Sidney’s position as President of the Council of Wales and the Marches was very much in peril and he had to do something about it. Indeed, he felt that it was best to prove that his lenient methods, which some interpreted as neglect, were the correct way of governing Wales. To do this, he turned to Powel to produce a text which demonstrated, as Schwyzer puts it, that ‘Wales was easy to govern if governed easily’.¹⁶ It is in this way that Powel and Sidney came together to create the text, each man influencing it with their own separate ideologies and concerns – Powel in his additions and revisions to Llwyd’s original and Sidney through the inferred subtexts masked within them.

Interpretations of History

In his introduction, Powel uses the opportunity to polemicise on the way in which scholars and historiographers from classical and English backgrounds had treated the history of Wales and its people. From the beginning, he highlights Caradoc of Llancarfan, who had ‘collected the successions and acts of the British princes after Cadwaladr to the year of Christ 1156’ (p. 147), and how *Historie* could be read as a spiritual successor to Caradoc’s writing. This is important as it demonstrates how the work of a Welsh cleric – not an English or

¹⁵ *Sidney Papers*, vol. I., p. 276.

¹⁶ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, p. 20.

Latinate writer – is the most trusted source on Welsh history, for Powel. This chimes with key reasons for taking on the challenge of completing *Historie* which he outlines later on in the introduction.

Powel's first reason is, perhaps, to educate. He wishes to teach 'all other inhabitants of this island', who already had their own histories well documented in English and Scots, such as Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* and John Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historia*, the 'whole doings and government of the Brytaines the first inhabitants of the land, who continued their rule longer than anie other nation, to be nothing spoken of nor regarded of anie, especialie sithence the reigne of Cadwaladr' (p. x).¹⁷ From this we can infer that Powel perceives there to be a degree of discrimination against the history of Wales as historiographers and chroniclers, such as Holinshed, were more likely to focus on English, Scottish or Irish history than Welsh,¹⁸ or define England against their larger continental rivals such as France and the Low Countries, whose 'histories had not infrequently featured in earlier sixteenth-century chronicles'.¹⁹ Indeed, Thorlac Turville-Petre argues that chronicles are 'the core expressions of the nation' and, in the case of England, 'directly and explicitly account for its birth and development, and shape the perceptions that the nation has of itself'.²⁰ This would account for Powel's belief that the English population did not know the history of Wales, as the history they consumed was altogether Anglocentric.

Powel's second reason perhaps demonstrates his Welsh patriotism even more clearly as he describes the 'slandorous report of such writers as in their bookes do inforce everie

¹⁷ David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales* (London: Newberie and Denham, 1584). All subsequent quotes are taken from this source.

¹⁸ Ralph Griffiths, 'Wales', *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian W. Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 679-94 (p. 679).

¹⁹ Philip Schwyzer, 'Archipelagic History', *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles*, pp. 593-608 (p. 594).

²⁰ Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290-1340* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. vi.

thing that is done by the Welshmen to their discredit' (p. xi). The blame is directed at these chroniclers and historiographers and their utterly biased accounts of history which 'not onelie elevate or dissemble all the injuries and wrongs offered and done to the Welshmen, but also conceale or deface all the actes worthie of commendation achieved by them' (p. xi). This act of slander was present in both chronicles and legal texts. In Holinshed's chronicles there is the following quite well known²¹ account of acts said to have been committed by Welsh women to English soldiers:

Yet did the women of Wales cut off their privities, and put one part thereof into the mouths of everie death man, in such sort that the cullions hoong downe to their chins; and not so contented, they did cut off their noses and thrust them into their tailes as they laie on the ground mangled and defaced.²²

To Powel this is a prime example of the type of historical bias he outlined in his introduction. The propaganda exaggerates or manufactures a wrongdoing intended to dehumanise their enemy, in this case portraying the Welsh as barbarous. It also refrains from mentioning anything positive about the Welsh people.

Indeed, Powel takes significant umbrage with the perception and depiction of the Welsh as being uncivilised and deserving of being conquered:

Search the common chronicles touching the Welshmen, and commonlie thou shalt find that the King sendeth some nobleman or other with an armie to Wales, to withstand the rebellious attempts, the proud stomachs, the presumptuous pride, stirre, trouble, and rebellion of the fierce, unquiet, craking, fickle and unconstant Welshmen, and no open fact laid downe to charge them withall, why war should be levied against

²¹ Primarily as a result of Shakespeare's *Henry IV part 1*.

²² Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1587)*, 3 vols. (London: J. Johnson, 1807-8) 3:34.

them, nor yet they swarving abrod out of their owne countrie to trouble other men. (p. xi)

It is this which most clearly highlights Powel's aims with the text, as Grace Jones quite rightly points out: 'He seeks to undermine the colonial discourse of the English with a version of events from the perspective of the colonized.'²³ By raising the issue of the inflammatory language often used to describe the Welsh in English texts, such as Holinshed's 'barbaric' Welsh,²⁴ Powel is not only setting them up to be subverted, as he negotiates the history of Wales and its achievements, but also using them to demonstrate how the Welsh were justified in defending themselves against their conquerors. Indeed, Powel's passion and, perhaps, frustration comes is indicated by a long sequence of rhetorical questions devised entirely to emphasise the injustice which the Welsh faced at the blades of Edward II and his army:

Might they not therefore defend themselves from violence and wrong, if they could?
What right or lawfull title had the Earle of Chester to Ryvonioc and Tegengl? Or the
Earle of Salope to Dyvet, Caerdigan, and Powys? Or Rob. Fitzhamo to Glamorgan?
Or Barnard Newmarch to Brechnoke? Or Ralph Mortimer to Elvel? Or Hugh Lacy to
the land of Ewyas? Or anie other of them to anie countrie in Wales? (p. xii)

From the tone of Powel's writing, the answer to all of these questions is, quite evidently, that they had neither the right nor the lawful title for these pieces of land. However, it is interesting to note that Powel is not levying his complaints against those rulers in particular, but is once again pointing the blame towards the chroniclers:

²³ Grace Jones, 'Early Modern Welsh Nationalism and the British History', in *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Motram and Sarah Prescott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 21-38 (p. 34).

²⁴ Igor Djordjevic, *Holished's Nation: Ideals, Memory, and Practical Policy in the Chronicles* (New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 141.

But I speak it to note the parcial dealing of the writers and setters foorth of those histories, that should have reported things indifferentlie, as they were done, and laid downe the causes and circumstances of everie action truelie, who being altogether parcial, favoring the one side and hating the other, do pronounce of the fact according to their private affections, condemning oftentimes the innocent, and justifieng the wrong doers. (p. xiii)

On historical writing, Jerome de Groot states that ‘the very mode of imaginative writing about history demonstrates the innate falsity of History and the subjective ways in which we know, engage with, and understand the past.’²⁵ Indeed, in the passage above, Powel is demonstrating such subjectivity by explaining that figures, such as the Earl of Chester or Robert Fitzhammo will eventually die and be supplanted by their successors, but that what has been written will continue to be disseminated and treated as fact even if it is fictitious. Therefore, the damage inflicted by historical bias can be seen as more severe due to the very nature of its durability. Of course, Powel’s text also displays its own biases, as it is impossible to write a truly impartial account of history.

Powel is, of course, adapting *Historie* during a time in which people were becoming increasingly interested in Welsh, or British, history. This is reflected in the assistance which he received in his research for the text, in the form of receiving a ‘better corrected’ copy of the so-called ‘Brytish booke’ from Robert Glover, hand written-copies of texts by Nennius, Henry Huntingdon and William Malmesbury from John Stow, and ‘Brytish books of petegrees’ from Lord Burghley (pp. 150-51). While Glover and Stow were most likely acquaintances of Powel, because of their interests in history and genealogy, Lord Burghley

²⁵ Jerome de Groot, *The Historical Novel* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 20.

was presumably introduced to Powel through Sir Henry. In his edition of *The Correspondence of Henry Sidney*, Roger Kuin describes their relationship:

The Sidneys, with their close connection to Leicester, were not automatically [Burghley's] allies; but neither was he their clear adversary at Court'.²⁶

Indeed, Kuin also explains that Sidney was always polite in his correspondence with Lord Burghley and perhaps fostered a relationship between Powel and Burghley through a mutual interest in history as he did with his son, Philip Sidney.

Despite the large number of texts to which Powel had access, there is a definite sense of his own inadequacies about setting forth his own version of Welsh history. Chiefly, he believes that Llwyd was perfect for this task and that it was a tragedy that he was never able to complete his project:

But before the booke was polished (having yet manie imperfections, not onelie in the phrase, but also in the matter and substance of the historie) it pleased God to take [Llwyd] awaie in the floure of his time: who (if God had spared him life) would not onelie have set out this historie absolute and perfect, but also have opened unto the world other antiquities of this land, which now lie hidden and unknown. (p. ix)

In my first chapter I expressed how, in *The Breviary of Britain*, there was a sense of Llwyd believing that he was the only person able to reveal the linguistic truth of Wales to his readership, and here Powel tells us that he was ostensibly the only person who knew precisely what actually happened in Welsh history. The almost reverential language Powel uses to describe his predecessor, who would have written 'history absolute and perfect', gives us a clear indication that he is following in similar ideological footsteps as Llwyd in his attitudes

²⁶ Philip Sidney, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. by Roger Kuin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), vol. 1, p. xxxviii.

towards Wales and Welsh identity. At the end of his introduction, Powel exhibits his pride in Wales, ‘So that now the countrie of Wales (I dare boldlie affirme it) is in as good order for quietnes and obedience as annie countrie in Europe’ (p. xv). While in his preface Powel states his disagreements with the way in which the history of Wales was written, he still aligns himself with the political paradigm of the time. He does this by projecting an orderly Wales that had achieved civility like any other European state thanks to the ending of the ‘maladie and hurt of the dissension that often hapned betweene the Princes of this countrie’ (p. xv) by being united with the English crown.²⁷

Perhaps more crucially than being united with England, Wales had been given the powers to govern itself, ‘but also an uniformitie of government established; whereby all controversies are examined, heard, and decided within the countrie’ (p. xv), albeit at Ludlow and by an Englishman, who was also Powel’s employer. Nevertheless, Powel evidently sees the Council of Wales and the Marches as something akin to home rule, the border extending eastward to include the four English counties Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire, under the Council’s jurisdiction. This is somewhat similar to Llwyd’s map of Wales for Ortelius’ *Theatrum orbis terrarium*, which extends the border of Wales to include everything up to the river Severn.²⁸

At the beginning of the chapter on Cadwaladr, the last king of the Britons,²⁹ Llwyd explains how Cadwaladr had to flee the famine in Wales for *Llydaw*, or Brittany, to be with its king and cousin Alan. While residing in Llydaw it is said that Cadwaladr has a vision in which an angel told him not to return to Wales, but instead to head for Rome and stay there for the rest of his life because ‘God had appointed that Brytaines should have no more the

²⁷ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales*, p. 9.

²⁸ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (London: Norton and Bill, 1608), p. 13-14.

²⁹ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (London: Penguin, 1966), p. 280.

rule and governance of the whole Ile, untill the prophesie of Merlin Ambrose should be fulfilled' (p. 3). To this Powel adds some of the opinions that were held concerning Cadwaladr's vision:

Some hold that this was signified to him in a dreame: of the which mind is Polydore Virgil, and divers other. Some other doo thinke that (if anie such vision were) it was some illusion of a wicked spirit, or a phantasticall conceite of Cadwalader himselfe, being a man of a mild and quiet nature, and wearied with troubles and miseries. Other reject it altogether as a fable, not woorthie to be recorded in bookes. (p. 3)

Once again, Powel takes issue with how other writers have treated the vision, whether by dismissing it as a figment of a dream or as a hallucination brought on by malaise, by denouncing it entirely as demonic or a convenient excuse for him to not return to his home, or not speaking of it entirely. Powel's stance on Merlin in the above passage seems to be somewhat out of the ordinary in comparison to much of the populace whose belief in him had caused them to be reinterpreted over the centuries.³⁰ Keith Thomas explains that 'although many early Protestants dismissed Merlin as the child of an incubus [...] there were others whose attitude was less hostile',³¹ thus perhaps explaining Powel's stance as a clergyman on the subject. Similarly, Janine Riviere describes the way in which oneiromancy, the interpretation of dreams to prophesy the future, was an issue for early modern people since, 'the dream [...] was long associated with false prophecy and visionaries were a constant source of suspicion, caught between the realms of the natural and supernatural, divine and demonic'.³² Furthermore, Rivière also draws connections between poor mental and bodily

³⁰ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), p. 471.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 484.

³² Janine Rivière, *Dreams in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 2017), p. 166.

health, visions and dreams, stating that ‘the idea that dreams might provide essential insight into health and disease was both uncontested and longstanding’.³³

In each of these examples from the above passage, there is a hint of Cadwaladr being dismissed by writers who were biased towards England and against the non-English ‘Other’. This bias can be observed in Holinshed, who notes:

A long process is made by the British writers of this departure of Cadwaladr and of the Britons out of this land, and how Cadwaladr was about to have returned again, but that he was admonished by a dream to the contrary, the which because it seemeth but fabulous, we pass over.³⁴

Here, Holinshed demonstrates one way in which English chroniclers tackled the subject of Welsh history, initially by summarising how the writers exaggerated Cadwaladr’s importance and the ‘dream’ he had, and finally by dismissing such things as untrue and something ‘we’, his English audience, should disregard.

As much as Powel disagrees with writers whom he believed to have a national bias against Cadwaladr’s vision, he does eventually condemn it himself, as Jason Nice has argued.³⁵ He transcends his own national bias by offering it as a lesson to be learned: ‘by these toys and fables, men may learn what folly and vanity the wit of man, being not stayed and directed by the word of God, is prone and subject unto’, continuing by crediting Satan as the origin of ‘feigned revelations, false prophecies, and superstitious dreams of hypocrites and lewd persons’, declaring that these are among the primary causes of bloodshed in history

³³ Ibid., p. 28.

³⁴ Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1577), vol. I, p. 183.

³⁵ Jason Nice, *Sacred History and National Identity: Comparisons between Early Modern Wales and Brittany* (London: Routledge, 2015), p. 148.

(p. 155). The idea that Satan was often behind prophecy and vision was common as Thomas describes, ‘for those Protestants who believed that the age of Christian miracles was over, all supernatural effects necessarily sprang from either fraudulent illusion or the workings of the Devil’.³⁶ In turning Cadwaladr’s prophecy into a didactic message, Powel, as an Anglican priest, is demonstrating his own biases and agendas towards Wales and God, while simultaneously criticising the bias past historiographers had towards Welsh history. Through this, Powel is also showing that the current political situation for Protestant Wales – Sidney’s Council – is healthier for the nation, rather than the ‘maladie and hurt’ (p. xv) that he attributes to the Princes of Wales and the mysticisms, such as Merlin and Cadwaladr, that they subscribed to.

While Llwyd concludes this section with Cadwaladr leaving for Rome, thus ending the ‘rule of the Brytaines over the whole Ile’ (p. 4), Powel instead extends the chapter further by detailing how this rule came to an end:

The Brytaines, being sore troubled with the Scots and Picts, and denied of aid at the hands of the Romanes, sent for the Saxons to come to defend them against their enemies: who comming at the first as freends to the Brytaines, liked the countrie so well, that they became their mortall enemies and drove them out of the same. (p. 4)

Here Powel once again undermines previous historiography, which paints the Saxons as rightful claimants of the land. Holinshed, one of the more influential and dominant Anglocentric chroniclers of the period, long declared that this is to punish the Britons because of the ‘wicked sins and unthankfulness of the inhabitants towards God’.³⁷ Holinshed is biased from a religious perspective, such as looking at the Catholic British past from the perspective of an Early Modern Reformist, his accusations concerning the Welsh turning

³⁶ Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* p. 304.

³⁷ Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande*, vol. I, p. 5.

from God could be seen as a result of their insistence on using and listening to prophecy, as an example of a ‘wicked sin’, allowing a means by which the Catholic church could gain pre-eminence.

In extending the chapter beyond Llwyd’s original premise of recounting only the facts surrounding Cadwaladr, the end of his life and the all-important prophecy that would inspire a number of Welsh people to make claims on the English crown in order to fulfil it, Powel shows the indelible mark the Saxons left on British civilisation. Having been conned by the Saxon mercenaries, the Saxons and Gurmundus, ‘an archpirate and capteine of the Norwegians’, defeated Careticus and ‘compelled him and his Brytaines to flee beyond the rivers of Seavern and Dee to Cambria, now called Wales, and to Cornewale, and some to Brytaine Armorike, where they remaine to this daie’ (p.5). Fitting with his position on Cadwaladr’s prophecy – that ‘wise men therefore will never regard or esteeme such things’ (p. 4) – Powel concludes that the Britons or Welsh ‘could never recover againe the quiet possession of the whole Iland afterwards’ (p. 5). This quite clearly disagrees with chroniclers, such as Holinshed, influential to other writers such as William Shakespeare, who used the prophecy in order to support the Tudor dynasty as a return to British rule.

Indeed, later on in his *Historie*, Powel lays a far greater emphasis on Elizabeth I’s lineage through the Mortimer family than on her Tudor ancestry, which was celebrated by English poets, such as Edmund Spenser, who celebrates her ‘political mythology’ in *The Faerie Queene* (1590),³⁸ and by Welsh, for instance Lodowick Lloyd, who introduced English audiences to ‘Sidanen’, the affectionate Welsh name for Elizabeth.³⁹ This particular discussion is found in the chapter on Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, whom Powel describes as ‘the

³⁸ Susanne L. Wofford, ‘The Faerie Queene, Books I-III’, *The Cambridge Companion to Spenser*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 106-23 (p. 106).

³⁹ Sally Harper, ‘“A Dittie to the tune of Welsh Sydannen”: A Welsh image of Queen Elizabeth’, *Renaissance Studies*, 19 (2005) 201-28 (pp. 220-23).

superiour Prince of all Wales, to whom the other princes of Southwales and Powys did paie a certaine tribute yearlie' (p. 228). Keeping in mind how Powel disagreed with the rule of Welsh princes, it is also worth noting that Powel considered Llewelyn ap Gruffudd to be the 'right heire of Cadwalader' (p. 228), tracing his lineage back to him:

Whose line of the heire male from Rhoderi Mawr endeth in this David the son of Llewelyn, the sonne of Iorwerth, the sonne of Owain Gwyneth, the sonne of Gruffyth, the sonne of Conan, the sonne of Iago, the sonne of Edwal, the sonne of Meyric, the sonne of Edwal Voel, the sonne of Anarawd, the sonne of Rhoderi Mawr, the sonne of Esylht, the daughter and sole heire of Conan Tindaythwy, the son of Roderike Molwynoc, the sonne of Edwal Ywrch, the son of Cadwalader the last king of the Brytaines. (pp. 228)

However, Powel then ties Roger Mortimer to Llywelyn ap Gruffudd through his aunt, Gwladus, daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and sister to Dafydd ap Llywelyn, and her husband Ralph Mortimer, Roger's father. What follows is a rather convoluted path from Roger Mortimer to Elizabeth, whom Powel decrees 'by lineall descent is the right inheritrice of the Principalitie of Wales' (pp. 228-30).

In placing such emphasis on the Mortimer, rather than the Tudor line, Powel is aiming to dispel the myth of Cadwaladr's prophecy by demonstrating two key points. The first is that Cadwaladr's line survived through Gwladus, rendering any other claims to the title of Prince of Wales moot. Most specifically, Powel states that the title Owain Glyndŵr claimed was 'altogether frivolous, for he was not descended of the house of Northwales by his father, but of a yoonger brother of the house of Powys', which was considered by Powel to be a particularly weak lineage (p. 230). Here, Powel views the past with a degree of pragmatism. He sees the rule of the Prince of Wales as belonging in the past on account of the amount of

instability it brought, and Glyndŵr's efforts to revive this mode of governance would result in breaking the stability that both the Council and the union with England espouse. While this may complicate the notion of Welsh identity in the text, it is important to understand that what it meant to be Welsh was very different during the time Powel was writing from the nineteenth century. In this case, Powel is quite clearly subscribing to the version of Welsh identity that Llwyd and John Owen adopted – an identity based on the union of the British Isles.⁴⁰

Despite Powel's disagreement with the Cadwaladr prophecy, he is still supporting the Tudor dynasty's claim to the throne. Rather than relying on prophecy, Powel ties the dynasty to what he considers a legitimate bloodline. While the Tudors might never have subscribed to these prophecies officially, it is clear that many Welsh people, especially bards, at the time saw Henry VII as fulfilling the prophecy of Cadwaladr.⁴¹ Therefore it is along these lines that Powel claims that the Tudors relied on the belief in prophecy to cement their claim to the throne. Furthermore, Powel is still able to claim that the Tudors could legitimately call themselves monarchs as a result of being able to trace their lineage back to Cadwaladr directly through the Mortimer bloodline. In addition to this, Powel is also subscribing to the idea of a Galfridian sense of an Arthurian British Empire, as posited by John Dee, where Elizabeth could legally lay 'claims to the islands of the northern Atlantic [...] on the basis of her descent from King Arthur'.⁴² Though denying the prophecy, Powel is still supporting Elizabeth's claims to rule the island by providing a clear lineage to Cadwaladr and Brutus of Troy through the Mortimer line.

⁴⁰ For more on Owen, see chapter five.

⁴¹ John P. D. Cooper, *Propaganda and the Tudor State: Political Culture in the Westcountry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 109.

⁴² David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 106.

Llwyd also finds some degree of injustice in the Mortimers not being recognised for the title of Prince of Wales:

When all the Lords and Barons of Wales understood of the death of the Prince, they came together and called for Llewelyn and Owen Goch, the sons of Gruffyth son to Prince Llewelyn, brother to David, as next inheritors, (for they esteemed not Roger Mortimer sonne to Gladys sister to David, and right inheritor by the order of law), and did them homage, who divided the principallitie betwixt them two. (p. 227)

However, while Llwyd argues that Roger Mortimer should have inherited the title by law, Powel does not, instead using the Mortimer connection to Elizabeth I as a means to justify her position as Queen of England and of Wales. It is plausible to draw some parallels between Elizabeth I and Gwladus in terms of succession. Both women were ineligible by law to inherit the crown from their fathers, the crown being forbidden from going to or passing through Gwladus by *Cyfraith Hywel*, the Laws of Hywel Dda, and Elizabeth being disinherited until the Third Act of Succession. With both Llwyd and Powel making the case for Gwladus as the right heir to the title for Prince of Wales, it appears that the two scholars are approaching it from the perspective of English law. Furthermore suggesting that the succession should have gone through Gwladus allows comparisons to the way in which Elizabeth I ascended to the throne, despite being surrounded by controversies based on her gender and birth.⁴³ This form of female succession was contrary to the Laws of Hywel Dda:

The heir apparent, to wit the edling, who is entitled to reign after the King, is entitled to be the most honoured in court, except the King and Queen. It is right for him to be a son or nepew of the King. [...] These are the King's members: his sons and his

⁴³ John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: Poullain and Rebul, 1558) sig. B1r.

nephews and his male first-cousins. Some say that each of these is an edling; others say that no-one is an edling save him to whom the King gives hope and prospect.⁴⁴

Therefore, as the Law of Hywel Dda was still in use in Wales at this time, Llwyd and Powel are not entirely correct in saying that Roger Mortimer, Gwladus' son, was legally the true heir and not Llywelyn ap Gruffudd or Owain Goch. The implication of this is that Roger Mortimer could have achieved stability as a result of his greater political connections with Henry III, the then King of England, and their shared enemy of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the Prince of Wales in Gwynedd.

Throughout this, it is evident that Powel has somewhat conflicting views on the way in which Wales should be governed. On the one hand, he disagrees with how chroniclers before him set out history with a clear bias against Welsh. Conversely, he himself is guilty of this through denying that the Welsh Princes were legitimate, instead favouring the Mortimers with their links to the Tudor dynasty.

Presentations of Identity and Culture

This particular chapter of *Historie* sheds light on the perceived identity of Powel and Llwyd. Because I focused on Llwyd in the first chapter of my thesis, this section of this second chapter will focus mainly on Powel and, to a lesser extent, Sidney through his influence on the text. For Powel in particular, there are three aspects that shape his identity: his Welshness, his faith, and his interest in history. This section of the chapter will focus on these before touching on Sidney's identity as the President of the Council. From their belief

⁴⁴ Dafydd Jenkins, *The Law of Hywel Dda* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1986), p. 6-7.

that Roger Mortimer should have been considered for succession, we get a sense of the two men's conviction that Wales is more politically stable through being united with England.

In the text, Mortimer serves as a line between Wales, through his mother, – Gwladus Ddu (daughter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Joan, the daughter of King John) – and Ralph de Mortimer, a Marcher Lord based in Wigmore in Herefordshire.⁴⁵ Through his Welsh, Plantagenet and Marcher Lord heritage, Roger Mortimer is placed in a somewhat unique position, straddling both geographical and geopolitical borders. In giving Mortimer his blessing, Powel is perhaps suggesting that such a position would have given Mortimer a politically strong status between the two neighbouring powers, maybe even offering some stability to a region continuously ravaged by war. In linking the Tudors to the Mortimers, it further suggests that he was the correct but neglected choice for succession as it was his ancestors who politically united Wales and England.

However, this is not to say that Powel was not deeply patriotic towards Wales. Indeed, he was one of a number of Welsh scholars who aided William Morgan in the translation of the Bible into Welsh.⁴⁶ This sheds light on Powel's spiritual and geographic identities. He seems to have had a keen interest in disseminating Protestantism throughout Wales and in preserving the Welsh language, as well as supporting the official stance of helping to teach English to a Welsh speaking population. Powel's objectives had an affinity with the Act for the Translation of the Bible of 1563 which required all churches in Wales to have Welsh translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer by 1567.⁴⁷ This contradicting stance of Powel endorsing the intentions of the Welsh scholars of preserving

⁴⁵ J. J. Crump, 'Mortimer, Roger (III) de, lord of Wigmore (1231–1282)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19352> [Accessed 1 Aug. 2017].

⁴⁶ J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales, c. 1525-1640*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), p. 160.

⁴⁷ Peter R. Roberts, 'Tudor Legislation and the Political Status of 'the British Tongue'', *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Revolution*, ed. by Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 123-52 (p. 145).

the Welsh language while purportedly supporting the official stance of teaching English could be seen as Powel treading the fine line between his Welsh identity and his services towards his patron.

Furthermore, while I previously demonstrated Powel's vitriol against the way Wales was treated by past historians, his introduction demonstrates how his sense of Welsh is deeply-rooted. Powel uses terms loaded with what would now be considered colonial rhetoric in order to describe the treatment of the Welsh by their neighbour:

The Welshmen were by the Saxons and Normans counted enimies before the twelfth yeare of Edward the first, while they had a governour among themselves; and afterward, when King Edward had brought the countrie to his subjection, he placed English officers to keepe them under, to whome most commonlie he gave the forfeits and possessions of such Welshmen as disobeied his lawes, and refused to be ruled by the said officers. (p. xi)

In using words such as 'subjection' and phrases like 'keep them under', Powel is quite clearly showing how the cultural memory of conquest still had an impact on Wales and Welsh identity. Dylan Foster Evans describes the relationship between the Welsh and the most visible representation of Edward I's subjection of Wales – his castles – by observing that Welsh poets were 'more often praised for attacking castles than for defending them'.⁴⁸ In a passing remark in the poem 'Dan y Bargod' by Dafydd ap Gwilym, in which an anguished lover is pleading to be let into his lover's house, he says 'Ni bu'n y Gaer yn Arfon / Geol waeth no'r heol hon' ['There never was even in Caernarfon / a dungeon worse than this street'], confirming that being stuck on the street apart from his lover is a worse fate than

⁴⁸ Dylan Foster Evans, 'Castle and Town in Medieval Wales', *Urban Culture in Medieval Wales*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), pp. 183-204 (p.186).

being incarcerated in one of Caernarfon castle's dungeons.⁴⁹ This demonstrates that there was a negative perception of English fortresses at the time from Welsh-language linguistic and social spheres. This conception of Edwardian castles is also present to some degree in English-language texts. Originally published in 1778, Thomas Pennant's *A Tour in Wales* presents Caernarfon castle as 'the most magnificent badge of our subjection'.⁵⁰

Powel's rhetorical questions on land ownership in the introduction are also part of this lasting memory, Norman and Saxon lords appropriating the land for themselves without regard for existing ownership. As Powel did not intend 'to charge those Noble men, which wan these countries by the sword' (p. xiii), he instead shifts the blame onto other chroniclers and historiographers. However, up until that point he appears to place blame on the knights by stating that the Welsh were 'in their owne countrie, the land was theirs by inheritance and lawfull possession' (p. xii). This implies that the aggressive expansionist regime of Edward I was not justified in taking the land, as it was not part of English jurisdiction. Nor did the English kings have any claims to the land through inheritance. By constantly asking what right these knights had in taking land in Wales, Powel aligns with the Welsh and implicitly asserts his identity as a Welshman.

Powel iterates and consolidates widely held beliefs, such as the Cadwaladr prophecy and the Tudor myth, but also articulates new myths and offers a defence of the history of Wales, contributing to the popularity of the text over the centuries.⁵¹ One such myth is that of Madoc ap Owain Gwynedd, a Welsh prince who sailed to America in 1170. In *Historie*, Llwyd reasons that Madoc must have sailed to 'some part of Nova Hispania or Florida' (p. 166) and makes the bold claim that the Americas were first discovered by the Britons 'afore

⁴⁹ Dafydd ap Gwilym, 'Dan y Bargod', *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, trans. by Huw Meirion Edwards, Swansea University. <http://www.dafyddapgwilym.net/eng/3win.htm>.

⁵⁰ Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Wales, MDCCLXXII*, vol 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 214.

⁵¹ Huw Pryce, *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History: Renewing a Nation's Past* (Cardiff: University of Cardiff Press, 2011), p. 8.

either Columbus or Americus Vesputius led anie Spaniards thither' (p. 167). While this is often used to set forth claims for English ownership of the Americas, it also has ramifications on Welsh identity as Llwyd and Powel go on to set forth. Llwyd tells us that Madoc returned to Wales, where he told stories of 'the pleasant and fruitfull countries that he had seene without inhabitants' in comparison to the 'barren and wild ground' of Wales over which his people were constantly warring over, before leaving once again with a contingent of followers to live in these new lands in peace (p. 167). The way in which Wales is presented in Llwyd's stories of Madoc in *Historie* are a stark contrast to how he portrays his contemporary Wales in *The Breviary of Britain*, such as Denbighshire as a 'most fertile valley' (p. 114).

Powel provides two arguments in support of this myth, linking it more directly with Wales. While English writers, most notably John Dee⁵² and Richard Hakluyt,⁵³ who claim it for the British Empire. Powel reasons that the land in which Madoc settled was most likely a part of Mexico, or 'Nova Hispania' as Llwyd speculated, because the inhabitants reportedly confessed 'that their rulers descended from a strange nation that came thither from a farre countrie' (p. 167). Coincidentally, this connects with the story of Madoc: being a prince (illegitimacy was not an issue under medieval Welsh law),⁵⁴ he would have most likely taken up the role of leader in this new land after arriving with his followers from Wales. Powel's second argument is linguistic, pointing out several landmarks and animals that share names strikingly similar in sound to Welsh words:

As when they talk together, they use this word *Gwranddo*, which is, Hearken or listen.

Also they have a certeine bird with a white head, which they call *Pengwin*, that is,

⁵² Peter R. Roberts, 'Tudor Wales, national identity and the British Inheritance', *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter R. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 8-42, p. 30.

⁵³ L. E. Pennington, 'Secondary Works on Hakluyt and His Circle', *The Hakluyt Handbook*, ed. by David B. Quinn, I (London: Hakluyt Society, 1974), pp. 576-610 (p. 580).

⁵⁴ David Crouch, *Medieval Britain, c. 1000-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 238.

white head. But the Iland of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor, and the white rocke of Pengwyn, which be all Brytish or Welsh words. (p. 167)

There are a number of problems with these supposed linguistic links. The most evident, as Schwyzer explains in a footnote, is that ‘the heads of penguins are largely or entirely black’ and that the birds are not native to Mexico.⁵⁵ Madoc could not possibly have come into contact with penguins in the subtropics. On the other hand, at this point in time, ‘penguin’ was one of the names attributed to the great auk, a migratory bird that had a patch of white on its head and was native to the Americas: it was not until the seventeenth century that word ‘penguin’ was used to describe birds that mainly live in the cold climates of the Southern Hemisphere.⁵⁶

The Madoc myth and the idea that the Welsh were in the Americas some three hundred years prior to the Spanish certainly caught the imaginations of other writers, such as John Dee and Richard Hakluyt, as I mentioned earlier. These English writers use the myth to trump the Spanish and lay down counter-claims to their colonial claims. For the Welsh, however, the myth has a deeper meaning as it had been circulating among bards long before it was translated into English. Gwyn Williams suggests that the Madoc myth had been around since at least the fifteenth century, citing a poem in which Maredudd ap Rhys thanks his patron for fishing tools and claims: ‘A Madoc am I to my age and to his passion for the seas have I been accustomed’.⁵⁷ This suggests that the myth of Madoc was known beyond literary Welsh culture, perhaps stemming from the rich oral culture of the bards. Indeed, even the major critic of the Madoc myth, Thomas Stephens, in a posthumously published essay admits that there ‘was a distinct Madoc tradition’ when Maredudd ap Rhys’ poem was composed in

⁵⁵ Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain*, p. 158, n. 414.

⁵⁶ David B. Quinn, *Explorers and Colonies: America, 1500-1620*, p.404.

⁵⁷ Gwyn A. Williams, *Madoc: The Making of a Myth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 49.

the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ The question of whether Madoc actually discovered America is irrelevant. The veracity of the myth is beside the point, the fact the stories existed and were disseminated demonstrates that they contributed to the ever evolving sense of Welsh identity.

One of the most important things to note about the Tudor interpretation of the Madoc tradition is the particular emphasis Llwyd and Powel place on Madoc leaving Wales in search of pastures new as a result of it being the war-torn ‘wild ground’. While the Madoc story as a whole is interpreted as a means to lay claim to the New World, from a Welsh perspective it could also be seen as another way of endorsing the Laws in Wales Acts:

Whereby not onelie the maladie and the dissention that often hapned betweene the Princes of the countrie, while they ruled, is now taken awaie, but also a uniformitie of government established; whereby all controversies are examined, heard and decided within the countrie. (p. xv)

For Powel, Madoc’s Atlantic exodus and the union of Wales with England stem from the same source of chaotic governance, specifically the warring of the Welsh Princes as a result of their inheritance laws and the ramifications of their aggression, particularly that of the House of Gwynedd, of which Madoc was said to have hailed. The idea that Madoc left Wales in order to flee a ravaged land and start again anew feeds into the idea of Welsh identity not being connected to residing in (or having sovereignty over) Welsh land. For early modern Wales, now under the control of her more powerful neighbour, the increasing numbers of Welsh people moving eastwards across the border greater opportunities for education and employment did not necessarily mean that their identity had to be eroded.

⁵⁸ Thomas Stephens, *Madoc: An Essay on the Discovery of America by Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Llywarch Reynolds (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1893), p. 205.

Furthermore, what makes the Madoc myth even more relevant in this period is the continual preoccupation with the survival of the Welsh language. In Powel's version of the myth, he emphasises places in the New World that have Welsh names, which I briefly mentioned earlier in this chapter, suggesting with Welsh language survived in this new land intact and legible to early modern Welsh speakers. While these places, 'the Island of Corroeso, the cape of Bryton, the river of Gwyndor', are not actually Welsh, some scholars, Powel included, did nevertheless believe them to be, as they resonated with existing Welsh phonology. For a people whose land and rulers were characterised by instability, their language remained the one constant. After the English conquest of Wales that constant was now perceived by Welsh humanists to be under threat from multiple angles, whether legal, religious or economic.

Indeed, the language and its fight for survival is a formative feature of Welsh identity in the early modern period, where it was considered more important to 'make the Welsh into good Protestants than to make them into good English speakers'.⁵⁹ Having said that, Henry VIII having declared the language illegal in public office in 1535, the threat was very much real, eventually leading to many intellectuals, Powel among them, to petition Elizabeth I for an official translation of the Bible to spread the Protestant word throughout Wales to ensure unity between the two countries.⁶⁰ While Powel only briefly mentions the Bible in this text saying in his introduction, 'if it please God once to send them the Bible in their owne language according to the godlie lawes alreadie established' (p. xvi), he was evidently a supporter of the cause. William Salesbury's controversial translation of the New Testament was published in 1567, which Glanmor Williams described as being 'distinctly puzzling' to

⁵⁹ Richard Sugget and Eryn White, 'Language, literacy and aspects of identity in early modern Wales', *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 52-83 (p. 67).

⁶⁰ Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 349.

decipher as a result of Salesbury's 'excessive admiration for the classics, his love of 'copiousness' in language, his Latinized spellings, his disregard of mutations of the initial consonants, and other peculiarities'.⁶¹ However, Salesbury's translation is perhaps a product of its time when other texts, such as Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain* and its 'mildly eccentric approach to Welsh orthography'.⁶² This was followed by William Morgan's more successful translation of the Bible in 1588 in which Powel played a significant role. The Bible in Welsh has often been cited as a reason that the language survived, while its cousin, Cornish, slowly died out.⁶³ While it was a major contributor to the survival of Welsh, it was not the sole saviour of the language.

The struggle against English linguistic and cultural hegemony could be seen to be at the forefront of much of Powel's writing. This Anglocentricity espouses that 'the Welsh should be made to learn English and be forbidden a Bible in their own tongue'.⁶⁴ While Powel was a supporter of Morgan's translation of the Bible, it may be considered peculiar that *Historie of Cambria* is not also in the Welsh language. While this could be perceived as the influence of the Sidneys, it could also be that Powel is using the English language, fast becoming the medium of learning, to defend against English cultural hegemony by depicting a Welsh history and culture that still had its vibrancy despite the political union of the two countries.

This fight to sustain Welsh culture was also being carried out on a smaller battlefield by Welsh poets at the *eisteddfod* at Caerwys in 1567. While Powel does not talk specifically about this event, he does briefly touch on the role of the 'minstrels' in Welsh society and their

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 340.

⁶² Humphrey Llwyd, *The Breviary of Britain with selections from the History of Cambria*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013), p. 31.

⁶³ Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 401-2.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 349.

place in contemporary Welsh culture during his chapter on Gruffudd ap Cynan. Firstly, Powel mentions how ap Cynan ‘reformed the disordered behaviour of the Welsh minstrels, by a very good Statute which is extant to this day’.⁶⁵ In this Statute, ‘a ‘pseudo-antique’ document, presumably specially prepared in advance of the 1523 eisteddfod’,⁶⁶ ap Cynan supposedly outlines the instruction of poets and musicians, who is eligible to take on apprenticeships, the qualifications required for someone to take on apprentices, how they should act in various surroundings, and what or how often they are allowed to write.⁶⁷ In *Historie*, Powel outlines three different kinds of poet in Wales, the *beirdd*, the ‘plaiers upon instruments’ and the *atgeiniad*. He explains that the *beirdd* are ‘makers of songs and odes of sundrie measures, wherein not onelie great skill and cunning is required; but also a certeine naturall inclination and gift’ (p. 140). They are presented as being at the top of this artistic hierarchy; they are the practitioners of *cerdd dant* and *cerdd dafod* that require the most skill in composition, though here Powel is most likely referring more to *cerdd dafod*, poetic art, than *cerdd dant*, instrumental music.⁶⁸ This is because Powel later describes the instrumentalists:

The second sort of them are plaiers upon instruments, cheefelie the Harpe and the Crowth: whose musike for the most part came to Wales with the said Gruffyth ap Conan, who being on the one side an Irishman by his mother and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland, brought over with him out of that countrie diverse cunning musicians into Wales, who devised in a manner all the instrumentall musike that is

⁶⁵ David Powel, *The Historie of Cambria*, 1584, p. 140.

⁶⁶ Richard Suggett, ‘Vagabonds and minstrels in sixteenth-century Wales’, *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 138-72 (p. 153).

⁶⁷ David Klausner and Glenda Carr, ‘Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan’, *Hanes Cerddoriaeth Cymru*, 3 (1999), 282-307.

⁶⁸ ‘Cerdd¹’, *GPC Online* (Aberystwyth: University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh & Celtic Studies, 2014) <http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html?cerdd> [accessed 1 Aug. 2017].

now there used, as appeereth as well by the bookes written of the same, as also by the names of the tunes and measures used amongst them to this daie. (p. 140)

This brief history on the origins of Welsh music and metre shows its shared heritage with Ireland, which will be explored in the final section of this chapter. Highlighting that Welsh poetic and musical form has remained unchanged since ap Cynan's reign in the late eleventh to early twelfth centuries creates the idea that its form had been perfected. The Statute describes in detail what sort of techniques and pieces of music these instrumentalists must know in order to be qualified to be in *cerdd dant*, 'if he wishes to wear a silver medal for harpers or crwth-players, he must know four *colofnau* and four *cadeiriau* and the twenty-four *clymau cytgerdd* and the twenty-four measures which go with them'.⁶⁹

The final artists described by Powel are the *atgeiniaid*, 'those which doo sing to the instrument plaied by another, and these be in use in the countrie of Wales to this daie' (p. 140). These reciters or singers were considered to be at the bottom of the artistic hierarchy. As Klausner describes, 'his main role was to deliver poetry, usually to musical accompaniment, but his duties also included waiting on the *pencerdd* and carving birds at the table [...] he could improve his status by learning to play the harp or crwth'.⁷⁰

It is notable that Powel says that the *atgeiniaid*, harpists and crwth-players are still extant in early modern Wales yet does not assert the same for the *beirdd* – the itinerant poets, keepers of genealogy and writers of history. Glanmor Williams describes how worries about 'excessive numbers of vagrants and wanderers of all sorts tramping the roads and scaring the wits out of town and parish officers' led to tighter restrictions on *beirdd* and their poetic tradition.⁷¹ He also explains how, as a result of these regulations, the Caerwys *Eisteddfod*

⁶⁹ David Klausner and Glenda Carr, 'Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan', p. 293, ll. 60-2.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 303.

⁷¹ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation*, p. 443.

‘gave the authentic bards an opportunity of being officially recognized and licenced.’⁷² This is supported by Powel’s assertions that some aspects of this poetic and musical culture had survived into his day, claiming that ‘this statute or decree hath beene oftentimes allowed by publike authoritie of the cheefe magistrats of that countrie, as appeareth by sundrie commissions directed to divers Gentlemen in that behalfe’ (p. 141). Here, Powel is referencing both licensed patronage and the *eisteddfodau*,⁷³ both traditions that Gwyn A. Williams incorrectly claims to have fallen out of favour by all but the most fervent and insular.⁷⁴ It is evident from Powel and Glanmor Williams that these forms were still practiced by the *beirdd* who were permitted to attend the royally sanctioned *eisteddfod* in Caerwys of 1567.⁷⁵

The fact that this *eisteddfod* was commissioned by Elizabeth I shows the influence of the Welsh nobility at her court. While there was the benign effect of the *eisteddfod* as cultivating Welsh poetic talent with ties to the island’s past, and reinforcing the quality of the artistic material, the primary reason it was commissioned was quite different. Jones tells us that the commission that sanctioned the *eisteddfod* ‘required the justices of the peace to distinguish between professional poets licensed to practise their craft legitimately and the wandering bards [...] who had [...] caused disquiet among the landed gentry and affected the livelihood of professional poets.’⁷⁶

While the authorities were keen to stop vagabonds and the crimes attributed to them, the Welsh literati had a different aim in putting an end to these so-called itinerant poets. Ceri Lewis observes that both of the *eisteddfodau* of the sixteenth century were intended to protect

⁷² Ibid., p. 443.

⁷³ Richard Suggett, ‘Vagabonds and minstrels in sixteenth-century Wales’, p. 156.

⁷⁴ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 130.

⁷⁵ Sally Harper, *Music in Wales Before 1650: A Study of the Principle Sources* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 58.

⁷⁶ J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales, c.1525-1640*, pp. 114-5.

not just the skills of the bona fide poets of North Wales but also their social status: in the first of the two *eisteddfod*, the poets were ‘strictly enjoined to keep their professional art a closely guarded secret’⁷⁷ while in the *Eisteddfod* of 1563 the aim was to ‘protect the professional poet, whose status in society was being seriously undermined by the infiltration of inferior and manifestly less skilled practitioners’.⁷⁸ By attempting to stop these unlicensed vagrants from diluting the quality of the bardic tradition, the genuine poets were effectively trying to safeguard a deep and traditional aspect of the Welsh cultural identity.

However, it was too little too late; print culture, negative attitudes towards Welsh poets and the Anglicisation of the Welsh gentry all played a part in the decline of the bardic tradition. In the case of the gentry, patrons were less willing to pay for Welsh language work and any who may still have been willing were undoubtedly dissuaded by the vagrants and vagabonds who were ‘becoming a pestiferous nuisance to the gentry’.⁷⁹ This tradition did not survive past the seventeenth century. The Civil War and the ensuing political upheavals in Wales ended the institution that had ‘given expression and continuity to Welsh national identity’.⁸⁰ Therefore this could possibly be the reason why Powel does not say that the *beirdd* – the poetic elite of the bardic tradition who wanted to keep their art a secret and those who were pushing for restrictions on any who would challenge their place in society or tarnish their reputations – are extant, unlike the musicians playing the harp or *crwth*, or the less skilled *atgeiniaid*. The Anglicisation of the Welsh gentry had generated a separate ‘Anglo-Welsh’ culture within Wales, influenced by Welsh traditions, such as its legends, *beirdd* and the *hiraeth* lying in genealogy, and the popular culture imported from the other side of the English border.

⁷⁷ Ceri W. Lewis, ‘The Decline of Professional Poetry’, *A Guide to Welsh Literature c.1530-1700*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 29-74 (p. 39).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

In his chapter on David ap Owen, Powel describes an *eisteddfod* held in the castle at Aberteifi, or Cardigan in 1176 for Rhys ap Gruffydd:

Rees caused all the poetes of Wales, (which are makers of songs and recorders of gentlemens petegrees and armes, of whome everie one is intituled by the name of Bardh, in Latine Bardus) to come thither, and provided chaires for them to be set in his hall, where they should dispute together, to trie their cunning and gift in their faculties, where great rewards and rich gifts were appointed for the overcomers. (pp. 172-3)

This festival matches the purpose of the *eisteddfod* held in Caerwys where the Statute of Gruffudd ap Cynan defines the aim of the assembly to:

Legislate and rule on all compositions and all the bards of poetry and music, and on their art, insomuch as worthless weeds have grown among them, and whether they deserve to be received, since they have not been under the control of a licensed teacher of the art to eradicate those entirely and to confirm and graduate those deserving and to assist in becoming bachelors everyone according to his degree and deserts.⁸¹

While this extract of the statute emphasises the restriction of itinerant poets and quality control, elsewhere the text discusses the reward of silver medals to those deemed to be the best in their craft (ll. 189-9). Nevertheless, the two accounts have some similarities in that they both recount an assembly of master poets, competing against each other in front of judges to win recognition and rewards for their work. It is possible to see through this statute that there is, to some extent, a feeling of *hiraeth* surrounding the establishment of the *eisteddfod* in that there is a sense of longing to revive and preserve a tradition in decline, just

⁸¹ David Klausner and Glenda Carr, 'Statud Gruffudd ap Cynan', p. 293, (ll. 82-7).

as there was a longing to preserve the Welsh language through the Bible. In both of these cases, the instigators behind each strategy recall the past in their motives; the *eisteddfod* with previous cultural competitions and, in the case of the Bible, the legend of pre-Roman Christianity.

Following from this Llwyd demonstrates the esteem in which the bards were held in their capacity as genealogists and historians, especially as narrators of highly espoused Arthurian legend. He expresses this through a powerful tirade against William Paruus and Polydore Vergil, two of the main disparagers of the myth of Arthur:

Therefore let William Paruus and Polydore Virgil, with their complices, stoppe their lieng mouthes, and desist to obscure and darken the glistering fame and noble renowme of so invincible and victorious a prince, with the envious detraction and malicious slaunder of their reprochfull and venomous toongs, thinking that they may cover with the cloud of oblivion, and burie in the pit of darkenesse those noble acts and princelie deeds by their wilfull ignorance and dogged envie, whereof the trumpet of fame hath sounded, not onelie in Brytaine, but also through out all Europe. (p. 173)

As I outlined in the previous chapter, in *The Breviary of Britain*, Llwyd is keen to assert the truth of the Arthurian legend as a formative part of Welsh, and even British, identity, especially as Vergil disagreed with it. In *The Historie of Cambria*, Powel takes issue with the fact that a number of international scholars, most notably Vergil, disagreed with Welsh or British accounts of history, typically those which had a significant impact on the identity of the nation such as Welsh culture and history, and in this particular case the Arthurian legend. As Llwyd's tirade is extant in Powel's amended text it demonstrates that these features of identity were yet considered important and worthy of defence. Philip Jenkins states that much of the 'cult of Welshness', describing the way in which genealogical and titular (such as the

Prince of Wales) links were used to assert royal succession for both the Tudors and Stuarts, was based just as much on ‘the speculative predecessors derived from Arthurian romance and Geoffrey of Monmouth’ as it did on Welsh monarchs.⁸² While Simon Meecham-Jones explains that ‘associations with Romanization or Britishness tended to reinforce the idea of Welshness as a relict identity – diminished from its mightier British past’,⁸³ it is quite evident from the works of Llwyd and Powel that they were attempting to cling onto Wales’ associations with its British and Arthurian past. However, while these two bilingual scholars were keen to assert Wales’ continual British links through the Arthurian myth, by the twelfth century the language that monolingual Welsh speakers used had shifted away from these connotations as they were ‘essentially antiquarian and prophetic [...] it had flown in the face of geographic and political reality for centuries’.⁸⁴

Each of the facets of identity I have covered ultimately derives from the necessity of defending the Welsh language and its intrinsic relationship with every aspect of Welsh culture from aggressive colonial policy. As someone who believed greatly in his Welsh identity, Powel demonstrates this is the case by augmenting Llwyd’s work to give more information on particular subjects, such as the ancestry of the Welsh elite, the Madoc myth and the bardic tradition, thus providing wider historical and cultural contexts in order to educate his English readership. Beyond this text, Powel was keen to keep the language alive through campaigning for and assisting with the development of the Bible in Welsh. He also began devising a Welsh dictionary which, while never published, was still used in manuscript

⁸² Philip Jenkins, ‘Seventeenth-century Wales: definition and identity’, *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, ed. by Brendan Bradshaw and Peter R. Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 213-35 (p. 228).

⁸³ Simon Meecham-Jones, ‘Where Was Wales? The Erasure of Wales in Medieval English Culture’, *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, ed. by Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 27-56 (p. 40).

⁸⁴ Huw Pryce, ‘British or Welsh? National Identity in Twelfth-Century Wales’, *The English Historical Review*, 116 (2001) 775-801 (p. 799).

form until the end of the eighteenth century. Stories such as the Madoc myth were evidently known to a Welsh audience by means of the rich oral tradition, but would have entirely eluded the English until they were translated and published. It is this textualisation of the Welsh oral tradition and language by Welsh writers in English-language texts that ultimately saved the identity of Wales in the more Anglophone and educated circles.

The Sidneys and Politics

In the previous two sections of this chapter I examined the historical and cultural contexts of *Historie*. This final section will explore the way in which this text ties into the greater political contexts of the time, particularly through Sir Henry's patronage of Powel and Sidney's relationship with Ireland. I will begin by returning to the very beginning of *Historie* to analyse Powel's dedication not to Henry Sidney's son, Phillip Sidney. Powel begins by subverting the tradition of praising the patron in the dedication and instead offers advice to Philip Sidney: 'I am therefore at this time to direct my stile the rather to admonish you how to emploie and use the same, to that end that they are bestowed upon you, than otherwise vanelie with suspicion of flatterie to speake of them' (p. v). With each person's own interest in *Historie*, from Powel's patriotism and Henry Sidney's attempts to protect his position in the politics of Wales and Ireland, Philip appears to be a more politically neutral alternative as far as Wales and Ireland were concerned. This could explain why Powel decided to dedicate the text to him rather than his father. It is also clear that Powel is strategically distancing himself from language of praise and flattery that were characteristic of dedications at the time, something that he considers a selfish act of insincerity:

It is the manner of most writers [...] in dedicating of their bookes, to praise and extoll the vertues and noble qualities of such men as they choose to be the patrons of their

works, whereby to winne some credit and countenance to themselves: the which thing I see to be doone by a great number of writers (as well strangers as countrymen) who have set out the praise and commendation of your noble gifts. (p. v)

Powel's advice to Sidney appears to be more of a warning, reminding him that he had 'received all the good gifts [...] at the hands of almightie God, who is the giver of all goodnesse, for the which your dutie is to render most humble and hartie thanks unto his divine majestie' (p. v). This austere advice demonstrates Powel's position, not just a patriot, but also as the Sidney family's private chaplain. Philip Sidney had already authored a number of texts by the time *Historie* had been published, having written major works, such as *Astrophil and Stella*,⁸⁵ and *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*,⁸⁶ although these would be published posthumously. This reminder of God's gifts to Philip Sidney may be Powel's way of attempting to guide him towards a more spiritual path. However, there are few clear links as to whether Powel's counsel had much impact on Philip Sidney, who already had a reputation as being an exemplar of Protestant chivalry, as he died in 1588, only two years after the publication of *Historie*, in 1586.⁸⁷ In aligning the text with the Sidneys, it is framed as Protestant, pro-Union and in favour of the status quo at the Council of Wales and the Marches. As a result of these contributing facets of the text, such as Powel's financial reliance on his patron coupled with Sidney's reliance on Powel to present him as an adequate President, 'alert us to the dispersed and fragmentary nature of authorial control' of *Historie*.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Philip Sidney, *Sir Philip Sidney: The Major Works*, ed. by Katherine Duncan-Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸⁶ Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. by Maurice Evans (London: Penguin, 1977).

⁸⁷ H. R. Woudhuysen, 'Sidney, Sir Philip (1554–1586)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25522> [accessed 2 May 2017].

⁸⁸ Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 'Introduction', *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-14 (p. 8).

Powel's further advice to Sidney was on the matter of Wales, England and Ireland. Powel admonishes Sidney to always 'seeke the weale publike of your countrie, labour to doo it good in anie thing you may, while you have time so to doo' (p. vi). It is in this way that Powel implores Philip Sidney to follow in the footsteps of his father who, as a defender of Welsh history, 'alwaies hath beene and yet is more inclined and bent to doo good to his countrie, than to benefit or inrich himselfe, as Wales and Ireland, beside his owne can beare him witnesse' (p. vi). While this is advising Philip to fairly represent 'his countrie', Wales and Ireland politically, as Powel claimed Philip's father had done, it is also subliminally putting across the message that Henry Sidney was the correct person to lead the Council, as he selflessly puts Wales, its history and artefacts, and its needs before all else. In depicting Henry Sidney as the benevolent Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches, Powel is effectively crowning the Sidneys as the de facto royal dynasty of Wales, as I will demonstrate. It is in this way that Powel's guidance to Philip Sidney appears to be an attempt to shape him into his father's successor as Powel's further advice will show.

This admonishment does not end with Henry Sidney; Powel also advises Philip Sidney to follow the example that his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, has set as the principal secretary to Elizabeth I and her spymaster (p. vi). Walsingham was a trusted member of Elizabeth I's inner circle and held significant power over the state of England through his networks of intelligence.⁸⁹ This has been touched upon briefly earlier in this chapter in relation to his warning to Henry Sidney about 'neglecting the execution of this commission'⁹⁰ in Wales through his extended retreats to Ireland. The final piece of advice to Philip Sidney is to have 'remembrance of that noble house, out of the which you are

⁸⁹ Simon Adams, Alan Bryson and Mitchell Leimon, 'Walsingham, Sir Francis (c.1532–1590)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28624> [accessed 2 Aug. 2017].

⁹⁰ *Sidney Papers*, vol. I., p. 276.

descended by your honourable mother' (p. vi), specifically of John Dudley who had briefly led the government of Edward VI before his execution for high treason in 1553.⁹¹ Mary Dudley, Philip's mother, and Henry Sidney believed that they had been unfairly treated by their peers after they supported her brother in raising the Act of Attainder passed against him, and felt they were still feeling the repercussions of the family's turbulent past. As Michael Brennan suggests:

Elizabeth was keenly aware that both Mary's father, John Dudley [...], and her grandfather, Edmund Dudley [...], had successively posed a dire threat to the continuity of her own inheritance. The Dudleys were indeed a distinguished family but to five Tudor monarchs from Henry VII until Elizabeth they had consistently proved themselves to be as dangerous as they were useful.⁹²

By affirming the Dudley family as noble and Philip's mother as 'honourable', Powel is recognising their status and once more showing that this line is acting on behalf of Wales through the Sidney administration. Powel's dedication to Philip advised him to continue where he and his father had left off in the defence of Wales and its history, using his status as a Sidney and Dudley to do good things for Wales:

I have done mine indeavour, and now doo present the same unto your worship, as by good reason due to the sonne and heire of him that was the procurer and bringer of it to light: desiring you to accept it with as good will as the same is offered unto you, and so following the godlie zeale, love of the common wealth, and care to doo it

⁹¹ David Loades, 'Dudley, John, duke of Northumberland (1504–1553)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8156> [accessed 2 Aug. 2017].

⁹² Michael G. Brennan, *The Sidneys of Penshurst and the Monarchy, 1500–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 16–7.

good, of so noble and worthie parents, to beare countenance and favour to the countrie of Wales. (p. vii)

Schwytzer demonstrates Philip Sidney's empathy for Wales through his defence of Humphrey Llwyd and the British history. Schwytzer explains that Hubert Languet, Philip's mentor, had put him in an awkward position after Languet mocked Llwyd and the history of Britain. Philip Sidney was neither a British nationalist nor a believer in Geoffrey of Monmouth's tales, but as the son of the President of the Council in the Marches of Wales, he 'understood the national insult entailed when a foreign scholar dared to question Britain's hallowed historical traditions' and saw fit to defend the legacy of Wales.⁹³ This exchange between Languet and Philip came some years before Powel was tasked to augment Llwyd's original text and may have led to his dedicatory passage to Philip Sidney. Yet it is clear through the advice in the dedication that Powel considered Philip Sidney capable of safeguarding the history and culture of Wales as a successor to his father as the Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches. He concretises the bond between father and son through the text.

Powel's advice for Philip Sidney to safeguard the interests of Wales could have been a result of Henry Sidney's increasing interest in Ireland. Having spent much of his time there while he was the Lord President of the Council of Wales and the Marches, it was one of the primary reasons why his position as Lord President was in jeopardy. Indeed, Jones explains this situation, stating that, 'before his return to Ludlow in March 1571, [Sidney] had spent some time in Ireland and had found difficulty in re-establishing his authority [in Wales] and a further period of absence between 1575 and 1578 did not help to improve the situation'.⁹⁴ As

⁹³ Philip Schwytzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 77.

⁹⁴ J. Gwynfor Jones, *Early Modern Wales, c. 1525-1640*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), p. 103.

a result, Powel was keen to emphasise the historical and cultural links that Wales had with Ireland, providing some degree of justification for Sir Henry's extended breaks in Ireland.

This is most evident when Powel talks about the ancestry of the Welsh royalty. One notable instance of this is Gruffudd ap Cynan and his links to Ireland through his mother, Ragnailt ingen Amlaíb, an Irish woman of Viking descent.⁹⁵ Gruffudd ap Cynan is one of the more important kings of the lands that made up what would later be known as Wales, being of the House of Aberffraw, the historical house of the Kingdom of Gwynedd – the central power of medieval Wales.⁹⁶ Like Sidney, Gruffudd ap Cynan, and much of the House of Aberffraw, spent much time going back and forth between Wales and Ireland, typically in order to amass armies or flee after an attempt on their lives.⁹⁷ This can be seen through Cynan ap Iago, Gruffudd ap Cynan's father, 'in the yeare 1050, Conan the sonne of Iago did gather an armie of his friends in Ireland, minding to recover his inheritance againe' (p. 71), and Gruffudd ap Cynan himself, 'in the yeare 1098 returned Gruffyth ap Conan, and Cadogan ap Blethyn from Ireland, and made peace with the Normanes' (p. 118).

However, Gruffudd ap Cynan's possibly greatest impact on Welsh culture was allegedly bringing Irish poets with him from Ireland. However, J. E. Caerwyn Williams reasons that this could not have been the case as 'Irish poets, unlike their Welsh counterparts, did not fight alongside their patrons' and thus would not have been brought over from Ireland as part of a military retinue.⁹⁸ I have already detailed how these 'cunning musicians' (p. 140), as Powel calls them, were responsible for the Welsh bardic tradition that was still extant in

⁹⁵ David Moore, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity', *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, ed. by K. L. Maund (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), pp. 1-60 (p. 23).

⁹⁶ David Longley, 'Gwynedd Before and After the Conquest', *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles in Wales*, ed. by Diane M. Williams and John R. Kenyon (Oxford, Oxbow Books: 2010), pp. 16-26 (p. 16).

⁹⁷ David Moore, 'Gruffudd ap Cynan and the Medieval Welsh Polity', p. 23.

⁹⁸ J. E. Caerwyn Williams, 'Meilyr Brydydd and Gruffudd ap Cynan', *Gruffudd ap Cynan: A Collaborative Biography*, pp. 165-86 (p. 169).

sixteenth century Wales, but what I will consider here is the effect this declaration may have had on the political landscape of Wales and Ireland and Henry Sidney's involvement in these nations. What is immediately evident is that Powel is highlighting the relationship between Wales and Ireland through the ancestry of Gruffudd ap Cynan, 'being on the one side an Irishman by his mother and grandmother, and also borne in Ireland' (p. 140). Powel demonstrates the way in which he is helping to justify the colonization of Ireland through highlighting how Wales, the ancestral homeland of the Tudors, and Ireland are linked through the royal house of the Kingdom of Gwynedd. This allows for comparisons between the various Welsh leaders, who spent considerable amounts of time in Ireland, either growing up there as Gruffudd ap Cynan did, or fleeing there to amass mercenary armies in order to reclaim lands taken by invading forces, as well as Henry Sidney's own extended excursions to Ireland as its Lord Deputy while in office as the Lord President of Wales.

Sidney's concurrent roles in the government of both Wales and Ireland show how the political paradigms of the two nations were intertwined, Wales perhaps a prototype for the colonial expansion into Ireland. It is not a coincidence that the man in charge of shaping Wales into a country which is 'in as good order for quietnes and obedience as anie countrie in Europe' (p. xv) is the same as the one who is tasked to take over the government of Ireland. However, it is clear from Walsingham's warnings, as referenced earlier, that Sidney's excursions to Ireland were seen to be having a negative impact on the efficiency of the Council in Wales, leading to attempts by Sidney's enemies to fill the vacuum whenever he was not at Ludlow. Powel's defence of Sidney's leadership is that 'if the rulers and teachers be good and doo their duties, the people are willing to learne, readie to obeie, and loath to offend or displease' (pp. xv-xvi), thus demonstrating that Sidney's style of lenient rule – often construed by his rivals as vacant rule – is fitting for Wales as a nation.

Indeed, this so-called ‘Welsh policy’⁹⁹ was utilised as the template for the Irish settlement. Rhys Morgan explains that ‘contemporaries saw the government of Wales, and in particular the union reforms implemented in Wales during the early sixteenth century, as a precedent for Ireland to follow’,¹⁰⁰ and as a result it is clear why Sidney, the Lord President of Wales, was chosen to represent Ireland as its Lord Deputy. Morgan continues by observing that ‘experience of Welsh government in action was seen as a positive attribute for Irish service, as it was believed that the men who ran Wales might effectively replicate the policies that had succeeded in pacifying and reforming the principality’.¹⁰¹ This carries with it the implication that the situation in Ireland shares characteristics with Wales during the early days of the Council, which transformed Wales from a ‘by-word for disorder’¹⁰² into what Powel proclaimed to be ‘as good order for quietness and obedience as any country in Europe’ (p. xv). Sidney’s role and position in Ireland was predicated on him having the security of holding the title of Lord President for life, which clearly angered Elizabeth.¹⁰³ Yet she nevertheless granted him his request and Sidney became the leaders of both Wales and Ireland. Sidney’s enemies were undeniably displeased with the amount of power that he, and by extension the Dudleys, had amassed by gaining control of Wales, the Marches and Ireland. Indeed, Sidney was often called to defend his positions to Court and the Queen. The fact that Sidney was often absent did not help his case; his situation was ‘particularly precarious because his enemies at court have direct access to the sovereign’s ear, while he, from a distance, must rely on the slow and unreliable progress of a letter’.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ D. B. Quinn, ‘Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion’, ed. by T. D. Williams, *Historical Studies*, 1 (1958), pp. 20-32 (pp. 31-2).

¹⁰⁰ Rhys Morgan, *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland, 1558-1641* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 58.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁰² Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?*, p. 118.

¹⁰³ *Sidney State Papers: 1565-70*, p. 68.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Vileponteaux, *The Queen’s Mercy: Gender and Judgment in Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 78.

Powel's text serves the dual purpose of providing the English access to an alternative history of Wales and an insight into the nation's historical culture, and as a piece of propaganda for the Sidney regime. While this latter purpose does not feature that heavily in the main body of the text, it is strongly apparent elsewhere. Towards the end of *Historie* Powel describes the lineage of Henry Sidney:

This knight is descended by the heires male lineallie of Sir William Sidney, who came out of Aniowe into England with Henrie Fitzempresse, and was afterward chamberlaine to the said Henrie when he was king of England, and descended out of Wales by his mother Anne the daughter of Anne, the daughter of William Clement, the sonne of John, the sonne of William, the sonne of William, the sonne of Jenkyn Clement, who married the daughter of Cynan, the sonne of Meredith, the sonne of Gruffudd, the sonne of lord Rees Prince of Southwales, of whom mention is before: which Rees was the sonne of Wenllian, the daughter of Gruffudd ap Cynan Prince of Northwales. (p. 295)

This lineage serves solely to tie Sidney to the Plantagenets of Anjou as well Wales and Ireland through Gruffudd ap Cynan who, as I mentioned previously, hailed from the most important of the Kingdoms of Wales and was also of Irish descent. Powel continues his genealogy of Henry Sidney by detailing additional, more tenuous ancestral links:

The mother likewise of the same John or Jenkyn Clement, was Cicilie the daughter of Sir Gruffudd Llwyd knight, the son of Rees, the son of Gruffudd, the sonne of Ednyfed Fychan, cheefe counsellor and steward to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth Prince of Wales, [...] who also was the auncestor of Owen Tudor, the Grandfather of king Henrie the seventh. (pp. 295-6)

Powel draws a link to Owen Tudor, the progenitor of the Tudor dynasty, through Ednyfed Fychan, an important medieval Welsh warrior and the seneschal to Llewelyn ap Iorwerth and Dafydd ap Llewelyn. The importance of detailing Henry Sidney's esteemed Welsh heritage could possibly be to legitimise his life-long Lord Presidency by proving how he is connected to both Welsh royalty from Gwynedd, as well as English royalty. He is related to the Tudors through Owen Tudor on his mother's side and the Plantagenet Henry II through his father.

Through detailing the lineage of the ruling elites, particularly Henry Sidney and Roger Mortimer, it could be said that Powel is continuing at least one aspect of the bardic tradition in a rudimentary form – the recording of genealogy. However, it is more plausible that Powel is following the school of Welsh humanist thought, which prioritised chronicling history and genealogy, a role that was once attributed to the *beirdd* as 'the main guardians of past learning'.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, much of Welsh humanist learning stemmed from the *Tri Chof Ynys Prydain*, a tract detailing the three 'memories' of the Isle of Britain – the history of the Welsh, the Welsh language, and the genealogy of Wales' elite.¹⁰⁶ With the diminishing role of the *beirdd*, the recording of Welsh history and culture in the English-language had been adopted by the emerging 'Anglo-Welsh' tradition. It is in this way that 'Anglo-Welsh' scholars, such as David Powel and Humphrey Llwyd, may be interpreted as the heirs of the scholarly aspects and language of the medieval bardic tradition, discarding its complex poetic forms in favour of a clearer prose narrative yet still retaining aspects of *hiraeth*. Powel's use of genealogy as a device is not simply to preserve the history of Sidney's lineage; he is using it to justify a leadership fraught with difficulties.

¹⁰⁵ Branwen Jarvis, 'Welsh Humanist Learning', *A Guide to Welsh Literature, c. 1530-1700*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 128-53 (p. 132).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.

In order to pacify Henry Sidney's critics, Powel continues by detailing Sidney's life and accomplishments. Powel makes a point of describing Sidney's long career as a respected member of the court spanning multiple monarchs in different roles during their reigns. 'In the third yeare of king Edward sixt, he was made knight by the king: and was sent Ambassadour to the French king', for instance, and:

In the time of Queene Marie he was treasurer of Ireland, and lord Justice there, where he so used himselfe, that hee gat great commendation of all the inhabitants of that countrie' (p. 296).

The purpose of this is evident – it demonstrates that Sidney is an experienced diplomat astutely survived negotiating the transition from Protestant Edwardian governance to the Catholic Marian administration. It is also important to note Powel's emphasis on Sidney's work in Ireland as Lord Justice, as a popular leader who received 'great commendation of all the inhabitants', compared to the brief mention of Sidney's role as English Ambassador to France.

However, this all pales in comparison to how Powel describes Sidney's tenure at Ludlow Castle where, 'he hath now continued L. President of Wales about xxiiij. yeares, of the which he served in Ireland eight yeares and sixe moneths, being there three severall times lord deputie generall of that countrie' (p. 296). By showing how long Sidney has been acting as Lord President of Wales, and his repeated involvement with Ireland implies he is a stable leader of relatively unstable parts of the kingdom. Sidney is presented as fostering stability, even as the nations experience a change in monarch. Finally, Powel also details the way in which Sidney succeeded in restoring Ludlow Castle as Lord President of the Council:

He repaired the castell of Ludlowe, which is the cheefest house within the marches, being in great decaie, as the Chappell, the court house, and a faire fountaine, from the

which severall cocks the offices of the house are served with water. Also he erected divers new buildings within the same castell, as a faire new porters lodge: large chambers for the keeping of the records of that court: and other convenient lodgings for such commissioners to lie in as are called thither for to give attendance in that service. (p. 296)

Ludlow Castle had been the seat of the Council of Wales and the Marches for some time, but previous attempts to repair the castle had not been sufficient to make it habitable. Yet the castle had been acquired by Roger Mortimer, who, Powel previously argued, should have been considered as monarch for the Kingdom of Gwynedd, and the home of the short-lived Arthur Tudor, Prince of Wales, with all the connotations his prophetic name would have evoked for the Welsh.¹⁰⁷ The castle's association with Wales and the Marches is demonstrative of its role as a symbol of both the geographic and national unity between Wales and England. As a result of his Lord Presidency, the history of the castle, and lack of heir to Elizabeth I, Henry Sidney effectively dons the mantle of pseudo Prince of Wales. From Powel's exposition of Henry Sidney's grand lineage, which connects Wales, England and Ireland, as well as portraying him as a timeless statesmen who survived several monarchs, benevolent leader of Wales and Ireland, and the man who saved Ludlow Castle from ruin, it is quite clear that Powel was returning Sidney the funding and favours – access to people and their libraries – that Sidney had given him in preparation for translating the text. Without these provisions, as well as Sidney's own form of Welshness, influenced by his Lord Presidency, Powel's text would not have existed.

¹⁰⁷ John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Shropshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 364.

Conclusion

Powel's *Historie of Cambria* is a text conflicted 'between native pride and calculated deference' to English rule.¹⁰⁸ Llwyd's original translation of the original Welsh text into English is very much present in Powel's adaptation; it makes up the bulk of the narrative, and Powel's additions augment it. Powel's edits clearly show his Welsh identity, despite any potential conflicts stemming from English patronage. In his introduction to the text he explains that his intentions are to correct what he believes to be great injustices in the reporting of history – whether events or people – by foreign scholars who are simply trying to justify the actions of their patrons and political ideologies. However, even though Powel denies that he has a grievance against the foreign knights who came into Wales and took land for their own purposes, he nevertheless asks 'what right or lawful title' (p. xii) these men had to these places, thus showing his own political bias. This is one of many contradictions within the text. The question of right is posed, yet both Llwyd and Powel make the argument that Roger Mortimer, another English knight, should have been considered for the position of King of Gwynedd, and that it is right for Wales to be governed externally by an English Council from the English city of Ludlow.

Of course, these contradictions all fall into place when Henry Sidney is taken into consideration as Powel's employer. Powel's main task was not to document the history of Wales by elaborating on a pre-existing text; it was to quell the fears of an increasingly wary Elizabeth I, in the face of a growing and bitter opposition to Sidney, that Wales and the Marches were being governed correctly. In order to do this Powel outlines in his introduction that Wales is 'in as good order for quietnes and obedience' as any other country, (p. xv) with

¹⁰⁸ Marisa R. Cull, "Prince of Wales by Consent'?: The Principedom of Wales and the Early Modern Stage", *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 75-90 (p. 78).

the implicit connotation that this is a result of Henry Sidney's style of lenient rule. Powel also asserts that Sidney is the 'correct leader' for Wales by demonstrating the Welshness of his ancestry, linking him back to the progenitors of the Kingdom of Gwynedd, Wales's most powerful kingdom during its pre-colonized era. Furthermore, this Welsh ancestry also directly links Sidney to Ireland through Gruffudd ap Cynan who was Irish by mother and birth, thus establishing that Sidney is also the rightful Lord Deputy of Ireland. This echoes how many bards in particular used the Welsh ancestry of the Tudors as a means to assert their authority over Wales and England.

Powel's use of Welsh myths such as the tales of Cadwaladr and Madoc, and the bardic tradition, are also contradictory. Powel's style of depicting the genealogies of nobility – both Welsh and English if they have links to Wales – shows him to be heir to one aspect of the Welsh bardic tradition, aligning him with the school of Welsh humanism alongside Llwyd. However, while Llwyd in *The Breviary of Britain* resolutely follows history as laid out by Geoffrey of Monmouth and all the myths pertaining to it, Powel is more critical of them. This is especially true of Cadwaladr's vision in which, as a fervent Protestant, Powel believes that 'wise men [...] will never regard or esteeme such things' (p. 4). However, he is a strong believer in the Madoc myth and goes to great lengths to prove that it is true and that Madoc did, in fact, discover the Americas long before the Spanish. The exact origins of the Madoc myth are uncertain, but it was certainly used by the English political elite to make a case for colonising and expanding into new lands. Powel's disbelief in one myth but belief in another is a result of his strongly held Protestant beliefs rather than any particular strong feelings against the ancient Welsh past, although he does admit that the old Welsh order of kings were often prone to mismanagement and is grateful for a stable leadership.

One may think that Powel's criticism of Welsh royalty could be inferred as an argument against *Historie* being a Welsh proto-nationalist text, as he is actively celebrating the downfall of its independence, but it is in fact the opposite. It is important to take into consideration that Powel was writing in order to help secure Henry Sidney's position as Lord President of Wales in the face of strong opposition. Powel celebrates the fact that Wales exists as one nation under a benign ruler rather than continuing to remain as a collection of fractured and constantly warring feudal states. Being united enabled Wales to exploit new freedoms and equalities with the English and eventually led to the formation of the Council of Wales and the Marches in the fifteenth century. This was the closest Wales had ever got to any form of home rule since it had been conquered.

The way in which Powel presents the history of Wales is, in essence, radically different from any other account of Welsh history written in the early modern period. Powel emphasises the way in which Wales had been treated unfairly by scholars associated with the victors of history and instead defends it. By this point, his contemporaries from outside England and Wales poured scorn upon Geoffrey of Monmouth and anyone who subscribed to his account, such as Humphrey Llwyd. Therefore, there were attempts to steer away from the Galfridian narratives of Welsh history in favour of a more grounded account of history based on facts gathered from a wide variety of sources. While Powel's history of Wales is certainly influenced by his patron through the way in which the country is depicted to be considerably unstable prior to the advent of the Council of Wales and the Marches, it would go on to be considered an important source for the history of medieval Wales for several centuries, thus proving the strength of his presentations of history.

Chapter 3

Welsh Writing During the Interregnum: The Poetry of Henry Vaughan

And Morgan Llwyd

During the seventeenth century, the religious geography of Wales underwent seismic shifts as a consequence of the changing power structures in England and Wales in the aftermath of the execution of Charles I in 1649 and the period of non-monarchical governance that followed the regicide. The spiritual well-being of Wales was considered to be of such importance to the Commonwealth that Oliver Cromwell passed an *Act for the Better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales* (1650), with the intention of converting Wales, Anglican or Catholic, to Puritanism and to suppress latent Royalist fervour. In order to fulfil these prospects, a number of Welsh preachers, also known as the Welsh Saints, were recruited, in particular Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell and Morgan Llwyd.¹ In this chapter I will examine the poetry of Morgan Llwyd from this group of Puritans in order to discover the ways in which he attempts to motivate and convert his congregation. However, just as the ‘Welsh Saints’, including Morgan Llwyd, were endeavouring to spread Puritanism (or rather their own Nonconformist spiritual thought), other Welsh writers and preachers (contemporary and anathema to them), such as Henry Vaughan and Rowland Watkyns were pursuing campaigns in defence of their Anglican parishes and congregations.

The religious make-up of Wales up to this time varied, with pockets of Catholicism among the Protestant, as evidenced by Catholic recusancy in parts of Gwynedd in the North

¹ Geoffrey F. Nutall, *The Welsh Saints, 1640-1660: Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, Morgan Llwyd* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press: 1957).

West.² The number of religious groups operating within Wales at this time was more complex than simply describing someone as Protestant, Puritan or Catholic. Lloyd Bowen provides a number of examples of active groups and their most prominent members in Wales, such as William Erbery, of Merthyr Tydfil and Cardiff, whose ‘increasingly separatist stance in the 1640s and early 1650s saw him branded as a Seeker’,³ and an associate of his, Morgan Llwyd, from Merionethshire but now operating within Wrexham, who ‘had links to Quakerism and a mystical millenarian strain of spirituality’.⁴ Others include Fifth Monarchists, such as Vavasor Powell, Baptists, Anabaptists, Ranters, Independents and some Presbyterians.⁵ Their existence demonstrate that, while Puritanism, the religious reformation movement characterised by the eschewing of Roman Catholic teachings and practices in the English church,⁶ was not widely spread in Wales, pockets of alternative Christian denominations were active at the time. These groups could be seen to be precursors to the Welsh religious Nonconformity of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.

While some critics, like Ceri Davies (who claims that Vaughan’s work ‘belongs, in essence, not to Wales but to the world of the seventeenth-century English metaphysical poets’),⁷ and others who historically included his works in expansive anthologies of ‘English’ literature, may disagree with the notion of Vaughan as a Welsh writer, this attitude has shifted in recent times.⁸ Indeed, Vaughan himself self-identifies as a ‘Silurist’, i.e. a tribe of ancient Britons who inhabited the areas in the south Wales parts of the Severn estuary and

² Byron Harries, ‘John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context’, *Renaissance Studies*, 18 (2004), 19-32 (pp. 22-4).

³ Lloyd Bowen, ‘The Battle of Britain: History and Reformation in Early Modern Wales’, *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World*, ed. by Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 135-50, (p. 148).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), pp. 135-6.

⁶ Francis J. Bremer, *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 2.

⁷ Ceri Davies, *Welsh Literature and the Classical Tradition* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1995), p. 86.

⁸ *Henry Vaughan and the Usk Valley*, ed. by Elizabeth Siberry and Robert Wilcher (Little Logaston: Logaston Press, 2016).

Bristol Channel.⁹ This shows the importance that Vaughan placed on his regional, ethnic or cultural identities in comparison to national identity – a point which I believe could be a major factor in defining what ‘Welsh Writing in English’ is during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The reasons behind an ethnic or cultural-based identity, rather than national, are derived from the way in which ethnic identity, on the one hand, manifests itself in ‘opposition to a dominant national identity’.¹⁰ In the case of Wales, which had not existed as a cohesive nation prior to its conquest in the twelfth century. This dominant national identity is English.

The primary contributor to this Welsh ethnic and cultural identity was, as I have demonstrated previously, the Welsh language. The juxtaposition between Welsh language and English culture helps to set apart writers working in this border country from their English contemporaries in the Welsh Marches. However, even after the borders between Wales and England had been firmly demarcated, church parishes still often crossed over the border, with many parts of Welsh counties belonging to English parishes, such as Monmouth,¹¹ and vice versa, in the case of Oswestry.¹² Therefore, it can be argued that the Welsh writers and preachers who are working within this space are attempting to navigate their own Welsh identities in these denominations of Christianity.

⁹ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Oxford: ABC-Clío, 2006), vol. 1, p. 20.

¹⁰ John A. Vincent, ‘Symbols of Nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina’, *National Identity*, ed. by Keith Cameron (Exeter: Intellect Books, 1999), pp. 45-63 (p. 55).

¹¹ ‘Monmouth CCEd Location ID: 233847’, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540–1835* <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk> [accessed 5 May 2017].

¹² ‘Oswestry CCEd Location ID: 3316’, *The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835* <http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk> [accessed 5 May 2017].

Morgan Llwyd and his English Poetry

It has been established by M. Wynn Thomas that Morgan Llwyd, mostly known for his Welsh language writing, navigated Welsh identity in relation to Puritanism in his preface to *Gwaedd Ynghymru Yn Wyneb Pob Cydwybod*,¹³ in which he provides a revisionist narrative of the fall of Welsh spirituality with the aim of restoring it to the splendour it enjoyed before outside influence from Catholic monks, Latin Mass and the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁴ However, my main focus will be on Llwyd's English language poetry in *Cerddi, Caniadau, Hymnau ac Englynion*.¹⁵ I shall specifically consider how Llwyd's English language poetry can be categorised as Welsh literature in English by examining how he uses form, subject, symbolism and language in order to create a unified Welsh Puritan identity appealing to both the Anglophone Welsh population in the border country (particularly in Wrexham) and the wider Welsh-language community.

The Welsh title of this book, *Cerddi, Caniadau, Hymnau ac Englynion*, belies the fact that over half of the poems are in English. This is peculiar for a poet who was born and grew up in Ffestiniog, Merionethshire. English is foreign to Llwyd, a second language that he clumsily – yet vividly – works in. Where Llwyd's Welsh language poetry follows the strict metre and poetic form of the *englyn*, his English-language poetry appears to be distinctly more varied. For example, in the third poem "Our Lord is Coming Once Again" (p. 9), one of many examples I could use, Llwyd writes long couplets but arranges them as quatrains:

Our Lord is coming once againe, as all the
scriptures say

¹³ Morgan Llwyd, 'Gwaedd Ynghymru Yn Wyneb Pob Cydwybod', *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd*, ed. Thomas E. Ellis, vol. 1 (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster 1899), pp. 127-50.

¹⁴ M. Wynn Thomas, 'Morgan Llwyd and the Foundations of the 'Nonconformist Nation'', *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 111-30 (p. 121).

¹⁵ Morgan Llwyd, 'Cerddi, Caniadau, Hymnau ac Englynion', *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd*, pp. 1-111.

Even so lord Jesus quickly come and make no
long delay.

This imperfection makes for a stark contrast with the strict *englyn* which he also composes, as well as with the poetry of his English contemporaries, showing less skill in English than Welsh. Indeed, Raymond Garlick takes note of these imperfections in Llwyd's English-language poetry, explaining that it lends them a ballad-like quality.¹⁶ However, I would suggest that the otherness resulting from Llwyd's imperfect English poetic form causes him to stand out from his English contemporaries. Having said that, Llwyd's employment of alliteration and both internal and external rhyme is reminiscent of his Welsh-language works. Particularly his use of *cynghanedd*, meaning 'harmony', a 'highly distinctive type of syllabic verse, characterized by the intricate system of consonantal alliteration and internal rhyme', is indicative of this.¹⁷ It is most evident in his poem "Come Wisdome Sweet" (p. 37):

Come wisdom sweet, my spirit meet, for at thy
feet I fall
Oh chiefest thing, my wealth, my wing, my rest,
my ring, my all

My love, my light, my song, my sight, my bread,
my bright eternall one
Hee doth not cease, to give increase, with Peace
and ease in one

¹⁶ Raymond Garlick, *An Introduction to Anglo-Welsh Literature*, ed. Meic Stephens and R. Brinley Jones (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1970), p. 35.

¹⁷ Ceri W. Lewis, 'The Decline of Professional Poetry', *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1530-1700*, ed. R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 29-74 (p. 29).

A similar rhyme structure is observed in his Welsh poem “Eiddiledd Dyn” (p. 32), an *englyn unodl union*, which features a ten, six, seven, seven syllabic structure with heavy internal and external rhyme:

Mor egwan, mor wan, mor wael mor wrthyn
 Mal erthyl di-afael.
 ymrwyfydd mewn ymrafael
 yw pob dyn ai fûn ai fael

While Llwyd’s English poetry does not use the exact structure of the *englyn*, such as the indented final part of the first line which alliterates with the beginning of the second line, it is apparent that *cynganedd* is used from the alliterative and rhyming sequences in this poem. For example, the alliteration of ‘my love, my light’, rhyme with another alliterative phrase, ‘my song, my sight’.

Furthermore, Llwyd often makes use of Welsh phrases in his otherwise English poetry, perhaps showing how his skill in the second language is somewhat lacking in comparison to his mother tongue. This is most notable in “Come Wisdom Sweet” in which the entire final stanza is in Welsh:

O Drymmed cri, a wnaethem ni, pe basit ti o
 Dduw
 heb ladd y tri, ath laddodd di, in llwyddo ni i
 fyw.¹⁸

By alternating between English and Welsh, it is probable that Llwyd is also providing an additional didactic, spiritual message to his readers who were literate in Welsh.

¹⁸ O heavy cry, we would have made, hadst not thou O God
 Killed the three, who killed thee, to enable us to live.

This stanza follows the same rhyme scheme as found in the first two stanzas of the poem, showing how Llwyd adapted *cynghanedd* into English. However, not all of the Welsh language in his English poetry is used for their harmonic purposes; for example, in his extended apocalyptic poem, simply named “1648” (pp. 18-31), he interjects a Welsh phrase into the fourth stanza of ‘The Winter’ subsection:

Brave Hugonits, stiffe Mordecais, stout lollards
 you stood fast
 a glana iw’r gelynen wyrdd that scornd the
 Romish blast

The Welsh phrase in the third line translates to ‘and holiest is the holly green’, possibly referring to Christ’s crown of thorns thus linking Christ to persecuted dissenting groups through history: the Huguenots of France, Mordecai in the Book of Esther and the Lollards, the English followers of John Wycliffe. This style of bilingual poem is similar to the macaronic poem;¹⁹ examples of Welsh and English poems had existed in Wales from perhaps prior to the fifteenth century.²⁰ By referring to Christ in Welsh, Llwyd is also grouping the Welsh with these persecuted peoples, perhaps particularly the Welsh Puritans. The poem begins with the following mysterious and vague epigram:

A spring in spring
 Poore birds now sing
 Our head is high
 Our sumer nigh.

¹⁹ For more information, see Elizabeth Archibald, ‘Macaronic Poetry’, *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. by Corinne Saunders (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010), pp. 277-89.

²⁰ Simon Meecham-Jones, ‘Welsh Writing in English’, *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. by Sian Echard, and others (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), vol. 4, pp. 1900-2.

It is only when reading this epigram in combination with the following section, 'The Excuse', that it makes sense. Llwyd explains that he 'must sing of Christ my king, and / sessions of that man / for such a summer was not seene not since / the world began' (l. 9-12). This links back to the epigram in that he is prophesying the return of Christ, which would chime with the Fifth Monarchism to which Llwyd subscribed when he wrote these poems. However, the following stanza gives an alternative view, 'All English swans that are alive and Scottish / cuckowes sing / and some Welsh swallowes chirpe and chime / to welcome pleasant spring' (l. 13-16). Llwyd's use of bird imagery, a common trope in his works, such as in *Llyfr y Tri Aderyn*, is quite revealing of where his spiritual allegiances lie. The 'swans' and 'cuckowes' are used to describe the English and the Scottish are considered in the Old Testament as 'an abomination: [...] and the cuckow, [...] and the swan' (Lev. 11:13-19).²¹ On the other hand, the 'swallowes' used to describe the Welsh are symbols of freedom because they will die in captivity. Thus, Llwyd's comparison of swallows to the Welsh in 'The Excuse' fits with the Welsh myth of election which considered 'the community as the lost tribes of Israel [...] whose original form of Christianity had been transplanted to ancient Britain by Joseph of Aramathea.'²² This reveals that he also envisaged his people as being lulled and tricked by previous religious institutions. Like the biblical swallows, a Puritan spiritual reawakening is required in order to recover what was lost and realise the time of their coming.

This idea echoes throughout the remainder of the poem. In the subsection entitled 'The Winter', Llwyd presents the reader with a Catholic world, where 'great Beelzebub and Pope / his son and foole / made christendome their slaughterhouse' (l. 1-3). Llwyd ventures beyond Britain to describe how the rest of Europe had fallen under the spell of Catholicism:

These nations drunke ye health of Rome,

²¹ *The Holy Bible, King James Version* (New York: Oxford Edition, 1769) *King James Bible Online*, 2008. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/> [accessed 12 March 2017].

²² Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of a Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 136-7.

long till their wits were drownd
 & then a cup of their owne bloode must
 passe the table round

O Paris, Rockel & french saints, O frelands
 sobbings deep
 Pale Germany that lost her blood & now
 doth Brittain weepe.

Llwyd shows how Catholicism threatened British life through depictions of harsh weather and oppressive imagery, ‘our british climate was so cold, soules frozen / were to death’ (l. 25-6) and ‘The nonconformists mouths were stopt, the / Puritans opprest’ (l. 37-8). However, in the final stanza of this subsection, he urges spring to arrive, joining in with the choruses of the Welsh swallows in ‘The Excuse’:

The Just Judge sent us blessed newes by
 Peter Paul and John
 that winter shall not always last, now pleasant
 spring come on.

Llwyd here portrays the Welsh as a spiritually enlightened people who, like the biblical swallows that are aware of when they need to migrate, know when their own time of reawakening is coming. For Llwyd, this is in ‘The Spring’ (a season symbolic of rebirth and renewal), when Catholicism is weakening: ‘Rome (that witch) doth quake / the nations are on potters wheelles / the ancient thrones do shake’ (l. 10-12), Life is allowed to return to a purer spiritual state free from the Pope: ‘The signes in heaven before that day / have well nigh all beene seene / with signes on earth, the figtree sprouts / his branch and leaves are greene’ (l.

17-20). However, Llwyd's poem takes on a more prophetic and Fifth-Monarchist tone, as he compels Jesus to bring in the summer:

But one houre before day is darke
that great Ecclypse is neare
one fierce and farewell storm & then
the evening will bee cleare.

[...]

O glorious Lambe, thou king of saincts
wee praise and worship thee
that gave us leave to live in spring
lord let us summer see.

Following on from this, 'The Summer' lays ruin to Europe, fulfilling his two prophetic objects through an apocalypse. Firstly, he calls for his followers to 'sing' as 'divisions ring / and subdivisions spring, / Errours and heresy'es abound' (l. 1-4), signalling his belief that true Christianity has been lost among all the 'divisions' and 'subdivisions'. Indeed, Llwyd makes it clear that his beliefs are among those that are true:

In our Gamaliels schoole there are
and will bee many forms
and divers branches on one root
that clash in time of storms

In pronunciation of our tongue
some stammer lispe or tone
though sibboleth may cost us deare

in Christ wee are all one.

From here, he explains how in Christ's army are the Presbyterians, Judah, Israel, etc. (l. 49-56) while Satan 'getts of all these sects / the parings and the pelfe' (l. 59-60). It is in this subsection that Llwyd's Fifth-Monarchist and Millenarian beliefs are most obvious. He relates Christ's second coming in parliamentary terms, 'A sixe day session but one court / A seven years Parliament / A thousand years but as one day / A day most strangely spent' (l. 101-4), when Christ judges all beginning with the Pope and ending with Magog (l. 95-6).

This spiritual judgment is concluded with the devastation of much of the world besides Wales, from 'mount seir and Sinai tall / and mount Moriah with the Alpes / seven hills shall shortly fall' (l. 109-12). However, Europe takes the brunt of the damage, with Rome and other Catholic countries the focal point: 'O spayne pull downe thy straw thatch house / or fire convay to Rome' (l. 115-6), 'thou Italian gouted leg / be cur-d or cut away' (l. 119-20), 'Now learneth france the english daunce' (l. 121), and 'Ireland looks like a fallowground / thou must be plow-d againe / thou shalt have physic that will kill / thy worms that do thee paine' (l. 125-8). However, the rest of the British Isles are also affected by this ruination to varying degrees, Llwyd claims that Scotland 'Philadelphia wert / now misadelphia prove', playing with the etymological roots of 'Philadelphia', a city in the Book of Revelation, meaning 'brotherly love', and corrupting it into a 'brotherly hatred' with 'mis'. Furthermore, Llwyd refers to Scotland as 'not Naomi but Marah sowre', thus exhibiting this transformation in biblical terms. Having said that, England also does not escape untouched in Llwyd's prophecy as he calls for the levelling of London so Christ can take the throne (l. 137-8). Wales, on the other hand, does escape destruction:

O Wales, poore Rachel, thou shalt beare
sad Hannah now rejoice
The last is first, the summer comes

to hear the turtles voice.

In using the names of Rachel and Hannah, two biblical women who struggle to conceive until they pray to God for respite, Llwyd gives the impression of prophesying Wales' return to a spiritual apogee as a result of the apocalypse. Wales, after all, is the nation that sings for Christ's return, thus freeing themselves from the spiritual barrenness that had plagued them. Also supporting this is the way in which Llwyd unifies his followers regardless of the language they speak: 'though sibboleth may cost us deare / in Christ wee are all one', thus showing how – in the case of Wales – everyone is united spiritually. This harkens back to the idea that the Welsh lost their spiritual pedigree only through outside influence, such as the Romans, Normans and English.

The final section of this poem, 'The Harvest', contemplates what would happen if his warnings about the summer were not heeded, 'Christs coming, and end of the world / are two distinctive times / This busy harvest makes short worke / with doctrines, tares and crimes' (l. 5-8). Llwyd explains that Christ is to summer as the Pope was to winter, but during the harvest God reigns supreme, he will receive 'angels Christ and saincts into himself' (l. 23-4), leaving the rest to continue on in the seasonal cycle back to the winter of Beelzebub and the Pope. This last section serves as a Millenarian call to arms as Llwyd urges 'yee saincts' to 'Advance and charge' (l. 28), but it could also be interpreted as appealing to the Welsh as a bardic people to 'sing in this thy spring / of Christ thy king and mine' (l. 35-6).

Llwyd frequently puts his homeland before England in his poems. This is observed in the following epigram, "1650" (p. 36):

In soule, in family, & Wales and England peace
shall bee
therefore my little daughter now is called Peace
by mee.

This epigram is a commentary on the events of 1650, and possibly refers to Oliver Cromwell's victory over the Scottish at the Battle of Dunbar.²³ However, Llwyd is prioritising Wales over England in his declaration of peace, thus going explicitly against centuries of the colonial assimilation of Wales into England completed by Acts of Union of 1535 and 1542, and visualised by maps like John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (1611-12). He took this idea even further by not acknowledging Wales and instead referring to it as simply part of the 'Kingdome of England'.²⁴

A similar theme is hinted at in "Awake, O Lord, Awake thy Saints" (pp. 79-80), written in 1652 possibly as a result of the Anglo-Dutch War. Llwyd transforms this war over trade and merchants into a spiritual conflict by invoking Christ and compelling him to awaken his 'saints' and 'use them now against thy foes' (l. 3). It is in the second stanza that Llwyd separates Wales from England referring to them both as 'nations':

Lett Wales & England rowzed bee,
O churches, sleep no more
And bee not drunke with wealth or wrath
Hearke how the nations roare.

Once again, Llwyd places Wales before England thus showing the Welsh spiritual pedigree. While this could be seen as simply an attempt to convert the Welsh to Puritanism as he was hired by Cromwell to, Lloyd Bowen has demonstrated that Llwyd was perhaps genuine in these sentiments, describing how he 'felt that the Welsh were among God's chosen people; their history had marked them as particularly favoured in the unfolding of the Lord's design on earth [...] the conviction that the Welsh would have an important role to play in achieving

²³ Austin Woolrych, *Britain in Revolution: 1625-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 486-7.

²⁴ Christopher Ivic, "'bastard Normans, Norman bastards': Anomalous Identities in *The Life of Henry the Fifth*, *Shakespeare and Wales*, ed. by Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2010), pp. 75-90 (p. 75).

the New Jerusalem which would rise from the corruption of the Caroline Church'.²⁵ As well as this, Llwyd is calling for the churches to 'sleep no more / and bee not drunke with wealth of wrath', possibly referring to the Dutch Anabaptists and their penchant for acquiring wealth, as was hotly satirised in plays such as Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610) and *Bartholomew Fayre* (1614). Finally, he establishes how, despite their union, Wales and England are separate 'nations'.

The poem "An Invitation to Differing Brethren" (pp. 7-8) could be interpreted as being addressed to both non-Puritans, specifically Fifth-Monarchists or Millenarians, or English-language Welsh people. Its subject is concerning welcoming people to the Millenarian cause, which 'No honest soules kept out / their presence wee desire' (l. 5-6), but could also be read as an invitation to non-Welsh speakers resulting from the poem being the first of thirty English-language poems among the collection of fifty-two and the second poem overall in Llwyd's text, following on from 'Cwynfan, Cyssur, Cryfder, y Ffyddloniad Ynghymru Ynghanol y Rhyfeloedd' (p. 3-6).²⁶ Indeed, 'Invitation to Differing Brethren' also refers to 'saints', 'With Christ our Lord we suppe / and every saint comes in' (l. 1-2). If one recalls that Morgan Llwyd was part of the group which was referred to as the 'Welsh Saints' – Puritans who were tasked by Cromwell to spread Puritanism throughout Wales – then it should be apparent that the purpose of this poem is to recruit non-Puritan and bilingual speakers of Wrexham, where Llwyd spent the majority of his preaching life, to their cause. However, while Llwyd and his allies were agents of Cromwell, it is apparent that Llwyd, at the very least, was persuing his own agendas in propagating the belief of the Welsh as being spiritually superior to the English.

²⁵ Lloyd Bowen, 'The Battle of Britain: History and the Reformation in Early Modern Wales', p. 149.

²⁶ Llwyd translates this as 'The Desolation, Lamentation and Resolution of the Welsh Saints in the Late Warrs'.

“An Appendix of the Letter Sent to the Differing Brethren” (p. 15), the sixth poem in the collection, follows the ideas raised in “An Invitation to Differing Brethren”. When reading this poem in connection with ‘Invitation’ Llwyd expands more on the spiritual aspect of ‘differing brethren’, demonstrating that he believed that it was his vocation to ‘exhort, rebuke, convince, / informe’ (l. 1-2). However, the poem also serves as a criticism of Protestant England and Wales:

Church government some idolize, some utterly
neglect,
and tread not in true paths of peace which all
should well affect.

Llwyd’s criticism of Church government follows his revisionist narrative of Welsh ethnic and spiritual history as one of the power structures that serve to distract the Welsh from their spiritual pedigree. Thus, by turning it into something which is idolised, Llwyd is transforming Church government into something sinful, while also chastising those who ‘neglect’ the Church completely, inferring that Puritanism is the ‘true path of peace’. This may perhaps be a harbinger for the Nonconformist wave that would sweep through Wales in the eighteenth century as a result of the way in which Llwyd is positing the idea that the established Anglican Church in Wales is not appropriate if the Welsh are to return to their spiritual heritage. Llwyd’s rhetoric reflects this attitude by urging the reader of this poem to only ‘observe plaine church comands’ (l. 23) and to remember that Christ must always be the focus, ‘the married lambe, that blessed God, must / bee our all in all’ (l. 27-8).

As is typical for Llwyd, the poem tends towards prophecy and the apocalyptic as it nears its conclusion, highlighting his ambitions for spiritual reform in Wales:

Two woes are past, the third begins, the judge

is now at hand
 the tides do turne, the nation reeles. stand
 now (yee faithful) stand.
 Fine webs are spun, backslidings great, strange
 Tryalls new are neare
 A masked Pope dispute in some, be warnd
 My brethren deare.

When read together, Llwyd's use of 'nation' in the initial stanza and 'brethren' in the latter stanza suggest that he is prophesying how further Protestant reforms will occur within Wales thanks to the efforts of his Welsh Puritans and other dissenters, thus reducing the power of the English Church. However, he is also warning how, in this power vacuum, Catholicism may become more attractive for some, thus undermining his efforts. As with the majority of his prophecies, Llwyd signs off with notions of unity founded in faith as follows: 'Lett us hold fast with hand & heart [...] Abide in love, and Christ will guide and / keepe us from extreame' (l. 41-4). Rather, he leaves it up to the reader to rise to the challenge of fulfilling the prophecy he has laid out: 'This I leave with you & you all in his / owne mighty hands / Ile write to you of this no more, if silence / hee commands.' (l. 45-8). This final stanza suggests the prophecy Llwyd is imparting is secret knowledge that comes direct from God and if one is to heed his words God will guide them in his 'owne mighty hands'. In transforming himself into a prophetic figure, Llwyd is demonstrating his belief in the Welsh as one of God's chosen people and it is thus their prerogative to, under his guidance, forge a new spiritual path separate from the Anglican and Catholic churches.

The same vision of Llwyd as a Christ-like figure appears in "A Song of my Beloved Concerning his Vineyard" (pp. 88-91). He echoes the Song of Songs and the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard (Matt. 20:1-16) by presenting a 'before and after' image of a

metaphorical vineyard in Wrexham owned by Christ. In this poem, he uses Wrexham as a microcosm for the rest of Wales, demonstrating how the area with which he is most familiar has been corrupted and transformed into a more hedonistic, secular place after external influence had brought about Wales' spiritual decline. In the short 'What they were' section of this poem Llwyd describes the fertility and perfection of this near-Eden (recalling Humphrey Llwyd's presentation of Denbighshire as I discussed in my first chapter) through divine imagery: 'With trueth they have beene oft made glad / The sun on them did shine' (l. 3-4), using the homophonous 'sun' to pun on the Christ, the Son of God. Furthermore, the second stanza recalls that 'full fifteene yeares they had showers / and dew from heaven sweet / There sprung up also many flowers / and saincts at Jesus' feet' (l. 5-8) thus explaining how the vineyard did not simply exist for the cultivation of red wine (l. 2), but also to raise a population of spiritual people, nourished by heavenly water. However, in the final stanza of this section Llwyd explains how 'the cuntryes feard them round about' (l. 9). This demonstrates how he was keen to proliferate his narrative of a spiritual Wales, where the purity of Christianity was something that other civilisations feared. Llwyd describes how 'In many shakings they stood stout / and oft with Christ did sup' (l. 11-12), in effect detailing how the Welsh stood their ground against external influence that sought to distract them from their spirituality.

However, according to Llwyd's narrative, Wales was corrupted; Wales was distracted by Catholicism, the Book of Common Prayer and other non-Welsh modes of Christianity. This is reflected in the section entitled 'What they are now', in which the vineyard has been neglected and no longer resembles Eden: 'But now the bryers are come up / and thorns and thistles tall / therefore with Christ they do not sup / in ordinances all' (l. 13-6). The stanzas that follow are a reflection on the moral state of Welsh society, where 'drunknesse and filth and pride of life / and coveteous oppression' (l. 17-8) have overcome spirituality. Llwyd

displays this loss of direction by likening the Welsh to a lost lamb: ‘Miscalling light and darknesse still / and wandring from their fold / a growing like the world in will / and in their sinning bold’ (l. 21-4). Here, he is implying that the loss of spirituality in Wales was a result of external influences, such as Catholicism and Anglicanism, as well as the Roman and English conquest. For Llwyd, this had given the Welsh an increased capacity to sin: ‘the boasting settled lofty mind / is root of their disunions’ (l. 29-30), allowing them to ‘follow every wind / of doctrines and opinions’ (l. 31-2).

However, to Llwyd this is very much still a reflection of his contemporary Welsh society – something that he has taken upon himself to change. He laments that, despite everything he has done, ‘[he] lookd for fruit [...] but found corruption hid’ (l. 35-6). In a peculiar twist for a man who is so steadfast in his beliefs and role in society, he prays for ‘mee and my vine’ – Wrexham – to be judged by Wales and England so that they can find out if he and his methods are at fault (l. 37-40). On the other hand, he is not unwilling to blame the people of Wrexham for their shortcomings, asking to ‘Enquire if they [...] in guilt be very deepe’ before listing what is at fault. They are ‘proud heady cruell hard to attone’, though Llwyd does absolve them of some fault by explaining that they are ‘yet very fast asleepe’, blaming their sinfulness more on the distraction from spirituality than something that is innately wrong with them (l. 41-4).

However, this absolution quickly turns to anger in the subsequent stanzas, where Llwyd asks ‘Where are the tears the sighs and groans / and hearts with sorrow paind / Honest confessions and bemoans / What? are they all restrained?’ (l. 49-52). Fitting with the rest of the poem, this anger is also linked to the lost state of Welsh spiritual purity instead of the sinful condition of society in Wrexham, ‘oh that my people had beene wise / and faithful to their God’ (l. 57-8). Following from this, Llwyd returns to self-chastisement, echoing the previous stanza, ‘oh that my people had given care / denying their stubborne will / I should

not have putt them in feare / I would have fed them still' (l. 61-4). Furthermore, the final line of that stanza is repeated once more, 'I would have fed them as a nurse / or mother feeds the child' (l. 65-6), demonstrating the amount of devotion he has towards the spiritual reawakening of his people. His anguish is quite obvious through the constant shift between blame and forgiveness. However, Llwyd ends the poem on a negative note, blaming both himself for his inadequacies and his people for their ignorance and apathy towards his efforts:

But the sum is they would not heare
 nor walke in white with mee
 unlesse some few that gave an eare
 the most would needs be free

I would they had beene free indeed
 upon a heavenly score
 Now pluckt up as the garden weed
 they wither more and more.

Their soules are dried up within
 for want of heavenly moisture
 Their love growes cold because of sin
 that works an inward torture. (l. 69-80)

Our often negative perceptions of Puritan figures, such as Morgan Llwyd and Cromwell, are a result of retrospective Whiggish constructions of history, where Cromwell and Puritanism 'so thoroughly integrated political radicalism and religious dissent that their attack on the crown had led inevitably to the subversion of the Established Church'.²⁷ This, alongside less than nuanced contemporary critiques of Puritanism, often conflating it with Presbyterianism

²⁷ Timothy Lang, *Victorians and the Stuart Heritage: Interpretations of a Discordant Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 2.

and other forms of Non-conformity where differences can be as minor as Church governance, has resulted in figures such as Morgan Llwyd to be reviled owing to perceived attacks on civil liberty and religious freedoms from Parliament. However, these final quatrains of “A Song of my Beloved Concerning his Vineyard” paints an altogether different perception of Llwyd. Instead of the stereotypical image of ‘hypocrisy and pompousness’ of Puritans from Jacobean drama,²⁸ we see a devoted leader and poet who has his community and their spiritual regeneration as one of his core reasons for preaching. Yet his community is clearly not particularly receptive to his ideals and thus, ‘But the sum is they would not heare / nor walke in white with mee’ (ll. 69-70).

Henry Vaughan and his Poetic Landscapes

One of Morgan Llwyd’s contemporaries and rivals was Henry Vaughan, a poet whom few critics, including Roland Mathias,²⁹ would include in a canon of early modern Welsh writers of English. Most set out the counter claim that Vaughan does have Welsh elements to his works; these critics include Belinda Humfrey, M. Wynn Thomas³⁰ and John Kerrigan.³¹ Both Thomas and Kerrigan have previously written about Vaughan and Morgan Llwyd. In her essay, ‘Prelude to the Twentieth Century’, Humfrey claims that Henry Vaughan is one of only two writers who can ‘be described conscientiously’ as Welsh writers in English.³² While her point that he is one of two – the other being the eighteenth century poet John Dyer – is a

²⁸ Margot Heinemann, *Puritanism and Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 73.

²⁹ Roland Mathias, ‘Address for the Henry Vaughan Service, 1977’, *A Ride through the Wood: Essays on Anglo-Welsh Literature* (Bridgend: Poetry of Wales Press, 1985), pp. 237-49.

³⁰ M. Wynn Thomas, *Corresponding Cultures: The Two Literatures of Wales* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 1999), pp. 7-44.

³¹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 195-219.

³² Belinda Humfrey, ‘Prelude to the Twentieth Century’, *A Guide to Welsh Literature: Welsh Writing in English*, ed. by M. Wynn Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), VII, (pp. 7-46), p. 7.

misconception based on a modern assumption of what it means to be a Welsh writer in English, Humfrey does provide some evidence of the neglected Welshness of Henry Vaughan, though, as I note in my introduction, more could be done in order to establish him as a Welsh writer. Humfrey identifies a sense of *hiraeth* in Vaughan's writing, suggesting that 'the longing for his 'love-sick heart' for union with God, is expressed within the poetry as a 'feeling that he can only move forward by moving backward to an early, unpolluted life: to unfallen pre-existence'.³³ While this evokes thoughts of original sin and predestination, it is also quite similar to Morgan Llwyd's own longing for an unattainable spiritual past in a by-gone pre-Roman Wales – perhaps Llwyd's own *hiraeth*. Despite these similarities, the two poets both experience *hiraeth* for different reasons. Llwyd wishes to regenerate the Welsh people by returning to a purer state of spiritual existence untainted by the Pope, bishops and other ecclesiastical figures, while Vaughan wants a return to spiritual stability in a time where his denomination, the Church of England, had been outlawed by Parliament.

Vaughan exhibits this in both his secular poetry found within *Olor Iscanus* and his religious poetry found in *Silex Scintillans*³⁴. *Olor Iscanus* contains Vaughan's poetry primarily about the people and geography of the then Brecknockshire. The first poem from this collection that will be considered is "To the River Isca" (pp. 39-41), an ode to the River Usk whose tributaries effectively feed the majority of the land in south-east Wales. Vaughan elevates the Usk by associating it with classical imagery, such as Daphne, Eurota and Orpheus, but also by associating it with other great rivers, such as the Tiber, the Thames and the Severn. However, it is the middle section of the poem that is most enticing, as it shows

³³ Ibid., p. 9.

³⁴ Henry Vaughan, *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, ed. by L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957). All references to Vaughan's poetry are taken from this text.

Vaughan's *hiraeth* – his longing to return to better times by imparting his poetic soul into the land:

When I am layd to rest hard by thy streams,
 And my Sun sets, where first it sprang in beams,
 I'll leave behind me such a large, kind light,
 As shall redeem thee from oblivious night. (ll. 27-30)

The purpose of this is to become a muse for a new era of Welsh bards, 'First, may all bards born after me / (When I am ashes) sing of thee!' (ll. 35-6). This shows how Vaughan was conscious of the uncertainty that the future held for his Brecknockshire during Cromwell's Commonwealth – the 'oblivious night' from which he wishes to redeem the Usk – and so has a longing for a return to a bardic tradition that had since been lost to Wales. Vaughan considers it is his duty to revitalise the land with his poetic essence – demonstrating how deep his connection with Brecknockshire is – by wishing to become one with its soil in death. It is in this way that, similar to how a cleric can create and consecrate the earth, Vaughan is able to prepare the earth for his own form of secular, poetic consecration:

Poets (like Angels) where they once appear
 Hallow the place, and each succeeding year
 Adds rev'rence to't, such as at length doth give
 This aged faith, That there their Genii live. (ll. 15-8)

Through Vaughan's devotion and connection to the Usk, he is seeking to become the progenitor and inspiration for the next generation of poets. Indeed, this middle section of the poem includes details on how Vaughan's consecration of the River Usk will turn it into a sanctuary so that the future Brecknockshire people will be able to enjoy it as he did in his youth:

May thy gentle Swains (like flowres)

Sweetly spend their Youthfull houres,
 And thy beauteous Nymphs (like doves)
 Be kind and faithfull to their Loves. (ll. 43-6)

However, Vaughan does not simply wish the Usk to become a place of beauty – as has been said before – he wishes it to be a place in which poets will be inspired to become bards, following in the long – but broken – Welsh tradition of prophecy: ‘May Vocall Groves grow there, and all / The shades in them Propheticall’ (ll. 39-40). Furthermore, in the following lines Vaughan demonstrates his wish for Brecknockshire to undergo such a transformation that it replaces the lands of classical antiquity that would otherwise be a poet’s inspiration: ‘Where (laid) men shall more faire truths see / Than fictions were of Thessalie’ (ll 41-2).

Other poems in *Olor Iscanus* are written about residents of Brecknockshire with whom Vaughan would have had contact. According to Humfrey, these poems range from comic satire on life in Brecon to elegies on contemporary events including to friends lost in the Civil War, and to local clergymen who had been expelled from their parishes due to the Puritan ‘Welsh Saints’ at the behest of Cromwell.³⁵ This is apparent in the poem “To my worthy friend Master T. Lewes” (p. 61) wherein Vaughan was writing to the expelled rector of Llanfigan, Thomas Lewes. The poem opens with Vaughan using winter as a metaphor for the wave of Puritanism that had been spreading through Brecknockshire and the rest of Wales as a result of the *Act for the Better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales* which Cromwell had enacted:

Sees not my friend, what a deep snow
 Candies our Countries woody brow?
 The yeelding branch his load scarce bears,
 Opprest with snow, and frozen tears,

³⁵ Ibid., p. 11.

While the dumb rivers slowly float,
 All bound up in an Icie Coat. (ll 1-6)

Similarly to the way in which Morgan Llwyd utilised winter as a metaphor for the Catholic domination of Europe, in “1648”, Vaughan used it to display how Puritanism had stifled spirituality in Wales. In this opening section of the poem, Vaughan personifies the country as a figure trapped in the frigid conditions of a Puritan winter. The weight of the snow on the ‘woody brow’ of Wales plays heavily on the spiritual consciousness of the land in the same way that the religious climate of Wales was jeopardised owing to the actions of the Puritan Saints. Continuing, the ‘yeelding branch’ could be perceived as referring to the struggles related to the expulsion of rectors from their parishes, where the ‘load’ of the congregation can no longer be sustained resulting in the loss of these clergymen. The transformation of Wales is complete in the latter half of the opening stanza, where the ‘frozen tears’ restrict the ability of the population to mourn the loss of their parishes. Indeed, in doing so, the flow of Anglicanism is silenced, thus turning each parish into ‘dumb rivers’ restricted by the ‘Icie Coat’ of Puritanism.

After this opening stance, Vaughan appeals to Thomas Lewes to return from spiritual exile, firm in the belief that the ‘wild Excentricks’ (l. 8) of Puritanism are unnatural and foreign to Wales, unlike Anglican beliefs that, according to Vaughan, are native to Wales: ‘Keep wee, like nature, the same Key, / And walk in our forefathers' way’ (ll. 9-10). This belief is carried through the remainder of the poem. Vaughan tells Lewes that there is little point in worrying about what the future holds, the ‘cares beyond our Horoscope’ (l. 14), as there are more pressing matters to attend to in the present. Indeed, Vaughan describes how the Puritans have closed Anglican churches after expelling their rectors:

Who into future times would peere,
 Looks oft beyond his terme set here,

And cannot go into those grounds
 But through a Church-yard which them bounds. (ll. 15-8)

With this, Vaughan is explaining that the Puritans, particularly the Millenarians and Fifth Monarchists, such as Morgan Llwyd, are too preoccupied with worrying about the future second coming and judgment to make use of the empty parishes, yet the only way to ensure that they manage to secure their future in the afterlife is to attend Church. However, Vaughan does not want to give in to his enemies, instructing Lewes to remain joyous during the troubling times in which the poem was written. Failing to do so would mean the Puritans have won, ‘who this age a Mourner goes, / Doth with his tears but feed his foes’ (ll. 23-4).

In his poem, “To his Retired Friend, an Invitation to Brecknock” (pp. 46-8), Vaughan is writing to an unknown correspondent, inquiring about their return to Brecknock in the aftermath of the Civil War. John Kerrigan explains how this poem is a ‘sweeping attack on the Anglo-puritan regime’ that took control of the town after the conclusion of the Civil War.³⁶ This is particularly evident through the nation-wide effort to replace Anglican clergy wholesale with Puritan preachers, as ‘the scheme was to select settled Puritan clergy assisted by itinerant preachers’.³⁷ However, by 1653, ‘278 Anglican clergy had been dispossessed of their livings’.³⁸ In the poem, this is evident in Vaughan’s tirade against the Puritan interlopers, where poetic form crumbles away, thus revealing his anger towards them in Brecknock:

Abominable face of things! here’s noise
 Of bang’d Mortars, blew Aprons, and Boyes,
 Pigs, Dogs, and Drums, with the hoarse, hellish notes
 Of politickly-deafe Uurers throats,

³⁶ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 197.

³⁷ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 133.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

With new fine Worships, and the old cast teame
 Of Justices vexed with the Cough, and flegme.
 Midst these the Crosse looks sad, and in the Shire-
 -Hall furs of an old Saxon fox appear,
 With brotherly Ruffs and Beards, and a strange sight
 Of high Monumentall hats, ta'ne at the fight
 Of Eighty eight; while ev'ry Burgesse foots
 The mortall Pavement in eternal boots. (ll. 15-26)

While it is not possible to know the precise identity of this 'retired friend' of Vaughan's, it is possible that he is referring to an expelled clergyman or perhaps a former Royalist patron who had been replaced by the 'old Saxon fox', perhaps referring to Eltonhead, the man who replaced Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, employer of Vaughan and Chief Justice of the Brecon Circuit.³⁹ Whoever it may be, Vaughan describes the Puritan takeover of the town as being without resistance and humiliating, similar to the sacking of Rome by Brennus:

The Town believes thee lost, and didst thou see
 But half her sufferings, now distrest for thee,
 Thou'ldst swear (like Rome) her foule, polluted walls
 Were sackt by Brennus, and the salvage Gauls. (ll. 11-14)

In the middle section of the poem, Vaughan moves away from his tirade against the Puritan occupation of Brecon, and on to lamenting the loss of his friend, making it appear as if the person has passed away rather than been expelled. Indeed, it is through this that Vaughan's *hiraeth* once again surfaces:

Why two months hence, if thou continue thus
 Thy memory will scarce remain with us,

³⁹ John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 197-8.

The Drawers have forgot thee, and exclaim
 They have not seen thee here since Charles his reign,
 Or if they mention thee, like some old man
 That at each word inserts—Sir, as I can
 Remember—so the Cyph'ers puzzle mee
 With a dark, cloudie character of thee.
 That (certs!) I fear thou wilt be lost, and wee
 Must ask the fathers e'r 't be long for thee. (ll. 45-54)

In this extract, Vaughan is showing his anxiety of losing the memory of this 'retired friend', the *hiraeth* being evident in Vaughan's wishes to return to the times when Charles I was on the throne, as it would also mean that his lost acquaintance would still be in Brecknockshire. While this does not give any indication as to whom Vaughan may be writing to, it is possible to interpret the 'retired friend' as a personification of Brecon itself. Vaughan makes use of physical landmarks of the town, such as the Shire-Hall and the Cross in the market square, he situates events temporally by referring to the Puritan takeover and the loss of Charles I as king, as well as showing how, in the final section of the poem, life in the town has changed for the worse. For example, since the friend's departure, it has been corrupted by moral impropriety:

Shall the dull Market-land-lord with his Rout
 Of sneaking Tenants durtily swill out
 This harmlesse liquor? shall they knock and beat
 For Sack, only to talk of Rye, and Wheat?
 O let not such prepost'rous tipling be
 In our Metropolis, may I ne'er see
 Such Tavern-sacrilege, nor lend a line
 To weep the Rapes and Tragedy of wine! (ll. 57-64)

This extract exhibits this by showing how the consumption of wine is being replaced by other drinks such as beer and whiskey by the ‘sneaking tenants’ – possibly referring to the Puritan incumbents – suggesting that the practice of Communion was being phased out in Brecon. However, it also suggests that alcoholic drinks that were becoming more prominent were also weaker, the ‘harmless liquor’ as he calls it, resulting in ‘tavern-sacrilege’, thus showing the effect that Puritanism had on both spiritual and secular life within Brecon as inns and taverns were regarded as ‘dens of iniquity’.⁴⁰

Vaughan once again uses wintery imagery to signify the way in which the town’s progress has been inhibited by Puritanism, ‘while the slow Isicle hangs / At the stiffe thatch, and Winter’s frosty pangs / Benumme the year’ (l. 73-5). Indeed, he still sees the town as being in a state of ‘noise and War’ (l. 76), driving his desire to convene with his friend in order to discuss the best way to tackle these problems – ‘Peace and mirth’ (l. 76) – the opposite of Civil War and Puritan ideology. It is through this that Vaughan asserts his and his friend’s moral superiority against the Puritan faction within Brecon:

This portion thou wert born for: why should wee
 Vex at the times ridiculous miserie?
 An age that thus hath fool’d it selfe, and will
 (Spite of thy teeth and mine) persist so still.
 Let’s sit then at this fire, and while wee steal
 A Revell in the Town, let others seal,
 Purchase or Cheat, and who can, let them pay,
 Till those black deeds bring on the darksome day. (ll. 77-84)

It is not uncommon during this period for writers, poets and dramatists to depict Puritans as immoral hypocrites solely focused on making money. This notion is satirised in *The*

⁴⁰ W. S. K. Thomas, *Stuart Wales: 1603-1714* (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1988), p. 191.

Alchemist and *Bartholomew Fayre* by Ben Jonson. Through this attack on Puritans, Vaughan is also placing himself within this tradition and, through his admission of ‘Revell in the town’, sets himself apart from the Puritans through demonstrating that he is able to find the means to find mirth in Brecon despite their attempts to quash such pleasures.

However, Vaughan did not publish *Olor Iscanus* himself, preferring to distance himself from his secular works as a result of his spiritual reawakening. Indeed, the publisher Thomas Powell, a clergymen from Cantref in Brecknockshire, explains in his foreword, “The Publisher to the Reader” (p. 36), that Vaughan had ‘long ago condemned these poems to obscurity’ and that, while Vaughan did not give his permission for the publication, Powell asserted that he had the law on his side, in effect politicising the publication:

I present thee then not onely with a Book, but with a Prey, and in this kind the first Recoveries from Corruption. Here is a Flame hath been sometimes extinguished: Thoughts that have been lost and forgot, but now they break out again like the Platonic Reminiscencie. I have not the Author’s Approbation to the Fact, but I have Law on my Side, though never a Sword. (p. 36)

It suggests that, up until the publication of *Olor Iscanus* in 1651, life in Brecon had been negatively impacted by Puritan values and that the people – or at least some members of it – were trying to remedy the situation through the dissemination of a differing ideology. Through publishing *Olor Iscanus*, Powell established the collection as a predator to hunt Puritan corruption. This is also evident in Vaughan’s poetry, which exudes a sense of *hiraeth* for the area. His dedications to anti-Puritan residents and elegies to those killed in the Civil War suggests that Puritanism did not sit comfortably in Brecknockshire or, perhaps, the rest of Wales as a whole.

Henry Vaughan is perhaps better known for his spiritual works, *Silex Scintillans I* and *II*. The poems contained there have traditionally been interpreted as, on the whole, metaphysical. However it is possible to read the ‘sacramental landscapes’, as Chris Fitter calls them,⁴¹ as being inspired by the landscapes of Vaughan’s beloved Brecknockshire as well as by the inner turmoil he suffered as a result of the Puritan values inflicted of the county. While some critics dismiss the Welshness of the landscapes of *Silex Scintillans*, arguing that ‘to hold out for the unique Welshness of Vaughan’s landscapes [...] is perhaps to have wandered too long in the blinding mists of the Brecon Beacons’,⁴² it is undeniable that Vaughan had a predilection in earlier works to describe his surroundings. Some poems, such as in “To the River Isca” and “Upon the Priory Grove, His Usual Retreat”, directly focus upon the perfection of the Welsh landscape. This lends the landscape an otherworldly presence. Belinda Humfrey explains that the ‘hills or mountains of the Usk valley are transformed frequently to the ‘eternal hills’ of the Holy Land’,⁴³ most notably in poems such as “Mount of Olives” (p. 476).

This is most evident through a comparison between “Mount of Olives” and “To the River Isca” in *Olor Iscanus*. The subject matter in both poems – a breathtakingly beautiful and serene terrain – is strikingly similar, almost as if he was reimagining the more secular of the two poems in light of his spiritual rebirth. In both poems Vaughan engages on themes of beauty and purity, using similar imagery to express related ideas. Rather than placing the river and its valleys in the domain of classical tradition, he elevates it to that of Christendom by rendering it as the Mount of Olives – the Jewish necropolis and the site where Jesus ascended to heaven – in Jerusalem. Therefore, it is somewhat fitting that he would depict the

⁴¹ Chris Fitter, ‘Henry Vaughan’s Landscapes of Military Occupation’, *Essays in Criticism*, 42.2 (1992), pp. 123-47 (p. 123).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴³ ‘Prelude to the Twentieth Century’, p. 12.

Usk valley – that place in which he wishes to be interred upon his death, ‘When I am laid to rest hard by thy streams’ – as a biblical burial site.

The similarities between the two poems also extend into the language used to describe both landscapes. In “To the River Isca”, Vaughan uses fantastical imagery inspired by Classical mythology to explain the beauty of the valley, whereas in “Mount of Olives” this beauty is an act of God. In each example, Vaughan describes the topology of his chosen landscape, using similar imagery and, in both cases, the resulting emotion that the poet feels is alike:

Thus poets (like the Nymphs, their pleasing themes)
 Haunted the bubbling Springs and gliding streams,
 And happy banks! whence such fair flowres have sprung,
 But happier those where they have sate and sung!

(To the River Isca, l. 11-14)

When first I saw true beauty, and thy Joys
 Active as light, and calm without all noise
 Shin’d on my soul, I felt through all my powr’s
 Such a rich air of sweets, as Evening shows
 Fand by a gentle gale Convey and breath
 On some parch’d bank, crown’d with a flowrie wreath;
 Odors and Myrrh, and balm in one rich floud
 O’r-ran my heart, and spirited my bloud

(Mount of Olives, l. 1-8)

Vaughan’s descriptions of rivers and their flowery banks in these two extracts are strikingly similar, the “Mount of Olives” offering up a more truncated summary of the landscape that Vaughan offers in “To the River Isca”. For example, later on in the poem Vaughan refers to

the scents and radiance of the Usk valley, ‘Hence th’ Auncients say, That, from this sickly aire / They passe to Regions more refin’d and faire’ (l. 19-20), where the strong odours from the flowers mirrors the pungency of the myrrh in “Mount of Olives”. Moreover, Vaughan’s metaphorical light is not extinguished upon his death, ‘When I am layd to rest hard by thy streams, / And my Sun sets, where first it sprang in beams, / I’le leave behind me such a large, kind light’ (l. 27-9), but rather serves to amplify the existing light in order to inspire future generations of poets, as the light from God did for him in “Mount of Olives”.

Another factor that serves to link “Mount of Olives” to his secular poetry is the recurring theme of winter. In this poem, Vaughan describes to us the occlusion he feels spiritually through the use of tumultuous weather:

And where before I did no safe Course steer
 But wander’d under tempests all the year,
 Went bleak and bare in body as in mind,
 And was blow’n through by ev’ry storm and wind,
 I am so warm’d now by this glance on me,
 That, midst all storms I feel a Ray of thee (l. 11-16)

Through his divine inspiration, the ‘Ray’ of God that penetrated through the tempestuous storms, Vaughan feels that he is emerging from winter into spring, ‘And in the depth and dead of winter bring / To my Cold thoughts a lively sense of spring’ (l. 19-20). As with his secular poetry found in *Olor Iscanus*, this ‘winter’ can also be interpreted to be the Puritan occupation of Brecknockshire. This is particularly reminiscent of “To his Retired Friend, an Invitation to Brecknock”, in which Vaughan explains that ‘Winter’s frosty pangs / Benumme the year’ (l. 75-6), and in “To my Worthy Friend, Master T. Lewes” where Vaughan describes how Brecknock had been ‘Opprest with snow, and frozen tears; [...] All bound up in an Icie Coat’ (l. 4-6), as has already been demonstrated earlier. However, in this case

Vaughan uses his newly found faith as a means to escape the ‘winter’ affecting Brecknockshire. It is in this case that “Mount of Olives” is equating Vaughan’s Brecknockshire with the biblical Mount of Olives wherein Jesus ascended to heaven (Acts 1:9-12). The significance of this is that, while his metaphysical poetry seems to be separate from his secular poetry, it is still informed by the political and natural geography surrounding him and, in this particular case, his wish for his own local Mount of Olives to serve as a beacon of spiritual resurrection for himself and Wales – a change in season from the dark nights of Puritan winter to a rebirth of the Brecknock for which he grieves.

Indeed, it is important to note that, during the time Vaughan was writing *Silex Scintillans*, he was styling himself as ‘Silurist’, i.e. one of the ancient, warlike Silures tribe from what is now south-east Wales and had been subjugated by the Romans. The implication of this is that, like in Vaughan’s Brecknockshire and the very southern edge of modern day Powys, the Silures, as Alan Rudrum explains, ‘were defeated nevertheless by the Romans, as predominantly Royalist South Wales had been defeated by the Parliamentarians’.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Vaughan’s adoption of a ‘Silurist’ identity appears to coincide with the rejection of his gentlemanly, more Royalist persona in *Olor Iscanus*. This, according to Rudrum, demonstrates Vaughan’s ‘sense of what could be hope for from those [Anglican and Royalist] loyalties was utterly changed’, and rather than poetry being a means of presenting what claims one can make on the world and what it offers in return, he had returned to ‘that function it had of old among the Welsh, of asserting undefeatedness in the midst of defeat’.⁴⁵

It is improbable that Vaughan’s religious reflections in *Silex Scintillans* are devoid of any political or local commentary, therefore his rejection of the secular in *Olor Iscanus* is a

⁴⁴ Alan Rudrum, ‘Paradoxical Persona: Henry Vaughan’s Self-Fashioning’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 62.3 (1999), pp. 351-67 (p. 357).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

result of a conversion to a more mystical philosophy. With that in mind, it is possible to read the poetry of *Silex Scintillans* in a different light. Indeed, “The British Church” (p. 410) is one such poem. Here, Vaughan is reacting to the news that the King had fled to Scotland, leaving behind the Puritans, who would ‘their mists and shadows hatch’ (l. 2). Thus, the abandoned Royalist soldiers were left to their own devices, ‘The soldiers here / Cast in their lots again’ (l. 5-6). Vaughan appears to be looking on the hills of the Usk valley, substituting them with a heavenly, biblical landscape ‘My glorious head / Doth on those hills of myrrh and incense watch’ (l. 3-4), as he prays for a divine resolution to the Civil War:

O get thee wings!
 Or if as yet (until these clouds depart,
 And the day springs),
 Thou think'st it good to tarry where Thou art,
 Write in Thy books,
 My ravished looks,
 Slain flock, and pillaged fleeces;
 And haste Thee so
 As a young roe
 Upon the mounts of spices. (l.11-20)

By referring to the Anglican Church as the ‘British’ Church in the title of this poem, Vaughan is perhaps doing one of two possible things. He could, firstly, be using it as a means to unite the archipelago under one faith and monarch (King Charles I being both the King of the kingdoms of Britain and the head of the Anglican Church). In this way, Vaughan is demonstrating how the King’s retreat has caused the Royalists – both in a military and spiritual sense – to lose the war, as indicated by the ‘slain flock, and pillaged fleeces’ of those loyal to the King. The clear frustration that Vaughan is showing as he pleads to God not to delay.

On the other hand, he may also be interpreting his faith, like his identity, to be intrinsically linked to his local landscape. In this interpretation, similar to the way Vaughan identifies as a ‘Silurist’, he is styling his Anglicanism as ‘British’, because of the influence Brecknockshire and the Usk valley have on his faith. This second interpretation fits in well with Rudrum’s interpretation of Vaughan’s persona in *Silex Scintillans* as being more focused on local – ‘Silurist’, Welsh and Brecon – concerns than those happening further afield on battlefields, and his more extreme Royalist views in *Olor Iscanus*. Having said that, despite his admission that he ‘meddle not with the seditious and schismatical’,⁴⁶ it does, after all, seem to be a major theme in his poetry, even if it is concealed. These veiled criticisms of the Commonwealth and puritanism can be found scattered across both volumes of *Silex Scintillans*.

In “Dressing” (pp. 455-6), Vaughan considers the ‘pure and whitened soul’ (l. 1) and how he believes himself to be lacking spiritually. In appealing to God to ‘Open my desolate rooms’ and ‘with Thy clear fire refine, burning to dust / These dark confusions that within me nest’ (l. 5-7), Vaughan is pleading to God for enlightenment. Furthermore, his dissatisfaction is so fierce that he calls for God to ‘Give to Thy wretched one / Thy mystical communion [...] that in the end / He may take Thee, as Thou dost him intend’ (l. 13-8) in a somewhat aggressive conversion from Puritan ideology to Anglicism through enforced Communion, one aspect that Puritans widely viewed to be a vestige of Catholicism. His perceived moral superiority over Puritans is emphasised in him wishing pity and love upon the Puritans, ‘Love that shall not admit / Anger for one short fit / And pity of such a divine extent, / That may Thy members, more than mine, resent.’ (l. 27-30). With this, Vaughan is implying that Puritans have been deceived by the Jacobean reformation and deserve to be pitied and loved in order to bring them back to God. In the penultimate stanza, Vaughan’s focus shifts from

⁴⁶ Henry Vaughan, ‘Author’s Preface’, *Silex Scintillans*, p. 5.

the unnamed, 'wretched' Puritan back to himself, as he prays for his own redemption and, in doing so, demonstrates the effect that Puritanism has had on life in his contemporary Brecknockshire,

Give me, my God! Thy grace,
The beams and brightness of Thy face;
That never like a beast
I take Thy sacred feast,
Or the dread mysteries of Thy blessed blood
Use with like custom as my kitchen food. (l. 31-6)

Vaughan is lamenting society's misuse of God's 'sacred feast' – the bread and the wine – can now no longer transubstantiated because of the disestablishment of the Anglican Church and prays that he should never surrender to such heinous acts. There are some parallels here with Morgan Llwyd's poem "A song of my beloved concerning his vineyard". Both poets, despite their opposing ideologies, are sorrowful towards the spiritual state of their respective regions.

In "The World" (pp 466-7), in a manner similar to Llwyd's poem "1648", Vaughan takes on a more prophetic persona, as he shows how the new political paradigm has affected the world around him. Vaughan's expansive vision of reality begins all encompassing, and almost God-like in its omnipresence: 'I saw Eternity the other night, / Like a great ring of pure and endless light, / All calm, as it was bright' (l. 1-3). In the first stanza, Vaughan describes the 'doting lover' (l. 8), devoted only to 'the silly snares of pleasure' (l. 12), rather than to the pursuit of God. This figure is criticised for his superficiality who, 'in his quaintest strain / Did there complain' (l. 8-9), surrounded by the secular trappings of poets and bards:

Near him, his lute, his fancy, and his flights,
(Wit's sour delights,)
With gloves, and knots the silly snares of pleasure,

(Yet his dear treasure,
 All scattered lay, while he his eyes did pour
 Upon a flower. (l. 10-5)

This image of the doting lover serves as a contrast between the metaphysical visionary that Vaughan had become as a result of his religious conversion and the insular bard that he used to be in his earlier works such like *Olor Iscanus*.

Having said that, Vaughan uses his new identity as a visionary or prophet to once again demonstrate his reservations about the current centres of power. In the second stanza he considers the 'darksome statesman' (l. 16), an allusion to evangelical Welsh Puritan, Thomas Harrison, an instrumental figure in 'subduing Welsh royalism',⁴⁷ or perhaps Oliver Cromwell himself. Vaughan describes this figure with language associated with oppression and ignorance, 'Like a thick midnight-fog, moved there so slow, / He did nor stay, nor go; Condemning thoughts, like sad eclipses' (l. 17-9). This stanza reveals Vaughan's capacity for the apocalyptic, describing how the 'darksome statesman' was the cause of the disestablishment of the Anglican Church: 'Churches and altars fed him; perjuries / Were gnats and flies; / It rained about him blood and tears; but he / Drank them as free.' (l. 27-30). This person's act of desecration (the feeding off of holy buildings, their betrayals of trust and the general death and destruction that occurs around him) lends some credence to the idea that Vaughan is condemning the 'darksome statesman' for their actions. It is clear from this poem that the aftershocks of the Civil War and Cromwell's religious policy were deeply felt in Wales.

⁴⁷ Ian J. Gentles, 'Harrison, Thomas (bap. 1616, d. 1660)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12448> [accessed 5 Aug. 2017].

The third stanza depicts a ‘fearful miser’ (l. 31) surrounded by such accumulations of wealth that he fears he may be a target of theft. In this case Vaughan is criticising the greed of those in power, perhaps Puritans as other contemporary Royalist writers, particularly playwrights, were wont to do at the time.⁴⁸ Vaughan’s criticism of the un-Godly leads to him denouncing wealth as ‘a heap of rust’ (l. 31), that which leads others into distrust, ‘but lives / In fear of thieves’ (l. 34-5) and falsely worshipping wealth as if it were God, ‘The downright epicure placed Heaven in sense, / And scorned pretence’ (l. 38-9).

This latter extract also gives some weight to the idea that Vaughan is offering a critique of Puritan ideology. According to this passage, Puritans had become so obsessed with wealth, equating it to an outward sign of Godliness because of the way in which they saw high productivity as an act of worship. Paul Seaver alleges that one possibility for this is that they ‘perceived no contradiction between the values preached and their business practices, because what was in fact preached was supportive of, rather than at variance with, their way of life’.⁴⁹

Vaughan continues with his accusations against Puritans: ‘While others, slipped into a wide excess, / Said little less; / The weaker sort slight, trivial wares enslave’ (l. 40-2). To Vaughan, this wanton, monetary lust is endemic in the world. He perceives it as if they are enslaved by materialism. Indeed, in the final stanza Vaughan tells of this ‘madness’ (l. 56) among the general populace:

“O fools,” said I, “thus to prefer dark night
 Before true light!
 To live in grotts and caves, and hate the day
 Because it shows the way;
 The way, which from this dead and dark abode

⁴⁸ These writers include Thomas Middleton, Ben Jonson and Aphra Behn.

⁴⁹ Paul Seaver, ‘The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited’, *Journal of British Studies*, 19.2 (1980), 35-53 (p. 38).

Leads up to God;
 A way where you might tread the sun, and be
 More bright than he!" (l. 49-55)

In this, Vaughan is returning to his metaphysical identity, hoping that he can save people from 'this dead and dark abode' of the Puritan Reformation so that they may be 'more bright than he'. On initial reading, it may appear that he argues that man is able to transcend God, but the lack of a reverential capitalisation points to someone else entirely, perhaps most notably the 'darksome statesman' Oliver Cromwell in the second stanza.

It is unsurprising that, as Alexander C. Judson explains, Vaughan 'hated war and the shedding of blood and the confusion and turmoil of the time',⁵⁰ leading him to reflect on his times with frustration, criticising and denouncing those who, as a Royalist, Welshman, 'Silurist', and Anglican clergyman and mystic, were anathema to him. As a result, Vaughan instead sought to turn his back on society by returning to Brecon in a self-imposed exile.⁵¹ He discusses this decision in two poems, "The Retreat" (pp. 419-20) and "The Tempest" (p. 460-2), demonstrating his strong feelings of *hiraeth* for the region and his disdain for contemporary life.

In "The Retreat", Vaughan's *hiraeth* towards childhood innocence is immediately noticeable from the outset: 'Happy those early days, when I / Shined in my Angel-infancy!' (l. 1-2). Comparing his outlook on life before and after his religious conversion, he continues:

Before I understood this place
 Appointed for my second race,
 Or taught my soul to fancy aught

⁵⁰ Alexander C. Judson, 'Vaughan as a Nature Poet', *PMLA*, 42.1 (1927), pp. 146-56 (p. 154)

⁵¹ Helen Wilcox, 'Selves in Strange Lands: Autobiography and Exile in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', *Early Modern Autobiography: Theories, Genres, Practices*, ed. by Ronald Bedford, Lloyd Davis and Philippa Kelly (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), pp. 131-59 (p. 138).

But a white, celestial thought; (l. 3-6)

Now, after his ‘second race’, the religious conversion, Vaughan is perceiving his Brecon Beacons in a different light. In it he catches a ‘glimpse of His bright face’ (l. 10), thus showing how invested he is in this place as both a spiritual retreat – as a result of the connection he has made between the valley and God – and as a sanctuary from the troubling times. Indeed, his connection with this landscape as a place of, if not aesthetic, but spiritual beauty is reflected through the way in which he is able to lose himself in contemplation: ‘When on some gilded cloud, or flower / My gazing soul would dwell an hour, / And in those weaker glories spy / Some shadows of Eternity’ (l. 11-4). However, in the second stanza what may have simply been some form of happy nostalgia, ‘O how I long to travel back / And tread again that ancient track!’ (l. 21-2) is transformed into *hiraeth*, the more depressive longing for an unattainable past: ‘But ah! My soul with too much stay / Is drunk, and staggers in the way! / Some men a forward motion love, / But I by backward steps would move’ (l. 27-30). It can be inferred from this that Vaughan feels that his soul has become too complacent and has been overcome with by the confusion and turmoil of his times. Therefore, he is unable to find his way back through the mists of time, to a time where he was at one with nature, God and himself in Brecon. Finally, Vaughan concludes that only through death will he be able to return, ‘when this dust falls to the urn’ (l. 31), as in “To the River Isca”, in which he pledges to be interred within its banks.

On the other hand, “The Tempest” deals more with Vaughan’s frustrations about the political upheaval of the time, demonstrating *hiraeth* once more through his indignation towards change, as in his opening stanza:

How is man parcelled out! How every hour
Shows him himself, or something he should see!
This late, long heat may his instruction be;

And tempests have more in them than a shower. (l. 1-4)

Here he highlights firstly a sense of segregation from his community as a result of the change in political status quo, and secondly how he feels that these changes force him to meditate on his own spirituality. He also has revelations about his external reality. For Vaughan, now a follower of Hermeticism, a philosophy based on the mystical writings of Hermes Trismegistus 'regarded as as containing profound truths of a religious nature',⁵² the natural world is of utmost importance, as it allows him to foster a greater connection with God. The tempests that 'have more in them than a shower' (l. 4) most likely refer to what Vaughan feels to be the declining morality of mankind. Indeed, he combines a personification of Nature with this moral deterioration through exhibiting her pains:

When Nature on her bosom saw
 Her infants die,
 And all her flowers withered to straw,
 Her breasts grown dry;
 She made the Earth, their nurse and tomb,
 Sigh to the sky,
 Till to those sighs, fetched from her womb,
 Rain did reply;
 So in the midst of all her fears
 And faint requests,
 Her earnest sighs procured her tears
 And filled her breasts. (l. 5-16)

The idea that a tempest has morally regenerative properties is seen in the Old Testament in the story of Noah, but here, somewhat oddly considering the nature of *Silex Scintillans*, it is

⁵² Wilson O. Clough, 'Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy', *PMLA*, 48 (1933) 1108-1130 (p. 1108).

the more secular figure of Nature – driven to despair by the actions of humanity – that brings on the downpour. Vaughan's turmoil and frustration about the external reality from which he so wishes to retreat is manifested through the tempest. Continuing, Vaughan wishes to present the error of mankind's ways by exhibiting God through nature – specifically the four classical elements of earth, air, water and fire – in an attempt to convert Puritans to Hermeticism: 'Mighty Love, foreseeing the descent / Of this poor creature, by a gracious art / Hid in these low things snares to gain his heart, / And laid surprises in each element' (l. 21-4).

Vaughan's presentation of these elements demonstrates that it is plausible to see Brecon and the Usk Valley reflected in them through his use of verticality as a means to help bridge the gap between Heaven and Earth, 'All things here show him Heaven; waters that fall, / Chide and fly up [...] trees, herbs, flowers, all / Strive upwards still, and point him the way home' (l. 25-8). Vaughan explains how mankind is most connected to earth, 'only earth / and man, like Issachar, in loads delight' (l. 29-30) out of all these elements, unlike 'Water's refined motion, air to light, / Fire to all three, but man hath no such mirth' (l. 31-32). To Vaughan, this limitation is not expressed in nature, giving the example of a flower whose roots 'with earth do most comply' (l. 33), leaves with 'water and humidity' (l. 34), flowers which 'to air draw near and subtlety' (l. 35) and, finally, the seeds which 'a kindred fire have with the sky' (l. 36). With this, he is arguing that humanity's deficiency in harnessing the elements is keeping them from truly being able to reach God, particularly through the way in which they 'Sleep[s] at the ladder's foot' (l. 39).

Vaughan's commentary on the human condition of his contemporaries is exhibited through the way in which he perceives humanity as 'grovelling in the shade and darkness' (l. 40). The lowliness of this image of mankind demonstrates that valleys and mountains, such as Vaughan's Usk valley, simultaneously cast deep shade despite the peaks allowing Vaughan

to be closer to God. He relates the shadows of the valley to mankind's inability to escape the trappings of urban life:

Yet hugs he still his dirt; the stuff he wears,
And painted trimming, takes down both his eyes;
Heaven hath less beauty than the dust he spies,
And money better music than the spheres. (l. 44-7)

Once again, Vaughan uses the earthly 'dirt' to describe money. In doing so, he directs his criticisms towards that section of society that he, and other Royalist or Cavalier contemporaries, felt were obsessed with capitalist enterprise – the Puritans. Material wealth diverts the gaze of these people from God downwards, as in 'takes down both his eyes' (l. 45). Indeed, Vaughan places importance on the role of verticality as a measurement of closeness to God. Furthermore, these greed-driven Puritans are not only blinded by money from God, but also deafened by it, 'money better music than the spheres' (l. 47), thus showing the extent of the dangers of urban life.

In the final stanzas of this poem, Vaughan's turmoil plateaus, as he laments the condition of a person who has forsaken everything Vaughan considers important: 'Must he nor sip, nor sing? Grows ne'er a flower / To crown his temples? Shall dreams be his law?' (l. 50-1). The flower Vaughan depicted earlier in the poem as a symbol of the pinnacle of closeness to God is nowhere to be found here. This, combined with the lack of what could perhaps be referring to wine – the blood of Christ – and songs of praise in the previous line, appears to have resulted in a culture devoid of true faith. In the penultimate stanza Vaughan completes his dissection of this figure motivated by greed:

O foolish man! How has thou lost thy sight?
How is it that the sun to thee alone
Is grown thick darkness, and thy bread a stone?

Hath flesh no softness now? Mid-day no light? (l. 52-5)

By revealing that ‘the sun to thee alone / Is grown thick darkness’, Vaughan establishes how the subject of these criticisms has turned their sight away from God. Forsaking the blood of Christ has caused his own body, ‘thy bread a stone’, to be forfeit. In the final stanza, it is almost as if Vaughan is pleading to God to help this ‘foolish man’: ‘Lord! Thou didst put a soul here [...] O let Thy power clear / Thy gift once more, and grind this flint to dust!’ (l. 56-9). Flint has the power to create fire – which Vaughan has already explained embodies aspects of air and water, light and motion, as well as its own ‘mirth’ – and thus is able to reignite the spiritual passions of mankind. It is in this way that Vaughan is hoping that he can be the flint that sparks Hermeticism into life, with God as the ‘steel’ (l. 58) that would enable him to do so, so capitalist Puritans, such as Morgan Llwyd, will be able to see the error of their ways and find God in landscape rather than in money.

Conclusion

In conclusion, looking at these two writers from perspectives different to how they are normally assessed (Vaughan from a Welsh perspective and Morgan Llwyd from an English-language viewpoint), it is possible to come to a wider understanding of how both writers engaged with not only their geographic surroundings, but also the people around them and the political climates of their respective corners of Wales. We see this particularly through geographical references in the poems of both writers. Vaughan’s “To the River Isca” and “To his Retired Friend, an Invitation to Brecknock”, and Llwyd’s “A Song of my Beloved Concerning His Vineyard” are particular examples. In these poems, we observe the way in which both poets engage with the areas they call home. Tinged with *hiraeth*, the distinctively Welsh sense of longing for a lost past, Vaughan and Llwyd are lamenting their perceived

losses – the former characterised by a loss of kinship as a result of the Civil War, the latter tinged with a more spiritual loss, i.e. a perceived decline in Puritan values. Other poems provides us with a means of seeing the dichotomy between Welsh Anglican and Welsh Puritan during this period and, while Vaughan and Llwyd are on opposing sides of the spiritual and political argument, both have very similar concerns about how the civil upheaval affected the societies around them.

Furthermore, by comparing these two writers to earlier Welsh authors, such as Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel, we can determine the way in which their works tie into a body of sixteenth-and seventeenth-century non-Welsh language texts. Each of these writers has an innate connection with the areas in which they reside, and this is especially true for Morgan Llwyd and Henry Vaughan. While Vaughan's ties to the River Usk and Brecknockshire are solely based on him growing up there with all the *hiraeth* that is a result of this, Llwyd's *hiraeth* is slightly more complex, as he is not writing in the area in which he grew up. Having been raised in the Welsh heartlands of Gwynedd, Llwyd wrote in Wrexham on the Wales-England border. His own feelings of *hiraeth* could, perhaps, stem from a sense of not belonging to where he resides, nor his original home. This is reflected in a number of his poems, particularly in "A Song of my Beloved Concerning His Vineyard" where he feels a disconnection between his ideals and that of Wrexham society. While Llwyd's upbringing in Maentwrog was Protestant, unlike John Owen's as I will explain in my final chapter, according to Stephen K. Roberts, it was only after his association with Walter Cradock that Llwyd became more radical in his preaching.⁵³ This, compounded with the disconnection between him and Wrexham society, provides a sense of Llwyd's *hiraeth* resulting from his own sense of inadequacy and failures in preaching his radical message. Moreover, in both of

⁵³ Stephen K. Roberts, 'Llwyd, Morgan (1619–1659)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16869> [accessed 17 May 2017].

these writers we see the foundations of spiritual Welsh writing that would be more commonly found in texts in the following centuries. In particular, Vaughan's focus on the metaphysical and its relation to Welsh landscapes and Llwyd's leanings towards radical Nonconformity, a movement which began properly in the eighteenth century, are themes that would become primary characteristics of Welsh Writing in English during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵⁴

Besides this concept of *hiraeth*, both writers utilise features and structures within their poems that are more readily found in the Welsh-language poetry of the time. For Llwyd, a bilingual writer with an extensive amount of work already published in Welsh, it is only natural for *englyn* and *cynghanedd* to cross from works in one language to the other. However, Douglas Houston explains that 'much Welsh verse in English is rich in assonance, alliteration and forms of internal rhyme which loosely simulate *cynghanedd*'.⁵⁵ Although Houston is speaking for twentieth century Welsh Writing in English, in Vaughan's poetry it is evident that this is still the case for Vaughan in the seventeenth century. Frances Austin alleges that *cynghanedd* 'may have been familiar to Vaughan from his reading of Welsh literature. Alliteration occurs everywhere in the poems'.⁵⁶ It is through these strong links to both the socio-political Welsh landscapes of north-east and south-east Wales, as well as the usage of cultural markers more often associated with Welsh language poetry, such as *englyn* and *cynghanedd* and not found in texts belonging to the English literary tradition, that Morgan Llwyd and Henry Vaughan could be interpreted as Welsh writers in English rather than solely belonging to Welsh or English traditions respectively.

⁵⁴ M. Wynn Thomas, *In the Shadow of the Pulpit: Literature and Nonconformist Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2010), p. 8.

⁵⁵ Douglas Houston, 'Welsh Poetry', *A Companion to Twentieth Century Poetry*, ed. by Neil Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), (pp. 329-42), p. 330.

⁵⁶ Frances Austin, 'Henry Vaughan 1621-95', *The Language of the Metaphysical Poets*, ed. by Frances Austin (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press, 1992) (pp. 100-26), p. 105.

Chapter 4

The Writing of the Gentry in Wales and the Marches: Katherine Philips

And Thomas Churchyard

Since the Edwardian conquest of Wales in the thirteenth century, the Welsh gentry went through a number of changes as the influence of different leaders grew and diminished. Under the Normans, ‘manorial practices and Anglo-Norman organization’ had been introduced in south and east Wales, while the north ‘retained their own traditional agricultural methods and native laws’.¹ Further, as I touched upon in chapter one, with Henry VIII’s Laws in Wales Acts, the Welsh gentry had access to new civic rights providing they adapted to English culture. These assimilations were most apparent in the Welsh Marches. These were areas on the border with England and as well as the regions of south Wales once governed by Marcher Lords.

While my previous chapters have focused on Welsh writers, this will focus on two English writers writing in Wales and the Marches with the aim of ascertaining whether their Welsh surroundings influenced their works. The first I will examine is Thomas Churchyard, a high ranking soldier, self-proclaimed gentleman from Shrewsbury,² who wrote, among other texts, *The Worthines of Wales* (1587).³ Secondly, I will discuss the poetry of the more widely known Katherine Philips, the well connected, royalist poet, who hailed originally from

¹ Glanmor Williams, *Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation Wales c. 1415-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 59.

² Raphael Lyne, ‘Churchyard, Thomas (1523?–1604)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5407> [accessed 15 Feb 2017].

³ Thomas Churchyard, *The worthines of Wales, a poem. A true note of the auncient castles, famous monuments, goodly rivers, faire bridges, fine townes, and courteous people, that I have seen in the noble countrie of Wales, and now set forth* (London: Evans, 1587; repr. 1776).

London but transplanted to Wales through her marriage to James Philips, Welsh Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire.⁴ These two writers, although disparate in time and location, were both influenced by Wales during their periods of time.

In Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales* I will consider the way in which he, as an outsider, depicts Wales and in what way this depiction complies with the general attitude towards Wales at the time by the English. Furthermore, I will explore in what terms Churchyard depicts Wales, specifically in relation to the land, towns, cities and castles, and what impact this has on his description of Wales. Finally, I will ascertain how Churchyard considers the bordering Marcher counties to be perhaps more closely related to Wales in terms of the country's cultural, religious and legal identities than with England, and whether this is peculiar to Churchyard or demonstrating a wider recognition for this fringe region. For the poetry of Katherine Philips I will assess to what extent she depicts Cardiganshire, and in what way her representation of Wales is shaped by her social and political surroundings. Furthermore, I will discuss how she interacts with her Welsh correspondents network in the Society of Friendship, specifically looking at the poems dedicated to the relationships she formed after moving to Wales. Finally, I will consider in depth her poem "On the Welch Language" and the ways it demonstrates her integration into English-language culture in south-west Wales. Connecting these two writers are their positions as English outsiders writing in and about Wales. By the end of this chapter I will determine to what extent both writers adopt a Welsh identity.

Traditionally in Wales the gentry was more associated with strong family ancestry than their economic wealth. Gareth Elwyn Jones explains that:

⁴ Warren Chernaik, 'Philips, Katherine (1632–1664)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22124> [accessed 19 May 2017].

Itinerant poets performed their time-honoured function of praising the noble ancestry of their patrons, so bolstering the esteem and family pride characteristic of Welsh gentry, whether of Welsh, Normal or English origin. Whatever their economic resources – and the Welsh gentry as a group were substantially poorer than their English counterparts – they laid great store by that lineage which conferred gentility.⁵

This focus on esteemed ancestry lead to fabricated lineages in the society of, most notably, sixteenth-century Tudor Wales, where many families were quick to assert their ties to the ruling dynasty, just as they had apparently linked themselves to Wales as a form of propaganda.⁶ However, Clifford S. L. Davies disputes this, asserting that, although Henry VII used his Welsh connections to rally support on his march from Milford Haven to Shrewsbury, it was only within Wales that his line were considered ‘Tudors’,⁷ thus arguing that the ‘Tudor’ myth was more of a Welsh construction than one actively subscribed to by the monarchs themselves.

By the end of the seventeenth century these ‘gradations of gentry’⁸ were more pronounced, clear hierarchies separating higher and lower members of elite society, perhaps on account of a greater degree of differentiation in political and economic freedoms, which would have proven a hindrance to some Welsh people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is quite apparent in the way in which these two writers navigate their identities: Churchyard lays claim to higher status by claiming ‘that I in Wales have found’ (p. 96), but Katherine Philips is the wife of a Member of Parliament and from a wealthy London background. Her social networks that stems from this privileged background are quite evident

⁵ Gareth Elwyn Jones, ‘Wales 1550-1700 – The Historical Background’, *A Guide to Welsh Literature c. 1530-1700*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 1-28 (p. 11).

⁶ Gareth Elwyn Jones, *Modern Wales: A Concise History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.

⁷ Clifford S. L. Davies, ‘The Tudor Delusion’, *The Times Literary Supplement* (London: The Times Literary Supplement, 2008) < <http://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/public/the-tudor-delusion/> > [accessed 19 March 2017].

⁸ Gareth Elwyn Jones, *Modern Wales*, p. 29.

in her poetry and the Society of Friendship. These ideas, particularly Churchyard's Welsh claims and Philips' social network, will serve as the context for much of this chapter as both writers use their status as gentry to facilitate adopting Welsh identities.

Thomas Churchyard and Marcher-Welsh Identity

Thomas Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales* marks a considerable departure from his typical descriptions of war, by focusing on a style of chorography that is perhaps more akin to travel writing in verse. Where, as I discussed in my second chapter, David Powel focused closely on historical and geographical features in his chorography on Wales, Churchyard's focus is similar to Humphrey Llwyd's in that he is primarily demonstrating the worth of Wales to his readership. In his *Epistle Dedicatory* to Elizabeth I, he explains that he has:

Undertaken to set foorth a worke in the honour of Wales, where your highnes
auncestors tooke name, and where your Majestie is as much loved and feared, as in
any place of your highnesse dominion' (p. v-vi).

This highlights that Churchyard is writing the text in order to appeal to pro-Welsh sentiments at court, even though he is an English writer. Indeed, he makes the claim that 'it seemeth a wonder in our age [...] that no one man doth not worthely according to the countries goodnes set forth that noble soyle and nation' (p. vi). This suggests that much of what had been written about Wales was negative, as David Powel previously lamented in his *Historie of Cambria*. Additionally, it also indicates that Churchyard was not familiar with previous material on Wales that had 'set forth that noble soyle and nation' (p. vi).

However, rather than citing the same reasons as Powel, such as the bias against the Welsh in favour of the Normans in historical texts, Churchyard makes the dubious claim that the ‘writers can not therein sufficiently yeeld due commendation to those stately soyles and principalities’ because they had not like him ‘travailed sondry times of purpose’ through Wales (p. vi). Although this could be considered as somewhat patronising, Philip Schwyzer argues that Churchyard is demonstrating what Derrida would later identify as the relationship between narrative, edges and borders.⁹ He observes that ‘Shropshire, by this proto-Derridean feat of reasoning, is not what lies on the other side of the border from Wales, it *is* the border – and therefore it is part of what it encloses, as a frame is part of a picture’.¹⁰ However, in twentieth-century Welsh Writing in English, the concept of a ‘border country’ is common, such as Raymond Williams’ novel *Border Country* (1960) and the poet Margiad Evans, who, like Churchyard, identified with the Welsh borders.¹¹ John Powell Ward describes how the border country appears from a Welsh perspective: ‘we are the Celts crammed in and up front; the English neighbour is large and the border near.’¹²

The two concepts are perhaps similar. Where Schwyzer adopts Derrida’s concept of borders to show how the Marches are an important aspect of what shapes Wales and its identity, the idea of the ‘border country’ in Welsh Writing in English is defined by a closeness to English cities while still retaining a sense of Welshness from the mountains and countryside. This is as much a case for Wales as a geopolitical entity under the Council of Wales and the Marches now, as a culturally and linguistically nebulous bilingual region, as it

⁹ Jacques Derrida, *The Truth in Painting*, trans. by Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 9.

¹⁰ Philip Shwyzer, ‘Thirteen Ways of Looking Like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries’, *Shakespeare and Wales: From the Marches to the Assembly*, ed. by Philip Schwyzer and Willy Maley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p. 28.

¹¹ John Powell Ward, ‘Borderers and Borderline Cases’, *A Guide to Welsh Literature: Welsh Writing in English*, ed. by M. Wynn Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), pp. 91-119 (p. 98).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

is for Wales in the present. This attitude towards Wales and its border was not uncommon: Humphrey Llwyd also put forth claims that Wales' true border included the western banks of the Severn, although this was very much an idea that, as Stewart Mottram explains, had long since become extinct.¹³

Returning to Churchyard's *Epistle Dedicatory*, he depicts the Welsh as respectful, welcoming and patriotic towards England, claiming that 'your highnes is no soner named among them, but such a generall rejoysing doth arise' and, for the 'meanest of the court', they will too be 'so saluted, halsed and made of, as though he were some lords sonne of that soyle' (pp. vi-vii). This emphasis on the character of the Welsh, albeit most likely hyperbolic, is missing from the choreographies of Llwyd and Powel, both of whom focus more on history and land. Indeed, Churchyard asserts that there 'is some more nobler nature in that nation, then is generally reported' (pp. vii-viii). From this it is possible to glean that Churchyard not only describes the various towns, cities and castles of Wales, but also rejoices at Elizabeth I's ancestry to demonstrate that Welsh people are good citizens, contrary to previous reports:

Within this worke are severall discourses: some of the beautie and blessednes of the countrey: some of the strength and statelynesse of their impregnable castles: some of their trim townes and fine situation: some of their antiquitie, shewing from what kings and princes they tooke their first name and prerogative. (p. xiv)

At the start of the text, Churchyard flaunts the favourable aspects of Wales in comparison to England, Scotland, Ireland and nations on the continent:

To Wales (quoth wit), there doth plaine people dwell,
So mayst thou come, to heaven out of hell:
For Fraunce is fine, and full of faithlesse waies,

¹³ Stewart Mottram, 'William Browne and the Writing of Early Stuart Wales', *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, ed. by Stewart Mottram (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), p. 97.

Poor Flaunders grosse, and farre from hapie dayes.

Ritch Spayne is proude, and sterne to straungers all,

In Italie, poysning is alwise rife:

And Germanie, to drunkenesse doth fall,

The Danes likewise, doe leade a bibbing life.

The Scots seeke bloud, and beare a cruell mynde,

Irelande grows nought, the people ware unkind:

England God wot, hath learned such leudnesse late,

That Wales methinks is now the soundest state. (p. 1-2)

These faults in the peoples of other nations that Churchyard highlights are aspects that he claims in his *Epistle* the Welsh detest, ‘the very name of a falsifier of promes, a murtherer or a thief, is most odious among them’, ‘for instead of such high stomackes and stoutnes, they use frendly salutations and courtesie’ (p. vii). Therefore it is of no surprise that Churchyard would wish to be associated with a ‘plaine people’, whom he claimed to be more moral and pious than any other in Europe. Here, Churchyard contradicts the fact that Wales had its own problems, such as vagrancy, one of the leading objectives behind the Eisteddfod at Caerwys in 1567 as I discussed in my second chapter. This suggests that the Welsh people were not necessarily more moral or pious than anyone else in Europe.

In the third stanza of this introductory section, there are implications of submissiveness from the Welsh people and state as a result of the unification and its repercussions:

But since the tyme, that rule and lawe came here,

This Brittish land, was never put to foyle,

For foule offence, or fault it did commit:

The people here, in peace doth quiet fit,

Obayes the prince, without revolt or jarre,
Because they knowe, the fate of civill warre. (p. 2)

This portrayal of the English as a bringer of civilisation and a force of law continues into the following stanza in which Churchyard describes the way in which Owain Glyndŵr ‘set bloodie broyles abroad: / full many a towne, was spoyld and put to sacke, / And cleane consum’d, to countries foule reproach’ (p.2). However, Churchyard’s anger with Glyndŵr seems to be particularly levelled at his treatment of the imperialist symbols of English colonial might such as castles and towns: ‘Great castles raste, fayre buildings burnt to dust’ (p. 2). This suggests that Churchyard may not completely grasp the implications of what these castles meant for the Welsh and what mark they left on the geographic and cultural landscapes of Wales as symbols of tension and English dominance. Instead, Churchyard perceives them as simply being ‘fayre buildings’ (p. 2). Other than Glyndŵr, Churchyard has nothing but praise for the temperament of the Welsh people as a whole since the Union:

Like brethren now, doe Welshmen still agree,
In as much love, as any men alive;
The friendship there, and concord that I see.
I doe compare, to bees in honey hive.
Which keepe in swarme, and hold together still,
Yet gladly shewe, to stranger great good will:
A courteous kynd, of love in every place,
A man may finde, in simple peoples face. (pp. 2-3)

This repeated reference to the Welsh as being ‘simple’ or ‘plain’ is indicative of Churchyard’s attitude towards them in that he is demonstrating that the ordinary populace of Wales have, historically, been mismanaged by their leaders and dragged into wars they did not want to fight – an assertion that also pervades Powel’s *Historie of Cambria*. This idea of

simplicity also extends to friendliness and courtesy towards strangers and foreigners, Churchyard asserts that ‘Passe where you please, on plaine or mountain wilde, / And beare yourselfe, in sweet and civill sort: / And you shall sure, be haulst with man and childe, / Who will salute, with gentle comely port / The passers by’ (p. 3). Here Churchyard is attempting to counter the idea that Wales was an anarchic and thuggish dominion. For example, Steven Ellis explains that this reputation was a result of how the ‘fragmentation of authority and absentee lordship [...] encouraged crime and the harbouring of thieves by local gentry’ which hindered any effort to stamp out the chaos in Wales’ governance.¹⁴ This violent and criminal reputation is also denied by Churchyard who waxes lyrically:

A greater thing, of Wales now will I say,
Ye may come there, beare purse of gold in hand,
Or mightie bagges, of silver stuffed throwe,
And no one man, dare touch your treasure now:
Which shows some grace, doth rule and guyde them there,
That doth to God, and man such conscience beare. (p. 3)

Although this directly contradicts the assertion that Wales was rife with criminality, Churchyard was factually incorrect with his blanket, stereotypical statements. E. J. L. Cole describes just the opposite, showing how it took ‘some generations [...] to transform the turbulent marcher lordships of Maelienydd, Keri, Gwrthrynion and Elfael into the well-ordered [Radnorshire] that we know to-day’.¹⁵ Cole’s records include such activity as family feuds, such as one John Blayney of Bryndraenog who, in the early sixteenth century, ‘brought a bill of complaint against his three uncles’,¹⁶ to robbery, affray and murder, such as the death

¹⁴ Steven G. Ellis, ‘Centre and Periphery in the Tudor State’, *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, ed. by Robert Tittler and Norman Jones (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), p. 141.

¹⁵ E. J. L. Cole, ‘Some Radnorshire Criminal Records of the 16th Century’, *The Radnorshire Society Transactions* 29 (1959), pp. 20-3 (p. 20).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

of Thomas ap John ap Griffith in the latter half of the century.¹⁷ Although Churchyard did not write about Radnorshire, it is not that much of a stretch to imagine that other counties in Wales with similarly strong and almost tribe-like family structures also had to deal with similar criminal activity. Thus, it is a preposterous notion that ‘no one man, dare touch your treasure’ when crime will always exist.

If we were to view sixteenth-century Wales as something loosely akin to a colonial society,¹⁸ where the people became legally equal with those in England after the enactment of the Laws in Wales Acts 1535 and 1542, then it is possible to observe some parallels with modern-day post-colonial societies. Illustrating this, John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff argue that ‘lawlessness and criminal violence have become integral to depictions of postcolonial societies, adding a brutal edge to older stereotypes of underdevelopment, abjection and sectarian strife’.¹⁹ This bears a striking resemblance to how many non-Welsh writers treated Wales and its population in this period. Thomas Churchyard’s depictions of the Welsh as friendly and law-abiding are a notable exception. As was the case with Humphrey Llwyd, Churchyard also depicts Wales as a land of plenty:

Behold besides, a further thing to note,
 The best cheape cheare, when each man pais his groate,
 If all alike, the reckoning runneth around.
 There market good, and victuals nothing deare,
 Each place is filde, with plentie all the yeare:
 The ground mannurde, the graine doth so encrease,
 That thousands live, in wealth and blessed peace. (p. 3)

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

¹⁸ Chris Williams, ‘Problematizing Wales’, *Postcolonial Wales*, ed. by Jane Aaron and Chris Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2005), pp. 3-22 (pp. 4-5).

¹⁹ John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, ‘Law and Disorder in the Postcolony: An Introduction’, *Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, ed. by John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 6.

While the reality of life in Wales was most likely not as peaceful and bountiful as Churchyard presents it, much of the mountainous land being unsuitable for arable farming, it was also not as harsh as other depictions of life in Wales.²⁰ This suggests that Churchyard wished for Wales to be a plentiful land to better suit his defence of the country.

The final stanzas of this section of *Worthines of Wales* offer up a rebuke to those who disparage Wales. Firstly, Churchyard explains that ‘for meeke as dove, in lookes and speech they are, / Not rough and rude, (as spiteful tongues declare)’ (p. 4). Here Churchyard is describing that this kind of stereotyping was rampant in historical texts from writers such as Holinshed, as I discussed in chapter two. Plays such as William Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (1599) and George Peele’s *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* (1593), although slightly later than Churchyard’s text, utilise Welsh stereotypes in the characters of Fluellen and Lluellen respectively, suggesting that such depictions of the Welsh existed in the public imagination. Yet, while Churchyard is not belittling the Welsh, he is guilty of making sweeping generalisations about their Welsh character. However, writers who denigrate the Welsh are, according to him, simply ‘spiteful’ towards the ‘auncient race and line’ (p. 4) from which the Welsh arise, a description echoing Humphrey Llwyd’s *The Breviary of Britain*. Much like Llwyd, Churchyard refers to historical writing in order to support his claims, ending this introductory section by explaining that:

In authors old, you shall plainly reade,
 Geraldus one, and learned Geffrey two:
 The third for troth, is venerable Beade,
 That many grave, and worthie workes did doe.
 What needes this prooffe, or genalogies here,
 Their noble blood, doth by their lives appeare:

²⁰ See Powel’s representation of Wales and alternative presentations, discussed in chapter two.

Their stately townes, and castles every where,
Of their renowne, doth daily witsesse beare. (p. 4)

Through this, Churchyard is basing his claims on the true temperament and nature of the Welsh people on the texts of old scholars, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth, Giraldus Cambrensis and the Venerable Bede. The evidence within these texts, according to Churchyard, lies in the descriptions of Welsh genealogies and in the towns and castles of Wales, which I will address later in this chapter. First, I will examine the way in which Churchyard tackles the subject of writers that ‘favoured not Wales’ and, in his eyes, ‘rashly have written more then they knewe, or well could prove’ (p. 14). Churchyard, like Llwyd and Powel before him, immediately singles out a number of writers, one of which is a repeat offender: Polydore Vergil appears as a particular thorn in Wales’ reputation because of his rebuking of the ‘long-cherished Trojan heritage myth’:²¹

As learned men, hath wrote grave workes of yore,
So great regard, to native soyle they had:
For such respect, I blame now Pollydore:
Because of Wales, his judgement was but bad.
If Buckanan, the Scottish poet late
Where here in sprite, of Brittons to debate:
He shoulde finde men, that would with him dispute,
And many a pen, which would his works confute. (p. 14)

Although briefly mentioning George Buchanan, Churchyard directs most of his attack at Vergil, echoing Llwyd and Powel. He accuses chroniclers of bringing ‘no goodnesse forth’ with their disparaging words. For example, he says that, ‘Their praise is small, that plucks

²¹ Anke Bernau, ‘Myths of origin and the struggle over nationhood in medieval and early modern England’, *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. by Gordon McMullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 106-18 (p. 106).

back others fame, / Their love not great, that blots out neighbours name, / Their bookes but brawles, their bable bauld and bare' (p. 14). The image Churchyard creates is of historians writing as a form of warfare against their neighbours. The implication here is that it causes their works in praise of their own nation appear to seem petty, uncompassionate and highly biased. Churchyard accuses these 'fables writers', such as Vergil, of producing libellous works filled with lies:

What fable more, then say they knowe that thing
 They never sawe, and so give judgement streight;
 And by their bookes, the world in error bring.
 That thinks it reads, a matter of great weight.
 When that a tale, of much untroth is told:
 Thus all that shines, and glisters is not gold (p. 14-5)

It is interesting to note how he uses 'fable' in relation to Vergil, an author who accused Geoffrey of Monmouth of producing 'fables'. Much like Humphrey Llwyd and David Powell, Churchyard is defending the Galfridian tradition from international scholars because of how important it was to the culture of Wales.

From here Churchyard describes how, when Caesar conquered what would become England and Wales, 'the writers than, and other authors since, / Did flatter tyme, and still abuse the troth. / Some for a fee, and some did humors feede, / When sore was healde, to make a wound to bleede' (p. 15), implicating Vergil as one of these 'fables writers' through the way in which he wrote about Caesar's conquest of the British Isles. However, Churchyard admits that this slander was not unique to Wales:

Each nation had, some writer in their daies,
 For to advaunce, their countrey to the stares:
 Homer was one, who gave the Greeks great praise,

And honord not, the Troyans for their warres.
 Livi among the Romaines wrate right mitch,
 With rare renowne, his countrey to enritch:
 And Pollidore, did ply the pen apace,
 To blurre straunge soyles, and yeeld the Romaines grace. (p. 16)

Through referencing Homer and the Trojans, a relationship which was similar to that of Vergil with Wales, it could be inferred that Churchyard is subscribing to the belief posited by Geoffrey of Monmouth that the Trojans founded Britain, or at the very least was implicitly drawing a comparison between Homer, Vergil and their respective rival states. It is unlikely that Churchyard intended anything other than this, as he spends the next stanza with Vergil clearly in his sights:

Admit they wrate, their volumes all of troeth,
 (And did affect ne man nor matter then)
 Yet writer sees, not how all matters goeth
 In field: when he, at home is at his pen.
 This Pollidore, sawe never much of Wales,
 Though he have told, of Brittons many tales:
 Caesar himself, a victor many a way,
 Went not so farre, as Pollidore doth say. (p. 16)

Here Churchyard is accusing Vergil of writing about Wales without having any knowledge of what he was actually writing about, even going so far as fabricating the accomplishments of Caesar. Indeed, Churchyard explicitly says that this is the case because of the way in which ‘men may write, of things they heare by eare: / So Pollidore, oft tymes might overweene, / And speake of soyles, yet he came never there’ (p. 17). Therefore, according to Churchyard, Vergil’s writing concerning Wales has its basis solely in hearsay as Vergil allegedly never went to Wales and simply reproduced stories that he had heard from others. Indeed, many

followers of the Galfridian tradition (such as the Brutus origin myth, King Arthur and British history) objected to Vergil's criticism of Wales and Geoffrey of Monmouth. For example, in the early seventeenth century, Henry Peacham, an English poet, refers to the rumour that Vergil had eradicated the existence of many documents that would have helped to prove these ancient chronicles:

Polydore Virgil, an Italian, who did our Nation that deplorable injury, in the time of K. Henry the eight, for that his owne History might passe for currant, hee burned and embezled the best and most ancient Records and Monuments of our Abbyes, Priories and Cathedrall Churches, [...] yet for all this he hath the ill lucke to write nothing well, save the life of Henry the seventh.²²

As this was written in the seventeenth century, it demonstrates that Vergil's legacy and reputation was not wholly positive, despite the Galfridian tradition now accepted to be fiction. Likewise Edmund Howes, a gentleman living in London, in the Preface to John Stow's *Annales* explains that:

Polydor Virgil is the only man I find, who upon those particular exceptions, although hee confessed those things to be registered *per duos egregios historicos*, yet he rejecteth the whole history of Brute and his successors: by the same reason, he may reject all ancient histories, & himself deserveth to be rejected for his many fabulous narrations.²³

To sum up, I believe that I have demonstrated that Churchyard's contemporaries also did not look favourably on Vergil's version of history, as I have discussed previously in my chapters on Llwyd and Powel. More pointed criticism of Vergil can be found in the work of John

²² Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London: Legat, 1634), p. 51.

²³ Edmund Howes, *Annales* (London: Adams, 1615), preface.

Leland. All criticism on Vergil focuses on accusing him of revising history: Vergil was a foreign writer who had seen fit to destroy the legends and legacies of the island by rewriting its history.²⁴

Moving on from Churchyard's depiction of the Welsh in comparison to other writers at the time. I will now turn to explore how he writes Wales through its towns, churches and castles, departing from chorographers in my first two chapters, Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel, who focused more on the history of Wales. In this section I will mainly analyse Churchyard's writing on 'Aborgaynies Towne', 'Breakenoke' and 'Wrythen', and Churchyard's depictions of these urban spaces and the people who live there.

In order to understand where 'Aborgaynies Towne' really is – since no place with that name exists – we must include the accompanying marginal notes, which tell us that 'it stands over to little rivers, called Ceybbie and Ceyvennie, of which Aborgevennie tooke name' (p. 53). This suggests that 'Aborgaynie' might be a bastardisation of Abergavenny. Churchyard begins by describing the geographical surroundings before turning to the man-made structures of the town:

Returne I must, to my discourse before,
Of borrow townes, and castles as they are:
Aborgaynie, behind I kept in store,
Whose seate and soyle, with best may well compare.
The towne somewhat, on steepe and mounting hill,
With pastor grounds, and meddowes great at will:
On every side, huge mountaines hard and hye,
And some thicke woods, to please the gazers eye. (p. 53)

²⁴ James P. Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books', *King Arthur: A Casebook*, ed. by Edward Donald Kennedy (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 185-204.

The position of Abergavenny on a ‘steep and mounting hill’ (suggesting that Abergavenny and ‘Aborgaynie’ are one and the same) surrounded by ‘mountaines hard and hye’ transforms the landscape into a fortress befitting a town with a castle, the mountains becoming the walls that surround it and the hill providing it with a strong vantage point. The other assets the landscape hold for the town, the ‘pastor grounds’, the ‘meddowes great at will’ and the ‘thicke woods’ each become something to be used by its residents, either to work on for a living or to be enjoyed visually for its aesthetic value. In the following, stanza the River Usk is immediately overshadowed by an ‘auncient bridge of stone’ which is then linked, through its providence, to the people of the town, Churchyard claiming that its existence to that day is a result of wisdom and a preservative attitude:

A goodly worke, when first it reared was,
 (And yet the shiere, can shewe no such one)
 Makes men to knowe, old buildings were not bace
 And newe things blush, that steps not so in place,
 With suretie good, and shewe to step on stage.
 To make newe world, to honor former age. (p. 53)

This attitude extends to the town’s castle which, in Churchyard’s day, remained in good condition:

Most goodly towers, are bare and naked last,
 That cov’red were, with timber and good lead:
 These towers yet stand, as streight as doth a shaft,
 The walles whereof, might serve to some a good stead. (p. 54)

This implies that the castle was kept in good condition by its residents, who took great pride in their history. However, Richard Sugget implies that Churchyard displayed positive bias towards these markers of English conquest, stating the way in which Churchyard deplored

the inevitability of ‘the decay of castles’.²⁵ Furthermore, Sugget tells us that the Acts of Union were the reason behind the loss of maintenance for castles and the way in which garrisons were ‘resented partly because they were reminders of occupation and oppression but also because they were paid for by levies imposed on the towns’.²⁶ Churchyard romanticises the space of the castle, inviting anyone capable of appreciating the pastoral and the old to spend some time in one of its towers:

Who doth delight, to see a goodly plaine,
 Faire rivers runne, great woods and mountaines hye:
 Let him a while, in any tower remaine,
 And he shall see, that may content the eye.
 Great ruth, to let so trim a seate goe downe,
 The countries strength, and beautie of the towne:
 A lordly place, a princely plot and viewe,
 That laughs to scorne, our patched buildings newe. (p. 54)

As the description of Ludlow Castle in *Historie of Cambria* attests, many castles in Wales and the Marches during this time were either left vacant and neglected by their owners, or had been ruined or razed in conflicts.²⁷ The fact that this castle was still in good condition is, for Churchyard, a testament to the people of the town and the castle’s various owners. It also appears as if the town walls ‘that [are] so finely wrought’ (p. 54) were also quite well preserved. In his outline of the history of Abergavenny Castle, John Newman describes a ‘complex lodging tower’ (possibly the same tower described by Churchyard), and also states that the castle was only destroyed during the Civil War in 1647.²⁸ Of course, times had also

²⁵ Richard Sugget, ‘The Townscape, 1400-1600’, *Urban Culture in Medieval Wales*, ed. by Helen Fulton (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), pp. 51-94 (p. 53).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁷ For more on Powel’s description of Ludlow Castle, see chapter two.

²⁸ John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), p. 100.

changed – castles were no longer required to fulfil their original defensive function.

However, Abergavenny appears to be an exception rather than the rule in Monmouthshire, as Churchyard laments:

To see so strong, and stately worke decay,
 The same disease, hath Oske in castle wall:
 Which on maine rocke, was builded every way,
 And now Got wot, is readie downe to fall.
 A number more in Monmouth shiere I finde,
 That can not well, abyde a blast of winde:
 The losse is theirs, that sees them overthrown,
 The gaine were ours, if yet they were our owne. (p. 55)

The curious ending to this stanza suggests that Churchyard is envious of the history of Wales, insinuating that decaying castles in Wales are symbolic of England's loss of historical clout. These relics of English conquest are slowly decaying and forgotten. However, Churchyard also observes that if these castles 'were our owne' in England, rather than in Wales, then it would only add to England's history, perhaps suggesting that English history is in some way inferior to that of its 'British' neighbour. This idea has already been touched upon in chapters one and two, however unlike Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel, Churchyard is not Welsh so would seemingly gain little in putting Welsh history on a pedestal above English history unless he identified with Wales in some fashion.

The chapter on 'Breakenoke' begins by describing the surrounding area, yet focuses upon the relationship between the natural world and the man-made structures enclosed by it. The town itself is built 'as in a pit it were, / by water side, all lapt about with hill' (p. 70), and the rivers Usk and Honddu feature as a setting for human influence on the landscape: 'The river Oske, and Hondie runnes thereby, / Fower bridges good, of stone stands ore each

streame' (p. 70). However, unlike Abergavenny, castle is not given as much emphasis. For example, he previously commented upon other castles in Monmouthshire that are unable to 'abyde a blast of winde' (p. 55), pointing towards them being ruined. Indeed, where Abergavenny's castle was layered with praise, Brecon's castle is only referred to in brief and even then only a glimpse of it is given, 'You may behold a ruinous castle there, / Somewhat defaste, the walles yet standeth still' (p. 70). Instead, Churchyard concentrates on other features of the town, its 'Small narrowe streates', the 'soundrie houses brave: / well built without, yea trim and fayre within', and its college which Churchyard, perhaps euphemistically, describes as:

A free house once, where many a rotten beame
Hath bene of late, through age and trackt of tyme:
Which bishop now, refourmes with stone and lyme.
Had it not bene, with charge repayred in haste,
That house and seate, had surely gone to waste. (p. 70)

This passage perhaps refers to Christ College, Brecon, a school that had been founded by Bishop Barlow in 1542 out of a Dominican convent.²⁹ However, most importantly to Brecon are the two churches, 'one stands on hill, where once a priorie was: / which chaung'd the name, when abbyes were put downe', the other 'for morning prayer is, / Made long agoe, that standeth hard by this' (p. 70). It is to this second church that Churchyard transports the reader by describing in detail the tombs that lie within:

Three couple lyes, one ore the others head,
Along n tombe, and all one race and lyne:
And to be plaine, two couple lyeth dead,
The third likewise, as destnie shall assyne,

²⁹ Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), p. 144.

Shall lye on top, right ore the other twaine:

Their pictures now, all readie there remaine (p. 71)

These people, all of the same family ancestry, all belong to ‘the auncient race of Gams, / A house and blood, that long rich armes doth give’ (p. 71). This family is most likely that of Dafydd ap Llywelyn ap Hywel, better known as Dafydd Gam, one of Owain Glyndŵr’s most prominent opponents. Like Glyndŵr himself, Dafydd Gam had also acquired quite a legendary reputation, and was perhaps the template used by Shakespeare for his most famous Welshman, Fluellen, in *Henry V.*³⁰ The most noteworthy aspects of Churchyard’s details of these tombs are the heraldic symbols:

The eldest sonne, and chieftest of that race,

Doth beare in armes, a ramping lyon crownd,

And three speare heads, and three red cocks in place.

A dragons head, all greene therein is found:

And in his mouth, a red and bloodie hand. (p. 71)

These symbols denote a man who was chivalrous, courageous and victorious in battle, their purpose in the text to cement Brecon with its past through its most prominent of families. Furthermore, Churchyard describes several other members of the Gam lineage through their heraldic imagery,

Three fayre boyes heads, and every one of those

A serpent hath close lapt about his necke:

A great white bucke, and you may suppose,

Right ore the same, (which doth it trimly decke)

A crowne there is, that makes a goodly shoe,

A lyon blacke, and three bulles heads I troe;

³⁰ Juliet Barker, *Agincourt: The King, the Campaign, the Battle* (London: Abacus, 2005), pp. 319-20.

Three flowerdeluce, all fresh and white they were,
Two swords, two crownes, with fayre long crosse is there. (p. 71)

From how elaborate these tombs are, it is quite apparent that this family was historically important to the Brecon area, highlighting local and regional affiliations within Wales during the Civil War. This is most notable in the tomb of one ‘Debreos’, most likely referring to Reginald de Braose who was buried at the Priory in Brecon – which Churchyard notes had since changed its name – after his death in the early thirteenth century:

Crosse legg’d by him, as was the auncient trade,
Debreos lyes, in pictures as I troe,
Of most hard wood: which wood as divers say
No worme can eat, nor tyme can wear away:
A couching hound, as harrolde thought full meete,
In wood likewise, lyes underneath his feete (p. 72)

In placing an importance of the history of Brecon, Churchyard is perhaps suggesting that the region had a strong regional identity, which we would later see with Henry Vaughan as I discussed in the previous chapter. This demonstrates that Welsh identity is more complex than it may at first seem, with stronger regional links than national, possibly a result of the way in which Wales used to be separate political entities before the Henrician Acts of Union officially united the country under one name. Alongside the Gam and de Braose tombs are two others. Churchyard names these as ‘Meredith Thomas’ and ‘Waters [...], with wife fast by his side’ (p. 72). The nineteenth-century historian, Theophilus Jones, suggests that these were ‘perhaps duty registrar of the archdeaconry of Brecon’³¹ and ‘a family of considerable note in this town during the reigns of Henry the 7th and his successor’.³² The latter’s tomb is,

³¹ Theophilus Jones, *A History of the County of Brecknock: In Two Volumes*, Vol. 2 (Brecknock: W. & G. North 1809), p. 34.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

like the others before, similarly decorated in heraldry, ‘Three libbarts heads, three cups, two eagles splayed, / A fayre red crosse: and further to be sayd’, thus denoting that this couple must have been ‘of some great stocke’ (p. 72), but the former is less decorated. His dedicatory stanza reads as being almost like a eulogy rather than simply a list of heraldic imagery:

Just by the same, Meredith Thomas lyes,
 Who had great grace, great wit and worship both,
 And world him thought, both happie blest and wise,
 A man that lov’d, good justice faith and troth.
 Right ore this tombe, of stone, to his great fame,
 Good store in deede of Latin verses are,
 And every verse, set foorth in such good frame,
 That truely doth his life and death declare.
 This man was likt, for many graces good
 That he possest, besides his birth and blood. (pp. 72-3)

It is likely that this man is the same Meredith Thomas whom Jones describes as having died in 1587, the year in which Churchyard’s text was published. He was ‘of the profession of the law and a notary public, perhaps deputy registrar of the archdeaconry of Brecon; he was eight times bailiff of Brecon’.³³ The difference in tone for this stanza may suggest that Churchyard was to some extent familiar with Meredith Thomas, and its inclusion in his text – published the same year as his death – could have been a last minute addition for an acquaintance well-loved by the people of the town.

³³ Ibid., p. 34.

Churchyard's section on Ruthin, which he spells 'Wrythen' follows the pattern of the previous two examples with a focus on the landscape. He opens this comparatively short section by, as with Abergavenny and Brecon, describing the town in terms of its castle:

This castle stands, on rocke much like red bricke,
 The dykes are cut, with toole through stonie cragge:
 The towers are hye, the walles are large and thicke,
 The work it selfe, would shake a subjects bagge,
 If he were bent, to buyld the like agayne:
 It rests on mount, and lookes ore wood and playne:
 It had great store, of chambers finely wrought,
 That tyme alone, to great decay hath brought. (p. 118)

What may be interesting to note is that Churchyard, who has demonstrated no previous knowledge of Welsh, has happened across the etymological background of Ruthin in describing a castle that stands on 'rocke much like red bricke', as the name of the town is formed from the Welsh words 'rhudd' and 'din', denoting a red fortress. Churchyard is quite clearly situating the town more on its relationship with the surrounding landscape than its castle, as was the case with Abergavenny, before moving on to churches and the entombed figures interred within them. Indeed, Churchyard devotes a single stanza to the church in Ruthin and to Lord Grey, only explaining that the once 'Earle of Kent, / In tombe of stone, amid the chauncell lay: / But since remov'd, as worldly matters went' (p. 120).

This departure from describing in detail castles, churches and heraldry to almost entirely depicting the landscape suggests that he had a closer connection to Brecon and its people than, in this case, Ruthin. This would explain why he dedicated so much to detailing the landscape instead of writing about Ruthin itself. Churchyard's focus in describing Ruthin's surrounding landscape is the river Clwyd, a 'river swift [...] that swelles and

spreads the feeld' (p. 118), and the valley through which it runs. One of the most notable things that Churchyard has to detail about the Clwyd and its pools and tributaries is that they hold 'such a secret gift, / and such rare fish' (p. 118). Furthermore, he describes a peculiarity of two pools of water connected to the the Clwyd:

A poole there is, through which this Cloyd doth passe,
 Where is a fish, that some a whiting call:
 Where never yet, no sammon taken was,
 Yet hath good store, of other fishes all.
 Above that poole, and so beneath that flood
 Are sammons caught, and many a fish full good:
 But in the same, there will no sammon bee,
 And neere that poole, you shall no whiting see. (p. 119)

This echoes a similar account that Humphrey Llwyd outlined in *The Breviary of Britain* about a species of fish unique to Bala Lake where, like here, salmon are not present in one body of water but are in another. It is possible that these aspects of the Clwyd, like the heraldry of important figures in the Brecon church, are part of the local identity around Ruthin. Indeed, Churchyard observes that there is another river and valley, 'both of them, are fayre and worthie note: / [...] They beare such fame, they may not be forgot' (p. 119). These being 'fayre and worthie' and being unforgettable suggests that they hold some degree of importance to the local population as being emblematic of lifestyle and livelihood. On the valley itself, Churchyard claims that 'good ground likewise, this valley seems to bee, / And many a man, of wealth is dwelling there' (p. 119) which lends some credibility to the idea of land and water as formative part of the local identities of Wales, as history, notable people, and legends. The remainder of this section is devoted to describing the beauty of the Vale of Clwyd a tradition that would be echoed by eighteenth century Romantic writers:

Now to the vale of worthie Dyffrin Cloyd,
 My muse must passe, a soule most ritch and gay:
 This noble seate, that never none anoyd,
 That sawe the same, and rode or went that way:
 The vewe thereof, so much contents the mynd,
 The ayre therein, so wholesome and so kynd:
 The beautie such, the breadth and length likewise,
 Makes glad the hart, and pleaseth each mans eyes. (p. 120)

In this passage (much like his architectural appreciation for castles) Churchyard is writing about the land in terms of how aesthetically pleasing it is, rather than in what it provides the communities living there, as chorographers such as Humphrey Llwyd had done. Churchyard continues much along the same vein, describing how ‘This vale doth reach, so farre in vewe of man, / As he farre of, may see the sease in deede’ (p. 120) and how the natural geological formations turn the land almost into a sanctuary for wildlife from the harsh weather of north Wales:

On every side, as farre as valley goes,
 A border bigge, of hilles ye shall behild:
 They keepe the vale in such a quiet sort,
 That birds and beasts, for succour there resort:
 Yea glocks of foule, and heards of beast sometyme,
 Drawes there from storme, when tempests are in pryme. (pp. 120-1)

Churchyard’s depiction of the valley is a demonstration of the effects of English domestication of the people and landscape. He concentrates on towns in order to portray the Welsh as being more civilised. Therefore, the description of the Vale of Clwyd is an exception as he is displaying how the land has been domesticated and tamed due to English influence. This is illustrated by Churchyard claiming that ‘this valley hath, a noble neighbour

neere' (p. 119) in Ruthin. This is similar to Ireland where the English perceived themselves to be a civilising influence on a wild people and landscape. John Patrick Montaña explains that 'open countryside in Ireland often caused English and European observers to see pastoralists in general, and the Irish and Irish landscapes in particular, as wild and untamed, neglected by the barbarous natives, and subjected to little ordered settlement'.³⁴ However, this positive attitude towards the Vale is most likely to have been ideologically motivated in Churchyard's attempts to show the 'worthiness' of Wales as, elsewhere, the general view of this way of life in rural England, let alone in Wales or Ireland, was that it was 'an inferior form of life [...] supporting a poorer and more miserable people'.³⁵

Of equal interest to this is the way in which Churchyard transports the Marches to Wales by including chapters on Ludlow and Shropshire. As noted previously, Churchyard 'found himself' in Wales (p. 94) but, what is unexpected for an Englishman, is that considers Ludlow and Shropshire to be Welsh and, indeed, parts of the Marches, particularly around Shrewsbury, Herefordshire and Cheshire, were still Welsh-speaking at this time. For instance, he asks 'Can Wales be nam'de, and Shopshiere be forgote' (p. 87) implying that it is impossible to consider one without the other. Furthermore, he also considers the people of Shropshire to be from the same ancestry as the Welsh:

Both borne and bred, in that same seate thou wast,
 (Of race right good, or els records do lye)
 From whence to schoole, where ever Churchyard past,
 To native soyle, ought to have an eye,
 Speake well of all, and write what world may prove,
 Let nothing goe, beyond thy countries love:

³⁴ John Patrick Montaña, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 25.

³⁵ Joan Thirsk, *The Rural Economy of England* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984), p. 164.

Wales once it was, and yet to mend thy tale,
 Make Wales the parke, and plaine Shropshire the pale. (pp. 87-8)

In the final line of the stanza, Churchyard uses ‘the pale’ to describe the Marches. The Pale was a region of Ireland which included the shires of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare and Louth: the only part of Ireland subject to the English monarch.³⁶ The ‘parke’, typically referring to the rest of Ireland under native control, is used to represent the rest of Wales. This suggests that Churchyard may have believed that Shropshire, and Ludlow by extension, belonged with Wales but was in the possession of England. However, he also considers that, if it is not like ‘the Pale’, then it should be considered a part of Wales, ‘If pale be not, a speciall peece of parke, / Sit silent now, and neither write nor speake: / But leave out pale, and thou mayst misse the marke’ (p. 88). The implications of this are multiple. Firstly, if Shropshire is the pale, then that necessitates that Wales is more akin to Gaelic Ireland and, thus, is not ‘civilised’. Shropshire, on the other hand, is ‘civilised’ because it was the centre of power for Renaissance Wales. We could follow the Derridean concept which would make Shropshire, as both bordering county and pale, part of Wales by its very nature of being a part of that which it encloses. Alternatively, the Welsh concept of the ‘border country’ can be used to demonstrate how a border ‘turns out to be secondary to that which was supposed to be secondary to it’.³⁷ While Schwyzer asserts that Churchyard is, in effect, transforming himself into a Welshman, from an ‘outsider into an insider’,³⁸ I believe that he considers himself to be Welsh, using his text to both argue the ‘worthines’ of Wales to Elizabeth I and to show his ‘worthines’ to Wales as writer from the Marches who identifies with Wales.

³⁶ William Palmer, *The Problem of Ireland in Tudor Foreign Policy, 1485-1604* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), p. 7.

³⁷ Tony Pinkney, *Raymond Williams* (Bridgend: Seren Books, 1991), p. 26.

³⁸ Philip Schwyzer, ‘Thirteen Ways of Looking Like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries’, p. 28.

Churchyard treats Ludlow in much the same way as towns he visits in Wales. First, he situates it within its geographical landscape before emphasising its history and relationships with people of past importance:

The towne doth stand most part upon an hill,
 Built well and fayre, with streates both large and wide:
 The houses such, where straungers lodge at will.
 As long as there the councell lists abide,
 Both fine and cleane the streates are all throughout,
 With condits cleere, and wholesome water springs:
 And who that lifts to walke the towne about,
 Shall finde therein some rare and pleasant things:
 But chiefly there the ayre so sweete you have,
 As in no place ye can no better crave. (p. 76)

In this stanza we see similarities between the ways in which Churchyard describes places he is unfamiliar – the Welsh towns – with somewhere closer to him. The comparable landscapes can be observed to help link Ludlow to Wales by highlighting their similarities. Of course, parallels, such as these, exist between any two places if one were to be vague enough, but in this case it is significant because of the way in which Churchyard insinuates that there is a particular connection that links Shropshire to Wales. Comparisons can be inferred between Ludlow's geographical situation – on a hill like Abergavenny, the mention of water and the fine air quality drawing parallels with the Vale of Clwyd. Furthermore, Churchyard's assertion as to the friendly and welcoming temperament of the people of Ludlow, 'where straungers lodge at will', is a quality that he has also claimed of the Welsh themselves.

However, it appears that Ludlow is the exception when it comes to transplanting a Welsh identity into an English town. It is possible to see this through the way in which he tells the reader that 'The rest of townes, that in Shropshire you have, / I neede not touch,

they are so thoroughly knowne: / And further more, I know they cannot crave / To be of Wales, how ever brute be blowne' (p. 86). Ludlow, on the other hand, is allegedly special enough to warrant this cultural ventriloquism:

These things rehearst, makes Ludloe honord mitch,
 And worlde to thinke, it is an auncient seate:
 Where many men, both worthie wise and ritch
 Were borne and bred, and came to credit great.
 Our auncient kings, and princes there did rest,
 Where now full oft, the presdent dwels a space:
 It stands for Wales, most apt, most fit and best,
 And neerest to, at hand of any place (p. 85)

Churchyard justifies including Ludlow in the text by referencing its history as an important border fortification and its long-standing status as the seat of the Council of Wales and the Marches. There is something peculiar about the notion that Churchyard's aim in the text is to demonstrate the 'worthiness' of Wales, as he describes Ludlow as being the 'most apt, most fit and best' place to represent Wales on the political and judicial level, despite not being inside the official borders of Wales. However, it is clear from *Worthines of Wales* that some, Churchyard included, did perceive Ludlow to be as much a part of Wales as Welsh towns because of the shared administrative, historical and linguistic space which they inhabit, as well as the similarities between Welsh and Marcher geography.

Katherine Philips and the English in Wales

While Churchyard was a Marcher writer writing about Wales from its borders, Katherine Philips was an English writer writing from Cardigan in Ceredigion. As a female English poet, she was writing primarily in correspondence with her Society of Friendship

throughout the rest of Wales. In this section of the chapter I will explore the way in which she writes her experiences of Wales as an Englishwoman and a Royalist. I will discuss the Welsh aspect of her relationships in her Society of Friendship in order to examine how she integrates herself into the literary landscape of Wales. Finally, I will consider to what extent Philips integrated herself into Welsh society in terms of language and her specific relationships with others in her coterie from around Wales. The aim here is to see whether Philips, like Churchyard, ventriloquises a Welsh identity or if her Royalist sympathies provide her with a gateway connecting with the Welsh Royalist environment around her.

Katherine Philips had a particularly turbulent publication history. Carol Barash explains there were ‘very different public meanings, especially for women, of circulating one’s poems in a private manuscript or in a public book.’³⁹ This is most evident in the way in which Philips objected to the manuscripts published by Richard Marriot in 1664, a ‘piracy that misprinted her texts and disrupted her modes of transmission.’⁴⁰ Her poems would later be published posthumously in 1667. The poems I am looking at are from an edition to ‘establish a text that is as close as possible to Orinda’s final intention’.⁴¹

In “To the Right Honourable Alice, Countess of Carberry, on her enriching Wales with her presence” (pp. 84-5), Philips writes to Lady Alice Egerton, the wife of Richard Vaughan, the 2nd Earl of Carberry and the then Lord President of Wales. Alice was the daughter of John Egerton, the 1st Earl of Bridgewater and a previous Lord President, she therefore had quite an established relationship with Wales through her father and her husband. However, from the tone of Philips’ poem, Alice must have been something of a

³⁹ Carol Barash, *English Women’s Poetry, 1649-1714: Politics, Community, and Linguistic Authority* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 55.

⁴⁰ Paula Loscocco, *Katherine Philips (1631/2-1644): Printed Letters 1697-1729* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. x.

⁴¹ Katherine Philips, *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: The Matchless Orinda*, ed. by Patrick Thomas (Essex: Stump Cross Books, 1990), vol. 1. All references to Philips’ poetry are taken from this text.

stranger to Wales as her arrival is likened to the sun, bringing the country out of darkness through her presence at last:

So when our countrey (which was doom'd to be
Close mourner to it's own obscurity,
And in neglected chaos so long lay)
Was rescu'd by your beams into a day,
Like men into a sudden lustre brought,
We Justly fear'd to gaze more then we ought. (ll. 5-10)

These lines quite evidently serve to flatter Alice, demonstrating the way in which her presence will be morally enlightening for Wales, 'As when the first day dawn'd, man's greedy ey / Was apt to dwell on the bright Prodigy, / Till he might careless of his Organ grow' (ll. 1-3). For Philips, this greed, which has its roots in the 'first day', almost certainly a reference to the Bible and the Garden of Eden is a contributing factor to the current predicament of south-west Wales. In particular, this refers to how this area of Wales was dissatisfied with the occupation of Parliament, leading to a revolt in 1648.⁴² To compound the problem of Parliamentary control, while Philips and Alice both share Royalist sympathies, their respective husbands, James Philips and Richard Vaughan, were each Parliamentarian politicians.

The final stanza of this poem suggests that the image of Wales as the progenitor of the island's history, and the positive reputation it entails, has long since faded as a result of the passing of the Tudor dynasty, the advent of the Stuarts from Scotland, and the political and religious turmoil of the Civil War. It is in this way that Philips describes how the arrival of the Countess of Carberry in Wales can only be positive for the nation:

⁴² Robert Matthews, *'A Storme Out of Wales': The Second Civil War in South Wales, 1648* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), p. 86.

Then (much above our zealous injury)
 Receive this tribute of our shades from me,
 While your great splendours, like eternall spring,
 To these sad groves such a refreshment bring,
 That the despised Countrey may be growne,
 And justly too, the envy of the Towne. (ll. 21-26)

This shift in attitude towards Wales, from the ‘despised Countrey’ to the ‘envy of the Towne’ is perhaps more to do with the country’s status as a bastion of Royalism than any notion of national pride in language or history, as the case may have been in the sixteenth century. However, this Royalist stance can be perceived as being symbolic of seventeenth century Wales. Various representations of Welsh characters in other early seventeenth century texts reflect a Welsh culture at odds with the Puritanism that gradually became associated with Parliamentarians. Perhaps the most well-known example of this is the character of the North Wales Gentlewoman from Thomas Middleton’s *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*,⁴³ who, as a whore, represents the hedonistic culture of Stuart life, and runs very much counter to the Puritan values of sobriety, chastity and frugality.⁴⁴ While there were a number of years between Middleton’s play and Philips’ poetry, the relationship between Parliamentarians and Puritans in Wales had not improved and had become even more of a problem for the Royalists in Wales.⁴⁵ Philips hopes that, with Alice now in Wales, things will improve:

That so when all mankind at length have lost
 The vertuous grandeur which they once did boast,
 Of you, like pilgrims, they may here obtaine

⁴³ Thomas Middleton, ‘A Chaste Maid in Cheapside’, *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*, ed. by David Bevington (New York: Norton, 2002), pp. 1453-513.

⁴⁴ Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 130.

⁴⁵ See chapter three of this thesis and John Kerrigan who describes the way in which English Puritan Parliamentarianism was at odds with the Welsh Protestant Royalist culture of the 1640s-1650s, John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 197.

Worth to recruit the dying world againe. (ll. 27-30)

In these last few lines, Philips transforms her friend into a pious figure with the ability to redeem and restore an entire nation. Indeed, Sarah Ross has drawn the same conclusion, stating that Philips' 'conceit constructs Egerton as divine, the object of devotion from Welsh country pilgrims who approach her shrine'.⁴⁶ The fact that Philips does not refer to Lady Egerton with a coterie name, as with her other female friends, is perhaps establishing that these two women were only aware of one another in passing. This poem is more an act of friendly courtship rather than something more intimate between already established friends.

This is in stark contrast to the loyalty and deference Philips shows to Anne Owen, or 'Lucasia', in Philips' poetry. This is observed in her poem "A Sea Voyage from Tenby to Bristoll" (pp. 88-90), in Lucasia is also transformed into a figure of divinity, 'In short, the heavens must needs propitious be, / Because Lucasia was concern'd for me' (ll 57-8). This devotional transformation of Lucasia, imbues her with a degree of omnipresence so she would be able to deliver divine protection to Philips from the 'heavens'. Much of this poem could be interpreted as a commentary on the political climate, in which the tempest is a metaphor for the impact of the Civil War on Tenby and Bristol. This is projected through the way in which Philips describes the sensation of being trapped and abandoned at sea while being unable to dock at port: 'We gravely anchor cast, and patiently / Lye prisoners to the weather's crueltie' (ll. 37-8). Anita Pacheco has analysed this notion, explaining that this poem is one example characteristically about 'advocacy of contentment or confinement or restriction, and the assertion that true freedom and choice can be found through this'.⁴⁷ Philips is implying that the Royalist contingent in Tenby and Bristol simply needs to weather

⁴⁶ Sarah C. E. Ross, *Women, Poetry, and Politics in Seventeenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 110.

⁴⁷ Anita Pacheco, *Early Women Writers 1600-1720* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 80.

out this metaphorical Parliamentary tempest in order to once again have their political and religious freedoms, particularly through the way in which she explains: ‘But t’oppose these as mad a thing would be / As ‘tis to contradict a Presby’try’ (ll. 13-4).

These two poems together demonstrate the Philips’ interest in the sociopolitics of Wales, despite her London origins. The first poem, addressed to Lady Alice, achieves this through depicting Alice as a saviour, with the power to unite her ‘pilgrims’ under one cause and restore the region to its Royalist, protestant state. The second poem, about a storm between Tenby and Bristol, can be read as a metaphor for the struggles faced by Royalist. Philips argues that patience, resolve and belief are key to weathering the storm and emerging victorious. One way in which she does this is showing that land and Severn Estuary are allied to the Royalist cause, offering her ship safe passage and sanctuary during the storm. This enables them to endure being ‘prisoners to the weather’s cruelty’ (l. 38). Philips refers to ‘a kind spring tide’ (l. 40), another ‘civil tide / Assisted us the Tempest to outride’, and being harboured in a safely in a ‘rocky grove [...] / That the trees branches with the tackling mix’d’ (ll. 51-2). These images of the land and sea between Wales and England, itself another border space, come with the suggestion that the Royalist ideology is so ingrained within the land that it is working with Philips to grant her safe passage and amnesty from the tempestuous Parliamentary takeover.

Philips also wrote a number of poems dedicated to a number of influential Welsh people. Out of these poems, I will specifically examine “In memory of that excellent person Mrs Mary Lloyd of Bodidrist in Denbighshire” (pp. 111-4), “In memory of the most justly honour’d Mrs Owen of Orierton” (pp. 163-5), and “On the death of the truly honourable Sir Walter Lloid Knight” (pp. 224-5). It is immediately apparent that these three poems are dedicated to friends and acquaintances of Philips who had recently passed away. In particular

I will address to what extent Philips conveys the sense of loss she feels for each individual, and the impact their deaths had on their regions and Wales as a whole.

In the poem, “In memory of that excellent person Mrs Mary Lloyd”, Philips uses her usual flattering language in remembering Mary Lloyd. She achieves this by referring repeatedly to her piety and virtue as a woman and housewife: ‘if Posterity / Should never hear of such an one as she [...] They would think virtue nothing but a name’ (ll. 3-5), and ‘She was so pious, that when she did Dye, / She scarce chang’d Place’ (ll. 45-6). These lines demonstrate Philips’ respect for Mary Lloyd as a woman and a friend – recurring themes in Philips’ poetry – as we have seen in the previous examples of Lucasia and Lady Alice. However, what is also apparent is that Philips depicts Mary Lloyd as an influential Welshwoman:

Sprung from an Ancient and an honour’d Stemm,
Who lent her lustre, and she paid it them,
Who still in great and noble things appear’d,
Whom both their Country lov’d and yet they fear’d.
Match’d to another, good and great as they
Who did their Countrey both obleige and sway.
Behold her self! Who had, without dispute,
More then both familys could contribute. (ll. 11-8)

This passage in particular deals with this notion of power and influence in Wales, most notably in references to family. Mary Lloyd was the daughter of Sir Richard Trevor, a Welsh politician and owner of Trevalyn Hall in Denbighshire, and the wife of Evan Lloyd, a Welsh captain in Ireland. The Lloyd family was noteworthy for tactical marriages, which aided their

rise to prominence in north Wales during the reign of the Tudors.⁴⁸ This is evident in the text through the references to Mary Lloyd's family originating from an 'Ancient and honour'd Stemm' (l. 11), and also through the way in which she brought two powerful families together (l. 15), and gained control of more wealth and power than the two families combined.

Furthermore, Philips draws a link between Mary Lloyd and royalty by claiming that 'Her house, rul'd by her hand, aw'd by her Ey, / Might be a pattern for a Monarchy' (ll. 39-40). This suggests that the Lloyd family of Bodidris, were powerful and wealthy enough during the Tudor reign to be their equals, with the advantage of being Welsh during a period in which it was a boon. The comparisons do not end there, specifically through echoes of Elizabeth I in her description of Mary being 'Meek as a Virgin' (l. 26). These references to royal qualities of ancient, powerful and respected Welsh families could possibly be echoing the reputation the Welsh families had despite a lack of material wealth.⁴⁹ However, it is also likely that this family were prominent Royalists, as Evan Lloyd, the cousin of Lucasia, was 'an active royalist in the Civil War [and] high sheriff of Denbighshire from 1644 to 1646'.⁵⁰

The next poem, "In memory of the most justly honour'd Mrs Owen of Orielson", is similar to the previous poem about Mary Lloyd in that it eulogises a powerful and respected Welsh matriarch. The Owens of Orielson were a mainstay of Pembrokeshire for over three centuries and, as with many opportunistic members of the gentry, had a rather turbulent relationship with politics, because of Sir Hugh Owen initially siding with Parliament before

⁴⁸ Arthur Herbert Dodd, *Lloyd Family, of Bodidris, Denbs.* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-LLOY-BOD-1551.html> [accessed 6 Aug. 2017].

⁴⁹ J. Gwynfor Jones, *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998), p. 9.

⁵⁰ Katherine Philips, *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips: The Letters*, ed. by Patrick Thomas (Essex: Stump Cross Books, 1992), p. 15.

shifting allegiance to the King.⁵¹ While Philips does not offer a specific name for Mrs Owen, she could very well have been the wife of John Owen, Dorothy, the father of Sir Hugh Owen, father-in-law of Lucasia.⁵²

Philips opens the poem, setting out her intentions of celebrating the life of Mrs Owen rather than lament the loss of her friend:

As when the ancient world by reason Liv'd,
The Asian Monarchs' deaths were never griev'd;
Their glorious Lives made all their subjects call
Their rites a Triumph, not a Funerall:
So still the good are Princes, and their fate
Envites us not to weep, but imitate. (ll. 1-6)

Here Philips once again draws comparisons between her Welsh Royalist friends and monarchs. What is most striking in these poems is the resolute loyalty to the Royalist cause which Philips portrays in her friends. In this poem in particular, Philips describes how Mrs Owen's beliefs remained unchanged despite the socio-political turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century:

To chosen virtue still a constant Friend,
She saw the times which chang'd, but did not mend;
And as some are so civill to the sun,
They'd fix his beams, and make the Earth to run:
So she unmov'd beheld the angry Fate
Which tore a church, and overthrew a State (ll. 29-34)

⁵¹ James Frederick Rees, *Owen family of Orielton, Pembs.* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-OWEN-ORI-1571.html> [accessed 6 Aug. 2017].

⁵² Katherine Philips, *The Collected Works*, pp. 364-5.

These unwavering loyalties are seen to be characteristic of the Welsh population during this period, as P. R. Newman details, ‘North Wales was fairly solidly royalist, and contributed largely to the royal army which fought at Edgehill in October, whilst in South Wales the marquess of Worcester and his clients proved diligent in their efforts on the King’s behalf’.⁵³ However, Martyn Bennett notes there were pockets of parliamentary sedition in Wales, particularly as the war waged on.⁵⁴ For Philips and her coterie, this could possibly mean that they were secretly Royalist in a society that had changed around them. It is noteworthy that both of these women were either from or had family links to North Wales, the supposed bastion of Royalist support during the Civil War; the Owens of Orielton were originally from Bodeon in Anglesey, having acquired the Orielton estate through marriage,⁵⁵ and Mary Lloyd hailed from Bodidris in Denbighshire.⁵⁶ The last part of the poem details the way in which Mrs Owen’s ‘Vertue was her Temper’, portraying her unwavering loyalty to the King through her charitability and mild manner, ‘Fear’d nothing but the Crimes which some commit / Scorn’d those dark Arts which pass for Wisdom now / Nor to a mean ignoble thing could bow’ (ll. 51-4).

Philips’ final poem dedicated to a Welsh person is “On the death of the truly honourable Sir Walter Lloid Knight”. Unlike the other two poems, this is not about a member of Philips’ Society of Friendship, but instead eulogises an important and honourable Welsh Royalist who stayed loyal to the monarchy into the Restoration, when he passed away.⁵⁷ Relatively early on in the poem, Philips makes the claim that Sir Walter Lloyd, originally from Llanfair Clydogau, Cardiganshire, was of significant cultural importance to

⁵³ P. R. Newman, *Atlas of the English Civil War* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 29.

⁵⁴ Martyn Bennet, *The Civil Wars Experienced: Britain and Ireland, 1638-1661* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 91.

⁵⁵ Rees, *Owen family of Orielton, Pembs.*

⁵⁶ Dodd, *Lloyd Family, of Bodidris, Denbs.*

⁵⁷ Herbert Johnes Lloyd-Johnes, *Lloyd, Sir Walter (1580-1662?), of Llanfair Clydogau, Cards., Royalist* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-LLOY-WAL-1580.html> [accessed 6 Aug. 2017].

seventeenth-century Wales. She does this by referring to how the ancient Bards of Wales would mourn rather than eulogise him:

Nay, if those ancient Bards had seen his Herse,
 Who once in British shades spoke living Verse,
 Their high concern for him had made them be
 Apter to weep, than write his Elogy. (ll. 5-8)

The ‘Bards’ here are used in direct comparison to the ‘Muses’, whom Philips state would be able to ‘lament this loss, though not express’ (l. 4). Here, Philips is implying that the Welshness of Sir Lloyd is so strong that the ‘Muses’ would be unable to express their grief in poetry. However, while the Welsh Bards would have been able to write verses about him, they would have been too bereft to do so.

Where the beginning of the poem focuses on his Welshness, the remainder hones in on his Royalist rebellions in Parliamentary England and Wales. Philips once again uses imagery of storms and tempests, previously used in “A Sea Voyage from Tenby to Bristoll”, to describe the Civil War and political upset, where Sir Lloyd is transformed into a metaphorical Ark representing the ‘Arts and Vertues’ (l. 11) threatened by the parliamentary tempest:

So Heav’n did him in this worse deluge save,
 And made him triumph o’re th’ unquiet wave:
 Who while he did with that wild storm contest,
 Such real magnanimity express’d
 That he dar’d to be loyal, in a time
 When ‘twas a danger made, and thought a crime (ll. 15-20)

In this passage, Philips wholeheartedly believes that Sir Lloyd had survived the Civil War by the grace of God. However, he did not have an easy life during the Interregnum, having been

fined, stripped of his role as Member of Parliament for Cardiganshire, and his estates sequestered for his adherence to the side of Charles I.⁵⁸

At the end of the poem, Philips likens Sir Lloyd to the Biblical character, Simeon. Much like Simeon, who had been told by the Holy Spirit that he would not die until he had seen Christ, Sir Lloyd did not die until Charles II had retaken the throne:

But when his Vows propitious Heaven had heard,
 And our unequal'd King at length appear'd.
 As aged Simeon did his spirits yield,
 When he had seen his dearest hoped fulfil'd;
 He gladly saw the morning of that day,
 Which Charles his growing splendour did display;
 Then to Eternal joies made greater haste (ll. 45-51)

The similarities between the story of Simeon and Sir Walter Lloyd are quite striking, and the implication of this is that God was always on the side of the King. God saves Sir Lloyd from dying during the Civil War and Sir Lloyd is transformed into an Ark which stores everything the Royalists held dear. Divine intervention enables Sir Lloyd to witness the restoration of the monarchy. As with the other eulogies about powerful and respected Welsh Royalists, Philips ends the poem by relating her friends back to Wales. In Sir Lloyd's case, Philips claims 'his sad Country by his death have lost / Their noblest Pattern, and their greatest boast' (ll. 55-56). This is different to the way Philips depicted the deaths of Mary Lloyd and Mrs Owen, whose losses felt more personal, while Sir Lloyd is was more of a role model for the Welsh to follow.

⁵⁸ W. R. Williams, *The History of the Parliamentary Representation of Wales*, 1895, p. 29.

Finally, answer the question of Welsh ventriloquism in Philips' poetry, I will consider "On the Welch Language".⁵⁹ I will be arguing that this poem should be read as an elegy where Philips elevates and designates Welsh as equally important to British society as Latin and Greek. From the very beginning of the poem, Philips establishes the prestige and importance of the Welsh language:

If honour to an ancient name be due,
Or Riches challenge it for one that's new,
The Brittish Language claims in either Sence,
Both for its Age, and for its Opulence. (ll. 1-4)

This kind of language is usually reserved for the languages of education, such as Latin, Greek or Hebrew, with these particular languages being symbolic of civilisation and knowledge. By grouping Welsh with them, Philips is elevating it to the level, echoing Welsh humanists such as Humphrey Llwyd.⁶⁰

The nature of the poem is contentious for many writers. For example, John Kerrigan suggests that 'her knowledge of ancient Brythonic was surely nil, making the claim that 'the Language hath the beauty lost' derivative if not merely and uncharacteristically clumsy'.⁶¹

The following lines are often the source for this argument:

And as the Roman and the Grecian State,
The Brittish fell, the spoyle of Time and Fate.
But though the Language hath her beauty Lost,
Yet she has still some great remains to boast;
For 'twas in that, the sacred Bards of Old,
In deathless numbers did their thoughts unfold,

⁵⁹ Katherine Philips, *The Collected Works of Katherine Philips*, pp. 202-3.

⁶⁰ See chapter one.

⁶¹ Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English*, p. 214.

In Groves, by Rivers, and on fertile plains,
 They civilized and taught the Listening Swains;
 Whilst with high raptures, and as great success,
 Virtue they cloath'd in musick's charming dress. (ll. 17-26)

Other writers have differing opinions on this passage. A summary of these has been outlined previously by Sarah Prescott.⁶² However, my interpretation of these lines suggests that she was perhaps more in-tune with contemporary images of the Welsh past, albeit in perhaps a slightly more romanticised version. In telling of the Bards who, 'In deathless numbers did their thoughts unfold, / In Groves, by Rivers, and on fertile plains' she is drawing upon the relationship the Welsh had with the landscapes around them, from the 'Bards of Old' to more contemporary writers within her coterie, such as Henry Vaughan, whose relationship with Brecknockshire was already discussed in the previous chapter.

In this interpretation of the poem, when Philips states that 'And as the Roman and the Grecian State, / The British fell, the spoyle of Time and Fate. / But though the Language hath her beauty Lost, / Yet she has still some great remains to boast', she could be referring to the way in which indigenous British society fell, just as the Roman and Greek civilisations fell, and this was the 'beauty' that had been lost from the language. Alternatively, referring back to her lines on the 'Bards', Philips could be arguing that these cultural features are the language's lost beauty. Supporting this theory is the way in which Philips refers to culturally significant aspects of Welsh identity. Firstly, the 'Bards' with their teachings of virtues 'cloath'd in musick's charming dress' (l. 26), most notably a reference to the role the Bards played in recording history, tales and genealogy. Secondly, she refers to legendary figures of cultural and historical significance, such as Merlin, King Arthur, Boadicea and Caratacus.

⁶² Sarah Prescott, 'Archipelagic Orinda? Katherine Philips and the Writing of Welsh Women's Literary History', *Literature Compass* 6/6 (2009), pp. 1167-176 (pp. 1173-175).

With each of these figures Philips suggests some of the ‘great remains to boast’ (l. 20) that survived the loss of whatever this lost beauty is. For Merlin, she hints towards the supposed prophecies that he spoke of, ‘Ev’n Destiny her self seem’d to enslave’ (l. 28), this is most likely a reference to his many prophecies, such as that the Tudors exploited to garner the support needed to take the English crown. I have previously outlined the propensity of some Welsh poets to express a more prophetic tone in their works, thus harkening back to the kind of language that spawned the legends of Merlin, yet this is also suggestive of the role of Wales in shaping the British Isles into what they were at the time Philips was writing. King Arthur, by association with Merlin, is used by Philips as a uniting figurehead, ‘This spoke King Arthur; who, if fame be true, / Could have compell’d mankind to speak it too’ (ll. 34-5), thus being able to act upon and successfully achieve Merlin’s prophecies.

On the other hand, Boadicea, queen of the Iceni tribe, and Caratacus, prince of the Catuvellauni and the Trinovantes, are both used together to suggest the bravery and valour of the Welsh. Philips uses Boadicea’s rebellion against Rome⁶³ to highlight her achievements as a Briton:

In this once Boadicia valour taught,
And spoke more nobly then her souldiers fought:
Tell me what Hero could do more than she,
Who fell at once for Fame and Liberty?
Nor could a greater sacrifice belong,
Or to her children’s or her Countrey’s wrong. (ll. 35-40)

Bearing in mind that, at the beginning of the poem, Philips elevates ancient Wales to the same level as Rome, it is quite apparent that by using Boadicea in this way she is demonstrating that Wales was not just equal to Rome and Greece in linguistic, cultural or

⁶³ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 2006), vol. 1, p. 234.

historical values, but also in military might. Caratacus is used in much the same way as Boadicea, Philips also highlighting his acts of rebellion against the Roman Empire:

This spoke Caratacus, who was so brave,
 That to the Roman fortune check he gave;
 And when their yolk he could decline no more,
 He it so decently and nobly wore,
 That Rome her self with blushes did believe
 A Brittan would the Law of Honour give;
 And hastily his chains away she threw,
 Least her own Captive else should her subdue. (ll. 41-8)

Caratacus, like Boadicea, led a military resistance against the Roman conquest of the island yet was unsuccessful.⁶⁴ However, his speech before his execution managed to persuade the Emperor Claudius to spare his life and set him free. In these two examples, Philips presents two British, if not exactly Welsh, figures who successfully withstood the might of the Roman Empire, and in doing so is showing the tenacity of the Welsh people to withstand and survive any attempt to subdue them.

Therefore, it is possible to read this poem to demonstrate how Philips believed there was more to the Welsh character than the language that they speak. By mourning the language in the first half of the poem she is able to demonstrate that there is more to Wales and Welsh identity than language. This lamentation on the lifespan of a language is part of a wider trend in linguistics of the time. This is evident in the Preface to Thomas Jones' *The British Language in its Lustre*:

To Languages as well as Dominions (with all other Things under the Sun) there is an appointed Time; they have had in their Infancy, foundations and Beginnings, their

⁶⁴ John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture*, p. 343.

growth and increase in Purity and Perfection; as also in Spreading and Propagation; their State of Consistency, and their old Age, declining and decay.⁶⁵

Through her mourning, Philips is displaying *hiraeth* for Welsh achievements firmly rooted in the past – the lost heroism of Caratacus and Boudicea, and the lost culture of Bards, Merlin and King Arthur in particular. There is quite clearly a sense that the continuity between ancient Britons and the Welsh was still something to which some people subscribed.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have explored the writing of two different writers residing in or close to Wales from two different periods in time, Thomas Churchyard, a Marcher man, who made some claims to finding his own identity within Wales, and Katherine Philips, a Royalist Englishwoman married into a Parliamentary family and residing in Wales during a period of particularly potent political turmoil. However, both examined Wales and the Welsh character. Churchyard, in his *Worthines of Wales*, set out to demonstrate to a readership somewhat hostile towards the Welsh, that Wales and its populace were both important to England. To do this he attempted to debunk libellous claims against the Welsh character. He also showed that places in the south-east and north-east of Wales held important historical features, such as English-built castles now falling into ruin, churches interred with important local figures allied with England, and a landscape that could be appreciated by anybody.

Katherine Philips, on the other hand, examined Wales in relation to her friends, such as Mary Lloyd of Bodidris, Mrs Owen or Orielton and Lucasia, but also through other important figures, such as Sir Walter Lloyd. However, a much greater concern for her as a

⁶⁵ Thomas Jones, *The British Language in its Lustre* (Shrewsbury: Stafford Pryse, 1688), p. 5.

protestant and a Royalist is the political and religious turmoil of the time, in which Puritan Parliamentarians had successfully defeated most of Royalist Wales. In eulogies to her Welsh friends, she refers repeatedly to monarchy, Mary Lloyd and Mrs Owen in particular likened to powerful matriarchs along the same lines as, perhaps, Elizabeth I, while Sir Walter Lloyd is depicted as being steadfast in his loyalty to Charles I throughout the Civil War. There is also a keen metaphysical element to these poems, often depicting the Royalist cause as heavenly sanctioned and protected from Parliamentary tempests. The Welsh women featured in her poems are depicted as having strong virtues and beliefs in God and the monarch, while Sir Walter Lloyd is portrayed almost like the biblical Ark, taking within him all the values of the Royalists, Protestants and Welsh to safeguard until the Restoration of the monarch.

Chapter 5

John Owen the Epigrammatist and the Welsh in England and London

In this final chapter I will discuss the epigrams of John Owen in their translations by John Vicars, Thomas Pecke and Thomas Harvey. By examining these epigrams I hope to ascertain whether there is a difference in attitude between a Welsh writer living in England in comparison with writers living within Wales, such as those I discussed in my first three chapters. Using primarily the complete translations by Harvey, whose edition contains all eleven books of epigrams, I will assess what kinds of subjects Owen includes in his epigrams, specifically examining those poems that concern Wales and the Welsh language, as well as the relationships between Wales, England and Scotland. Furthermore, I will explore the focus of each translator, particularly in the case of Vicars and Pecke, who translated selectively, in contrast to Harvey who translated all of Owen's epigrams. By doing so, I will determine what influenced the translators in their selection, whether that was through patronage or their respective contemporary contexts. Finally, I will consider the way in which Owen's epigrams portraying other Welsh people living in England. I will also discuss the way in which he writes about the Prince of Wales.

John Owen was born at Plas Du, Llanarmon, in 1564 to a staunchly Catholic family. In his article on the historical context of Owen, Byron Harries discusses the importance of the family at Plas Du. This family was heavily involved in local politics, and they were prominent recusants in north-west Wales:

The family, landowners in the principality and active in its local politics, had supplied young men to train abroad for the Catholic priesthood, and almost certainly offered hiding-places for recusant clergy active in their area'.¹

However, as a result of sectarian measures against Catholicism and his educational aspirations at Oxford, Owen renounced his Catholic faith, perhaps out of the fear that he would also face the same legal repercussions as his family, and effectively converted to Anglicanism.² After Owen had shed his Catholic faith for the established Protestantism, he relied on his cultural upbringing as a Welshman in some of his epigrams.

Owen in Translation

In a number of his epigrams, Owen talks about Wales and its relationship with England and Scotland under James I:

204. To *England* of the uniting of *Britain*.

Concord intern-etern Crowns *Britains* Brow,
For her three Nations are united now:
Scotland with Shield, *Wales* doth like Walls immure
Thy Land, O *England*: thou maist rest secure.³

In this epigram Owen is quite clearly demonstrating that Scotland and Wales both act as a form of protection for England, being a 'Shield' and 'Wall' respectively. While Owen does not say precisely from what Wales and Scotland are defending England, it is likely that he is

¹ Byron Harries, 'John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context', *Renaissance Studies*, 18 (2004), 19-32 (p. 19).

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey, Gent. Dedicated By the Author Mr John Owen unto the Lady Mary Nevil, Daughter of the Earl of Dorset* (London: White, 1677), pp. 68-9.

referring to Ireland and the preoccupation with a backdoor Catholic invasion. The implications of this are firstly, by relinquishing his Catholic beliefs, Owen was now writing with a Protestant persona, fuelled by hostility towards Catholicism, and secondly, that he also regarded England to be his home.

The idea that union meant for a stronger and more defensible nation is apparent in a number of Owen's other epigrams. For example in his First Book dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales in "The State of Britain's Union",⁴ he says 'This Ile, *Elisa* raining, was like Wool, / By thee spun, *Henry* will make't cloth in full.' This particular epigram exemplifies the distrust Queen Elizabeth I had garnered towards the end of her reign – she was unable to provide an heir for her throne and this presented a threat to the constitutional fabric of the islands. James, on the other hand, had both united the entire island and provided an heir in the form of Henry, the first Prince of Wales since Edward Tudor. Indeed, Owen seems to be in favour of British unity, writing in another epigram, simply titled "Union",⁵ that 'Divine is Union, Division evil's: / For there's one God, innumerable Devils.' The idea Owen presents in this couplet is that, by uniting the islands under the one crown, it makes Britain more divine and godly. This infers that if Britain was still divided, then it would provide more room for Catholicism to spread through the island. This idea of the British Union as godly is repeated in another poem entitled 'Union':

To Married Britains

One God and Union, the World supply,
Wedlock on Earth was the first Unity.⁶

⁴ Ibid., p. 120.

⁵ Ibid, p. 50.

⁶ Ibid., p. 91.

This implies that, through the unification of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the countries of Britain are effectively bound together by marriage, somewhat akin to Adam and Eve in the first wedding. The suggestion here is that, much like as Eve was made from the same flesh as Adam and thus the two were made for one another, each part of the archipelago was cut from the same earth and the uniting of the crowns becomes an ordinance of creation. This idea is echoed in “The State of Britain’s Union”, which weaves the island together from separate strands of wool into one cloth. Following on from the idea that unification was beneficial for security, political stability and religious unity, is the concept that coming together was a logical step that could not be refused:

Union, to the *Britains*, 1606.

Who, unless mad, will offer’d Gold refuse?

Here’s Union: This Pearl who will not choose.⁷

The image of Britain as a pearl is symbolic of the purity of the union, from its starting point with the Union of England and Wales up to when England and Scotland were brought together under one crown. From these epigrams on unity it is apparent that Owen was keen to portray the relationships of the various nations on the island as being pure and divinely ordained, each part responsible in its own way for protecting and defending the whole island from continental threats. However, this goes beyond geographic security, as depicted in the epigram, “Albion, to the King”:

England was once an Heptarchy: that while

Into nine Parts was parted all this Isle.

Unhappy *Britain* when divided thus;

United, happy made by thee for us.⁸

⁷ Ibid., p. 74.

⁸ Ibid., p. 45.

Here, England, initially as seven separate kingdoms, referring to the Heptarchy of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Kent, Sussex and Wessex, is the first to unite. The significance of calling it ‘Albion’ is that this was the ancient name for the island as a whole,⁹ and is thus symbolic of political and geographic unity. In lamenting that the divided England is causing an ‘unhappy Britain’, Owen is demonstrating that the relationships between England, Wales and Scotland were mutually beneficial as the island’s unity solidifies itself against its Catholic enemies from Ireland and the continent.

The epigram, “Pleas in the year 1609. between *Rob. Calvin*, Plaintiff; and *John Bingley*, and *Richard Gryffin*, Defendants”¹⁰ is another poem in celebration of the Union. However, in this case has taken the form of a dispute between an Englishman, a Scotsman and a Welshman, perhaps symbolic of both the turbulent relationships between the three nations and of their eventual Union:

When the *Post-nati* were in Law of late,
Robert the Son of *James* o’re came; blest fate:
 Th’ one *English*, th’ other *Welsh*, the Victor *Scot*
 O’re came them, guilty both: A lucky lot.
 I love good luck: Britains, Hearts-Hands unite;
 This Island shall no more be bipartite.
 Their Sons Sons Sons shall see, there shall be then
 One Kingdom under but one King, *Amen*

This poem is a reference to the legal case “Case of the Postnati” wherein it was decided in English law, in 1608, that any child born in Scotland after the Union of the Crowns was considered to be an English subject and therefore entitled to all the benefits that an

⁹ Peter Ackroyd, *Albion: The Origins of the English Imagination* (London: Vintage, 2004), p. xix.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

Englishman enjoyed by law.¹¹ In this poem, Owen appears to be using the figure of Robert Calvin, the historical plaintiff of the case, as a personification of Scotland, John Bingley and Richard Gryffin representing England and Wales. Owen celebrates the success of Calvin over Bingley and Gryffin as a victory for the proponents of Unionism, pronouncing it to be ‘good luck’ for Britain as a whole, as it heralds the union of the island.

Owen’s perhaps most remarkable poem about the relationship between Wales and England is not, in fact, an epigram. Entitled, “Henry the Roses, James the Kingdoms. To the King”, it is one of the few poems that transcends the normal limitations and themes of an epigram in its extended length:

The Roses, English colours Red and White,
 Like Cadmus new-sprung Host ingag’d in Fight,
 And as the Twins, which one Egge did include,
 Do Rise and Set in a vicissitude,
 As Day the Night, as Night succeeds the Day,
 The Roses so did bear alternate sway,
 Till Mother Mona British Angles’y,
 An Isle which Tacitus not tacitely
 Recordeth, happy Mother, happier
 By bearing British Owen Theodor:
 From whom arose a Noble Prince, a Rose
 Whose Wife and Mother sprung from Stem of those,
 Who thousand dangers pass’d in Nuptial Bed,
 United both the Roses White and Red.
 Which Union, lest Change or Chance divide

¹¹ Sir Edward Coke, *The Selected Writings and Speeches of Sir Edward Coke*, ed. Steve Sheppard (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003), pp. 166-232.

The Roses, His: The Kingdoms are thy Bride.¹²

This poem begins by referring to the Houses of York and Lancaster, equating their dynastic rivalry with the inevitability of the day and night cycle. This conveys a sense of struggle between the two English Houses, placing it on a par with classical mythology, such as Cadmus and the origin myth of Thebes,¹³ and the alternating succession between the sun and moon. However, Owen implies their rivalry ends only through Wales. This is conveyed by the use of a Welsh proverb, ‘Môn Mam Cymru’, which depicts Anglesey as the mother of Wales.¹⁴ However, Owen’s uses this proverb to refer to a different kind of fertility. Rather than presenting the image of an island capable of feeding the mainland with its crops, Anglesey is the mother who gave birth to ‘British Owen Theodor’, or Owen Tudor, the grandfather of King Henry VII – the ‘Noble Prince’ – to whom Owen refers as uniting ‘Roses White and Red’, resulting in the Union that Owen so often celebrates within his epigrams.

However, it is the shared kinship with other Welsh people living in England that is most apparent in examining the Welshness of John Owen. In Owen’s Epigrams, I have identified a number of figures who are Welsh or are tangentially ‘Welsh’: Richard Vaughan the Bishop of London, Roger Owen, a trio of men named John Williams, Philip Sidney, and Henry, Prince of Wales. Begin with epigrams dedicated to Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London between 1604 and 1607, who was significant for assisting William Morgan with his translation of the Bible into Welsh.¹⁵ The first of Owen’s epigrams about Vaughan is entitled “To Richard Vaughan Bishop of London”:

¹² John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, pp. 51-2.

¹³ Mark P. O. Morford and Robert J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology*, 6th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 294-5.

¹⁴ John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, *The Oxford Companion to British History*, ed. by John Cannon and Robert Crowcroft, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 29.

¹⁵ Philip Jenkins, *A History of Modern Wales 1536-1990* (London: Longman, 1992), p. 105.

O, of the British Thou th' immortal Grace,
Art the First British Bishop of this Place.¹⁶

In this couplet, Owen celebrates the fact that Vaughan was the first 'British', or Welsh, Bishop of London. Here, he is displaying a degree of national pride through immortalising the first Welsh Bishop of London in a Latin poem. In calling Vaughan the 'First British Bishop of this Place', Owen is at odds with himself on his definition of 'British'. In his poem, "A Welch Man" he states that '*English* and *Scots* by name are one with thee: / Now *Welch*-man, sole thou shalt not British be'.¹⁷ This suggests that 'British' begins to refer to the peoples of the whole united island, rather than as an alternative name for the Welsh as it had been used up to the previous centuries. The poem following directly on entitled "To the same", is also about Richard Vaughan:

I like those Preachers best, who Preach and Act;
Not those that only Preach but wave the Face:
Thou therefore dost excell, for thou dost teach
What should be done, and dost what thou dost Preach.¹⁸

Perhaps Vaughan was one of Owen's many patrons, as Richard McCabe noted, 'John Owen [...] laboured the Welsh connection and addressed five epigrams to Egerton and one each to his protégés'.¹⁹ These protégés were Richard Vaughan and John Williams, who later became Archbishop of York and offered patronage to Owen.²⁰ The third and final poem Owen wrote about Richard Vaughan was "Upon the Death of Rich. Vaughan Bishop of London, 1607":

I who thee living did most justly praise,

¹⁶ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Richard McCabe, *'Ungaineful Arte': Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 283.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

Well knowing that thy worth deserv'd the Bays,
 Ah, thee now dead, why praise I not more full?
 Joys did my wit make brisk, Grief makes it dull.
 While with more Tears, than Verse, I found thy knell,
 My Tears confound my Verse, my words: farewell.²¹

Just as with the previous poem, Owen also holds this Bishop in high regard. The reasons for praising the Bishops stems from Owen's background in recusancy and his continual need to prove that he has forsaken the Catholic faith. Having said that, it is also clear from the line 'Ah, thee now dead, why praise I not more full', that Owen regretted not dedicating more of his work to him. Owen tells us that such is the grief of losing the first Welsh Bishop of London is enough to make his wit 'dull' and 'confound' his verse, a distinct contrast to the typically witty lines of the majority of his other epigrams. What this implies is that Owen's recusant past did not appear to have had any impact on patronage, especially as they included Protestant Bishops. Richard Wilson explains that 'any writer born into a devoutly recusant lineage [...] would have little choice [...] than to start out as a dependent of one of the houses of the Catholic nobility',²² yet this does not appear to be the case for Owen.

Owen dedicates a trio of epigrams to three separate men called John Williams, the first from Carmarthenshire and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford and later the Dean of Bangor,²³ the second from Aberconwy and a fellow at St. John's College, Cambridge, and later the Archbishop of York, and the third from Gwynedd and was the goldsmith to King James I. The first epigram, entitled "To John Williams, a Cambro-Britan, Dr. in Divinity, Principal of Jesus Colledge in Oxford", depicts him as a wise man akin to Janus in the way in

²¹ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 103.

²² Richard Wilson, 'Introduction: a torturing hour – Shakespeare and the martyrs', *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. by Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay and Richard Wilson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 1-39 (p. 19).

²³ John James Jones, *Williams, John (d. 1613), principal of Jesus College, Oxford* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-WILL-JOH-1613.html>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

which he examines ‘both old and new’ in scripture, most likely referring to the Old and New Testaments:

Thou dost the Scriptures search, both old and new;
Thou *Janus* are, before-behind do’st view.²⁴

The significance of equating John Williams with Janus, the Roman god of, among many things, beginnings and endings, demonstrates how Protestantism emphasises scriptural teachings of only the Bible, unlike Catholicism, where external accoutrements are ritualised.²⁵ In this epigram, as in those dedicated to Richard Vaughan, Owen is celebrating Welsh Protestants, producing key figures, despite its pockets of recusancy.

The second, and possibly most-known John Williams to be celebrated in Owen’s epigrams is the fellow of St John’s College, Cambridge, who later became the Archbishop of York.²⁶ This John Williams is addressed in “To John Williams, a Cambro-Britan, a Divine, and fellow of St John’s Colledge in Cambridge”:

Ingenious youth, do not thy Talent hide,
The *Cambrians* Honour shall by thee abide.²⁷

The tone of this poem about the young Williams may be compared to that of Richard Vaughan in which Owen expresses a sense of pride in the fact that he was the first Welsh Bishop of London. In this poem, Owen similarly shows some Welsh pride in this younger John Williams’ talent for divinity, perhaps foreshadowing his illustrious career as the Archbishop. However, it is probable, as with Richard Vaughan, Williams was also a patron of

²⁴ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 198.

²⁵ Angus Stroud, *Stuart England* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 14.

²⁶ National Library of Wales, *Williams, John (1582 - 1650), dean of Westminster, lord keeper of the great seal, archbishop of York* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-WILL-JOH-1582.html>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

²⁷ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 198.

John Owen. If this was the case then it would explain why he grants the respect of the whole of Wales, ‘the *Cambrians* Honour’, on his shoulder, in comparison with the other two John Williams’.

The third John Williams, the King’s Goldsmith, is entitled, “John Williams, a Cambro-Britan, the Kings Goldsmith in London”. This epigram is more like the first poem about John Williams of Jesus College in that it lacks any particular national signifiers beyond its title:

Thy civil wit doth more than civil seem;
Thee wiser than a Citizen I deem.²⁸

Conal Coldren explains that ‘the word citizen was domesticated and relegated to the margins of political discourse [...] assimilated explicitly to English distinctions of rank and order’.²⁹ Through this, Owen is showing that this goldsmith’s social status grants him rights and privileges greater than his peers, especially as Owen considers him to be ‘wiser than a Citizen’. However, Coldren also describes that ‘stereotypical and parodic writing on the citizen so often focuses on pretension and vanity’.³⁰ In stating Williams is ‘wiser’ and has ‘civil wit’ Owen could be subverting the idea that the ‘citizen’ was vain and pretentious. He could also be alluding to a number of institutions of which John Williams was a benefactor his philanthropy being the reason for his inclusion in this group. This John Williams hailed from Eifionydd in Gwynedd and belonged to the Wynn’s of Gwydir through his grandfather, an illegitimate son of Meredydd ap Ieuan ap Rhobert of Cesail Gyfarchm, who claimed descent from Owain Glyndŵr.³¹ This John Williams is credited with founding the free school

²⁸ Ibid., p. 198.

²⁹ Conal Condren, *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1994), pp. 95-6.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 97.

³¹ Robert Thomas Jenkins, *Williams, John (fl. 1584-1627?), goldsmith* (Aberystwyth: National Library of Wales, 1959) <<http://yba.llgc.org.uk/en/s-WILL-JOH-1584.html>> [accessed 3 January 2017].

and alms-houses in Llanrwst, explaining the first line of Owen's epigram, 'Thy civil wit doth more than civil seem', as his privileged position as the King's goldsmith granted him the ability to afford such a charitable act.

It is not a coincidence that Owen decided to include these three epigrams in his collection. As noted previously, consecutive poems about the same person would be titled 'To the same'. In doing so, Owen disorientates his readers as they adjust their interpretation of the text to accommodate the three different John Williams. Byron Harries explains that this is part of Owen's wit, observing that he:

Liked playing tricks on his audience, disorienting them not with the merely unexpected but in the ludic manner, with the very opposite of what their inductive sense leads them to expect'.³²

It is this subversion of the senses that pervades not only Owen's epigrams, but also textual structure. However, these three epigrams demonstrate Owen's wish to portray notable Welsh people as being charitable, spiritual and, most importantly, Protestant.

Roger Owen, a Member of Parliament for Shropshire, and patron to Owen, features in three of his epigrams. In addition to this, one of Owen's books was dedicated to him.³³ The first poem addressed to him appears in the volume dedicated to Lady Arabella Stuart, one of the possible heirs considered to be in line after Elizabeth I.³⁴ Entitled, "To Roger Owen, a Learned Knight" this epigram focuses on Roger Owen's knowledge of Wales:

Thou knowst the Britains Laws, their old, new Rites,
And all that their whole History recites:

³² Byron Harries, 'John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context', p. 20.

³³ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 197.

³⁴ Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Stuart, Lady Arabella (1575-1615)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/601> [accessed 8 Aug. 2017].

In thy Discourse, Th' art so profoundly read,
A living Library seems in thine Head.³⁵

Although Roger Owen does not have any true connection to Wales besides being a member of the Council of Wales and the Marches, John Owen alleges that Owen is an expert on Welsh law and history in that he 'knowst the Britains Laws, their old, new Rites / And all that their whole History recites'. While there is no evidence for this, Parliamentary records suggest that he enjoyed a reputation in Shropshire for 'all manner of learning, care of the good of the commonwealth, for composing of controversies, buying peace with his own purse, maintaining of amity, and love to his neighbours'.³⁶ The poems dedicated to him do not reference Wales or its history and culture, but instead pay homage to Owen's character.

The second poem, "To Roger Owen, his Mecaenas", dedicates the book to him. It celebrates his virtue as a patron, 'It is they Vertue, Vertue to propose / To be thy Study, this thy Judgement chose',³⁷ while the third poem, "To the Learned and Judicious Knight, Roger Owen", honours the intelligence of the Member of Parliament and how it is recognisable to all, 'None will thee young, unless he's Deaf, suppose; / Nor old, unless he doth his Eye-lids close'.³⁸ By writing about Sir Roger Owen in this way, Owen demonstrates the liminal nature of the Welsh-English border as discussed in my previous chapters. As the Council of Wales and the Marches were situated in Ludlow, the two regions were combined into one political entity. It is for this reason that Wales and the Marches had more in common culturally and historically with one another than is often thought. Gwyn Williams notes this peculiarity:

³⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

³⁶ 'Owen, Roger (1573-1617), of Condover, Salop.' (London: The History of Parliament Trust, 1981) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/owen-roger-1573-1617> [accessed 14 August 2016]

³⁷ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 197.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 201.

Wales acquired its historic frontier in the estate boundaries of an oligarchy of its exploiters. Ethnic minorities were left on both sides of the line. Old Ergyng (Archenfield) disappeared definitively into Herefordshire but remained Welsh-speaking for three hundred years and, indeed, supplied a quite disproportionate number of Welsh notables, not least under Elizabeth I.³⁹

Welsh-speaking communities, as in Oswestry in Shropshire, existed across the entirety of the border between Wales and England.

There were other, less famous people on whom Owen wrote epigrams. The most prominent of these, “Of one called Davis”, is particularly humorous, demonstrating Owen’s skill for wit:

From *London Davisses* thou bragg’st Descent,
 And dost dissent from *British* Orient.
 Ignoble thou, a noble Stock and pure
 Disclaim’st, and claim’st from Parents more obscure:
 Thou with thy native soyle dost well agree,
 For thou of it, and it’s ashame’d of thee.⁴⁰

In this poem we find Owen mocking a ‘Davis’ who appears to deny his Welsh heritage, despite his name suggesting otherwise, by bragging about his descent from ‘London Davisses’. This is a far cry from the previous century when members of the gentry would claim false links to Wales, as I have demonstrated in my first and second chapters. Unlike the gentry, ‘Davis’ is a simple Londoner who did not need to play these dynastic games. It is this rejection of his Welsh ancestry that Owen calls him dishonourable, despite his ‘noble Stock’. Owen concludes the poem with a couplet suggesting that this man, who claimed heritage

³⁹ Gwyn A. Williams, *When was Wales?* (London: Black Raven Press, 1985), p. 119.

⁴⁰ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 35.

solely from London, has Welsh blood coursing through him, ‘Thou with thy native soyle dost well agree, / For thou of it’, yet due to his denial of this heritage ‘it’s asham’d’ of him.

Before moving on to discuss poems dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, there is one final epigram written about the most favoured enemy of Welsh historians, Polydore Vergil:

Two *Virgils* were; one *Maro* (soaring higher)
A Poet; next thou *Polydore* a Lyar.⁴¹

This epigram, entitled “Polydore Virgil”, compares the two Vergils of literary and scholarly fame, Maro Virgil, who famously wrote the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, and Polydore Vergil, the humanist scholar who questioned the history of Britain as laid out by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Owen succinctly renders Vergil ‘a Lyar’, in direct contrast with the poetic Virgil, subverting Plutarch’s claims that all poets were liars⁴² by insinuating that scholars are also able to lie. This epigram demonstrates how Monmouth’s *Historia Regum Britanniae* was still respected by Welsh people. By accusing Vergil of being a ‘Liar’ in a poem that was fully intended to be published and distributed on the continent is quite significant in itself. This is particularly noteworthy as politics and diplomacy was increasingly managed in a wider European context.

Turning finally to Owen’s most celebrated of patrons, Henry Frederick (1603-1612), the short-lived Prince of Wales, of the handful of poems addressed to him, only two are particularly Welsh. The first of these, entitled, “To Henry, Prince of Wales” published in Owen’s first book of epigrams, which was dedicated to the Prince:

Thy Breast, Brain, Reason, Head, Affections, Heart,
In thee with good Effects perform their Part:
Thy Wit thy Courage, Reason rules thy Sense;

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 78.

⁴² Hazard Adams, *The Offense of Poetry* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), p. 66.

Thine Head compleats thine Heart with Eminence.
 Wales had three noble Princes, Great surnam'd,
 And Thou, Great Prince, shalt be the fourth proclaim'd.⁴³

Owen begins this epigram by providing evidence as to why Henry would make a perfect leader, his 'Breast, Brain, Reason, Head, Affections, Heart, / In thee with good Effects perform their Part'. This rather emphatic and passionate description of Henry is demonstrative of the attitude towards the title of 'Prince of Wales'. Indeed, Marisa R. Cull described how Henry Frederick's 'dynamic personality and his potential as a future king had attracted a cult-like following long before he became an invested prince of Wales'.⁴⁴ This could be reflected in Owen's endorsement of Henry at the beginning of this poem.

Following on, by stating that 'Wales had three noble Princes, Great surnam'd', Owen attests that it does not matter if this Prince is Welsh by blood or birthplace at all. Instead, the qualities listed at the beginning of the poem are all Owen considers necessary for Henry to be Prince of Wales. In fact, at the end of the poem Owen claims that Henry 'shalt be the fourth proclaim'd', following in the footsteps of Rhodri the Great, Llewelyn the Great and, perhaps, Hywel the Good in the absence of a third with the epithet of 'the Great'. This achieves a sense of succession from the Welsh royal dynasties to the Scottish House of Stuart by Henry Frederick taking the title of Prince of Wales. It is also crucial that Henry Frederick had a 'carefully cultivated image as a militant Protestant hero',⁴⁵ which is perhaps exploited by Owen (the lapsed Catholic) in order to fully position himself as a Protestant in political and

⁴³ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 112.

⁴⁴ Marisa R. Cull, *Shakespeare's Princes of Wales: English Identity and the Welsh Connection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 42.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

literary circles, both in the British Isles and on the continent where he was known as the ‘British Martial’.⁴⁶

The second poem is entitled “Upon the Death of Prince Henry, 1612.” While not explicitly Welsh in theme, it demonstrates Owen’s attitudes towards the wider political geography of the British Isles:

Dead is the Prince, bewall’d with Floods of Tears,
Great Britains Hope, his Parents Joys and Fears.
His second no man, but his German Brother;
And, but his German Sister, not another.
A Prince, while living, honour’d, dead, belov’d;
Both of his Countrey, while he liv’d, he prov’d.
While I these things with weeping Eyes perpend
Salt Tears from both mine Eyes like Floods descend,
Reader, believe me, this me so doth touch,
That I can speak no more I weep so much.⁴⁷

The grief exhibited by Owen in this poem is indicative of the popularity of the Prince of Wales as person, patron and body politic.⁴⁸ Owen describes the Prince as ‘Great Britains Hope’ and the only option as an heir to the throne without resorting to his ‘German Brother’ and ‘German Sister’. This is perhaps referring to the lines of the Stuart dynasty who married into German kingdoms, specifically his sister Elizabeth, who married Frederick V of the Palatinate shortly after Henry’s death in November 1612.⁴⁹ Alternatively, this could be referring to ‘brother-german’ and ‘sister-german’, siblings born to the same mother and father

⁴⁶ James Doelman, *The Epigram in England, 1590-1640* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), p. 21.

⁴⁷ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 208.

⁴⁸ For more on Prince Henry, see Sarah Fraser, *The Prince Who Would Be King: The Life and Death of Henry Stuart* (London: Harper Collins, 2017).

⁴⁹ Ronald G. Asch, ‘Elizabeth, Princess (1596-1663)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638> [accessed 9 Aug. 2017].

– Charles and Elizabeth. The sincerity of Owen’s grief at the death of the Prince of Wales is indicative of the degree of investment he had in the success of the Union; Owen states that Henry was ‘A Prince, while living, honour’d, dead, belov’d; Both of his Countrey, while he liv’d, he prov’d’. This demonstrates the extent to which Prince Henry was loved and respected, as demonstrated by Roy Strong⁵⁰ and Jerry Wayne Williamson,⁵¹ who have both detailed the impact Henry’s death had on the course of British history, literature and society at the time. Furthermore Owen is showing in this poem how Prince Henry was symbolic of the Union itself as a staunchly Protestant Scotsman, Welsh Prince and heir to the English throne.

Indeed, it is quite clear that the concept of Union heavily permeates the works of Owen, from poems specifically on the subject of the Union, to those dedicated to friends and acquaintances, and even down to the patrons themselves. Harries provides a notable example of this in the way in which Owen writes Lady Mary Neville. Here, he describes how Owen makes ‘reference to her birth opening the way to Union of the Kingdoms being presented as Elizabeth’s true offspring, as if the old queen’s physical virginity had been preserved to enable her to give eventual birth to the United Kingdom’.⁵² It is interesting to note that, in Owen’s first book, Lady Mary Neville is represented in a similar way in the epigram entitled “To the Lady Mary Neville”:

If us Pythagoras doth not delude,
Thou Juno, Pallas, Venus, dost include:
For in Thee, though but One, Three vertues be:
Where, One of Them is rare, in other Three.⁵³

⁵⁰ Roy Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales, and England’s Lost Renaissance* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

⁵¹ J. W. Williamson, *The Myth of the Conqueror: Prince Henry Stuart: A Study of Seventeenth-Century Personation* (New York: AMS Press, 1978).

⁵² Byron Harries, ‘John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context’, p. 28.

⁵³ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 2.

In this epigram Lady Neville is deified as a union of three Roman goddesses – Juno, the goddess of marriage, Pallas or Athena, the goddess of wisdom, and Venus, the fertility goddess. These three goddesses are brought together into one figure to represent the positive dynamic that he wished to instil in the Union between Wales, Scotland and England. Harries sums up these themes of Union in Owen's text perfectly, claiming 'providence is bringing together Scots, Welsh, and English, Stuarts and Tudors, James, Elizabeth, and Owen himself as threads in the single tapestry of British history'.⁵⁴

Owen Lost in Translation?

In order to understand these translations fully, it is necessary to outline what it meant to translate a text during this period. Neil Rhodes explains that Cicero's *De Optimo genere oratorum* was used as a key source for Renaissance translation theory, describing how this text 'established the principle of translating sense for sense rather than word for word'.⁵⁵ For secular texts, such as Owen's epigrams, in particular it is also important to realise that a would-be translator is not simply translating a text as a hobby. Instead, they have an express purpose for producing the text, 'it has to be concerned with how you translate as well as why and for whom'.⁵⁶ It can be argued that, for poetic publications such as Owen's, the meaning is within symbolic imagery which can be lost if the translation is poor, as I will demonstrate in a number of these epigrams. Therefore I will explore how each of these different translators interpret Owen's text, for whom they are producing their translations, and why they have chosen to take on the works of John Owen in particular. In examining how each

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 28.

⁵⁵ Neil Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, ed. by Neil Rhodes, Gordon Kendal and Louise Wilson (London: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013), p. 2.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

translator interprets Owen, I will determine how early modern translation (as defined by Rhodes) shapes the different texts in terms of their writers' goals, as well as assessing the extent to which Owen's Welsh identity is lost in translation.

The two sets of translations – by John Vicars and by Thomas Pecke – are, in comparison with that of Thomas Harvey, incomplete. It is possible to contrast which poems were translated to determine what these two translators considered relevant and appropriate for the time. Examining John Vicars' 1619 translated edition of John Owen's works,⁵⁷ he begins with a dedicatory poem to Charles, the then Prince of Wales, entitled "To the most High, Hopefull and Happy Charles, Prince of Wales":

Great Britaines great Hope, Parents sprouting Vin
 Fathers and Mothers Halfe, by Princely Line,
 Wel-nigh un-pattern'd Patterne of rare Parts,
 Who, though Few equall, All Love in their harts:
 These Princely Parts, whence had they this great growth
 From Fathers Loines or Mothers Paps? From Both.
 Be still, (as th' art) Parents Idea right;
 Let none thee equall in such Princely Light:
 That being Vertues Prince and Principall,
 Heaven may Thee Blesse with Blisse Angelicall.⁵⁸

In this poem we see Vicars transferring Owen's style of panegyric celebrating the late Henry Frederick onto the current Prince of Wales and future King, Charles. By the time this edition had been published, Henry Frederick had been dead for seven years and any hope previously invested in him had been moved to his younger brother. This is observed in the poem through

⁵⁷ John Owen, *Epigrams of that most wittie and worthie epigrammatist Mr. John Owen, Gentleman*, trans. by John Vicars (London: Stansby, 1619).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. A2r.

the way Vicars refers to him as ‘Great Britaines great Hope’, echoing Owen in “Upon the Death of Prince Henry, 1612”, where he is also described as ‘Great Britains Hope’. Indeed, the similarities continue, where Henry was ‘his Parents Joys and Fears’, Charles is instead his ‘Parents sprouting Vin’. This, as well as the repeated references to his parents and the way in which he is a combination of father and mother, indicates a sense of dynastic continuity in Charles that Henry perhaps, in hindsight, lacked. However, where Owen celebrated Henry as the fourth Prince of Wales that had been granted the epithet of ‘Great’, Charles bears no markers of any degree of ‘Welshness’ outside the title of the poem itself. Of course, Vicars was an Englishman, a biographer and polemicist born in 1582 in London, from a Cumberland background, it would have been more surprising to find markers of Welsh nationhood in this poem.

Vicars’ choice of poems for this edition, or more so which poems he chose to omit, is significant. The vast majority of the poems discussed earlier in this chapter, as translated by Thomas Harvey, were not included in Vicars’ edition. However, the two longer poems written in praise of the late Henry Frederick discussed earlier, “Upon the Death of Prince Henry, 1612” and “To Henry, Prince of Wales”, are included. The addition of these poems could perhaps be attributed to Vicars himself dedicating this text to Charles, who was said to have had an excellent relationship with his older brother, as Gregg has explained: ‘Henry also expended thought and care on his delicate younger brother [...] Charles repaid him with affection and hero-worship’.⁵⁹ In including these poems Vicars is perhaps attempting to curry favour with Charles. However, the main contention here is that he failed to include a translation of the only poem that John Owen had written for Charles, “To Charles, Duke of York”:

⁵⁹ Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 19.

The Kings, the Kingdoms next Hope-Happiness,
 Great Charles, yet then the Prince of Camb'ra less:
 Thy Tutors Counsel use, thee which instruct:
 Sage-sane advice, a Duke will safe conduct.
 Be like thy Father, Second to thy Brother;
 Thy Second, or thy like will be none other.⁶⁰

In this poem translated by Harvey, Owen outlines that Charles is the 'Kingdoms next Hope-Happiness' after Henry. This sentiment was perhaps echoed by Vicars in the title of his dedication to Charles when he described him as the 'Hopefull and Happy Charles, Prince of Wales'. We also see how, in this poem, Owen attributes the epithet 'Great' to Charles as well, symbolic of the future when Charles would follow in his brother's footsteps as Prince of Wales. However, for Owen, Charles would forever be in his brother's shadow, 'Be like thy Father, Second to thy Brother; / Thy Second, or thy like will be none other'. This is perhaps offering some explanation as to why Vicars excluded this poem in his translated collection, as it would have been a sore reminder of his second place in life in comparison to his late, illustrious brother. According to Gregg, Charles' investiture as Prince of Wales was:

A simple ceremony without show, for several reasons: it was very cold, Charles had been unwell, the Queen could not bear the memories evoked of Henry, the King did not wish to make too much of his successor, and money was short'.⁶¹

Indeed, Charles' life had been embroiled in perceptions of his weaknesses. These stemmed from his difficult childhood, when he possibly suffered from rickets, to his adulthood, when he was at the centre of a politically unpopular –though ultimately failed – attempt to be married to the Spanish Infanta. He was considered to be a late developer by Buckingham, as

⁶⁰ John Owen, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 142.

⁶¹ Pauline Gregg, *King Charles I*, p. 47.

he ‘did not regard him as ready and ripe for these affairs until he was twenty-one or two years old’.⁶²

Very few of the Welsh people discussed earlier in this chapter appear in this volume of translation. Only the Welsh Bishop of London – Richard Vaughan – is included, yet even then the only poem dedicated to him that Vicars translated was the second written by Owen. This epigram, however, is the one composed in celebration of him becoming the first Welsh Bishop of London. Rather it is the poem which praises his piety and wisdom as a Bishop. Vicars’ translation does not differ too radically from Harvey’s, although it does have a different title – “To Richard Vaughan, once Bishop of London”. Of course, Vaughan had already passed away and so it is not surprising that Vicars decided to rename the poem to be commemorative, although if this was the case it is peculiar that Owen’s poem in mourning of Vaughan was not included in this collection. It is important to note here that Vicars had omitted the poems with Welsh references.

It can be inferred that the omission of the other Welsh (or connected to Wales) figures is a result of Vicars perceiving them as irrelevant to his aim of appealing to Charles. These people – Members of Parliament, scholars, the King’s goldsmith and members of the clergy – were perhaps deemed to be inconsequential to Charles. However, Vicars does translate the poems about Lady Mary Neville and her son, Thomas Neville. Harries explains the significance of Owen writing about Lady Mary Neville, her son and daughter, and others connected to her, such as Richard Sackville, the Earl of Dorset and his brother, Edward, in terms of patronage:

The core of this whole collection is a sequence honouring the king, the secretary of state, the Lord Chancellor, William Cecil, and the bishops of London and Winchester.

⁶² Ibid., p. 58.

The status and honour of a dedicatee are enhanced when the intended recipients can be seen in the company they would most like to keep, while the author can expect the same device to attract even more eminent dedicatees for the future.⁶³

It is evident that Owen was connecting these figures in order to garner significant patronage, especially through the medium of the most widely spoken language on the continent – Latin. However, through translation, it is also plausible that the translator is also attempting to acquire subscribers. Vicars includes only a couple of the epigrams dedicated to the people whom Harries lists, specifically the ones addressed to Thomas Sackville, the Lord High Treasurer, and the Bishop of London, Richard Vaughan. Peculiarly, both of these men had died long before Vicars translated this set of epigrams, and the dead are unable to offer patronage. However, there is a possibility that Vicars included these poems over others as an act of honouring their memories instead in a language which was more readily available to the ordinary person, providing they were literate. It is also plausible that Vicars was translating poetry as a learning exercise, either for translation itself or perhaps to imitate the style of Owen, as evidenced by his opening poems, “To the Most High, Hopefull and Happy Charles, Prince of Wales”, “The Translator to the most Worthy and Welldeserving Author”,⁶⁴ and “To the Courteous Reader”.⁶⁵

Vicars’ volume ends with a short poem by Nathaniel Hall, entitled “To the Excellent Translatour of the Epigrams of Master John Owen, Master John Vicars”:

Owen doth *owe* thee much, that thou hast so
Transplanted these his *Plants*, & made them grow
 Within our Soyle: and *we owe* much to eyther,

⁶³ Byron Harries, ‘John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context’, p. 29.

⁶⁴ John Owen, *Epigrams of that most wittie and worthie epigrammatist*, sig. A2v.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. A3r.

T' *Him* that them *set*, to *Thee* that brought'st them hither.

Idem ad Lectorem

Wouldst thou know where *Wits Quintessence* doth lye?

Read these few *Leaves* thou'lt see it by-and-by.⁶⁶

While in this poem, Hall insinuates that Owen should 'owe' Vicars for translating his works into English. By this, Hall was perhaps referring to the quality of Vicars' translations as Owen's works were already amongst the most printed and translated texts on the continent by a British writer. The most notable of these include Valentin Löber⁶⁷ in German, Francisco de la Torre y Sevil⁶⁸ in Spanish, and Antoine-Louis Le Brun⁶⁹ in French, as well as the translations in English by Vicars, Pecke, Robert Haman and Henry Hartflete.⁷⁰ If anything, Vicars' translations of Owen's epigrams would most likely have been a boost to Vicars' popularity and for much of his literary career he relied on translation. Vicars translated other texts including Francis Herring's *Mischeeffe's Myserie* (1617)⁷¹ and, later on in the seventeenth century, he wrote *England's Worthies* (1647)⁷² as part of the parliamentary propaganda machine.

Turning to Thomas Pecke's translations in *Parnassi Puerperium*. The full extent of Pecke's volume is demonstrated in its full title, *Parnassi Puerperium: Or, some Well-wishes to Ingenuity, in the Translation of Six Hundred, of Owen's Epigrams; Martial de Speculatis, or of Rarities to be seen in Rome; and the most Select, in Sir Tho. More. To which is annext A Century of Heroick Epigrams, (Sixty whereof concern the Twelve Caesars; and the Forty*

⁶⁶ John Owen, *Epigrams of that most wittie and worthie epigrammatist*, sig. G8r.

⁶⁷ John Owen, *Teutschredender Owenus*, trans. by Valentin Löber (Hamburg: Hertels, 1653).

⁶⁸ John Owen, *Agudezas de Juan Owen*, trans. by Francisco de la Torre y Sevil (Madrid : Roman, 1674).

⁶⁹ John Owen, *Les Épigammes d'Owen*, trans. by Antoine-Louis Le Brun (Paris : Fernand, 1709).

⁷⁰ Edward Bensly, *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by A. W. Ward, and A. R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), vol. IV, pp. 242-67 (p. 266).

⁷¹ Francis Herring, *Mischeeffe's Myserie: Or, Treasons Master-peece*, trans. by John Vicars (London: Griffin, 1617).

⁷² John Vicars, *England's Worthies* (London: Rothwell, 1647).

remaining, several deserving Persons) By the Author of that celebrated Elegie upon Cleaveland: Tho. Pecke of the Inner Temple, Gent. This volume also contains translations of epigrams by Martial and Sir Thomas More, as well as his own work. This suggests that Pecke saw Owen's neo-Latin epigrams as being equal to those by Martial and More. By including his own works alongside these greats, it can be inferred that he also perceived his own works to be their equals. It is interesting to note that he too chose to translate only the three Books dedicated to Lady Mary Neville. However, unlike Vicars, Pecke does not dedicate his text to any particular figure at court, perhaps because it was published during Cromwell's rule; addressing the Stuarts directly would have been very problematic. Alternatively, perhaps Pecke, and Harvey (who did not have any patrons) were following the literary trends as, according to Doelman, the English-language epigram reached 'their high-water mark in the early to mid 1630s'.⁷³ Doelman also explains how the epigram served as a medium for praising patrons while criticising opponents, outlining how Owen in particular 'engaged in a more evenly balanced distribution of poems of praise and blame',⁷⁴ which could have been a contributing factor to Owen's popularity in translation as writers could select poems from his expansive collection that resonated with potential patrons. In Pecke's preface, "To the Ingenious Reader", he writes:

In the Translation of Owen, it was not necessary to be curious, in electing here and there an Epigram; by reason He carries an even strain: and if I had omitted some in the first three Books, I could not have inserted more ingenious. I made it my devoir to be Brief; Perspicuous. And I hope from six hundred Penfulls of Ink, not many blots have fallen upon my Author.⁷⁵

⁷³ James Doelman, 'The Religious Epigram in Early Stuart England', *Christianity and Literature* 54.4 (2005), pp. 497-520 (p. 497).

⁷⁴ James Doelman, *The Epigram in England*, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Thomas Pecke, *Parnassi Puerperium*, (London: Cottrel, 1659) sig. A2v.

In comparison with Vicars and Hall, Pecke takes a more reverential approach to his source text, aiming to be as close to Owen in his translations as possible without omitting anything or ruining the reputation of the original text hoping that ‘not many blots’ fall upon Owen. His aims to be ‘Brief; Perspicuous’ fall in line with how Owen had written the original poems, using Martial as a template for his observation-based humour and lucidity of meaning. Indeed, Pecke also translated some of Martial’s epigrams in *Parnassi Puerperium*, thus showing that Owen’s reputation as an epigrammatist made him an equal with Pecke’s literary hero. However, Doelman informs us that during this period ‘translations and imitations of *selected* epigrams of Martial were much more common than translations of his *complete* works’⁷⁶ as Pecke had done in his text. Furthermore, as Owen was known as the ‘British Martial’,⁷⁷ it suggests that there is some sense of literary inheritance influencing Pecke’s decision to produce a volume of translations including Owen and Martial.

Unlike Vicars, who omitted many of Owen’s poems with Welsh signifiers, Pecke translated the entirety of the three books dedicated to Lady Mary Neville. The fact that Pecke’s translations do not feature any of his own dedications could be a result of his decision to translate every one of Owen’s poems, including those that celebrated the Stuarts. However, when we consider the Welsh Royalist subtext, Pecke’s own epigrams (interpolated among Owen’s and Martial’s) are curiously dedicated to the English Parliamentary establishment:

This epigram collection – more serious than the lighter Royalist anthologies of verse – is a rare poetic publication associated with the non-Royalist establishment (though Pecke uses the language of royalty and empire in his address to Richard Cromwell).⁷⁸

⁷⁶ James Doelman, *The Epigram in England*, p. 17.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷⁸ Arthur F. Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 277.

This is ironic as, soon after the text was published, the monarchy was restored, making Pecke's attempts to woo Parliament woefully mistimed. While he does dedicate poems to Parliamentary figures, it might be the case that Pecke was being politically subversive, linking tyrannical figures from Ancient Rome to Parliament in a set of original epigrams masked behind translations of other esteemed epigrammatists, including (most notably) Owen – a Welsh Royalist.

One of the major differences between Harvey's translations and Pecke's supposedly accurate translations can be observed in the poem "Roses were united by Henry: Kingdoms by James. To the King",⁷⁹ also translated by Harves as "*Henry the Roses, James the Kingdoms. To the King*", which I discussed earlier in this chapter. In Harvey's version he correctly translates 'Donec quæ mater Cambrorum Mona vocatur'⁸⁰ to 'Till Mother Mona British Angles'y', following the footnotes, 'Proverbium Britann. *Mon Mam Gymri*',⁸¹ to refer to the island Anglesey off the coast of Gwynedd in north Wales. Pecke, on the other hand, translates this line as 'Until the Isle of Man, (whence British bee, / Ambitious to derive their Pedigree)', misreading Owen's reference to Anglesey and transplanting it to a different island in the Irish Sea. In doing this, the rest of the poem as translated by Pecke does not make any sense, as he claims that it was this island which 'So happy was, as to bring *Thewder* forth' when it is well documented that Owen Tudor was born on Anglesey. Even for early modern standards, since the 'life and spirit'⁸² of the text is eroded, this inaccurate translation is tantamount to erasure of the Welshness of both the text and of Owen himself. Vicars also did not select this poem to translate in his edition, because of its significance as one of Owen's longest and (in terms of focus) most Welsh poems.

⁷⁹ Thomas Pecke, *Parnassi Puerperium*, sig. G3v.

⁸⁰ John Owen, *Epigrammatum Ioan Oweni Cambro Britani Oxoniensis* (London: Waterson, 1606), p. 52.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁸² Neil Rhodes, *English Renaissance Translation Theory*, p. 2.

Of the poems Pecke did translate, only three in particular have remnants of Owen's Welshness. The first of these is "To Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London":

You *British* Honour! are the first from *Wales*,
Arriv'd at *Londons* Sea; through happy *Gales*.⁸³

In comparison with Harvey's translation (which does not mention any form of 'gale') this does not have the same celebratory tone of voice. In Harvey's translation, the honour of being the 'First British Bishop of this Place', which Pecke does not say explicitly, is enough to immortalise Richard Vaughan and present him as an influential Welshman. Pecke's translation, on the other hand, only asserts that Vaughan is 'the first from Wales', leaving the title of the epigram to contain the only clue as to who is the subject of the poem.

The second epigram, "The Welsh", was translated by Harvey as "A Welch Man". It is apparent from the titles of the two translations that, where Harvey is addressing a single Welsh person, who may still insist on being the sole heir to the 'British' name, Pecke is addressed to the Welsh in their entirety,

Wales is not sole Heir, to the *British* Name:
For *England, Scotland*; answer to the same.⁸⁴

This translation, compared to the original Latin text and Harvey's later translation, appears considerably more aggressive in its tone. For example, Pecke's version insists that 'Wales is not sole Heir, to the British Name', Owen's and Harvey's are more celebratory of this new nominal unity with Harvey stating that 'English and Scots by name are one with thee', while Owen, in Latin, tells us 'Jam tu non solus, Walle, Britannus eris'.⁸⁵ If Pecke was dedicating translations of Owen, Martial and More, as well as his own English-language epigrams, to Richard Cromwell, then this shift in tone could possibly be an attempt to reconcile the

⁸³ Thomas Pecke, *Parnassi Puerperium*, sig. D4v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. G3r.

⁸⁵ You are not the only one, Wales, the British you shall be.

political tensions within the various texts and the contexts in which they were translated and disseminated.

The final epigram by Owen translated by Pecke was “To England, concerning the Union”.⁸⁶ In Owen’s original Latin work, “Ad Angliam, de Unione Britannica”,⁸⁷ he describes how Britons are now safe because of unity: ‘Interna aeterna Britones jam pace freumur? / Ternus enim populus qui fuit, unus erit’, Wales acting as a wall and Scotland as a shield. In Harvey’s translation, on the other hand, “To *England* of the uniting of *Britain*”, the epigram becomes a personification of the island, describing how ‘her three Nations are united now’, before ascribing the same roles to Wales and Scotland as Owen. Pecke’s translation, however, treats the notion of unity as something which is beneficial only to England:

We shall enjoy Thrice-Happy Peace; since Three,
Are Married to, a lasting Unity.
Wales is your Wall; ev’ry *Scot*, is your Scout:
You are secure, O *England!* without doubt.

While this epigram begins in a similar vein to the other versions in its celebration of unity ‘since Three, / Are Married to, a lasting Unity’, giving the impression of equality between the three nations, by its end it is noticeable that this is not truly the case. For example, in Harvey’s translation he describes how ‘*Scotland* with Shield, *Wales* doth like Walls immure / Thy Land, O *England*’, thus showing how Scotland and Wales are both in better geographically defensible positions than England. In Pecke’s version, however, ‘*Wales* is your Wall; ev’ry *Scot*, is your Scout: / You are secure, O *England!*’ Here, the use of the possessive ‘your’ turns Wales and the Scottish people into the possessions of England; Wales and Scotland become both subordinate to, and defenders of, England.

⁸⁶ Thomas Pecke, *Parnassi Puerperium*, sig. l3v.

⁸⁷ John Owen, *Epigrammatum Ioan Oweni Cambro Britani Oxoniensis*, pp. 69-70.

These epigrams demonstrate the differences between the translations. While Harvey's later work is the most comprehensive, offering translations of the complete works of John Owen with a more direct translation of the original texts, Vicars and Pecke are more selective. Vicars' choice of poems indicate that his edition is dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, but many of the distinctly Welsh poems are omitted. Pecke, on the other hand, translates in their entirety Owen's first three books which were dedicated to Lady Mary Neville. However, the poems contained in them that are concerned with Wales lost their Welsh elements.

While Owen's epigrams were translated into English fairly soon, Owen's choice to write in Latin was deliberate. He never wrote in Welsh or in English. In this final part of the chapter I will be looking precisely why Owen decided to use Latin. As a liturgical language, Latin was the second language of Wales:

It remains true that Welsh and Latin, the latter first accessible to him through the family's hearing Mass read regularly and their receiving the sacraments in the Roman rite, were the two languages which linked Owen to his home. If he rejected so much – family loyalty, the narrow perspective of a local culture, and a fiercely exclusive and protective religious allegiance – Latin will have remained the one link connecting his memories of distant Caernarvonshire not only with his later studies but with a whole academic discourse in contemporary English science and historiography.⁸⁸

In this we encounter one major reason behind why Owen used Latin. Latin reminded him of his home and his childhood spent growing up in North West Wales. The language also connected him with his present day self as an educated Welshman no longer living in Wales. This echoes the concept of *hiraeth* that links the writings of many of the writers discussed in this thesis. With Owen's permanent move to England, his 'narrow perspective of a local culture' had perhaps been replaced by an appreciation of the larger national, Welsh culture he

⁸⁸ Byron Harries, 'John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context', p. 25.

had left behind. Many of his poems which are more closely linked with Wales demonstrate Owen's attempts to navigate his way around a land from which he had been disconnected, and his choice to write in Latin perhaps shows an attempt to reconnect with Catholic Wales (despite his efforts to escape Catholicism) as he understood it during his childhood.

Owen is arguing and campaigning towards a future as a unified island. While this may suggest that Owen's writing is not overtly concerned with displacement and yearning for Wales, the language he used, according to Harries, belies this fact. Perhaps, subconsciously, Owen's references to 'Mon Mam Gymri' and 'to his own name in its vernacular form'⁸⁹ in "Ad Regem",⁹⁰ are his way of linking back to his past in Caernarfonshire. In tying the Union back to north-west Wales and Owen Tudor suggests a sense of national pride, despite his rejection of a 'narrow perspective of a local culture'.⁹¹ Owen's insistence on unity for the islands could therefore be masking this form of *hiraeth*, the Union symbolic of his attempts to find his place in an ever-changing political, linguistic and geographic landscape, and as a Welshman in England.

However, this is certainly not the only factor that informs Owen's decision to write in Latin. As I noted previously, Owen wrote to curry favour with Lady Mary Neville, the Prince of Wales, James I, Bishops, Members of Parliament, and many more. However, he was also writing for a much larger audience, compared to his contemporaries. By using Latin, Owen was expanding his potential readership to encompass the whole of Europe, from the Protestant corners to the Catholic reaches. Indeed, J. Henry Jones states that Owen's 'reputation was truly international and appealed beyond the circle of those who spoke Latin freely'.⁹²

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 27.

⁹⁰ John Owen, *Epigrammatum Ioan Oweni Cambro Britani Oxoniensis*, pp. 76-7.

⁹¹ Byron Harries, 'John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context', p. 25.

⁹² J. Henry Jones, 'John Owen, the Epigrammatist', *Greece and Rome* 10.29 (1941), pp. 65-73 (p. 65).

As with the themes of unity throughout the text, the use of Latin also allows him to share his experiences of British union with the rest of Europe. Harries explains this concept, ‘Latin would serve to express this single national culture for the multilingual local regions, appropriately drawing on an ancient thread in the heritage of each and connecting the whole with the common inheritance of Europe’.⁹³ Indeed, while much of the content in his works is about Wales, England and Scotland, and the various British patrons, other poems are representative of the international quality that writing in Latin would have allowed. At a brief glance, these poems include “Peace in Europe, to Divines”,⁹⁴ “The Peers of *France*”⁹⁵ and “To the Venetians”⁹⁶ amongst others. These epigrams demonstrate, since the most recent Union of Crowns in 1603, Owen and his patrons were looking towards Europe. As noted previously, Owen’s epigrams were translated into other European vernacular languages, which means that Latin enabled Owen’s epigrams to reach an audience beyond England.

These Latin connections provided Owen with a ‘wider European reading public who would continue to appreciate him long after he was virtually forgotten at home’.⁹⁷ His reputation internationally would continue to grow after his death in 1622, where his work circulated ‘throughout Protestant Europe by the Dutch printing presses; he would be reprinted by rationalists in the German Enlightenment and in Paris during the Revolution, at the height of the anti-clerical terror’.⁹⁸ However, Owen had a reputation as a staunchly Protestant writer with anti-Catholic sentiments, as observed in his defamatory poems about Popes, particularly “Of the Pope, and Luther”, where he describes the Pope, ‘indulgent Father, frees for fees, / Mens Souls, with indulgencies, from the Lees / Of Purgatory’.⁹⁹ This reputation would put

⁹³ Byron Harries, ‘John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context’, p. 28.

⁹⁴ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 84.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁹⁷ Byron Harries, ‘John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context’, p. 26.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁹⁹ John Owen, *John Owen’s Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey*, p. 129.

his texts on the Catholic *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* in 1654. When Torre translated Owen's epigrams into Spanish, he chose to protect himself by omitting offending poems.¹⁰⁰ Therefore it can be seen that, as well as using Latin to reach a wider audience for his patrons and the Union, Owen is also using Latin as a means to attack the Pope and the Catholic Church. Yet Catholicism and the Catholic world are not the only targets for Owen's criticism, as demonstrated by Owen's attacks on Polydore Vergil.

Owen's attitude towards Catholicism stems from his family's background as recusant Catholics in north-west Wales and the prejudices against them, as he grew older and looked to England for education and employment. Harries explains how the Bishop of Bangor was ordered by Sir Henry to investigate recusancy in the area,¹⁰¹ which resulted in his Owen's father, Thomas Owen, being indicted for illegally harbouring 'papistical persons'.¹⁰² These threats to the family could be one reason why Owen does not write about Caernarfonshire, perhaps also to distance himself from his family's scandals. Furthermore, this is perhaps the cause of his zealous Protestantism. He may have compensated for his family's documented Catholic history by seeking the favour of Anglican bishops, the Protestant Stuarts and other prominent members of court, while also scrutinising and criticising the Roman Catholic Church and Catholic figures.

Much like the Welsh humanist scholar, Humphrey Llwyd, John Owen stylised himself as a 'Cambro-Britanni'. However, while Llwyd took the title to refer to himself as a Welsh heir of the ancient British histories and traditions, Owen is using it as a means of identifying himself as a Welsh ally of the Union of the Crowns. In addition to this, Owen also refers to himself as 'Oxonienis', thus describing his matriculation from the University of

¹⁰⁰ Irving P. Rothberg, 'Neoclassical Wit and Gracián's Theory of "Agudeza": John Owen's "Epigrammatum" in Spanish Translation', *Romanische Forschungen* 93. 1/2 (1981), pp. 82-102 (p. 83).

¹⁰¹ Byron Harries, 'John Owen the epigrammatist: a literary and historical context', p. 23.

¹⁰² D. Aneurin Thomas, *The Welsh Elizabethan Catholic Martyrs* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1971), p. 33-4.

Oxford, specifically Jesus College, which had a reputation for being the Welsh college, and was the college from which most other Welsh humanists had graduated, including David Powel.¹⁰³ This demonstrates that, while Owen was very much interested in presenting himself as a part of a Britain united under one crown, he is aligned, first and foremost, with Wales.

In his writing Owen uses the phrase ‘Cambro-Britannum’ three times to refer to others apart from himself: ‘Ioann Williams’ – the ‘Oxoniensem’, the ‘Cantabrigiensem’ and the ‘Londinens’ – that I discussed earlier in this chapter when discussing the translations by Harvey. The significance of referring to three John Williams’ as Cambro-Britons which marks them as Welshmen who identified with the new political geography of the islands. That Owen was not alone in his fervour for union is unsurprising considering the change in the political landscape from Tudor to Stuart rule. This led to many Welsh people (who formerly had travelled to England relying on the popularity of Welsh history and culture) to question what role they could play in a new union centred on England and Scotland. It is through this that we observe how the term ‘Briton’ had begun to evolve from being strictly a means by which to refer to the Welsh during the sixteenth century to a way of referring to the inhabitants of England, Scotland and Wales as a whole in this new and developing monarchic union in the seventeenth century.

Conclusion

John Owen had been influenced by growing up in north-east Wales. This is demonstrated by his choice of language. Latin, as a liturgical language, is a lingua franca that connects Wales to the rest of Europe. It is also expressed through some of the themes he writes on in his epigrams. These themes, particularly focussed on the Union of Crowns and

¹⁰³ Ronald H. Fritze, ‘Powel, David (1549x52–1598)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22643> [accessed 11 Sept. 2015].

its repercussions, are used to show the developing identity of the Welsh people, as they attempt to fit in with the ever-changing political geography of the islands. This begins from a time when the Tudors who were perceived by others, despite their own lack of interest, to be Welsh. This was true particularly for the Welsh and those living in the Marches, who viewed the Tudors as having strong Welsh connections; these connections continued when the Crown passed on to the Stuarts – a Scottish royal lineage. Owen's choice in patrons demonstrates this Welsh aspect to his writing, particularly through his allegiances with those Welsh people who were supportive of the new and inclusive unified Britain, most notably the three John Williams', but also other Welsh figures such as Richard Vaughan, the first Welsh Bishop of London. Owen's major patrons were all English or, in the case of the Stuarts, Scottish, and he also wrote about England and Scotland, particularly in their new political relationship alongside Wales, thus demonstrating how Owen was not only a Welsh writer but also an archipelagic writer.

Owen's afterlives, in the form of the English translations by Harvey, Pecke and Vicars, as well as the German, French and Spanish translations, exhibits how for a relatively short period of time he was a very popular writer, perhaps rivalling Shakespeare in how popular he was in public consciousness. However, Pecke's and Vicars' translations are selective, most of the more Welsh inspired epigrams either omitted completely or translated as to mask any Welshness. This is most apparent in "Henrica Rosas, Regna Iacobus", as translated by Harvey and Pecke, which describes how the Houses of York and Lancaster – the two Roses – were united by Henry Tudor, the son of Owen Tudor from Anglesey, and draws parallels with the uniting of the kingdoms by James Stuart. Harvey's translation of this poem closely follows Owen's original. However Pecke removed references to Wales and replaced them with the 'Isle of Man'. If Pecke's translations in general appear to differ in

sense from Owen's writing than compared with Harvey, Vicars' translations remove Wales from Owen's work and focus on individuals in an attempt to gain personal patronage.

From all of this it is evident how, despite living and working in England, Owen retained a strong Welsh identity. Owen's choice of subjects, patrons, attitude towards the Union of the Crowns, references within his poems and even the language he chose are all demonstrative of his Welsh identity. By referring to himself as 'Cambro-Britannus', Owen is positioning himself at the forefront of a new kind of Welsh – one which is not confined by the geography of Wales itself but instead looks towards the other corners of the island in a truly archipelagic way that no other writer I have covered in this thesis has done. To answer the initial question at the beginning of this chapter – whether a Welsh writer not writing in Welsh or living in Wales is able to retain and portray a sense of Welsh identity in their text – in the case of John Owen I believe that it is certainly possible. However, the way in which Owen managed to achieve this is quite radically different from other, more insular variations on identity encountered in previous writers. For Owen, to be Welsh is to open oneself up to dialogue with England and Scotland and unite against the Roman Catholic Church.

Conclusion

Over the course of this thesis my main interest has been the way in which Welsh identity is presented in non-Welsh language texts from the late sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century. Although the majority of the writers discussed would have been fluent Welsh speakers, with the exceptions of Katherine Philips and Thomas Churchyard, who may or may not have had interaction with the Welsh language, their decisions to write in English or Latin are of a particular interest. In my introduction, I raised a number of questions concerning what it meant to be a Welshman writing in English, or an English person writing in or about Wales. In each chapter I selected a variety of texts from a range of writers across the period in order to navigate this complex issue. During this final conclusion, I will draw together my discoveries in order to ascertain common connections between the writers and interpret how they link to my theories on sixteenth and seventeenth-century Welsh Writing in English.

The first questions I raised were concerned with how identity in Wales changed across time and place, especially with regard to the changing politics of the time, and what it meant to be a multilingual Welsh person. In my first chapter on Humphrey Llwyd's *The Breviary of Britain*, I identified that Llwyd uses 'British', in this case referring to the ancient inhabitants of the island who were commonly seen to be the ancestors of the Welsh, as a synonym for 'Welsh'. From this it is evident that for Llwyd, who drew on sources which have since been lost, alongside Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, to be Welsh was to subscribe to and be proud of Welsh history, regardless of whether they were truth or fantasy. David Powel, whom I discussed in my second chapter, follows on from Llwyd in his depictions of identity, although this is to be expected, since his primary source was Llwyd's

text itself. The key difference between Powel and Llwyd, however, is that Powel was writing with a slight bias towards the Marches, the resulting impact of Sir Henry Sidney's patronage. However, Powel still disputed what he perceived to be the unfair treatment and portrayal of Wales in established historical texts by non-Welsh scholars, most notably Hector Boece and Polydore Vergil.

In my third chapter, I turned to analyse the poetry of Henry Vaughan, the Royalist metaphysical poet, and Morgan Llwyd, the Parliamentary Puritan poet. In examining these two poets from a Welsh perspective, it is evident that there had been a shift from the way in which Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel had portrayed Welsh identity as a unifying concept to a more local character in the areas in which these two poets resided. For Vaughan this is Brecknockshire, a county that features in many of his more secular poems, but also the way in which he describes himself as 'Silurist'. This is a reference to the Celtic tribe which once resided in south Wales in the pre-Roman era – the Silures; Vaughan thus identifies with ancient Wales in much the same way as Humphrey Llwyd. Morgan Llwyd, on the other hand, perhaps the most Welsh of the writers I have covered, as many of his poems were composed in Welsh, is observed to heavily identify with Wrexham, where he had been instructed by Parliament to preach, despite not originally from the town. This is perhaps demonstrative that Welsh identity was often a hybrid of local and national.

Chapter four considered how writers not native to Wales portrayed Welsh identity in their works. I analysed poems by Katherine Philips, an Englishwoman who had adopted Wales as her home after her marriage to a Welsh Member of Parliament, James Philips, and Thomas Churchyard, who took on a Welsh identity in his *Worthines of Wales*. While identity does not feature too readily in the majority of Philips' poems, the one poem that broaches this subject, "On the Welch Language", emphasises the role of the language in Wales, equating it with Greek and Latin as classical languages. Philips also demonstrates the tenacity of Welsh

language and culture by drawing on historical and legendary figures such as Merlin, King Arthur, Caratacus and Boudicca. This allows for comparisons to be drawn between these surviving remnants of ‘British’ history and the perceived threats towards the Welsh language. Churchyard, on the other hand, does not refer to language at all, but emphasises the role of land and architecture in Wales as symbolic of Welsh identity. In his descriptions of castles, geography, heraldry and historical figures from Welsh history, Churchyard also demonstrates that, much like Philips, the foundations of Welsh identity lie within its history and the land itself.

In my final chapter I analysed the epigrams of John Owen – a Welshman living and writing in England – and found that there had been a shift by this point as ‘British’ was used to describe a sense of union with England and Scotland, rather than to refer to the Welsh exclusively. This is also observed in the way in which John Owen describes himself as ‘Cambro-Britanni’, a Welsh Briton, suggesting that the meaning had changed since Llwyd’s *The Breviary of Britain*. For Owen, being a part of a larger union of nations, as well as living in England, does not hinder a sense of Welsh identity and could instead amplify it through the way in which he clearly demarcates himself as being a ‘Welsh-Briton’ rather than just simply a ‘Briton’.

Connecting each of these writers together is a sensitivity towards Welsh history and culture. As the period progresses, this changes from a sense of identity rooted in locality and medieval Welsh history, to one shaped by the Union between England and Scotland, particularly with regards to the role Wales plays as a predominantly Protestant and Royalist country. Furthermore, there is also a particular preoccupation with the ‘death’ of Welsh language and culture amongst these writers, a notion that the two humanist scholars especially were concerned. This suggests that, with the decline of the bardic tradition, what was most worrying to them were the high levels of illiteracy in Wales as a result of ‘the 1557

Stationers' Company ban on provincial writing'.¹ Although most of these writers were not humanist scholars, the understanding of the death of Welsh language and culture was certainly important.

The second question I raised in my introduction was whether the writer's choice of language had an impact on how they perceived their Welsh identities. Aside from Humphrey Llwyd, Morgan Llwyd and John Owen, the other writers all worked exclusively in English. While Humphrey Llwyd and John Owen wrote in Latin, Morgan Llwyd composed poetry in both Welsh and English. However I only examined the few poems he wrote in English. This choice of language speaks volumes about the nature of the intended audiences for these writers. Humphrey Llwyd wrote in Latin in order to communicate with other humanist scholars in Europe. Therefore *The Breviary of Britain* can be seen as a work intended to engage with the disputed subject of the history of Wales and ancient Britain, which other scholars, notably Hector Boece and Polydor Vergil, had challenged. Powel, though writing in English, was entering into a similar conversation to Humphrey Llwyd, deliberately joining him in discrediting those scholars who contradicted Geoffrey of Monmouth. However, by writing in English, Powel was perhaps not too concerned with engaging with a continental scholarly audience, but rather an English one who may have been more receptive to the Galfridian tradition. Furthermore, the choice of language was undoubtedly a result of being under the patronage of Sir Henry Sidney who was criticised by his own Council as well as Queen Elizabeth for his laissez faire governance of Wales and the Marches.

In my third chapter I discussed the English-language poems of Henry Vaughan and Morgan Llwyd. Although on differing sides of the conflict during the seventeenth century, both poets' reason for writing in English was perhaps quite similar. English was a more

¹ Charles Parry, 'From Manuscript to Print II. Printed Books', *A Guide to Welsh Literature c.1530-1700*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 263-76 (p. 264).

widely spoken language in the British Isles and thus would have reached a larger audience to which their works, metaphysical or secular, could be distributed. While there is no evidence of Vaughan ever composing any poems in Welsh, Morgan Llwyd certainly did. Another reason why Morgan Llwyd wrote partly in English was, as a Puritan preacher sent to Wrexham by Cromwell to preach, his work had to be accessible to English and Welsh speakers alike. Following the *Act for the better Propagation and Preaching of the Gospel in Wales*, Llwyd and the rest of the ‘Welsh Saints’ were instructed to convert their Welsh speaking congregations from Anglicanism to Puritanism. As a result of this, many prominent Royalist figures in society, such as Henry Vaughan and his twin brother Thomas, were removed from their homes and occupations.²

As I discussed in my final chapter, John Owen wrote in Latin for similar reasons to Humphrey Llwyd. In doing so, Owen was engaging with people throughout Europe. However, unlike Llwyd, who was writing for scholarly reasons, Owen was drawing attention to his patrons, including Prince Henry and Lady Mary Neville, English Protestantism and the new Union of the Crowns, to a Continental audience, whether they were Catholic or Protestant. As Latin first and foremost a liturgical language, in writing anti-Catholic poetry Owen was zealously offering a perception of a belligerent, Protestant Britain in its interactions with Catholics. This led to Owen’s epigrams being added to the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, although this did not necessarily stop his texts from being disseminated in Europe, especially parts that were not under the Papacy.

Having established that levels of literacy were low, particularly in the late sixteenth-century, it is understandable why the scholars wrote in Latin or English. This decision, aside

² Thomas O. Calhoun, *Henry Vaughan: The Achievement of Silex Scintillans* (Newark: Associated University Presses, 1981), pp. 42-3.

from Churchyard and Philips, was not because these writers did not speak Welsh – they most certainly did. Rather, it demonstrated a lack of resources to:

Present the interested, but non-classically educated, Welsh reader with works which were as important in the much-desired development of the Welshman's pride and self-knowledge as in the educating and cultivating of outside opinion.³

This sense of 'cultivating' external opinion is particularly important. Many of the writers are particularly deferential towards English patrons while opposing Latin readers in Europe. It is interesting to note that, in the case of Churchyard and Philips, they show the same respect to Wales as the Welsh writers do to England.

Furthermore, I explored to what extent local identity impacted on national identity, and whether politics and religion needed to be considered when assessing this. While Humphrey Llwyd and Powel are vague about their Welsh identity, there is some evidence towards a bias towards Denbighshire, the county from which they both hailed. Anthony D. Smith explains that this resonates on a micro-level with the idea of 'homeland' as a contributor to national identity,⁴ albeit being applied in Llwyd and Powel on a more regional level. This is particularly noticeable in Llwyd who, in his descriptions of towns and counties, places emphasis on Denbighshire and Denbigh over any other place.

The strongest senses of local identity are present in the secular poetry of Henry Vaughan, the self-proclaimed 'Silurist', and Morgan Llwyd. Much of Vaughan's secular poetry is informed by his local geography. His poem "To the River Isca" in *Olor Iscanus*,⁵ for example, is particularly inspired by the River Usk in Brecknockshire. This poem is but one

³ Branwen Jarvis, 'Welsh Humanist Learning', *A Guide to Welsh Literature, c. 1530-1700*, ed. by R. Geraint Gruffydd (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 128-53 (p. 151).

⁴ Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), p. 14.

⁵ Henry Vaughan, *Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist*, Volume II, ed. by E. K. Chambers, vol. 2 (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1904).

example of the way in which Vaughan, his secular poetry in particular has roots in his immediate surroundings. For Morgan Llwyd this is less apparent. He does not explicitly mention any particular locale, but instead references his Wrexham congregation. Poems, such as “A Song of my Beloved Concerning his Vineyard”, shows his impact on the population of Wrexham, where he was preaching, by transforming them into virtuous people after a life of hedonism.⁶

While not Welsh herself, Katherine Philips does actually demonstrate to some degree her ties to her locality in South West Wales through references to towns such as Tenby in “A Sea-voyage from Tenby to Bristol”. However, these references are fewer in comparison to the other writers I examined. Thomas Churchyard, on the other hand, was not living in Wales, yet he assumes a form of Welsh-Marcher identity unlike anyone else I analysed in this thesis. References to his Shropshire upbringing are numerous in *Worthines of Wales*, even going so far as to include a section on it within the text. This, as well as the way in which he ‘found’ himself in Wales,⁷ shows his attempts at expressing a Welsh identity for himself.

In my last chapter I emphasised how Owen’s career, writing, religion, political beliefs and patrons were a result of his upbringing in a recusant Catholic household. Most surprisingly, Owen does not write about his background at all. This is striking in its absence, suggesting he may have been displaced culturally, spiritually and linguistically from that which was most familiar to him. In all of his poems there is no mention of his childhood at Plas Du in Gwynedd so the only sense we get of Owen’s Welsh identity is through the vague notion of him self-identifying as a ‘Cambro-Britanni’ and his poems about other similar Welsh figures, such as Richard Vaughan and the three different John Williams.

⁶ Morgan Llwyd, ‘Cerddi, Caniadau, Hymnau ac Englynion’, *Gweithiau Morgan Llwyd o Wynedd*, ed. Thomas E. Ellis, vol. 1 (Bangor: Jarvis and Foster 1899), p. 88-91.

⁷ Thomas Churchyard, *The worthines of Wales*, (p. 96).

The manifestation of strong local identities in most of these writers reflects the way in which Wales was a relatively isolated ‘thinly populated country’.⁸ This is clearly represented in the texts from all authors. However, what is important to note is how each writer had been displaced in some manner, whether temporarily for the scholars and Vaughan through their education at Jesus College, Oxford, and Churchyard in his travels through Wales, or permanently in the instance of Owen, Llwyd and Philips who all lived in unfamiliar surroundings to their upbringing.

In my penultimate question, I asked to what extent the concept of *hiraeth* had on the collective cultural memory of Wales over a period of about a hundred years. In doing so, I examined references to historical and legendary material, particularly in relation to spirituality or political identity. While Humphrey Llwyd and Powel, in my first and second chapters respectively, do not demonstrate much *hiraeth*, it is evident that they emphasise the history and legends of Wales. Llwyd’s way of depicting history and legend was to contextualise it with its place of origin. For example, he retells the story of Merlin when describing Carmarthen. Powel, on the other hand, focuses on what was considered to be historical fact, detailing past princes of Wales in chronological order. In depicting these legends and historical lineages, Llwyd and Powel are keeping a written record of Welsh culture, which had been disputed by scholars such as Polydor Vergil and Hector Boece. By retaining these stories in their texts, the two writers in particular are preserving a key element of Welsh identity.

Vaughan, on the other hand, does not use any form of Welsh history or culture in his poetry. However, his poems, particularly the more secular ones, are characterised more by feelings of *hiraeth*, the sense of longing for Wales of the past. In this case, the past which

⁸ Charles Parry, ‘From Manuscript to Print II. Printed Books’, p. 264.

Vaughan is yearning is that which existed before the Civil War tore apart communities. This is observed in “To the River Isca” and in “To his Retired Friend, an Invitation to Brecknock”. In the first of these two poems, Vaughan wishes for the beauty of the land, spoiled by war, to return to how it was through his death, while in the latter poem Vaughan is longing for his friend, displaced by war, to return to Brecknockshire. Morgan Llwyd’s feelings of *hiraeth* differ from Vaughan’s quite radically. While Vaughan wants to return to an unattainable physical past, Llwyd is instead yearning for a return to a time of spiritual purity for Wales which had been ruined by secular hedonism and Anglicanism alike. This is most evident in his extended poem entitled “The Excuse”, where Llwyd uses the four seasons to show the spiritual decay and rebirth of Wales.

Although not Welsh, it can be argued that Churchyard and Philips do experience a form of *hiraeth* themselves. For Churchyard, his longing for the past is most evident in his lamentations on ruined castles and noble lineages. While the former are symbolic of Anglo-Norman dominion over Wales, from the perspective of a Marcher lord, they are a feature of Welsh history that connects Wales and the once Marcher lordships. Similarly, Philips’ *hiraeth* is most evident in her eulogies to Welsh correspondents, such as Mrs Owen, Mary Lloyd and Sir Walter Lloyd. These people represent attitudes and convictions that were once prominent in Wales, an idea that pervades “On the Welch Language”, an elegy which depicts the death of the tongue in order to elevate it to be as important to British culture as Latin and Greek.

In my last chapter I posited the theory that, while Owen’s choice to write in Latin was to enter into a continental conversation on religion, it could also be seen as a sign of him subconsciously trying to reconnect with his Catholic upbringing in Gwynedd. It is perhaps his radical and zealous adherence to Anglican Protestantism and the new Union of the Crowns that is most indicative of Owen’s denial of his own feelings of *hiraeth*. However, the two

things that keep Owen inextricably connected to his past are his identity as a Welshman and the language he chose to write in. This is most evident in his celebrations of prominent Welsh people outside Wales, such as the three John Williams' and Richard Vaughan, and references to the proverb 'Môn Mam Cymru'.

In each instance thus far, it is evident that *hiraeth* played a significant role in the shaping of identity. This longing and yearning affected perceptions of history and culture, the perceived death of the Welsh language and representations of locality. While *hiraeth* is, of course, most prevalent in those who have faced seismic changes in their life – Morgan Llwyd, Vaughan and Owen – it exists in some fashion beneath the surface, even among the non-Welsh writers. For these, Churchyard and Philips, their experiences of life in Wales may have instilled this most Welsh of emotions.

My final aim was to consider what Welsh identity at this time was and what it meant to be Welsh. It is quite evident that the matter of Welsh identity evolved over the course of time and it meant different things to different people. In this thesis I examined Welsh identity from the perspective of writers who either did not write in Welsh or were not Welsh speakers themselves. From Humphrey Llwyd's chorography, the earliest text I analysed, it is quite clear that, according to him, an understanding of how history and legend interact with the landscape was a key aspect of Welsh identity. This suggests that there was to some extent, perhaps, a leaning more towards a sense of local identity. This is evident in Llwyd's own account of the county of Denbighshire. Additionally, Llwyd's indeterminate sources are cited in his insistence of pre-Roman Christianity once existing in Wales. This suggests that religion also played a fundamental role in Welsh identity. While Powel's text was an augmentation of Humphrey Llwyd's, his version focused more on history rather than place, detailing the lives and ancestry of the past rulers of each medieval kingdom within Wales. Powel's dispute with Hector Boece and Polydor Vergil – both of whom Humphrey Llwyd also disagreed –

demonstrate how the belief in Welsh history and legend was a fundamental aspect of identity. This can also be seen in Churchyard's *The Worthines of Wales*, which focuses on history and place, much like Llwyd did in *The Breviary of Britain*. Unlike Llwyd and Powel, however, Churchyard was not a Welshman by birth and, unlike Katherine Philips, had no familial ties to the area. This did not, however, stop him from donning a Welsh person, suggesting that Marcher identity is closely linked to Welsh identity.

Of the four poets I examined from the seventeenth century, Katherine Philips, Henry Vaughan, Morgan Llwyd and John Owen, Philips had familial ties with Wales through marriage, Vaughan was from south Wales, and Llwyd and Owen were both originally from Gwynedd. From considering John Owen's upbringing as a recusant it is possible to deduce that there was a divide between north-east and north-west Wales in terms of religion, with pockets of Catholicism being found in the east, while Protestantism was dominant in the west. It is perhaps most interesting, then, that Llwyd and Owen, both from Gwynedd in the north-west, were both so radical and zealous in their Protestant faith that it had overridden identities linked to their place of origin. A reason for this is that Owen moved to England, perhaps to escape his Catholic upbringing in Gwynedd, while Morgan Llwyd identified instead with Wrexham, where he was educated, and where he met and was converted by Walter Cradock.⁹ However, despite this shift from west to east in geography and religion, the two writers both held a strong sense of Welsh identity. They simply expressed themselves differently. For Llwyd this expression is most notable in the way in which he wishes to return the Welsh to salvation, saving them from the dual evils of Catholic papacy and Royalist hedonism, by converting them to Puritanism. Therefore for Morgan Llwyd, to be 'Welsh' is to be part of a group of people destined for spiritual greatness. Owen, on the other hand,

⁹ John Gwynfor Jones, 'The Growth of Puritanism, c. 1559-1662', *The Great Ejection of 1662: Its Antecedents, Aftermath, and Ecumenical Significance*, ed. by Alan P. F. Sell (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2012) (pp. 3-66), p. 51.

places a more political emphasis on Welsh identity. He presents the notion that to be Welsh is to allow the demonym 'British' to be inclusive of England and Scotland rather than just Wales. This in turn allows for each corner of the island to come together in union as equals, and to engage in dialogue rather than remain in isolation.

In Henry Vaughan we can observe the greatest sense of local identity in any of these writers. This is a result of his depictions of Brecknockshire in *Olor Iscanus*, but also partly the way in which he defines himself as a 'Silurist', recalling the Celtic tribe which inhabited this part of Wales in the pre-Roman era. However, there is little in the way of a cohesive national Welsh identity in Vaughan's writing, perhaps following his strong sense of local identity. However, Morgan Llwyd, as a contemporary of Vaughan, does exhibit a wider Welsh identity. The contrast between Vaughan's local identity and Llwyd's national identity is a consequence of their differing relationships with where they were from. Therefore, it can be argued that, for Vaughan, there is, much like Humphrey Llwyd and David Powel with Denbighshire, a sense of remembering your upbringing and finding identity in the area that had shaped you.

While Katherine Philips and Thomas Churchyard were English and Marcher respectively, it is possible to perceive forms of Welsh identity in both of them. In Philips' this is through the way in which she writes about Wales, her Welsh friends and the language. This can be seen most prominently in her poems "To the Right Honourable Alice Countess of Carbury, at her coming into Wales", "On the Welch Language", "A Sea-voyage from Tenby to Bristol" and the poems to her friends around Wales. The first of these poems in particular echoes the same sentiments as Vaughan in his feelings of *hiraeth* about wishing for Wales to return to how it was before the Civil War, yet Philips applies it to the whole nation. Furthermore, "On the Welch Language" demonstrates the tenacity of Welsh language and culture. By arguing that Welsh is equal to Latin and Greek, Philips is showing that, while

Welsh was an important facet of identity, it was not the sole defining feature. For Thomas Churchyard, the semi-permeable nature of borderlands, as argued in the notion of the ‘border country’ in modern Welsh Writing in English, allowed him to claim Welsh identity by arguing that the Marches, particularly Shropshire and Ludlow, were part of Wales. What this means for Welsh identity is that what we consider as Wales today was possibly not the true extent of what Wales was during the late sixteenth century, when it existed as Wales and the Marches. It is thus possible to make the case that Marcher identity had closer ties with Wales than it did with England and, therefore, radically changes the shape of Welsh identity to be inclusive of Marcher identity.

What Wales was, exactly, at this time is therefore a very complex question to consider. Wales was not only different depending on where you were geographically, but also when you were, what you were religiously or politically, and what language you spoke. While I cannot answer the question from a Welsh-language perspective, from an English-language perspective, Wales was a land proud of its historical and legendary heritage. It is the case with all the writers under discussion, no matter when they were writing or their differing religious or political ideologies, all found a sense of pride in its heritage. All the writers under discussion found a sense of self in the Welsh land and a longing to reconnect with a lost past, regardless of how far back in time this was. Even though they were not born in Wales or spoke the language, Katherine Philips and Thomas Churchyard, show this to some degree, with Philips forging relationships with people from around Wales, and Churchyard’s enthusiasm for the historical and geographical landmarks of Wales and the heritage of its nobility through depictions of heraldic imagery. While each particular writer’s own agenda may have been different – Humphrey Llwyd and his attempts to rewrite Welsh history in the style of Geoffrey of Monmouth, David Powel’s way of incorporating the Marches into Welsh history in order to support Sir Henry Sidney’s presidential seat in Ludlow, Thomas

Churchyard's attempts to rewrite himself as a Welshman, John Owen's displacement fuelling both Welsh pride and British unionism, Katherine Philips own displacement allowing her to overcome isolation through connecting with a coterie of Welsh friends, Morgan Llwyd's Puritan crusade on Wales with his cadre of so-called 'Welsh Saints', and Henry Vaughan's yearning for the recuperation of Brecknockshire – the parallels between them on shared themes of historical loss and legendary legacy in its geography, language, people, religion, and even views on Polydor Vergil, are a common thread between them all.

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Maistry: wherein is plainly shewed his rightfull Title, by lawful descent from the said

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