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## **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**Welsh students at Oxford, Cambridge and the inns of court during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.**

Griffith, W P.

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## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATIONAL PROVISION IN WALES

#### PART (1) : SCHOOLS

In medieval Wales it was the Church which assumed the greatest responsibility for schooling, bardic schools and possibly the households of the Welsh lords being also centres of learning. The English universities, and to a lesser extent, the continental universities and the inns of court, provided further or higher education for the ablest talents of Wales.<sup>1</sup> In England, by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, lay involvement in education increased, as the needs of the Crown, the aristocracy and the towns expanded, and this was also faintly apparent in as scattered and rural a society as Wales.<sup>2</sup> The revival of classical learning emphasised anew the educational qualities required of administrators and all useful members of the state and which were also to be expected of gentlemen. At a time of social change, in Wales as in England, education became a means of asserting and of reinforcing social distinctions.<sup>3</sup>

Neither the schools nor the universities were particularly suited to the task of preparing young gentlemen.<sup>4</sup> The newer grammar schools tried to adapt, and there were a few signs that the universities and the inns of court, though still largely institutions of professional instruction, made some concessions towards providing a more general and popular education.<sup>5</sup> The essential conservatism of these places meant that they were not in the van of intellectual progress.<sup>6</sup> Rather, they were places for disseminating received and accepted truths intermixed with north European humanism and religious ideology, giving force to

the ideal of wise and moral service and leadership.<sup>7</sup>

This conservative body of knowledge proved to be suitable to the age, assisting as a matrix during social change, when there was a shift away from the aristocratically organised extended family and the semi-tribal idea of the interdependence of the social orders, towards the idea of the single, almost independent, family unit. The idea of serving or governing the community disinterestedly came to appeal to several social groups and proved a strong bond. Education, in addition to personal worth, standing and wealth, fulfilled such a rôle and to the nuclear family such a preparation for the adolescent assumed greater importance. No longer was training and education to be casual and spasmodic. Parents concerned themselves with their children's education by employing tutors, by seeking out and supporting good schools, by paying for university or legal training. All this asserted the greater privacy, self-sufficiency, individuality and social precedence of the family. In England, the individuation of families was found not only among the gentry but extended into the mercantile groups and into the yeomanry.<sup>8</sup> The most tangible result of all this was the great progress made during the sixteenth century in establishing new schools, especially in the major towns. A further consequence was the interest in parochial schools run by the better-educated clergy, where the ideal of individuation and progress could be grasped by the yeomanry and even the sons of husbandmen. Yet, although individual effort was often the main drive, patronage and dependence still had their place in education as in other activities, assisting scholars of all backgrounds, including those of the lower orders.<sup>9</sup>

In Wales, the trend towards the nuclear family was well-established by the late fifteenth century. The extended family came to be replaced by individual families linked by ties of kindred or areal affinities. Changes in landownership and in political organisation in Wales during the sixteenth century allowed for the further consolidation of individual families within the gentry and yeomanry. Welsh ideas of gentility and pedigree intermingled with new ideas assimilated from England embodying the prevailing ideals of Western Europe.<sup>10</sup> Anglicised acculturation was at a premium in enabling social advancement, on the one hand, of younger sons of the gentry and sons from the lower orders, and on the other, in fixing already acquired status.<sup>11</sup>

The need for proper education was a function of this trend and seems to have accompanied, or more often in the case of Welsh gentry families, confirmed, economic and social advancement. Although the admission registers of the grammar schools, inns of court and universities are wanting for the early sixteenth century, it is clear that sons of the Welsh gentry at least were beginning to enter the universities in some numbers, and especially, and quite naturally, younger-sons to train for the priesthood.<sup>12</sup> A few attended the inns of court, though seldom in a professional capacity as was the case of William Owen of Henllys, Pembrokeshire.<sup>13</sup>

From the evidence of the registers, legal education as professional training and as general instruction seems to have become attractive to Welshmen only from the second quarter of the sixteenth century onwards, and it was then, too, that university education as a matter of

general instruction seemed to make a clear mark among Welsh students for the first time. Members of both 'advenæ' and of native Welsh families in Glamorgan, for example, attended these places of learning.<sup>14</sup> Signs are that such a trend was not confined to south-east Wales. Representatives of the Hanmers in the north-east were regularly attending the inns of court after 1550,<sup>15</sup> while from the north-west, too, where social change was reputedly slower, members of 'new' and native families were attracted by the secular education offered at the inns and at Oxford by about 1550.<sup>16</sup> The least response may have occurred in west and south-west Wales, for economic reasons,<sup>17</sup> but it can be said that generally, after about 1550-60, evidence is sufficient if not abundant to indicate a progressive interest in further education throughout most parts of Wales.

This interest was a function of the progress of gentry families socially, politically and economically in both North and South Wales,<sup>18</sup> in some cases employing professional training at the inns of court, in particular, to complete the process of advancement; for example, the Prytherch family in Anglesey and the Vaughan family in Cardiganshire.<sup>19</sup> The attraction of further education was not lost on the ranks of the lesser gentry, or, indeed, the yeomanry in Wales. Several second and third rank gentry families in Glamorgan soon and regularly sent their sons through the portals of the places of higher learning, for example, Button, Says, Van and Lougher,<sup>20</sup> and in Caernarvonshire, too, the leading gentry's discovery of the inns and universities<sup>21</sup> was soon followed, or even preceded, as in the case of the Madryn family, by their lesser neighbours.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Gresham's recent work on landownership

in south Caernarvonshire further reveals how among the lesser gentry, after periods of estate consolidation and expansion, good education became a matter of interest and commitment, as with the Owens of Plas Du, associates of the Madryn family, and the family of Brynkir, who were attracted to Winchester, Shrewsbury, Oxford and the inns of court.<sup>23</sup>

Most families, however, could ill-afford to give all their sons an equal standard of education. Where the patrimony was limited, and as inflation bit harder, some of the lesser gentry, like the Brynkir family, gave education to university or inns of court standard only to younger sons who had to make their way in the world by means of a career.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it is clear that provision of good pre-university education for most members of gentry families was desirable and evidence from some Welsh wills indicates that it was a matter for concern by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. This appears to be the case in Montgomeryshire and the borders where specific bequests and annuities were established towards the education of young boys, the most interesting, perhaps, being the long-lasting bequest made by David Lloyd Jenkin of Berthlwyd in 1588 on behalf of his third son, Oliver, who eventually attained a successful career at Oxford University and in the law.<sup>25</sup> In north-west Wales a similar development occurred, the most notable and consistent devotion to family education, perhaps, being that of the Hughes family of Porthaml and Plas Coch, Anglesey.<sup>26</sup> Similar developments were also under way, probably sooner, in south-east Wales, in Glamorgan, Monmouthshire and the borders, involving not only leading gentry such as the Herberts of

Wonastow and the Mansells of Margam, but also clergy, lesser gentry, and by the early seventeenth century, small-scale merchants.<sup>27</sup> The period was, in addition, one in which attention began to be paid to the education and training of the daughters of the Welsh gentry.<sup>28</sup>

Only the better-off, and possibly, the more enlightened, could really afford to make a definite financial commitment towards the education of their children, and in early and mid-seventeenth century Caernarvonshire, it was usually the gentry and the clergy who specified educational provisions in their wills.<sup>29</sup> The gentry did in some instances concern themselves with the instruction of their poorer counterparts, witness the endowment of a poor scholar's place at Bangor Grammar School by Morus Wynn of Gwydir. His son, Sir John Wynn, was also prepared to extend some financial assistance to help the schooling of pupils of limited means, and under both men, of course, by the employment of tutors, Gwydir became a place of schooling not only for the Wynn family but also for the abler children of the tenantry and neighbouring freeholders.<sup>30</sup> The appointment of tutors was specifically referred to in some Welsh wills of the period,<sup>31</sup> and there were certainly some other important households, besides Gwydir, where an active educative rôle was carried out, for example, at Lleweni, Plas-y-ward and Mostyn in north-east Wales and Y Van in Glamorgan.<sup>32</sup>

Household tutors were necessarily an impermanent influence, dependent on the needs and requirements of the employing families. They provided an irregular and informal teaching service. Of a similar character was the contribution of parish clergy, the abler of

whom taught school to the children of the lesser gentry and the yeomanry,<sup>33</sup> and the few seminary priests and recusant teachers in Wales may have been yet another group who provided some education.<sup>34</sup> The standard of teaching must have been quite high in some instances. For example, about a quarter of fifty-eight Welsh students admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, between 1629 and 1642, whose schooling is noted, had attended educational institutions of a private, or unendowed, impermanent character. There was a school at the Vaynol, Caernarvonshire, the household of the Williams family, one of the county gentry, and its proximity to the long appreciated educational and cultural benefits of nearby Caernarvon must have been invaluable. Other St. John's entrants attended private establishments at Chester and Denbigh, others were taught privately by the cathedral clergy at St. Asaph, and several were instructed by parish priests in Anglesey, at Llanfwrog, Rhoscolyn and at Llaneilian.<sup>35</sup> Elsewhere in Wales parish schooling was of a good standard, as at Crickhowell, and moreover it was probably cheaper for minor gentry and others, and less burdensome, to send children to parish schools or to relatively close minor private schools than to seek places at the endowed grammar schools. By the mid-seventeenth century, a great many parish schools had developed in Wales.<sup>36</sup>

Considerable use was made by the gentry of the endowed grammar schools in Wales, too, and the mid-seventeenth century saw the culmination of a process of founding new institutions which had begun over a century before.<sup>37</sup> There is little to show that these schools were in any sense re-foundations, of having a continuity with the pre-Reformation



period, save in the case of a few church schools of varying standards.<sup>38</sup> Rather, school foundation in Wales, at Brecon and Abergavenny, was the product of royal patronage in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign and, crucially, as might be expected, was apparently inspired by churchmen.<sup>39</sup> Under the Edwardian visitors, teaching at the cathedrals was consolidated,<sup>40</sup> and church involvement in education in Wales was further secured by the fact that between the 1530s and the Civil War six new foundations and one re-foundation were the works of individual clergymen, representing the group traditionally and most closely associated with learning. Indeed, these clerical founders had all attended university, particularly Oxford, and most held high offices in which they would be concerned about preparing a literate population, knowledgeable in religion. The schools at Bangor and Botwnnog, Carmarthen and Northop, Rhuthun and Ruabon, together with the re-founding of Carmarthen in 1644, were established by substantial bequests,<sup>41</sup> and at least one other leading Welsh churchman contemplated a similar funding.<sup>42</sup>

Not all bequests were adequate, however. Carmarthen and Northop, particularly the former, were in difficulties but leading clergy were often prominent in the attempts to restore these foundations, cooperating, as they had to, with local gentry and magnates.<sup>43</sup> Although the clergy's contribution to education in Wales was important, they were no longer the predominant influence in schooling that they had been during the middle ages. By the late sixteenth, and during the early seventeenth, centuries, the Welsh gentry successfully secured trusts and funds for schools at Margam, Usk, Chepstow, Haverfordwest,

Caerleon, Cowbridge, Bangor, Llanrwst and Harlech,<sup>44</sup> and there were unsuccessful attempts to found schools, for example, at Conwy under the Wynns of Gwydir and the Wynnes of Berthddu, who were to figure prominently in Welsh university education.<sup>45</sup>

The third influence which might be expected to promote schooling in this period was trade, and it, too, contributed to Welsh education. Local merchants were associated with the foundations at Wrexham and Prestige,<sup>e</sup> and assisted with the continuation of Carmarthen School.<sup>46</sup> Richer and more successful expatriate Welsh merchants also played their part at Monmouth, Chepstow and Bangor,<sup>47</sup> and Bangor also benefited by the support of another expatriate Welshman, as did Defynnog, Beaumaris, which emerged from some hectic land purchases by the founder, and Hawarden, which benefited from the bequest of George Ledsham, Steward of the Inner Temple.<sup>48</sup>

Compared with the clerical founders, the lay benefactors of schools in Wales had comparatively little contact with higher education. Of the gentry, only Sir John Wynn, the several members of the Stradling family, founders of Cowbridge School, and William Vaughan II of Corsygedol, who established Harlech, seem to have attended the inns or the universities.<sup>49</sup> Of the mercantile and expatriate element, David Hughes, the Founder of Beaumaris School, alone seems to have been a proper student at Oxford and at Gray's Inn,<sup>50</sup> though Ledsham, above, and John Williams, the benefactor of Llanrwst, had honorary membership at the inns.<sup>51</sup> If these benefactors themselves had little experience of higher education, and, presumably, of educational standards, they did not hesitate to nominate as trustees to their

foundations people who had attended the inns or the universities. This was so at Northop, Hawarden, Botwnnog, Carmarthen (in 1621), Beaumaris, Chepstow and Usk, though it still did not guarantee the proper and efficient running of these places.<sup>52</sup>

Because of incomplete evidence, it is difficult to assess the exact proportion of all public benefactions in Wales in this period which was devoted to education. There were at least four other schools in Wales in this period about whose origin little is known, and whose maintenance may have been the work of the local corporations: the schools at Swansea, Cardiff, Caernarvon and Tre-lech.<sup>53</sup> Education, no doubt, received more attention in some parts of Wales than others, for example, north-east Wales as compared to mid- and south-west Wales.<sup>54</sup> Taking the extant evidence concerning various charities in the whole of Wales in this period, it does seem that a considerable effort was made, particularly in the early seventeenth century, to fund education, second only to the devotion to the poor (food and clothing), and that the four coastal counties of North Wales, with Glamorgan and Monmouth in the south, received the greatest benefit.<sup>55</sup>

These endowed schools in their foundation documents were prepared to make concessions towards educating the children of the poor, and children from particular parishes were given special consideration.<sup>56</sup> It is unclear whether such concessions were actually implemented. Indeed, in the case of poor scholars, there is the fundamental problem of discovering what poor meant in this context. If Defynnog or Margam Schools were typical then it probably referred

to the sons of farmers, like the tenantry who worked the Mansell estates, and not the lowest classes in the community.<sup>57</sup> Undoubtedly these schools were largely open to the sons of landowners who paid fees according to rank.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, the absence of school registers in this period in Wales prevents any worthwhile analysis of the social composition and numbers of pupils who attended.

It was by means of such fees paid by the various ranks that the schoolmasters were to be maintained and the schools themselves kept in good order. The stipends in the Welsh schools ranged between £13. 6s. 8d. and £30 per annum for masters, and about half those sums for the subordinate teachers, the ushers.<sup>59</sup> These were about average sums for the ordinary run of provincial grammar schools in the kingdom and sufficient usually to attract the competent university graduates<sup>60</sup> required by the majority of the founders to teach the boys the classics and religion, and to keep them, as John Beddoe put it, 'in virtue and learning'.<sup>61</sup> Only the curricula at Bangor and Rhuthun have survived to show what was expected to be taught the children there. Both schools based their teaching on more important and substantial establishments in England<sup>62</sup> and the instruction concentrated almost exclusively on mastering Latin grammar and with the study of classical authors such as Cato, Terence and Cicero.<sup>63</sup> Erasmus was also a well-considered author, and some concession was made to humanist enlightenment by the admission of Greek to be studied in the higher forms, largely through the works of Homer and the classical histories. In Wales, the cross-cultural influences with England not only involved the absorption of classical learning but also the anglicisation of the

children to acquire that learning. To acquire the rudiments of grammar, younger classes were taught in English, of necessity, perhaps, given the texts prescribed by the government and there was an active preference for English-born masters.<sup>64</sup> Further, these schools were undoubtedly important in advancing the Protestant cause and, more accurately, the consolidation of the authority of the Anglican Church.<sup>65</sup>

The efficacy of these schools in this period varied considerably. Carmarthen and Usk Schools were in regular difficulties, and Conwy never became fully established. The effect of inflation on rent charges devoted to some of the schools proved to be severe and maladministration was a regular problem. A school at Welshpool, for example, more a parish school than a grammar foundation, entered into great difficulties in 1598 because it was denied its rents by the one body which ought to have been sympathetic to its purpose, Christ Church College, Oxford.<sup>66</sup> The quality of teaching was also variable. By the 1620s, standards at Bangor and Beaumaris were open to criticism, and not all the new endowed schools were properly grammar schools.<sup>67</sup> Some had more the character of junior or 'petty' schools, for example, Wrexham, Ruabon, and probably also Botwnnog, and they compared unfavourably with places like Rhuthun,<sup>68</sup> which could genuinely prepare pupils up to university standard.<sup>69</sup>

A recent attempt to correlate the rate of school endowments and university admissions with general literacy levels in England has suggested advances in 1530-50, a decline in the Marian period, advance in 1560-80, a further decline until 1610, and another advance

thereafter until the Civil War.<sup>70</sup> No comparable assessment of literacy levels has been made in Wales, and it may be that to count school foundations and university entrances only, here, would be to associate too closely literacy with a particular language and culture. As far as these two indices go, then, it may be that literacy was improving in Wales during the 1530s and 1540s, and it is likely that the admissions at the inns and the universities, as far as they can be measured, are also suggestive of rising levels up to the reign of Mary. A levelling off or even a slump in such levels may have occurred between c.1555 and 1570, for Welsh admissions at the inns and the universities were apparently sluggish and school foundations were minimal. The end of the sixteenth century saw a rise in Welsh admissions, not inordinately inhibited by slumps in the 1590s. At the same time, school foundations also increased significantly in Wales, indicating that greater advances in literacy were being made. The 1600s were also important for school foundations, and they seem to have taken precedence over admissions to the universities - a better investment, perhaps. The 1610s saw a hiatus, few foundations and declining university admissions, and although more foundations occurred in the 1620s and 1630s, admissions, particularly at Oxford, were not outstanding. Schooling, and the inns and Cambridge, may have been more attractive. Overall, however, it may be true that levels of literacy, measured by these standards, were levelling off during the later 1630s, the optimum numbers in the population having been reached, who could afford learning. By the late 1630s, there were in all in Wales probably twenty-five effective schools of the

character of grammar schools, maintained largely by endowments (twenty-one), or in a few cases, as at Swansea, by the local corporations (four), and this represented probably one school per 14,000, approximately, of the estimated population of Wales and Monmouthshire at that time.<sup>71</sup>

Of course, endowed schools alone could not have prepared the numbers entering the inns and the universities. Though some schools, such as Bangor, were prepared to accept more pupils than their statutes allowed,<sup>72</sup> it must be the case that the other private teaching arrangements were available for preparing university entrants, particularly before 1580. Indeed, the re-founding of Rhuthun School in the 1590s, at a time when Welsh admissions to the inns and to Oxford were markedly high, owed much to the desire for a more permanent, organised arrangement at an established centre of instruction.<sup>73</sup> The existence of private schooling at parish schools and households was undoubtedly significant. If the details of the St. John's admissions are employed as a guide, then possibly by the 1630s there would be approximately three effective parish schools in each Welsh county - about as many as might be expected from the quality of the clergy, to be shown later - and perhaps three or four private schools, including the gentry households, cathedral schooling, and places created by individual initiative as well, all also providing a degree of education and literacy. Assuming this estimate to be correct, then the total number of effective schools in Wales and Monmouthshire may have been in the order of 116, representing one school for every 3,000 of the estimated population.

School foundations and other arrangements in Wales alone are not sufficient to explain the flow into further education. That flow and the general improvement in literacy levels, particularly of the Welsh gentry, were assisted by learning opportunities on hand at schools in England. The significance of English schools in Welsh education can be shown by reference to the St. John's admission register once again. Thus, of the fifty-eight Welsh students admitted in the twelve or so years before 1642, about a quarter, we saw, were educated privately, eight attended Bangor - despite its variable quality - two only attended Beaumaris and Rhuthun, one was at Northop, and fully thirty-one attended grammar schools in England.<sup>74</sup> The majority, twenty-three, were sons of gentlemen and esquires, but the sons of clergy and farmers also attended these schools, showing that the initiative in education was not confined entirely to the higher orders.

In terms of proximity, schools in the Welsh borders must have served the Welsh gentry regularly, perhaps even in the middle ages. There had been many endowed schools close at hand in the pre-Reformation period, as at Chester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Bridgnorth, Bristol and Cirencester, and there was a degree of continuity in the case of several, for example, at Malpas, Cirencester, Bristol and, in particular, at Oswestry.<sup>75</sup> If Leach's investigations are to be accepted, then there were also a great many parish schools in existence at the time of the Reformation, for example, at Wellington and Madeley in Shropshire, Leominster and Kinnersley in Hereford,<sup>76</sup> and efforts were made to preserve some of these places in the face of



the religio-political changes, notably the monastic school at Evesham, the petition for which emphasised that the town was,

'a greate Markett towne and a greate thorowfare from the Marches of Walys to London; And that there is noo scole within twelve Myles of the said towne of Evesham.'<sup>77</sup>

Worcester, with its Cathedral, or King's School, became an important centre for education at this time, and Fuller, describing the early seventeenth century Master, Henry Bright, added that he had been

'placed by Divine Providence in this city in the Marches that he might equally communicate the lustre of grammar learning to youth both of England and Wales.'<sup>78</sup>

That it served south-east Wales is confirmed by the fact that one of the St. John's entrants was a pupil from Radnorshire, Andrew Phillips; and mid-Wales, too, employed its facilities, witness the early education of John Vaughan, the famous post-Restoration judge.<sup>79</sup>

The rôle of the other schools of the southern marches in educating Welsh scholars is a matter of speculation. No doubt the two schools at Gloucester were of some importance. The re-founded Cathedral School had, in the middle ages, been associated with Llanthony Abbey, while the Crypt Grammar School had two masters who later took livings in St. David's diocese, but no doubt still had influence there.<sup>80</sup> The close trading links between Bristol and South Wales may also have been reflected in the education provided by the Gild School.<sup>81</sup>

Until the reign of Elizabeth, South Wales was probably better served than the North, given the provision of schooling in the Marches and the schools at Brecon, Abergavenny and Carmarthen (intermittently). Even so, there came a demand for even stronger ties in education between South Wales and the Marches of a similar character to the recently forged links between North Wales and Shrewsbury School. A school at Hereford was called for, to

'serve as commodiously for the training of the Youth of South Wales as Shrewsbury doth for the Youth of North Wales.'<sup>82</sup>

A school had already been in existence at Hereford in the time of Edward VI and Mary, possibly the Cathedral School, and it had served North Wales as well as South Wales. One young Anglesey pupil from Porthaml (later the Hughes family of Plas Coch), David Lloyd ap Hugh ap Llewelyn, had his fees and costs at the school administered by a clergyman uncle.<sup>83</sup> Later, the Free School, which was no doubt the subject of the petition, provided a good education and among its most famous early alumni was Francis Mansell, later the long-serving Principal of Jesus College, Oxford.<sup>84</sup>

Although Shrewsbury School came to impose a strong influence on education in North Wales, other schools existed in the borders which were of note. Oswestry School, in the post-Reformation period, had close ties with St. Asaph diocese, and during the early seventeenth century its affairs were dominated by leading clergy and laymen in that diocese. In 1624, the two surviving feoffees were both Denbighshire landowners and university-educated men, Dr. David Yale of Erddig and

and John Edwards of Chirk.<sup>85</sup> A decade later, the commission to investigate the School's resources was dominated by Anglesey men, John Owen, Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. William Griffith and Dr. George Griffith, his diocesan officials, and Richard Prytherch, the lawyer and later Justice of Chester.<sup>86</sup> Despite this, the School's masters had been almost exclusively Shropshire men, and they seem to have maintained a good standard preparing pupils, particularly in logic, up to the levels required at university. Its modest fees must have made it a considerable attraction to families in north-east Wales.<sup>87</sup> Kingstone School in Herefordshire also had links with north-east Wales, though whether it attracted many Welsh pupils is difficult to say. Anthony Lewis of Burton Hall, Denbighshire, was executor of the will of the Founder, Lady Hawkins, and he himself assisted the viability of the School by providing one annuity and by supporting the School library.<sup>88</sup>

The St. John's register indicates that Welsh pupils resorted to other border schools which had little or no apparent association with the adjacent areas, or any part, of Wales. A private school at Chester was run by John Glendole, an Oxford graduate and Puritan, and it may be this factor which accounts for the attendance of Edward Powell of Wrexham, then the Puritan centre for North Wales.<sup>89</sup> Two other Welsh students were registered as former pupils of Bunbury or Bomberye School under a Mr. Cole. They were, therefore, probably members of the Haberdashers' Company's foundation, which certainly could teach up to university standard, though it is just possible that they were pupils at Wybumbury, an old Puritan centre, where the incumbent about this time seems to have been one Samuel Cole, a non-graduate.<sup>90</sup>

The two Shropshire schools were far better known. Two of the Welsh Johnians were educated at the excellent Whitchurch Grammar School, which was locally well-endowed and which, under the Mastership of Phineas White during the 1620s, reached a high quality in its teaching and preparation of pupils for the universities. White and his successor, John Brooks, were Cambridge graduates and this may account for the placing of the Welsh students at that University.<sup>91</sup> The more important of the two schools, and, indeed, the school which dominated education in Wales and the borders was Shrewsbury School, which came into its predominant position in the 1560s under Thomas Ashton. His work, particularly in re-ordering the statutes, established the close ties with St. John's College, Cambridge, which were to ensure that teaching standards were maintained at a high level and that pupils received preferential treatment at Cambridge.<sup>92</sup> The School's standards were helped by the fact that it was prepared to receive only pupils who already had some knowledge of Latin grammar and who could read and write English. The classical texts included a broad range of both Latin and Greek authors, Cicero, Livy, Virgil, Socrates and Xenophon, for example,<sup>93</sup> and St. John's had some powers of influence with the Shrewsbury burgesses over the appointment of Master. Although the intellectual quality of the teachers was the first priority, preference was given in appointments, as at Oswestry, to Shropshire men, and there was only one exception to this, in 1610-12, when Simon Mostyn was briefly second master there. His appointment occurred at the time of conflict between the School's Master, John Meighen, and the burgesses, during which the second

master was suspended. When the issue was resolved, Mostyn was deprived of his place despite his appeal to Owen Gwyn, his relation at St. John's, calling for the College's support.<sup>94</sup>

Shrewsbury School was in the first instance devoted to educating boys from the town and the county. Burgesses' sons received the greatest concessions when it came to fees, as, for example, did Cadwalader Piers, who, though born in Montgomeryshire, was the son of a resident burgess. His brother, Edward, was similarly favoured.<sup>95</sup> Fees were lower for natives of the town and county and varied with rank, but the School soon accepted boys from further afield who paid more, due, no doubt, to the costs of boarding, as in the case of John Jones of Gellilyfdy.<sup>96</sup> They entered a large foundation consisting of as many as two hundred pupils ranging in age from seven to sixteen years. The School, because of its reputation, was invariably full, and from the beginning sons of Welsh gentlemen joined those from the English borders and Lancashire as pupils there. In 1562, for example, the list of scholars included several members of the Montgomeryshire gentry.<sup>97</sup> Sons of leading county families throughout North Wales were in attendance during the reign of Elizabeth, for example, the Salusburys of Lleweni, Hanmer of Hanmer, Griffith of Penrhyn, Bagnall of Caernarvon, Nannau of Nannau, and Blayney of Gregynog.<sup>98</sup> Members of the second rank gentry were present, too, for example, Bodwrda, Bodvel, Madryn, Brynkir of Caernarvonshire, Sontley or Sonlli of Denbighshire, Dimock of Flintshire, Anwyl of Merioneth and Tannat of Montgomery.<sup>99</sup> No doubt it was the prestige of attending, as well as the education, which accounted for

the popularity of the School, and some of the Welsh gentry's sons were entered as fee-payers of a lower rank than their official status. Sons of the leading Welsh clergy were there also, for example, the sons of Bishop Robinson of Bangor or Dr. David Powel of Ruabon, and the School also served South Wales, receiving a few students, such as the son of Bishop Richard Davies, from the south-west.<sup>100</sup>

The extant details of admissions at Shrewsbury School indicate that a pattern not dissimilar to that of Oxford was experienced, with an expansion in numbers until the 1590s followed by a contraction until the 1610s. A brief recovery followed, but during the 1620s and early 1630s this was not maintained, possibly due to the waning powers of Meighen, the Master. After 1636 and until 1642, however, the School advanced once more, rejuvenated under the Denbigh-born head, Thomas Chaloner.<sup>101</sup> The progress of Welsh pupils in these admissions is not easy to follow since the registers provide no places of origin for their entrants. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that Welsh admissions here were in a similar proportion to Welsh admissions at Oxford. That being the case, then there would have been some six admissions annually at the School during the 1560s and 1570s, and this would practically have doubled by the early 1590s. Thereafter, in the general slump, Welsh admissions would have fallen to about ten annually before 1600 and were perhaps as low as six or seven in 1600-10. The figures would have remained thus in the ensuing decades, perhaps falling as low as four or five per annum in 1630-35. The recovery in 1636-42 would have seen a slight advance, with about seven admissions

being made annually, before the Civil War intervened and caused a drastic disruption.<sup>102</sup>

Welsh pupils at Shrewsbury consisted of two sorts, those few who entered young staying as long as five to seven years, on average, and others, more numerous, who spent a year or two to complete their grammar school education. By employing the registration details of the inns of court and the universities, it is possible to identify several Welsh students who were educated at Shrewsbury and to calculate in some cases their length of stay at the School (Appendix). Thomas Madryn, for example, seems, exceptionally, to have been only five years old when he came to the School, and he remained about ten years before later matriculating at Cambridge in 1631, aged eighteen. William Brynkir and Griffith Bodwrda, on the other hand, remained only a year at the most before matriculating at the universities.

Shrewsbury, therefore, was undoubtedly important for education in North Wales and for offering avenues to higher learning. Another of the great schools of England of similar value, at this time, was Westminster School, which was intimately linked with the universities, and, by virtue of its location, with the inns of court, and together with other schools and the inns formed the colleges of Buck's 'Third Universitie' at London. Thus, when Sir John Wynn inquired of his heir, then at Lincoln's Inn, about the proposed schooling of some of his younger sons, it was Westminster which figured in their minds as the clear preference.<sup>103</sup> The close links with Wales began after 1560 when the School was placed on a sound financial footing by the Crown, and with the appointment of Gabriel Goodman of Rhuthun as

Dean of Westminster, with powers to maintain the standards of education at the School. In the early seventeenth century, the position of John Williams, as Dean of Westminster 'in commendam', further secured the links of patronage with Wales. Both men were also responsible for securing further endowments for the School, Goodman on behalf of Lady Burghley, and Williams, on his own initiative, as part of a wider educational scheme also associated with St. John's, Cambridge, and which gave some preference to Welsh students.<sup>104</sup> In consequence to these and other influences, there were at least forty-two admissions to the School from Wales between 1560 and 1642, the majority of whom were to go on to university, sometimes on royal endowed scholarships. There were also other students of Welsh origin in attendance, for example, Francis Hughes, about whom more later.<sup>105</sup>

Goodman and Williams had considerable powers over the appointment of teaching staff, and this may also have facilitated the progress of Welsh pupils. Goodman was a patron of Camden and of Richard Ireland, who had family ties in North Wales and who became headmaster in 1598, while Williams counted among his clients Lambert Osbaldeston, headmaster at the School 1622-39. Williams and Sir Eubule Thelwall, the Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, also exercised decisive influence on behalf of William Prichard of Carmarthenshire, who became an undermaster at Westminster in 1629.<sup>106</sup> Thelwall's rôle was indicative of the position which the Thelwall family had reached in connection with the School, kinsmen as they were of the late Dean Goodman.<sup>107</sup> It was this Thelwall influence, moreover, that Sir John Wynn had sought to exploit on behalf of his sons' education. John Wynn, junior, was



employed to deliver a letter to Richard Ireland from Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-ward, Sir John's brother-in-law. The messenger was encouraged to take with him Simon Parry of Pont y Gof, near Rhuthun, a barrister of Gray's Inn, who was a valuable intermediary, related as he was both to Ireland and to the Thelwalls of Bathafarn.<sup>108</sup>

The benefit of this association to the Wynns was the preferential treatment offered by Ireland to the young scholars, though it seems to have been costly to maintain their board and lodging. Wynn's sons, nevertheless, stayed at Westminster, supervised by their uncle Robert Lewis, as well as by Ireland, until the threat of plague brought their removal to another famous-English school, Eton.<sup>109</sup> Yet, the Wynn attraction to Westminster did not end there. Kinship with John Williams played a valuable part in obtaining a Williams scholarship for Morris Wynn of Ystrad, son of Sir John's half-brother, in 1624.<sup>110</sup> Kinship was also exercised through William Wynn, then employed by Williams at Nonsuch, for a member of the Sonlli family in Denbighshire. Though a scholarship at Westminster was out of the question, favourable terms as a commoner were obtained.<sup>111</sup>

In addition to Westminster, there were other London schools or colleges that received Welsh pupils in this period. David Baker and his brother were educated at Christ's Hospital, where the Master's wife's associations with Monmouthshire facilitated their entry. There, they aimed to fulfil what must have been an increasingly common ambition for the Welsh gentry in that period, the achievement of complete facility in the English tongue and a refined accent. Baker's training was both pious and disciplined but there were all sorts of corruptions

and temptations open to the unregulated pupil, a fact which Ireland also observed to Sir John Wynn, and Baker felt that Christ's, of the London schools, was by far the best organised and the least pretentious.<sup>112</sup> Baker's contemporary and fellow Catholic convert, John Leander Jones, may well have disagreed with this opinion, for he attended Merchant Taylors School, and although only five students from Wales are recorded as having entered there in this period, it is clear that the School was very popular with the London Welsh merchant community too.<sup>113</sup>

Of the schools outside London, Eton, as we have seen, was a haven for the Wynn brothers in 1607 and one of the later Johnian Welsh entrants was also educated there, John Griffiths of Denbighshire, before 1631.<sup>114</sup> Bedford School was another which attracted the interest of the Wynn family. John Wynn, junior, was educated there between 1597 and 1601. Its reputation as a healthy place, reasonably priced, with a broad curriculum that included modern languages as well as the classics was justified ever since its re-foundation in 1566, in which New College, Oxford, had assumed direct responsibility for the teaching staff.<sup>115</sup> New College, indeed, was an important influence among English schools, and its close ties with Winchester were especially important. Wyke<sup>h</sup>amite scholarships contained specific preferences for the Founder's kin and for particular parts of southern England, but by the sixteenth century, Welsh boys, with scholars from other areas, were in regular receipt of these places. Thirty-four Welsh scholars were educated at the School from the early sixteenth century until 1642, the first, a South Welshman, being admitted in 1521. With the

exception of Glamorgan, however, the majority of these scholars came from North Wales.<sup>116</sup> The Welsh element at this School may have been more substantial than this. The School admitted poor scholars, and there was at least one Welsh example, John Price, in 1638. In addition, commoners were also admitted, among whom was Owen Salusbury of RŪg in Merioneth, who attended the School in 1628.<sup>117</sup>

The associations between Wales and this School as a motivating factor for attendance are difficult to trace. The suggestions that the School had some Catholic sympathies may be of some import, for at least four of the Welsh pupils were avowed Catholics - Owen Lewis, William and John Owen, and David Lloyd.<sup>118</sup> A further influence lies in the fact that two of the scholars, Hugh Lloyd and Hugh Robinson, after graduating at Oxford, became headmasters at the School and during their time there were many admissions from North Wales. The attraction of Winchester, however, was already well-established before this, and no doubt the quality of the teaching and the prestige of attending appealed to some of the Welsh gentry.<sup>119</sup> County gentry such as Button, Basset and Leyson of Glamorgan and Meyrick of Anglesey, and Ravenscroft of Flintshire, sent their sons there. Moreover, the prospects of university education by means of scholarships and fellowships at New College must have appealed to several. After a period of about four or five years, from twelve years old upwards, at Winchester, the Welsh student progressed to university, usually Oxford, to add to the good grounding already received.

At Cambridge, Perse School seems to have been an avenue to the University, fulfilling as it did during the early seventeenth century

the function of preparing pupils for the arts courses to come. A local school originally, it came to accept fee-paying outsiders under Thomas Lovering after 1618. It is no surprise, therefore, that six of the Welsh entrants at St. John's came from this School; four being sons of the gentry, one a clergymen's son, and one the son of a farmer. They seem to have attended for no more than a year, to prepare them and to ensure they got good places.<sup>120</sup> In addition, there was in the vicinity of Cambridge the grammar school at St. Albans, and Sir John Wynn, needless to say, placed two of his sons, Elis and Henry, there in 1615, again employing influence, that of a relation, Cadwaladr Tydir, with the headmaster. This ensured careful attention, particularly of Henry, by the headmaster, and Sir John seemed satisfied that it was a good and healthful place, providing a suitable preparation for the inns of court.<sup>121</sup>

There were, no doubt, a great many other good schools in England which took in Welsh pupils. Lichfield School, for example, was considered by Richard Broughton of Flintshire as a suitable place to send his son, who had already been well-tutored at home in various languages.<sup>122</sup> Another of the Johnian entrants from Wales attended Kimbolton Grammar School in Huntingdon, a school largely servicing local needs, but which was willing to take outsiders, perhaps of the lower orders, as in this case, with Edward Price of Llanrwst, a husbandman's son.<sup>123</sup> Other English schools possessed Welsh masters who might have attracted some Welsh pupils, for example, Thame School founded by Lord Williams, or Rivington School in Lancashire, where the Cambridge graduate, Henry Bodurda of Caernarvonshire, was head in 1624-9.<sup>124</sup>

The above English and Welsh schools, therefore, served the educational needs of Wales to a greater or lesser extent. Apart from a few English schools there are no registers to indicate the exact numbers who attended from Wales. This is an especially great loss when trying to assess the impact of the schools in Wales itself. If, however, one makes the not unreasonable assumption that the Welsh grammar and corporation schools were likely to be between a third and a half the size of major English schools, like Shrewsbury, then it can be suggested that in the years before 1640 some 1,000 pupils would be in attendance annually in these schools. Even more tentative would be the assessment made of the parish, household and other private schools, since their numbers are at best enlightened estimates. Most, no doubt, would have a smaller individual complement of children, though it is more than likely that they possessed a larger total than the endowed sector. An estimate would suggest that they contained twice as many pupils as those in the twenty-five maintained establishments. In all, therefore, in any one year in the late 1630s there may have been as many as 2,500-3,000 pupils attending schools in Wales. In addition, there would have been a small number, perhaps as many as forty or fifty, attending English schools. Together, these totals formed about 0.8 per cent of the Welsh population. Finally, atop this pyramid of guesses and calculations, drawn from the scraps of detail relating to the schools and universities, one can hazard an estimate of the proportion, largely male, who were literate according to the standards of English schooling. Assuming that in any one year, the literate population would

include all those educated over a period of about one and a half generations, about forty years, then it is likely that by 1640 about 56,000 of the Welsh population, or about 18 per cent, had received some schooling. This figure would probably underestimate the total literacy of the population in Wales, since it would ignore female and recusant education and those literate only in Welsh. As a figure, it is lower than Stone's estimate of literacy in England, and it would no doubt have led to the contemporary suspicion, as declared by John Brinsley, that Wales was a land which lacked civility, piety and learning.<sup>125</sup>

No doubt the lower orders, who were the objects of Brinsley's zealous proposals, were lacking in education. For those of the gentry and yeomanry, however, who had made the effort to secure schooling for their children, particularly their sons, their next interest was either in further education or in securing respectable vocations for their offspring. The Welsh educational endowments allowed some provision for apprenticeships in trade and crafts, and the lower orders as well as the sons of the gentry, technically, had some opportunity to enter those callings.<sup>126</sup> Professional employment was also available for those who were well schooled, particularly as attorneys.<sup>127</sup> For other parents, schooling, it was decided, had to be refined and finished at university.<sup>128</sup> Sir John Wynn, for all his enthusiasm for Eton and Westminster, came to the conclusion in 1607 that cousin Robert Lewis was right: '... all Schooles are decayed'.<sup>129</sup>

As we have seen above, however, the tutoring and living arrangements at university also left much to be desired, though

arguably the quality of the lecturing might have been better than the instruction in the schools, given that there were fellows of some eminence in attendance. Departing to the universities was less of a break than going to the inns of court. The pattern of discipline and accommodation, such as it was, was no different from the boarding arrangements in most grammar schools, and the content of the arts course, moreover, would be familiar. The inns of court and the study of the law probably presented greater difficulties, and it may explain why the students there were generally older. The inns of court were less well regulated, living conditions were less satisfactory than at the universities, and the study of law was foreign to the majority. Hence, more careful parents, as in the case of Sir John Wynn and his son, Richard, might keep their offspring back before going to London to ensure that there would be adequate facilities for them and that they could acquaint themselves with some of the basic law texts.<sup>130</sup>

Whatever the difficulties, as we have also seen above, Welsh students went in substantial numbers to both the inns and the universities in this period. Often they went through no random inclination, but on the calculation that there were benefactions and endowments available at the colleges, and that there were kindred and areal loyalties that could assist them in pursuing successfully their interest in law, the arts or theology; and attention must now be paid to these things.

CHAPTER V : PART (i) - NOTES

1. Vide supra chap. I; also, Glanmor Williams, 'Addysg yng Nghymru cyn 1536', in Ysgrifau ar Addysg, IV (1966), ed. Jac L. Williams, 8-15.
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3. R. Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 14 (1929); J.H. Hexter, 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', in idem, Reappraisals in History (1961), 45 ff.; W.H. Woodward, Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance (1906), pp. 244-5, 254-9; S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulton, A Short History of Educational Ideas (1956 ed.), chap. VI.
4. Kelso, op. cit., p. 123; Woodward, op. cit., p. 290.
5. Vide supra chap. III and IV; J. Simon, op. cit., chap. XIV (2); Woodward, op. cit., p. 297; J.K. McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics (1965), chap. II; W.T. MacCaffrey, 'England: The Crown and the New Aristocracy, 1540-1600', Past and Present, 30 (1965), 52 ff.; R.M. Fisher, 'Thomas Cromwell, humanism and educational reform, 1530-40', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, L (1977), 151-63.
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9. B. Simon, 'Leicestershire Schools, 1625-40', British Journal of Educational Studies, III (1954), 42 ff.; A.J. Fletcher, 'The Expansion of Education in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, 1500-1670', ibid., XV (1967), 51 ff.; J.T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry (1969), pp. 67-68; F. Watson, op. cit., chap. IV.
10. T. Jones Pierce, 'Landlords in Wales: The nobility and the gentry', in J. Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, IV (1967), 358-81; F. Emery, 'Settlements in Social Structure', ibid., 147-52; E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Squires 1558-1625', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1936), chaps. III and IV; E. Evans, 'Arwystli and Cyfeiliog in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: an agrarian and social study', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1939), p. 101; cf. A. Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', Past and Present, 33 (1966), 59 ff.
11. D.J. Bowen, 'Y Gymdeithas Gymreig yn Niwedd yr Oesoedd Canol fel yr adlewyrchir hi yn y farddoniaeth uchelwrol', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1952), pp. 160-5; C. Gresham, Eifionydd: a Study in Landownership (1973), passim.
12. Vide supra chap. II and B.R.U.O. 1501-40.
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14. Edw. Carne, Oxf. 1519, Geo. Mansel, Oxf. 1555, IT 1562, Edw. Mansel, LI 1550, Miles Button, MT 1554, - Carne, MT c.1535, Leyson Price, IT 1548, Thos. Lewis, IT 1551, Edw. Stradling, IT 1552, Edw. Kemeys, IT 1556 (B.R.U.O. 1501-40; IT Adms.; LI Adms.; MT Adms.); vide also M. Robbins, 'The Agricultural, Domestic, Social and Cultural Interests of the Gentry of South-east Glamorgan, 1540-1640', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), I, 92, 142, 192.
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16. Owen Wood, IT 1548, Richard Bulkeley, LI 1557/8, Richard Meyrick, GI 1537, John Hampton, Oxford B.A., d. 1559 (E. Gwynne Jones, 'Some Notes on the Principal County Families of Anglesey in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries', T.A.A.S. 1940, 46, 47, 50-51, 73-75).
17. Supra chap. II, Table XXIII and text.

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20. Glanmor Williams, ed., Glamorgan County History, IV (1974), 174. Richard Seys, Oxf. 1582, LI 1585, Roger Seys, LI 1573, Evan Evans, LI 1601, William Thomas, Oxf. 1582, LI 1585, Morgan Gibbon, Oxf. 1579, Richard Lougher, Oxf. 1579, Andrew Vane, B.C.L. Oxf. 1594/5 (LI Adms.; Al. Oxon.).
21. E. Gwynne Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Squires', conclusion. Pysr Griffith, Oxf. 1586, Nich. Griffith, Oxf. 1589, GI 1593/4, Wm. Thomas, Oxf. 1588, John Wynn, Oxf. 1575, IT 1576, Robt. Wynn, MT 1587, Arthur Williams, Camb. 1568, Thos. Bodvel, IT 1591, John Griffith, Oxf. 1581, Edm. Griffith, Oxf. 1586, Wm. Jones, LI 1586 (Al. Oxon.; Al. Cant.; GI Adms.; IT Adms.; MT Adms.).
22. E. Gwynne Jones, op. cit., pp. 32-36. Thos. Madryn, IT 1560, Griffith Vaughan, Oxf. 1575 (Al. Oxon.; IT Adms.).
23. C. Gresham, Eifionydd, pp. 28 ff., 277-80. Foulk Owen, LI 1579/80, John Owen (the Epigrammatist), Oxf. 1582/3, Ellis Brynkir, LI 1596, Wm. Brynkir, Oxf. 1599; vide infra for Shrewsbury and Winchester (Al. Oxon.; LI Adms.; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 205, 251).
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26. U.C.N.W., Bangor General 5153/4, 11; U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 93; N.L.W., Bodfean 15.
27. N.L.W., 7602 D. ff. 17, 79; 7611 D. ff. 37, 50; 7613 D. f. 23; M. Robbins, '... the Gentry of South-east Glamorgan', I, 85, 112; II, 641; Glamorgan County History, IV, 115.

28. W.W.E. Wynne, 'The Anwill Manuscript', Mont. Colls., IX (1876), 358; 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills', ibid., XXIV (1890), 53; M. Robbins, op. cit., I, 186; cf. Norma McMullen, 'The Education of English Gentlewomen, 1540-1640', History of Education, 6 (1977), 87 ff.
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33. H. Owen, ed., 'The Diary of Bulkeley of Dronwy, 1630-6', T.A.A.S. 1937, 77.
34. E. Gwynne Jones, 'Hugh Owen of Gwenynog', ibid. 1938, 42 f.; L.S. Knight, op. cit., pp. 36-38; vide infra chap. VI (ii).
35. J.E.B. Mayor, ed., Admissions to the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, I (1882); Browne Willis, A Survey of the Cathedral church of St. Asaph, enlarged by Edward Edwards, I (1801), 246; vide also N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 991, and cf. M. Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English villagers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1974), pp. 183-9. The parish schoolmaster at Llaneilian was undoubtedly William Lloyd, M.A. Oriel 1618 (Al. Oxon.), and at St. Asaph, Archibald Sparks of Scotland, vicar choral St. Asaph 1632-45, educ. Aberdeen and Jesus C., Cambridge (Al. Cant.). Also at St. Asaph, Edward Evans, M.A. Jesus C., Cambridge, 1636 (Al. Cant.). The masters at Llanfurog, the Vaynol and Rhoscolyn were possibly also university-educated: William Humphries of Hart Hall, Oxford, 1621 (Al. Oxon.), Richard Lloyd of Christ Church, Oxford, 1621, perhaps B.A. St. Edmund Hall 1621 (ibid.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, iii), and Richard Hughes of Pembroke College, Cambridge, M.A. 1612 (Al. Cant.).

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37. Ibid., pp. 14-15; W.A.L. Vincent, The State and School Education, 1640-60 (1950), pp. 127, 134-5.
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39. J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire, II (1906), 172; Glanmor Williams, 'Carmarthen and the Reformation', in Carmarthen Studies: Essays presented to Francis Jones (1974), ed. T. Barnes and N. Yates, pp. 136-57.
40. D. Lleufer Thomas, op. cit., 299; L.S. Knight, op. cit., p. x, nn. 7-10.
41. G(wynedd) A(rchives) S(ervice), XES/5/Friars/5, 36; H. Barber and H. Lewis, The History of Friars School, Bangor (1901), pp. 17-18; G. Parry, 'Hanes Ysgol Botwnnog', Trans. Cymmr. 1957, 1-3; U.C.N.W., Gwysaney 380; T.W. Prichard, 'A History of the Old Endowed Grammar School, Ruabon, 1618-1896', Trans. Denbighshire Hist. Soc., XX (1971), 102; A.H. Williams, 'The Origins of the Old Endowed Grammar Schools of Denbighshire', ibid., II (1953), 31-39; K.M. Thompson, Ruthin School: the first seven centuries (1974); A.G. Prys-Jones, 'Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, Carmarthen', Carmarthen Local History Magazine, II (1962), 20; N.L.W., St. Asaph Diocese Miscell. 1464; Reports of the Commissioners into Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales, 1815-39.
42. William Hughes, Bishop of St. Asaph, Oxford graduate, honorary D.D., Cambridge (1575) (N.L.W., St. Asaph Diocese Miscell. 835-39, will dat. 1600).
43. A.G. Prys-Jones, op. cit., 20-21; Charity Commissioners 28th Report, 1834 (606), XXII, 654; C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 1618-23, pp. 274, 315, 433, 467, 468, 471; N.L.W., St. Asaph Miscell. 96; U.C.N.W., Bodrhyddan 16.
44. G.T. Clark, Cartae et ... munimenta ... de Glamorgan, V, 2046; M. Robbins, '... the Gentry of South-east Glamorgan', II, 642;

- Bradney, Hist. Monms., III, i (1921), 41; Charity Commissioners 27th Report, 1834 (225), XXI, 388-9, 449; B.G. Charles, ed., Calendar of the Records of the Borough of Haverfordwest, 1539-1660 (1967), pp. 3, 46; L.S. Knight, op. cit., p. 29; I. Davies, 'A Certain Schoole': A History of the Grammar School at Cowbridge, Glamorgan (1967), pp. 11, 15; I. Waters, 'Chepstow Schools, 1605-1902', Presenting Monmouthshire, 17 (1964), 23-24; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 66 f.; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., pp. 169, 172-3; R.J. Parry, Llanrwst Grammar School, 350th Anniversary (1961), pp. 5-10; A.Ll. Hughes, 'Rhai o Noddwyr y Beirdd yn Sir Feirionnydd', Llên Cymru, X (1968-9), 146-7.
45. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 302; C.W.P., 989.
46. A.H. Williams, op. cit., pp. 44, 64-65; G.T. Thomas, 'The Priory of St. John the Evangelist, and Griffith Leyson, D.C.L.', Transactions of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society, XI (1916-17), 76-77, 79; Charity Commissioners 32nd Report, iii, 1837-8 (144), XXVII, 462.
47. Bradney, Hist. Monms., I (1904), 9; I. Waters, op. cit., 24; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., p. 175; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 47; Charity Commissioners 28th Report, 458.
48. Theophilus Jones, A History of the County of Brecknock (1898), pp. 499-500; 'Hereford Probate Records', Radnorshire Society Transactions, XXXVI (1966), 48; W.B. Jones, 'Hawarden Grammar School', Flintshire Historical Society (Publications) Journal, VI (1916-17), 63; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., p. 176; A.D. Carr, 'The Free Grammar School of Beaumaris', T.A.A.S. 1962, 2-3; G.A.S., David Hughes Charities, boxes 1 and 2, indentures dated 24 Sept., 1601, 29 Oct., 1602, 14 Sept., 14 Dec., 1603, and 10 Feb., 1606/7, 26 Sept., 1607, 7 Aug., 22 Sept., 1610.
49. For Wynn and the Stradlings, vide D.W.B.; Vaughan, matric. Oriel C., Oxford, 1599 (Al. Oxon.).
50. E. Madoc Jones, 'The Free School of Beaumaris', T.A.A.S. 1922, 36-37; GI 1582/3, of Magd. C., Oxford, and also apparently of Hart H. Sir John Davy f. of Defynnog, reputedly a lawyer (Theophilus Jones, op. cit., p. 499). Also, John Walter of Piercefield, benefactor of Chepstow, perhaps adm. LI 1576 (LI Adms.).
51. IT Library, typescript register, f. 289; GI Adms., p. 130.
52. At Northop, four of the original trustees had attended the inns or universities, one had of those at Hawarden, five of Botwnnog, two of Beaumaris, two of Chepstow, two of Carmarthen, one of Usk; and note especially the choice of Welsh barristers (Charity Commissioners, Reports 26-28, 32; Al. Oxon.; LI Adms.; IT Adms.; Madoc Jones, op. cit., 41; G.D. Owen, Elizabethan Wales (1962), p. 207).

53. W.S.K. Thomas, 'Tudor and Jacobean Swansea: The Social Scene', Morgannwg, V (1961), 44; L.S. Knight, Welsh Grammar Schools, pp. 11-12, 31-32, and Glamorgan County History, IV, 114, which suggests the existence of other schools in the county.
54. H.A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640 (1968), pp. 199-200.
55. Details of eighteen of the grammar school endowments survive, not counting the schools in n. 53. In the same period, 1530-1642, there are forty-eight formal bequests surviving, made in Wales towards feeding and clothing the poor, some featuring in the education bequests, eight setting up almshouses and three founding hospitals (Charity Commissioners, passim). cf. W.K. Jordan, Philanthropy in England 1480-1660 (1959), pp. 283-9, where school benefactions seem to have reached a peak in the early Tudor period. The relative values of educational and poor bequests in Wales cannot be properly assessed.
56. Barber and Lewis, op. cit., Note R; Charity Commissioners 26th Report, 1833 (681), XIX, 725; 28th Report, 487; N.L.W., St. Asaph Diocese Miscell. 1464.
57. L.S. Knight, op. cit., p. 31; Charity Commissioners 32nd Report, iii, 351; cf. D. Cressy, 'Educational Opportunity in Tudor and Stuart England', History of Education Quarterly, 16 (1976), 301-11.
58. Barber and Lewis, op. cit., Note R, p. 139 f.; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 21-22; Charity Commissioners 32nd Report, iii, 186.
59. Ibid., 351; 26th Report, 725; 27th Report, 363, 449, 468; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., p. 139; L.S. Knight, 'Welsh Schools from A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1600', Arch. Camb., 6th Ser., XIX (1919), 14.
60. Masters to be M.A.s specified at Botwnnog and Beaumaris, to be B.A. or graduates, at Brecon and Llanrwst, to be learned (and probably graduates) in Latin at Bangor, Presteigne and Haverfordwest, to be learned in science and grammar at Abergavenny, to be learned at Margam and Usk.
61. Beddoe's will and conveyance (Charity Commissioners 32nd Report, iii, 462).
62. L.S. Knight, Welsh Grammar Schools, pp. 24-26; cf. M.L. Clarke, 'The Elizabethan Statutes of Friars' School, Bangor', Trans. Caerns. 1955, 25 ff.
63. Knight, op. cit., pp. 45-49; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 67.

64. Charity Commissioners 28th Report, 457; 32nd Report, iii, 351; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 20.
65. G.A.S., XES/5/Friars/4; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., pp. 24-25, 30-32; A.H. Williams, op. cit., 25.
66. N.L.W., St. Asaph Miscell. 713 and infra chap. V (ii), n. 13.
67. A.D. Carr, 'The Free Grammar School of Beaumaris', 7; C.W.P., 1600; U.C.N.W., Bangor General 22808, pp. 24, 31, 55; Barber and Lewis, op. cit., pp. 31-32; note also Abergavenny's difficulties (Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, Catholic Record Society, XXXIII (1933), 29).
68. A.H. Williams, op. cit., 26; C.W.P., 1094, 642; A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn Family and Estate', pp. 311-13. Wrexham's teaching must have been sufficiently good, however, to prepare the likes of Morgan Llwyd (D.W.B.), while Rhuthun itself was not without limitations (Arch. Camb., 3rd Ser., IX (1863), 286). Another school, Defynnog, had the characteristics of a parish school.
69. In the early Restoration, all the positive features of grammar school education were reflected in the library (178 books) of Beaumaris School: an intensive study of languages, classical, biblical and modern, with lexicons, and grammars, of style in works of poetry and rhetoric, classical and modern, and of ethical influences in works of history and theology. Logic, medicine, law and philosophy were also represented, and many of the works were also appropriate to study at university (G.A.S., David Hughes Charities, Box 13, library catalogue dat. 5 April, 1662; cf. supra chap. III (ii), n. 55 et seq.).
70. D. Cressy, 'Levels of Illiteracy in England, 1530-1730', The Historical Journal, 20 (1977), 1-23.
71. Supra chap. II, n. 26. My estimate of the population of Wales and Monmouthshire is c.350,000 in 1630-40 (following Owen), a lower estimate than that of David Williams (c.400,000).
72. Barber and Lewis, op. cit., p. 32 and Note R.
73. H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield Manuscripts, V (1894), 164.
74. Mayor, ed., Admissions to St. John's.
75. N. Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, App., p. 293 f.
76. A.F. Leach, English Schools at the Reformation, pp. 94-96, 187-9.
77. Ibid., p. 273.

78. V.C.H. Worcestershire, IV (1971), 481, 484.
79. Mayor, Admissions to St. John's, sub 1641; V.C.H. Worcs., IV, 473, 484; D.N.B., sub Vaughan.
80. V.C.H. Gloucestershire, II (1907), 315, 320, 344, 346-7.
81. Ibid., 355, 358, 362. cf. William Thomas, Bishop of St. David's and Worcester, raised in Bristol, educated at Carmarthen (D.W.B.).
82. Quoted in J.B. Oldham, A History of Shrewsbury School 1552-1952 (1952), pp. 2-3.
83. U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 55; Plas Coch Catalogue (typescript) I; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 30; vide supra n. 26.
84. Sir Leoline Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D., Principal of Jesus College, in Oxford (1854), p. 1.
85. N.L.W., Roger Lloyd 2nd group 338, dat. 10 Nov., 1624. Vide Al. Cant. for Yale and Al. Oxon. for Edwards.
86. R.R. Oakley, A History of Oswestry School (1964), p. 56.
87. Ibid., pp. 50-52, App. IV, p. 291 f.
88. Will dated 1634, proved 1634/5, quoted by A.N. Palmer, 'A History of the Old Parish of Gresford', Arch. Camb., 6th Ser., V (1905), 269.
89. Mayor, Admissions to St. John's. Glendole, M.A. Christ Ch., Oxford, 1625 (Al. Oxon.).
90. Mayor, op. cit., sub 1630, for John Bodwrda of Caerns., and 1632, for Wm. Gwyn of Merioneth. Also vide G. Ormerod, The History of the County Palatinate and City of Chester (2nd ed.), II (1882), 258-60; III (1882), 482 ff., esp. 486; also, The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Camden Miscellany X, Camden Society, 3rd Ser., IV (1902), 35.
91. Mayor, op. cit., Thos. Madryn of Caerns. and John Williams of Denbs., adm. 1631/2; V.C.H. Shropshire, II (1973), 159. White, M.A. Sidney Sussex, Cambridge, 1619, and Brook, M.A. Queens', Cambridge, 1631 (Al. Cant.).
92. There were ten Welsh admissions from Shrewsbury to St. John's in 1629-42, the largest Welsh group from any school at the College. J.M. West, Shrewsbury (1937), pp. 6-8; J.B. Oldham, op. cit., p. 5; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, I, 405 ff.; Notes from the College Records, ed. R.F. Scott, 3rd Ser. (1906-13), Appendix.



93. West, op. cit., 14-15; Oldham, op. cit., pp. 18-19; Baker-Mayor, op. cit., I, 413.
94. R.F. Scott, ed., 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XX (1899), 506-10; XXI (1900), 269 ff., esp. 270-1; Oldham, op. cit., pp. 36-38. Mostyn, M.A. St. John's, 1608, B.D. 1620 (Al. Cant.).
95. Mayor, Admissions to St. John's, 9, 51.
96. J.M. West, op. cit., pp. 17-18, 24; J.B. Oldham, op. cit., p. 17; Nesta Lloyd, 'John Jones, Gellilyfdy', Flintshire Historical Society Publications Journal, XXIV (1969-70), 6-7.
97. Oldham, ibid., pp. 18, 27-28; West, ibid., pp. 8-9, 25-26; W.A. Griffiths, 'Richard Griffiths of the County of Montgomery, gent., Mr. Case's Scholar', Mont. Colls., L (1948), 165.
98. E. Calvert, ed., Shrewsbury School Requistum Scholarium, 1562-1635 (1892), pp. 16, 52, 89, 90, 126, 133, 178, 230, 283, 324.
99. Ibid., pp. 13, 73, 108, 120, 128, 134, 169, 182, 188, 244, 246, 274, 324; J.E. Auden, ed., Shrewsbury School Register, 1636-1664 (1917), pp. 4, 9, 11.
100. Calvert, op. cit., pp. 27, 51, 92, 120, 274, 283.
101. J.M. West, op. cit., pp. 25-26, 30 f.; J.B. Oldham, op. cit., pp. 49-52; vide also Notes from the College Records, 2nd Ser. (1899-1906), extract from The Eagle, XXII, 1 ff.
102. An assessment of pupils with Welsh-sounding names, including patronymics which were most numerous before 1590, reveals a large proportion, often ranging between a quarter and a half of the admissions over the period 1570-1640. Though many, no doubt, originated in the English border counties, it suggests that the Welsh attendance was stronger than even our calculations might suggest.
103. The Annales or General Chronicle of England begun first by maister John Stow, and after him continued ... by Edmund Howes, gentleman (1615), pp. 965-6; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 226, dat. 16 Jan., 1603/4; 267, dat. 10 Feb., 1603/4.
104. B.L., Lansdowne 24, pp. 202, 204; C.S.P. Dom., Elizabeth I, VII, Addenda, 1566-79, 487; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, II (1888), 529; J. Hacket, Scrinia reserata. A memorial offered to the great deservings of John Williams D.D. (1693), i, 45, 47; G.F. Russell Barker and A.H. Stenning, The Record of Old Westminster ... from ... earliest times to 1927

- (2 vols., 1928), 1103, 1109; A.I. Pryce, 'Westminster School and its connection with North Wales', T.A.A.S. 1932, 91-92; D.N.B., sub Goodman and Williams. Six Welsh pupils from Westminster were admitted to St. John's 1630-42 (Mayor, Admissions).
105. Old Westminsters, passim; vide infra chap. V (ii) for Hughes.
106. R. Newcome, Memoir of Dr. Gabriel Goodman, with some account of Ruthin school (1825), pp. 26-27; D.N.B., sub Osbaldeston; Old Westminsters, Appendices VII and VIII.
107. Newcome, op. cit., App. S. Edward Thelwall of Plas-y-Ward and John Thelwall of Bathafarn were among those nominated by Goodman to be administrators of Rhuthun School.
108. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 429, 15 Jan., 1606/7; Griffith, Pediqrees, p. 369; J.Y.W. Lloyd, Powys Fadog, III (1882), 46-47, 346-7.
109. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 437, 438, 440, Feb.-Apr., 1606/7.
110. Ibid., 1240, 27 July, 1624.
111. Ibid., 955, 16 May, 1621; Pediqrees, pp. 280-1; Powys Fadog, II (1882), 144.
112. Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, 27-28, 30, 32-35.
113. Mrs. E.P. Hart, Merchant Taylors' School Register 1561-1934, 2 vols. (1936).
114. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 440, 443, 457, Apr. 1606/7 to Nov. 1607; Mayor, Admissions to St. John's. Matthew Bust, headmaster of Eton, was a former scholar there and was Fellow of King's College, Cambridge (Al. Cant.). Another Eton scholar, Josias Griffith of Cheshire, adm. King's 1617 and died there 1623, may well have been the youngest son of Robert Griffith of Garreglwyd, Anglesey (ibid.; Pediqrees, pp. 26-27).
115. C.W.P., 180, dat. 14 Apr., 1597; V.C.H. Bedfordshire, II (1908), 162.
116. T.F. Kirby, Winchester Scholars, A list of Wardens, Fellows and Scholars ... (1888), pp. vii, ix-x; and Annals of Winchester College (1892), pp. 109, 116. Admissions from Anglesey: 5, Caerns.: 5, Danbs.: 5, Flints.: 5, Merion.: 4, Montg.: 1, Glam.: 5, Mon.: 1, Carms.: 1, Pems.: 1.
117. W.J. Smith, ed., Salisbury Correspondence 324, 29 Sept., 1628. Salisbury adm. GI 1634 (GI Adms.). Price, Fellow of New College, 1641 (Al. Oxon.). Some fifteenth century pupils may have been fee-payers, for example, Pavy in 1441, Wynne in 1448 and 1454 (Kirby, Annals, pp. 113, 115, 116). Richard Griffith, M.A.,

of Mon. was Fellow of the College in 1527, while the first recorded Welsh scholar was Thomas Lytchfilde of Cardiff in 1521 (Winchester Scholars, pp. 8, 111; B.R.U.O. 1501-40).

118. Kirby, Annals, pp. 276, 290, 298, 313.
119. J. Henry Jones, 'John Owen, "Cambro-Britannus"', Trans. Cymmr. 1940, 131-2; V.C.H. Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, II (1903), 314-15.
120. V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, II (1967), 324-5; Mayor, Admissions to St. John's.
121. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 696, 22 May, 1615; 836, 837, May 1618; C.W.P., 690, 706, Apr.-Nov. 1605. Elis and Henry Wynn may have been accompanied in their schooling by their cousin Thomas Mostyn (ibid., 687; vide also, A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn Family and Estate', pp. 314-15).
122. Salisbury Correspondence 55, 5 Mar., 1598/9.
123. Mayor, Admissions; V.C.H. Huntingdonshire, II (1974), 113. The headmaster was William Rugby, M.A., of Christ's College, Cambridge (Al. Cant.).
124. M.M. Kay, The History of Rivington and Blackrod Grammar School (1931), pp. 71-76; Kirby, Winchester Scholars, sub Richard Watkins (1552), Hugh Evans (1613), John Price (1633); L.S. Knight, Welsh Grammar Schools, pp. 34-35.
125. L. Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', Past and Present, 28 (1964), 42-47; J. Brinsley, A Consolation for our Grammar Schooles (1622), the Epistle Dedicatory, sig. A3<sup>v</sup>; Knight, op. cit., p. 55. The total schooled calculated as  $40 \times \frac{1}{2}$  estimated annual attendance (to distinguish between new admissions and established pupils).
126. Sir John Hammer's Charity, 1624, (Charity Commissioners 32nd Report, iii, 242); cf. also David Hughes in 1609, (ibid., 26th Report, 726) and William Risam of Tenby in 1632 (ibid., 28th Report, 700); vide also C.W.P., 696 and N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 473, 15 Jan., 1607/8; 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills', Mont. Colls., XXI (1887), 244-5.
127. W.A. Griffiths, 'Some Account of John Reynolds and Lewis Reynolds', Mont. Colls., LI (1949-50), 188 ff.; supra n. 96.
128. Will of John Stepney, 1625, quoted in H.A. Lloyd, Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 51; will of John Mathews of Llangollen, London merchant at Aleppo, 1630, Byegones 1893, 117-18.

129. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 449, 22 Sept., 1607.

130. Ibid., 360, dat. 1605.

## CHAPTER V

### PART (ii) : PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATING WELSH STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES AND INNS OF COURT

Representatives of the higher echelons of Welsh society, laity and clergy, subscribed to similar views about the value and worth of education, including higher education, views which were the common currency of educational writers in the period. Richard Parry's view of education being a part of gentility<sup>1</sup> was paralleled in George Owen's opinion that grammar and university learning enabled Welshmen to attain a higher level of civilisation and, further, valuable posts and offices in the Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> David Baker's father shared Owen's attitude to the vocational value of education<sup>3</sup> and an identical, cleric's, view was declared by Richard Vaughan when, as Bishop of Chester, he appealed to Owen Gwyn, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, for a scholar's place for his son John. It was at St. John's, Vaughan confessed, that he had 'laid the foundation of that poure estate which I now enjoye', and though his son was an indifferent student he believed that under supervision and discipline, 'the marrow of all good learninge and piety', the boy would be sufficiently educated 'that he may prove fitt for civill companie and for some purpose in the commonweale'.<sup>4</sup> Similar merits of university and school learning were gratefully acknowledged by James Howell, 'this Patrimony of liberal Education', which enabled him to find his way,<sup>5</sup> and Sir John Wynn of Gwydir also believed this to be the case for legal training, that it would give

his heir sufficient weight and sagacity, and would prove the 'princypall ornament and strengthe to your estate'.<sup>6</sup>

These views, expressed at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, occurred at the mid-point of educational developments as they affected Wales. School endowments were maturing, legal education had become an attractive prospect, and the universities were well-established foci for learning and clerical instruction. In the case of the inns of court, Welsh students progressed through informal, frequently undetected, arrangements, and such arrangements undoubtedly applied to Welsh students at the universities, too, as will be seen. In addition, the universities and their colleges were recipients of specific endowments and benefactions which greatly assisted the progress of some of their members, including their Welsh members, and their value to Welsh students was considerable.

Scholarships and fellowships financed by major benefactions were re-ordered during the early sixteenth century so that students from all parts of the kingdom would have some opportunity to be nominated. At St. John's College, Cambridge, for example, the Lady Margaret's endowments which were originally for the benefit of students from northern England were re-arranged, and, as a result, Wales was to have one fellow from each of its dioceses, and no more, always assuming there would be suitable candidates. These provisions for Wales were still retained even though later Wales was to benefit from exclusive benefactions.<sup>7</sup> At Queens' College, Cambridge, the statutes of 1529 stated that fellowships were to be distributed

equally among the English counties without preference. Wales, apparently, was, and long had been, counted the equivalent of one English county and was to have one representative among the fellowship. In 1576, Wales' allowance became a source of controversy typical of the sort that often surrounded the provision of scholarships and fellowships. In that year, royal powers successfully intervened to dispense with the statute that Wales was to have one fellow and one only at a time at Queens', to intrude William Hughes into the fellowship.<sup>8</sup>

Christ's College, Cambridge, was another College which, in its allocation of fellowships, made special provision for Wales of one of its foundation places. According to the subsequent interpretation of its statutes, only one fellowship at a time should go to Wales or to any English county but, as at Queens', there were frequent challenges to this rule, with the Crown again attempting to impose different criteria on the places which it had founded there. Thus, in 1558, there were disagreements over the allocation of several fellowships, including the fact that the Crown had nominated a Welshman to one of its fellowships while there was another Welshman still occupying a foundation fellowship. Again, royal authority prevailed over the statutes and both men were allowed to remain.<sup>9</sup> Less controversy seems to have surrounded the third Cambridge college to provide for Welsh students, Jesus College, which set aside the seventh of the primary fellowships for Welshmen, and, at times, was prepared to appoint additional Welsh fellows who proved suitable candidates. From the early years of Elizabeth I's

reign, when Thomas Ithel, of Welsh descent, was Fellow and Master there, until the late 1630s, the primary fellowship was regularly filled with Welsh graduates.<sup>10</sup>

The exact nature of the provision of places at other colleges in Oxford as well as Cambridge is less clear, but it is evident that places were available for able or suitable Welsh students in all colleges with the exception of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, where, as will be shown later, the statutes of re-foundation specifically excluded Welshmen from its endowed places. At Oxford, Oriel and All Souls Colleges had long set aside places for Welsh students,<sup>11</sup> and the land which All Souls possessed in Wales and in the borders, in Shropshire, must account for the large numbers admitted there from the Principality and the preferences shown them.<sup>12</sup> Lands in Wales also financed general benefactions at other colleges and may have played a part in attracting Welsh entrants by suggesting the prospect of maintained places, for example, at Christ Church and University Colleges, Oxford, though not at Merton College.<sup>13</sup> Magdalen College, Oxford, and Queens' College, Cambridge, had, through the endowments of Sir John Perrot, title to lands in Pembrokeshire but it proved to be an uncertain one.<sup>14</sup>

Endowed scholarships linking certain of the leading English schools with colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were another avenue by means of which Welsh students were able to pursue their education, notably, as was shown above, at Christ Church and New Colleges, Oxford, and at St. John's and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge.<sup>15</sup> The employment of such general benefactions on behalf of Welsh students



could only satisfy a small minority of those who desired the relative financial and educational security of scholarships and fellowships. The endowments of additional places with particular local preferences, therefore, was all the more necessary. A few of the school and charitable benefactors in Wales, such as David Hughes at Beaumaris, Roger Edwards at Usk and Sir John Hanmer at Hanmer, did acknowledge the need to assist students, particularly poor students, at the universities, but these were largely after-thoughts, and it is quite clear that there was insufficient funding to bring these proposals to fruition.<sup>16</sup>

The real drive to assist Welsh students came in the main from the groups which had the most to gain by attending university, the clergy and the civil and ecclesiastical lawyers. Welsh bishops and affluent lawyers took the lead, no doubt inspired by the need to improve the quality of the Welsh clergy. Such an aim must, however, have been covert at the best, and though the benefactions enabled Welsh students to gain professional training, Wales' gain proved limited, especially as sons of the gentry, fee-paying, non-specialist, students, by the seventeenth century, sought to exploit these endowments. Two colleges in particular were the gainers from these attempts to assist the progress of Welsh students, Jesus College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge, though benefits also accrued to Queens', Magdalene and Jesus Colleges at Cambridge, and to All Souls, Oxford.

#### Clerical and civilian benefactions

Jesus College, Oxford, gained the most from the support of Welsh clergy and lawyers, receiving in all ten separate grants or endowments

during its first seventy years of existence.<sup>17</sup> The College's very origins owed most to the efforts of Dr. Hugh Price, Treasurer of St. David's diocese, whose petition to Elizabeth I encouraged her to issue a Charter of foundation in 1571, and who gave lands in Breconshire to provide the purchase price of the site and some annual revenues. Price's efforts, however, were insufficient to keep properly a large maintained membership, and up until the time of Principal Griffith Powell (elected in 1613), the majority of the foundation, that is, elected members, were honorary members, with only about two fellows and two scholars being maintained by the revenues.<sup>18</sup> Proper employment was not made of a large bequest, as much as £1,500, by Price in 1574. By the end of the century various charges on the College had reduced the sum to £700 and, rather than being employed to provide a regular income for the elected members, it had been lent to All Souls College, no doubt because of the close affinity <sup>between</sup> the leading Welsh members at both Colleges. The restoration of the sum in the early seventeenth century was extended over six years and it was not until Principal Powell's election that a large part of the sum (£400) was applied to provide a proper, regular, income for the scholars and fellows. Powell's successor, Sir Eubule Thelwall, employed the remainder to improve the College buildings.<sup>19</sup>

The attachment to All Souls College is also indicated by the fact that three of these early benefactors of Jesus College were Fellows of the former College; Griffith Lloyd, who was also Principal of Jesus, Dr. Oliver Lloyd and Dr. Thomas Gwynne. Landed revenue was the usual way stipulated to maintain the scholars or fellows. The two Lloyds,

Dr. Owen Wood, Dr. Griffith Powell, the Rev. William Prichard, the Rev. Thomas Reddriche, Bishops Parry and Rowlands all provided lands, or money to buy lands, whose rents were to be used to help the members. Dr. Gwynne provided the income of the impropriate rectory of Holyhead, which became effective in 1648.<sup>20</sup> He and the two Lloyds, and indeed the majority of the benefactors, except Reddriche, stated that their kin were to receive first priority,<sup>21</sup> while all also considered that students from their own places of origin or native counties should receive some precedence, for example, Carmarthenshire in Reddriche's case, Montgomeryshire in Oliver Lloyd's.<sup>22</sup> The Welsh schools were also considered by these benefactors. Bishop Henry Rowlands clearly thought in terms of integrated educational provision and so, the two scholars or fellows, as seemed suitable, who were to be maintained by his arrangements, were to have been educated at Beaumaris, where he was a feoffee, at Bangor, where he had episcopal supervision, or at Botwnnog, his own foundation.<sup>23</sup> Bishop Parry sought to apply his benefaction to any native of his own diocese of St. Asaph, who had kindred associations or was a clergyman's son, or who had been educated at Rhuthun School.<sup>24</sup>

Most of these benefactions were in operation before 1642, though there were difficulties at times. During the mid-1630s the recipient of Bishop Parry's exhibition, Jonathan Edwards, complained that its administrator, a local cleric, did not pay the money with any consistency.<sup>25</sup> Principal Powell's bequest, on the other hand, was well settled and was administered effectively to maintain a fellow, and generally the incomes generated were sufficient and the bequests properly

settled.<sup>26</sup> Reddriche's benefaction, of £20 annually for two scholars, alone was inadequate from the first, while some adjustments had to be made to the revenues received from the bequests of Bishop Rowlands and Dean Wood.<sup>27</sup> More serious delays occurred in the grants of land to provide the incomes by Griffith Lloyd and in the general, as opposed to Welsh, endowment of Bishop Westfaling; and Reddriche's benefaction failed on this ground too.<sup>28</sup>

Despite some limitations and failings, these benefactions by Welsh clergy went far to place Jesus College upon a sound financial basis, and though the original Charter made no specific reference to Wales, it soon transpired that Welsh students and graduates dominated its affairs. At Cambridge, no such similar developments took place, though clerical benefactions there, too, strengthened the presence of Welsh students and most notably at St. John's College.

The earliest Welsh benefaction at Cambridge was made at Magdalene College in 1543, when John Hughes, Chancellor of Bangor diocese, granted lands to maintain a scholar there. There are no clear details as to the grant, whether preferences as to kinship and local origin determined the choice of scholar. It seems likely that Hughes was influenced in making his benefaction by the first Master of this new College, Robert Evans, an ecclesiastical lawyer, who was Dean of Bangor and a member of the influential Caernarvonshire family at Castellmarch, Llŷn. Most of the lands granted were in that area, at Clynog, though their annual return in rent was very modest indeed, 46s. 8d. in 1584.<sup>29</sup> This was hardly likely to have adequately maintained a scholar and it is probable that Hughes's endowment was but

intermittently operated. Magdalene was far poorer than other Cambridge colleges and could not have supplemented the scholarship from its own resources. All this may explain, therefore, the comparative unattractiveness of this College to Welsh students compared with other colleges which received Welsh endowments.

Queens' College was much more popular with the Welsh and in 1573 it received a bequest by Bishop Thomas Davies of St. Asaph to maintain a scholar out of his lands at Abergele, Denbighshire. Davies's choice of Queens' appears rather surprising since he had graduated, as a civilian, at Oxford and at St. John's in Cambridge. The College had, however, already made room for Welsh fellows and among Davies's close associates in Welsh ecclesiastical affairs were two former Queens' fellows, Nicholas Robinson, Bishop of Bangor, and Thomas Yale, a civil lawyer, who was a prebendary of St. Asaph. Moreover, Yale's nephew, David Yale, was at the time a Fellow of Queens' and he, too, had a living in St. Asaph. These men probably influenced Davies's choice in settling this scholarship, whose exact terms are unknown. It is likely that it did attract Welsh students, since there was a small but steady stream of North Welshmen at the College, according to the matriculation lists. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that Davies, realising the changes in education in North Wales, wanted to assist higher education. He did, too, make a money gift to Bangor Grammar School, whose Founder, Geoffrey Glynn, had been a civilian graduate at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and whose brother, Bishop William Glynn of Bangor (d.1558), had been a Fellow of Queens'.<sup>30</sup>

The year following Davies's bequest saw the single most important benefaction for assisting Welsh scholars and fellows in the period under review. Though Hugh Price's work at Jesus College, Oxford, was undoubtedly important and led to that College's attractiveness in Wales, it was only able to provide maintenance for nominated fellows or scholars very gradually, and they, frequently, had to be related to the benefactors. The St. John's benefaction occurred sooner; it was, despite financial problems, effective from the 1580s, had no formal familial limitations and aimed at providing a higher level to the grammar school education being provided in North Wales. The wealth of detail regarding this benefaction must provide a focal point for this chapter, illustrating as it does the difficulties in establishing and continuing such an arrangement, and revealing the parties who were likely to be interested in taking advantage of it.

The Founder was Dr. John Gwyn, an ecclesiastical lawyer, a younger son of the fast-rising Gwydir family, and nephew to Robert Evans, Master of Magdalene. Gwyn had been a Fellow of St. John's, and had thereafter pursued a lucrative career at the Court of Arches, as a result of which he bought up much of the land formerly belonging to Maenan Abbey in his native locale in the Conway valley, in Caernarvonshire.<sup>31</sup> These lands he bequeathed to his brother, Griffith Wynne of Berthddu, Denbighshire, with the proviso that a benefaction be maintained at St. John's to assist local students. Gwyn's will stipulated the establishment of an annuity of £40 in perpetuity to maintain three fellows and six scholars at St. John's.

Candidates were to be preferably natives of the Nantconwy or Maenan areas, or of Caernarvonshire, Denbigh or Merioneth. More important was the insistence that the scholars, and thus also the fellows, had to be taken from Bangor Grammar School.<sup>32</sup>

The benefaction did not come into operation immediately because Gwyn's will was challenged by another brother, Morus Wynn of Gwydir, who, by 1576, seems to have gone so far as to seize all Gwyn's papers, including the will, and to have occupied the Maenan lands. This was the tenor of Griffith Wynne's bill of complaint to Lord Keeper Bacon.<sup>33</sup> At about the same time, St. John's College itself petitioned Cecil about the endowment which was being kept from it.<sup>34</sup> The resulting Chancery suit, which must have successfully proved the validity of Gwyn's will, shows how closely-knit was the band of Welsh lawyers in London at this time, the civilians, particularly, confirming that Gwyn had been of sound mind when he set down those terms.<sup>35</sup>

The Wynns of Gwydir encountered no little hostility from the Welsh civil lawyers because of their behaviour,<sup>36</sup> and in the face of legal action as well as powerful petitioning they must have relented and restored Griffith Wynne's inheritance. The resolution of that dispute only served to present another problem concerning the benefaction, namely the adequacy of the annuity to maintain the desired number of scholars and fellows. The College Statutes at St. John's were sufficiently rigorous to insist that all new foundations were not only financially adequate to keep the number of places founded but also to ensure that a quarter of the annual income went direct to the College

treasury. This was a means of lessening the burden on the College's own resources should maintaining the places become difficult. It transpired that, with inflation, Dr. Gwyn's annuity would be insufficient, and, therefore, in 1584, his executors and the College authorities reorganised the provisions so that the annuity thereafter would maintain two fellows and three scholars.<sup>37</sup> The conditions for holding these places remained the same, with the addition that the fellows or scholars could now also be pupils of Rhuthun Grammar School. The link with Bangor and Rhuthun was stressed in the case of fellows so that if the areal preferences were inoperative, then students from other Welsh counties attending St. John's or who were at least members of the University, and who had been educated at either school, would qualify. The fellows' and scholars' places were to be maintained at a standard equivalent to those of the Foundress places, that is, scholars at £3. 6s. 8d. per annum, and fellows at £10 per annum.

The agreement was more specific about the manner of nominating the scholars, allowing the Wynnes of Berthddu considerable influence provided that the annuity was regularly paid. The College was obliged to inform the family of vacancies on pain of a portion of the annuity being retained, and Griffith Wynne and his heirs had the right to consult with the two schools about suitable nominees, from whom the College was obliged to choose. Only in default of such a selection did the College have independence of choice.

The first payment to the College was made in 1584, £20 in downpayment, and the first elections of Gwyn Scholars and Fellows occurred. In the scholars' election, a concession was made to



Dr. Gwyn's kin, though not apparently in contravention of any of the other rules, by electing Owen Gwyn, Griffith Wynne's fourth son. The other two scholars were the sons of gentry.<sup>38</sup> Of the fellows nominated, one was John Gwyn, who may very well have been Owen Gwyn's brother and the second son of Griffith Wynne, a member of St. John's since 1575. The other fellow came from the minor gentry, William Holland of nearby Eglwysfach, Denbighshire, who was to be of some influence on behalf of the Welsh at the College.<sup>39</sup>

The Gwyn foundation generally operated effectively from 1584 until the outbreak of the Civil War. In that period, thirty-eight scholars were elected in this foundation and eight fellows, seven of whom had already been Gwyn Scholars. Of the Scholars, twelve came from Caernarvonshire, sixteen from Denbighshire, one from Merioneth, two from St. Asaph diocese, one from Bangor diocese, and six were noted specifically as being admitted from Bangor Grammar School, no other place of origin being indicated.<sup>40</sup> Despite this considerable success, inflation and the changing circumstances of the Wynne family gradually altered the value and efficacy of the foundation, so that between 1630 and 1642 no Gwyn Fellow was elected.

This foundation illustrates all too well the difficulties that most of these comparatively small additional endowments to colleges encountered as time wore on. There is sufficient evidence to trace the financial difficulties of the Wynne family of Berthddu (and Bodysgallen, which became the main seat) during the early seventeenth century. Robert Wynne, Griffith Wynne's grandson, for example, made two agreements to mortgage lands in Maenan, in 1614/5 and 1634,<sup>41</sup> and

his son, Hugh Wynne, also mortgaged lands there in 1642.<sup>42</sup> The latter, by 1650, faced a further financial penalty over the occupation of the mortgaged lands.<sup>43</sup> All this meant that the control of the land was increasingly tenuous and that it was more difficult to meet the regular payments of the annuity. Indeed, lapse in payments was no new thing. Robert Wynne had already been in arrears to the College, and in 1628 had faced the threat of an action at Chancery before Bishop John Williams had mediated and Wynne had paid the arrears and the costs of recovering the money.<sup>44</sup>

The regular nomination of Gwyn Scholars, in spite of the irregularity of payments, indicates that the College must have exercised some tolerance, facilitated no doubt by the presence of Owen Gwyn as Master. In the decade before the Civil War, and after Gwyn's decease, the benefaction became too inadequate to be tolerated. The years following the conflict created even greater problems and in 1650 the College took the Wynne family to law. The agreement arrived at in the Chancery Court acknowledged the inadequacy of the benefaction. Hugh Wynne conceded the need to reduce the arrangement once more to apply the annuity exclusively for the maintenance of three scholars, again according to the terms of the 1584 agreement. The College, in return for this adjustment, agreed to make available two of the Foundress Fellowships when there were suitable Gwyn Scholars to be promoted.<sup>45</sup>

In 1650 it emerged, too, that not only was the foundation inadequate but that the College had tolerated much non-payment of the moneys required for the annuity. The circumstances affecting the

non-payment are unclear, but the effects of the Civil War and the political changes must have contributed to the lapses. It is likely that Hugh Wynne was financially penalised for his active loyalty to the Crown, and in 1650 he was obliged to mortgage lands in Maenan once more to make up the £400 owed to St. John's.<sup>46</sup>

There was no respite to the financial difficulties of the Bodysgallen family and to its slackening grip on the benefaction. Payment of the annuity was a difficulty as early as 1652 and it almost prevented the nomination of a Foundress Fellow from Anglesey. Nevertheless, as is shown below, Gwyn Scholars continued to be nominated, though Wynne had to mortgage the whole manor of Maenan in 1658.<sup>47</sup> Finally, in 1666, he was obliged to sell outright, to the Gwydir family in the person of Maurice Wynn, younger son of Sir John.<sup>48</sup> The sale agreement specifically recognised the obligation to meet the annuity for the scholarships, and indeed, Maurice Wynn showed some genuine concern for them.<sup>49</sup> The transfer was not without its difficulties, for Maurice Wynn found the Maenan lands entwined in mortgages and alienations - all denied by Wynne, of course, but a sure testimony to the long-drawn<sup>-out</sup> difficulties of Berthddu and Bodysgallen.<sup>50</sup>

Financial problems also affected the other benefaction at St. John's which related to Welsh students, that of Bishop John Williams. It was an endowment that was inadequate from the beginning, and it seems to have been accepted by the College as an implied condition of Williams's proposal to establish a new college library. Money was to be given to purchase land that would yield £62 per annum income to maintain four scholars at £5 each and two fellows at £20 each.<sup>51</sup> This

clearly infringed the College Statutes regarding the financial security of endowments, that had led to the Gwyn benefaction being altered, and yet the College was strongly urged to accept.<sup>52</sup>

Williams was willing to alter slightly the value of the endowed places to allow a quarter surplus income to the treasury, and, finally, Owen Gwyn, the Master, and the senior fellows conceded that this amended endowment was about sufficient to be accepted.<sup>53</sup>

The ordinances of December 1623 set down the conditions for these places. The chief condition of the scholarships was that they should be occupied by Westminster School students, illustrating Williams's adherence to that institution, and that preferably two were to be Welshmen and two natives of Lincolnshire. Alternatively, natives of Westminster were to receive first consideration. Similar local preferences were exercised in nominating the fellows. A very important clause inserted by Williams, and accepted by the College, established that this benefaction should in no way debar students from the areas named from being eligible for other endowed places at the College. Thus it was that now Welsh students had three main sources of advancement here, the Foundress, the Gwyn, and now the Williams, endowments.

Bishop Williams was to have the say in the first elections, but thereafter the Dean of Westminster, the Master of the School, and a senior fellow of St. John's were to be the electors, and in electing the fellows they were to give precedence to those who had been Williams Scholars. The benefaction was implemented in 1624 and up until the Civil War there were regular appointments of scholars, five

of whom were Welsh, and fellows, three of whom were Welsh.<sup>54</sup> Severe financial problems were present from the start, however. A report in 1670 illustrated how the burden of maintaining the Williams benefaction had fallen on the College. In the first twenty years of its operation not even the expected £62 landed income had come to the College, which, in its efforts to maintain the places at a value equivalent to the Foundress places, had spent over £2,000 to make the scheme viable. In 1645 the Williams Fellowships were dissolved, a decision confirmed in 1651, about the time of the reorganisation of the Gwyn endowment. Whereas the Gwyn benefaction thereafter seemed satisfactory, however, the Williams benefaction remained inadequate and legal action was contemplated, using the precedent of 1650 relating to Dr. Gwyn's bequest, to alter these arrangements further.<sup>55</sup>

#### Gentry and mercantile benefactions

Whatever the shortcomings of some of these benefactions, the effort made by the clerical and legal group to support Welsh students at the universities was not equalled by any other section of Welsh society. The contribution of the gentry was poor indeed, even compared with its attempts to promote schooling in Wales. Though many of the clerical benefactors themselves belonged to prominent gentry families in Wales, for example, Griffith Lloyd, Owen Wood, Griffith Powell, Richard Parry, Oliver Lloyd, Thomas Gwynne, John Williams, they failed to influence their secular relations, whose interest in university education was largely centred on the needs of their own offspring and immediate dependants. Undoubtedly the continuing clerical character

of the universities must have made permanent endowments seem an unattractive prospect to the laity. The clerical and civilian benefactors were frequently unmarried, for example, Dr. Gwyn, Bishop Williams, and thus could devote their wealth to scholarships and fellowships, whereas the gentry faced wider financial commitments, to educate many sons, for example, from incomes which were becoming increasingly burdened by the effects of rising costs and standards of living. Little wonder, indeed, that many Welsh gentry, as in North Wales, became greatly dependent on borrowing from the merchant community, from Sir Thomas Myddelton, for example, and, significantly, by the 1630s the mercantile element became second to the clergy in supporting higher education to the benefit of Welsh students.

Welsh university benefactions by the gentry were few in number and to the benefit of only two colleges, Jesus College, Oxford, and Jesus College, Cambridge. At Cambridge, Dean Wood's widow, who had with her husband endowed the Oxford College, in 1622, as the wife of Sir John Price of Ynysmaengwyn, established two scholarships for the benefit of Anglesey or Merioneth students or students from London. Their value must have been very limited since they were worth only £1. 2s. 6d. each, but the gesture no doubt enhanced the links between North Wales and the College.<sup>56</sup>

The two benefactions to the Oxford College were more substantial and had a longer existence. A large sum was bequeathed by Sir Thomas Wynne of Melai in Denbighshire to maintain at Oxford a fellow and a scholar who would be natives of the said county or of

Caernarvonshire. That the bequest came to Jesus College was probably due to his nephew Morgan Wynne or Winne, a fellow of All Souls, who was no doubt aware of the College's needs, particularly since its then principal was also a native of Denbighshire. Wynne's bequest was implemented in 1629, and no doubt, too, his nephew had some enthusiasm for the project, given that he was a canon and archdeacon of Lincoln and therefore under the eye of Bishop Williams. Furthermore, the scheme of endowing university places itself was probably partly influenced by the fact that Sir Thomas Wynne had some family ties with the Wynnes of Berthddu, and therefore would know the circumstances of the Gwyn benefaction at Cambridge.<sup>57</sup> In 1640, another quite sound bequest, a fellowship worth £20 annually, was made by David Parry, a Cardiganshire squire, for the benefit of students from the three counties of south-west Wales. In Parry's case, it may have been loyalty to his old College which induced this bequest, which, like so many others, in time disappeared due to the effects of inflation.<sup>58</sup>

Jesus College, Oxford, was also, and exclusively, the recipient of endowments made by the Welsh mercantile community. South-east Wales, particularly Monmouth, was well-favoured in the six scholarships founded by William Thomas and Mrs. Mary Robinson, areal preferences as well as kindred influences being determinants, and at the time their value, compared to other scholarships, was sufficient. Denbighshire was favoured by an endowment to found a fellowship by Stephen Rodway, who was associated with the county.<sup>59</sup> The wealth represented by these people was not only accumulated from trade in

Wales, but more importantly, in London, and it was service to the Crown in London which formed the wealth by which Lewis Owen, Serjeant of the Larder, bequeathed an annuity of modest value to maintain two scholarships linked to Beaumaris Grammar School, which finally devolved to the College in 1636.<sup>60</sup>

In sum, therefore, the university endowments made on behalf of Welsh students before the Civil War largely favoured north-west and south-west Wales and Denbighshire and Monmouthshire. Central Wales and Glamorgan, particularly the latter, a comparatively rich county, were, surprisingly, excluded, thus reflecting the slowness of the gentry in particular to make much effort to maintain permanent places at the colleges. Indeed, the favoured areas of Wales owed more even to professional and mercantile interests than to the gentry. The benefactions, moreover, were usually a reflection of an already established pattern of attendance and association between areas and the endowed colleges, North Wales and St. John's, Cambridge, south-west Wales and Jesus College, Oxford, and of areal loyalties within the college memberships.

Other financial contributions to the colleges and to the inns of court

Links between Wales, or areas in Wales, and the colleges were not only cemented by the endowment of fellowships and scholarships. Multifarious gifts of books and money were made to colleges by Welshmen, and slightly more generously by the gentry, for improvements which undoubtedly led to favour and good will in the admission of Welsh students. The benefits which Jesus College, Oxford, received, together with the permanent endowments, reflected an emerging idea in the early



seventeenth century of developing the institution as a Welsh 'national' college. The rôle of Principal Griffith Powell was undoubtedly important in this respect, as were the ties with south-west Wales which several of the other early principals secured.<sup>61</sup>

Sir Eubule Thelwall developed and broadened this appeal by exploiting his contacts in all parts of Wales, particularly North Wales.<sup>62</sup>

Neither Powell nor Thelwall confined himself to Wales in appealing for financial aid on behalf of the College. Powell was able to gather much support, and too most of the money, from Oxford and London, while Thelwall's prominence in London society enabled him to get contributions from leading lawyers, aristocratic interests and leading citizenry.<sup>63</sup> Mercantile interests and Welsh circles in London also assisted Thelwall in building up the College library, notably Sir Thomas Myddelton and Rowland Heylyn, Richard Rodway and Robert Fludd, and such associations continued under Thelwall's successor when the Anglesey-born merchant, Lewis Roberts, for example, made a large gift for the purchasing of books for the library.<sup>64</sup>

Thelwall's principalship influenced Wales in two ways. His supervision of the new Charter of 1622, allowing a larger endowed membership at The College, encouraged the benefactions which occurred in the 1620s and 1630s. His appeal for money gifts for buildings and books continued the efforts of Powell and it induced a series of small donations from the Welsh gentry, modest by comparison with the gifts from the metropolis, but then ready cash was in short supply in Wales.<sup>65</sup> Such personal appeals did not always work and family rivalries may have been harmful at times, as in relations with the Mostyn

family,<sup>66</sup> but generally Thelwall was able to make a good impression. The clergy, particularly from his native diocese of St. Asaph, helped significantly and he was able to induce the benefactors of places at the College to assist the library also.<sup>67</sup>

Thelwall's successor, Francis Mansell, continued the idea of a 'national' college for the Welsh not only by encouraging further endowed places but also by proposing an expansion of the facilities and the buildings at the College. The chapel building benefited from the assistance of gentry in south-east Wales, notably Sir Charles Williams of Llangibby, a former student of the College and a distant relative of Mansell.<sup>68</sup> Mansell's links in South Wales were further reflected in the donations on behalf of the library in 1638-40. Several of the leading university-educated Glamorgan gentry, especially Sir Lewis Mansell of Margam, arranged annuities for the College,<sup>69</sup> though these efforts were again overshadowed by the commitment of the Welsh clergy in supporting several construction projects, and graduate clergy, especially in South Wales, such as Bishop Morgan Owen and his chancellor, Thomas Gwynne, were prominent.<sup>70</sup>

Mansell left no stone unturned in promoting the interests of the College, and the London mercantile community continued to play an important part. Sir Thomas Myddelton's widow made a contribution, as did several wealthy merchants, possibly by means of the influence of Sir Robert Mansell, the Principal's uncle.<sup>71</sup> The Crown's assistance was also sought, perhaps after an unsuccessful appeal to Archbishop Laud, the Chancellor of Oxford, for help in rebuilding the College, since Wales had 'no other certain seminary in any of the universities'.<sup>72</sup>

The marked improvements in the conditions at Jesus College in the few decades before 1642 can but raise wonder at the difficulties under which the earlier generations of Welsh students must have lived. The College can have helped little in their intellectual development either, and despite the efforts of the 1620s and 1630s the College library remained inadequate. Mansell continued to protect the College's interests during the 1640s and, before his expulsion in 1649, finally raised the standards of the library, by almost doubling its contents, through safely seeing to the transfer of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's collection of nine hundred works. At last was Jesus College in a position to assist its students in most aspects of the university curricula, by introducing works on classical rhetoric and oratory, mathematics, medicine, history, natural philosophy and law.<sup>73</sup>

Contributions from Wales came to several other Oxford Colleges at this time though never in such large numbers. Balliol was the recipient of a small bequest from a North Wales clergyman in 1546,<sup>74</sup> but other colleges benefited during the early seventeenth century when they, like Jesus, underwent some renovation. Oriel, Lincoln, and All Souls Colleges received single donations of no little value. The strong Welsh associations with Oriel and All Souls are reflected in the contributions of Dr. William Lewis, a former Provost of Oriel, and Dr. Thomas Gwynne, a former Fellow of All Souls. Lincoln College was assisted by Bishop John Williams, who was the College Visitor at the time of the chapel's rebuilding.<sup>75</sup>

It was Williams, too, who made the most significant contribution

by a Welshman to a Cambridge college. Apart from endowing places, his scheme to enlarge and recreate St. John's library was most ambitious and a large and sufficient amount was donated by him in 1623-4 for that purpose.<sup>76</sup> His further proposal to provide an annuity to buy books or, in default, to donate his own library to the College, sadly went awry after his fall from grace in 1640 and during the disturbances of the 1640s. It remained for his heir and nephew, Griffith Williams of Penrhyn, in 1650, to settle the Archbishop's will and to organise the recovery of the remnants of the library, and the College attempted to re-order the annuity to continue the purchase of books.<sup>77</sup>

This library scheme further showed the links between St. John's and North Wales, and no doubt assisted the progress of Welsh students at the College by providing a fund of good will. In addition, there were small bequests and gifts left to the College by other former alumni from North Wales. Thus, books, or money to buy books, were given during the early and mid-seventeenth century by Cadwaladr Jones, Rector of Reresby, Lincolnshire, Griffith Bodwrda, squire of Bodwrdda, Caernarvonshire, and Bishop William Dolben of Bangor.<sup>78</sup> Similar arrangements were made at certain of the Oxford colleges which were popular with the Welsh, by David Griffith and William Lewis, again, at Oriel, by Dr. Henry Jones, civilian and executor of Dr. John Gwyn's will, at All Souls, by John Lloyd at New College, by Gabriel Powell and Griffith Powell at Jesus, and, finally, Alban Stepney made a gift to St. John's after his son had studied there.<sup>79</sup>

Though the inns of court received no formal and permanent endowments of places, there were no restrictions on gifts and contributions towards the improvement and maintenance of fabric and facilities of the sort which reflected a degree of loyalty and attachment to certain inns. Sir Eubule Thelwall was notable among the Welsh legal element in playing a constructive rôle as Benchler, supervising successfully the 're-edifying' of Gray's Inn chapel. More selfishly orientated were the schemes for chamber building and improvements in which Thelwall also participated<sup>80</sup> and which the Welsh lawyers imitated, for example, at the Inner Temple, John Trevor, William Williams, and Richard Prytherch, and at Lincoln's Inn, Griffith and Charles Jones, the result of which was that they had some control over the occupation of some rooms, often to the advantage of kin or natives of their own localities.<sup>81</sup> William Ravenscroft also assisted Lincoln's Inn in several ways, in guaranteeing the inn in its borrowing, in contributing to the library and the chapel - to his own benefit by being excused his readings - and by attracting contributions from London citizens such as Elis Wynn.<sup>82</sup>

The efficacy of such contributions in facilitating the entry of Welsh students to the inns and the colleges is hard to detect, but in the case of a person such as Eubule Thelwall there seems to be circumstantial evidence to indicate this. Thus, at Jesus College, at the time of Thelwall's reorganisation and receiving of gifts and endowments, the influx from North Wales was greater than it had ever been, and in 1624 the rebuilding of the chapel at Gray's Inn coincided with the largest single annual intake from North Wales before the Civil War.

Monetary assistance to Welsh students

The preparedness of a college or inn to accept a student from Wales was useless if there were not the financial resources to maintain the student. The costs of such an education were often heavy, and Sir John Wynn's views no doubt were typical when he stressed the considerable monetary sacrifice to be borne. He, more than most, could tolerate the burden and yet he seems to have inherited his father's cautious outlook.<sup>83</sup> Other parents, conscious of the needs of their offspring, left bequests to assist their progress at university.<sup>84</sup>

Needy or favoured students, often relatives, were helped in various ways by those with good resources. Books could be left to aid students, for example, law and divinity books given to John Vaughan, Fellow of All Souls, in 1540.<sup>85</sup> Money was also bequeathed to certain students, for example, by Dr. Hugh Price and by two other benefactors of Jesus College, William Thomas of Caerleon and the Rev. William Prichard.<sup>86</sup> In other cases, debts were remitted provided that the moneys owed were employed to educate students at the universities, for example, on behalf of John Edwards of Chirk<sup>87</sup> and the son of John Gethin ap Oliver.<sup>88</sup>

Some of the leading gentry in Wales were not averse to assisting Welsh university students. During the sixteenth century, Sir Edward Stradling had a reputation for assisting 'poore scholars and universitye men',<sup>89</sup> and in the early seventeenth century, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir had settled a regular annuity on his sometimes over-demanding kinsman, John Williams, to keep him at St. John's,

Cambridge.<sup>90</sup> Williams, indeed, also sought his benefactor's aid on behalf of another poor Welsh scholar, John Meredith, whose debts were unpaid, adding that at one time bishops would have been glad to give £10 but now they were more miserly.<sup>91</sup> During the 1630s, it seems that Sir Thomas Myddelton of Chirk, son of the London merchant, maintained an exhibition for university students, among whom was John Edwards of Stanstey, Chirk, an esquire's son, hardly a deserving poor student on the face of it.<sup>92</sup> Nor was John Conway of Bodrhyddan, whom Sir Thomas, senior, had helped with maintenance at Gray's Inn over a generation earlier.<sup>93</sup>

Occasional money gifts also came the way of Welsh students, as in the case of John Price, who recalled the gift of a 'braze of Angells' given him by the squire of Bodewryd, Anglesey, when he was at Cambridge, and he had also been promised a token by a gentlewoman of the county.<sup>94</sup> Another Anglesey squire or, rather, squireen, Robert Bulkeley of Dronwy, himself an Oxford graduate, seems to have helped John Roberts, a student at Jesus College during the 1620s, and in 1634, made a gift to his cousin Thomas Bulkeley of Gronant on his admission to Bulkeley's old college of Christ Church.<sup>95</sup>

Moretary assistance came from the universities, too. At least two Welsh fellows at Cambridge left bequests to assist poor students or students of limited means. William Holland of St. John's left books to Owen Gwyn and 20s. to John Williams, by then also a Fellow, to purchase books.<sup>96</sup> Richard Fletcher of Jesus College made provision for several pupils, for example, John Hughes, a sizar, whose debts were remitted, and James Ravenscroft, a fellow-commoner, who

was given a book.<sup>97</sup> Most colleges, moreover, had resources at hand to help less fortunate students, and special subscriptions could also be raised for those in especial difficulty. Thus, Rice Thomas, a sizar from Denbighshire, was helped by a collection among the members of Peterhouse before eventually being nominated to a maintained place.<sup>98</sup>

#### Kindred and other local ties influencing Welsh attendance

Besides the monetary awards, the prospect of places and the willingness of colleges and inns to accept a student, the choice of a place of education was influenced by other additional considerations. The local affinities between parts of Wales and certain colleges or inns must have played a determining rôle, the background influence of traditional attachments. Thus, to reiterate, southwest Wales was closely tied to Jesus College, Oxford, and to the Middle Temple, and North Wales with Cambridge and Gray's Inn. Various other loyalties were, no doubt, implied in such attachments. Deference and service, for example, are at times illustrated in the Oxford matriculations when students of lesser, plebeian status, accompanied the sons of gentry in matriculating at the same time at the same places: three Glamorgan students at Brasenose in 1579, four Anglesey students at St. Edmund Hall in 1580, three Breconshire students at Jesus in 1591/2.<sup>99</sup> The availability of kinsmen at, or close by, the inns or colleges to act 'in loco parentis' may have been another consideration. Sir John Wynn relied on Elis Wynn, his brother, to supervise his sons at the inns of court and at the schools in London. John Mostyn accompanied his nephew Roger Mostyn at the Inner Temple in 1638, while Edward Annwyl supervised his nephew Cadwaladr Wynne at Oxford.<sup>100</sup>



Relatives sometimes chose to attend the same college. At Oriel College, for example, in 1598 two of the Morgans of Gwylgre, Flintshire, matriculated with their relative, John Conway of Bodrhyddan,<sup>101</sup> and, later, Cadwaladr Wynne of Glyn's supervision, and attendance at the same College, probably stemmed from being accompanied by his cousin, Richard Annwyl of Parc, Merioneth, Annwyl also being there, no doubt, because it was where his brother had been educated and a degree of family loyalty to the place had developed.<sup>102</sup> There was, indeed, a tendency for many Welsh gentry families to maintain a loyalty to a single college or inn, partly, no doubt, because they were sure of receiving some privileges or favour. At Jesus College, Oxford, for example, members of the Stedman family in Cardiganshire and the Bassetts of Glamorgan were regularly in association, the Stedmans also being linked with the Middle Temple, as were the Salusburys of Lleweni, Denbighshire, and the Gwynnes of Glanbrân, Carmarthenshire, and the latter also being regularly members of St. John's College, Oxford. At the Inner Temple, family loyalty was reflected in the attendance of the Bodvels of Caernarvonshire, the Trevor families of Denbighshire, and the Pryce family of Gogerddan, Cardiganshire. At Gray's Inn, the Rumseys of Monmouthshire and the Thelwalls of Denbighshire held close links, both being also prominent legal families. The Pulestons of Denbighshire maintained close ties with St. John's College, Cambridge, as did the Bodwrda family of Caernarvonshire, in their case being kinsmen of Dr. John Gwyn. Many other examples remain of family loyalties to certain institutions, as in the case of Glamorgan families such as

Gamage, Seys and Kemeys, and, although there were many, often deep-set, family rivalries in Wales, if Caernarvonshire is typical, they do not seem fundamentally to have coloured the choice of inn or college.<sup>103</sup>

Family loyalties were sometimes strengthened by the association of prominent, influential, relatives with certain colleges or inns. For example, several gentry families related to the early principals of Jesus College, Oxford, sent their sons there, such as the Vaughans of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, in 1591/2, and the Rice family of Newton, Pembrokeshire, in 1607.<sup>104</sup> At Lincoln's Inn, the close family ties of the Jones family of Castellmarch and the Griffiths of Cefnamwlch, centred around the predominance of Sir William Jones, were reflected in their admissions, and the marriage ties of most of Sir William's children reflect the social importance of the inns of court in forming such alliances.<sup>105</sup> As was explained before, considerable advantages accrued to the sons and relations of lawyers such as Jones, Thomas Trevor and others in the matter of favourable admission fees,<sup>106</sup> and in the acquisition of good chambers and sharing them with relatives, Jones and his relatives again being prime examples.<sup>107</sup>

Local loyalties also drew Welsh students to the inns of court. It must surely be no coincidence that following the nomination of certain Welshmen as readers or benchers there would be a steady trickle of admissions in the next few years of students from their localities, for instance, following Walter Rumsey at Gray's Inn in 1633, or Thomas Trevor at the Inner Temple in 1617. As barristers

and under-barristers at the inns, these readers, and others, had helped the entry of Welsh students by underpinning the pledge or guarantor system, and there are signs, too, of established lawyers from Wales at both Lincoln's Inn and at the Inner Temple sharing chambers with, and presumably offering some guidance to, fellow Welsh entrants.<sup>108</sup>

At the universities, local loyalties helped, together with family influences, to assist the progress of many Welsh students. Pledging arrangements existed which were influenced by such considerations, while friendships with prominent university men may also have helped, for example, between Sir William Maurice and Theodore Price on behalf of the former's step-nephew, Herbert Jones,<sup>109</sup> in the assistance given Cadwaladr Wynne by Dr. John Ellis, both being Merionethshire men,<sup>110</sup> and the friendship between Walter Powell, the Monmouthshire squire, and Griffith Powell, Principal of Jesus College, which seems likely to have assisted the former's brother.<sup>111</sup>

At a time when students were not always advanced on merit or according to their needs, when endowed places could be bought, as at All Souls,<sup>112</sup> it was inevitable that students, and more particularly, their parents, should seek to exploit all avenues possible for their benefit, and it was equally inevitable that college masters and fellows and officials of the universities should bend under these pressures or accede to plaintive appeals or seek rewards in reciprocation of favours done. Most of these features, as they affected Wales, are seen most clearly in the associations between North Wales and Cambridge.

As might be expected, the Wynns of Gwydir were scarcely backward in trying to gain influence, and it is clear that John Williams strove hard to repay Sir John Wynn's patronage by pressing forward Robert Wynn's claims for a scholarship and, later, a fellowship. Williams's influence was limited, in part because he was a relatively junior fellow, and also, as he often explained, because of the great competition for places and the many powerful interests that contended for favours.<sup>113</sup> Williams was not Wynn's only source of favour, for his cousin Owen Gwyn had considerable weight as senior fellow. He, too, worked with some success on behalf of Robert Wynn.<sup>114</sup>

Gwyn is, indeed, a crucial figure in the affairs of St. John's College during the early seventeenth century, and the volume of correspondence directed to him, both before and after his appointment as Master of the College,<sup>115</sup> illustrates the high stakes placed on having a good university education and of holding college endowments. The Gwydir interest, for example, extended to promoting the cause of dependants and more powerful friends. Sir John Wynn was not only keen to place his son Robert safely, but also to secure a place for a servant's son.<sup>116</sup> Wynn's brother Elis sought to interest Owen Gwyn in the son of a London client, the lawyer Sir Randle Crew, stressing that the father was a man of worth and the boy of 'modest, sober and cyvill conversacon', and therefore suitable for the College.<sup>117</sup> Sir John's son, William, who had also received a scholarship through Gwyn's influence, after he had entered John Williams's service, employed his relations with Gwyn to promote

his master's interest to get a fellowship for the brother of a royal equerry,<sup>118</sup> and also to place his cousin, Maurice Wynn of Ystrad, already Williams Scholar at Westminster, into the Williams foundation at St. John's.<sup>119</sup> Wynn was successful on both occasions.

Others who had some ties of kin with Gwyn were provided for. As will be shown below, the Bodwrda family benefited from the Gwyn foundation and, in addition, William Bodwrda, an Oxford graduate, was made Foundress Fellow in 1615/16, not long after Owen Gwyn's promotion to Master.<sup>120</sup> A distant relation, Edward Puleston of Llwyn y Cnotiau, Flintshire, and Rector of Burton Latimer, Northamptonshire, successfully petitioned Gwyn to supervise his wayward son, Edward, already at St. John's, and to obtain a scholarship for him.<sup>121</sup> In other cases kindred or areal ties were not enough, as with Rice Gwyn, the Anglesey and Norfolk lawyer, who unsuccessfully pressed the claims of a Caius graduate to a place at St. John's.<sup>122</sup> Another petitioner who failed, in 1611/12, had been John Panton, Egerton's agent or servant, who sought the aid of both Gwyn and John Williams for a fellowship for his wife's nephew.<sup>123</sup>

More closely related to Dr. Gwyn, by virtue of their ties with Gwydir, were the Mostyns of Mostyn, Flintshire. They sought Gwyn's favour on behalf of William Mostyn, a graduate of Queens' and, by 1624, a member of St. John's. Mostyn's older brother made a personal visit to Gwyn to convince him of his suitability for Bishop Williams's Fellowship.<sup>124</sup> William Mostyn's family links were sufficient in his own case but not for a student whom he tutored in the days before he became Fellow. Nothing came of his attempts to secure a place for

John Powell at St. John's, and the latter eventually entered Queens' as a sizar.<sup>125</sup>

Owen Gwyn also had responsibilities as a tutor. He may have been responsible, for example, for David Dolben of Segrwyd, Denbighshire, a Scholar of St. John's in the early years of the seventeenth century, who later wrote to Gwyn informing him of his subsequent fortunes as tutor to a man 'who had his estate largely overseas and has little influence in England'. Gwyn was asked to supply the son of the household with a scholarship, and, recognising Gwyn's wider powers of influence and patronage, Dolben also asked to be kept in mind if a post of a more 'scholarlike fashion of living' than that which he now possessed became available.<sup>126</sup> The early 1600s saw Gwyn assuming some responsibility, as has been noted, for the sons of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir. He also acted in the capacity of informal supervisor, if not tutor, for another North Wales student, John Price, brother of Fulk Price, who had been a contemporary of Gwyn's at St. John's. Gwyn undertook to control the boy's expenses.<sup>127</sup> Gwyn also supervised the sons of Bishop Richard Vaughan, and the latter's son-in-law, Thomas Malloy, Dean of Chester, sought, unsuccessfully, to exploit this association to obtain endowed places for other students.<sup>128</sup>

Gwyn, indeed, was not exceptional in supervising or tutoring Welsh students. Welshmen caring for Welshmen would naturally have been the case at Jesus College, Oxford, and may have assisted that College's popularity. Equally, the placing of Welsh students under Welshmen elsewhere must have assisted their progress. At St. John's,

Cambridge, Owen Gwyn's senior, William Holland, did, after all, offer advice and financial help in the education of Sir John Wynn's sons at Cambridge, and Holland had responsibility for at least one other Welsh student, Hugh Robinson, having charge of the latter's debts.<sup>129</sup> At Queens' College, Cambridge, the Welsh fellows were regularly tutors to Welsh students, for example, in the 1570s, David Yale, William Hughes, and Robert Morgan, and in the 1610s, William Roberts, who was also Proctor of the University.<sup>130</sup> At Jesus College, Cambridge, the will of Richard Fletcher, as we have seen, indicates that he had Welsh students under his care. At Oxford there are indications that Welsh students did come under tutors from their own areas, such as Owen Davies and Oliver Lloyd at All Souls or Moore Fortune at Jesus College.<sup>131</sup> Tuition by relatives was an added advantage in a few cases, such as David Baker and Owen Salusbury of Bachymbyd, Denbighshire.<sup>132</sup>

Many of these fellows, too, held influential posts at their colleges, which also played a rôle in promoting the interests of Welsh students. At St. John's, Cambridge, for example, the posts of junior and/or senior bursar were held by Owen Gwyn (1608-11), John Price (1625-8), and William Bodwrda (1635-8), Gwyn also being President before his election as Master (1612), and at All Souls, Roderick Lloyd (1593), David Lloyd (1622), and John Lloyd (1564) were bursars, and John Williams, Dean, and Thomas Gwynne, sub-Warden (1595).<sup>133</sup>

Areal loyalties in assisting the progress of Welsh students may have extended to the influence of men from the border counties

of England. Admissions to Brasenose College, from Wales, seem to have been higher when there were fellows and officers at the College from the Welsh Marches. Thus, in the 1560s and 1570s, the rôle of Richard Harris and Morgan Powell, together with Edward Hutchins of Denbighshire (vice-Principal in 1589-90), may have been important, and, similarly, during the 1620s when John Pickering, William Hutchins and Herbert Griffith were seniors of the College. A like influence, incidentally, may have been at work at the inns of court, not merely in the pledging arrangements but on a broader level, since there were many border area lawyers in predominant positions at the inns of court, such as Thomas Owen, the Shropshire lawyer, at Lincoln's Inn, who had impeccable Welsh ancestry.<sup>134</sup>

At the universities, university officials as much as masters may have played a rôle in ensuring the entry and the progress of Welsh students.<sup>135</sup> The prevalence of Welshmen in posts at Oxford during the 1590s may have influenced Welsh numbers, and, at Cambridge, the most tangible evidence of such an influence is contained in the career of Francis Hughes, Esquire Bedell of the University, 1629-69. Hughes belonged to one of several families in East Anglia whose roots were in Anglesey, and he was related to the Jones family of Pentraeth.<sup>136</sup> He may have been responsible for the admission of two Anglesey men to Caius in 1639-40, including a cousin, Rowland Jones, for his own son, Owen, entered that College in 1644; and also in 1640 was admitted Rice Gwyn of Fakenham, Norfolk.<sup>137</sup> In later years Hughes was certainly prominent in assisting Anglesey students. During the 1650s he supervised William Bulkeley of Dronwy, an idle and



sluggish student, who was drawn into bad ways by Robert Davies of Gwysaney, Denbighshire.<sup>138</sup> In 1666 he took much trouble to settle the debts and the tuition (by Welshmen) of the sons of John Wyn of Bodewryd, declaring that he had tried to do as much as possible for his 'friends, relations and countrymen'. The Wyns were related to Hughes through the Pentraeth family, one of whom, John Jones, was also a Cambridge student, whom Hughes in his will commended to the care of another influential Welshman, Thomas Griffith (formerly Mutton), the librarian of Trinity College.<sup>139</sup>

Family and local loyalties were powerful influences, therefore, and they could never be ignored. Thus, Griffith Williams of Penrhyn, Archbishop Williams's executor, in petitioning St. John's College, Cambridge, declared his dislike of the approaches made to him by his countrymen because of their importunity. He had, nevertheless, been sufficiently impressed by one student, a native of Lincoln of Welsh descent, to recommend him for a Williams Scholarship relating to Wales. His parents, declared Williams, were from 'theys countreys' and the boy's election would be 'a favour to our Nation'; and it was so fulfilled.<sup>140</sup>

Other, often more powerful, interests vied with, or were applied jointly, with such influences to obtain endowed places at the colleges. Owen Gwyn's correspondence is, again, the main testimony. Grammar schools were anxious to promote their pupils, and at St. John's it was seen in Shrewsbury School's efforts not only to recommend able candidates in a general way but also to secure particular fellowships and scholarships for its own use. In 1621, therefore, the College

set aside scholarships for the School to supplement those already preferred for Shrewsbury pupils. There was, however, a lack of rapport between the two institutions, illustrated by the failure to place Cadwaladr Piers into a vacancy. Although Piers was recompensed, the College could not afford to be disrespectful to the School or to the Shrewsbury burgesses since they had other powerful supporters, notably Lord Herbert of Cherbury.<sup>141</sup>

The episcopal interest was also active. Thus, Bishop Vaughan's sons, John and Theophilus, were helped by Owen Gwyn at the start of the seventeenth century, and Vaughan also took the opportunity to press the claims of other students such as Hugh Robinson, whose father, Vaughan and Gwyn had been contemporaries at St. John's; and Theophilus Aylmer, son of Bishop Aylmer, Vaughan's patron, a pupil of Gwyn's, desired to use that link and the memory of their association with Bishop Vaughan to further his son's place at St. John's.<sup>142</sup> Vaughan's successor at Chester, George Lloyd, also successfully pressed the claims of a friend's son, promising to reciprocate any kindness that Gwyn might show.<sup>143</sup> Bishop Carey of Exeter also pressed the claims of two young relations,<sup>144</sup> while Robert Snoden, Bishop of Carlisle, sought Gwyn's favour several times, culminating with the successful promotion of his son to a fellowship; Snoden had already obtained the support of the Duke of Buckingham and of the Master of Trinity. Gwyn could hardly refuse subsequently to act as a tutor to the young man, particularly as Snoden held out the promise of preferment.<sup>145</sup>

Bishop John Williams, quite naturally, came to exercise much

influence at the College. He implemented to the full the responsibility to choose the original Williams foundationers, informing Gwyn that although the exact terms of the fellowships could not be met, he had found two suitable nominees, including his relative William Mostyn of Queens', and the College duly acceded to his requests.<sup>146</sup> The choice of Welsh Scholars in that same year, 1624, was somewhat more straightforward, for Williams discovered a student of ability, Richard Bulkeley of Anglesey. Williams and his client, John Hacket, both wrote the College letters of recommendation, and it appeared that some sleight of hand was applied in Bulkeley's case. The boy had been educated elsewhere than Westminster, perhaps at Beaumaris, and had been admitted to the former by Williams for the credit of the School at examination time. Bulkeley was then technically qualified for the scholarship and was so admitted, aided possibly by also being related to both Williams and Gwyn.<sup>147</sup>

Williams's direct powers of nomination ended after these first elections. Many appeals were made to him concerning his foundation and he did propose several students to vacancies prior to 1642. In 1631, he recommended Solomon Robinson to a Lincolnshire Scholarship on the grounds that he was exceptional, and in 1639, a Welsh student, John Williams of Llanefydd, Denbighshire, a Westminster Scholar, as Robinson's replacement.<sup>148</sup>

Nor was episcopal and archiepiscopal influence confined to Cambridge. At Oxford, for example, a place at All Souls was sought for the son of the registrar of Bishop Robinson of Bangor, who had sought the aid of Archbishop Parker in the matter. A generation

later, Archbishop Whitgift's influence was sought on behalf of Evan Morris, Fellow of All Souls, to allow him to postpone his doctoral exercises and keep his place, in the face of the pressure of business.<sup>149</sup>

The secular peers of the realm also took an interest in students of ability, whom they could employ in secretarial, administrative or tutorial capacities. John Williams, himself, won much favour after his Cambridge exercises in 1611, and his cousin, Robert Wynn of Gwydir, in the exercises of 1612, favourably impressed the Earl of Southampton.<sup>150</sup> The nobility could be appealed to for financial assistance to enable studies to be continued, as in the petition of Richard Lewis of Oriel to Lord Burghley, c.1584, and of Thomas Lloyd of Jesus College, Oxford, to the Earl of Salisbury in 1611.<sup>151</sup>

The nobility was also active in making recommendations to scholarships and fellowships, though not always successfully. The Earl of Shrewsbury, for example, failed to get David Dolben a fellowship at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1607/8, largely because the Fellow who had died had nominated a successor, and the College had to observe that choice.<sup>152</sup> A little later, at All Souls, the Earl of Montgomery, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, made his feelings clear about a fellowship vacated by his chaplain, John Hanmer of Shropshire. Montgomery desired that 'some of his countrymen, a Welshman, may be admitted to the same', and from a list of four names drawn up by Hanmer and shown to the vice-Chancellor, the worthiest was to be chosen or, alternatively, 'another towardly

young ... countryman'. Thus, in 1610, Morgan Wynne of Melai was elected.<sup>153</sup>

Peers made many approaches to Owen Gwyn when he was Master of St. John's, though none appears to have concerned Welsh students. William Herbert, the third Earl of Pembroke, sought a fellowship for a St. John's graduate.<sup>154</sup> The interests of the Earl of Northampton seem to be reflected in the letters written by his secretary, John Griffith of Bloxham, a distant relative of Gwyn's.<sup>155</sup> Griffith also wrote on behalf of Lord William Howard and Sir Thomas Waller.<sup>156</sup> More direct contact was made by other peers, such as the Earl of Salisbury, who insisted on his right to nominate another student from Hatfield to a scholarship,<sup>157</sup> and Thomas Howard, the Earl of Suffolk, who petitioned Gwyn, as vice-Chancellor in 1615, for a grace for his chaplain not to preach 'ad clerum', and later pressed hard on Gwyn and the College for a fellowship for a St. John's graduate. The possible appeal to kin or areal loyalty, through Suffolk's servant, Meredith Morgan, failed, and eventually Suffolk's candidate was accepted because the Crown intervened in a manner that could not be resisted. Except where college fellows and officers were totally certain of their rights concerning nominations and promotions, and had the authority of college statutes to quote, it was extremely difficult to ignore Crown interests and intents. Even where college statutes were clear, the Crown could, as has been shown above, dispense with those powers for the sake of its own wishes.<sup>158</sup>

Royal influence was sought or applied on behalf of several Welsh students, and not without controversy at times. At All Souls,

at least two Welsh students were rewarded with fellowships following royal intervention. In 1600, the Crown addressed a letter at the request of Jenkin Vaughan, Scholar, and former Chorister at the College, declaring Vaughan's good character and eligibility and instructing that he be elected:

'not withstandinge any other lettres or requestes/  
to choose him fellowe of your colledge at your  
next election; your conformitie whearin without  
scruple as wee nothing doubte of, ... '.

No doubt Vaughan's probable squirely background helped him get this support and this must also have been the case with Richard Williams, son of Sir David Williams, the Justice, who, after a probably more privileged training at St. John's in Oxford, was pressed forward successfully by the Crown for a fellowship.<sup>159</sup>

The Crown also petitioned Christ Church College, Oxford, on behalf of students, among whom was Erasmus Evans who seems to have been proposed unsuccessfully for a scholarship in 1604.<sup>160</sup> Christ Church also maintained places for really poor students who were nominated to almsrooms. It seems likely, for example, that it was an Anglesey student, John Williams, who was elected to a place at the College in 1629.<sup>161</sup>

Royal influence was applied through various channels at Cambridge, too. Bishop Williams was consulted in 1625 to see if it were in keeping with the Foundress's statutes for the King to recommend the son of a royal servant to a fellowship at St. John's. Williams was cautious in reply, stressing that it was the process of election by the fellows that was paramount and not the intrusion of candidates

by other means.<sup>162</sup> That this was the case had been witnessed earlier in the efforts to obtain a fellowship for Robert Wynn of Gwydir, in 1612. Sir John Wynn was optimistic about his son's chances, given that Owen Gwyn was to become Master of the College, but he sought to hasten matters by obtaining a royal mandate. To the contrary, it served only to alienate the College authorities, as may also Sir John's own visit to Cambridge.<sup>163</sup> Robert Wynn eventually secured his fellowship, qualifying as a former Gwyn Scholar who had also family links with the Wynnes of Berthddu.<sup>164</sup>

As a conclusion to this chapter, the various features at work in the operation of places, particularly endowed places, at the colleges, described above, can be seen most clearly, as it affected Wales, in the operation of the Gwyn benefaction during the early seventeenth century. From this it is clear that the gentry sought to exploit to the full the places available, taking advantage of any ties of friendship or kinship whatsoever that they had with the members of St. John's, or with the Berthddu family, and employing all manner of other influences, especially the Crown's, to achieve their ends. No doubt this was typical of the patterns of patronage and influence exercised in other walks of life, accumulating in the hands of a few to the exclusion of the luckless and powerless, and the needy.

The operation of the Gwyn benefaction at St. John's, Cambridge

Although the Wynnes of Berthddu (and Bodysgallen) were second rank gentry, and relatively declining, their rights of nomination at St. John's gave them a certain prestige which they jealously guarded. A disavowal of their rights seems to have occurred only once,

in 1618, and it may have followed certain difficulties within the family when Robert Wynne was gradually taking full control in succession to his father Hugh (d.1614). Though nomination rights were uncontested in 1616, two years later the brother of Thomas Lloyd of Plas Einion, Denbighshire, claimed a place without consulting Robert Wynne. The latter may not have had any particular candidate in mind, or may have been slow in preparing a list. In the event, he permitted Owen Gwyn, the Master, the powers to nominate, and, since Gwyn acted like the good relative he was, the younger Lloyd was not accepted.<sup>165</sup> The succeeding elections of 1619 placed two students with local and certain family ties with Wynne at the College. Henry Bodwrda was particularly closely related, as his first cousin.<sup>166</sup>

Kindred links with the founder of the benefaction played a significant part in the nominations to these scholarships and fellowships. At least fourteen (and possibly at least two others) of the thirty-eight Gwyn Scholars admitted in 1584-1642 bore clear family ties with Dr. John Gwyn, and, similarly, four of the nine Fellows in the foundation during the same period were also related. The Bodwrda family, as the closest relations, benefited most. Thus, Griffith Bodwrda, elder brother of Henry, seems to have been an obvious and unexceptional choice for Robert Wynne in 1616,

'beinge of neere Kyne unto Doctor Gwyn deceased  
and a scoller of the free scoole of Bangor in  
the County of Caernarvon',

and was thought 'to be a person mete and capable of the place'. He was not the first to benefit. His uncle, William Bodwrda, had been



Gwyn Scholar some twenty years previously, while in 1615 another brother, also called William, had been made Foundress Fellow, doubtless through the influence of Dr. Owen Gwyn.<sup>167</sup>

Other members of the Bodwrda family were subsequent beneficiaries of the Gwyn endowment, in particular the three sons of John Bodwrda, one of whom, John, was approved by Robert Wynne of Bodysgallen in 1631 as being 'the founders neere Kinsman and mine' who had 'behaved himself studiously and civilly among you ...'.<sup>168</sup> A year later, Hugh Bodwrda followed him, and in 1640 the third son, Griffith, was elected, again as nearest kin to the founder.<sup>169</sup> Of course, kinship was not the prerequisite for holding Gwyn places, but rather areal associations and, more particularly, links with Bangor or Rhuthun Grammar Schools. There is insufficient detail to indicate whether the early Bodwrda scholars infringed the terms of the endowment, but some doubts may be raised by those appointed in 1631-40. All were admitted to St. John's from schools not prescribed in the endowment, and this suggests that the arrangements relating to the endowment were subject to modification. It is apparent that of the Gwyn Scholars admitted during 1630-42, eight in all, related and unrelated to the Founder, only two were admitted to St. John's direct from the preferred schools of Bangor and Rhuthun. The others entered from elsewhere, thus infringing the major condition of the endowment, which had already been undermined, as will be noted below. How complete was the infringement is unclear, but the periods spent at these other schools, according to the St. John's register, were fairly short, and the likeliest explanation was that they left Bangor or Rhuthun to

attend these other places in order to better prepare for university teaching and learning.

On the face of it, kin to Dr. John Gwyn did not benefit from inordinate or exclusive adjustments to the terms of the endowment, though as kin they would undoubtedly have gained the eye of the nominators, the Wynnes of Berthddu and Bodysgallen, who, curiously, took no advantage of it themselves. Among their other kin to benefit were the Wynns of Gwydir, Robert Wynn, whose Gwyn Fellowship did hint at some deception, as will be explained below, and his brother William, who filled his brother's scholarship place in 1611 at the request of Hugh Wynne, who added that he desired the boy to be better tutored than Robert had been.<sup>170</sup>

Kin to Dr. John Gwyn continued to benefit after the Civil War, notably in 1659, after the endowment had been re-negotiated, when two poorer students, gentlemen students, were elected to assist them overcome difficult circumstances.<sup>171</sup> No such poor kin had been preferred before, and these Scholars, too, had entered St. John's from schools other than those specified. Prior to these entrants, other less well-endowed or prominent relatives had been less fortunate, for example, Owen Wynne of Melai in 1654.<sup>172</sup>

The mention in letters that nominees had kinship with Dr. Gwyn must have reinforced the proposals of the Wynne family. In the case of non-relatives, the circumstances of election are more difficult to detect since the recommendations were often couched very generally. Some students, however, were already members of St. John's, and thus their abilities were known. Thus, Hugh Pryse in 1625/6, Robert Lloyd

in 1639 and Christopher Pasley, later, in 1655, all became Gwyn Scholars, but Robert Edwards, already a Gwyn Scholar, did not receive a Fellowship in 1656/7, probably because he was too junior.<sup>173</sup> A good family tradition of academic interests also counted, as it did with Pasley, and with John Price in 1622/3, whose fathers were Cambridge graduates. In Price's case, the fact that his father, Dr. Fulk Price, had been Gwyn Scholar must have been of some importance, and linked with this was the fact that Robert Wynne of Bodysgallen made his preferences strongly felt to two Welsh fellows at St. John's, his cousin, William Bodwrda, and John Price, Fulk's brother, both of whom would have the ear of Dr. Owen Gwyn, the Master.<sup>174</sup>

Owen Gwyn himself, of course, together with John Williams, had, as fellows, pressed the claims of Robert Wynn of Gwydir in 1608 for a Gwyn Scholarship and these petitions were just as important as Wynn's ties with Berthddu. Gwyn was, indeed, sufficiently influential to press the interest of the resigning Scholar, John Price, to ensure that he was an acceptable nominee for the Gwyn Fellowship. The other Gwyn Scholarship, vacated by David Dolben, received the attentions of John Williams, and it was filled by his 'man', 'Mr. John Lloyd's sonne'.<sup>175</sup>

The rôle of Gwyn and Williams in operating the Gwyn endowment in these early years of the seventeenth century was paramount, in considering petitions for promotion and in pressing the Berthddu family to respond favourably. The episcopal interest was one that was frequently active. It proved successful when Bishop Richard Vaughan, with the approbation of the Bishop of Bangor, proposed to Owen Gwyn

the desirability of nominating the Bangor student, Richard Fletcher, to a Gwyn Scholarship.<sup>176</sup> Episcopal influence was less effective when it conflicted with the interests of the Gwyn kindred. Thus, when Fletcher vacated his place for a fellowship at Jesus College, Cambridge, the efforts of the Bishop of Bangor, Henry Rowlands, to exploit a favour owed him by Hugh Wynne of Berthddu, on behalf of a poor clergyman's son,<sup>177</sup> proved ultimately unsuccessful. There were other more powerful interests, notably Richard Wynn of Glasinfryn, Archdeacon of Anglesey, who pressed the claims of his nephew, Charles Jones, son of the powerful lawyer, (Sir) William Jones of Lincoln's Inn. The additional support of Jones's tutor at St. John's, John Williams, and of Owen Gwyn seemed overpowering.<sup>178</sup> Williams genuinely felt he had a right to determine the nomination. As he intimated to Sir John Wynn, Richard Wynn's brother, not only were there ties of friendship and kinship to <sup>acknowledge</sup> but also

'I may clayme a little interest in the nomination, having by expence of my freyndes and money in the other manns praeferments [Fletcher] deserv'de noe lesse.'

Hugh Wynne, for a while, vacillated in nominating, pressed no doubt by the Bishop's moral claims. The Bishop's candidate was dismissed by the other side as being

'fitter for owne of my Lordes vicariages in the countrey than for our College',

a sure hint at the gentrification of college life and places. The decisive pressure may have come from Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, whose

own son's interests, it was hinted, might be jeopardized by the affair.<sup>180</sup> At last Hugh Wynne gave in to the pressure of the gentry, though it is possible that the Bishop's candidate was compensated by a Foundress Scholarship; and Charles Jones was elected.<sup>181</sup>

Given that there were such active Welsh interests at work at this time, it may be that, after all, the terms of the endowment were not strictly maintained. Robert Wynn's election and, more particularly, that of his successor, Edward Lloyd (or Floyd), raised doubts about the administration of the endowment, and particularly the application of the conditions concerning the preferred schools. In 1615 Robert Wynne of Bodysgallen recommended to St. John's the nomination of Edward Lloyd to a vacant Gwyn Scholarship. In addition, he wrote a joint letter with the Master of Rhuthun, John Jones, pressing Lloyd's claims. This seemed quite legitimate, including as it did actual signs that Wynne had consulted with the head of one of the preferred schools. Indeed, Lloyd was elected.<sup>182</sup> The question was to arise, however, whether Lloyd had genuinely attended Rhuthun, and this may also put the Gwyn Scholars of the 1630s in a different light. Lloyd had, in fact, and like later Scholars, entered St. John's from Shrewsbury School, and the headmaster, John Meighen, had attested to the boy's ability, in a letter which also suggests that he was a pupil of fairly long standing.<sup>183</sup>

Clearly, some sleight of hand may have been applied here, as was applied on behalf of Richard Bulkeley, the Williams Scholar in 1624, in order to secure an endowed place, by claiming a nominal membership of a school. Their paths crossed, in fact, in 1628 when the Crown,

for the only time during this period, tried to influence the Gwyn nominations. Following John Williams's suggestion, and who would know more than he about the Gwyn endowment, the Crown pressed St. John's to elect Richard Bulkeley to a Gwyn Fellowship. Whereas Williams had stressed to Owen Gwyn their kinship with Bulkeley, and promised good preferment to the retiring Fellow, Edward Lloyd (appointed 1618),<sup>184</sup> the Crown stressed the fact that the conditions of the endowment had already been broken to accommodate Lloyd and 'Wynne' (that is, Robert Wynn) and, therefore, there should be no bar to Bulkeley either.<sup>185</sup>

The Crown argued that the main condition, namely attendance at (and probably more strictly, admission from) Bangor or Rhuthun, had already been broken in these two cases, and ought to be dispensed with for Bulkeley. Lloyd's links with Rhuthun seem to have been tenuous, but at least it could be argued that he was known to the Master of that School and probably, technically, he qualified. Robert Wynn's case, however, is less clear. The remaining evidence describes only his education at Westminster and Eton. It is likely that he was previously educated at home at Gwydir, though it may be that he had links with Bangor. More likely is that a fictitious membership of Bangor or Rhuthun had been arranged.

The circumstances were certainly difficult, therefore, for the agreement of 1584, even more clearly than Dr. Gwyn's will itself, stressed that Gwyn Fellows had to have been usually Gwyn Scholars, educated at, and admitted from, Bangor or Rhuthun, preferably natives of the specified places and counties and members of St. John's or of

the University, but in any event of those Schools.<sup>186</sup> Owen Gwyn and the other seniors at St. John's stoutly resisted promoting Bulkeley, though they did not, perhaps conveniently, specify in what way he was unqualified. From the known details he would be unsuitable as Gwyn Fellow, particularly if there were a suitable alternative available, in three respects. Unlike the other two, he had not been a Gwyn Scholar, which was a tacit qualification. As a native of Anglesey, he came from outside the areas and counties given preference by the founder. As a member of Westminster School, albeit a brief member, and probably having also been educated elsewhere than at Bangor or Rhuthun, he was also unsuitable. Wynn and Lloyd at least had the merit of being natives of the specified counties, even if they were not products of, and entrants from, the two Schools. Their admission to the Gwyn Scholarships, nevertheless, had undoubtedly encouraged the Crown to employ its powers for dispensing with rules, and must have set a precedence for the sort of admissions, noted above, during the 1630s and after.

A further influence on Bulkeley's rejection probably lay in the fact that the nomination rested, firstly, in the hands of the Wynnes of Bodysgallien, provided that they had kept up the annuities to maintain the foundation. Although there appear to have been financial and legal difficulties in this respect in 1628, elections, particularly the Scholarship elections, had been unaffected. By the time of Lloyd's resignation from the Fellowship in late 1628, the financial problems seem to have been resolved, ironically, as we have seen, through Bishop Williams's intervention.<sup>187</sup> The Bodysgallen family must have

already had a candidate in mind who, in view of the eventual nomination, they would have proposed strongly. That candidate and, during 1629, the Gwyn Fellow, was none other than Henry Bodwrda, Owen Gwyn's own nephew. Little wonder, therefore, that the College resisted the Crown's pressures, having no right to elect unilaterally when the Wynne family's rights remained valid. It took more strength, however, to resist quite threatening royal pressures.<sup>188</sup> Resist the College did, though it sought to assuage the ill-feeling thus aroused by promoting Bulkeley to a Foundress Fellowship instead. It needed much diplomacy to reconcile Charles I to this settlement of the problem.<sup>189</sup> Indeed, it was not fully resolved. During the mid-1630s, in the internal dissensions among the fellows following the death of the Master, Owen Gwyn, in 1633, Charles I once again found an opportunity to intervene more fully and strongly to impose his authority and to reduce the bitterness which had grown up there caused by, among other things, the dispute over the Bulkeley election issue itself.

The nature of authority at the universities and the inns of court was, indeed, a major question during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, involving Crown and Church, and which affected the Welsh as it did all other members. Some of the characteristics of this problem, and its effects, require to be delineated more fully in the next chapter.



CHAPTER V : PART (ii) - NOTES

1. Supra chap. II, n. 11.
2. George Owen, Dialogue of the Government of Wales in The Description of Pembrokeshire, ed. H. Owen, III (1906), 55-56.
3. Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, Catholic Record Society, XXXIII (1933), 40.
4. St. John's College, Cambridge, Library, MS MR 57.37 printed in 'Notes from the College Records', ed. R.F. Scott, The Eagle, XXI (1900), 153-4.
5. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, ed. J. Jacobs (1890), p. 19, dat. Mar. 1618.
6. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 221, dat. 1601; cf. W.T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (1958), pp. 64-69.
7. 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XX (1899), 629 ff., esp. 634.
8. A.P.C., IX, 1575-7, 161; P.R.O., SP 12/75/79. Hughes, matr. Queens' 1569, M.A. 1579, d.1584 (Al. Cant.).
9. B.L., Harleian 7031, ff. 71-72 (38-39). The two Welsh Fellows were William Hughes of Caernarvonshire (1558-67) and Rowland Thomas of Anglesey (1558-64) (Al. Cant.; D.W.B.).
10. B.L., Harleian 7038, f. 425; Additional MS 5820, ff. 153-4; J. Sherman, Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigienseis, ed. J.O. Halliwell (1840), p. 37; Al. Cant. There were nine Welsh Fellows of the seventh primary fellowship, 1561-1638.
11. Supra chap. III (i), nn. 119, 120. Of 131 Welsh students positively identified, who were members of Oriel at some stage in 1542-1642, sixteen received exhibitions (C.L. Shadwell, Registrum Oriense, I (1893), passim).
12. E.A. Lewis, ed., An Inventory of the Early Chancery Proceedings concerning Wales (1937), pp. 204, 212; A.P.C., XIV, 1586-7, 96-97; V.C.H. Shropshire, VIII (1968), 214-15; C. Trice Martin, Catalogue of the Archives in the Muniment Rooms of All Souls College (1877), pp. 10-13.

13. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. c.22, ff. 5a, 73; D.R. Thomas, 'Meifod Parish Notes', Mont. Colls. XXV (1891), 6; E.R. Morris, 'Powysiana', ibid., XXIX (1896), 155-6; V.C.H. Oxon., III (1954), 65; N.L.W., Wynnstay Box 104/332. Note an earlier concession by Merton to a Welshman despite the statutes regulating the appointments to fellowships (J.M. Fletcher, ed., Registrum Annalium Collegii Mertonensis, 1521-1567 (1974), p. 218).
14. A.P.C., XXIV, 1592-3, 64, 141-2.
15. Supra chap. V (i), n. 136. There were eight Welsh fellows at New College from Winchester c.1540-1642, and in 1561-1642, fourteen Welsh scholars were elected to Christ Church from Westminster plus three others with Welsh associations, and eleven were elected to Trinity College, with two others having Welsh associations. There were four Welsh scholars at St. John's from Shrewsbury School in 1630-42.
16. Reports of the Commissioners into Charities and Education of the Poor in England and Wales. 26th Report, 1833 (681), XIX, 727; 27th Report, 1834 (225), XXI, 468; 32nd Report, iii, 1837-8 (144), XXVII, 242.
17. Dr. Hugh Price, 1571, 1574; Dr. Griffith Lloyd, 1586 (one Scholar, one Fellow); Bp. Henry Rowlands, 1609 (two Schols. or Fells.); Dr. Owen Wood and wife, 1616 (one Schol., one Fell.); Thos. Reddriche, 1616 (two Schols); Dr. Griffith Powell, 1620 (one Fell.); Bp. Richard Parry, 1622 (one Schol.); Rev. Wm. Prichard, 1623 (one Schol. or Fell.); Dr. Oliver Lloyd, 1625 (one Schol. or Fell.); Dr. Thos. Gwynne, 1632 (settled 1648, two Fells. and two Schols.).
18. A. Wood, History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch (1786), pp. 569-70; Bodl., Rawlinson D. 399, f. 256. The Crown permitted royal oak to be employed in the building, 1575/6 (H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield Manuscripts, II (1888), 128).
19. Wood, op. cit., pp. 570-1; Bodl., Rawlinson D. 399, f. 256<sup>v</sup>; E.A. Bond, Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford (1853), III, 81.
20. Wood, ibid., pp. 571-5; M. Lucy Williams, 'The Collegiate Church of Holyhead and Jesus College', T.A.A.S. 1947, 45-47.
21. William Prichard gave preference to his grandfather's family: Wm. Prichard of Abergavenny, matr. Jesus 1627/8, M.A. 1633, Fellow 1637 (Al. Oxon.; Bodl., MS Top. Oxon., e. 132, f. 9<sup>v</sup>), was probably one, and Walter Prichard, matr. Jesus 1621, M.A. 1626 (Al. Oxon.) may be another. Griffith Powell specified his brother's family: William Powell, matr. Jesus 1628, B.A. 1628

(ibid.) was one. Among Oliver Lloyd's beneficiaries must have been John Floyd, matr. Jesus 1631/2, M.A. 1636, Fellow 1637 (ibid.; MS Top. Oxon., e. 132, f. 9<sup>v</sup>).

22. E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), p. 75.
23. Ibid., p. 71; Bond, op. cit., III, 88; Wood, op. cit., pp. 571-2; vide B.L., Lansdowne 989, f. 116, and N.L.W., Bangor diocese B/DL/161 for Rowlands's part in the Woods's benefaction.
24. A. Wood, op. cit., p. 573; Hardy, op. cit., p. 72.
25. N.L.W., Chirk Castle E. 3319, 3321; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 30.
26. Hardy, op. cit., p. 71.
27. Ibid., p. 70; Bond, op. cit., III, 73-75; Bodl., Rawl. D. 399, f. 257.
28. Ibid., ff. 256<sup>v</sup>, 257; B.L., Lansdowne 983, ff. 24-25; Hardy, op. cit., pp. 36, 69.
29. B.L., Harleian 7033, f. 210 <121<sup>b</sup>>; 7046, f. 125<sup>b</sup>; Additional 5825, f. 36<sup>b</sup>; V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, III (1959), 451; for Hughes and Evans, vide U.C.N.W. Library, R.R. Hughes, Biographical Epitomes of the Bishops and Clergy of the diocese of Bangor from the Reformation (typescript 1932).
30. G.A.S., XES/5/Friars/37, ff. 1<sup>v</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>, 5 and ibid., /36, pp. 6-7, where Davies was to act as supervisor to Glynn's will in certain circumstances; Cambridge University Library MS, Mm 1.36 (Baker MS 25), f. 405; B.L., Lansdowne 981, ff. 128-9; A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss, I (1813), 823; Al. Cant.; B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641 (1973), p. 282.
31. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1281, 1282; J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 184, 251; D.W.B.
32. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1285, f. 1; C.W.P., 54; A.F. Torry, Founders and Benefactors of St. John's College, Cambridge, with notes chiefly biographical (1888), p. 8; cf. the endowments arranged by Gabriel Goodman on behalf of Lady Burghley for two Scholarships in 1579, from which no Welsh student benefited (ibid., p. 12).
33. N.L.W., Wynnstay L. 1317.
34. B.L., Lansdowne 21, f. 99.

35. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6486.
36. C.W.P., 54, 76.
37. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1285, ff. 2-6; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 420-22.
38. For Gwyn, William Lewis, Richard Pigot, vide F.P. White, 'Notes'; Al. Cant.; and Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 184, re. Owen Gwyn.
39. F.P. White, 'Notes' and Al. Cant.; also Pedigrees, p. 184, for John Gwyn, and supra chap. III (i) and (ii) for Holland.
40. Drawn from F.P. White, 'Notes'.
41. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1286, 1287.
42. Ibid., 1288, 1289.
43. Ibid., 1290.
44. B.L., Harleian 7046, f. 248; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 497.
45. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1291, 6871.
46. Ibid., 6407; C.W.P., 1773; N. Tucker, North Wales in the Civil War (1958), pp. 20-21, 27, 123-4; and 'Colonel Hugh Wynne', Trans. Caerns. 1958, 38-41; Calendar of Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding 1643-60, III, 1967.
47. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1292; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 297. The Anglesey student William Hughes, adm. sizar 1647, got his Fellowship and was M.A. 1654, B.D. 1661 (Al. Cant.).
48. N.L.W., Wynnstay L. 1319.
49. C.W.P., 2505. Note, however, that rights of nomination, at least in the immediate post-sale period, remained with Colonel Hugh Wynne of Bodysgallen (C.S.P. Dom., Charles II, 1670, p. 732).
50. N.L.W., Wynnstay L. 1309, 1310. The sale of the Maenan lands was by no means the only sign of difficulties at Bodysgallen (U.C.N.W., Mostyn 958).
51. U.C.N.W., Penrhyn 153, 154; St. John's College, Library, MR 105.232, quoted in 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XVII (1893), 7-8, 343-4; A.F. Torry, op. cit., pp. 20-22; C.W.P., 1240; vide supra chap. V (i), n. 106.
52. St. John's, MR 105.235, quoted in The Eagle, XVII, 12-13, 153-6.

53. Ibid., 344-5, quoting St. John's, MR 105-236, 238.
54. U.C.N.W., Penrhyn 154; The Eagle, XXXIII (1912), 101-108; F.P. White, 'Notes'.
55. U.C.N.W., Penrhyn 154; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 447-50; The Eagle, XXXIII, 109-11. Losses on Williams's benefaction continued after the 1670s but were not as great. By the early eighteenth century, the College continued to seek some redress at law and from the English bishops (ibid., 114-35).
56. J. Sherman, Historia Collegii Jesu Cantabrigienses, p. 25; V.C.H. Cambs., III, 424.
57. A. Wood, History and Antiquities ... of Oxford, p. 573; Hardy, Jesus College, p. 74; E.A. Bond, Statutes ..., III, 91, 94-95; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 376.
58. A. Wood, op. cit., p. 574; Hardy, op. cit., pp. 78-79. Parry, matr. Jesus 1581/2, age 20 (Al. Oxon.). Indirectly linked with Wales was the money grant of Sir John Walter of Shropshire, by which lands were purchased in Carms. and possibly used for Welsh scholars (Wood, p. 574; Hardy, p. 76). By 1641, there were four fellows from Carms. and two scholars (Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. e. 132, f. 40).
59. Wood, op. cit., 572-4; Hardy, op. cit., pp. 74-77; Bond, op. cit., III, 92, 94-95. Perhaps Thomas had matriculated at B.N.C., from Herefs., 1578, age 19, and Rodway matr. Christ Church 1581, pleb. of London, M.A. Trinity 1589, and of LI 1584 (Al. Oxon.). There were two Monmouthshire scholars at Jesus in 1637: Lewis James and William Walter (ibid.; MS Top. Oxon. e. 132, ff. 11<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>).
60. Wood, op. cit., p. 574; Hardy, op. cit., p. 78; Bond, op. cit., III, 93-94; U.C.N.W., Penrhos catalogue VII, 806.
61. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 37-38; V.C.H. Oxon., III, 272; A.G. Prys-Jones, 'Carmarthenshire and Jesus College, Oxford', The Carmarthen Antiquary, IV (1962), 17.
62. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 969, letter dat. 1621; Epistolae Ho-Eliae, pp. 39, 104; Wood, op. cit., p. 574.
63. C.J. Fordyce and T.M. Knox, 'The Library of Jesus College, Oxford', Oxford Bibliographical Society, Proceedings and Papers, V (1937), ii, 12-13; vide D.N.S. for Sir Julius Caesar, Sir George Croke, Sir Heneage Finch and Edward Littleton; G.E. Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, (revised ed.), VII (1929), sub Lennox, for Frances, Duchess of Richmond; and Al. Oxon. and W.A. Shaw, The Knights of England (1906), II, 192, 202, 225, for Sir Lawrence Washington, James Bunce and Thomas Moulson.

64. D.N.B., and also for Lady Maria Cockayne, Sir William Courten, Christopher Cletherow and George Whitmore; Hardy, op. cit., p. 61.
65. Al. Oxon. and Shaw, The Knights of England, II, 182, for Sir Thomas Canon; J.Y.W., Lloyd, Powys Fadog, III (1882), 228-30, for Antony Lewis; Wood, History and Antiquities, 583; M.A.V. Ball, 'University and Collegiate Planning in the later Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', (unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1961), p. 94. Another contributor was Thomas Kynaston, perhaps son of Roger of Morton, Shropshire (Pedigrees, p. 219).
66. C.W.P., 1423, dat. July 1626.
67. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 60,74; Bond, op. cit., III, 90; N.L.W., MS 7614 D., ff. 14-15, re. Dr. Oliver Lloyd and William Prichard.
68. Wood, op. cit., p. 583. Williams, matr. Jesus 1610, arm. f. (Al. Oxon.) and his mother was a Mansel (G.T. Clark, Limbus Patrum, p. 312).
69. Wood, op. cit., p. 580; Bond, op. cit., III, 93; Sir Leoline Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D. (1854), p. 5; M. Robbins, 'The Agricultural, Domestic, Social and Cultural Interests of the Gentry of South-east Glamorgan', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), I, 165, fig. 23; II, 642. Mansel paid out £125 in 1637-9. He had been at B.N.C. (1600), as had Sir Edward Stradling (1610). Another benefactor, John Carne of Ewenni, was at Jesus (1610), while Sir Nicholas Kemeys's son Charles was a recent member (1631/2) (Al. Oxon.).
70. Hardy, op. cit., p. 91. The Warden of All Souls was also helpful.
71. V.C.H. Oxon., III, 274; vide also D.N.B. sub Sir Thomas Myddelton, Sir William Russell, who succeeded Sir Robert Mansel as Treasurer to the Navy, and John Craven of Ryton, Shropshire.
72. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XIII, 1638-9, 589; XV, 1639-40, 262; P.R.O. SP 16/415/4; Bodl., MS e. Mus 227, f. 45.
73. C.J. Fordyce and T.M. Knox, 'The Library of Jesus College, Oxford', 53 ff.; Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, p. 15.
74. D.R. Thomas, 'Old Wills relating to Wales and the Marches', Arch. Camb., 4th Ser., VII (1876), 221.
75. A. Wood, History and Antiquities, pp. 130, 250; Bodl., MS DD All Souls, c. 259/6, f. 5; M. Robbins, op. cit., I, 165, fig. 123; infra chap. VI (iii), n. 22 for Lewis.

76. St. John's, MR 105•220, 225, 226, 238, 242, printed in The Eagle, XVII, 1 ff., 142 ff.
77. C.W.P., 1943-6, 1962, 1997, 1999, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2018-19, 2025-6; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 620-22; U.C.N.W., Penrhyn 154, ff. 4-5. In 1652, to re-establish the library, an annuity was set up, whose first purpose according to Francis Hughes, Auditor to the College, and probably the Esquire Bedell of the University (vide infra), was to reduce the debts acquired on recovering the collection ('Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XVII, 350-2; XXX (1909), 284-5; XXXIV (1913), 161 ff.; A.F. Torry, Founders and Benefactors of St. John's, pp. 29-30).
78. Baker-Mayor, op. cit., 339, 341, 485. Also, for Dolben, vide G. Haulfryn Williams, 'A Study of Caernarfonshire Probate Records 1630-90', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1972), p. 390; A.F. Torry, op. cit., p. 26; and infra for Dolben and Bodwrda. Jones, a yeoman's son of Caerns., at St. John's 1634/5 (Al. Cant.). Note also Gabriel Goodman's aim (1600) of getting St. John's goodwill towards the Gwyn benefaction by means of book bequests, with similar bequests to other colleges at Oxford and Cambridge to show regard to Rhuthun School (N.L.W., Bodewryd A.12, ff. 11, 12).
79. N.R. Ker, 'Fragments of Medieval MSS used as Pastedowns in Oxford bindings, with a survey of Oxford Binding c.1515-1620', Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications, N.S., 5 (1951-2), 264-5, 267.
80. GI Pens. Book, pp. 265, 266, 268; H.H.L. Bellot, Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn (1925), p. 59.
81. II Records, I, 366; II, 108; LI Black Books, II, 148, 181, 195; Lincoln's Inn Library, Red Book, f. 70; supra chap. IV, nn. 70, 71; cf. also MI Minutes, II, 514.
82. LI Black Books, II, 85, 219-20, 285; LI Library, Black Book 7, ff. 46, 49<sup>v</sup>, 50, 259.
83. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 352, dat. 1605.
84. G. Haulfryn Williams, op. cit., p. 396. John Draycot, adm. sizar St. John's, Cambridge, 1640, from Bangor Grammar School (Al. Cant.); H.L. Squires and E.R. Morris, 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills at Somerset House etc.', Mont. Colls., XXI (1887), 177-9; XXII (1888), 296, re. Hugh ap Hugh ap Edmund and Wythen Jones. Neither appears in the inns' or universities' lists but Jones's son William probably entered GI 1641/2 (GI Adms.).
85. J.C. Smith, 'Miscellanea', Arch. Camb., 7th Ser., VII (1927), 197-8. Vaughan, Fellow of All Souls 1529, B.Th. 1538, Rector of Hawarden, Flints., 1538-57(d,) (B.R.U.O. 1501-40).

86. N.L.W., MS 7614 D. ff. 1, 15. The students who benefited were Richard William Powell, Dr. Price's 'poor Scholar', John Jones of Abergavenny, matr. Jesus 1624 (Al. Oxon.), cousin of Prichard, Mr. Daniel Jones, (prob. of Montgomeryshire, B.A. 1608 (ibid.)), and John King of Christ Church, friends or associates of Prichard.
87. N.L.W., Thorne 160, either the John Edwards of Denbs., matr. B.N.C. 1586/7, or the one who was M.A. Christ Church 1601 (Al. Oxon.).
88. Squires and Morris, 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills', Mont. Colls., XXII, 296-7. Perhaps a reference to Absalom Gethin of Shropshire, matr. Broadgates H., Oxon., 1597, M.A. Gloucs. H. 1603 (Al. Oxon.).
89. J.M. Traherne, ed., Stradling Correspondence, written in the reign of Elizabeth (1840), p. 330.
90. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 376, 395; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Wynn Family and Estate .....', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), p. 539.
91. C.W.P., 577, 4 Feb., undated. If the comment alluded to Bishop Rowlands of Bangor, then it was unfair. John Meredith, matr. sizar St. John's 1607, B.A. 1610/11, of Bangor diocese (F.P. White, 'Notes').
92. N.L.W., Chirk Castle E. 3320, 5595; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 31. Edwards's father had, however, died in 1635, and this might have left the boy without aid or provision.
93. N. Tucker, 'Bodrhyddan and the Families of Conwy, Shipley-Conwy and Rowley-Conwy', Flintshire Historical Society Publications Journal, XIX (1961), 75.
94. N.L.W., Bodewryd Correspondence 40. John Price, probably matr. Jesus C., Cambridge, 1573, B.A. Christ's C. 1575/6 (Al. Cant.), Rector of Llanrwydris, Anglesey, of Plas Nichol, (L. Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales, ed. S.R. Meyrick (1841), ii, 116 and n.). The gentlewoman referred to, 'Mistress Mostyn', was probably Grace Mostyn, wife of Robert Griffith of Plas Newydd, Anglesey (J.E. Griffith, Pediogrees, sub Mostyn, and vide p. 118, re. Bodewryd).
95. H. Owen, ed., 'The Diary of Bulkeley of Dronwy 1630-36', T.A.A.S. 1937, 46, 50, 122. John Roberts of Llanworog [? Llanfwrog], matr. Jesus C., Oxford, 1627/8, M.A. 1631 (Al. Oxon.); Robert Bulkeley, matr. Christ Church 1616, B.A. 1616/17 (ibid.; Griffith, Pediogrees, p. 105); Thomas Bulkeley, matr. Christ Church 1634 (Al. Oxon.).



96. Cambridge University Library, Mm. 1.37 (Baker MS 26), f. 115.
97. Cambridge University Archives, Wills III/102. John Hughes, matr. Jesus, Cambridge, 1612, B.A. 1615/16 (Al. Cant.); James Ravenscroft, fell-comm. Jesus 1613, B.A. 1615/16 (ibid.; D.W.B. sub Ravenscroft of Hawarden).
98. T.A. Walker, ed., Admissions to Peterhouse ... a biographical register (1912), p. 44. Rice Thomas of Denbigh, M.A. 1640, Fellow 1643/4-51.
99. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 88, 91, 188.
100. N.L.W., Brogyntyn 3220; supra chap. III (i), nn. 40, 48, for Cadwaladr Wynne; and Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 217, 241, re. Wynne and Annwyl, esp. Edward Annwyl of Faenol dywyn; IT Library, Chamber Admittance Book, 1615-67, f. 68<sup>v</sup>. John Mostyn had already attended LI 1622 (LI Adms.). I am grateful to Miss Susan Cullen, former research student at U.C.N.W., for drawing my attention to this fact.
101. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 229; E.P. Roberts, 'Seven John Conways', Flints, Historical Society Publications Journal, XVIII (1960), 71-72.
102. Annwyl, matr. Oriel 1637, B.A. 1640/1 (Al. Oxon.; Pedigrees, p. 217); Lewis Annwyl, matr. Oriel 1612 (loc. cit.).
103. M. Robbins, 'The ... Gentry in South-east Glamorgan', II, 640; E. Gwynne Jones, 'County Politics and Electioneering, 1558-1625', Trans. Caerns. 1939, 37 ff.
104. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 188; Al. Oxon.; D. Lleufer Thomas, 'Iscenen and Golden Grove', Trans. Cymmr. 1940, 115-29.
105. Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 169, 191. Besides Jones's sons attending LI, his nephews John and Owen Griffith were also members (1609, 1615), and John's sons, John and William (1633, 1638) (LI Adms.). Three of Jones's sons-in-law were also inns of court members: Lewis Annwyl (IT 1611), who married Frances, Robert Morgan (IT 1599), who married Catherine, and John Lloyd (GI 1619), second husband of Eleanor, and whose father Evan was probably a companion to her first husband, John Price, at Oriel in 1602 (Al. Oxon.). Price's two sons both gained special admissions at LI (1615, 1636) (LI Library, Black Books 6, f. 651<sup>v</sup>; 8, f. 432<sup>v</sup>); cf. also C.W.P., 68, 72.
106. W.S. Holdsworth, H.E.L., V (1924), 344; LI Library, Black Book 6, ff. 535, 583, 651; IT Records, II, 156; supra chap. IV, nn. 16, 17.

107. LI Library, Red Book, f. 183; supra chap. IV, nn. 62, 64.
108. Ibid., n. 71; Table I, n. 27; IT Library, Chamber Admittance Book, ff. 3, 25, 30, 38<sup>v</sup>, 58.
109. Supra chap. III (i), nn. 63 et seq., n. 159.
110. Supra n. 102; Clenennau 444; John Ellis, M.A. Hart Hall 1625, Fellow of Jesus C. (Al. Oxon.).
111. J.A. Bradney, ed., The Diary of Walter Powell (1907), p. 7. William Powell, M.A. Jesus C., June 1614 (Al. Oxon.).
112. F. Madan, ed., Quartercentenary Monographs of Brasenose, II, i (1909), (X), 51; V.C.H. Oxon., III, 178; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 61.
113. Ibid., 486, 571, 574, dat. 1608 and 1611.
114. Ibid., 476, dat. 1607/8. Gwyn was by then Senior Bursar of St. John's (infra).
115. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 598, 736, dat. 1612. Sir John sought to supplement his links with Gwyn by employing royal influence (infra).
116. St. John's, MR 94•140, June 1608. Possibly referring to the son of Sir John's leading servant, William Lloyd (vide chap. IV), and if so, then the student may have been Evan Lloyd, M.A. 1617 (Al. Cant.).
117. St. John's, MR 105•282, printed in The Eagle, XIX (1897), 530-1, dat. 1616. Clipesby Crewe matr. fell-comm. St. John's 1616, LI 1619 (Al. Cant.). Sir Randle Crewe, Bencher of LI and apparently a contemporary of Hugh Hughes, and associate of Thomas Bulkeley, of Anglesey, with whom he guaranteed William Jones at LI (LI Library, Black Book 5, f. 410<sup>v</sup>).
118. St. John's, MR 94•328, dat. 1620/1, re. Thomas Tirwhitt of Lincolnshire (Al. Cant.).
119. St. John's, MR 94•134, dat. 1624. Maurice delivered the letter personally so that Gwyn could assess him. He was eldest son of Sir John Wynn's step-brother, Edward Wynn of Ystrad; B.A. St. John's 1628/9 (Pedigrees, pp. 280-1; Al. Cant.).
120. Bodwrda, educ. Hart H., Oxford, B.A. 1614, incorp. Cambridge, M.A. 1615 (Al. Oxon.; Al. Cant.). At Hart Hall he was no doubt overseen by Dr. Theodore Price and William Brynkir of Oriell, who had care of John Thomas of Caernarvon, a cousin of Bodwrda (supra chap. III (i), n. 159). At Cambridge, Bodwrda would have the advantage that his mother was sister to Dr. Owen Gwyn (Pedigrees, p. 168).

121. St. John's, MR 94•165, 168. Dr. Gwyn and the Pulestons of Llwyn y Cnotiau shared some common ancestry in descent from Cesail Gyfarch (Lloyd, Powys Fadoq, II (1882), 138; Pedigrees, p. 275). Edward, senior, M.A. 1583 and Fellow 1583-5 of Jesus C., Cambridge; Edward, junior, matr. St. John's 1613, Foundress Scholar 1614 (Al. Cant.).
122. St. John's, MR 94•243, dat. 1617/18, re. Thomas Braithwait of Lancs., a member of Gonville and Caius College (Al. Cant.). Gwyn of Bodfeddan, Anglesey, first married Jane Puleston of Bersham, relative of the Llwyn y Cnotiau family, and sharing common ancestry with Cesail Gyfarch (Pedigrees, pp. 98-99). Gwyn also unsuccessfully petitioned for a scholarship for Thomas Doyly in 1624 (The Eagle, XIX, 543; Al. Cant.).
123. The Eagle, XXVII (1906), 320-1, on behalf of George Bunington of Derbyshire (Al. Cant.); vide The Eagle, XXVII, 322-5 for other influences on his behalf.
124. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 1001, dat. prob. 1625. Mostyn elected Fellow, 6 Apr. 1625, after having preached before (Lord Keeper) Williams. His mother was Mary, eldest daughter of Sir John Wynn.
125. Ibid., 1208; Al. Cant. It is doubtful if this Powell was a relative, belonging to the Powells of Horsley, Denbs., and Birkenhead. Sir John Wynn's step-brother, Maurice Powell, had a son John, but he seems to have been much older than the sizar and was employed in London.
126. St. John's, MR 94•338, dat. prob. before 1613, since Gwyn was addressed as Mr. not Dr.; vide *infra*.
127. Ibid., MR 94•187, dat. 1604/5. Fulk Price was probably a younger son of the house of Nantmawr, Llanfair Talhaearn, Denbs., and therefore related to the Wynnes of Melai and Maenan. He was Gwyn Scholar 1596, M.A. 1601, B.D. 1607, D.D. 1617, prebendary of Llanfair Talhaearn, in St. Asaph diocese (U.C.N.W., Garthewin, 994-6; Powys Fadoq, VI (1887), 78-79; Pedigrees, p. 376; D.R. Thomas, History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, I (1908), 347; Al. Cant.). John Price, Gwyn Scholar 1600, M.A. 1608, Gwyn Fellow 1608, B.D. 1616 (ibid.; F.P. White, 'Notes').
128. St. John's, MR 94•484, 307, re. Henry Taylor and Thomas Tothall (Al. Cant.).
129. M.F. Hall, 'Dr. Michael Roberts: The Corrector for the Press of the Welsh Bible of 1630', Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society 1923, 304; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 414, dat. 1606; St. John's, MR 94•84. Hugh Robinson, s. Humphrey (St. John's 1568), B.A. 1607/8, M.A. 1611 (*infra* n. 142).

130. Cambridge University Library, Mm. 1.36 (MS Baker 25), ff. 409, 412, 415; also A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn family and estate, 1200-1642', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1976), p. 314. Note also that Roberts, as Bishop of Bangor, left money (1637), not apparently employed, towards exhibitions at Queens' and at Jesus College, Oxford, for poor students of the diocese (H. Barber and H. Lewis, The History of Friars School, Bangor (1901), p. 177).
131. Huw Lewys, Perl mewn Adfyd, ed. W.J. Gruffydd (1929), p. xv; 'Early Montgomeryshire Wills', Mont. Colls., XXI, 234; Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, pp. 88-89.
132. Baker was tutored by William Prichard of Mon. (infra chap. III (ii), n. 20), and Salusbury by Richard Lloyd of Anglesey (W.J. Smith, ed., Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence (1954), 329).
133. Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 202; H.F. Howard, An Account of the Finances of the College of St. John the Evangelist ... Cambridge, 1511-1926 (1935), pp. 284, 301, 306, 308; R.F. Scott, ed., The Eagle, XXIV (1903), 158-9; C. Trice Martin, Catalogue of the Archives in All Souls College, pp. 303, 306, 379, 395; vide also G.C. Richards and C.L. Shadwell, Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford (1922), pp. 56, 82, 89, 98, 100, for some Welsh officers at that College.
134. Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909 (1909); G. Grazebrook and J.P. Rylands, ed., The Visitation of Shropshire taken in the Year 1623, I (1889), 384-8; supra chap. IV, n. 30; e.g., also Hugh Broughton of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1570 (J. Peile, Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505-1905, I (1910), 94, 153-4; D.N.B.).
135. Welsh university officials: Richard Bulkeley, Taxor 1636, Hugh Glyn, Proctor 1556-7, Edward Lloyd, junior Proctor 1627-8, William Roberts, junior Proctor 1619-20 (Cambridge); William Aubrey, Proctor 1593, John Lloyd, Proctor 1591, John Meredith, Proctor 1632, John Meyrick, Proctor 1565, Jenkyn Vaughan, Proctor 1614, Roderick Lloyd, Registrar 1599, Maurice Meyrick, Registrar 1600-8 (Oxford).
136. Hughes, Westminster Scholar, educ. Trinity C., Cambridge, 1616, M.A. 1623 (Al. Cant.). I am indebted to Mr. M. Appleby, M.A., of St. John's, Cambridge, for information concerning Hughes's family ties with Anglesey.
137. J. Venn, ed., Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, I, 1349-1713, 338, 340, 343; Al. Cant. Jones was cousin to the other Anglesey student, John Owen of Llanfaethlu (Pedigrees, p. 104). Gwyn admitted s. of Rice Gwyn deceased (sic), but, since he must have been the grandson of the Anglesey lawyer of the same name, his father was still alive ('Miscellanea', Arch. Camb., 7th Ser., VIII (1928), 203).

138. U.C.N.W., Penrhos II unpublished catalogue (1947). Bulkeley, adm. Trinity C. 1653, Davies adm. there 1655/6 (Al. Cant.). Several of the Gwysaney family attended Trinity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (ibid.) and they also had links with Jesus College, Oxford (infra chap. VI (1)).
139. N.L.W., Bodewryd 63, and vide U.C.N.W., Plas Gwyn 31 and N.L.W., Plas Gwyn 151, dat. 1641. John Wynn and Rowland Jones had some distant family ties and thus Hughes would have also been related (Pedigrees, pp. 104, 118). Wynn's three sons concerned were John, Edward and Hugh Wynn. John Jones was later the famed dean of Bangor (Al. Cant.; D.W.B.). The Welsh tutors involved were Dr. Andrew Owen (adm. Trinity 1633) and Roger Meredyth (ibid., 1656/7). Mutton was also a product of Trinity (1633) (Al. Cant.; Appleby). One, and possibly, two, of the other brothers from Bodewryd were educated at Cambridge at Jesus College: Robert (1670), William (1681) (Al. Cant.).
140. St. John's, MR 94.137, re. Richard Hughes, adm. sizar St. John's 1652 (Al. Cant.).
141. Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 270, 271, 485; St. John's, MR 84.25.
142. Ibid., MR 94.499, 57.38, 105.27, printed in The Eagle, XVI (1891), 141-3; XXVI (1905), 301-2; supra n. 129. Humphrey Robinson, Hugh's father, matr. St. John's 1568/9, M.A. 1574, Archdeacon of Merioneth and a prebendary of Bangor. Confused by Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 24, with Bishop Robinson's son (Hart H., Oxford, 1591/2), Humphrey was probably the son of the bishop's brother, Hugh, of Conwy. Hugh Robinson, though probably tutored by Gwyn and others, never received a scholarship or a fellowship (F.P. White, 'Notes'). Theophilus Aylmer, matr. Jesus 1607, M.A. Clare 1614, and probably Fellow there (Al. Cant.). Leventhorpe Aylmer, matr. St. John's 1616 (ibid.).
143. St. John's, MR 94.154, re. Charles Knott, adm. Emmanuel 1611/12 (Al. Cant.). Gwyn and Lloyd were distantly related through their great-grandmothers and Lloyd was a contemporary of Gwyn's at Cambridge (B.L., Harleian 7047, f. 234<sup>b</sup>; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 184, 186, 221, 290; Al. Cant.).
144. The Eagle, XVII, 146, 150, re. sons of John Coke, esp. probably William Cooke, matr. St. John's 1621 (Al. Cant.).
145. The Eagle, XXV (1904), 268-9, re. Rutland Snoden, Christ's College 1615, Fell. St. John's 1620 (Al. Cant.). Bishop Snoden promised his influence on behalf of the Dean of St. Paul's (John Williams) for a bishopric, and a deanery for Gwyn.

146. St. John's, MR 94•402; vide supra n. 124. John Barret, matr. St. John's 1615, was the other Fellow (Al. Cant.).
147. St. John's, MR 105•200; Barker and Stenning, The Record of Old Westminster, I, 137; Al. Cant. Richard Bulkeley's exact lineage is hard to clarify. He was not of the main Baron Hill (and Cheadle) family and was probably second son of Rowland Bulkeley of Porthaml and Llangeŷni (LI 1598), an influential cadet line, related via the main line to Morus Wynn of Gwydir and thus to Sir John Wynn and to Bishop Williams (Pedigrees, pp. 12, 42).
148. St. John's, MR 94•401; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 525; Old Westminster, II, 999. Robinson adm. Scholar 1632, Williams Fellow 1640 (Al. Cant.; F.P. White, 'Notes').
149. A.O. Evans, 'Nicholas Robinson (1530?-1585)', Y Cymmrodor, XXXIX (1928), 172; All Souls College, Oxford, Library, Injunctions, MSS 50, 53; Trice Martin, Catalogue, p. 305; Levack, Civil Lawyers, p. 256.
150. B.L., Harleian 7038, f. 89; 7176, f. 91; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 598.
151. B.L., Lansdowne 23, f. 101; C.S.P. Dom., James I, IX, 1611-18, 46; Richard Lewis of New Inn Hall, M.A. 1578 (Al. Oxon.); Thomas Lloyd, matr. Jesus C. 1597, B.C.L. 1603 (ibid.).
152. F.P. White, 'Notes', sub Dolben and cf. The Eagle, XXVII, 327. Gilbert Talbot, E. of Shrewsbury and Shropshire, d. 1616 (G.E.C. Complete Peerage, XI (1949)).
153. C. Trice Martin, op. cit., p. 309, 25 Oct., 1609. I am grateful to the Librarian of All Souls for a synopsis of this letter. Philip Herbert, E. of Montgomery cr. 1605, 4th E. of Pembroke 1630, High Steward of Oxford University 1605 (G.E.C., X (1945)); John Hanmer of Shropshire, matr. Oriel 1592, M.A. All Souls 1600, Univ. Proctor 1605, Bishop of St. Asaph 1624 (Al. Oxon.), younger s. of John Hanmer of Hanmer, Flint. (Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 286); for Wynne, vide supra n. 57.
154. The Eagle, XIX, 534-5, re. Mathias Crosland, matr. Christ's C. 1616 (Al. Cant.); William Herbert (elder brother of Philip), 3rd E. of Pembroke, Chancellor of Oxford University 1617-30 (G.E.C., X).
155. St. John's, MR 94•133, 132, re. Edward Warde, St. John's 1614; Robert Haslewood, St. John's 1612 (Al. Cant.); Henry Howard, 9th E. of Northampton (d. 1614), High Steward of Oxford University 1609-14, Chancellor of Cambridge 1612-14 (G.E.C., IX (1944));

Griffith and Gwyn had a common ancestor in Meredydd ap Ifan of Gwydir (Pedigrees, pp. 26-27, 184).

156. The Eagle, XIX, 543-4, re. John Weeks, Fell. of St. John's 1613; Henry Sibson, matr. St. John's 1629 (Al. Cant.).
157. H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield, XXII (1971), 158, re. Robert Carter, matr. St. John's 1622 (Al. Cant.); Wm. Cecil, E. of Salisbury, matr. St. John's 1602, M.A. 1605 (G.E.C., XI).
158. St. John's, MR 94•127, 339; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 479, re. Roger Derham, matr. Trinity 1588/9; Josiah Thurston, matr. St. John's 1611 (Al. Cant.); Thos. Howard, E. of Suffolk, High Steward of Cambridge University 1601-14, Member of the Council of Wales and the Marches 1617 (G.E.C., XII (1953)); and vide The Eagle, XIX, 531-2; XXVII, 328, for the pressure by Suffolk, as Chancellor, to make regular presentations to places.
159. P.R.O., SP 12/275/88; C.S.P. Dom., James I, VIII, 1608-10, 159. re. Jenkyn Vaughan, Fellow of All Souls 1600, perhaps associated with Llwydiarth, Montgom. (supra chap. III (i), nn. 66, 111; L. Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales, i, 292-4), and Richard Williams, matr. St. John's, Oxford, 1600, M.A. All Souls (Al. Oxon.). Williams did not long survive to enjoy his status (Trice Martin, op. cit., p. 338).
160. C.S.P. Dom., James I, VIII, 419. Erasmus Evans of Montgom., matr. Jesus College 1605 (Al. Oxon.), perhaps associated with Plas Carno, Montgom. (Dwnn, op. cit., i, 307).
161. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, III, 1628-9, 577. Williams matr. Christ Church 1625 (Al. Oxon.).
162. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, I, 1625-6, 28.
163. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 598, 602. More potent use of the royal mandate was experienced nevertheless (The Eagle, XXIII (1902), 295-7).
164. Elected 26 March, 1613/14 (F.P. White, 'Notes'), he was expected to complete his M.A. fully to retain it (N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 699).
165. St. John's, MR 94•28, dat. 1618. Wynne assumed the payments from his mother (Margaret, d. & h. of Richard Mostyn of Bodysgallen) and Morus ap John ap Gruffydd - presumably the tenant, from whose lands the annuity issued. This and most subsequent Wynne letters are addressed from Bodysgallen which must have become the main seat. Vide U.C.N.W., Bangor 13495, transcripts of subsidy payments in Caernarvonshire, for an impression of the family's wealth and status (sub Comote Creuddyn).

- For Thomas Lloyd of Plas Einion, vide Pedigrees, p. 219 and Powys Fadog, V (1885), 146. His brother was possibly Robert Lloyd, a graduate of Oriel College, Oxford, possibly of the Inner Temple 1619, M.A. Jesus College, Oxford, 1621, incorporated Cambridge 1627 and Proctor of Oxford 1628 (Al. Oxon. and infra chap. VI (iii)). One Scholar was elected in 1618: William Vaughan of Fronheulog, Denbs. (matr. sizar 1616, M.A. 1623, B.D. 1633 (Al. Cant.; Pedigrees, pp. 280-1)), of some kin to the Founder, who seems to have had this place for only a year, gave it up, possibly by arrangement, to accommodate another of the Founder's relatives, and thereafter was maintained by his relative, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir (N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 904).
166. Hookes, matr. 1619; Bodwrda, matr. 1619, M.A. 1627 (Al. Cant.), and vide Pedigrees, pp. 168, 293, and supra chap. V (i), n. 124.
167. St. John's, MR 94.210, letter dat. 18 Oct. 1616, delivered by Griffith Bodwrda, 3rd s. Hugh Gwyn of Bodwrda, matr. 1616 (Al. Cant.); William Bodwrda, 2nd s. Hugh, Oxford graduate (Al. Oxon.; supra n. 120); and William Bodwrda, 7th s. John Wyn of Bodwrda, and brother-in-law to Dr. Owen Gwyn, Gwyn Scholar 1597 (White, 'Notes'; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 168, 184). Gwyn Scholars who were kin of the Founder: Griffith Bodwrda 1616, Griffith Bodwrda 1640, Henry Bodwrda 1619, Hugh Bodwrda 1632, John Bodwrda 1631, William Bodwrda 1597, Owen Gwyn 1584, Robert Gwyn (Wynn) 1609, William Gwyn (Wynn) 1611, William Hookes 1619, Charles Jones 1611, James Thelwall 1636, William Vaughan 1618, John Williams 1599. In addition, possibly also: Thomas Coytmor 1623, Thomas Salisbury 1614, ?? John Price 1623 (White, 'Notes'; Al. Cant.; Griffith, Pedigrees; Lloyd, Powys Fadog).
168. St. John's, MR 94.214. John Bodwrda, adm. St. John's 1630/1 (Al. Cant.; supra chap. V (i), n. 90).
169. Hugh Bodwrda, matr. 1632, Gwyn Scholar 1632; Griffith Bodwrda, matr. 1639, Gwyn Scholar 1640 (Al. Cant.; White, 'Notes'; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 526).
170. St. John's, MR 94.126a. William Wynn, matr. and Gwyn Scholar 1611 (White, 'Notes'; Al. Cant.). The tutor criticised was Jeremy Holt who had been too lax with Robert Wynn (supra chap. III (i), n. 28, and esp. (ii), n. 26).
171. St. John's, MR 94.156. William Holland and William Wynne, matr. 1659. Wynne's relation to the Founder seems remote and cannot be detected. From Llanlle (sic) in the matriculation lists, this could mean Llanllechid or Nantlle. There is no sign of a connection with the Glynnnes of Nantlle (Pedigrees, p. 172). Holland's connection was possibly via his maternal



great-grandfather, Morus ap John of Clenennau, and he was a great-nephew of William Holland, Gwyn Fellow of St. John's (d. 1607) (supra n. 96), probably the third son of Robert, 'yeoman' (Al. Cant.; Pedigrees, p. 24; Dwnn, ii, 206, 364).

172. St. John's, MR 94•362. Owen Wynne, matr. St. John's 1654, and crucially, perhaps, adm. of Kinnerley School; became noted lawyer at LI, as did his brother John, at IT, who also attended St. John's (Al. Cant.). Their grandmother was a daughter of Hugh Wynne, of Berthddu (Pedigrees, pp. 184, 376).
173. St. John's, MR 94•53, 230, 414; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 524. Pryse, matr. St. John's 1626, B.D. by 1640, also Gwyn Fellow (Al. Cant.). Lloyd, adm. St. John's 1637, Pasley 1655, and Edwards, adm. 1651 (ibid.). Pasley and Edwards, though not from counties preferred by the Founder, were both educated at Rhuthun and were thus qualified. Lloyd had spent a year at Bangor which justified his election. Problems with the annuities may also have hampered Edwards's chances, though he became Fellow eight years later.
174. St. John's, MR 94•232, dat. Feb. 1622/3. John Pryce, matr. 1623, Gwyn Scholar Nov. 1623, of Bangor, M.A. 1631 (Al. Cant.; White, 'Notes'); vide supra nn. 127, 167.
175. C.W.P., 486, dat. 1608. John Floyd, matr. St. John's 1607, B.A. 1610/11, Gwyn Scholar with Wynn 6 Apr. 1609 (Al. Cant.; White, 'Notes'). Probably eldest s. of John Lloyd of Bryn Lluarth, Denbs. (Lloyd, Powys Fadoq, IV (1884), 165).
176. The Eagle, XXI, 155.
177. St. John's, MR 94•139. Jones was minister of Gyffin.
178. Ibid., 94•478. Richard Wynn was Jones's son-in-law and Jones was related to Gwydir and Cesail Gyfarch and thus to Berthddu (Pedigrees, pp. 191, 280-1).
179. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 575.
180. Ibid., 567.
181. St. John's, MR 94•126b, 25 Oct. 1611. Chas. Jones, adm. Gwyn Scholar 1611, of Bangor (Al. Cant.; White, 'Notes'). John Jones, Scholar in 1611, he later matr. pensioner, suggesting that he was not in the College before entering the Scholarship, and suggesting, too, that he relied on his place to stay there; B.A. 1615/16 (ibid.).
182. St. John's, MR 94•231, 233.

183. Notes from the College Records, 2nd Ser. (-1906), extract from The Eagle, XXI, 19. Lloyd (Flood), matr. 1614, Gwyn Scholar Nov. 1615, Fellow 1618/19, B.A. Oxon., M.A. Cambr., resigned Fellowship through marriage and promotion (Al. Cant.; White, 'Notes'). One Edward Lloyd was registered in the third class or school at Shrewsbury on 24 Jan. 1611/12, paying a fee of 2s., and a 'gen. f. et h.' of the same name was registered in the first class or school on 8 June, 1613, paying 3s. 4d. (E. Calvert, ed., Shrewsbury School, Regestum Scholarium 1562-1635 (1892), pp. 229, 237).
184. The Eagle, XXIII, 20-21; supra n. 175.
185. Ibid., 301-2; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 496.
186. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 1285, ff. 1, 4. The agreement did not specify that the Gwyn Scholars had to have been educated exclusively at Bangor or Rhuthun, but they were to be 'taken and had', that is, admitted from those two schools.
187. Supra n. 44.
188. The Eagle, XXIII, 21-22.
189. Baker-Mayor, op. cit., 496-7.

## CHAPTER VI

### RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AND ROYAL AUTHORITY AT THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE INNS OF COURT AS THEY AFFECTED WELSH STUDENTS

#### PART (i) : AN EDUCATED WELSH CLERGY?

The medieval importance of the universities as seminaries for the clergy meant that they were directly affected by the religious-political changes which occurred during the reign of Henry VIII and after, and the desire to secure religious uniformity by and by brought the inns of court, centres of secular training, under closer supervision as well.

In the early years of the development of protest against the Roman Church, reform ideas generally took firmer root where the ideals of the Renaissance and the New Learning had made their greatest mark, for instance, at Cambridge, though this was not always the case, witness New College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> In 1536 and afterwards, under later Tudor rulers, royal intervention increased to control the climate of religious thought, imposing visitations and religious tests to define the tenets of the new Anglican State Church, or under Mary, to try to restore the old Roman faith, and the culmination came under Elizabeth when membership of the universities was inextricably linked with membership of the Anglican communion.<sup>2</sup> Control was essential in order to preserve the royal religion to ensure that the numerous non-clerical, often non-graduating, students obeyed, and that the clerical students were properly instilled with, its tenets and that all would be resistant to dissenting influences propounded by defenders of the Roman faith and the activist radical Protestants.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Crown from the time of Henry VIII showed some concern to have a well-educated clergy to promote the Anglican faith, there were many difficulties. The education at the universities may not have made the clergy particularly learned in divinity, including as it did classical knowledge and mere Protestant polemic.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the problems of providing suitable and adequate benefices were innumerable so that the ministry was not especially attractive to the sons of gentry, who would usually be the best-educated people available. In some parts, however, it may have been more a case of insufficient means to meet the need to provide for graduates, leading to the creation of a surplus 'alienated' element. Whatever the case, in many parts of the English state clerical duties were devolved on a poorly paid and ill-educated, ill-used body of curates, who were far removed from ideals laid down in the canons of 1571, and especially of 1604, of a fully graduate, beneficed, resident and preaching clergy.<sup>5</sup>

It was in response to such deficiencies in the Anglican Church and to the continued sympathy for Roman Catholicism, including the activities of members of certain colleges at Oxford during the 1560s and 1570s, that a movement of intellectuals, strongly influenced by Calvinist theology, propounded radical views about the nature and beliefs of the Church of England, at Oxford but particularly at Cambridge.<sup>6</sup> Neither the government nor the university authorities could easily tolerate such unorthodox opinion, and closer control was exercised, not without much controversy, particularly at Cambridge, to preserve a moderate Protestant Anglicanism and to quell all forms

of dissent.<sup>7</sup> Even at the inns of court, by this time, direct government influence came to be applied on the religious beliefs of members, after a long period from the 1530s when religious ideas had been but loosely and informally supervised and when Protestantism had gradually but not wholly supplanted popish sympathies.<sup>8</sup>

Despite this, governmental and ecclesiastical controls at the inns of court were only occasionally applied in full, and although radical Protestant, or puritan, belief made advances there, there was comparatively little controversy and by the 1630s, the membership in large part conformed, at least outwardly, to the Anglican establishment.<sup>9</sup> At the universities during the early seventeenth century, ecclesiastical and church control continued in a more premeditated fashion, with various schemes being set out, and, under Archbishop Laud in the 1630s, being implemented, to define the pattern of religious beliefs and scholastic and moral behaviour required of all members. Acceptance of the sole authority of the Anglican Church was insisted upon and in large measure accepted at both institutions, the puritan influences having waned in the light of such restrictions and of new theological speculation.<sup>10</sup>

Thus, at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642 the majority of members at the universities and the inns of court remained loyal to the Crown and the Church. Parliament's influence, accepted more readily at Cambridge, subsequently imposed a different conformity to that established before, of a far more Protestant character and this persisted until the Restoration in 1660, after which the universities,

in particular, were not only confirmed in their lost privileges but firmly established as Anglican institutions once again, membership of which was conditional on accepting and acknowledging the exclusive religious authority of the restored State Church.<sup>11</sup>

Graduates among Bangor diocese ordinands

Prior to the Civil Wars, the universities had had some limited success in preparing men who were suitable to enter the Anglican ministry. It is probably true to say that the more peripheral parts of the state, such as Wales, made only fairly moderate gains in having an educated clergy, the inherent problems of the Church, explained above, being more difficult to resolve there than in central and southern England. The picture of the quality of the clergy, as depicted in ordination lists, is an unbalanced one as far as Wales is concerned since only the lists of Bangor, of the four Welsh dioceses, are in any way complete.<sup>12</sup> The pre-Reformation position is unrecorded, but if it was anything like that of the early post-Reformation period, that is, up to the reign of Mary I, then it would seem that few if any graduates came forward to be ordained. Indeed, the first signs of progress towards a better-educated clergy came under the Marian bishop, William Glynn. During his short episcopate there were six graduate ordinands, of whom four, possibly five, were, like himself, Cambridge graduates. Not all were fully in priests's orders, for example, Thomas Yale, the civilian, but two who were, Nicholas Robinson and Rowland Thomas, had reforming sympathies which they had probably acquired at university.<sup>13</sup>

For the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, Bangor's lists may be compared to the extant remnants belonging to St. Asaph and St. David's.<sup>14</sup> All three reveal the paucity of graduate ordinands in the Welsh Church, Bangor, with three under Bishop Meyrick, faring less well than it had under Glynn, his predecessor. Only four graduates were ordained at St. David's, two of whom belonged outside the diocese and a third was absent attending Oxford University.<sup>15</sup> St. Asaph had no graduate ordinands whatsoever, though its lists, and those of St. David's also, recorded 'literati' and 'scholares' who would have filled the lesser posts and curacies. No doubt the dislocations of the previous decade which had interrupted academic activities may account for this great paucity, though it is possibly over-exaggerated by the failure to record the degrees of some ordinands and of scholars who may have become B.A.s.<sup>16</sup>

The Bangor diocese lists for the whole period, 1560-1637, were examined for such omissions of degree qualifications that would make the picture darker than it need be, and, indeed, it seems that at least eight Bangor ordinands went unrecorded as scholars or graduates.<sup>17</sup> What appears plain from these lists is that a growing attempt after c.1570 (Table I) to ordain graduate or university student priests became more marked in the 1580s under the episcopacies of bishops Robinson and Bellot, both of whom were talented Cambridge graduates. Bellot, indeed, seems to have made a deliberate attempt to ordain new Cambridge graduates, though with what benefit to Bangor is unclear since many came from England.

TABLE I      Number of graduates and university students ordained in Bangor diocese 1560-1637

1560-69	4
1570-79	8
1580-89	24 (11 in 1586)
1590-99	8 (gaps in the lists 1595-8)
1600-09	41
1610-19	37
1620-29	24 (gaps 1621-2, 1626-9)
1630-36	32 (gap 1630-1)

Sources: Pryce, op. cit.; Al. Oxon.; Al. Cant.; Griffith, Pedigrees.

The average annual ordination of one or two graduates was surpassed after 1599 under Bishop Henry Rowlands and under his successor, Lewis Bayly, after 1617; the former the committed educational benefactor, the latter a mild, reforming Puritan. This impetus was not wholly lost during the 1630s, under bishops Dolben and Griffith, and what resulted, particularly under Rowlands, was a significant increase in the proportion of graduates and students among the ordinands, from about one in ten in the 1560s and 1570s to at least one in two some forty or fifty years later.

A total of 178 graduates and students were ordained deacons or priests, or usually both, in Bangor diocese in 1560-1637, and increasingly, they seem to have been natives of North Wales. Over seventy, identified from the matriculation lists, came from within the diocese itself, particularly Caernarvonshire, and an additional twenty or more came from St. Asaph diocese. Comparatively few were



natives of South Wales and similarly, few can be definitely identified as Englishmen. A large proportion, fifty-eight, cannot be placed with certainty, though the occurrence of names such as Robins, Hampton, Stoddard and Bulkeley testify to the presence of scions of long-established Anglo-Welsh families who were natives of North Wales (Table II).

The ascribed social status of these ordinands at university, where available, suggests that at least half were of fairly humble origins. This must be treated with caution, however, for several seem to have belonged to pedigreed, if not particularly well-off, gentry families. In addition, as Pryce has already observed, the Church was not a profession to be wholly rejected by the younger sons of the North Wales gentry, and thirty to forty of the university-trained ordinands came from such a background. By contrast, there seem to have been few sons of clergy who came forward to be ordained in this group, and thus it seems that on the available evidence the better-educated clergy in this period represented the social groupings of the middling gentry and yeomanry, those who formed the backbone of the North Wales university entrants, particularly at Oxford.<sup>18</sup>

These university recruits to the Welsh Church had but a modest educational record. The large majority consisted of arts students, twenty-two non-graduates, 110 B.A.s and forty-one M.A.s, the standard deemed by the Church authorities as the minimum adequate qualification for the ministry. In the Church generally, relatively few ordinands had attained this level and the authorities had to be

TABLE II      Origin of Bangor university-trained ordinands 1560-1637  
as stated in the matriculation lists

Anglesey	17
Caernarvonshire	40
Merionethshire	13
Bangor diocese	2
Denbighshire	14
Flintshire	4
Montgomeryshire	4
St. Asaph diocese	3
South Wales and Wales unspecified	8
England	15
Unspecified	58

Sources: Pryce, op. cit.; Al. Oxon.; Al. Cant.

satisfied with many, a majority, who had a basic competence in the Scriptures or Latin.<sup>19</sup> An M.A. degree was no certain guarantee of much superior ability by the late sixteenth century, for it had been devalued, it must be recalled, in many instances by the lax application of statutes and teaching which had permitted many students to graduate M.A. after having completed only a very small proportion of the advanced study required on completing the B.A.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, although forty-five of the Bangor B.A. ordinands eventually took M.A. degrees, there is no certainty that they became any more competent instructors and preachers to the faithful.

Another feature of the university-trained ordinands of Bangor is the very small proportion of higher graduates who were ordained, only five in fact, four civilians and a medical graduate. There was no theologian among them, though about a dozen of the arts graduates eventually graduated in divinity, during which time, presumably, they would be absent from their livings.<sup>21</sup> What the Bangor ordinations show, therefore, is that though general educational standards may have been rising there were few who could be said to be competent to preach. This was a major weakness, of which the Welsh bishops throughout Wales were only too conscious. The university-trained ministry would undoubtedly have been sufficient to fulfil the other tasks of the ministry, pastoral work and instruction, but although their numbers were growing by the early seventeenth century they were still insufficient and the bulk of the work continued to be carried out, as the ordination lists and other sources show, by the less well-educated 'literati', probably grammar or parish school trained, which training, let it be conceded, had improved significantly in Gwynedd by 1600.<sup>22</sup>

The bulk of the university ordinands at Bangor had been educated at Oxford,<sup>23</sup> notably in the three colleges which then attracted most North Wales students: Christ Church, Hart Hall and Oriel. Towards the end of the period, Jesus College, probably following benefactions by Bishop Rowlands and other North Wales clergy, assumed a more important rôle in educating the ordinands, while other colleges which took in substantial numbers of Welsh students were also well represented: All Souls, Brasenose,

TABLE III      College affiliation of Bangor ordinands 1560-1637

Oxford

Christ Church	32	B.N.C.	6
Hart Hall	20	All Souls	5
Oriel	17	New	3
Jesus	15	Gloucester Hall	3
St. Edmund Hall	6	At other colleges	20

Cambridge

St. John's	14	Christ's College	3
Queens'	9	Trinity College	3
Clare	4	Magdalene	2
Jesus	4	At other colleges	4

University unknown                      8

Sources:    Al. Oxon.;    Al. Cant.

New College, and Gloucester and St. Edmund Halls (Table III). Cambridge's importance to the diocese rested largely on its contribution between 1560 and 1590 under Robinson and Bellot. Oxford men were not excluded, however, and indeed under Bellot they became the more prominent element. Again, as might be expected, the most important Cambridge colleges were those with strong or well-established links with North Wales: St. John's and Queens'. The value of Bishop Thomas Davies's benefaction at Queens' in helping to educate the Welsh clergy is impossible to assess, but it appears that the Bangor ordinands gained only slight help from the Gwyn benefaction at St. John's towards their education.<sup>24</sup>

TABLE IV Approximate age at ordination of Oxford educated candidates at Bangor, 1560-1637

	<u>Deacons</u>	<u>Bangor deacons when ordained priests</u>	<u>Ordained Priests only</u>
Under 19 years	1	-	-
19 years	4	2	1
20 years	7	2	2
21 years	5	1	1
22 years	8	3	1
23 years	6	4	3
24 years	6	3	2
25 years	2	2	3
26 years	4	1	1
27 years	1	2	1
28 years and over	11	4	11

Sources: Al. Oxon.; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, 11

Magdalene College, which also had an early bequest from North Wales, played a most insignificant part in preparing the Bangor clergy, being surpassed by Clare, Jesus, Christ's and Trinity Colleges (Table III).

The age requirements for ordained clergy, twenty-three years for deacons and twenty-four for priests, were embodied in the canons of 1604<sup>25</sup> and they provide a guide to the expected maturity of clergy who entered during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The evidence as to age in the Oxford matriculations, allowing for its approximate character, can, if applied with care, be illuminating in relation to the youthfulness or otherwise of Bangor ordinands. Of fifty Bangor deacons whose matriculations are recorded at Oxford, approximately half seem to have been ordained at or under twenty-three years, one possibly being as young as fifteen years.<sup>26</sup> A third of the deacons were aged between twenty-three and twenty-six years and the eldest was thirty-nine years of age<sup>27</sup> (Table IV).

Of those ordained deacon, twenty-five progressed to priest's orders, usually about a year afterwards. Half or more of these, again, were at or below twenty-four years of age, two were aged nineteen, and there were a few over thirty years of age (Table IV). In addition, there was a group who were only ordained as priests at Bangor and their composition was different in that only about 40 per cent were at or under twenty-four years of age, and there was a small but significant group of six in their late thirties and early forties,<sup>28</sup> late entrants into the Church under Bishop Rowlands and perhaps part of a recruitment drive to improve clerical quality (Table IV).

There was no certainty that those who were ordained in the diocese would necessarily receive livings there. A survey of presentations in ten sample years<sup>29</sup> during 1560-1637 suggests that slightly less than half of the university-trained ordinands were in fact presented to livings within the diocese, and of those who were presented it is unclear how many were resident. It is, nevertheless, true that presentations at Bangor, as recorded, increasingly went to graduate clergy. Whereas in a few sample years between 1533 and 1554 graduates represented only about 22 per cent of presentations, between 1563 and 1583 they increased to 30 per cent, and, during the latter part of Bellot's episcopacy and during that of Rowlands, they reached as high as 85 per cent and thereafter remained at 75 per cent.<sup>30</sup> Thus, on this evidence, other things being equal, education, and university education in particular, was a criterion of increasing importance in clerical appointments. On the face of it, this appears to be an enlightened and deliberate policy on the part of the later bishops of Bangor and it may explain the relatively greater importance placed on education and higher education in North, and particularly north-west, Wales, outlined above.

#### Graduate clergy in Wales 1500-1642

The Welsh Church had not been without an educated clergy before the Reformation though it was clearly a less significant proportion of the whole than that a century later. Of the Welsh students educated at Oxford between 1501 and 1540, and identified by Emden, sixty-nine had Church careers, mostly in the secular orders.

Forty-nine of these at some stage held livings or church offices in Wales. Assuming that they all actually resided in Wales, they were still a small element of the clerical population and moreover, they were not necessarily particularly competent for religious duties since they were invariably civilians or canonists.<sup>31</sup> Twenty-nine of these in fact had important ecclesiastical posts or good livings in England, and it is unlikely that they made much contribution to Welsh religious life. Welsh religious activity may have been benefited by other graduates; at least another forty-eight clerical graduates may have had some links with Wales in 34 livings or offices. Yet, again, they were mostly lawyers, not arts graduates or still less theologians.<sup>32</sup>

Although the pre- and early post-Reformation Church in Wales may have been at a low ebb, short of well-educated and competent clergy, the non-graduate clergy were not always inefficient or without ability, as indeed we may gather from some poetic sources.<sup>33</sup> Education and higher education were, nevertheless, of growing importance, and not only in Bangor was it the case that the proportion of graduates presented to benefices increased. By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, advances were also occurring in the other three Welsh dioceses.<sup>34</sup> This is also to be seen from the details of university membership gathered by the Venns and Foster. Though their evidence is liable to error, it is still possible to draw out some pattern of clerical progress in Wales c.1560-1640. An examination of four widely-separated Welsh counties, one from each of the four dioceses, was made to analyse the number of



university-trained clergy produced by each of them. Students entering the Church who were natives of Monmouth, Cardigan and Montgomery largely attended Oxford, students from Anglesey attended Oxford, but also drew more on Cambridge than the others.<sup>35</sup> In proportion to population, the university-educated clergy were a more prominent product in the North Wales counties. In all counties the majority had been registered as plebeians, though sons of the gentry were by no means absent, and sons of clergy were quite prominent in the Monmouth contingent.<sup>36</sup>

The majority of the clergy from these four counties consisted of arts graduates, though it was clear that those from North Wales were better qualified, with a greater proportion of M.A.s to B.A.s, and, more significantly, more higher degree graduates, particularly in theology.<sup>37</sup> The graduates of the two southern counties together with Montgomery had a majority, about 60 per cent, who succeeded in obtaining livings in their own areas. Anglesey was an exception and this seems to confirm the pattern of graduate presentations found in Bangor diocese, where probably more graduates were produced than could be properly accommodated.<sup>38</sup> It was notable that more of the North Wales clerics took livings in Wales outside their own counties than did their southern counterparts<sup>39</sup> and, further, that more of the northerners, because of the limited prospects of good livings in North Wales and probably because they were better qualified, took livings in England and probably resided there. It was this latter factor, of course, which represented the greatest threat to Welsh religious life, long reputed to be poor.<sup>40</sup> The better qualifications

of the northern graduates meant that many more of them achieved high ecclesiastical offices, from prebendaries upwards, and again many of these were in England.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, although Wales gained some benefits from the expansion of education, as in the administrative offices of the Welsh dioceses,<sup>42</sup> they were not as great as might have been anticipated from the numbers recruited to the Church. One clear benefit, however, from the Henrician period onwards was the regular promotion of university-educated, native Welsh clergy to bishoprics in Wales, and also, occasionally, to other dioceses within the Anglican communion. Though there were some Welsh appointments to Welsh bishoprics at the end of the fifteenth and in the early sixteenth centuries, they bore no comparison to those of the period from 1540 until 1640, when fifteen Oxford educated and ten Cambridge educated Welshmen were appointed bishops in the Welsh Church. In keeping with Welsh ecclesiastical tradition, the majority of the sixteenth century Welsh bishops were law graduates, but this changed by the end of the century as theologians became more numerous.<sup>43</sup>

There were undoubted merits in having well-educated, native-born bishops, and a strong continuity of such men developed, particularly in North Wales, by the seventeenth century.<sup>44</sup> The demerits stemmed from too close an affinity between them and the leading secular powers in their localities, which led to abuses.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the ablest men were not always chosen, and there were some bishops, such as William Hughes and Edmund Griffith, who, though university-educated, seemed distinctly mediocre.<sup>46</sup> For men of

greater ability, such as the Cambridge-trained Richard Vaughan and William Morgan, promotion in the Church required not only intellectual distinction but also influential patronage,<sup>47</sup> or strong local sympathies and petitioners, as with Dr. Richard Parry.<sup>48</sup> Occasionally, moderately learned and obscure men 'emerged' to become bishops, for example, Morgan Owen of Llandaff.<sup>49</sup>

Clerics who had built up careers for themselves at the universities stood some chance of becoming bishops, again if they had sufficient influence behind them and they themselves showed willing. Dr. Owen Lewis of Oriel was a candidate for Bangor in 1616,<sup>50</sup> while both Theodore Price, former head of Hart Hall, Oxford, and Dr. Owen Gwyn, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, were in strong contention for the bishoprics of St. David's and St. Asaph in the early 1620s. Although they failed, probably a welcome conclusion for Gwyn, given his comfortable life at Cambridge, they were recompensed with good benefices, virtual sinecures, elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

It was crucially necessary that the Welsh bishops were not only intellectually able but also careful and active administrators. This was particularly the case as the Reformation advanced for it was clear that Protestantism had only a narrow appeal in Wales, among the better-educated and the more anglicised.<sup>52</sup> The Welsh bishops had to face the problems of the persistence of residual Catholic practices on the one hand and support for recusant missionary activity on the other. The more astute bishops, such as Nicholas Robinson of Bangor and Richard Davies of St. David's, were all too conscious of the scale of the problem of conflicting ideologies.<sup>53</sup> Apathy or unbelief was an

equal threat,<sup>54</sup> which bishops by their injunctions<sup>55</sup> had to overcome by encouraging their clergy, however few and inadequate, to preach or to instruct their flocks.

Although these basic difficulties remained until the Civil War and were exacerbated somewhat by a small, vocal, but persistent body of Protestant dissidents,<sup>56</sup> the Church had made some advances, particularly in response to the belief that schooling was the basis for religious discipline.<sup>57</sup> Leading Welsh clergy not only initiated new schools,<sup>58</sup> but also attempted to ensure that the clergy who taught in the schools, particularly in the endowed schools, were efficient and reputable<sup>59</sup> - a difficult task when such vocations were poorly paid.<sup>60</sup>

Success in disseminating religious belief depended on a well-educated clergy, and it was Wales's loss that many of her university-educated clergy did not return to improve Welsh religious life. Thus, for example, of the seventy-one Welsh students elected to scholarships at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1550-1642, twenty-eight became clergymen and of these only about half accepted livings in Wales.<sup>61</sup> Of these latter, several resided some time in England before returning to take significant church posts.<sup>62</sup> One, John Price, though possessing several livings in his native St. Asaph diocese, was probably absent most of the time at St. John's College, where he became a senior fellow.<sup>63</sup> Ten of the Welsh scholars (the most able?), like Price, became fellows of the College, seven of whom can be said to have pursued, or to have intended to pursue, their careers in English dioceses.<sup>64</sup> In contrast, another seven Welsh fellows there, who had not previously been scholars

at the College, received benefices largely in Wales, only two taking English livings. Of those beneficed in Wales, however, at least one, Dr. John Gwyn, the College benefactor, was unordained and lived in England.

Many Welsh fellows at Oxford were also attracted by preferment in England. For example, of the fourteen Welsh clergy who were fellows of Oriel College between 1500 and 1640, at least seven at some time possessed English livings, and these included the ablest theologians, such as Morgan Phillips and Roger Edgeworth, conservative divines, in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>65</sup>

Several influences accounted for Welshmen-educated at the universities to take livings in England. A benefice could be a means of support for a student to continue at university. Thus, in the 1530s, Richard Bulkeley of Beaumaris petitioned Thomas Cromwell on behalf of his brother John, a Cambridge M.A. and 'a man sae well seme in divinitie'. The latter had no exhibition and Bulkeley believed that a Cheshire living in the gift of Bishop Bonner of London would be of much assistance.<sup>66</sup> In the early seventeenth century, John Williams, it seems, was provided with a small English benefice by St. John's to supplement his fellowship.<sup>67</sup> John Price also had a supplement to his fellowship some years later, in this case a prebend and glebe granted him by his brother Fulk, and probably worth more than the statutes permitted as additional to a fellow's stipend.<sup>68</sup>

Colleges possessed English livings which their Welsh members had the opportunity of taking<sup>69</sup> and there were livings at Oxford<sup>70</sup> and Cambridge<sup>71</sup> and the surrounding dioceses that were also available

for Welsh graduates, which was natural, perhaps, given that many of the students were ordained at Oxford,<sup>72</sup> Ely,<sup>73</sup> or Peterborough.<sup>74</sup> Livings seemed to be found over a fairly wide area by these university-trained men. Thus, the well-known Survey of the Ministry, 1586, revealed Welsh students having benefices in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Essex and Warwickshire, although they were not always resident there.<sup>75</sup> The St. John's students, considered above, accepted livings in several counties, particularly in south and south-east England, especially Norfolk, Buckingham and Essex.<sup>76</sup>

Favour and patronage, no doubt, counted in many cases in obtaining good livings and posts. Richard Vaughan's progress owed much to his close association with Bishop Aylmer of London.<sup>77</sup> John Lloyd, who became Vicar of Writtle, owed his preferment to his great scholarship which impressed his college, New College.<sup>78</sup> Successful clerics, like Vaughan, who rose to some prominence could also assist a student's career. He and several other Welsh graduates, the most famous and influential being, no doubt, John Williams, became bishops in England.<sup>79</sup>

The Welsh predilection for civil law was reflected in the success of several in gaining posts in diocesan administration, for example, James Ellis at Peterborough, Gabriel Goodman at Westminster and Evan Morrice at Exeter,<sup>80</sup> and with the establishment of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, many able university-educated Welsh clergy, perhaps because of the proximity of Wales, especially North Wales, to Ireland, gained important posts and bishoprics.<sup>81</sup>

Another avenue of advancement which removed the graduate Welsh

clergy from Wales was the chaplaincy. Several good Welsh graduates gained posts serving English ecclesiastics, notably Elis Prys under Wolsey, William Glynn under Bishop Thirlby of Norwich, Humphrey Robinson under Archbishop Parker, and Humphrey Lloyd under John Williams.<sup>82</sup> Royal chaplaincies were also important, witness the careers of Lewis Bayly, John Owen, Thomas Howell and Griffith Williams.<sup>83</sup> Posts in aristocratic households, fulfilling duties as tutors and administrators as well as chaplains, were also important, for example, Humphrey Evans in the Cromwell household in the late sixteenth century, Dr. Richard Evans serving the Dukes of Lennox and of Buckingham, Dr. David Lloyd serving the Earl of Derby, Dr. David Owen under the Earl of Holderness.<sup>84</sup> There were also chaplaincies to leading statesmen; thus, Gabriel Goodman served Sir William Cecil, John Williams served the Lord Chancellor, Ellesmere, and Robert Price, the Earl of Strafford.<sup>85</sup>

Most of the abler Welsh clergy, therefore, were creamed off into securer and more lucrative positions in England. The loss to the spiritual, and cultural, life of the country of the departure of men such as Edmund Roberts, chaplain to the Earl of Essex,<sup>86</sup> was, therefore, considerable and the economic condition of the Church in Wales afforded little scope for keeping and maintaining capable priests. That the Welsh Church was able to employ any well-educated, university-trained, clergy depended greatly on adequate stipends and on the assent of the gentry as patrons to livings and impropriators.<sup>87</sup>

It may be significant that it was frequently the graduate clergy in Wales and Welsh clergy at the universities who objected to, and took

legal action against, lay impropriations.<sup>88</sup> It was apparent during the reign of Elizabeth, in St. David's, Llandaff and Bangor, that lay impropriations and royal control of livings had not only deprived the Welsh Church of land and tithes, but had led to the preferment of inadequate and unlearned clergy.<sup>89</sup> What made matters worse, of course, was the attitude of some of the ecclesiastical leaders themselves, however intelligent and well-educated, however devoted to the propagation of the Gospels, for example, Richard Davies of St. David's, Thomas Davies and the notorious William Hughes of St. Asaph, who freely alienated church lands to lay use, and held many good livings in commendam.<sup>90</sup> A similar process had occurred in Bangor by the seventeenth century and, indeed, continued under Bishop Edmund Griffith, much to the despair of his successor.<sup>91</sup> The poverty of the Welsh dioceses by the seventeenth century had led some more enlightened bishops strenuously to protect what wealth the Church still possessed for its able clergy.<sup>92</sup>

Many other clergy were also involved in the process of alienating church lands, for there was a common identity of social class between many ministers and the gentry.<sup>93</sup> Several of the best-educated clergy in Wales were intimately linked with and, indeed, were dependent on the gentry for their benefices, for example, in Anglesey, Breconshire and Glamorgan.<sup>94</sup> The powers of patronage of peers and gentry were coupled with local loyalties and affinities,<sup>95</sup> and such a system was bound to disappoint well-educated young clerics who lacked the right contacts. In William Fleming's plaintive observations to Sir Edward Stradling during the 1580s:



'covetousness raignes so generally (as your worshippe knows) amongst men at this day, that the doore which leades me to any preferment, be yt never so meane, can not be opened without the sylver or goulden Key.'

Welsh bishops had to tread carefully with men such as Stradling because of the influence they had in nominating clergymen of varying quality.<sup>97</sup> The gentry, moreover, expected the bishops to employ their own direct powers of patronage and presentation to their own benefit.<sup>98</sup> It was always hoped that a university education would bring added advantage, and influence favourably a bishop's choice, for example, as expressed in Margaret Bulkeley of Dronwy's concern for her son Robert in 1620.<sup>99</sup> But the bishops could not please everyone, witness Sir John Wynn's disappointment that his son Robert, a Cambridge student, but not yet even a deacon, had been overlooked.<sup>100</sup> Of course, the bishops themselves were not blameless in their preferences for favourites or kinsmen, irrespective of ability, for example, William Hughes's appointment for Llandrinio, in which he overlooked the claims of an Oxford educated Welshman.<sup>101</sup> Nepotism was not uncommon,<sup>102</sup> nor was the undermining of title to livings belonging to other clergy, as instanced in the action of Dr. William Prytherch against Bishop Bellot of Bangor.<sup>103</sup>

Bishops, peers and gentry in Wales were not averse to employing Welsh graduates, especially as chaplains. Robert Bulkeley, for example, had hopes of serving Theophilus Field, Bishop of Llandaff, before he eventually turned his back on spiritual matters and returned home to be an estate manager.<sup>104</sup> More successful was Robert Morgan,

a Cambridge graduate, who served two bishops of Bangor in the 1630s, during which time he solicitously tried to regain alienated church lands.<sup>105</sup> Service with the peerage was invaluable. As James Howell remarked in congratulating his Jesus colleague, Dr. Thomas Prichard, on his appointment to the household of the Earl of Worcester, 'a very good Foundation for future Preferment.'<sup>106</sup> Edmund Meyrick, archdeacon of Bangor, benefited much from his service under the second Earl of Essex in getting Welsh livings,<sup>107</sup> and similar benefits were available to those who served leading Welsh gentry families, for example, Michael Evans, who served the Bulkeleys.<sup>108</sup> Such exclusive use of better-educated clergy, at the expense of country parishes, was of no great benefit to the Welsh Church, as was revealed by Laud's efforts to curb the practice.<sup>109</sup>

The failure to use, and the misuse of, Welsh clerical talent must have played a part in the alienation and radicalisation of some Welsh graduates before the Civil War, as will be shown later. The universities, for the most part, merely educated new clerics; they could do little to ensure their preferment. Only a very few colleges held rights to livings in Wales. All Souls, Oxford, did little to ensure that the clergy appointed to its livings were particularly well-educated,<sup>110</sup> while Christ Church, Oxford, took no part in the collations to its Montgomeryshire parsonages, though, fortunately, the bishops seem regularly to have chosen graduates.<sup>111</sup> At Cambridge, Bishop Williams's foundation gave to St. John's two Welsh livings, at St. Florence, Pembrokeshire, and Aberdaron, Caernarvonshire, to remunerate his scholars.<sup>112</sup> Little value was gained in terms of more

able clergy at these parishes. St. Florence was held by Robert Rudd, no mean Cambridge graduate and brother of a former bishop of St. David's, until the Civil War.<sup>113</sup> Aberdaron, meanwhile, was held, if not occupied, also by an Englishman, Francis Gibbons, another Cambridge graduate, until 1639. In 1640 the living was employed by William Beale, Master of St. John's, to his own use, leaving the daily care of the parishioners to an ill-paid curate, Robert Pierce, who had been an undergraduate at Christ Church, Oxford.<sup>114</sup> In 1644, William Rogers of Flintshire was granted the living and he held it briefly before being ejected from both it and his fellowship at St. John's.<sup>115</sup> Another Cambridge college, Christ's, possessed a Welsh living, at Manorbier, Pembrokeshire, but it, too, was hardly thorough in ensuring the appointment of graduates, only one, William Prichard of Jesus College, Oxford, being chosen during the period 1535 to 1640.<sup>116</sup>

It was at Jesus College, Oxford, alone that a grant of advowson was made intended to be primarily of benefit to the Church in Wales and not just a source of revenue. During Principal Thelwall's time, in 1626, Robert Davies of Gwysaney, granted the College his powers of patronage over the living of Holywell, Flintshire, for the purpose of appointing suitable clergy of Welsh birth or descent. The clerics were, by implication, to be university-educated, and certainly the first nominee, Evan Lloyd in 1635, was an M.A. The grant remained effective after the Restoration, seen clearly in 1676/7, when an Oxford student, John Humphreys, 'a person of Education and unblamed conversation', was appointed.<sup>117</sup>

Numbers of graduates and preachers in the Elizabethan and early Stuart Welsh Church

The Anglican Church, in order to fulfil its task, required of its clergy not only obedience to royal and ecclesiastical authority but also a declaration of their devotion to the work of upholding Church rites and of disseminating the Scriptures and Gospels.<sup>118</sup> Preaching became a major requirement and bishops' injunctions regularly insisted that the most capable of the clergy, usually M.A.s and higher graduates, performed this task as well as providing moral guidance and instruction to their congregations. Clergy who were unlicensed to preach were required to provide preachers at least quarterly and to keep up a minimum standard of learning themselves. Wherever it was appropriate, preaching and divine services were to be in the Welsh language.<sup>119</sup> In several instances the 'simply learned' clergy were more assiduous and devoted to their tasks than their graduate counterparts.<sup>120</sup>

While the Welsh bishops were conscious of the faults in all their clergy, including the graduates, what worried them most was the comparative shortage of graduates who were competent preachers.<sup>121</sup> In the early years of Elizabeth's reign there were only a few preachers in Wales. Bangor during the 1560s had only two preachers, and by the 1580s only four, three M.A.s and a non-graduate. Even these four were of limited value, two of the M.A.s being Englishmen and unlikely to be able to preach in Welsh, a major pre-requisite. The diocese was troubled, too, by having no additional stipends to employ more preachers, and the other graduates in the diocese were civilians who were apparently left unlicensed.<sup>122</sup>

St. Asaph diocese during the 1560s was slightly better provided, having five graduate preachers, all Welshmen and resident.<sup>123</sup> Another two of the fourteen cathedral clergy were also licensed preachers,<sup>124</sup> the rest being civilians and often absentees. A few others of the parish clergy were graduates but not preachers, but the great majority of the beneficed clergy were neither graduates nor licensed.<sup>125</sup> By the episcopacy of William Hughes, the position may well have deteriorated. A hardly dispassionate contemporary report suggested that there were only three preachers in the whole diocese, two of whom were, admittedly, highly competent D.D.s and the other an aged B.A.<sup>126</sup> Hughes's pluralism may well have inhibited the presentation of graduate clergy in the diocese, while even some of the graduates, such as the youthful dean, Thomas Banks, a product of Cambridge, were considered incompetent.<sup>127</sup>

Llandaff, like Bangor, was sorely limited in the complement of preachers during the 1560s. Only four of the cathedral clergy were licensed preachers and were resident in their livings.<sup>128</sup> The remainder was composed of non-graduate and non-resident priests, and few funds were available to maintain more preachers. There were other graduate clergy, many being civilians like John Lloyd, who was an absentee, and there were some students at Oxford who also possessed livings in the diocese.<sup>129</sup> An improvement seems to have occurred during the episcopacy of Bishop Blethyn, and eleven preachers were recorded, though only five can with certainty be identified as graduates.<sup>130</sup>

The most detailed evidence about the quality of the preachers and the clergy in Wales exists for St. David's diocese. During the 1560s there were nine licensed preachers, of whom eight had attended

university and seven had graduated. A few were non-Welsh and several were non-resident, being away at Cambridge, like Lewis Williams, or residing in Llandaff diocese, like William Blethyn.<sup>131</sup> Most of the prebendaries of St. David's and Brecon were graduates, but over half were non-resident, including ten who were attending the universities, nine as students, several of whom were probably unordained laymen, and the tenth as principal of Gloucester Hall, Oxford.<sup>132</sup> During the 1580s, there were over fifty graduates, mostly resident, among the beneficed clergy, about a quarter of all the beneficed clergy. The majority (thirty-five) of the graduates were arts graduates, equally split between B.A.s and M.A.s. Civil lawyers were the next largest graduate group, and there were only two theologians, both B.D.s.<sup>133</sup> The number of preachers was considerably less, about fourteen in all, twelve of whom were graduates, and the majority had been preferred by the Crown.<sup>134</sup> Four of the preachers were non-resident,<sup>135</sup> and it was the opinion that the numbers of preachers and graduates were insufficient for such a large diocese. An attempt was made, however, to get those who were licensed to declaim as regularly as possible, with the greater burden being placed on the higher graduates.

The condition of the Welsh Church and of Welsh preaching later in Elizabeth's reign appears in two general reports of 1592 and 1603. Certificates for Llandaff and the two northern dioceses<sup>136</sup> in 1592 showed that the proportion of graduate clergy was quite low, consisting of approximately a third of the St. Asaph clergy, a quarter at Bangor and merely a tenth at Llandaff.<sup>137</sup> Most of the graduates were arts graduates, largely M.A.s, though there were also higher

graduates at Bangor and St. Asaph (theology). All the Llandaff graduates and about three-quarters of those at the other dioceses were licensed to preach.<sup>138</sup> Llandaff, perhaps because it was short of graduates, was better-off in its non-graduate clergy, having eight preachers and over half being able to catechize. Bangor, but not St. Asaph, had non-graduate preachers too (twelve), but both were very inferior to their southern counterpart in the number of catechists.<sup>139</sup> In the other southern diocese also, at about the same time, the learned non-graduate clergy were apparently numerous, in addition to which it was boasted, quite unjustifiably, that there were many graduates and eight active preachers.<sup>140</sup>

Although these figures suggest an improvement over the early Elizabethan period, and compare favourably with nearby Hereford diocese<sup>141</sup> in their proportion of preachers, the position was relative. Though graduates were receiving preferment the economic and social obstacles must have continued to seem profound, and the Welsh dioceses, poor and on the periphery of the State Church, compared badly with the dioceses adjacent to the universities, for example, Oxford and Ely, and to the wealthier and more populous districts such as Lincoln and Norwich, where graduates and preachers were far more numerous.<sup>142</sup>

The report of 1603<sup>143</sup> more or less confirmed the quality of the graduates and preachers in the North Wales dioceses. The great majority of graduates were arts graduates, while Bangor would have benefited from the gain of three D.D.s.<sup>144</sup> Llandaff represented a marked contrast to the picture in 1592. The number of graduates (mostly arts) and preachers was doubled, and although this may highlight some inaccuracies in the

earlier information, it must also illustrate the enlightened episcopacies of Gervase Babington and William Morgan.<sup>145</sup> St. David's was much improved over the state of affairs detailed in the 1580s. Over eighty licensed preachers were recorded, mostly arts graduates, and the increase may have been testimony to the recruiting efforts of the disgraced Bishop Middleton and his successor, the Cambridge theologian, Anthony Rudd.<sup>146</sup> Improved educational standards here and elsewhere may also have helped, together with a more liberal licensing policy. Greater regard by most of the Welsh bishops, together with improved ordination, as at Bangor, must have contributed to strengthening a very weak Church, that still, sadly, contrasted unfavourably with many parts of England. Oxford, Ely and Norwich, for example, were all very well manned with graduate preachers and more important was the fact that most English dioceses, except for Rochester, Worcester and Gloucester, Durham and Carlisle, that is, the periphery, had the services of a significantly large body of divinity graduates. The Welsh Church, like other parts of the periphery, found this latter its weakest point.

The Church in Wales continued to struggle in the period before 1642. Although graduate clergy became more numerous, the great majority remained poor and inadequately qualified. Moreover, although good intellectual training was a very important requirement for a competent cleric, it is debatable how adequate it was for the main purpose of trying to disseminate dogma to an overwhelmingly ignorant, illiterate, apathetic, superstitious, monolingual population.<sup>147</sup> Indeed, during the seventeenth century, as before, there were many cases where



university-educated clergy showed a deep ignorance and lack of vocation, so that they were easily outshone by less well-endowed colleagues.<sup>148</sup>

### Religious literature

Despite its shortcomings, the Welsh Church had undoubtedly improved compared to its state before the Reformation. Access to education at the universities and at the new grammar schools had played an important part in the improvement. In addition, the universities were moulding grounds for most of those writers who contributed to the advancement of Welsh meditative and religious literature and of reform ideas generally. It would be superfluous to describe in detail here their contribution since this has already been well-recorded. Suffice it to say, these university-educated writers combined the religious and humanistic training gained at the universities with a profound knowledge of Welsh language culture and learning, to produce a rich Welsh prose tradition. Working largely independently, they made a distinctive contribution within the limits of publishing books in Welsh. Translating the Scriptures into Welsh was the chief priority of the sixteenth century scholars, with important contributions coming from the Oxford educated William Salesbury and Richard Davies, and from William Morgan, a former Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge. Another Johnian, Edmund Prys, prepared Welsh metrical versions of the Psalms, while other university-educated writers, such as Huw Lewys and Robert Holland, produced devotional works of a mildly puritan, but still soundly Anglican, tone. During the early seventeenth century, up to 1642, this activity was consolidated by the continued adaptation of Welsh language Scriptures, notably by Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd, a product of Oxford, and of devotional and

theological works of a moderate kind, for example, by Edward James, Rhys Prichard, Robert Lloyd and Rowland Vaughan, all again Oxford men.<sup>149</sup>

Several Welsh graduates contributed to the wider field of religious thought by writing in English or Latin, for example, Robert Holland, above, and Lewis Thomas and John Lloyd of Oxford. Dean Goodman contributed to the Bishop's Bible, while John Philips translated the Bible into Manx. Anglicanism was defended hotly against both papist and puritan attacks by George Griffith, who also wrote in Welsh, David Owen and Samuel Powell. In Lewis Bayly's Practice of Piety was a devotional work of the profoundest influence, and all this output by these Welsh clergymen and scholars emanated from their activities within the Anglican Church beyond their native land and from the ideological debates that beset life at the universities, colleges and inns of court.<sup>150</sup>

## CHAPTER VI : PART (i) - NOTES

1. J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., i (1873), chap. VI, 553 ff.; H. Rashdall and R.S. Rait, New College (1901), pp. 100-133; R.B. Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell, I (1902), 237.
2. Ibid., I, 142-3; M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition (1959), p. 30; T. Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge, (1840 ed.), pp. 219-21; W.H. Frere, Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the period of the Reformation, I (1910), 121, 125-6, 129, 137, 145-6; H.W.C. Davis, Balliol College (revised ed., 1963), p. 81; G.R.M. Ward, Oxford University Statutes, I (1845), xiii-xx; H.A. Wilson, Magdalen College (1899), pp. 101-10; J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (1966), pp. 254-60; A.C.F. Beales, 'Education under Mary Tudor', The Month, N.S., XIII (1955), 344 f.
3. Curtis, op. cit., pp. 165-76; K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (1959), pp. 133-5; W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration: an essay in sociology and politics (1924), I, xviii, xxiv.
4. Charlton, op. cit., p. 160; C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, II (1843), 16; Curtis, op. cit., pp. 183-5.
5. C. Hill, Economic Problems of the Church (1956), pp. 208 ff.; A.G. Dickens, The English Reformation (1967), pp. 419-23; G.R. Elton, England under the Tudors (1962), pp. 421-3; M.H. Curtis, 'The Alienated Intellectuals of Early Stuart England', Past and Present, 23 (1962), 31 ff.; P. Tyler, 'The Status of the Elizabethan Parochial Clergy', Studies in Church History, IV, ed. G.J. Cuming (1967), 93-95.
6. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1958), chap. VII; C.E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, II (1927), 91, 105, 160, 174; C.H.O. Daniel and W.R. Barker, Worcester College (1900), pp. 97-98.
7. J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation (1824), I, ii, 153 f.; II, ii, 389-90; T. Fowler, The History of Corpus Christi College (1893), pp. 124-6; A. Gray, Jesus College, Cambridge (revised ed., 1960), pp. 54-55; Mallet, op. cit., II, 134-5, 199-200; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 243-7; H.C. Porter, op. cit., chap. VIII.
8. R.M. Fisher, 'Reform, Repression and Unrest at the Inns of Court, 1518-1558', The Historical Journal, 20 (1977), 783-801;

- W.R. Prest, 'Some Aspects of the Inns of Court, 1590-1640', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1965), pp. 145-7, 332; LI Black Books, I, vi-vii, xviii-xix.
9. Prest, thesis, pp. 341-4, 364, 378.
  10. Porter, op. cit., pp. 428-9; Mallet, op. cit., II, 318 f.; Curtis, op. cit., pp. 171-3, 175, 211-26; Cooper, Annals, II, 602-11; G.R.M. Ward, op. cit., I, iv-v, vii, xiv-xxii; H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield Manuscripts, XVI (1933), 398; V.H.H. Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (1964), pp. 122-29; D. Mathew, The Age of Charles I (1951), pp. 201-21; The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, William Laud (hereafter Laud, Works), Anglo-Catholic Society, ed. W. Scott et al, V, i (1853), 3, 13-14, 16-20.
  11. G.B. Tatham, The Puritans in Power (1913), pp. 93 ff.; L.L. Shadwell, ed., Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities ... (1912), I, 264 f., 274 f.
  12. A.I. Pryce, The Diocese of Bangor in the Sixteenth Century (1923), pp. 48 ff.
  13. John Lloyd, B.C.L., Fellow of All Souls (Al. Oxon.). Three were definitely Cambridge graduates, Thomas Yale, Thomas Rowland, Nicholas Robinson, and so probably were two others, Thomas Morgan and Griffith (? Geoffrey) Gethyn (Al. Cant.); cf. M. Bowker, 'The Henrician Reformation and the Parish Clergy', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, L (1977), 30-47.
  14. G.M. Griffiths, 'A St. Asaph "Register" of Episcopal Acts 1506-1571', Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, VI (1956), 29-33; Glanmor Williams, 'The Second Volume of St. David's Registers 1554-64', B.B.C.S., XIV (1951-2), 135-6.
  15. Ibid., 130, 135. Thomas Hartley, B.A. (Al. Cant.), William Constantine, B.C.L., Thomas Samon (Samand), M.A./B.C.L., Anthony Hobby, B.A. (Al. Oxon.), and Edward Jones, scholar.
  16. Edward Lewis, B.A. 1572, William Vaughan, B.A. 1562/3, Davyd John, B.A. 1542, Thomas Mutton, B.Gramm. 1528, Richard Williams, B.A. 1569/70, Hugh Evance, M.A. 1574 (Req. Univ. Oxon., I), John Puleston, M.A. 1577 (Al. Cant.), of St. Asaph diocese; Rhys Philip, B.A. 1563, Thomas Jenkins, B.A. 1567, John Richard, B.A. 1563, Rhys Maddocke, B.C.L. 1565, Thomas ap Howell, B.A. 1565, Philip Jones, B.C.L. 1562, William Lane, B.A. 1565, John Luke, B.A. 1564/5 (Req. Univ. Oxon., I), at St. David's.

17. Robert Morgan, M.A., Humphrey Robinson, M.A., Humphrey Davies (Al. Cant.); Roland Mericke, Maurice Robins, B.A., Richard Lloyd, B.D., Owen Jones, Hugh Morgan, B.A. (Al. Oxon.).
18. Pryce, op. cit., p. xxx; supra chap. II, n. 43; cf. U.C.N.W. Library, R.R. Hughes, Biographical Epitomes of the Bishops and Clergy of Bangor diocese from the Reformation ... (typescript 1932). The Bangor ordinands included three pauper scholars, fifty-six pleb. f., fourteen gen. f., twelve sons of higher gentry, five clergy sons, including two bishops' sons, twenty sizars, ten pensioners. Of the fifty-eight whose origins are uncertain, as many as thirty-seven may have come from the six counties of North Wales, and two from South Wales.
19. W.P.M. Kennedy, op. cit., I, xcvi-xcviii.
20. J. Heywood and T. Wright, eds., Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1854), I, xvi.
21. Two LL.B. later becoming D.LL., two D.D., one M.D.; three arts graduates became B.D.s, ten became D.D.s, and three became D.LL.s; also vide Glanmor Williams, 'William Salesbury's "Batterie of the Popes Botereulx"', B.B.C.S., XIII (1948-50), 147-8.
22. Four scholars, seventy-five literati.
23. Oxford, 71.3 per cent; Cambridge, 23.7 per cent; 5 per cent - university unknown.
24. Fourteen Johnians ordained in Bangor diocese, including two Gwyn Scholars, Thomas Coytmor and Roderick Lloyd, and Henry Evans, Foundress Scholar (Al. Cant.).
25. Kennedy, op. cit., I, lxxxi-lxxxii.
26. Edward Jones, ord. 1636, of Hart Hall, probably the gen. f., matr. Jesus College 1635, age fourteen (Al. Oxon.).
27. Robert Hughes, Oxon., ord. 1615, probably matr. pleb. f. of Montgom., at St. Mary H. 1596, age twenty, B.A. 1599 (Al. Oxon.).
28. The over-forties included Owen Hughes, B.A. (Oxon. matr. 1579), Griffith Evanne (1581), Griffith Hughes (1577) (Al. Oxon.).
29. Years sampled: 1561, 1574, 1577, 1582, 1593, 1602, 1603, 1614, 1620, 1635.
30. Years sampled: 1534, 1543, 1554; 1563, 1570, 1576-7, 1582-3; 1592-3, 1605-6, 1614-15; 1625-6, 1634, 1639-40.

31. Nine arts graduates, twenty-one civil law, thirteen canon law, six canon and civil law, eleven theology, one music (B.R.U.O. 1501-40).
32. Fourteen arts graduates, nine civil law, fourteen canon law, three canon and civil law, four theology. Twenty-eight of these graduates possessed livings or offices in England (ibid.).
33. E.P. Roberts, 'Canu Wiliam Cynwal i glerigwyr', Transactions of the Denbighshire Historical Society, XIV (1965), 132-7, and 'Teulu Plas Iolyn', ibid., XIII (1964), 94-95; J.C. Morrice, ed., Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llyn (1908), p. 17.
34. Borwne Willis, A survey of the Cathedral church of St. Asaph, enlarged and ed. Edward Edwards, 2 vols. (1801), passim; J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire (1904-33), passim; F. Green and T.W. Barker, 'Pembrokeshire Parsons', West Wales Historical Records (Transactions), I-VI (1911-16), passim.
35. Monmouth: 54 Oxford, 1 Cambridge; Cardigan: 28 - 0; Montgomery: 55 - 8; Anglesey: 39 - 12 (Al. Oxon.; Al. Cant.).
36. Monmouth: twenty-nine pleb., seven gen., one higher gent., twelve clergy; Cardigan: ten pleb., six gen., two higher gent., one clergy; Montgomery: twenty-seven pleb., five gen., four higher gent., one clergy, three sizars, two pensioners; Anglesey: twenty-four pleb., seven gen., three higher gent., two clergy, three sizars, three pensioners.
37. Monmouth: twelve B.A., twenty-nine M.A., two B.C.L., four B.D., one D.D., five non-graduates; Cardigan: ten B.A., nine M.A., two B.D., four D.D., two non-graduates; Montgomery: fifteen B.A., thirty-two M.A., one B.C.L., two D.C.L., one B.D., two D.D., seven non-graduates; Anglesey: eight B.A., twenty-six M.A., four D.C.L., five B.D., six D.D., two non-graduates.
38. Monmouth: 65 per cent; Cardigan: 61 per cent; Montgomery: 57 per cent; Anglesey: 43 per cent.
39. Monmouth: thirteen largely in Glam. and Brecon; Cardigan: twelve in Pembs. and Carmarthen; Montgomery: twenty in Denbs.; Anglesey: eighteen in Caerns., Mer. and Denbs.
40. Monmouth: two; Cardigan: two; Montgomery: twenty-three; Anglesey: nineteen.
41. Monmouth: three; Cardigan: five; Anglesey: sixteen; Montgomery: eleven.

42. Browne Willis, St. Asaph, I, 164-250; Green and Barker, 'Pembrokeshire Parsons', W. Wales Hist. Recs., IV, 283 ff.; V, 133 ff.; C.A.H. Green, 'The Chapter of Llandaff Cathedral, 1561-1668', Y Cymmrodor, XXXI (1921), 217 ff.
43. Handbook to the Cathedrals of Wales (2nd ed., 1887); A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (1813-20); C.H. Cooper and T. Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses (1858-1913); R. Parker, History and Antiquities of the University of Cambridge (1721), pp. 171-2; L. Thomas, The Reformation in the old diocese of Llandaff (1930), pp. 125-8, 132-3.
44. Handbook; A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 42.
45. R. Newcome, Memoir of Dr. Gabriel Goodman, ... (1825), p. 33; Wood, Athenae, II, 764.
46. J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, II, ii, 528; Glanmor Williams, Bywyd ac Amserau'r Esqob Richard Davies (1953), p. 70; P.R.O., SP 16/241/44; T. Richards, Cymru a'r Uchel Gomisiwn 1633-40 (1930), pp. 72-73; cf. J.C. Morrice, ed., Barddoniaeth Wiliam Llŷn, p. 200, for a more favourable view of Hughes.
47. H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, V (1894), 18, 215, 216, 291, 439; XIV (1923), 144.
48. Ibid., XVI, 314, 391.
49. H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts, VI (1966), 235.
50. Clenennau 326.
51. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 959; R.F. Scott, ed., 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XVII (1893), 146-7; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 204, 209-10.
52. Glanmor Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (1963), pp. 534-5; L. Thomas, op. cit., pp. xviii-xxi.
53. E. Gwynne Jones, Cymru a'r Hen Ffydd (1951), pp. 5-6, and 'The Caernarvonshire Squires 1558-1625', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1936), App. V; A.O. Evans, 'Nicholas Robinson (1530-1585)', Y Cymmrodor, XXXIX (1928), 176; P.R.O., SP 12/66/26 (1), f. 83<sup>v</sup>; A.P.C., XXII, 1591-2, 544-5, and cf. ibid., XIV, 1586-7, 125.
54. P.R.O., SP 12/162/29.
55. W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, III, 145 f.; G. Gruffydd, 'Bishop Francis Godwin's Injunctions for the Diocese of Llandaff, 1603', Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, IV (1954), 14 ff.

56. Laud, Works, V, ii (1853), 310, 320-1, 328-9, 336, 345; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, VIII, 1635, 419; ibid., XIV, 1639, 417.
57. J. Fisher, ed., 'Wales in the Time of Queen Elizabeth', Arch. Camb., 6th Ser., XV (1915), 243-4.
58. Supra chap. V (i); Kennedy, op. cit., I, cxi-cxli.
59. A.D. Carr, 'The Free Grammar School of Beaumaris', I.A.A.S. 1962, 7-8; supra chap. V (i), nn. 65 et seq.
60. N.L.W., Bodewryd 40.
61. Thirteen held livings in Bangor or, more often, in St. Asaph and one other was ordained in Bangor and probably resided there (Al. Cant.; F.P. White, 'Notes').
62. e.g., David Dolben, William Vaughan (Al. Cant.; supra chap. V (ii), n. 126).
63. Gwyn Scholar 1600; supra chap. V (ii), nn. 127, 133.
64. One, Robert Wynn of Gwydir, ordained at York 1615, was intended for Lincoln diocese. Also vide, Sir John Wynn, History of the Gwydir Family, ed. J. Ballinger (1927), p. 74.
65. G.C. Richards and C.L. Shadwell, The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford (1922).
66. P.R.O., SP 1/75, f. 200.
67. C.W.P., 369, 5 Dec., 1605; J. Hacket, Scrinia Reserata. A memorial offered to the great deserving of John Williams, D.D., ... (1693), i, 19, makes Fakenham the living, but Al. Cant. suggests Honington.
68. U.C.N.W., Garthewin 994.
69. C.L. Shadwell, ed., Registrum Oriense, I (1893), 55.
70. A. Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, ed. Andrew Clark, III (1899), 77-100, re. Mag. Richard Gwent, Mag. Arthur Bulkeley, William Roberts, Clerk.
71. J. Peile, ed., Biographical Register of Christ's College 1505-1905, I (1910), 127, re. David Roberts, M.A.
72. Bodl., Rawlinson MS D. 399, f. 218, re. Walter Jones, M.A.
73. Cambridge University Library MS, Mm 1.39 (Baker MS 28), f. 146, re. David Roberts (q.v.), Richard Fletcher, Foulk Lloyd.



74. John Price, William Vaughan (q.v.), and William Bodwrda (Al. Cant.).
75. A. Peel, ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register, II (1915), 137, 138, 144-5, 161.
76. Four had livings in Norfolk, three in Essex, three in Buckinghamshire, two in Herts., two in Cambridgeshire, two in Suffolk, one in Northants., and one in Nottinghamshire.
77. B.L., Lansdowne 983, f. 101(60); D.N.B., D.W.B.
78. A. Wood, Athenae Oxon., I, 738; A.D. Carr, 'The Turbulent Vicar of Writtle', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, I (1964), 210-11.
79. Hacket, Scrinia Reserata, ii, 42-43; G.I. Soden, Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, 1583-1656 (1953), chap. VI and pp. 155-7. Other university-educated Welsh bishops were, Maurice Griffin, John Salisbury, John Meyrick, George Lloyd, John Phillips.
80. Cooper, Athenae Cantab., II, 208; III, 317; Wood, Athenae, Fasti i, sub 1592.
81. Marmaduke Middleton, Richard Meredith, Lewis Jones, Lancelot Bulkeley, Robert Price, Griffith Williams (Al. Oxon.; Dodd, Stuart Wales, p. 84).
82. Al. Cant.; Al. Oxon.; Athenae Oxon., I, 398, 567; W.G. Searle, History of the Queens' College 1446-1560 (1867-71), p. 245; Richards and Shadwell, Provosts and Fellows of Oriel, p. 100; also U.C.N.W., Nannau 1604.
83. D.N.B.: Athenae Oxon., III, 952; Al. Oxon.
84. Al. Cant.; T.A. Walker, ed., A Biographical Register of Peterhouse men ... (1927), I, 217; R. Williams, 'Montgomeryshire Worthies', Mont. Colls., XIII (1880), 114; Athenae Oxon., Fasti i, sub 1608/9.
85. Athenae Oxon., IV, 829; Athenae Cantab., I, 317-19; Hacket, Scrinia, i, 29.
86. Bodl., Rawlinson MS Q.e.2., f. 2., Cywydd i Mr. Edmunt Roberts; Al. Oxon.
87. Glanmor Williams, Welsh Reformation Essays (1967), pp. 35 ff.; 111 ff.; Bywyd ac Amserau'r Esqob Richard Davies, pp. 41-45; A.I. Pryce, op. cit., pp. xii-xiv, xx-xxiv; D.R. Thomas, History of the Diocese of St. Asaph, I (1908), 83-84; L. Thomas, Old diocese of Llandaff, pp. 19-20, 96-97, 104, 107, 110;

- T.J. Prichard, 'The Reformation in the Deanery of Llandaff: a study of changes in its clerical personnel, 1534-1609', Morgannwg, XIII (1969), 19-20; D. Walker, ed., A History of the Church in Wales (1976), pp. 54 ff.
88. E.A. Lewis, ed., An Inventory of Early Chancery Proceedings relating to Wales (1937), pp. 37, 40-41, 43, 97, 100, 131, 201, 204, 209, 237.
89. P.R.O., SP 12/66/26 (1), ff. 83<sup>V</sup>-84; /29, f. 90<sup>V</sup>; /165/1, 2; Strype, Annals of the Reformation, III, ii, 226-8; T.J. Prichard, 'Deanery of Llandaff', 33; L. Thomas, op. cit., xi-xviii; C.S.P. Dom., Elizabeth I, II, 1581-90, 339.
90. P.R.O., SP 12/162/29; B.L., Harleian 7176, p. 82; J. Conway Davies, ed., Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Inner Temple Library (1972), II, 734; D. Walker, op. cit., pp. 64-65; Strype, Annals, III, ii, 471 f., and cf. D.R. Thomas, St. Asaph, I, 99.
91. A.O. Evans, 'Nicholas Robinson', 177; Laud, Works, V, ii (1853), 359; VI, ii (1857), 389-90.
92. Ibid., V, ii, 329, 354; G. Gruffydd, 'Bishop Francis Godwin's Injunctions', 19; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Richard Parry, Bishop of St. Asaph: some aspects of his Career', B.B.C.S., XXVI (1974-6), 190. A report on the condition of the Church in 1603 indicated that over half of the parishes in Bangor and Llandaff were inappropriate, and so were a third in St. David's. St. Asaph seemed the best off with only a sixth of its livings inappropriate (B.L., Harleian 280, ff. 162<sup>V</sup>-164).
93. Dodd, Stuart Wales, 39; U.C.N.W., Nannau 1865.
94. T. Richards, 'The Puritan Movement in Anglesey. A Re-assessment', I.A.A.S. 1954, 34-36; D. Knoop and G. Peredur Jones, 'The Carreglwyd Building Account 1636', ibid. 1934, 27; W. Ogwen Williams, 'The Anglesey Gentry as Businessmen in Tudor and Stuart times', ibid. 1948, 100-103; Clenennau 341; Theophilus Jones, A History of the County of Brecknock, Glanusk ed., IV (1930), 103; J.R. Guy, 'The Gamage family: a Study in Clerical Patronage in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', Morgannwg, XIV (1970), 37-44; H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley, V (1962), 538-9.
95. H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield, VII (1899), 263; C.W.P., 1483; Sir John Wynn, History of the Gwydir Family, p. 63; Clenennau 379, 395; E. Gwynne Jones, ed., 'History of the Bulkeley family', I.A.A.S. 1948, 57.

96. J.M. Traherne, ed., Stradling Correspondence ... written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1840), p. 330-2. Possibly the Wm. Fleming who matriculated at B.N.C., Oxford, 1578, pleb. f., age twenty-one, no degree recorded (Al. Oxon.) or, alternatively, the one matr. sizar St. John's, Cambridge, 1569, M.A. 1576, Fellow 1577, a dissenter according to Al. Cant.
97. Stradling Correspondence, pp. 83-84, re. Andrew Vayn alias Philips, B.A. Oxford 1572-3 (Al. Oxon.), not to be confused with the man of the same name B.C.L., All Souls 1594/5 (ibid.); cf. R. O'Day, 'The Law of Patronage in Early Modern England', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, XXVI (1975), 247 ff.
98. C.W.P., 402, re. Mr. Lloyd, B.D., usher of Rhuthun School: either Richard Lloyd of Merion., B.D. Lincoln C. 1605/6, D.D. 1617, or Robert Lloyd of Caerns., B.D. St. Mary H. 1602 (Al. Oxon.).
99. U.C.N.W., Penrhos II /20, 12 June, 1620; vide supra chap. V (ii), n. 95.
100. C.W.P., 692; Browne Willis, St. Asaph, I, 345.
101. I. ap O. Edwards, A Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings relating to Wales (1929), p. 94.
102. Glanmor Williams, Richard Davies, pp. 65-66; J.A. Bradney, 'The Speech of William Blethin, Bishop of Llandaff and the Customs and Ordinances of the Church of Llandaff', Y Cymmrodor, XXXI (1921), 243; C.W.P., 853-855.
103. P.R.D., SP 12/219/89. It is doubtful if Prytherch would have resided in his living since he was an active Doctors' Commons lawyer (B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-1641 (1973), p. 264).
104. U.C.N.W., Penrhos II /22, 23, 39; Penrhos II catalogue (typescript 1947).
105. R. Williams, 'Montgomeryshire Worthies', Mont. Colls., XIV (1881), 155-7.
106. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, ed. J. Jacobs (1890-2), pp. 131-2, 438-9; also, vide Howell's advowson which he wanted to bestow on his brother (ibid., pp. 266-7).
107. Strype, Annals, IV, 341-2, App. nos. clxxvii-clxxviii; Levack, op. cit., p. 255, and vide C.W.P., 248.
108. D.R. Thomas, St. Asaph, I, 90; T. Richards, 'The Puritan Movement in Anglesey', 36; Al. Cant.

109. Laud, Works, V, ii, 334; A.I. Pryce, op. cit., pp. xxx-xxxii; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XV, 1639-40, 309-10; cf. attitude to country priests, supra chap. V (ii), n. 180.
110. Glanmor Williams, 'The Second Volume of St. David's Registers 1554-64', B.B.C.S., XIV (1950-52), 52; P.R.O., SP 12/165/2.
111. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon., c. 22, f. 5<sup>a</sup>; Browne Willis, St. Asaph, I, 291-2, 392-3, 410-11.
112. Supra chap. V (i), n. 104, and (ii), nn. 51 et seq. It is clear that Williams's educational schemes were of a whole, intending to train scholars at Westminster School, who would then enter the scholarships and fellowships at St. John's and, finally, benefit from the livings bestowed on the College (vide N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 1240).
113. Green and Barker, 'Pembrokeshire Parsons', W. Wales Hist. Recs., III, 290; V, 157. Rudd, archdeacon of Cardigan, was B.D. of Queens' C., Cambridge, and brother of Anthony Rudd, Bishop of St. David's (Al. Cant.; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, VII, 166).
114. T. Richards, Cymru a'r Uchel Gomiswn, pp. 63-66.
115. T. Richards, The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639 to 1653 (1920), p. 144; A.I. Pryce, op. cit., p. 44; F.P. White, 'Notes'.
116. Green and Barker, op. cit., W. Wales Hist. Recs., II, 285. The Manorbier living showed the greatest difference between the profits and the stipend actually paid to ministers in south-west Wales (H.A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales (1968), p. 184). Prichard, M.A. Jesus C., Oxford, 1629 (Al. Oxon.).
117. N.L.W., St. Asaph, Miscell. 254; Browne Willis, St. Asaph, I, 299; V.C.H. Oxon., III (1954), 279. Evan Lloyd, M.A. 1630, reputedly Fellow of All Souls (Al. Oxon.). John Humphreys, prob. the poor scholar of Montgomeryshire, matr. Balliol 1666, age seventeen (ibid.). The onset of the Civil War destroyed several intended grants of livings and revenues to the College (Sir Leoline Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D. (1854), pp. 5-8).
118. N.L.W., Penrice and Margam II/2960, re. election of Morgan Price, B.A., of Brechs., matr. Queen's C., Oxford, 1591/2, pleb. (Al. Oxon.), to the perpetual vicarage of Aberavon. Vide also oath of Robert Jones, M.A., prob. student at Oxford 1562 (Al. Oxon.), proctor to Bishop Blethyn (J.A. Bradney, 'The Speech of William Blethin, ... ', 264).

119. W.P.M. Kennedy, Elizabethan Episcopal Administration, II, 3, 21; III, 139, 145, 222, 257, 331, 334; J. Jones, 'Llanllyfni Papers: Responsions and Presentments', Arch. Camb., 3rd Ser., IX (1863), 281; D.R. Thomas, St. Asaph, I, 89-90; G. Gruffydd, 'Bishop Francis Godwin's Injunctions', 17.
120. 'Llanllyfni Papers', 281, 283-4; T. Wright, ed., 'Anglesea', Arch Camb., 4th Ser., XII (1881), 78-79; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, XXI (1970), 294; J.B. Mullinger, University of Cambridge, ii, 13-14. Among the negligent university-educated clergy in Anglesey were Robert Griffith, member of Brasenose 1596-1605, and Owen Jones, M.A., Oriel 1618 (Al. Oxon.), and Robert Griffith, B.A., Magdalene C. 1617/18 (Al. Cant.).
121. A. Peel, ed., Seconde Part of a Register, I, 47.
122. A.O. Evans, 'Nicholas Robinson', 176-7, 179. John Holland, M.A., and John Roberts, educated at Cambridge, Queens' and St. John's (Al. Cant.), and John Oxenbridge and Thomas Wharton, graduates of Oxford, Christ Church and New College (Req. Univ. Oxon., I).
123. D.R. Thomas, St. Asaph, I, 89; Browne Willis, St. Asaph, II, 136 ff.; Hugh Evans, M.A., John Price, LL.B., and David Lloyd, B.A., were certainly Oxford graduates (Req. Univ. Oxon., I), while Thomas Jenkins, M.A., and Griffith Lloyd, LL.B., were graduates, university unknown.
124. Browne Willis, op. cit., II, 137-9. Most of the cathedral clergy were Oxford-educated, including Henry Jones, D.C.L., Canon of St. Asaph, absent through being an advocate of the Court of Arches (D.W.B.).
125. Browne Willis, op. cit., II, 139-40. Two graduate clergy were Hugh Whitford, B.C.L., Fellow of All Souls, and John Lloyd, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls and of Jesus C., advocate (Al. Oxon.), and Hugh Sontley was a student at Oxford.
126. Strype, Annals, III, ii, 472-3. Thomas Powell, B.A. Oxon. 1529/30 (Req. Univ. Oxon., I). The divines were William Morgan of St. John's, Cambridge (Al. Cant.), and David Powel, D.D. of Oxford in 1584, whose earlier university career has probably been confused by both Al. Oxon. and Req. Univ. Oxon., II, iii, 26; cf. National Library of Wales Journal, XIII (1963-4), 397-8. He is unlikely to have been a Fellow of All Souls - that was a Monmouthshire man - and he may have been a mature student who entered Oxford as late as 1566, as Wood (Athenae, I, 568) suggests, or even have graduated at Cambridge first, M.A. Queens' 1563 (Al. Cant.), before later taking degrees at Oxford.

127. Strype, op. cit., III, ii, 473. Banks, M.A., Christ's College 1585 (Al. Cant.). Vide T. Richards, Puritan Movement, p. 18, and D.N.B. sub John Owen and William Morgan, later bishops, who tried to restore the condition of the diocese.
128. P.R.O., SP 12/66/29; supra nn. 102, 118. The preachers were William Blethyn (q.v.), Robert Johnes (q.v.), John Evans (perhaps of Oriel), Lewis Johnes, LL.B. (sic for B.A.), though some uncertainty surrounds the latter (Al. Oxon.).
129. Supra n. 125; T.J. Prichard, 'The Deanery of Llandaff', 22-25, 40-42. The preachers included John Lloyd (q.v.), and Lewis Richard and John Herbert, both Oxford scholars (cf. Al. Oxon. sub Leyson Richard and John Herbert of Christ Ch., B.C.L. 1564/5).
130. J.A. Bradney, 'The Speech of William Blethin, ...', 263 ff.; L. Thomas, Old Diocese of Llandaff, pp. 136-40. The graduate preachers were William Evans, B.C.L., John Evans, M.A., both of Oxford (Req. Univ. Oxon., I), Robert Johnes (q.v.) and Andrew Vayne, D.D. (sic) (supra n. 97).
131. P.R.O., SP 12/66/26 (1), f. 81. The preachers included Thomas Huet, educ. Cambridge (D.W.B.), David Powell, M.A., perhaps also Cambridge-educated (cf. supra n. 126), William Blethyn (q.v.), John Pratt, M.A. of B.N.C. (Req. Univ. Oxon., I), John Batho, M.A. and Maurice Price, M.A. (university unknown).
132. P.R.O., SP 12/66/26 (1), ff. 82-82<sup>v</sup>. Thirteen were probably resident in the diocese and sixteen non-resident. The university-educated students included Thomas Barlo, Griffith Toye, Walter Travers, all of Cambridge (Al. Cant.), and at Oxford, William Griffith, Thomas Huet the younger, Phillip Sydney (all Al. Oxon.), Robert Barlow, Robert Birt and Philip Lewis; with John Stock, B.D., Principal of Gloucester Hall (ibid.).
133. P.R.O., SP 12/165/1, 2 : 160 beneficed non-graduates and non-preachers, fifty-two graduates, eighty-four curates without benefices. The report details fifty-two university men ranging from professors of arts to graduates in divinity. The concluding summary lists fifty-four: two professors of arts, twenty-two B.A., nineteen M.A., six LL.B., two B.D., three LL.D. Thirty-one of the graduates were listed as being resident in one of their livings in the diocese.
134. The assessment of the number of preachers conflicts between Middleton's summary (fourteen), his full report (seventeen) and a recent estimate (eleven) by H.A. Lloyd, Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 181. Middleton's summary indicated two professors of arts, three B.A., eight M.A., one B.D., who were licensed preachers.

135. Two M.A. and two 'graduate' preachers were non-resident.
136. Cambridge University Library MS, Mm 1.46 (Baker MS 35), 305 ff., esp. 306-7; residence and non-residence of clergy is, however, not indicated.
137. Bangor: total 154, 110 non-graduates, 44 graduates (43 according to the sum of separate figures); St. Asaph: 144, 83 non-graduates, 61 (54) graduates; Llandaff: 155, 135 non-graduates, 18 graduates.
138. Bangor graduate preachers: four B.D., two LL.B., twenty-one M.A., five B.A.; St. Asaph: three D.D., five B.D., one LL.D., three LL.B., twenty-seven M.A., eight B.A.; Llandaff: fourteen M.A., four B.A.
139. Bangor: 12 non-graduate preachers, 13 catechists; .  
St. Asaph: 18 catechists, 34 learned in Latin;  
Llandaff: 8 preachers, 75 catechists.
140. George Owen, Dialogue of the Government of Wales, The Description of Pembrokeshire, III, ed. H. Owen (1906), 98-99.
141. Hereford: 304 clergy, 75 preachers, including 54 graduates, 21 non-graduates, and 9 non-preaching graduates.
142. Oxford: 169 clergy, 95 (91) graduates, 84 preachers, including 77 graduates, 7 non-graduates; Ely: 162 clergy, 128 graduates, 123 preachers, including 116 graduates, 7 non-graduates; cf. A. Tindal Hart, The Country Clergy, 1558-1660 (1958), pp. 26, 30, where the Ely figures are at variance with the above; H.A. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 181 n.; V. Morgan, 'Cambridge and the Country', in L. Stone, ed., The University in Society (1974), I, 239-43.
143. B.L., Harleian 280, ff. 162<sup>v</sup>-164; vide also E. Owen, ed., A Catalogue of the manuscripts relating to Wales in the British Museum, II (1903), 124.
144. Bangor preachers: three D.D., four B.D., one LL.D., nineteen M.A., four B.A., six non-graduate; St. Asaph: four D.D., thirty M.A., two B.A., five non-graduate.
145. Llandaff preachers: one D.D., one B.D., twenty-nine M.A., seven B.A., twelve non-graduate; but cf. T.J. Prichard, 'The Deanery of Llandaff', 30.
146. St. David's preachers: one D.D., seven B.D., forty M.A., twenty-one B.A., fifteen non-graduate.
147. Laud, Works, III, 174-5; V, ii, 359; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, X, 1636-7, 419; T. Richards, Puritan Movement, pp. 12-16;

- E.A.B. Barnard, 'Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor and his son Thomas', Trans. Cymmr. 1928-9, 121; and vide U.C.N.W., Mostyn 78, ff. 106-106<sup>v</sup>, 110, and N.L.W., Llanfair and Brynodynol 95, for examples of clerical scholarship and popular lectures.
148. Dodd, Stuart Wales, p. 40; C.W.P., 1592; T. Richards, Wales under the Penal Code, 1662-1687 (1925), pp. 141-2.
149. D. Walker, ed., Church in Wales, pp. 65-67; G.A. Williams, 'Astudiaeth Destunol a Beirniadol o Ymryson Barddol Edmwnd Prys a William Cynwal', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1978), I, 84-85, 92; T. Parry, Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900 (1964 ed.), pp. 150-5, 187-9, and bibliography; Dodd, op. cit., p. 41; T. Richards, Puritan Movement, pp. 18-19.
150. Wood, Athenae Oxon., passim; Cooper, Athenae Cantab., passim; D.N.B.; D.W.B.; A.H. Dodd, 'Bishop Lewes Bayly c.1575-1631', Trans. Caerns. 1967, 16 ff.; S. Clark and P.T.J. Morgan, 'Religion and Magic in Elizabethan Wales: Robert Holland's Dialogue on Witchcraft', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 27 (1976), 31 ff.



## CHAPTER VI

### PART (ii) : RELIGIOUS CONFORMITY AND DISSENSION AT THE UNIVERSITIES AND INNS OF COURT

Since the universities, first and foremost, were ecclesiastical institutions, strict standards of discipline and morality were expected of their members, and both Crown and Church tried to ensure that these were kept. The tone of these places was all too often broken, however, by levity and loose living, and frequently the seniors, the regent masters, were poor examples for the undergraduates to follow. Lapses in moral behaviour and religious practice were viewed just as seriously as the disagreements about the fundamentals of doctrine.<sup>1</sup> The eschewal of the Lenten fasts, for example, was thought to be particularly grave,<sup>2</sup> and with the growing influence of secular students with secular values, more strenuous efforts were made to keep and uphold clerical ideals as well as enforcing doctrinal conformity.<sup>3</sup>

The means of teaching religion and theology remained basically the same throughout the period, but doctrinal orthodoxy changed according to the prevailing political and religious sympathies of the government. Thus, some Welsh theologians in the first half of the sixteenth century found themselves growing out of touch with the changing points of view, rather uncomfortably so in the case of William Glynn, who resigned his divinity professorship at Cambridge in 1549, and Richard Lorgan, divinity lecturer at Magdalen College, Oxford, 1527-36.<sup>4</sup>

Protestant ideas gained ground, often through the teaching of

continental thinkers, such as Peter Martyr,<sup>5</sup> and with the accession of Elizabeth, the universities witnessed the enforcement of the State religion<sup>6</sup> and also the growth of radical Protestantism, partly as a result of the influence of Calvinist theology. Episcopal organisation was subjected to criticism and there were heated controversies at Cambridge and Oxford about the nature of faith and salvation and the fundamental truth of the Scriptures.<sup>7</sup> Few Welsh scholars were at all active in such controversies. Indeed, most, including the probably most able of them, seem to have been hostile and were opposed to the severe radical opinions which the controversies encouraged.<sup>8</sup> The vying for influence of various streams of doctrinal thought, erastianism, puritanism and Anglo-Catholic scholasticism, was both stimulating and exhausting.<sup>9</sup>

There were obvious tensions that ensued from these religious debates and so the university authorities regularly attempted to set parameters on what was permissible, since a critical outlook in religion also had social and political implications. This was reflected, for example, in the regulations laid down by John Williams, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, formerly the Professor of Divinity, during his time as vice-Chancellor of the University, and which were apparently revived in 1608. The authority of the Church of England, he declared, was not to be challenged, and religious questions tending to raise doubts or schism were banned. Matters of doctrine based on personal faith as opposed to Catholic antiquity or custom, i.e. dogma, were to be avoided. Religious issues which reflected badly on former ecclesiastics or university founders were not allowed, while it was

also forbidden to deride foreign crowns and universities and to attack alliances made between England and foreign, presumably Catholic, countries. Such comprehensive, catch-all clauses, however, could not but make matters worse, either by stifling all debate, or, as was more likely in a society so bred on disputation, make many more matters graver and more controversial than they deserved to be.<sup>10</sup>

The leaders of the various doctrinal points of view at the universities made great and common use of the dialectical methods in their discourses and in their teaching, for it was often the case that the most zealous were also the most conscientious teachers, for example, William Perkins and John Overall.<sup>11</sup> There were considerable pressures on students to adhere to particular viewpoints and teachers, as John Williams found at St. John's, Cambridge, in the early seventeenth century.<sup>12</sup> Although the study of divinity at the universities included a broad range of authors, medieval scholastics, Protestant and Catholic apologists, as well as the Bible itself, it is clear that the writings of some of the continental reformers were particularly, perhaps inordinately, popular and influential, especially Peter Martyr, Zachary and Calvin.<sup>13</sup>

'True' religious values were inculcated in a variety of ways. Devoted and sincere tutors could exercise a considerable hold on impressionable students, for example, William Prichard, a zealous Protestant anti-Puritan, on David Baker at Oxford.<sup>14</sup> All college undergraduates had to undergo religious instruction as well as attend compulsory services. Colleges employed lecturers and catechists to instruct the youth in the approved faith, and several Welshmen gained

such posts, usually when they themselves were studying for divinity degrees, for example, Thomas Hutchins at Brasenose (1578/9), David Griffith (1595) and Richard Owen (1636), catechists at Oriel, Oxford, and William Rogers, catechist at St. John's, Cambridge (1643).<sup>15</sup>

Left to themselves, students could easily drift into apathy or to vague pantheism.<sup>16</sup> Others, however, were moved by a spirit of enthusiasm, more mystical than doctrinaire, to devote themselves to a religious life. George Herbert was a notable example,<sup>17</sup> and Robert Wynn of Gwydir, a close contemporary, seems to have undergone a similar conversion. Writing in 1611 he described his decision to give up worldly wants, and become God's servant, meditating on those 'heavenly joys and honours' which were offered those who did His will in 'true uprightnes and sincerity of mind.' He desired to stay at university and, given an equal share of the patrimony for security, would be content, unlike so many clergy always seeking benefices and creating hostility. The company of Cambridge theologians moved him much, a 'holy climate', as he later called it.<sup>18</sup>

The prospects for graduate clergy less well-supported than Wynn were undoubtedly variable, and Puritans at the end of the sixteenth century complained that graduates had limited preferment because benefices had been filled with inferior men.<sup>19</sup> Circumstances may have been easier for graduates who had been licensed to preach, and the universities themselves had powers to grant licences, usually to the ablest college fellows reading divinity. At Cambridge, in 1604-42, seven Welsh students and two of Welsh origin were so licensed, and they all received good preferment mostly in England, only two of these

clergymen, John Owen and William Roberts, eventually serving the Welsh Church to any great degree.<sup>20</sup>

The rôle of preaching within the Church had increased considerably by the early seventeenth century, often through the influence of Puritan divines, such as William Perkins, at the universities.<sup>21</sup> Sermons formed a major part in the inculcation of belief among students. The educational and moral value of sermons, it may be recalled,<sup>22</sup> was best achieved by commonplacing, as can be seen by reference to John Rogers's book which contains copious notes of Oxford sermons during the 1570s and 1580s. Among the preachers whose sermons were copied was his countryman, Rice Vaughan, who seems to have preached on topics of moral behaviour such as 'Be sober and watch', in which he analysed the value of fasting and sobriety and the eschewing of all excess. The sacramentalist interpretation of fasting, espoused by Catholics, was rejected, and the practice was justified by appeal to the Church Fathers. In tone and style, Vaughan's sermons bear certain of those qualities appertaining to the Puritan tradition: plain language and scriptural, rather than classical, allusions.<sup>23</sup>

Other sermons noted by Rogers related to Oxford Protestant divines, such as Toby Matthew in his encounter with the Catholic, Edmund Campion, Herbert Westfaling, later Bishop of Hereford and benefactor of Jesus College, and Edward Craddock, both of whom were onetime professors of divinity at the University. All three were in fact members of Rogers's own College, Christ Church.<sup>24</sup> Other university preachers on faith and practice were also quoted, John Sellar and Edward Bearblock, who was also of Christ Church.<sup>25</sup> Of the continental reformers, Peter Martyr,

Calvin and Tremellius were included, largely for their correspondence with English Protestants and their criticisms of the Roman Church. Edward Anne's verses against Catholicism were also included,<sup>26</sup> and, as if to indicate the direction of his own mind, Rogers also quoted from works by or about more radical Puritan writers at Oxford, largely on the doctrine of Divine retribution: Henry Robinson's commentary on Edward Dering, Nathaniel Baxter's epithets, Lawrence Humphrey, and the Ramist, John Barebone.<sup>27</sup>

A student would hear a variety of sermons at university, including sermons at the college chapels or churches, and University sermons at the University churches, St. Mary's, Oxford, and St. Mary's, Cambridge. Not that these sermons were always of good quality. Some young preachers were negligent or morally unworthy to declaim,<sup>28</sup> and although some, like John Williams, were conscientious, other seniors and fellows often nominated replacements. For example, Dr. Theodore Price's place at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1616, was filled by his friend, William Brynker, an M.A. and a Bangor ordinand.<sup>29</sup>

A variety of formal sermons were to be found, some established at colleges by private benefactions, for example, Sir Thomas Canon's annual sermon and communion at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1622.<sup>30</sup> Colleges had annual sermons laid down in their foundation statutes, such as the St. Mark's sermons of St. John's College, Cambridge, in which six Welsh fellows participated between the late sixteenth century and 1645.<sup>31</sup>

Public sermons held under the auspices of university authorities were occasions for acclaim for the preachers, as were those held during

royal visitations.<sup>32</sup> At Cambridge, the most prestigious of annual sermons were those given by the Lady Margaret Preacher at the University Church and in adjacent towns.<sup>33</sup> They could be occasions for controversy, and this was seen notably in the performance of the only Welsh preacher to hold this post, William Hughes, subsequently the Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1567. Difficulties arose over his interpretation of the doctrine of Christ's descent into Hell, a subject which had taxed the very best of the European reformers.<sup>34</sup> Since the objections to Hughes emanated from the town of Leicester, then a noted radical Puritan centre,<sup>35</sup> it may be inferred that the Preacher had given a conservative, not to say Catholic, interpretation. The matter was remarkable in that it dragged in leading University officials, such as Whitgift, then vice-Chancellor and Professor of Divinity, and leading statesmen, such as the Earl of Leicester and William Cecil, into determining what punishment Hughes should suffer.<sup>36</sup> There were obvious dangers that the matter might get out of hand and that the University, already long divided by disputes, would suffer further schism.<sup>37</sup> Although the Earl of Leicester sought to be conciliatory, it was clear that Hughes was recalcitrant towards the University authorities, assisted as he was by the support of his conservative patron, the Duke of Norfolk, to whom he was chaplain.<sup>38</sup> Cecil, as Chancellor of the University, finally intervened to curb further discussions of the matter, which had aroused so much heat, and in order to ensure that Hughes had a fair hearing, despite a very vocal Puritan element that included by then the new vice-Chancellor, Roger Kelke.<sup>39</sup> There the matter seems to have rested. Hughes seems to have conformed,

to have quietened, but otherwise was unpunished, while the doctrine of Descent itself remained insoluble to the Anglican Church throughout the years. This controversy, together with all the other antagonisms, led directly to the greater imposition of controls on the University membership, embodied in the Statutes of 1570, though again not without difficulties.<sup>40</sup>

#### Welsh Roman Catholics at the universities

Several Welshmen were taxed by the problems of doctrinal controversy as they occurred at the universities throughout the sixteenth century. Early on, in 1521, Dr. Edward Powell, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, had published a refutation of Luther and a defence of Catholic orthodoxy, for which he was thanked by the University. Powell remained fatally consistent in these views, unable to adjust to the great changes which overcame the realm and the University.<sup>41</sup> Another Oriel Fellow, Morgan Phillips from Monmouthshire, who had disputed with Peter Martyr in 1549, was similarly unable to adjust,<sup>42</sup> and in that same year, Dr. William Glynn, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, defended Catholic doctrine before the Edwardian Visitors. He was in a minority, and he soon departed his post, re-emerging under Mary to be one of the divines to dispute Catholic truths at Oxford,<sup>43</sup> where his contemporaries, John Gwynedd and Morus Clynog, were already active.<sup>44</sup>

With the accession of Elizabeth, many Oxford scholars departed and/or went into exile, including several of the ablest Welshmen, Phillips, Clynog, Gruffydd Robert and Owen Lewis. The fruit of this migration was the establishment of the continental seminaries in which the Welsh, somewhat uncomfortably, co-operated.<sup>45</sup> In the meantime, the Catholic presence



at the universities, particularly at Oxford, continued, with Gloucester Hall being a significant centre.<sup>46</sup> Until the 1580s, the obligations of subscribing to the Anglican Church were only laxly applied at the universities,<sup>47</sup> so that it was possible for many Catholics to continue their studies before departing to the European seminaries, for example, Thomas Crowther, John Meredith, Rowland Morgan, Francis Edwards and John Nicholls.<sup>48</sup> Other Catholics may have conformed while they attended Oxford, for example, Robert Gwyn and, possibly, Robert Pugh.<sup>49</sup>

During the 1570s, however, a more serious view was taken of the Catholic presence at the universities in the light of the worsening international position. The recusant returns of 1577 did not indicate the presence of many Welsh student recusants at the universities. Edward Price, B.C.L., was removed from his fellowship at Oriel College, but nonetheless stayed at Oxford, becoming head of New Inn Hall, where many Welshmen attended, during the 1580s. In the country there were a few Welsh graduates and students still loyal to the old faith, but they were the overt loyalists.<sup>50</sup> The Catholic presence at Oxford persisted, given that private tuition was available, for example, under Dr. John Case, who tutored several young Welshmen, particularly from Catholic Monmouthshire.<sup>51</sup> Private schooling in Wales may well have prepared Welsh Catholics for university,<sup>52</sup> but in the 1580s, as circumstances became more difficult, youths such as Arthur Stradling, and George Williams of Jesus College, Oxford, both from Glamorgan, sought ways of going secretly abroad, often to attend the seminaries.<sup>53</sup> It became the case that university students who became reconciled to

Roman Catholicism gave up their places and fellowships and went into exile, for example, John Owen, John Roberts and John Jones in the 1590s.<sup>54</sup> Oxford, which had earlier succoured recusants, had by then become a dangerous place, as was seen by the executions in 1589, which for the Welsh were a pointed warning since one of the victims was Humphrey ap Richard, a town servant.<sup>55</sup>

At Cambridge, whence Richard Gwyn had departed, following the expulsion of his mentor, Dr. Bullock, the Master of St. John's, recusancy was less obvious, though Gonville Hall, re-founded by Dr. John Caius, was an important focal point early in Elizabeth's reign. The Welsh found little room here at this College, as will be explained below, and their far smaller numbers meant that they were largely subsumed into general conformity. Catholic activity, nevertheless, persisted here, as at Oxford, and during the reign of James I, Jesuits were prominent in propounding their faith and debating with members of the University, including, for example, John Roberts of Trinity.<sup>56</sup>

Although Catholic laymen from Wales continued to attend the universities, or rather, Oxford University, throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,<sup>57</sup> it is clear that youths who really had a vocation for the Catholic priesthood mostly went directly overseas to the seminaries, particularly if they came from staunch recusant families. Indeed, of the hundred seminary priests produced by Wales and the marches during the reign of Elizabeth, only seven can be found to have attended the English universities.<sup>58</sup> A similar pattern obtained during the first half of the seventeenth century. Recruits

from traditionally Catholic families in Wales went direct to the English College, Rome, having been educated initially in private households, or at St. Omer.<sup>59</sup> In the case of recruits from non-Catholic families,<sup>60</sup> however, and they increased in proportion during the period, they first accepted public grammar education at schools such as Abergavenny, Hawarden, Beaumaris, Cowbridge, Carmarthen, Shrewsbury and Westminster before going into exile. In a few instances, they had also attended Oxford and Cambridge, and as a matter of course, almost, their reports informed that their experiences there had been worthless.<sup>61</sup>

It was the case, nevertheless, that Welsh Catholic literature in this period was the product of men who had attended the English universities, in addition to having been inspired by the ideals of the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation: Robert Gwyn at Douai,<sup>62</sup> and Roger Smyth, Morus Clynnog and Gruffydd Robert in Milan.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, it was the Oxford educated among the Welsh Catholics who also contributed to Counter-Reformation literature in England, notably the Benedictines David (Augustine) Baker and John Leander Jones.<sup>64</sup>

#### Welsh Puritans and the Universities

The intellectual struggle in religion at the universities involved also a radical Protestantism, Puritanism, which, though, by implication, was also concerned with socio-economic matters, dealt primarily with seeking to complete the doctrinal and organisational changes within the Anglican Church, notably by emphasising matters of salvation, faith and grace and the need to relate such doctrines by popular preaching within a more secularly based Church of believers and opposing the existing tradition of episcopal and hierarchical authority.<sup>65</sup>

Comparatively few Welshmen during the reign of Elizabeth seem to have embraced the radical implications of Calvinist and reform theology generally while at university. Cambridge scholars led the van in this, and there, Henry Holland at Magdalene felt some of this influence and John Penry, his near-contemporary, at Peterhouse, experienced it more fully. Both belonged to the second generation of Puritan activists at Cambridge and Penry was at a college which had long been the focal point of controversy, for example, over Church vestments.<sup>66</sup> Like many university Puritans, Penry seems to have absorbed the critical logic of Ramus,<sup>67</sup> and when he incorporated at Oxford in 1586, that University, too, had undergone radicalisation and subsequently he followed many other Oxford Puritans by beginning his preaching ministry in the security of radical Northamptonshire.<sup>68</sup> His views on the importance of a preaching ministry did not go unopposed at the universities, where Anglican scholars and moderate Puritans attempted to refute his sweeping condemnations of the inadequacies of the then existing priestly order, attacks which were also directed, of course, with point, at the Church in Wales.<sup>69</sup>

Penry was not the first Welsh Puritan produced at the universities but he was notable for his increasingly extreme and separatist views. Preceding him at Cambridge, belonging to the earlier generation of Elizabethan Puritans, was Thomas Roberts, reputedly from Merionethshire. A Fellow both of Queens' and of Corpus Christi Colleges, he would have been influenced by some of the most prominent and able radicals there, notably Robert Some.<sup>70</sup> Roberts never received, and probably never sought, preferment in Wales, and his post-university career was confined to the

diocese of Norwich, where he became archdeacon, and in the 1570s fell foul of his superiors for organising puritan classes and preachers and for asserting that Scripture alone was the basis for the Church's authority. Although politically loyal, Roberts and his fellows continued to be in trouble during the 1580s.<sup>71</sup>

Although the progress of Puritanism was apparently slower at Oxford, it had considerable intellectual influence by the 1570s and there is sufficient detail to indicate that the Welshman, John Rogers of Christ Church, came under its influence, perhaps among the first of his compatriots to do so. He preceded Penry at Oxford and unlike the latter seems to have remained successfully within the Anglican order. Like Roberts and Penry, after graduating, he never returned to Wales but went to Northamptonshire.

His student life, curiously, was helped by William Hughes, the aforesaid Bishop of St. Asaph,<sup>72</sup> and Rogers was fired with Protestant zeal at an early stage. In 1581, a draft letter to an unnamed cleric in his homeland who had tutored him took the latter to task for neglecting his parishioners. While it might seem, wrote Rogers, like the lamb teaching the sheep, he wrote only out of respect and concern that the Lord's task be done and the flock be not led astray. The cleric had been remiss and had taken his texts from Ovid rather than the Bible.<sup>73</sup>

Rogers, after graduating B.A. in 1584/5, retained some links with Oxford to graduate M.A. in 1590, by which time he had been ordained and beneficed. Though ordained by the Catholic sympathizer, Bishop Bullingham,<sup>74</sup> Rogers's notebook shows sufficient sign of a strong devotion to Protestantism and not merely in the sermons he had copied.

His notes include a catechism prepared 'to be learned of youthe before they be admitted to the Lordes Table', in which he emphasised Christ's redemption, election to salvation and the irresistible power of grace. On baptism and communion Rogers followed the Thirty-Nine Articles closely, and he stressed the importance of prayer 'to encrease our faythe'.<sup>75</sup>

Rogers's involvement in Puritanism advanced when he became minister of Chacombe, Northamptonshire,<sup>76</sup> only a few miles from the Banbury seat of Sir Anthony Cope, a leading Puritan parliamentarian, imprisoned in 1586 for his proposals to presbyterianise the Church.<sup>77</sup> Rogers's link with Cope is indicated by a letter of spiritual guidance given to a lady-in-waiting in that household, filled with copious quotations from the New Testament, stressing personal faith and salvation.<sup>78</sup>

Rogers's views are further revealed in a separate collection of his sermons prepared between 1586 and 1594 encompassing the subjects typical of Puritan preaching: anti-Catholicism, the conscientious and painful meditation on personal salvation, the symbolism of the Communion, and the keeping of the Sabbath day.<sup>79</sup> His presence at Chacombe means that Rogers served contemporaneously with Penry in Northamptonshire and must have belonged to the classis movement. One Rogers was listed among the ministers for the Daventry group and Chacombe was within that area.<sup>80</sup> Though Rogers is an illustrious name in Puritan annals, especially in East Anglia,<sup>81</sup> only John Rogers's career fits convincingly to the time and place here described. This Rogers, moreover, would have been assisted by Oxford contemporaries:

Thomas Stone of Christ Church at Yattering, John Barebone at Daventry; and finally, as an indication of the man's views, one may note that his son, also Oxford educated, became an outright separatist.<sup>82</sup>

By the end of the sixteenth century there were signs that Puritan ideas were entering Wales, and that university-educated clergy were responsible. Puritan ideas of a fairly mild and moral tone were reflected in the writings of Huw Iewys, a Caernarvonshire cleric,<sup>83</sup> and, at the start of the seventeenth century, William Wroth, like Rogers an alumnus of Christ Church, was a proponent of the preaching ministry in south-east Wales. He influenced several Oxford educated, but unbeneficed, Welsh clergymen who developed separatist views: William Erbery, Richard Symonds, and Henry Walter.<sup>84</sup>

Oxford was a common bond uniting several other Welsh Puritans during the first half of the seventeenth century: Oliver Thomas of Hart Hall, Ambrose Mostyn at Brasenose, and Vavasor Powell and Jenkin Jones of Jesus College. George Griffith came under clear radical influences at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and was later a member of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, another major Puritan centre.<sup>85</sup> Erbery was an early influence on Christopher Love and helped the latter gain a place at New Inn Hall, Oxford, also a Puritan stronghold. A poor scholar, he was maintained by both Erbery and the College fellows, enabling him to read divinity and to secure himself in radical views, presbyterianism, which brought him expulsion by the Congregation of the University in 1642.<sup>86</sup>

Many of these radicals, like Penry and Rogers before, served in England or overseas, rather than in Wales. This was the case with

Erbery, Griffith, and Love, and also of Marmaduke Matthews of All Souls, and Sampson Lort of Wadham, yet another Puritan college, though with the Civil Wars and the Protectorate, many returned to evangelise in their homeland.<sup>87</sup>

Cambridge Puritanism was less influential in Wales. Welsh students were fewer and possibly more select than at Oxford and the ideology probably made less of an impact on them. In addition, the extremism of Elizabethan Puritanism at Cambridge had induced a reaction by the early seventeenth century, as illustrated by the experiences of Godfrey Goodman at Trinity College, who veered increasingly towards Romanism, and the sacramentalism of bishop-designate, William Dolben.<sup>88</sup> Puritanism, nevertheless, was still quite formidable and the influence of its ideology and activity is reflected in the will of Richard Fletcher of Bangor. His library, as was observed before, included radical continental and Ramist influences, while his bequests indicate links with the Puritan group.<sup>89</sup> Two of his beneficiaries, in particular, stand out, Thomas Hooker of Queens' and Emmanuel, the controversialist, and John Preston of Queens', the powerful preacher.<sup>90</sup> Further, Fletcher was also associated with Jeffrey Watts of Emmanuel, whose clerical career indicated moderate Puritan sympathies as well as loyalty to the Anglican Church.<sup>91</sup> Older acquaintances may have had such sympathies, too, for example, Dr. Robert King, lecturer at Chester, and John Owen, later the Bishop of St. Asaph, an incumbent in Northamptonshire.<sup>92</sup>

Cambridge Puritanism also impressed Julines Herring, a member of Sidney Sussex College, another radical centre, who had some tenuous



links with Wales and the borders, and Elisha Rowland of Anglesey, a yeoman's son, at St. John's, who became a notable presbyterian in north-west Wales during the Commonwealth and thereafter.<sup>93</sup>

The universities during the Civil War and Commonwealth

Although Puritanism made notable advances among Welsh students, its adherents were in by far a minority. Among Welsh students and university-educated clergy there was a general conservatism and loyalty to the Anglican establishment, such that, with the progress of the Civil War and Commonwealth, an uncomfortable fate was faced. Loss of benefice and ejection was a frequent occurrence in the case of the graduate clergy,<sup>94</sup> accentuated in a few cases by imprisonment, as in the case of Dr. David Lloyd, or exile, as with William Lewis, former Provost of Oriel College.<sup>95</sup> Some graduates kept a precarious hold on a living, for example, William Langford, educated at Brasenose College, who tried to minister as carefully as possible.<sup>96</sup> Some ejected graduates were retained as schoolmasters under the Propagation Act of 1650,<sup>97</sup> many more kept private schools.<sup>98</sup> The removal of the well-educated clergy as preachers was not compensated for by able replacements, even though many of the Welsh radicals returned and a few Anglican clergy, such as Dr. John Ellis, acquiesced and co-operated.<sup>99</sup>

The War years and after also disrupted the universities and their constituent colleges. Both universities formally declared their loyalty to Charles I, and many colleges, including poor ones such as Jesus College, Oxford, made expensive gifts of silver plate and money to the royal cause. Between 1643 and 1645, Oxford was a royal

headquarters before its surrender to Parliamentary forces.

Parliamentary control of Cambridge, however, was established much earlier, in 1643, and between 1644 and 1646, all members who refused to swear an oath to the Covenant were ejected and had their belongings sequestrated. The close regulation of Oxford occurred later with a full Visitation being established in 1647. There was a far greater resistance and hostility to Parliamentary authority there than at Cambridge, though both institutions suffered further investigations and dismissals from 1649 to 1654.<sup>100</sup>

Welsh members of the Oxford colleges had largely been loyal to Charles I to the point in at least one case of informing on the disloyalty of others.<sup>101</sup> The prospect of a Visitation in 1647 was faced with both apprehension, and stoicism. George Stradling, for example, awaited the 'Tormentors', anticipating that they would be as troublesome as his Lenten dish of green fish. 'Yet neither ill diet nor Conventicles can Kill us, we live still and as merrily as ever.'<sup>102</sup>

The Visitation had some acute implications. The Visitors required that each college nominate delegates to inform on their members' religious and political loyalties, and Stradling, one such nominee for All Souls, explained his dilemma of having to comply because he had taken an oath to serve the University. He looked for a way to co-operate while yet denying that Parliament had any ultimate **sanction** over the affairs of the University.<sup>103</sup> In the end, Stradling, in common with most of the endowed Welsh members of the colleges, refused to submit and departed the University. The great

majority of Jesus College members, for example, resisted. Of the ten fellows expelled, seven were Welshmen, and only one of the four fellows who submitted to Parliamentary authority came from the Principality, James Vaughan. The senior members of the College were intransigent to the Visitors, who were led by the Earl of Pembroke, the College's legitimate Visitor, particularly Philip Flower from Monmouthshire and the Principal, Francis Mansel, Pembroke's own kinsman. Some of the younger members equivocated and finally submitted and retained their places, for example, Thomas Morgan, Lewis Williams and Thomas Ellis.<sup>104</sup>

Welshmen of seniority at other colleges were as hostile as Mansel to Parliament. The four fellows at All Souls, including Stradling, were all expelled, one, Oliver Lloyd, having long fled.<sup>105</sup> John Edwards, Fellow at Christ Church, was also removed, and younger Welsh members such as Edmund Hall of Christ Church and John Evans of Balliol, as well as some Welsh servants, were also dismissed or were deprived because of obvious absences.<sup>106</sup>

The conformists amongst the Welsh members were far fewer, four or five at the most. Thomas Jones at Merton belonged to one of the most sympathetic and Puritan of college societies, and his motivation seems obvious. Two others from the College were also probably from Wales and, significantly, they were intruded into the fellowships vacated at loyalist Jesus College, as was Charles Edwards of All Souls, who also conformed, again a man of Puritan sympathies.<sup>107</sup>

There was a general policy of intruding new men, often Cambridge graduates, into vacant Oxford fellowships and scholarships. Despite

the disruption, scholarship and discipline were not greatly affected or harmed. By the mid-1650s, with a greater degree of toleration, former fellows and Anglican sympathisers reappeared, for example, at Jesus College. That College faced difficulties not so much of an ideological nature but financial, as a result of disrupted revenues, and social, as a result of a rapid turnover in memberships, particularly of fellows, who were nominated to preacherships in Wales. These difficulties, together with a disputed principalship which Mansel, having returned to Oxford in 1651 initially to teach in a private capacity, continued to claim, upset the College, though it and other Oxford colleges had recovered the number of undergraduates by c.1654-5.<sup>108</sup>

The recovery of post-war conditions was also reflected in the attempts of those expelled to re-start their studies. George Stradling, for example, who had entered the service of a man of note in London, possibly Gilbert Sheldon, the Restoration Archbishop of Canterbury, returned to Oxford during the 1650s to organise his affairs. He hoped to recover his neglected studies, but confessed that Oxford had changed. Radical religion was still pervasive, and Stradling could persuade himself he was at a university but for that:

'Yet there wants not enough of Divinity, for every man is now a preacher, which makes me thinke of an other course of study and applying my selfe to the Civill Law ... '.

Good books and Dr. Ayleworth's direction were available to him for that purpose,<sup>109</sup> though, in the end, he must have persisted with theology and at the Restoration was relieved with an honorary D.D. and patronage by Sheldon.<sup>110</sup>

At Cambridge, though Welshmen were far fewer, the circumstances of the Civil War and after induced largely a similar loyalty, and Welshmen, particularly fellows, had departed or were expelled after the ordinance of 1644 demanding the oath to the Covenant. At St. John's, the Welsh fellows had already decamped. William Morgan, for example, did not return after joining the royal forces in 1642, even though he qualified for the M.A. the following year.<sup>111</sup>

William Bodwrda, a senior fellow, no doubt anticipated the changes to come and departed for his native Caernarvonshire with his books and leaving only a few items of furniture, worth £3. 18s. 8d., to be seized.<sup>112</sup> By 1645 probably all six Welshmen, who were fellows at St. John's at the start of the War, had been officially ejected, and in all, about a third of all Cambridge fellows were ejected or had left.<sup>113</sup> The War had also prevented Thomas Edwards from taking up his Fellowship at Queens', and he had to wait until 1660 to return.<sup>114</sup>

The radical changes did bring conformity on the part of at least two Welshmen, however. Rice Thomas, a Scholar of Peterhouse, in fact gained a Fellowship there, which he held until 1651, and Andrew Owen, a Fellow at Trinity Hall of long standing, trimmed, and retained his post throughout the Commonwealth period and during the Restoration.<sup>115</sup> It was a notable achievement, given that the religious changes at Cambridge were considerable, and at Cambridge, more perhaps than at Oxford, the tradition of religious and social radicalism gave vent to doubts about the whole nature of knowledge and the authority of the universities as valid centres of intellectual enquiry. Radicals and mystics, such as William Dell, Master of Caius, and George Fox, heatedly

attacked the universities as havens for false prophets, the non-elect.<sup>116</sup>

Oxford University, as the more conservative and loyalist institution, soon felt the lash of these attacks as well as the general heat of radical religious debate. Between 1645 and 1647, and in the 1650s, a regular series of controversial sermons were given there, for example, the conflicting viewpoints over faith and Church government between Dell and Christopher Love, an advocate of strict presbyterianism. Love, it was, who called for a major reorganisation of the universities in order to produce an effective structured preaching clergy. Such centralised tendencies, conflicting with the ideas of personal meditation and belief, were repugnant to more radical men like Dell and William Erbery, Love's old mentor.<sup>117</sup> Erbery himself, however, had little love for the universities, echoing the views of other mystical thinkers, that they were irreligious and inordinately privileged institutions that required drastic change.<sup>118</sup> In these respects, his views were also echoed by Vavasor Powell, who attacked Oxford in particular as an institution of little value in the chief task of evangelising and, indeed, as one which actively fostered papist and Anglican views.<sup>119</sup>

Powell, unlike Erbery, at least believed in an organised ministry and his efforts to promote schools and preachers under the Propagation Act in Wales failed because of the shortage of teachers and inadequate training, made worse by expulsions and ejections.<sup>120</sup> This deep-seated problem resulted in notions and schemes, unrepeated thereafter until the nineteenth century, of establishing an institution of higher learning in Wales itself. John Lewis of Glasgrug, Cardiganshire, a middling squire, was an early advocate, and between 1657 and 1659, with the conforming

Dr. John Ellis of Dolgellau and Richard Baxter, the Shropshire presbyterian, he made a determined effort to establish a viable institution. The prospects of some local patronage were good, though there were considerable difficulties in deciding on a location convenient for all of Wales and on devising a means of weakening the monopoly of teaching possessed by Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>121</sup>

Although such a scheme in many ways embodied long held wishes for improving the quality of the Welsh clergy and for also fulfilling the desire for a 'National Seminary' even surpassing the contribution of Jesus College, Oxford, it failed to draw the support of all learned men in Wales. The activities of the radical and mystical Puritans, together with their attitude towards education, raised too many doubts and fears in too many minds, encapsulated in the views of the Anglican, Dr. George Griffith, who predicted that a Welsh 'University' would likely be manned by irrationalists such as Powell and Ambrose Mostyn.<sup>122</sup> Thus, the scheme went by default as even Ellis's ardour failed. Higher education and religious training for Wales after the Restoration were to continue to be centred at Oxford and Cambridge and this was to be the case for over two more centuries. However, that other product of the universities, Puritanism, in its most uncompromising form as displayed by Mostyn, Marmaduke Matthews and Elisha Rowland, took root in Wales despite the Anglican settlement, to maintain firmly a dissenting presence.<sup>123</sup>

#### Religion at the Inns of Court

Being centred at London, the inns of court also experienced the various cross-currents of religious, as well as social and political

influences. The dense urban environment, the many commercial, professional and governmental activities, all provided the opportunities for religious practice and dissent. London's printing and book trades provided for the needs of literate men throughout the kingdom, including Wales, where gentry such as Sir John Wynn sent orders for the latest works of religion and devotion prepared by Anglican authors.<sup>124</sup>

Though the inns did not have the characteristics of seminaries, their members were soon recipients of reform ideas. During the 1530s and 1540s these ideas gained ground in advance of the change of attitude and belief among those in authority, the benchers. Protestant groups were found among the membership of all the inns by the 1550s, though none seems to have included Welsh students. That at the Inner Temple, however, did include Richard Pates, who later held many legal posts in South Wales.<sup>125</sup> Enthusiasm for reform ideas must only have applied to a minority, and what characterised the majority, as at the universities, was conformity, quietism and even apathy. Protestant ideas were supported by the younger members and the more junior benchers and other practising London lawyers, and under the reign of Elizabeth there was not only a greater degree of conformity to the new Anglican order, but more genuine conviction regarding it also.<sup>126</sup>

Enthusiasm for the reformed religion was not common to all. Apathy and continued conservatism in religion persisted and became more obvious as benchers, under government pressure, tried to measure the degree of devotion and conformity. David Baker attested to the apathetic experience, for he believed that his time at the inns studying law, a 'terrene study', merely deepened that loss of belief which had started at Oxford.<sup>127</sup> The



benchers, meanwhile, had increased the numbers of orders and regulations in an attempt to enforce more regular attendance at church services and the taking of communion.<sup>128</sup>

During the early seventeenth century, further efforts were made to enforce attendance, a difficult task, given the frequent absences of members from commons and the secular pressures in the capital. At Lincoln's Inn in 1605, Hugh Hughes of Anglesey was one of three benchers appointed to a committee to investigate the serious proportion of absences from services among the membership, including the assessment of the religious convictions of the absentees. At the same inn, in 1615, William Jones was one of the benchers given the task of completing an alike investigation into religious neglect.<sup>129</sup> Similar problems presented themselves at other inns, for example, the Middle Temple, and the Privy Council itself was anxious about such irregular behaviour.<sup>130</sup> Such anxiety endured throughout the remaining period before 1642 as persistent neglect of religious devotion became a much criticised feature of life at the inns.<sup>131</sup>

In the sixteenth century an attendant problem to absenteeism from services, and especially communion, was the fact that loyalty to Roman Catholicism was strong among a minority of the law students. Religious conservatism had been particularly ardent before Elizabeth's reign, though it is difficult to identify the attitude of those few Welsh members then attending. In the conservative element among the senior members, however, during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, were the Monmouthshire lawyers, Thomas Atkins and Sir Richard Morgan.<sup>132</sup> Of the junior Welsh members of the inns, who were beginning to appear

in larger numbers by the 1550s, little is known, though one may suspect that, given family loyalties, men such as Edward Kemes, Edward Stradling and Thomas Madryn at the Inner Temple held sympathies for Roman Catholicism. Indeed, the high proportion of Welsh admissions at the Inner Temple in 1556 and 1557, and the marked fall at the accession of Elizabeth, strongly suggests that some Welshmen found conditions under the Old Faith more congenial.<sup>133</sup>

The Catholic presence at the inns was tolerated, if not accepted, during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign and there was little effort made to enforce conformity as was to be found at some of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. The poorness of church attendance was a feature and it had some relation to recusancy.<sup>134</sup> Several Welshmen of established or suspected Catholic sympathies were admitted during the 1560s. John Salisbury, for instance, following a period at Winchester, entered the Inner Temple in 1561, and Robert Pugh of Penrhyn Creuddyn, Caernarvonshire, following a period at Balliol and Furnival's Inn, seems to have been a member of the Middle Temple in 1567. A probable contemporary of Pugh at the Temple was Lewis Barlow of Pembrokeshire, later to become a Douai priest and missionary.<sup>135</sup>

Suspected Catholic practices at the Inner Temple at this time finally induced the Lords of the Council in 1569 to intervene and investigate all forms of lapses and unorthodox religious activity there. Three members were reported and ordered to appear before the Bishop of London and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, one of whom was John Lewis of Llynwene, Radnorshire. None appeared, and because of their long absenteeism from services and commons, they were expelled.

Further investigations revealed eleven others suspected of recusancy, including James Morgan of Monmouthshire, a member of long standing. They, too, failed to come forward to be reconciled and were, thus, expelled.<sup>136</sup> No more was heard of Morgan, but Lewis eventually conformed to the Anglican Church when he sought readmission in 1580, in particular promising the Bishop of London to attend communion services at least twice a year.<sup>137</sup>

The recusancy returns of 1577 also showed the persistence of sympathy for the Old Faith at the inns, though they tended to exaggerate the position by including suspects who had already departed, the discontinuers, or those who had been expelled or gone into exile. Thus, among the Inner Temple names were both Morgan and Lewis: 'discontinuers but whyles they continued in our house were vehemently suspected ...'. Also included was David Stradling from the leading recusant family in Glamorgan, counted with those who, 'whyles they continued were much noted and yet are to our Knowledge vehemently to be suspected'.<sup>138</sup>

Notwithstanding the inclusion of those members long departed, and the lack of clarity in distinguishing between actual recusants and those who were just suspected (occasional attenders at services), it was clear that a significant proportion of the inns' members were pro-Catholic. At Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple, over 15 per cent had such sympathies.<sup>139</sup> Relatively few of the Welsh members were named directly so that the majority may be assumed to have conformed sufficiently to assuage most doubters. Yet, since the Inner Temple was then probably the most popular inn for the Welsh and was governed by conforming, as opposed to zealously reformist, benchers, it may be assumed

that their private convictions were not inordinately taxed. Only one resident Welshman at the Inner Temple came under suspicion; Puleston, probably Edward Puleston, of Allington, Denbighshire, classed among the suspects.<sup>140</sup> No Welsh suspects seem to have been named at the inns of chancery, nor at Lincoln's Inn or the Middle Temple.<sup>141</sup> Gray's Inn contained a family group of Welsh suspects, again from north-east Wales, 'who be not knowen to us to come to church', Ralph, John and Humphrey Hanmer. The latter was a member of long standing and may have acted as tutor and adviser to the other two. His Catholic faith was in no doubt, for he became a seminary priest at Rheims in 1582 and later came on mission to England, and by the early seventeenth century, to South Wales.<sup>142</sup>

The part played by older members in influencing the religious loyalties of young students was no doubt important, but is difficult to trace. There were at this time no native Welsh benchers, but others of the inns' governors had links with Wales and the Welsh gentry, which would have been sufficient to be an influence in the lives of Welsh students: Thomas Egerton of Cheshire, for example, a Catholic sympathiser, or Thomas Owen of Shrewsbury and John Popham, who had ties with Glamorgan, who were both convinced Protestants.<sup>143</sup>

Although Anglicanism and general Protestant influences developed at the inns later in Elizabeth's reign, Catholic activity continued.<sup>144</sup> Monmouthshire men, for example, were among recusants imprisoned in London in 1592, Polydore Morgan of Gray's Inn and William Williams of the Inner Temple. The former had been associated with Thomas Morgan, servant of Mary, Queen of Scots.<sup>145</sup> Yet, after 1600, Catholic activity

was less strong, or overt, at the inns,<sup>146</sup> and many must have assumed a cloak of conformity. This must have been the case for those few Welsh law students who eventually became seminarists. John Roberts of Furnival's Inn and Philip Powell of the Temple were only converted after they had gone abroad.<sup>147</sup> George Morgan, when he studied law, actually lapsed from his Catholicism, and David Lewis appeared a normal conformist when he was in London.<sup>148</sup> A Catholic lawyer, such as Edward Lloyd of the Inner Temple, could prosper and practise, but political rashness and indiscretion were severely punished.<sup>149</sup> A greater tolerance of the Catholic religion, however, under Charles I and the Court provided an atmosphere for the continued proselytising for the Old Faith, and it made itself felt among some of the inns' law students, such as Edmund Floyd at Gray's Inn.<sup>150</sup>

The major trend in religion at the inns of court was towards securing the Protestant faith and preferably the rôle of the Anglican order. The lax and tolerant atmosphere of the inns during the mid-sixteenth century partly emanated from the fact that the chaplains maintained by the inns were too badly remunerated, unlearned, and conservative to propound actively reform doctrine with enthusiasm and to attack papism.<sup>151</sup> During Elizabeth's reign, an increased emphasis was placed on employing regular preachers of better education, and the inns gradually responded to the need by appointing orthodox Anglicans like Hooker, Corro and Dr. Griffith Lewis, and more radical ministers, such as Travers, Charke and Crooke.<sup>152</sup> The benchers at Lincoln's Inn were the keenest and most active in supporting such men and it was there that Puritanism made its greatest impact, culminating in the appointment

of John Preston from Cambridge. Although this inn was popular with Welsh students, there is nothing to show that they were radicalised. However, its influence in securing members' adherence to the Protestant Faith as embodied in Anglicanism, cannot be under-estimated, guaranteed by benchers such as Hugh Hughes and William Jones. The Puritan influences of Lincoln's Inn, as at the universities, were dampened by episcopal pressures, particularly when Laud was Bishop of London, and that influenced the choice of preachers. No risks, it was felt, could be afforded with the religious influences on men who would be the state's local administrators and justices. Anglican practices, and those alone, were acceptable.<sup>153</sup>

The religious views of the vast majority of the inns' members cannot be detected and it must be assumed that they conformed to the Church order. Welsh lawyers of eminence at the inns, like Hughes, Jones or Walter Rumsey of Gray's Inn, were largely uncontroversial men and worked to preserve conformity at their inns. Rumsey, indeed, was actively committed to the Anglican Church, as were a few others among the senior Welsh lawyers, like Sir Eubule Thelwall, Sir Thomas Trevor, and Edward Herbert, who helped prosecute the radical Puritans, Prynne, Bastwick and Burton.<sup>154</sup> John Lloyd of the Inner Temple was another zealous Protestant and loyal Anglican, and was patron to the Catholic apostate and anti-Jesuit writer, Lewis Owen.<sup>155</sup>

The one senior Welsh lawyer who seems to have had Catholic sympathies belonged to an earlier generation, David Williams of Ystrad Fellte, Breconshire. His career as a judge was coloured by

some religious controversy and it is likely that it was to this Williams that the anonymous Puritan commentator on the inns of court referred in the late 1570s, 'Papist welthie, smalie lerned, well practised'.<sup>156</sup>

During the seventeenth century Puritanism was the greater risk and various forms of indiscipline seem to have borne within them the characteristics of religious challenge, as well as resistance to the benchers' control. The wearing of hats at various places in the inns, including the chapels, in breach of regulations, was a notable action. Thus, at the Middle Temple in 1617, forty-six members, including a Welshman named Lloyd, were put out of commons for the offence.<sup>157</sup> Fasting regulations were also infringed, as when John Puleston led nine barristers at the Middle Temple in calling for flesh on a fast day. He was fined and put out of commons.<sup>158</sup> Significantly, Puleston was to take a Puritan wife, and he actively co-operated with the Commonwealth government, especially in Wales. In a similar fashion, John Glynne of Glynllifon, Caernarvonshire, was also active for religious changes after 1642, being a notable supporter of presbyterianism, and his Puritan sympathies may have had an earlier origin at the inns of court.<sup>159</sup>

Of all the Welsh lawyers and students at the inns, the most active for the Puritan cause before and during the Civil War was John White of Pembrokeshire, a member of the Middle Temple, and later a Bencher. He had worked as a feoffee buying impropriations to finance lectureships, and as an M.P. in 1640 launched severe attacks on the Church and the clergy. In 1643, he was signatory to two House of Commons

Orders which altered religious practice at the Temple. One order called for the removal of all ornaments, rails and crosses at the Temple Church and for the resetting of the altar on level ground. The second order suspended all payments to the then officiating clergy at the church.<sup>160</sup>

No other Welsh lawyer can be so easily identified in terms of his religious sympathy. Most Welsh lawyers probably sided with the King and therefore also with the Anglican Church. Certainly the Civil War had a disastrous effect on the inns. Admissions fell sharply and there were practically none from Wales between 1643 and 1647-8. The inns as teaching centres were already weak and the disruptions of the War further harmed that function. Unlike the universities, though, they presented no threat in terms of propounding unacceptable religious ideologies and so they were not as harshly attacked by radical Puritans as the universities were.

The Puritan radicals did, however, attack the nature and purpose of the law and its application, and the inns were criticised for facilitating such an unjust system.<sup>161</sup> This brought hardly any response from lawyers in Wales except the Parliamentarian, Rice Vaughan, who took a conservative view. The uncertainties that this attack created, together with the continual sympathies for the Crown and Church, made Welshmen doubtful about returning to the inns. Well-established lawyers were particularly cautious. Thus, six of the thirty members of the Inner Temple, whose goods were sequestered at the end of the War, came from Wales, five of whom being barristers.<sup>162</sup> At Lincoln's Inn, two Welsh barristers were threatened with sequestration, but they may have been reprieved.<sup>163</sup>



Some Welsh lawyers of a definite political and religious loyalty, such as Edward Herbert and David Jenkins, were long absent from the inns. Others were more attuned to changing events. Thus, Henry Wynn of Gwydir was not among those whose goods were sequestered at the Inner Temple in 1646 and though it appears that he did not immediately fulfil his nomination as Bencher in 1647, he was certainly practising law in London by 1650, if not before. Moreover, his son, John, who first entered the Inner Temple in 1645-6, was among the first crop of Welsh entrants to reappear at the inns, together with others who must have recommenced their studies, after the worst period of the War, and he studied and practised law there throughout the Commonwealth and Interregnum.<sup>164</sup>

Gradually, after 1650, the presence of Welsh students at the inns of court was restored, illustrating the outlook of most Welsh students throughout the years, of being prepared to conform to higher religious and governmental authority whenever possible. They could not escape becoming embroiled at times, just as they could not escape all manner of internal conflicts and rivalries at the inns and colleges, concerning power and interest rather than religion, which often had wider repercussions.

## CHAPTER VI : PART (ii) - NOTES

1. L. and P., Henry VIII, XVI, 1540, 752; W. Laud, Works (1853), V, i, 47-49, 237, 245; H.A. Wilson, Magdalen College (1899), p. 107.
2. Izaak Walton, The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Richard Hooker, George Herbert and Robert Sanderson (1962 ed.), p. 329; Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, Catholic Record Society, XXXIII (1933), 43, 62.
3. Laud, Works, V, i, 156-8; G.C. Richards and H.E. Salter, eds., The Dean's Register of Oriel (1926), 156, 219, 222, 226.
4. W.G. Searle, History of Queens' College 1446-1560 (1867-71), p. 246; C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, II (1843), 31; T. Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge (1840 ed.), p. 243; W.D. Macray, Register ... of St. Mary Magdalen College from the foundation to 1910 (1894-1911), New Ser., II, 16; G.C. Richards and C.L. Shadwell, The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford (1922), p. 54; P.R.O., SP 1/100, f. 76.
5. H.A. Wilson, op. cit., p. 95.
6. Ibid., pp. 124, 128; A. Gray, Jesus College, Cambridge (1960 ed.), pp. 51-54; H. Rashdall and R.S. Rait, New College (1901), pp. 116-17, 131-3.
7. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1958), pp. 314-15, 344-9; F. Wendel, Calvin (Eng. trans. 1963), p. 77.
8. R. Geraint Gruffydd, 'William Morgan', in G. Bowen, ed., Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith (1970), p. 163; G.A. Williams, 'Astudiaeth Destunol a Beirniadol o Ymryson Barddol Edmwnd Prys a Wiliam Cynwal', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1978), pp. 88-89; J. Heywood and T. Wright, eds., Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1854), II, 64-67; Porter, op. cit., pp. 202 ff.
9. Ibid., pp. 281-4, 311-13, 402-4; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ... , ii (1884), 326-7; C.E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, II (1924), 137-40, 235-6; C.H. George and K. George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640 (1961), passim.
10. P.R.O., SP 14/38/30; A. Peel, ed., The Seconde Parte of a Register, I (1915), 133-4; Williams was vice-Chancellor in 1604-5.

11. Porter, op. cit., pp. 237-8; Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 501.
12. J. Hacket, Scrinia Reserata. A memorial offered to ... John Williams, D.D. (1693), i, 9-11; Porter, op. cit., p. 267.
13. Hacket, op. cit., i, 12, 25; Laud, Works, V, i, 116-17; F. Wendel, op. cit., p. 148; D. Little, Religion, Order and Law: a study in Pre-Revolutionary England (1970), pp. 33 ff.; vide also A.P.C., XXXVIII, 1621-23, 232, 234, and esp. 237; C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 1619-23, 396, 400, 405, 418, 427.
14. Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, 40-41, 60-62.
15. Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909 (1909), I, 40; Richards and Shadwell, Provosts and Fellows of Oriel, pp. 81-82, 98; C.L. Shadwell, ed., Registrum Orielenſe, I (1893), 206, 220, 286, 291; also vide ibid., 79, 94; F.P. White, 'Notes'.
16. Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, 63-64.
17. M.C. Jones and G. Sanford, 'Herbertiana', Mont. Colls., VII (1874), 130-1; H.C. Porter, op. cit., pp. 215-24.
18. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 572, 763. Note also the religious inspiration of university life, in this case Oxford, on a layman, Rowland Vaughan of Caergai, Merioneth (H. Lewis, ed., Hen Gyflwyniadau (1948), p. 20).
19. A. Peel, ed., op. cit., I, xii-xiii; II, 185-7, 198-9.
20. Cambridge University Library MS, Mm 1.38 (Baker MS 27), ff. 207-10. Godfrey Goodman, M.A., licensed 1607, John Owen, M.A., lic. 1609/10, John Vaughan, M.A., lic. 1613, Richard Fletcher, M.A., lic. 1616, William Roberts, M.A., lic. 1619, John Pryse, B.D., lic. 1621, William Bodwrda, B.D., lic. 1623, Edward Lloyd, M.A., lic. 1626; also Robert Lloyd, M.A., lic. 1623 (all Al. Cant.).
21. H.C. Porter, op. cit., p. 225; C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (1969 ed.), chap. 2.
22. Supra chap. III (ii), n. 35.
23. Bodl., Rawlinson MS D.273, ff. 294-304. Rice Vaughan probably B.A. Hart Hall 1573, M.A. 1575, R. Llandderfel, Merioneth (Al. Oxon.); W. Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (1957 ed.), pp. 19-25, 128-37.
24. Rawlinson MS D.273, ff. 30, 201, 281, 287, 321, 338.
25. Ibid., ff. 148, 284-5, 335.

26. Ibid., ff. 206, 207, 250, 370.
27. Ibid., ff. 79, 137, 157, 256, 262; W.S. Howell, Logic and Rhetoric in England (1961), p. 189.
28. H.C. Porter, op. cit., pp. 260-3; Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, 42; C.S.P. Dom., Elizabeth I, Add. 1566-79, 439-40.
29. J. Hacket, Scrinia Reserata, i, 18; N.L.W., Clenennau 339; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 138 and text.
30. E. Alfred Jones, 'The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford', Y Cymmrodor, XVII (1904), 88-89. A rather High Church arrangement, for Canon's benefaction referred to 'the Communion of the Body and Blood of our blessed Saviour'.
31. Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 333-5. Lewis Williams, 1567, Edmund Prys, 1574, William Holland, 1598, Owen Gwyn, 1601, William Bodwrda, 1630, William Morgan, 1645 (Al. Cant.).
32. J. Hacket, op. cit., i, 19; Brasenose Register, I, 43; A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (1813-20), II, 168; III, 754; R.F. Scott, ed., 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XVI (1891), 235; C.W.P., 574.
33. J.R. Tanner, The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1910 (1917), p. 158; V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, III (1959), 67 f.
34. C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, II, 231-2; J. Peile, ed., Biographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905, I (1910), 52; D.W.B.; F. Wendel, Calvin, pp. 82-83; G.H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (1962), pp. 840-1; Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings (1908-21), IV.
35. V.C.H. Leicestershire, IV (1958), 66.
36. Cooper, Annals, II, 231; Cambridge University Archives, Letters Temp. Elizabeth, c.1.(a), letter dat. 12 June, 1567.
37. Ibid., c.1.(b), dat. 27 June, 1567.
38. Ibid., c.1.(c), dat. 27 June, 1567; Cambridge Univ. Archives, Registry Guard Book, Miscell. 6. i/39; J. Venn, ed., Grace Book A, Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the years 1542-89 (1910), pp. 207-8; D.N.B. sub Thomas Howard, III, 4th Duke of Norfolk.

39. Cambridge Univ. Archives, Letters, c.1.(d), dat. 20 July, 1567; H.C. Porter, op. cit., pp. 90, 96; D.N.B. and Al. Cant. for Kelke; J. Hurstfield, Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England (1973), pp. 85, 88, 89, for Cecil's attempts to restrain controversies.
40. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, ii, 222-3, 230.
41. K.F. Lindsay-MacDougall, 'Register FF: Register book of the University of Oxford, 1509-97 (Bodleian MS 282)', (unpublished B.Litt. thesis, Oxford, 1950), II, 53-54; Richards and Shadwell, Provosts and Fellows of Oriel, p. 41; T.P. Ellis, The Catholic Martyrs of Wales (1933), pp. 10-15; L. and P., Henry VIII, VII, 1534, 28.
42. Richards and Shadwell, op. cit., p. 64; Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, II, 89; Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, I, 432; L. Thomas, The Reformation in the old Diocese of Llandaff (1930), p. 140.
43. B.L., Harleian 7046, ff. 119<sup>v</sup>-20; J. Lamb, ed., A Collection of Letters, Statutes and other Documents ... illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge during the period of the Reformation (1838), pp. xxvii, 114, 116; C.H. Cooper, Annals, II, 84-85; W. Wilson Reid, 'William Glyn, Bishop of Bangor', T.A.A.S. 1950, 88.
44. G. Bowen, 'Morys Clynnog (1521-1580-1)', Trans. Caerns. 1966, 74-75; Wood, Ath. Oxon., I, 246.
45. W. Llewelyn Williams, 'Welsh Catholics on the continent', Trans. Cymmr. 1901-2, 59-60, 109-113; G. Bowen, op. cit., 75; G.J. Williams, ed., Gramadeq Gruffydd Robert (1939), pp. xix-xx; Provosts and Fellows of Oriel, p. 64; A.C.F. Beales, Education under Penalty, English Catholic Education ... 1547-1689 (1963), pp. 30-33, 39, 41-45; T.P. Ellis, op. cit., pp. 172-3. Another Welsh exile from the universities was probably John Reynolds of Chepstow, sometime Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, probably in 1559 and B.C.L. 1560 (All Souls College, List of Fellows 1438-1937; Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 244).
46. C.H.O. Daniel and W.R. Barker, Worcester College, pp. 256-8; J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation (1824), II, ii, 341-2; III, i, 71-73.
47. Beales, op. cit., pp. 29, 52-53.
48. G. Anstruther, The Seminary Priests, the secular Clergy in England and Wales (1968), I; J.M. Cleary, A Checklist of Welsh students in the Seminaries (1958); Req. Univ. Oxon., I; Brasenose Register, I, 43.

49. Gwyn, B.A. *Corpus Christi*, 1568 (Reg. Univ. Oxon., I);  
G. Bowen, 'Robert Gwyn', Trans. Caerns. 1954, 17;  
E. Gwynne Jones, 'Robert Pugh of Penrhyn Creuddyn', ibid.  
1946, 10.
50. P.R.O., SP 12/118/37; also printed in Miscellanea XII, Catholic Record Soc., XXII (1921), 94-100; A.P.C., IX, 1575-7, 88;  
Daniel and Barker, Worcester College, p. 98, re. William Meredith.  
Graduate recusants in Monmouthshire included Wm. Pylstone, M.A.,  
George Morysse, M.A., Roger Johns, M.A.
51. Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 45-46; Catholic Record Soc.,  
Miscellanea, 94-96, 125; E. Gwynne Jones, Cymru a'r Hen Ffydd  
(1951), pp. 12, 32-33; L. Thomas, Old Diocese of Llandaff,  
p. 159 f.; P.P. Murphy, 'Catholics in Monmouthshire 1533-1689',  
Presenting Monmouthshire, 21 (1966), 33-36. Among those taught  
by Case were John Nicolas, William Wroth, Edward, George and  
William Morgan, all of Monm., and Peter Mutton of Flints.
52. Beales, op. cit., pp. 72-77, 82; T.P. Ellis, op. cit.,  
pp. 18-19, 148.
53. P.R.O., SP 12/182/15, 16, 17, 19, 27, 31; A.P.C., XXV, 1595-6,  
515; C.W.P., 144 a), b); E. Gwynne Jones, op. cit., p. 34;  
also cf. C.S.P. Dom., Elizabeth I, II, 1581-90, 113.
54. J.M. Cleary, 'An Episode in the Life of John Owen, the  
Epigrammatist', B.B.C.S., XVII (1958), 274-8; T.P. Ellis,  
op. cit., 79, 178; W. Llewelyn Williams, op. cit., 93-99;  
A Treatise of the English (Benedictine) Mission, Catholic Record  
Society, XXXIII (1933), 168-9, 183, and *vide* also 199.
55. Anstruther, op. cit., sub George Nichols.
56. J.Y.W. Lloyd, Powys Fadoq, III (1882), 128-9; C.H. Cooper,  
Annals, III, 84-85. Roberts, of Wrexham, M.A. Trinity College  
1608 (Al. Cant.).
57. John Edwards of Stanstey, Denbs., B.N.C., matr. 1586/7;  
Thomas and John Morgan of Llantarnam, Monm., St. Edmund H.  
1598; James Turberville of Glam., B.N.C. 1579; John Carne of  
Glam., Jesus C. 1610; William Carne of Glam., Jesus C. 1616;  
Edward Morgan of Gwylgre, Flints., Christ Church 1592/3  
(Al. Oxon.).
58. Cleary, op. cit., p. 7; Anstruther, op. cit., *passim*.
59. Beales, op. cit., pp. 57, 161, 184-97, and esp. pp. 199-205,  
215 for Wales; cf. J.T. Cliffe, The Yorkshire Gentry (1969),  
p. 72.

60. The liber ruber of the English College, Rome, i and ii, ed. W.I. Kelly, Catholic Record Society, XXXVII (1940) and XL (1943); The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome, i and ii, ed. A. Kenny, ibid., LIV (1962) and LV (1963); Cleary, op. cit., pp. 7-8. The recruits came from the middling gentry and included eleven from Catholic families, nine from heretical families and two from families of split religious loyalty.
61. William Howell Gwyn of Monm. studied logic and rhetoric at Oxford and logic and physics at Douai 'with greater success'; perhaps matr. Jesus C. 1591, age thirteen of Brecs. (Al. Oxon.). Thomas Owen of Caerns. 'wasted' three years at Jesus C., Cambridge, matr. 1613, bought his B.A. 1616 (Al. Cant.). William Morqan of Flints. educ. Trinity C., Cambridge, adm. 1640 (Al. Cant.), studied philosophy for two years 'with little profit'. Expelled 1644 for royalist views. Other university-educated Protestant converts were Thomas Evans, matr. Jesus C., Oxford, 1584, Humphrey Evans, matr. Jesus C., Oxford, 1616/17, and John Goodman, M.A. Balliol 1598 (T.P. Ellis, op. cit., pp. 92, 111, 180; Al. Oxon.).
62. G. Bowen, 'Robert Gwyn', 21-23, and 'Ysgol Douai' in Y Traddodiad Rhyddiaith, p. 143 f.
63. G. Bowen, 'Ysgol Milan', ibid., pp. 104-16; T. Parry, Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900 (1964), p. 156, and bibliography; D.W.B. sub Roger Smyth.
64. A. Wood, Athenae Oxon., II, 603; III, 7.
65. A. Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register, I, preface by C.H. Firth, vii-ix; C. Hill, Society and Puritanism, chap. I, esp. p. 30; P. Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (1967), pp. 335-6; A. Tindall Hart, The Country Clergy 1558-1660 (1958), pp. 12-19.
66. H.C. Porter, op. cit., pp. 94, 169 f.; T.A. Walker, Peterhouse (1906), pp. 87-91; J. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, II, i, 278-9; Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, ii, 341; D.W.B. and D.N.B.
67. A. Peel, ed., The Notebook of John Penry 1593, sect. XIII, Camden Society, 3rd Ser., LXVII (1944).
68. Ibid., x; Porter, op. cit., pp. 190-1, 246-7.
69. D. Williams, ed., John Penry: Three Treatises Concerning Wales (1960), pp. 37-40, 98; T.A. Walker, ed., A Biographical Register of Peterhouse men, ... from the earliest days. ... 1284-1616 (1927), II, 67; George Owen, The Description of Pembrokeshire, ed. H. Owen, III (1906), 98-99.

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71. Collinson, op. cit., pp. 141, 203; Peel, The Seconde Parte of a Register, I, 143-7, 244.
72. Bodl., Rawlinson MS D.273, ff. 186-7, letter dat. 5 July, 1581.
73. Ibid., f. 190, 'loquntur nostrates "Yr oen yn dyscyr ddafad bori"'. .
74. Ibid., f. 360. John Bullingham, Bishop of Gloucester 1581-98 (D.N.B.).
75. Rawlinson MS D.273, ff. 366-8, and cf. C.H. and K. George, The Protestant Mind, pp. 53-63.
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80. A.F.S. Pearson, Thos. Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism, 1535-1603 (1925), pp. 259-60; V.C.H. Northamptonshire, II (1906), 134.
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82. John Rogers, matr. Wadham C. 1629, age eighteen, B.A. 1635 (Al. Oxon.); A.G. Matthews, ed., Calamy Revised (1934), p. 415; D.N.B.
83. Huw Lewys, Perl Mewn Adfyd, 1595, ed. W.J. Gruffydd (1929), pp. xv-xxiii.



84. D.W.B.: D.N.B.: Al. Oxon.; T. Richards, The Puritan Movement in Wales, 1639 to 1653 (1920), pp. 26-27. In Wroth's case it is important to note that though he would have been exposed to all manner of religious influences at Oxford (supra n. 51), his conversion to evangelical religion occurred long after he left university (D.W.B.).
85. Ibid.; Al. Oxon.; Richards, op. cit., pp. 25-26; Mallet, History of Oxford, II, 301; G.F. Nuttall, The Welsh Saints (1957), pp. 3-4, 8-9; W.T. Pennar Davies, 'Episodes in the history of Brecknockshire dissent', Brycheiniog 1957, 21; M. Morgan, 'Oliver Thomas ac Evan Roberts, dau Biwritan cynnar: eu gweithiau', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1973), passim; Glamor Williams, ed., Glamorgan County History, IV (1974), 255-6.
86. Al. Oxon.; M.H. Jones, 'Life and Letters of Christopher Love, 1618-51', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1932), pp. 12-23, 28-29; C.G. Criddle, 'The Life of Christopher Love and his relation to contemporary movements', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1933), chap. II.
87. Ibid., pp. 195, 199, 210, 227, 233-4; A.H. Dodd, 'New England influences in early Welsh puritanism', B.B.C.S., XVI (1954), 30-34; T. Richards, op. cit., pp. 24, 28-30; Al. Oxon.
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90. Ibid.; D.N.B.; W. Haller, op. cit., pp. 68-72, 79, 96; H. Smith, The Ecclesiastical History of Essex (Colchester, n.d.), pp. 30-34; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, ii, 554-5, 568-9.
91. Al. Cant.; V.C.H. Essex, II (1907), 534; D.N.B. sub Sir John Watts; H. Smith, op. cit., pp. 35, 72, 88-89, 122-3, 255, 304.
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95. R. Williams, 'Montgomeryshire Worthies', Mont. Colls., XIII (1880), 115; J. Lloyd, 'Colonel John Jones of Maesygarneid', Jour. Mer. Hist. Soc., II (1953-4), 100.
96. M.C. Jones, 'Welshpool. Materials for the History of the Parish and Borough', Mont. Colls., XIII, 259-60; T. Richards, 'Meirionnydd: Pwritaniaeth Gynnar', 108, 113-14; idem, 'Puritan Movement in Anglesey', 38.
97. R.T. Jones, op. cit., 21.
98. Loc. cit.; T. Richards, Puritan Movement, p. 137; Sir Leoline Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D. (1854), pp. 16-18; W.A.L. Vincent, The State and School Education, 1640-1660 (1950), pp. 67-68, 70-72.
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101. J.R. Bloxham, Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies ... of St. Mary Magdalen College, 1st Ser. (1853-85), 137-8.
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103. Ibid., f. 124. Stradling matr. Jesus C. 1638, equ. f., B.A. 1640, Fell. All Souls 1642, M.A. 1646/7 (Al. Oxon.).
104. M. Burrows, ed., The Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford, 1647-58, Camden Society, New Ser., XXIX (1881), 503-5, 571, and esp. pp. 105-6, 222, 228, 346, 413 for Francis Mansell; Life of Francis Mansell, pp. 12-13; T. Richards, The Puritan Visitation of Jesus College, Oxford, and the Principalship of Dr. Michael Roberts (1648-57), Cymmrodorion Publications (1924), pp. 2-20.

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106. Ibid., 30, 33, 329, 404, 478-80, 484-93, 527-35, 536-8.
107. Ibid., 520-6; G.C. Brodrick, Memorials of Merton College (1884), pp. 352-62; Hugh Bevan, ed., intro. to Charles Edwards, Y Ffydd Ddi Ffuant - Hanes y Ffydd yng Nghymru (1948).
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109. Bodl., MS Add. B.109, f. 134. Martyn Ayleworth, B.C.L. 1615, D.C.L. 1620/1 (Al. Oxon.).
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112. P.R.O., SP 16/540/364.
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115. Vide supra chap. V (ii), n. 98; Owen, LL.B. Trinity Hall 1637, Fellow 1634-65 (Al. Cant.).
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128. MT Minutes, I, 111; IT Records, I, lvi-lvii; LI Black Books, II, xi; GI Pens. Book, p. 175.

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130. Ibid., II, xi; IT Records, II, lv; MT Minutes, II, 582-3.
131. LI Black Books, II, 261; C.H. Hopwood, ed., A Calendar of the Middle Temple Records (1903), p. 66.
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133. E. Gwynne Jones, Cymru a'r Hen Ffydd, pp. 4, 12, 13; IT Adms.; supra chap. II.
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137. IT Records, I, 304, 353, 355-6.
138. P.R.O., SP 12/118/69, f. 136; Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea, XII, 104, 105; IT Records, I, l, liv-lvi; A.P.C., X, 1577-8, 94. There is no record of this Stradling's adm. to IT.
139. Fisher, thesis, pp. 327-30; Parmiter, op. cit., 20-27, who differ from Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640 (1972), pp. 177-8, in their estimates of recusants.
140. Puleston adm. IT 1571 (IT typescript reg.). Additional light on Catholicism at IT and in north-east Wales may be indicated by the fact that the two Welsh gentlemen executed after the Babington plot in 1585 were both former inn members, Thomas Salusbury of Lleweni, adm. 1566, Edward Jones of Plascadwgan, adm. 1577/8 (ibid.). A Catholic who must have conformed was the barrister Walter Wynter of Breconshire (adm. IT 1574) (Theophilus Jones, A History of the County of Brecknock, Glanusk ed., III (1911), App. XII, and vide infra chap. VI (iii), n. 64).

141. P.R.O., SP 12/118/38; 68; 70, ff. 96, 135, 138; Catholic Record Society, Miscellanea, XII, 101, 106, 107. At Lincoln's Inn, Thomas Egerton of Cheshire was among the suspects.
142. Ibid., 103; P.R.O. SP 12/118/71, f. 140. Rafe or Ralph Hanmer, probably Randle Hanmer, adm. GI 1572 (GI Adms.), John Hanmer, adm. 1574, after being at Cambridge 1571, Humfrye Hanmer (1546-1643), adm. 1561, Cambridge 1560 (ibid.; Al. Cant.; Anstruther, op. cit.). Randle and John Hanmer, sons of Sir Thomas Hanmer, II, of Hanmer; cousin Humfrye Hanmer, son of William Hanmer of Fenns (Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 286). Also at GI in 1577 was one Edward Salisbury 'among such as come seldom'; adm. 1576, of Staple Inn and perhaps 6th s. of Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni (d. 1578) (W.J. Smith, ed., Calendar of Salusbury correspondence (1954), Appendix, Table I.
143. Parmiter, op. cit., 23, 25 n.; Fisher, thesis cit., pp. 210, 305, 306, 312, 322.
144. Parmiter, op. cit., 32 f.; Prest, thesis, pp. 324-6; GI Library, Ledger Book A, f.1; J. Hurstfield, Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England, p. 117.
145. H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, IV (1892), 8-9, 267. There is no reference to the adm. of Polydore Morgan, but William Morgan was prob. adm. IT 1564. Vide A.P.C., XXII, 1591-2, 92, for Mass said near GI, 1591.
146. LI Black Books, I, xii; Prest, thesis, p. 340.
147. T.P. Ellis, Catholic Martyrs of Wales, pp. 79, 100; D.W.B. Roberts, educ. St. John's, Oxford, and Furnival's Inn (1598). Powell, educ. Abergavenny and the Temple.
148. Ellis, op. cit., p. 129 f.; Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome, i, Catholic Record Society, LIV, 142; ii, -ibid., LV, 460-1; D.W.B.
149. Vide infra chap. VI (iii); D.W.B.
150. Responsa Scholarum, ii, 458-9, adm. at GI unrecorded.
151. Fisher, thesis, pp. 61 ff., including Jeffrey Evans, chaplain at GI (1562-79), and John Morgan at LI (1569-71).
152. Ibid., pp. 241 ff.; Prest, thesis, pp. 336-8; IT Records, I, lvii-lix; A. Peel, Seconde Parte of a Register, II, 184.
153. Prest, op. cit., 349-53, 357-8, 360; LI Black Books, II, viii-x, 13-14.

154. R.J. Lloyd, 'Welsh Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple', Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 168-9, 179; Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 215-16; GI Pens. Book, p. 340.
155. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., 158.
156. IT Records, I, App. IV, 471; Parmiter, op. cit., 25 n.; infra chap. VII (i), n. 100. Williams barr. MT 1576.
157. MT Minutes, II, 617; vide also a similar incident at IT 1589 involving two from Wales (IT Records, I, lx, 362); Fisher, op. cit., pp. 147-8.
158. IT Records, II, lxxx; MT Minutes, II, 640; Prest, Inns of Court, p. 103.
159. W.E.B. Whittaker, 'The Glynnes of Hawarden', Flintshire Hist. Soc. Jour., IV (1906), 5 ff.; D.W.B.; D.N.B. sub Glynne and Puleston.
160. A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, III, 144; MT Minutes, II, 1004; D.N.B. White was related by marriage to the family of Richard Fletcher of Bangor.
161. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 236-7; D. Veall, The Popular Movement for Law Reform, 1640-60 (1970), passim; C. Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth Century England (1974), chap. VII; B. Manning, The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649 (1976), pp. 269-74, esp. 271.
162. IT Library, MS Miscell. 154: John Edisbury, Arthur Trevor, Richard Prydderch, Roger Mostyn, Edward Herbert, John Vaughan. To these may be added John Bodvel, an active Caernarvon royalist, whose goods were ordered to be sequestrated with Mostyn's in 1647 (IT Records, II, 278). John Vaughan's library was sequestrated and given to John Glynne (R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1938, 172).
163. LI Library, Red Book, I, ff. 215-215<sup>v</sup>; William Griffith, William Gibbs.
164. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1938, 168; IT Adms. sub 1645-6; C.W.P., 1896, 1937, 1983; supra chap. IV, n. 131. Vide also Thomas Lewis, adm. IT 1641-2, barr. 1650 (IT Records, II, 296). Henry Wynn was nom. Bencher twice, in 1647 and 1660, when John Vaughan also became Bencher (ibid., II, 277, 334).

## CHAPTER VI

### PART (iii) : FACTION AND AUTHORITY AT OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE AND THE INNS OF COURT

Although Welsh students were a distinctive element in the membership of the inns and universities, they were far better assimilated than the Scots and Irish, and unlike them, they faced no formal restrictions or disqualifications.<sup>1</sup> The one exception to this, as has been discussed recently, occurred at Gonville Hall, when Dr. John Caius (Keys) framed the statutes of re-foundation early in the reign of Elizabeth. Caius specifically set out to exclude all those who were diseased or physically handicapped, the contagious and those in broken health, and among this catalogue of impediments to holding the Mastership, or fellowships or scholarships at the College was the specific, and probably slighting, addition of Welsh sickness:

' ... deformen, multum, caecum, claudum, mancum, mutilum, Wallicum, aliquo gravi aut contagioso morbo affectum, ... '.

' ... mis-shapen, mute, blind, lame, maimed, mutilated, Welsh, or with other burdensome or contagious disease affected, ... '.

While it is difficult to accept that this exclusion was a relic of a long-lasting distrust of the Welsh at Cambridge going back to the early fifteenth century, given the progress that so many Welshmen had made at both universities by the mid-sixteenth century, the suggestion that Caius's ban stemmed from a personal disagreement with Hugh Glynn of Anglesey, his original choice as first Master of the re-founded College, may have far greater significance.



During the mid-eighteenth century, Thomas Gooch, the then Master of Gonville, commented on the generally exclusive nature of Caius's new rules.<sup>3</sup> He observed that Caius's own endowed places held great limitation, being reserved only for natives of Suffolk and Norfolk, and which were more exclusive, indeed, than the areal preferences set down by the original Founder, Bishop Bateman. Gooch thought it possible that Caius's exclusion of Welshmen lay in the fact that the original statutes were un-specific about the right of Welshmen to endowed places. It was, however, a very slighting way to refer to the Welsh, and he suggested that the exclusion may have stemmed from Caius's having been attacked and beaten by a Welshmen, which may give force to C.P. Cule's suggestion of a quarrel with Glynn. Whatever the case, the exclusion related to natives of Wales and not merely to sufferers of a 'Welsh' malady, presumably choleric temper and argumentativeness: '[it] is not a fictional Term for the Habit, constitution, or Distemper of a particular Person, but signifys a Welch-man.'

Indeed, no Welshman had received an endowed place at the College up to Gooch's day, though the ban was not absolute. A few fee-paying Welsh students did gain admission to the College, two, indeed, at about the time when Caius's statutes were enforced.<sup>4</sup>

Cule implies that there was a consistent element of ethnic or racial hostility towards the Welsh at this time, and he associates Caius's ban with the Marian Visitation of Cambridge, 1556/7, which examined the irregularities at Queens' College, particularly in the

election of fellows, two of whom were Welshmen.<sup>5</sup> This seems a mistaken conclusion, for, as we have seen,<sup>6</sup> the matter stemmed less from the fellows' nationality than from the desire to repair the effects of typical Crown intervention at the College to by-pass the statutes and intrude favoured scholars, English and Welsh, into the Crown's own endowed places. The Visitors desired to restore the College to its pre-Reformation rule and discipline, that is, to its statutes of 1529, when Wales and the English counties were allowed only one fellow at a time.

Although the original statutes of Queens' were reaffirmed, the Welsh fellows were not ejected. Soon, under Elizabeth, the College was again in difficulties in trying to resist the inordinate exercise of Crown influence on the election of all fellows, including Welsh ones. As with many other colleges, Queens' also experienced Crown intervention during the election of the Master, attempting to subvert the rights of the fellows in 1578. The Welshman, David Yale, headed the fellows' protest against interference, especially from the Earl of Leicester, and insisted on their traditional powers.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, the free election of heads of colleges was by no means always a satisfactory state of affairs. In such small, closed communities, where ideological differences were often marked, vying for power and influence was a source of much discord. Thomas Baker, the historian of St. John's, preferred the nomination of college masters and presidents by the Crown to election by fellows since it curbed factiousness and provided more competent heads. His conclusion seems to have been based on the career of Owen Gwyn as Master of

St. John's, an 'easy' man, who had allowed the fellows much rein, particularly to exploit College leases.<sup>8</sup>

Although Gwyn seems to have been unduly badly treated, it is clear that he was no outstanding intellect. He came to prominence because he was the least controversial of three candidates from which the fellows chose the Master. Further, he was fortunate in having his kinsman and fellow countryman, John Williams, to canvass and influence the fellows to achieve an effective majority. His patron was elected, a result which Williams later seems to have regretted.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, what Gwyn's election does indicate is that while Welsh ties were important, both Williams and Gwyn were sufficiently settled into the broader scholarly community of the College to draw on wide support.

Baker, by inference, and Anthony Wood also, in dealing with Oxford, both exaggerated the extent and influence of Welsh cliquishness in determining or disrupting college and university government, for it was all too easy to ascribe to a minority group the cause of difficulties, whose real origins were deep-set in the confusion about centralising or maintaining a decentralised authority and in permitting or resisting royal intervention at the colleges and universities. The nationality issue, for example, became a convenient channel of expressing wider resentments at Magdalene College, Cambridge, in 1578. This followed the election of a new Master, Degory Nicholls, whose outlook and policy came into conflict with the views of the established senior members. Nicholls was accused, among other things, of being hostile to the Welsh members of the College, of wanting to root them

out. On the face of it, this appears to be a clear case of anti-Welsh feeling and it has been accepted as such.<sup>10</sup> The complainant, however, was Nicholls's chief antagonist, a Welshman, William Bulkeley, a senior Fellow of the College, who made the first objections to Lord Burghley about Nicholls.<sup>11</sup>

Nicholls seems to have had considerable cause to mistrust Bulkeley, however. His objections to Bulkeley were very specific, accusing the latter of dereliction of duty as senior Fellow, as an officer of the College and as a student of theology, and he felt justified in expelling him.<sup>12</sup> In establishing his authority, however, Nicholls had met with some entrenched opposition, and Bulkeley had clearly organised his support carefully. Ethnic loyalty played its part, for Richard Jones, another Welsh Fellow, backed Bulkeley, but he had wider support, particularly from Henry Vause, yet another Fellow.<sup>13</sup>

Bulkeley seems to have made a final list of objections to Nicholls, stressing the latter's ingratitude for the initial support given him and again stressing that he sought to remove the Welsh, by threatening Jones and a Welsh butler with dismissal.<sup>14</sup> How much of this was true is unclear, but it is apparent that Bulkeley resented the loss of his influence at the College. At the heart of the matter was the fact that heads of colleges were supported in their attempts during the 1570s to centralise their power in the colleges. At University level, the Statutes of 1570 had already achieved this and only one Welshman, the Puritan Thomas Roberts, seems to have objected to it.<sup>15</sup> At Magdalene, the masters had, in theory, very wide powers already that had long been

resented by the fellows. During the 1570s, a rapid succession of masters had allowed the fellowship, and men such as Bulkeley, to extend their influence.<sup>16</sup> It seems to have been with very much the idea of restoring central authority that Burghley, as Chancellor of Cambridge, appointed Nicholls Master in 1577, a man of 'very honest conversacion well lerned and a maynteyner of good order and statuts'.<sup>17</sup> Nicholls did just that : Bulkeley's expulsion in 1578 was enforced through the Master's wide statutory powers.<sup>18</sup>

There was no Welsh clearance at the College. Though the butler's fate is unknown, it is clear that Richard Jones conformed and continued in his fellowship, in contrast to Vause, who departed soon after. Personal, not ethnic, disagreements were at the heart of matters here, and under Nicholls, Welshmen continued to enter. Once central authority had been restored, Nicholls took advantage of the College statutes to be an absentee Master, before resigning altogether in 1582.<sup>19</sup>

The interests of central government were also to be seen at Oxford, where the chancellors had important powers of intervention in college matters. At Hart Hall, Oxford, where many Welshmen had congregated during the Mastership of Dr. Theodore Price, the election of his successor in 1621/2 became purely nominal, the fellows and scholars being directed by the mandate of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor, to elect his nominee.<sup>20</sup> A similar intervention occurred at Jesus College in 1613. There being no regular statutes for the College to permit an election, the then Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, firmly but politely recommended that the fellows assent to the nomination of Dr. Griffith Powell, an eminent choice as it transpired.<sup>21</sup>

Pembroke, Egerton's successor, was not always as tactful where he had personal interests. In 1618 he pressed for the election of William Lewis, the protégé and chaplain of his fellow councillor, Lord Chancellor Bacon, to the Provostship of Oriel College, before other candidates could be named and before absent fellows returned to exercise their vote. Lewis, a Fellow of the College, duly chaired the election meeting at which he got the support of the younger fellows. It may be that Wood had this election in mind when he referred to the troublesome activities of the Welsh at Oriel. In essence, however, apart from the national and possible personal links between Pembroke and Lewis, such an intervention as this, representing higher central authority, was no different from what occurred elsewhere. It brought about an oft-similar reaction, too, namely a growing uneasiness among the fellows because their rights were being disregarded. Though Bacon's authority was sufficient to quell opposition, when he fell from political power, Lewis's days at Oriel were also numbered.<sup>22</sup>

Pembroke, too, sought to exercise personal loyalties, at Jesus College. Griffith Powell had prepared statutes which allowed the fellows to elect their principal, but on his death in 1620,<sup>23</sup> Pembroke worked to undermine those powers by promoting his kinsman, Francis Mansell. Working through the vice-Chancellor of Oxford, the system of election extant in the Oxford halls was enforced, wherein the choice was given not merely to the fellows but to scholars and commoners as well. Mansell was duly elected, though the continued opposition of some fellows led to their expulsion and even some of the servants were antagonistic. Resistance was such that Mansell could not

continue and a silent compromise seems eventually to have been worked to restore peace, whereby Dr. Eubule Thelwall 'emerged' as head in 1621.<sup>24</sup> It was a salutary lesson, and when Mansell, indeed, became Principal again in 1631, it was by the election and approbation of the fellowship alone, a principle which Thelwall's tenure had secured.<sup>25</sup>

College fellows jealously guarded their rights and resented infringements and apparent injustices. At Queens' College, Cambridge, for example, in 1612, the fellows, among whom was William Roberts, insisted on their exclusive right to elect the College proctors.<sup>26</sup> During the 1630s, the society of St. John's College, Cambridge, was torn apart by the allegedly unfair treatment and disavowal of privileges of certain of the fellows during the Mastership of Owen Gwyn. These allegations were to form a part of Baker's criticisms of Gwyn and they sufficiently disrupted the society for the Crown to intervene directly at the cost of further fellows' privileges.

The problems at St. John's began over the succession to the Mastership of Owen Gwyn in 1633. At an apparently incorrectly conducted election, Dr. Robert Lane, the then President of the College, gained a majority of the fellows' votes over Richard Holdsworth, a Fellow, who thereupon objected and appealed to the Crown. Support was polarised between the two and though a commission of investigation was appointed, it did not prevent intrigue, such as the meddling of Bishop John Williams. The investigation itself further revealed the conflict of beliefs and personalities and the grudges which were deep-seated among the members.<sup>27</sup> Holdsworth had some Puritan leanings, while Lane was a firmly orthodox Anglican. The latter represented the consolidated privileges of the

fellows of longer standing, while the younger fellows backed Holdsworth. This was reflected in the stand of the four Welsh fellows then present. John Price, William and Henry Bodwrda, companions and relatives of Owen Gwyn supported Lane, while Richard Bulkeley supported Holdsworth.<sup>28</sup>

Price and the two Bodwrdas, with others, denied Holdsworth's charges that Lane had been negligent and inadequate in his duties.<sup>29</sup> Bulkeley swore to Lane's intemperance, which the latter's supporters denied.<sup>30</sup> Price testified to Lane's competence, while President, at the College treasury, always fulfilling the tasks at Owen Gwyn's request and never fraudulently.<sup>31</sup> Such duties, since they dealt with fellows' incomes and stipends, would never satisfy everyone and undoubtedly old feuds were aired. Thus, in respect of fellows benefiting from College revenues, one Fellow, Downhall, who had been especially disappointed during the rule of Gwyn and Lane, by being excluded, despite petitions to the Crown, from receiving leases to the College's church lands, took advantage to vent his bitterness fully.<sup>32</sup>

Past disagreements about fellowship and scholarship elections also reappeared. Lane was blamed exclusively for appointing ill-livers into scholarships, particularly Sir Lloyd, probably Gabriel Lloyd, a notorious drunk and dunce. Lane denied individual responsibility, arguing that scholars' elections were by the consent of the Master and all the fellows, and that Lloyd's reputation was unknown at that time.<sup>33</sup> The controversy over Richard Bulkeley's rights to a fellowship was also raised, with Lane accused of ignoring royal mandates and securing the election of another student to the Gwyn Fellowship in 1628. Lane was



blamed for the College's having to maintain Bulkeley for a year before a Foundation fellowship became available. It was further claimed that John Price had induced Bulkeley to declare to the Crown his satisfaction with this arrangement, lest Lane think him a trouble-maker. Needless to say, Lane denied all this, stating that statutory procedure had been followed, and he was supported in this by Price and by William Bodwrda.<sup>34</sup>

Lane's counter-charges were few and centred largely on accusing Holdsworth and his supporters of frustrating the proper reading of the royal mandate permitting the Master's election. Holdsworth replied by accusing Lane and his supporters, such as Price, of canvassing for the office even before Dr. Gwyn died,<sup>35</sup> and some of those, Bulkeley included, who had once been favourable to Lane, declared that they had been too young and impressionable.<sup>36</sup> Holdsworth continued to attack and the commission found itself unable to resolve the dispute.<sup>37</sup> Finally, in 1633/4, to prevent the controversy from extending to the whole University, the Crown dismissed the claims of both parties and intruded an outsider, Dr. William Beale, a secure Laudian, into the Mastership, which he held successfully until 1646.<sup>38</sup>

Conflict occurred at the level of university administration too. Nominations for the vice-Chancellor offices could lead to heated rivalries, such as at Cambridge in 1539-40, when Dr. Geoffrey Glynn was physically attacked for ending the meeting of the regent masters following the re-election of the safe candidate.<sup>39</sup> Much politicking occurred around the rôle of the university proctors, the immensely powerful officials who governed the spheres of commerce and public order at the

universities.<sup>40</sup> They were posts which several Welsh masters succeeded in filling between the reign of Henry VIII and 1642, ten at Oxford, eight at Cambridge.<sup>41</sup> They would have owed their election at Oxford to the lobbying and canvassing which occurred among all the masters, regent and non-regent, who attended these elections, and there seems to have been a distinctive Welsh influence at play. These features were seen in 1628/9, when the Crown and Privy Council decided to intervene to curb the attendant tumults at the Oxford gatherings and to nominate the two proctors for that year, one of whom was Robert Lloyd of Jesus College.<sup>42</sup> Such intervention was unpopular in that it deprived masters of the franchise, in particular, in this case, the many Welsh graduates who had travelled to participate in Lloyd's election.<sup>43</sup> 'Popular' election thereafter was effectively ended at Oxford, being replaced by a proctorial cycle, already in force in Cambridge since 1570, in which each college in its turn nominated representatives to fill the posts.<sup>44</sup>

Royal intervention was also decisive in the nomination of the university Chancellors, some, such as Burghley, Leicester or Egerton, being the most powerful councillors in the land. The regent masters were not necessarily quiescent in these nominations. In 1612, Puritan members at Cambridge opposed the royal recommendation of the Catholic sympathiser, the Earl of Northampton, as Chancellor, by proposing the youthful Prince Charles. It took all John Williams's abilities as Proctor to persuade the heads of colleges, and against the personal enmity of a particularly autocratic vice-Chancellor, to stick firmly to the former choice; and the regents duly elected him.<sup>45</sup>

In 1626, there was unsuccessful opposition to the nomination of the Duke of Buckingham, and eventually he was accepted, with the five Welsh regent masters all voting in his favour.<sup>46</sup>

At Oxford, royal control was strengthened in 1630 by the nomination of Bishop Laud to succeed the Earl of Pembroke. Pembroke's brother, the fourth Earl, also sought the office, but the Crown's wishes prevailed, Laud being supported by all the college heads, including Pembroke's kinsman, Francis Mansell of Jesus.<sup>47</sup> Laud's rapid election by the general Oxford Convocation did not go unopposed and five regents, including William Price, Professor of Moral Philosophy, petitioned the Crown about the irregular procedure, but to no avail.<sup>48</sup> Laud was Chancellor until 1641, during which time he went far to centralise authority in the hands of the vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges and thus to facilitate the easier control of university life, first by the King and then by Parliament. He was succeeded, finally, by the fourth Earl of Pembroke.<sup>49</sup>

The Chancellors and their deputies, the vice-Chancellors, were the ultimate arbiters in matters of serious internal disputes in the colleges and of serious individual infringements, of religious dissent.<sup>50</sup> The most weighty issues of concern were the implied and actual criticisms of royal authority ranging from the superficial ramblings of a Welsh vagrant at Oxford<sup>51</sup> to the fine point-making of disputation, such as the Cambridge divinity disputations of 1612/13, in which John Williams participated, which implicitly challenged the divine right of kings.<sup>52</sup> Williams probably took the orthodox political line and so did his contemporary, David Owen of Clare, who defended royal

authority in a private disputation in 1617/18 against an opponent influenced by the ideas of Calvin and Beza.<sup>53</sup>

Matters were no better at Oxford where, despite such regulations as those of John Williams, Principal of Jesus, when vice-Chancellor, royal power was publicly questioned, as at the Carfax lecture in 1622, when the ideas of Paræus were propounded.<sup>54</sup>

Despite such resistance, conformity was maintained through the threats of expulsion and refusal of degrees. University students seem largely to have maintained a continuing loyalty to the Crown during the 1620s and 1630s. When hostilities began in 1642 the sympathies of Welsh students at Oxford and Cambridge seem to have been characterised by gestures of loyalty to the King and, as we have seen, adherence to the Anglican order.<sup>55</sup>

At the inns of court, the nature of authority contrasted in some ways to that at the colleges and universities. The inns' members were freer of regulations, and authority at the inns was exercised on the basis of group decisions of the benchers in their councils rather than being consolidated in the hands of a few masters. In contrast to the colleges, no profound conflicts of authority occurred, though the inns did experience tensions between the different ranks of inner- and utter-barristers and benchers and the associated generation gaps. There were occasional undertones of religious and factional loyalties but little or no direct ideological criticism of royal authority.<sup>56</sup> Dissidence was largely individualistic and generally kept under control. Hugh Roberts of Denbighshire appears to have been the only Welsh example

in this period, being suspended from commons in 1588 for making factious speeches to a bencher, and later he was readmitted through the influence of Sir Thomas Egerton and made no further trouble.<sup>57</sup>

Central government was less concerned about the inns as an ideological threat than that external influences might intrude on the lawyers. The inns were not religious seminaries but unwelcome religious influences might have entered and created political dangers and dissent. Obedience to royal authority was, therefore, expected and sought for. During the Catholic threat of the 1580s, the barristers of the Inner Temple, under the guidance of their Governor, the Earl of Leicester, produced a Declaration of Loyalty to the Queen in 1584 and, significantly, one of the Welsh signatories was the Catholic, Walter Wynter.<sup>58</sup>

During the early seventeenth century signs of disrespect towards royalty did appear at the inns. In 1623, Henry Wynn reported from the Inner Temple that a Lincoln's Inn lawyer had been detained for denigrating the late Queen.<sup>59</sup> An earlier miscreant, the Inner Templar, Edward Lloyd or Floyd, caused a greater controversy after commenting unfavourably on the claims of the King's daughter and her husband, the Elector Palatine, to the Kingdom of Bohemia, saying that he had as much right, therefore, to the Principality of Wales. An inveterate trouble-maker, Lloyd was already in the Fleet when he made his contempt. The Commons, in a rage of royalist and anti-papist feeling, sought to punish Lloyd very severely but the Crown, fearing wider-spread discontent and resenting the Commons' assumption of invalid jurisdiction, sought to ameliorate his treatment.<sup>60</sup> The punishment of Lloyd became a matter of

conflicting jurisdiction between the Houses of Parliament, and the initial contempt waned in comparison.<sup>61</sup> Eventually the House of Lords used its justified powers to fine heavily, pillory, whip and degrade Lloyd from his rank,<sup>62</sup> a result that brought much angry reaction from the North Wales gentry for the treatment of their fellow.<sup>63</sup> The close inter-relationship of the gentry community in North Wales and the borders and its powers of influence came to Lloyd's rescue. John Williams, the new Lord Keeper, seems to have been influential in obtaining Lloyd's release, and no doubt the fact that Lloyd, as a lawyer, had served the powerful figures of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere (Egerton) and the Earl of Suffolk also contributed. The Crown, too, seems to have been anxious not to appear too extreme.<sup>64</sup>

Lloyd's wild slanders paled by comparison with the cogent and pointed critique of royal powers, especially vis-à-vis the Common Law, made by his contemporary, Sir Edward Coke,<sup>65</sup> and while Coke might well have been outspoken in his attitudes, it seems that the traditional, unrestrained loyalty of inns of court lawyers to the Crown began to be modified during the time of Charles I's personal government. Senior and well-established lawyers, particularly those holding high judicial posts, proved to be still strongly loyal and even deferential to royal influence. At the time of the King's northern campaign in 1639, it was these lawyers who gave him moral and tangible support,<sup>66</sup> and Welsh lawyers were prominent among them. Support was received from two Welsh judges, Sir William Jones and Sir Thomas Trevor, from Edward Herbert, a royal law officer, from Richard Prytherch, a judge in Wales and a long-established London barrister, from John Vaughan, lawyer in the

prerogative court of Star Chamber, and from Henry Wynn, judge of Marshalsea and soon to be a royal law officer in Wales.<sup>67</sup>

Several of these lawyers, before they gained posts in the legal establishment, had been critics in Parliament of royal government, for example, Herbert and Trevor. John Vaughan, indeed, was less compromised by his position and he became a critic of several aspects of Charles's personal government, his ecclesiastical policy, and, ironically, the prerogative courts, during the Short and Long Parliaments. He shared the views of several other Welsh barristers, notably the Lincoln's Inn men, Charles Jones, John Glynne and Walter Rumsey, whose activities in the Short Parliament were notably hostile to Crown policy and jealous of Parliament's privileges.<sup>68</sup>

Ultimate loyalty in most instances continued to reside in the Crown, and the unappealing events of attainder and impeachment in 1642 led many Welsh lawyers into committing themselves to the King. Arthur Trevor, for example, assisted Herbert's defence against impeachment and became a royal emissary in the Civil War. Rumsey also joined the royalist cause and Vaughan, too, was for the King by 1643. Charles Jones had died prematurely and only Glynne continued in opposition, and took office under Parliament and the Commonwealth.<sup>69</sup> The religious conviction behind the political opposition of John White and John Puleston has been mentioned already, and in the case of the latter, who also held legal office under Parliament, his political views were also motivated by a strong belief in popular government.<sup>70</sup>

One or two up-and-coming barristers seem eventually to have accepted the political predominance of Parliament and to have secured

legal promotion as a result, notably William Foxwist of Caernarvon and Evan Seys of Glamorgan.<sup>71</sup> The most successful, however, if not the most able, of the pre-Civil War Welsh common lawyers invariably took the royalist side. Though Anglican principles were no doubt strong, it was support for the Crown itself which was crucial. The sequestrations at the Inner Temple, noted above, followed an Order of the House of Commons in 1646, whereby lawyers who had 'adhered to the Enemy against Parliament' were refused readmission to their chambers.<sup>72</sup>

And yet, when it came to dealing with the juniors among those whose goods were ordered to be sequestrated, the inns may have equivocated. John Griffith was permitted to petition Lincoln's Inn for the retention of his chamber, and he stated openly that his absence from commons was a result of fighting 'against the Rebels' and of being captured. While it is unclear whether he was restored, he was undoubtedly rehabilitated locally in Caernarvonshire, where he retained social and political influence throughout the Commonwealth and Interregnum and again after 1660.<sup>73</sup> At the Inner Temple, Roger Mostyn and John Bodvel, despite their strong and persistent royalism, still had valid claims to their chambers as late as 1656, when they were eventually expelled on the formal grounds of debt, that is, unpaid rents and commons, rather than for political reasons.<sup>74</sup>

On the available evidence, the Welsh students who had entered the inns in the few years or so before the Civil War seem to have conformed to the expected Welsh response, that of support for the Crown. As well as Mostyn, Bodvel and Griffith, other royalist activists in



North Wales from the inns included John Trevor, John Edwards, John Dolben, Thomas Corbet, Charles Salesbury and John Robinson. None seems ever to have returned to continue his studies.<sup>75</sup> In South Wales, too, inns students must have largely followed the royalist sympathies of their families, for example, Rawleigh Mansell, Edward Carne, John Jeffreys, Edward Proger, and in the case of Roger Williams of Glamorgan, who had entered Gray's Inn in 1639, he deferred his legal training throughout the post-Civil War period, entering the bar only in 1661.<sup>76</sup>

Political loyalties of lawyers' sons and relatives who also attended the inns presumably followed their respective leanings, for the Crown in the case of Prytherch and Rumsey, for Parliament in the case of White.<sup>77</sup> Further support for Parliament was not altogether lacking among the Welsh intake. Newer barristers, such as Edward Vaughan at the Inner Temple, tended towards the Parliamentary side even in their native country, and a few junior inner-barristers also held this view, Simon Thelwall and Rice Vaughan in particular, and possibly John Jones of Nanteos, Cardiganshire, too, can be included among the law students sympathetic to the Parliamentary cause.<sup>78</sup>

As has been noted above, many others were able to compromise and adjust as circumstances warranted and were able to pursue their legal education or careers fairly easily after 1647-8.<sup>79</sup> It was the older lawyers who refused to co-operate and in the case of David Jenkins, a response of unbending resistance to Parliament's usurpation of political power was quite an exceptional reaction on the part of a Welsh lawyer.<sup>80</sup>

CHAPTER VI : PART (iii) - NOTES

1. J.P. Collier, ed., The Egerton Papers, Camden Society, XII (1840), 444-5; LI Black Books, II, xxxv; W.R. Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640 (1972), pp. 32, 36.
2. C.P. Cule, 'A Note on Hugo Glyn and the Statute Banning Welshmen from Gonville and Caius College', N.L.W. Jour., XVI (1969), 185 ff.; A. Gray, Cambridge University. An Episodical History (1926), pp. 97-99.
3. Cambridge Univ. Library MS, Mm 1.46 (Baker MS 35), ff. 437-46, esp. ff. 441-2; V.C.H. Cambs., III (1959), 358.
4. J. Venn, Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College, I (1897); J. Saltmarsh, 'Tudor Cambridge', Institutional Management Association Journal 1952, 126-7; also, cf. royal objections to areal restrictions on benefactions at Peterhouse (B.L., Additional MS 5843, ff. 105-9).
5. Cule, op. cit., 188; W.G. Searle, History of the Queens' College 1446-1560 (1867-71), pp. 256-60.
6. Vide supra chap. V (ii), nn. 8-10.
7. Searle, op. cit., pp. 332, 355; also, vide P.R.O., SP 12/125/26.
8. Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 199-201.
9. J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., ii, 470-1, 475; B.L., Harleian 7047, f. 239; J. Hackett, Scrinia Reserata: a memorial offered to ... John Williams, D.D. (1693), i, 22-23; C.W.P., 602; E. Miller, Portrait of a College: A History of the College of St. John the Evangelist (1961), p. 21.
10. G.D. Owen, Elizabethan Wales (1962), pp. 211-12; Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 287. Owen refers to a student called Vane but this must be a misreading for Vause (Vaux) (vide infra).
11. H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield Manuscripts, II (1888), 213.
12. P.R.O., SP 12/126/48.
13. Ibid., SP 12/127/17.
14. Ibid., SP 12/127/18.

15. J. Lamb, A Collection of Letters, Statutes and other Documents ... illustrative of the History of the University of Cambridge ... (1838), pp. 358-60; for Roberts, vide supra chap. VI (ii), n. 70.
16. P.R.O., SP 12/91/35; C.S.P. Dom., Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I, I, 1547-80, 492; V.C.H. Cambs., III, 454; Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 286.
17. P.R.O., SP 12/114/59.
18. Ibid., SP 12/127/19.
19. D.N.B. sub Nicholls. Richard Jones of Bala, Merioneth, B.A. Christ's, M.A. 1572, Fellow Magdalene, B.D. there 1579, D.D. 1584, d. 1585; Henry Vause (Vaux), matr. Magd., M.A. 1575, incorp. Oxford 1578; Robert Coytmore, matr. pens. Magd. 1579 (Al. Cant.).
20. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 293-4.
21. Ibid., 290; Bodl., Rawlinson MS D.399, f. 255; E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), p. 33.
22. P.R.O., SP 14/96/15; G.C. Richards and H.E. Salter, eds., The Dean's Register of Oriel (1926), pp. 241-6, 251; D.N.B. sub Lewis.
23. Hardy, op. cit., pp. 21-22, 26, 36-37.
24. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 291-3; Hardy, op. cit., pp. 47-49; C. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, II (1924), 199.
25. Hardy, op. cit., p. 88; V.C.H. Oxon., III (1954), 265; the biography of Mansell refers not at all to the dispute (L. Jenkins, The Life of Francis Mansell, D.D. (1854), p. 2).
26. Cambr. Univ. Library MS, Mm 1.36 (Baker MS 25), f. 412.
27. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XXIII, Add., 1625-49, 459; ibid., Charles I, VI, 1633-4, 120, 128; C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, III (1845), 258.
28. For Holdsworth, vide D.N.B., Al. Cant., and V.C.H. Cambs., III, 199; for Lane, vide Al. Cant. For a list of witnesses examined, vide C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, VI, 267-8, in which twenty-eight spoke for Lane, twenty-five for Holdsworth.
29. P.R.O., SP 16/249/1, esp. ff. 3, 5, 9.
30. Ibid., ff. 12, 14, 23.

31. Ibid., ff. 27-31.
32. Ibid., f. 40; Baker-Mayor, St. John's, 498-500. Downhall of Northants, B.D. St. John's 1622, and Fellow since 1614 (Al. Cant.). Since Downhall had been Bishop Williams's chaplain and had received the latter's support over the leases, it may be assumed that Williams's intervention in the dispute was on behalf of Holdsworth and his faction (vide supra n. 8).
33. P.R.O., SP 16/249/1, ff. 33 et seq., Scholar 1631; Al. Cant.
34. Ibid., ff. 43-44.
35. Ibid., ff. 46 et seq. and f. 57.
36. Ibid., ff. 58 et seq.
37. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, Add., 1625-49, 461.
38. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, V, 1633-4, 464. William Beale, Master of Jesus 1632, B.D. St. John's 1620 (Al. Cant.; V.C.H. Cambs., III, 198).
39. Cooper, Annals, I (1842), 395; Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 35.
40. M. Bateson, ed., Cambridge University Grace Book β, pt. ii (1905), viii-xv; Cooper, Annals, I, 347; R.B. Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell (1902), I, 408-9; II, 53-54; also vide C.W.P., 602; C.E. Mallet, op. cit., I, 412; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 295-7; O. Ogle, 'Oxford Market' in Collectanea: Second Series (Oxford Historical Society, 1890), pp. 65-67, 80, 82-84, 87; L. and P., Henry VIII, XVI, 1540-1, 752.
41. Cambridge: Thomas Yale 1552-3, John Gwyn 1555-6, Nicholas Robinson 1556-7, Hugh Glynn 1556-7, John Williams 1611-12, William Roberts of Queens' 1619-20, Edward Lloyd 1627-8, William Roberts of Corpus Christi 1629-30; Oxford: Richard Lorgan 1527, John Watkins 1564, John Meyrick 1565, Owen Glynn 1582, John Lloyd 1591, William Aubrey 1593, William Prichard 1595, Jenkin Vaughan 1614, Robert Lloyd 1628.
42. A.P.C., XXXIII, 1628, 487; J.R. Bloxham, A Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies ... of Magdalen College (1853-5), V, 54.
43. A. Wood, Fasti Oxonienses, i, sub 1628 in Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (1813-20).
44. Laud, Works, III, 209; H.E. Peek and C.P. Hall, The Archives of the University of Cambridge (1962), p. 45.

45. J. Hackett, Scrinia Reserata, i, 21-22; V.C.H. Cambs., III, 194; Cooper, Annals, III, 47-49, 51-52; C.W.P., 602.
46. Cooper, Annals, III, 186-7.
47. C.E. Mallet, op. cit., II, 303-4; Laud, Works, III, 211; G.R.M. Ward, Oxford University Statutes, I (1845), xxiv-xxxiii.
48. P.R.O., SP 16/165/18. Price, B.D., Christ Ch. 1628; Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy 1621-30 (Al. Oxon.; D.N.B.; D.W.B.). That religious passions were probably involved is indicated by the presence of Giles Thorne, an anti-Arminian, as one of the signatories (vide J. Rushworth, Historical Collections of private passages of state ..., 1618-40 (1721-2), II, 110-111).
49. Laud, Works, III, 242; Mallet, op. cit., II, 349; G.C. Brodrick, Memorials of Merton College (1884), p. 97.
50. e.g., P.R.O., SP 16/242/33; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, XIII (1915), 129-32, re. William Middleton (D.N.B.).
51. H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, IX (1902), 167-8, 173.
52. Cooper, Annals, III, 57.
53. Ibid., III, 118-19; Owen (supra chap. VI (i), n. 84), author of Herod and Pilate reconciled, or the Concord of Papist and Puritan ... for Coercion, Deposition and Killing of Kings (1610).
54. G. Roberts, ed., The Diary of Walter Yonge Esq., Camden Society, XLI (1848), 61-62.
55. A. Clark, ed., Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary of Oxford ..., I (1891), 62, re. Humphrey Lloyd of Oriel, M.A., Fellow, of Denbs. (Al. Oxon.), and N. Tucker, North Wales in the Civil War (1958), pp. 142, 168, re. Hugh Bodwrda, M.A. St. John's 1639, and John Williams, matr. St. John's 1640 (Al. Cant.); and note also William Hanmer, matr. Christ Church, Oxford, 1640 (Al. Oxon.).
56. W.R. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 113-14; R.M. Fisher, 'Reform, Repression and Unrest at the Inns of Court, 1518-58', The Historical Journal, 20 (1977), 799-801.
57. LI Library, Black Book 5, ff. 422<sup>V</sup>, 425. Roberts adm. generally 27 Elizabeth (ibid., f. 378<sup>V</sup>).
58. IT Library, Miscell. MS 172. The four Welshmen were Walter Price of Radnor (adm. 1565), Walter Wynter (1574), William Lewis of Anglesey (1576/7), John Thomas of Glamorgan (1559/60 or 1564/5). cf. a similar declaration at Lincoln's Inn (The Egerton Papers, 108-11).

59. C.W.P., 1107.
60. P.R.O., SP 14/121/5, 12; A.P.C., XXXVII, 1619-21, 8; A.H. Dodd, 'Wales' Parliamentary Apprenticeship', Trans. Cymmr. 1942, 44, 54.
61. C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 1618-23, 256; P.R.O., SP 14/121/44; J.R. Tanner, Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I (1952), pp. 319-21.
62. P.R.O., SP 14/121/54, 69; J.R. Tanner, op. cit., p. 319.
63. J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Syr John Wynn o Wedir', Trans. Caerns. 1975, 27.
64. D.N.B. sub Floyd; R.R. Pearce, A History of the Inns of Court and Chancery (1848), pp. 448-9; C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 277, 300.
65. D. Little, Religion, Order and Law: a study in Pre-Revolutionary England (1970), pp. 167 ff., esp. pp. 175-89.
66. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 232-3; cf. F. Oakley, 'Jacobean Political Theology: The Absolute and Ordinary Powers of the King', Journal of the History of Ideas, XXIX (1968), 323 ff.
67. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XXIII, Add. 1625-49, 604.
68. D.W.B. sub Herbert and Trevor; J.G. Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan of Trawscoed', N.L.W. Jour., VIII (1953), 121-3; A.H. Dodd, 'Welsh Opposition Lawyers in the Short Parliament', B.B.C.S., XII (1948), 106-7. Lincoln's Inn was the inn most resistant to royal demands (Prest, op. cit., p. 232). Also, vide E.S. Cope and W.H. Coates, eds., Proceedings of the Short Parliament of 1640, Camden Society, 4th Ser., XIX (1977), 74-75, 144, 159-60, 173, 178-9, 191-2, 196, 245, for the rôle of lawyers, particularly Jones and Glynne, in defending the Commons's privileges and criticising the Crown's policies; and cf. ibid., 172, 191-2, 196, 231-2, 310-11, for Edward Herbert's defence and support for the Crown.
69. J.G. Williams, op. cit., 37; M.F. Keeler, The Long Parliament 1640-1. A Biographical Study of the Members (1954), p. 79; W.E.B. Whittaker, 'The Glynnes of Hawarden', Flintshire Historical Society (Publications) Journal, IV (1906), 11-12; D.W.B. sub Arthur Trevor and John Glynne.
70. Vide supra chap. VI (ii), nn. 158, 160; D.W.B.; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XXI, 1645-7, 550-1; C.H. Hopwood, A Calendar of Middle Temple Records (1903), p. 75.
71. D.W.B.

72. Supra chap. VI (ii), nn. 162, 163; Four Special Orders and a Declaration of the Commons Assembled in Parliament (1646), p. 7.
73. LI Library, Red Book I, f. 221<sup>v</sup>; LI Black Books, II, 375; A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 161.
74. IT Records, II, 277-8, 320-1; N. Tucker, North Wales in the Civil War, pp. 150, 159-60, 170.
75. Ibid., pp. 37, 169; J.R. Phillips, The Civil War in Wales and the Marches (1874), II, 43. Trevor, adm. GI 1638, Edwards IT 1637/8, Dolben IT 1638, Corbet GI 1642, Salesbury GI 1642, Robinson GI 1637 (GI Adms.; IT typescript reg.).
76. GI Pens. Book, pp. 441, 444; C.M. Thomas, 'The Civil Wars in Glamorgan', in G. Williams, ed., Glamorgan County History, IV (1974), 270-4; J.R. Phillips, op. cit., I, 347; II, 217, Mansell adm. GI 1642, Carne MT 1640, Jeffreys IT 1641, Proger GI 1640/1 (GI Adms.; IT typescript reg.; IT Adms.).
77. e.g., John White adm. MT 1638, William Prydderch IT 1640, George Rumsey GI 1641, James Rumsey GI 1642 (MT Adms.; IT typescript reg.; GI Adms.).
78. Dodd, Stuart Wales, pp. 113, 129. Thelwall, adm. IT 1638, Vaughan GI 1638, Jones LI 1635 (GI Adms.; LI Adms.; It typescript reg.).
79. Vide supra chap. VI (ii), n. 164.
80. W.H. Terry, ed., Judge Jenkins (1929), passim; J.D.H. Thomas, 'Judge David Jenkins 1582-1663', Morgannwg, VIII (1964), 14 ff.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE FRUITS OF LEGAL TRAINING:

#### THE PROFESSIONAL LAWYER AND THE AMATEUR

##### PART (i) : THE LEGAL PROFESSION

Social change in this period was accompanied by change in legal institutions and by increased business for the courts.<sup>1</sup> The Acts of Union in Wales established courts of Great Sessions with wide common law powers and a Court under the Council of Wales and the Marches with extensive prerogatives and civil law authority. In terms of legal administration, the Welsh courts had considerable independence, though the central civil and common law courts in London had powers of intervention and supervision that they freely exercised.<sup>2</sup> While it appears that the Welsh were in no sense inordinately litigious compared to people in the rest of the kingdom, the recourse to the law to settle matters became more common and frequent.<sup>3</sup> The Court of the Council of Wales, and the Great Sessions, too, probably, were never short of business. In the case of the former, in the 1620s, some two hundred to three hundred cases were heard regularly per term of three to five weeks, causing some English common lawyers to regard its success with jealousy.<sup>4</sup>

The law came to represent an attractive and lucrative career that possessed no little status at all levels of the profession. There was a proliferation of lawyers and Sir George Buck delineated the social and material benefits for law students,

'these Gentlemen by their long, continual, painfull and diligent Studies and chiefly by their due serving of God ... get much wealth and attayne to great places and dignities and offices in the law and in the commonwealth, and become rich and famous lawyers, worthy members of the commonwealth and great and much honoured magistrates in this kinqdome, and founders of many worshipfull and Noble families ... '.<sup>5</sup>



Even a superficial knowledge of law derived from a legal education could be useful and socially impressive, and in fact mere attendance at the inns of court became the characteristic of the majority of the inns' students.<sup>6</sup>

A greater division of skills and functions between lawyers occurred in this period also. At common law the work of advocacy became largely the prerogative of senior students of law, the serjeants at law and those inns of court members of sufficient ancienty or experience to be called as competent pleaders to the outer bars of their inns. Formal legal work of a scribal or clerkly nature continued to be transacted by these barristers, but increasingly it became the task of solicitors and attorneys, who were inner-barristers at the inns of court or members of the inns of chancery, or who had learned law by attending courts in London or the provinces.<sup>7</sup>

Wales, it may be assumed, in common with the rest of the kingdom, experienced an increase in the number of these lesser lawyers. During the reign of Elizabeth, the Council of Wales strove to regulate the numbers and standard of attorneys at its Court and during the early seventeenth century, business was reported as being taken away from that Court by the great increase of attorneys in the English border counties and in Monmouthshire, where over twenty-two such lawyers were reported to be in practice.<sup>8</sup>

Among the Welsh attorneys who practised at or near the Court of the Council at Ludlow were John Jones of Gellilyfdy and Nicholas Taylor of Presteigne, neither of whom seems to have trained in London.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, a Montgomeryshire attorney, Richard Griffiths of

Glanhafren, seems to have had a wide and extensive education at Shrewsbury, Oxford, the Staple Inn and finally Gray's Inn (1593/4), and he seems to have shown a considerable competence in his work both as attorney and as officer to several small local courts.<sup>10</sup> That such formal education, or attendance at such institutions of education, appears not to have been essential is suggested by the fact that, for example, only about half the attorneys at the Court and Council at Ludlow in 1586 appear to have been London trained, only one being a Welshman, Morgan Glyn of the Inner Temple.<sup>11</sup>

The gentry in Wales, as elsewhere, often employed attorneys and solicitors in private or personal capacities, even on a regular basis. Sir John Wynn of Gwydir used relatives, like Robert Vaughan at Ludlow and Humfrey Jones at Caernarvon,<sup>12</sup> and in particular Robert Lewys in London, who had attended both Barnard's Inn and Gray's Inn.<sup>13</sup> Other such lawyers employed by Wynn and by, for example, Sir William Maurice, were of a varied background of training. Richard Evans for Maurice, and Richard Budd and Ieuan ap Howell Lloyd for Wynn seem not to have trained in London but they were nevertheless sufficiently capable to be given wide responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> Other solicitors such as Thomas Martin and Richard Annwyl of Parc, Merioneth, who were employed by both gentlemen, seem to have had some training at Gray's Inn.<sup>15</sup> Maurice, indeed, employed other Gray's Inn trained solicitors too, who, like Annwyl, seem to have been men of local origin and therefore dependable.<sup>16</sup> Wynn used John Panton of Gray's Inn, Sir Thomas Egerton's servant, while Maurice further exploited local ties by using as his solicitor Griffith Jones, son of William Jones the lawyer, soon after he had entered Lincoln's Inn.<sup>17</sup>

Clerk's work of the type done by solicitors and attorneys was undoubtedly a means of education for inns of court students who had a definite vocation for the law. William Ravenscroft, John Glynne and Simon Thelwall of Bathafarn, for example, benefited as inner-barristers by service in London courts of civil and common law, and in assisting senior lawyers.<sup>18</sup> For the less active students, and those who failed to receive a good training, the tasks and function of solicitors and attorneys were made more accessible by published guides, in particular in this context, the works of Thomas Powell of Radnorshire, who was educated at Gray's Inn. His Attornies Almanack (1627)<sup>19</sup> and, in particular, his Attourney's Academy (1623) were invaluable, his aim in the latter being,

'for the setting and establishing of a certaine course of compliance between the officers and Ministers of our Lawes and their Clients, which would distinguish and set apart the unlearned and unconscionable crue, from those whose endowment of acquisison and indeerment of conscience and innated composition speakes them farre more worthy.'<sup>20</sup>

A notable precursor to this work, in aim if not in context, had been the Digest des Grieffs Originals (1579) by the Inner Templar, Simon Thelwall of Plas-y-Ward,<sup>21</sup> while Powell's success was later followed by another volume of advice to attorneys, especially in Wales, Practica Walliae (1672) by Rice Vaughan of Gray's Inn, who counselled the lesser lawyers to learn law from their betters, the barristers of the inns of court, who knew all there was about court procedure.<sup>22</sup>

While such works might assist attorneys to become better lawyers in dealing with court cases, and while there might also be books such

as Thomas Phaer's New Book of Presidents<sup>23</sup> to enlighten solicitors, and laymen, on procedure in civil processes, men of substance in society would always turn to the better-qualified to facilitate matters. Members of the Gwydir family in London were used to contact lawyers to help with family business. Robert Gwyn, for example, was in contact with John Price of Gogerddan, then still an inner-barrister of the Inner Temple, in 1553.<sup>24</sup> Sir John Wynn's sons, John, of Lincoln's Inn, and Owen were similarly employed. Owen, the son most regularly at home at Gwydir, nevertheless also possessed a chamber at Lincoln's Inn, presumably for better contact with the legal profession, for he was never formally a member there.<sup>25</sup> Wynn presumably preferred the advice of North Wales barristers in dealing with the most intricate problems, for his attorneys had dealings with John Lloyd and, especially, with William Jones.<sup>26</sup> The Wynns of Gwydir were not the only ones to have sons in London, and at the inns, to contact the best lawyers. Owen Salusbury of Rûg, at Gray's Inn, was employed by his father to seek out legal aid for a neighbouring landowner.<sup>27</sup>

#### Welsh Common Law barristers and counsellors

There was certainly much business for London lawyers of all types in this period. For the most ambitious, legal advancement and promotion might not merely bring more and better business but an actual rise in status. Utter- or outer-barristers were denoted esquires and were entitled to livery of those worth £20 per annum or more in land. The élite of the barristers, the ablest of the counsellors, the serjeants at law, took an even higher status.<sup>28</sup> Although the fees to

the Crown, payable on appointment to the coif, made such a position less attractive than before, most Welsh barristers who had the opportunity to accept, did so, in the confident expectation of further elevation to judgeships. Eight Welsh barristers, who trained c.1550-1642, became serjeants, six being elevated judges.<sup>29</sup>

These eight represented a more substantial body of barristers who were also successful in the London central courts. Already, prior to 1550, at least one Welshman had been a successful counsellor, Thomas Atkins of Lincoln's Inn, while during Elizabeth's reign seven, and possibly as many as ten, Welshmen were active and successful common law counsel.<sup>30</sup> During James I's reign there were at least seventeen Welsh counsel practising in London, including three or four who had also practised under Elizabeth.<sup>31</sup> Under Charles I, fifteen, and perhaps as many as eighteen, Welsh counsel were active, over half having been active in the previous reign too.<sup>32</sup> A recent survey suggests that between 1602 and 1642, there were as many as thirty-one Welsh counsel, in all, practising in the London courts, representing 6.4 per cent of all the counsel identified.<sup>33</sup>

Opportunities for Welsh counsel to be advocates in Wales were very likely circumscribed. Procedures in the courts of Great Sessions probably followed those of the English assizes and therefore counsel would largely be restricted to civil cases.<sup>34</sup> At the Court of the Council of Wales efforts were made to regulate the practice of the advocates as well as the attorneys. After the 1570s, only utter-barristers of at least five years' standing could practise, and, in theory at least, the number was limited to eight.<sup>35</sup> Not that practice

at Ludlow was especially attractive. Of the large complement of barristers at Lincoln's Inn in the 1570s, only three were recorded as attending the Court of the Council, none of whom was Welsh.<sup>36</sup> Two Welsh barristers seem then to have been associated with the Court, Hugh Owen and John Lewis, both Inner Templars.<sup>37</sup> Whether other Welsh lawyers followed their example is uncertain, and there is certain evidence for only one other Welsh lawyer at this Court, John Lloyd of Ceiswyn, Merioneth, yet another Inner Templar, who acted on behalf of Sir William Maurice of Clennau in several matters there during the five years or so prior to his elevation to serjeant.<sup>38</sup>

Lloyd's practice was not exclusively in Wales, for he represented Maurice in the Westminster courts also, at the Exchequer and Star Chamber Courts.<sup>39</sup> In view of Maurice's extreme litigiousness, it is quite likely that Lloyd was employed in other actions, too, and in at least one Chancery action, the services of the Denbighshire lawyer, John Jeffreys, were also hired.<sup>40</sup> Other Welsh interests, besides Maurice's, were represented in London courts by Welsh barristers. Thomas Bulkeley, for example, worked on behalf of the corporation of his home town of Beaumaris in 1589, probably in the capacity of solicitor in a case at the Exchequer Court.<sup>41</sup>

It is difficult to tell whether Welsh counsel concentrated on work in particular courts at Westminster, though it is likely that those who attained the judicial bench must have served in the courts to which they were appointed; for example, Sir William Jones at the Common Pleas and Sir David Williams in the King's Bench. Williams is also known to have served in the Court of Star Chamber,<sup>42</sup> as did several other Welsh

barristers who were employed, among other business, in major political trials before the Civil War. John Vaughan, James Lloyd and David Jenkins all practised in this Court,<sup>43</sup> while Sir Edward Herbert and Arthur Trevor were involved in spectacular ecclesiastical trials, the former representing Bishop John Williams before the High Commission, the latter the Anglican bishops at the Commons impeachment in 1641.<sup>44</sup>

In their early, and even during their mature periods as barristers, several of these Welsh common lawyers had gained invaluable experience and service by being officers of borough courts. Recorderships were particularly important<sup>45</sup> and those in Wales were very useful for the emerging Welsh lawyer. In the late sixteenth century, David Williams had a long period in that office at Brecon, where he was succeeded by Andrew Powell, and he was also Recorder of Carmarthen, where he had succeeded Hugh Owen, above, of the Inner Temple. Later, in 1640, the office was filled by Lewis Lewis of Gray's Inn.<sup>46</sup> In Anglesey, the Recordership of Beaumaris offered a lucrative post for several locally-born barristers during this period, Richard Owen Tudor, Thomas Sulkeley, William Jones, Charles Jones and John Griffith, all of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>47</sup> Further afield, in East Anglia, recorderships were important in the advancement of Rice Gwyn at Yarmouth and Norwich, and of William Foxwist at St. Albans.<sup>48</sup>

It was London which provided the base for greater gain, however, witness the wealth of James Price of Cardiganshire,<sup>49</sup> and much of the work of the Welsh lawyer was of a formal character unconnected with attendance in the courts. The accumulation of business and then of wealth may be seen in the career of Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Anglesey,

barrister and eventually Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. His business involved land conveyancing, settling disputes, establishing bonds of obligation, making leasing arrangements, and securing various other rights and titles. His clients were drawn from as far afield as Sussex, Yorkshire, Devon and Westmoreland,<sup>50</sup> and he was employed regularly by members of the London mercantile community.<sup>51</sup> Some business was contracted jointly with his compatriot Thomas Bulkeley,<sup>52</sup> and he also did work for London lawyers such as John Puckering and Dr. David Lewis, the Welsh civilian.<sup>53</sup>

Such work as this was not always to the client's satisfaction, witness a Chancery action against Hughes in 1594/5,<sup>54</sup> but it seems to have been typical work of a busy London Welsh barrister. Henry Wynn's book of precedents, drawn up probably in the 1630s, suggests that this was the case. The topics dealt largely with the laws of property, bargain and sale, livery and seisin, indentures, annuities, letters of attorney, etc., containing examples often from North Wales dating back to James I's reign. Actions relating to land in Chancery were also indicated, in which Wynn himself seems to have acted, and there were contemporary references to matters of wardship and stewardship in Gwynedd.<sup>55</sup>

A clerk's notebook of the late 1630s further reflects the scope and nature of Wynn's business. Over 190 cases are listed over the three law terms from the end of January 1637 until the end of January 1638, and about 160 cases during a similar period in 1639-40, and they may partly refer to Wynn's growing official importance, especially his becoming the Queen's Attorney in 1639.<sup>56</sup> Wynn seems to have possessed



many clients in his native North Wales. He acted on behalf of landowners in the Chancery court, including his own brother, Sir Richard Wynn, and other leading gentry such as the Mostyns and Traffords.<sup>57</sup>

The progress of the Wynn family of Gwydir in the seventeenth century further emphasises the growing relevance of the common law, particularly the law of property, in North Wales, and the manner in which they employed lawyers from similar gentry backgrounds to expedite their legal problems by counselling in its widest sense. Sir John Wynn, in addition to retaining Sir William Jones and John Lloyd, also sought help from Edward Morgan of the Inner Temple.<sup>58</sup> Sir Owen Wynn, after 1650, employed several Welsh barristers, principally William Dolben in 1653 and Edmund Pryse of the Inner Temple, who provided commercial as well as legal advice.<sup>59</sup> A more senior lawyer, Owen Andrews of Gray's Inn, dealt with a variety of matters, especially disputes over fines, debts, leases and the settling of an orphan's portion.<sup>60</sup> A close contemporary of Andrews, John Thelwall, assisted another Wynn, Maurice, who was also advised by his brother Henry, and Serjeant John Glynné was also employed in another land dispute.<sup>61</sup>

Welsh barristers performed similar functions for Welsh gentlemen elsewhere too. William Morgan of the Middle Temple negotiated loans and debt repayments,<sup>62</sup> Sir William Jones delineated a land title and settled a marriage contract.<sup>63</sup> Morgan also arbitrated in land disputes in South Wales, imitating what the civilian Dr. David Lewis had done before.<sup>64</sup> Common lawyers also acted as lawful intermediaries in land

transactions (reassignments and final concords), for example, David Williams and David Jenkins,<sup>65</sup> and in South Wales, too, there were opportunities to become stewards of manors held by peers of the realm. In the mid-sixteenth century, Thomas Morgan of Pencoed supervised the Buckingham estates,<sup>66</sup> while later, and during the early seventeenth century, the Seys family, a family of barristers, served the landed interests of the Sidney and Pembroke families in Glamorgan.<sup>67</sup> Stewardships outside Wales were also available to the Welsh common lawyer, as with Thomas Trevor, who served his family's patrons, the Earls of Nottingham.<sup>68</sup>

Such duties and functions were also available to civil lawyers such as Dr. David Lewis. In other respects, however, particularly in the matter of court work, civilians were at less of an advantage compared to their common law counterparts. Their sphere of action was restricted to Church courts, prerogative courts and a few of the central (civil law) courts, where they competed with the common lawyers for business.<sup>69</sup>

#### Welsh Civil lawyers and advocates

The civilian equivalent of the common law barrister was the advocate, who usually held a doctorate in civil (or, before 1535, canon) law from the universities, and had trained by attending the Court of Arches in London.<sup>70</sup> Since the study of the laws was well-associated with Welsh university students, it was not surprising that a significant number became advocates. At least three were so qualified during the reign of Henry VII, thirteen under Henry VIII, three under Edward VI and one under Mary. Under Elizabeth, a peak was attained with seventeen qualifying.

Thereafter, the profession seemed less attractive to Welshmen and only two qualified under James I and three under Charles I.<sup>71</sup> It was usual for most but not all advocates to reside at the Doctors' Commons in London, the society of practising doctors of Law. A late fifteenth century foundation, its first President was Richard Blodwell of St. Asaph, and both advocates and non-advocates involved in civil law were early members.<sup>72</sup>

Advocates monopolised court work and the Welsh element not only worked in the Court of Arches where two, Griffith Leyson and Thomas Yale, were deans, but in other ecclesiastical courts in London too. John Lloyd, William Griffith, Oliver Lloyd senior, Richard Trevor and Sir William Meyrick were all at the Court of Delegates, while John Lloyd and Leyson were also in the High Commission. Other civilian courts also offered much employment. Thomas Gwynne, Oliver Lloyd senior, and Leoline Jenkins after 1660, were in the High Court of Admiralty. Dr. David Lewis also served there, but equally he had an important contribution to make to the Court of Requests and particularly to the Chancery, where David Yale was also active.<sup>73</sup> Local courts also offered avenues of advancement, for example, the vice-Chancellor's Court at Oxford, which employed not only advocates like Maurice Glyn and Arthur Gulkeley, but non-advocates too.<sup>74</sup>

All civilians, advocates and non-advocates alike, found ecclesiastical administration an important career opportunity as chancellors and archdeacons with responsibilities for local diocesan courts. Several of the leading Welsh advocates in London especially found important posts: James Ellis, Henry Mostyn, David Yale, John Pennant,

Sir Richard Trevor, William Griffith, Thomas Gwynne, Henry Morgan, Oliver Lloyd senior, Thomas Powell.<sup>75</sup> Civilians, in addition, because of their knowledge of Roman and international law, found service to the government as bureaucrats, diplomats and ambassadors, for example, Sir Edward Carne, William Aubrey the elder and Sir John Herbert. They also entered into commissions at home associated with the civilian courts, and dealing with maritime matters, piracy and charities, and where other Welshmen, such as William Aubrey the younger, Sir Richard Trevor and William Prytherch were also to be found. The provincial councils of the kingdom were avenues to administration in the case of some such as Sir John Herbert, David Lewis and Sir John Vaughan, where they were joined by common lawyers like Hugh Hughes and Simon Thelwall.<sup>76</sup>

#### Legal offices and judicial posts

The common lawyers had the greatest opportunity for office in the courts, and the courts of Great Sessions in Wales offered Welsh barristers well-remunerated opportunities as keepers of seals,<sup>77</sup> royal counsel and attorneys. Welsh lawyers were prominent as royal attorneys in South Wales by the late sixteenth century, being local men with powerful landed interests and contacts as well as legal expertise, for example, the Seys family, David Williams, and Walter Rumsey.<sup>78</sup> In North Wales, the native-born barristers were fewer in such posts, but influential for all that, especially in the case of Hugh Hughes and John Jeffreys.<sup>79</sup>

Most of these barristers, apparently, were men of long experience, being appointed attorneys on average some nine years after their calls.

Half of the fifteen Welsh attorneys noted, however, had six years' experience or less, and Owen Griffith of Cefnamwlch, Caernarvonshire, was appointed about the time of his call to the bar. The barrister of longest standing, by contrast, was Kenrick Eyton, who was appointed some twenty-six years after his call.<sup>80</sup>

Eyton had already a long association with the Great Sessions as Prothonotary in Denbighshire and Montgomeryshire, and it was seen that such posts as this were regarded as valuable by inns-trained lawyers in North Wales, who filled them as nominees of lay owners.<sup>81</sup> Notable barristers, such as Eubule Thelwall, William Jones, Henry Wynn and Peter Mutton, occupied such posts, though it might be questionable how thoroughly they fulfilled their duties, given their legal work in London. In South Wales, by comparison, few barristers were attracted to such posts.<sup>82</sup>

Judicial posts in the Great Sessions represented definite advancement for common lawyers and were a means for further promotion in London. The four Welsh circuits were represented by one, and after 1578, two, justices who were English-born lawyers during the sixteenth century, often natives of the marcher counties and men of considerable legal ability.<sup>83</sup> During the first half of the seventeenth century, Welsh-born lawyers began to fill these posts, though the rule forbidding a justice to ride circuit in his area of origin, or where he had interests, was applied fairly strictly, except possibly in the case of Peter Mutton and of the English-born Sir Francis Eure.<sup>84</sup> Practically all the active Welsh barristers of note held judicial posts in Wales at some stage in their careers, and in all but the south-western circuit

before 1642 a succession of Welsh lawyers had sat as judges, usually second justices, a trend that was to continue throughout Wales until 1660.<sup>85</sup>

The justices of the Great Sessions in Wales were also ex officio members of the Court of the Council of Wales. The President of the Council and the Chief Justice of the Chester circuit had predominance in the panel to hear cases. The concern of central government for impartiality in its dealings centred on the desirability of having other lawyers attend on the Council, and presumably on its Court too, who would be neither natives of Wales nor of the Marches and therefore unbiased.<sup>86</sup> This was a dead letter, however, and the lawyers who made up the Council were usually men with local interests.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, Welsh lawyers increasingly began to fill the various legal offices associated with the Crown and the Court, such as Royal Attorney and Solicitor.<sup>88</sup>

Legal office in Wales was no bar to continued legal practice as counsel in the Westminster courts, if the continuity of attendance at the inns of court of men such as Peter Mutton, Richard Prytherch and Arthur Trevor, is any sign.<sup>89</sup> In London, moreover, legal advancement could be gained by becoming Crown officers, lawyers representing the royal interest as did the royal attorneys and solicitors in the Welsh courts. Thomas Trevor, John Glynne, Henry Wynn and Sir Edward Herbert all received important promotions under the Crown.<sup>90</sup> Advancement was also to be obtained by nomination to important but relatively peripheral judicial posts, such as the Recordship of London occupied by John Glynne in 1643, or Irish judgeships, which Hugh Hughes

and William Jones were given in the early seventeenth century.<sup>91</sup> The ultimate honours, of becoming justices of the central common law courts at Westminster, were gained by prior experience in Wales or Ireland or London, assisted by influential patronage, as in William Jones's case, and guarantees of financial probity, as in that of David Williams.<sup>92</sup>

After 1642, three other of the pre-Civil War Welsh admissions gained high judicial honours, John Glynne and John Puleston during the Interregnum, and John Vaughan after the Restoration.<sup>93</sup> It is significant that, except for Vaughan, all these Welsh judges, together with Thomas Trevor of the Exchequer, appointed 1625,<sup>94</sup> rode much of their assize duties in the Oxford circuit, which bordered Wales and included Monmouth. No doubt it was a convenient arrangement for business at Ludlow or in Wales itself and useful in dealing with those pockets of the borders where the population continued to be monoglot Welsh.<sup>95</sup>

In certain prerogative courts and courts of equity, judges were nominated from among common and civil lawyers, notably in the courts of Chancery and Requests. Welsh judges of the two laws were to be found in only one court, the Court of Chancery, where, during the early seventeenth century, Sir Eubule Thelwall and Sir Peter Mutton, both common lawyers, became Masters in Chancery, as did the civilian William Griffith. Civilian judges from Wales were already long associated with this Court, among the earliest being Sir Edward Carne, a layman as opposed to an ecclesiastic as judge. Churchmen had been prominent among the earliest Welsh civilian judges, John Morgan and

Edward Vaughan both being in the Court of Requests. Carne, too, sat in that court, and this joint practice was followed by David Lewis, John Vaughan and William Awbrey. In the reign of Elizabeth, three other Welsh civilians were also predominant in these courts, Sir John Herbert, Thomas Yale and Robert Lougher.<sup>96</sup>

The purely civil law courts of ecclesiastical and maritime law also brought forth promotion for Welshmen, particularly during the seventeenth century. Oliver Lloyd the younger, Sir William Meyrick and Sir Leoline Jenkins all served in the Court of Requests, and Jenkins, of course, made his greatest contribution as a Judge in the High Court of Admiralty, where Welsh civilians such as Griffith Leyson, David Lewis, John Lloyd and Richard Trevor had sat in the previous century.<sup>97</sup>

The Chancery Court in its equity jurisdiction took precedence over all other Westminster courts and as a result a growth in the prestige and authority of the office of Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper had occurred. Though an office largely held by common lawyers, by the early seventeenth century, that had not prevented the Court from challenging the authority of common law and asserting the royal prerogative in legal matters. In the context of legal appointments, the nomination of Bishop John Williams as Lord Keeper in 1620 restored an ecclesiastical influence to the post, a divinity scholar who was not ignorant of law but had a clear conception of the relative merits of common law and equity and the rôle that the Crown should play.<sup>98</sup> His appointment, however, brought few tangible benefits to the Welsh legal profession, apart from probably the elevation of Sir William Jones to



the Common Pleas and the appointment as a Justice in Wales in 1622 of Peter Mutton, who was courting the Lord Keeper's sister.<sup>99</sup>

The Welsh lawyers who were appointed judges in this period probably followed Williams in acknowledging ultimate and actual royal influence in law. Sir David Williams, for all his difficulties with the Crown over his suspected recusancy, nevertheless acknowledged royal power and rejected Coke's views.<sup>100</sup> Sir William Jones, who may, in his younger days, have had radical views about questioning royal influence, by 1627 was a dependable justice in the Crown's interest.<sup>101</sup> During the 1630s, he and Baron Trevor were among the staunchest acknowledgers of the legal rights of the Crown and by 1640, Jones was so discredited in some eyes as to be regarded as the most corrupt of all judges, 'all manner of villany he will let pass if only he be sufficiently bribed'.<sup>102</sup> Yet again, Jones and Trevor were demonstrably able judges and judicial thinkers, as Jones's Reports (1675) show. They conceived of law in terms of the King as ultimate earthly authority, a common attitude among the pre-Civil War judges and echoed by the Welsh Justice, David Jenkins, in Lex Terrae (1647).<sup>103</sup> Judges Glynne and Puleston proved to be somewhat more pragmatic in their attitudes but it was left to John Vaughan, after the Restoration, to define properly the nature of an independent judiciary.<sup>104</sup>

Judges faced alternative pressures to those of the Crown, often as difficult to resist, namely the powerful vested interests of the gentry in the localities. Sir David Williams's experiences on the Oxford circuit were an acute reminder to all judges.<sup>105</sup> In north-west Wales, Sir William Maurice tried to bring powerful family interests to

bear on Justice Barker, while the latter's successor, John Jeffreys, sought to tread carefully for fear of alienating outright the powerful Gwydir interests.<sup>106</sup> In South Wales, in Monmouthshire, Baron Trevor was criticised for tolerating the influences of the Morgans of Tredegar on the jury, while in the north-east, Welsh judges won successful libel actions at Star Chamber, defending their reputations and legal decisions.<sup>107</sup>

Judges, and for that matter all lawyers, could not ignore entirely social relations and ties,<sup>108</sup> and indeed their very wealth and status made them assimilable into gentry society. Most of the Welsh civil law advocates, with the possible exception of Richard Trevor, found their careers lucrative and beneficial, characterised by the lands and estates purchased and the size of bequests left in their wills. William Aubrey the elder, David Lewis, James Ellis, John Gwyn, Thomas Yale, John Lloyd, William Wood, Henry Mostyn and Sir John Herbert all achieved substantial affluence, at least in Welsh terms.<sup>109</sup>

Welsh common law counsellors similarly benefited. In at least one case, that of Edward Morgan, London practice brought an advantageous marriage with guarantees of lands and annuities.<sup>110</sup> Another North Wales barrister, Hugh Hughes, was able to employ the profits of his London practice over the period 1585-1606 to develop a substantial estate at Porthaml by purchase or leasing, added to which he received further rewards by virtue of the offices of Crown Steward and receiver of rents in Anglesey.<sup>111</sup> When he died in 1609, he was worth over £260 in goods and chattels alone, made up mostly of valuable livestock.<sup>112</sup> Similar, indeed more spectacular, progress was achieved by Edward Kemeys

of Cefn Mabli in Glamorgan, in the late sixteenth century, employing his profits to buy land and extend credit, and, in the following century, by David Jenkins, who rose rapidly in social status through his legal work in London, invested heavily and successfully in land and minerals, besides offering credit to the local gentry.<sup>113</sup>

The leasing of Crown lands in Wales seems to have come fairly easily to these Welsh lawyers also. Both Peter Mutton and Richard Prytherch benefited from such awards, the latter acquiring lands in Brecon and Carmarthenshire where he was subsequently to sit as Justice of the Great Sessions.<sup>114</sup> Services to the Crown as royal law officers also brought their rewards. Thomas Trevor and Henry Wynn, for example, were both Stewards in the royal manor of Bromfield, while earlier, David Williams received several grants of Crown lands for his work as Royal Attorney in South Wales.<sup>115</sup>

Rewards and expenses for judges could be considerable if David Williams's career is to be believed. Though his elevation to the judicial bench was delayed because of apparently insufficient wealth, he ended his career 'a man of great living and personall wealth', not surprising since the stipend for Westminster judges, together with assize fees, provided a solid income.<sup>116</sup> Even a justiceship in Wales brought its rewards, given that one could continue to practise in London. Sir Peter Mutton, reputedly impecunious before his appointment, showed sure signs of prosperity in the 1620s by extensive and expensive land purchases at Bryneuryn.<sup>117</sup>

On the other hand, judicial appointments at Westminster meant foregoing the earnings of active practice and assuming certain heavy

costs and charges for fulfilling the new honours. This seems to have coloured unfavourably Sir William Jones's attitude to his elevation. Apparently, compared with other judges, he made little profit, and his biographer noted that he hardly added two hundred pounds per annum to his patrimony during his whole career. That sum, however, though small by judges' standards, in itself would have represented a sizeable income among the leading gentry of his native Caernarvonshire.<sup>118</sup> As the century wore on, judges' earnings increased noticeably and in the case of John Vaughan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the 1670s, an income of four thousand pounds per annum was received, sufficient to acquire much land in mid-Wales.<sup>119</sup>

The rewards accruing to all lawyers in this period reflected their growing indispensability as experts in deciphering the subtleties and complexities of law. They often served the interests of already well-established landed and mercantile oligarchies, who could afford the best advice. The rest of the community had to adjust as best it could to the implications and difficulties of the law and legal procedure.<sup>120</sup> While some judges, such as Whitelocke, might believe in a legal system that protected the weak against the mighty and gave justice to the poor cheaply, there were clearly too many experiences of injustice, the misuse of law by the powerful, to delude people as to the realities of law. This was as true in Wales as in England.<sup>121</sup>

Opinion in Wales referred to the trickery of the law, the expensiveness of litigation and counselled the wisdom of avoiding going to law at all costs. Rowland Vaughan of Caergai advised a relative that the law was superfluous where honest men bargained, while 'all the

lawiers in England will not bind a dishonest man from cavill and contention'.<sup>122</sup> James Howell advised his father not to go to law for his opponent, 'Master J. Lloyd', was

'one of the shrewdest Solicitors in all the thirteen shires of Wales, being so habituated to Law suits and wrangling that he knows any of the least starting holes in every Court'.

Howell warned of the costs, of travelling to Westminster, of the law process itself, 'a shrewd Pick-purse', and of Lloyd, 'a Christmas box which is sure to get, whosoever loseth'.<sup>123</sup> Maurice Wynn's provocative observation to his brother William that, now he and Elis Wynn were entering the law, he hoped they would

'pleade the Law for your frindes for small consideration which if you promise soe to doe, I will bee your Clyente when I have any law matters',

was equally to the point.<sup>124</sup>

The poetic sources of the period were just as critical of the law. Popular free-metre poetry that reflected feelings among the lower orders took to task the avaricious lawyer, the judge who was deaf to the petitions of the weak and the lawyers' delight at taking heavy fees off rival parties.<sup>125</sup> Thomas Prys, squire of Plas Iolyn, depicted his own terrible experiences at the hands of lawyers in his 'cywydd', 'Y Dyd a'r Gyfraith'. The greed of attorneys and counsellors was made plain, and the barking of a modicum of law before the courts was the extent of expertise. Appeals at unsuccessful actions meant further gifts and money for the lawyers to retain their unsympathetic attentions.<sup>126</sup>

An additional jaundiced view of law at Westminster was provided by Siôn Tudur in 'Hanes y Trwstan', describing the lawyers' delight at their sterile business.<sup>127</sup>

And it was not only law in London that took toll on Welsh litigants. Siôn Tudur was just as critical of the Court at Ludlow. In 'Pa newydd o Lwydlo?', he recalled three experiences there: trouble, expense and only getting a portion of his money's worth for the bill he sought.<sup>128</sup> Robin Clidro intimated the same difficulties in 'Taith Clidro i Lwdlo'. Costs and delay were particular difficulties, having to crave to retain a lawyer and pay him beforehand and then wait for his uninterested response.<sup>129</sup>

Although the Ludlow Court might be inefficient and required, as William Gerrard in the 1570s acknowledged, reform, it and the lower courts continued to operate. The enforcement of English as the official administrative language in the courts, and which may have obtained in the pre-Union courts in Wales also, seems not to have barred the oral employment of the Welsh language. Indeed, it was essential to do so, as Gerrard affirmed. There was a confusion of languages in the Welsh courts, what with Latin-form writs, Norman French terms, English recordings of proceedings and Welsh oral and occasionally written testimony.<sup>130</sup>

Though Welsh had a relegated status it seems not to have been totally excluded from legal business of a formal kind, even in London, and the progress of Welsh lawyers, especially the common lawyers, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries may be due to the business gained from monoglot Welshmen.<sup>131</sup> They were, no doubt,

essential in the Welsh courts as counsel and attorneys, particularly when the quality of the translators seems to have been variable.<sup>132</sup> The prevalence of native-Welsh justices in the Great Sessions and on the Oxford circuit during the seventeenth century may be an acknowledgement by the government of the linguistic problem. It was important to have other law officers, too, in Wales who had competence in the language. It is clear that North Wales men such as Sir William Jones, Sir Peter Mutton and Henry Wynn were sufficiently bi-lingual to be so, and there were men of the border counties too, Edward Davies and Richard Broughton, who were so able.<sup>133</sup>

Welsh sentiment about the law in this period seems, however, to have been concerned less about the linguistic medium and more about the wider inequities of the system, its haste or protractedness, according to the circumstances, the cupidity and malice of attorneys, the deficient advice and lack of empathy of counsellors.<sup>134</sup> Lawyers at all levels were criticised, and at times there was glee when they came to grief.<sup>135</sup>

CHAPTER VII : PART (i) - NOTES

1. S.E. Thorne, 'Tudor Social Transformation and Legal Change', New York University Law Review 1951, 10 ff.; L. Stone, 'Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700', Past and Present, 33 (1966), 37-38; W.S. Holdsworth, H.E.L., IV (1924), 473-87; V (1924), 217; W.J. Jones, The Elizabethan Court of Chancery (1967), pp. 18-20; B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England, 1603-1641 (1973), pp. 73-76.
2. P. Williams, The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I (1958), pp. 25-27, 213-23; C.A.J. Skeel, The Council in the Marches of Wales (1904), p. 96; H.E.L., I (1956 ed.), 125-9; W.J. Jones, op. cit., pp. 348-52.
3. C.S.L. Davies, 'Wales and Star Chamber: a Note', W.H.R., V (1970), 71; H.A. Lloyd, 'Wales and Star Chamber: A Rejoinder', ibid., V (1971), 257 f.
4. J. Bruce, ed., Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke, Camden Society, LXX (1858), 88, 89, 92; J.P. Collier, ed., Egerton Papers, ibid., XII (1840), 419; Skeel, op. cit., pp. 109-10; J.S. Cockburn, A History of English Assizes, 1558-1714 (1972), pp. 221, 226-7; vide also P. Williams, 'The Activity of the Council in the Marches under the Early Stuarts', W.H.R., I (1961), 133 ff.
5. E.W. Ives, 'Social Change and the Law' in idem, ed., The English Revolution (1968), pp. 116-21; L. Stone, op. cit., 26, 28; cf. H.E.L., II (1909), bk. 3, 399; The Annales or General Chronicle of England begun first by Maister John Stow and after him continued and augmented ... by Edmund Howes, gentleman (1615), p. 975.
6. E.W. Ives, 'Some Aspects of the Legal Profession in the late Fifteenth and early Sixteenth Centuries', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1955), op. 27, 29-30; W.R. Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640 (1972), p. 151; MT Minutes, II, 833.
7. R. Robson, The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England (1959), pp. 1-5; H.E.L., VI (1924), 434-6, 440-2, 448-57; J.H. Baker, 'Counsellors and Barristers. An Historical Study', Cambridge Law Journal 1969, 217-22; idem, 'Solicitors and the Law of Maintenance', ibid. 1973, 56-80.
8. C.A.J. Skeel, op. cit., pp. 94, 114-17; P. Williams, op. cit., pp. 173-4; J.S. Cockburn, op. cit., p. 147; Egerton Papers, 419-20.



9. N. Lloyd, 'John Jones, Gellilyfdy', Flintshire Historical Society Publications Journal, XXIV (1969-70), 5-17; W.H. Howse, 'The Court of the Council of Wales and the Marches, an Attorney's Royal Warrant 1613', Transactions of the Radnorshire Society, XXIX (1959), 24 f.
10. W.A. Griffiths, 'A Short Account of the Family of Griffiths', Mont. Colls., XL (1922), 132; idem, 'Richard Griffiths of County Montgomery, gent., Mr. Case's Scholar', ibid., L (1948), 151-6.
11. P.R.O., SP 12/197/34, 35.
12. C.W.P., 897, 1033, 1084; vide also 1321 for Sir John Wynn's employment of Richard Griffiths.
13. Ibid., 508, 529, 535, 547, 823.
14. Ibid., 275, 293, 315, 416, 649, 1119; Clenennau, 356, 357.
15. C.W.P., 98, 122, 135, 218, 274, 507, 1008; Clenennau, 135, 409, 411, 472. Martyn prob. the one adm. GI 1576; Richard Anwyl adm. 1617/18, a companion of Elis Wynn of Gwydir (GI Adms.).
16. Clenennau, 150, Morgan Jones (GI 1594, of Barnard's Inn); 356, Oliver Morris (GI 1606/7, of Staple Inn); 293, 375, John Powell, attorney, (GI 1593, of Shropshire, where Maurice had many interests) (GI Adms.).
17. For Panton, vide supra chap. IV; Clenennau, 293, Griffith Jones, LI 1610, from Furnival's Inn (LI Adms.).
18. W.E.B. Whittaker, 'The Glynnes of Hawarden', Flintshire Hist. Soc. Jour., IV (1906), 7; R. Newcome, Memoir of Dr. Gabriel Goodman ... (1825), Addendum, aa 2r., and n. 57.
19. For Powell, vide D.N.B.; D.W.B.. Also vide The Attornies Almanack (1627), Introduction.
20. The Attourney's Academy (3rd ed., 1630), Introduction.
21. H.E.L., V, 380-2; Thelwall IT 1555/6, barr. 1567/8 (IT typescript reg.; D.W.B.).
22. Practica Walliae (1672), pp. 37-38; Vaughan GI 1638, barr. 1648 (GI Adms.).
23. D.W.J.; H.E.L., V, 388-9; Prest, Inns of Court, p. 151.
24. C.W.P., 17.

25. Ibid., 350, 1022, 1350-1, 1516.
26. Ibid., 277, 323, 325.
27. W.J. Smith, ed., Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence (1954), 330, 331; vide also the employment of Henry Herbert of Coldbrook, Monm. (adm. 1634), at the Middle Temple in 1638 (C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XII, 1637-8, 603; MT Adms.).
28. L. Stone, 'Social Mobility in England ... ', 53; J.H. Baker, 'Counsellors and Barristers', 223-9; Egerton Papers, 255; MT Minutes, II, 663, 668, 676, 686, 699, 702, 720, 742, 745, 824, 861, for change in status of two Welsh barristers, Philip Morgan and William Morgan.
29. H.E.L., V, 340; H.H.A. Cooper, 'Promotion and Politics among the Common Law Judges of the reigns of James I and Charles I', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Liverpool, 1964), pp. 52-53, 121-4; E. Foss, The Judges of England: with sketches of their lives ... (1848-64), V, 414; VI, 230-1; R.J. Lloyd, 'Welsh Masters of the Bench of the Inner Temple', Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 156, 160; ibid. 1938, 175. The Welsh serjeants were David Williams (1593/4), William Jones (1617), John Lloyd (1623), Thomas Trevor (1625/6), John Glynne (1648), John Puleston (1648), William Powell (1648), John Vaughan (1668).
30. Foss, op. cit., V, 421-3; VII, 53. Arnold Bassett (IT adm. 1559), Richard Davies (IT 1585), Richard Baker (IT 1578/9), Rice Gwyn (IT 1582), Hugh Hughes (LI 1571), David Williams (MT 1568), Thomas Bulkeley (LI 1570/1) and probably also Edward Holland (LI 1576/7), William Jones (LI 1587), William Lewis (IT 1576/7).
31. Foss, op. cit., VI, 35-37. Gwyn, Hughes, Williams and Jones plus Edward Lloyd (IT adm. 1589/9), Edward Herbert (IT 1609/10), John Lloyd (IT 1583), Andrew Powell (IT 1585), Richard Prytherch (IT 1596), William Ravenscroft (LI 1580), Eubule Thelwall (GI 1590), William Thomas (LI 1589), Thomas Trevor (IT 1592), David Jenkins (GI 1602), Peter Mutton (LI 1585/6), William Powell (LI 1599), John Jeffreys (LI 1587).
32. Foss, ibid., VI, 234-6. Lloyd, Trevor, Ravenscroft, Herbert, Jenkins, Mutton, Powell and possibly also Gwyn, plus Charles Jones (LI adm. 1612), John Puleston (MT 1610), Walter Rumsey (GI 1603), John Glynne (LI 1620/1), Arthur Trevor (IT 1624), John White (MT 1610), Thomas Williamson (LI 1621), and perhaps also Nicholas Adams (MT 1587), William Phillips (GI 1635).
33. H.H.A. Cooper, op. cit., Appendix 3, pp. 200 ff. In addition to the above names are Edward Edwards (IT adm. 1598), William Gibbs (LI 1625/6), Edward Powell (LI 1600), Marmaduke Lloyd (MT 1604), Henry Price (LI 1601).

34. J.S. Cockburn, History of English Assizes, pp. 120-1, 140-1.
35. C.A.J. Skeel, The Council in the Marches, p. 117;  
P. Williams, The Council in the Marches, p. 173.
36. B.L., Lansdowne MS 106, f. 90<sup>v</sup>; Pates, Spenser and Davies.
37. F.G. Payne, 'John Lewis of Llynwene', Transactions of the Radnorshire Society, XXX (1960), 7; IT Adms.
38. Clenennau, 354, 357, 360, 370, 412.
39. Ibid., 315, 373.
40. Ibid., 330, and Gen. 3.
41. D. Cyril Jones, 'The Bulkeleys of Baron Hill, 1440-1621', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1958), App. D, p. 406.
42. E. Foss, op. cit., VI, 339; Jonathan Williams, A General History of the county of Radnor, ed. E. Davies, (1905), p. 429.
43. J. Gwynn Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan, C.J. of Common Pleas, 1603-74', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1952), p. 16; R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1938, 171; J. Rushworth, Historical Collections of private passages of state ... , 1618-40, II (1722), 220-34; H.H.A. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 75, 78.
44. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 178, 187.
45. E.W. Ives, 'Some Aspects of the Legal Profession ... ', pp. 346 ff., 387.
46. Jonathan Williams, op. cit., pp. 429-31; J.B. Williamson, ed., The Middle Temple Bench Book (1937), p. 86; W.R. Williams, The History of the Great Sessions in Wales, 1542-1830, ... (1899), pp. 132, 190; IT Adms.
47. R. Flenley, A calendar of the register of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the dominions and principality of Wales and the marches, 1569-71 (1916), p. 134; G. Roberts, 'The Parliamentary History of Beaumaris, 1555-1832', T.A.A.S. 1933, 106.
48. W.R. Williams, op. cit., p. 60; R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 155, 163.
49. Clenennau, 399.
50. U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 340, 342, 343, 345.
51. Ibid., 342, 346, 348, 353, 354.

52. Ibid., 347, 2967.
53. Ibid., 341, 344, 351.
54. Ibid., 352.
55. N.L.W., Wynnstay 80, ff. 2-2<sup>v</sup>, 28, 123, 176, 182, 213, 248.
56. N.L.W., Wynnstay 85.
57. Ibid., reverse, matters concerning subpoena, replication, dedimus potestatem, commissioners ex parte, livery and wardship.
58. C.W.P., 157.
59. Ibid., 1983, 2019, 2053, 2254. Dolben adm. IT 1647/8, of Lincoln, son of the Welsh divine of same name, related to Williams of Cochwillan and therefore also to Wynn (IT Adms.; D.N.3.). There is no reference to Pryse's admission at any of the inns of court.
60. C.W.P., 1932. Andrews adm. GI 1636/7, barr. 1642 (GI Adms.).
61. C.W.P., 2026, 2055. Thelwall adm. GI 1629, barr. 1637 (GI Adms.).
62. N.L.W., Tredegar Park 137/174-5, 177.
63. H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts, II (1934), 412-13; U.C.N.W., Gwysaney 8.
64. N.L.W., Tredegar Park 122/79; 69/119; vide also Salisbury Correspondence, 59.
65. N.L.W., Talbot of Hensol 639, 623; Penlle'r gaer 167.
66. E.W. Ives, 'Some Aspects of the Legal Profession ... ', pp. 391-2.
67. H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley, II, 113, 114, 117; M. Robbins, 'The Agricultural, Domestic, Social and Cultural Interests of the Gentry in South-east Glamorgan', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), I, 51, 192-3; P. Williams, op. cit., p. 333.
68. H.M.C., Salisbury of Hatfield, XVI (1933), 335-6; H.H.A. Cooper, 'Promotion and Politics among the Common Law Judges ... ', p. 101.
69. B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England, p. 23.

70. Ibid., pp. 18-19; W. Senior, 'The Advocates of the Court of Arches', Law Quarterly Review, XXXVI (1920), 493 ff.
71. Based on Al. Cant.; Al. Oxon.; B.R.U.O. to 1500; B.R.U.O. 1501-40; B.R.U.C. to 1500; Levack, op. cit.; D.W.B.; and G.D. Squibb, Doctors' Commons: A History of the College of Advocates and Doctors of Law (1977), App. IV.
72. Ibid., op. 2-3, 17-19, 116-17. In 1500-80, twenty-three contributory members and twenty-three full advocates were admitted to Doctors' Commons from Wales. In 1580-1642, twelve were admitted from Wales, all advocates and including Dr. William Griffith of Garreglwyd, Anglesey (N.L.W., Garreglwyd 879-80, 882-4, 886-8, 890-5, 963).
73. W.J. Jones, The Elizabethan Court of Chancery, pp. 381, 393; C.S.P. Dom., Elizabeth I, VII, Add. 1566-79, 426.
74. e.g., William Meyrick, John Kydwelly, Elis Ruthin.
75. Also, vide supra chap. VI (i).
76. P. Williams, The Council in the Marches, pp. 342 ff.; C.S.P. Dom., Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I, I, 1547-80, 246, 274, 279, 343, 405, 457, 514, 538, 590; Elizabeth I, V, 1598-1601, 46, 80, 110, 438-9.
77. W.R. Williams, The History of the Great Sessions, pp. 77-78; J. Doddridge, The history of the ancient and modern estate of the Principality of Wales, ... (1630), pp. 67, 72. Inns of court lawyers as Keepers of seals included Thomas Trevor, Richard Jones, and William Penryn.
78. W.R. Williams, op. cit., pp. 153-4, 190-1.
79. Ibid., op. 79-81, 120; Doddridge, op. cit., pp. 68, 72.
80. Welsh barristers' seniority before appointment:  
Richard Seys - ten years; Evan Seys - five; Thomas Morgan - one; David Williams - five; Walter Rumsey - five; David Jenkins - six; William Morgan - thirteen; Lewis Lewis - three; Edmund Jones - ten; Lewis Morgan - nineteen; Hugh Hughes - seventeen; John Jeffreys - thirteen; Owen Griffith - nil; Kenrick Eyton - twenty-six; Richard Lloyd - four.
81. Williams, op. cit., pp. 84, 156; Doddridge, op. cit., p. 69; G.I. Soden, Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester (1953), p. 337.
82. In North Wales, at least eleven Welsh lawyers, trained at the inns before 1642, held the offices of prothonotary in the first half of the seventeenth century, including ten

barristers. In South Wales, only one such Welsh lawyer seems to have held the post (W.R. Williams, op. cit., pp. 156, 191; Doddridge, op. cit., pp. 72-73).

83. Williams, op. cit., pp. 23, 30, 88, 126, 128, 163.
84. A.P.C., XXXVII, 1619, 42-43, 50, 97; C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 1619-22, 64, 69; J.S. Cockburn, English Assizes, pp. 49-50; Williams, op. cit., p. 17.
85. Ibid., pp. 57-60, 93-94, 100, 102-3, 132-3, 136, 168-9. Three Welsh barristers, who trained before 1642, became justices in north-east Wales, five in the north-west, five in the south-east, and two, eventually, in the south-west.
86. B.L., Lansdowne 11, f. 43; Harleian 6995, f. 123.
87. W.Ll. Williams, 'The King's Court of Great Sessions in Wales', Y Cymmrodor, XXVI (1916), 62, 64-65; A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 59; C.W.P., 809.
88. W.R. Williams, op. cit., pp. 9-12, 121; P. Williams, op. cit., pp. 333-4. At least four Welsh inns lawyers, and possibly another two, who trained before 1642, held these posts. Vide also P.R.O., SP 12/219/79, pp. 8-9.
89. Following R.J. Lloyd's assessment of the IT records, in which he concluded that the absence of William Powell's name from the proceedings of IT after his promotion meant that he no longer continued his London practice ('Welsh Masters of the Bench', Trans. Cymmr. 1937, pp. 163, 174, 199). On this tentative basis the following Welsh judges would also seem to have been inactive in their inns after their promotion: Marmaduke Lloyd, John Jeffreys, Evan Seys, David Jenkins, Richard Prytherch, Rice Vaughan and Richard Lloyd.
90. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 167-8, 179; ibid. 1938, 167-8; H.M.C., De L'Isle and Dudley, VI (1966), 229; H.H.A. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 55-57; E. Foss, Judges, VI, 231; H.E.L., VI, 468-71, 477-80.
91. Foss, op. cit., VI, 434, 436; Cooper, op. cit., p. 60; A.H. Dodd, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
92. C.W.P., 998, 1002, 1003, 1335; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, IX (1902), 45; Foss, op. cit., VI, 199; E. Gwynne Jones, 'Some Notes on the Principal County Families of Anglesey ... ', T.A.A.S. 1939, 67.
93. Foss, op. cit., VI, 199, 340, 437, 469; D. Seaborne Davies, Welsh Makers of English Law (1967), pp. 9-10, 12; Liber Famelicus of Sir James Whitelocke, 97.

94. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 168; ibid. 1938, 175.
95. J.S. Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 23-26, 49-58, App. I; and vide C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, X, 1636-7, 123.
96. Foss, op. cit., V, 70, 279, 341, 401; VI, 215; W.J. Jones, Elizabethan Court of Chancery, pp. 103, 117; Select Cases in the Court of Requests, 1497-1569, ed. I.S. Leadam, Selden Society, 12 (1898), cii-ciii, cvi-cix; H.E.L., VI, 6.
97. Ibid., V, 7, 138; B.P. Levack, Civil Lawyers, passim; Al. Oxon.; D.W.B.; Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, II, 1547-1602, ed. R.G. Marsden, Selden Society, 11 (1897), xii-xv, liv; C.S.P. Dom., Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth I, I, 1547-80, 131, 164, 235, 240, 258, 317, 459-60, 551, 606; James I, VIII, 1603-10, 28; IX, 1611-18, 228; Charles II, V, 1665-6, 29, 219, 356; VII, 1667-8, 457, 574; A.P.C., IV, 1552-4, 30, 72, 153, 178, 195, 246.
98. John, Baron Campbell, Lives of the Chief Justices of England, I (1858), 312, 314; W.J. Jones, op. cit., pp. 31, 36-50, 79; H.E.L., I, 410-12; G.W. Thomas, 'James I, Equity and Lord Keeper Williams', English Historical Review, XCI (1976), 506 ff.
99. C.W.P., 998, 1062-3, 1069-70; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 190.
100. Liber Famelicus, 19; H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, XVI, 268; J.S. Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 219 ff., 226-7; Jonathan Williams, History of the county of Radnor, p. 430; Egerton Papers, 448; H.H.A. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 173-6.
101. Ibid., p. 179; Liber Famelicus, 41-42.
102. Cooper, op. cit., pp. 102, 185; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, X, 1636-7, 416-18; XVII, 1640-1, 329; R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 169.
103. J.D.H. Thomas, 'Judge David Jenkins, 1582-1663', Morgannwg, VIII (1964), 14 ff.; W.R. Douthwaite, Gray's Inn, Its History and Associations (1886), 213; H.E.L., V, 358, 365.
104. Ibid., I, 90, 163-4; J.S. Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 245-50; W.E.B. Whittaker, 'Glyngnes of Hawarden', 11; J.S. Williamson, ed., The Middle Temple Bench Book, p. 110.
105. Liber Famelicus, 21-23, 80; J.S. Cockburn, op. cit., pp. 164-5; cf. C.W.P., 1113.
106. Clenennau, 272, 274; C.W.P., 786, 793, 796, 798, 831, 876, 896, 976, 1000; and ibid., 1135, re. Sir Peter Mutton.

107. H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, XXII (1971), 234, 269-70;  
J. Rushworth, Historical Collections, III, App., 31, 33;  
C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, III, 1628-9, 527.
108. C.W.P., 1276.
109. N.L.W., Tredegar 137/44; U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 109;  
Mostyn 1281, 1339, 1558, 3515; B.P. Levack, op. cit.,  
pp. 238, 249, 256, 280, 282.
110. U.C.N.W., Gwysaney 8; vide also Edmund Vaughan of Fronheulog,  
Denbs., in 1615, who was probably later (1618) a barrister of  
Gray's Inn (N.L.W., Nanhoron 531; GI Adms.).
111. U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 366-73, 2988, 2990, 2994, 3002, 3009.
112. Ibid., 194.
113. W. Robbins, 'The Agricultural ... Interests of the Gentry in  
South-east Glamorgan', I, 138-9, 141-2.
114. R.J. Lloyd, op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 173; N.L.W.,  
Sodfean 8; U.C.N.W., Gwysaney 743.
115. H.M.C., Salisbury, Hatfield, V (1894), 104; R.J. Lloyd,  
op. cit., Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 167; 1938, 196; N.L.W.,  
Glynllifon unpublished catalogue 184.
116. Liber Famelicus, 30, 100.
117. C.W.P., 1045; U.C.N.W., Gwysaney 752, 754-62; he had in fact  
started to purchase land earlier, in 1618 (ibid., 749-50);  
cf., however, the inferior standard of stipend for Welsh  
judges after 1660 (C.S.P. Dom., Charles II, VIII, 1667-8, 406).
118. Les Reports de Sir William Jones ... de divers special cases ...  
(1675), Preface to the Reader.
119. J. Gwynn Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan, C.J. ... ', pp. 37, 273.
120. G. Sawyer, Law in Society (1965), chap. VII: W.A. Speck,  
'Social Status in Late Stuart England', Past and Present,  
34 (1966), 127-9.
121. See, for example, Clenennau, 251, 270, 322; C.S.P. Dom.,  
Elizabeth I, V, 1598-1601, 118; A.P.C., XXVII, 1597, 323;  
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thesis, Wales, 1974), pp. 219-20; E.D. Jones, 'The Brogyntyn  
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122. 'Selections from the Family Papers at Peniarth', Arch. Camb.,  
4th Ser., III (1872), 7.



123. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, ed. J. Jacobs (1890), pp. 105-6, probably a reference to John Lloyd of Ceiswyn, Pennal, the Inner Temple counsellor, dat. 1618 (cf. *infra* nn. 38, 39).
124. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 883, dat. Nov. 1619.
125. B. Rees, Dulliau'r Canu Rhydd 1500-1650 (1950), pp. 255, 257.
126. U.C.N.W., General 23759, f. 222; Penrhos 1573, f. 18, and cf. J. Fisher, ed., The Cefn Coch MSS (1894), p. 65; E.D. Jones, 'The Brogyntyn Welsh Manuscripts', N.L.W. Jour., V (1947-8), 255.
127. T.H. Parry-Williams, ed., Canu Rhydd Cynnar (1932), pp. 410 ff., esp. ll. 377-82.
128. U.C.N.W., General 11676, f. 126.
129. T.H. Parry-Williams, op. cit., p. 151, ll. 17-40.
130. C.A.J. Skeel, op. cit., p. 110; P. Williams, op. cit., pp. 82-83; W. Rees, The Union of England and Wales (1967), pp. 63, 67; D. Lewis, 'The Court of the President and Council of Wales and the Marches from 1478 to 1575', Y Cymmrodor, XII (1897), 50.
131. C.W.P., 1384.
132. Ibid., 725; Clenennau, 482.
133. T. Jones, ed., Rhyddiaith Gymraeg: yr ail Gyfrol, 1547-1618 (1956), 209-10; N.L.W., Wynnstay 80, f. 1; E.J. Jones, 'The Death and Burial of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex 1576', The Carmarthen Antiquary, II (1957), 188; vide also G.D. Owen, Elizabethan Wales (1962), pp. 175-6.
134. B. Rees, op. cit., pp. 253-4; U.C.N.W., General 2425, ff. 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>v</sup>; 11670, no. 65; T.H. Parry-Williams, op. cit., p. 208.
135. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6, pt. 2, f. 121<sup>v</sup>.

## CHAPTER VII

### PART (ii) : ADMINISTRATION : THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF WELSH JUSTICES OF THE PEACE AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

The view that the education provided by the inns of court and the universities was invaluable not only in training men for the professions but also in establishing a level of competence in lay administration has a long ancestry and continuing acceptance.<sup>1</sup> It has, however, received considerable criticism lately, it being argued that these institutions of learning gave no precise preparation for public service and at best trained the mind in formal logic and inculcated general moral and cultural values.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it would be wrong to dismiss too lightly these latter influences. The prevailing *Aristotelianism of the universities*, it must be recalled, provided the opportunity for the more serious lay student to examine such works as Aristotle's Ethics and his Politics, which provided clear concepts of government and the administration of law, defining the duties and responsibilities of administrators and emphasising the virtue of Justice, in which moral values and the law were conjoined for the good of all society.<sup>3</sup>

The appointment of justices of the peace, however, was not based on such altruistic sentiments but, rather, on social elevation and landed worth. The justice of the peace functioned on what might be called 'institutional charisma', in which the prominent dealt with the affairs of the lower orders. In Wales, though the post of J.P. was not established until 1536, there had been offices before which had functioned

in a fairly similar fashion, based on deference to the emerging gentry.<sup>4</sup> It was worth, too, which the elaborator of the office of J.P., William Lambard, placed first in 1581. Landed value, and more than the old £20 per annum qualification so undermined by inflation, was his main criterion, though he was prudent enough to add that an efficient justice had to be furnished

'with three of the principall ornaments of a judge, that is to saye, with Justice, Wisedome and Fortitude, for to that summe the words, Good, Learned, Valiant do wel amounte'.

Such qualities, he added, perhaps significantly, were to be achieved not by formal education but by continual study of the laws of the realm.<sup>5</sup>

In Wales, when the office of J.P. was proposed, the chief concern was less about such personal qualities than about the economic status of those who were likely to be appointed, whether they were of sufficient worth for the mystery of the post. As is well-known, Bishop Rowland Lee doubted whether the even lower £10 per annum qualification set for Wales could be met by many Welsh gentlemen.<sup>6</sup> In addition, it was pleaded (probably by Lee) for the retention of the pre-Union local judicial organisation in Gwynedd, for fear of the results of devolving wide powers to the new J.P.s who were poor, given to faction and intimidation and were ignorant of the law.<sup>7</sup> That the Welsh gentry, particularly in the north-west, had limited means is re-emphasised in a recent study, which shows that local power and rivalry were concentrated among a small, comparatively prosperous élite.<sup>8</sup> Changes in land holding did assist the gentry of Gwynedd to accumulate

more wealth over time and for the élite to broaden in composition. Nevertheless, the working justices in this area always belonged to a fairly select or limited group which included several of distinctly modest means.<sup>9</sup>

In eight Welsh counties examined over the period c.1540-1640, it was apparent that county élites formed a hard core of all local commissions.<sup>10</sup> The élites were substantially wealthier in South Wales,<sup>11</sup> particularly the south-east, whereas in North Wales, except perhaps in Flintshire, the J.P.s often included men of moderate worth, those assessed at 40s. in the subsidy lists. In spite of the shortcomings of wealth, there was an expansion of numbers of J.P.s on all the county commissions in Wales, in common with trends in England. Central government, nevertheless, continued to be concerned, even during James I's reign, about the scarcity of J.P.s who were really financially well-supplied, for this was, by implication, a reflection on the competence of the local benches in Wales.<sup>12</sup>

Central government reports during the reigns of Elizabeth I and the early Stuarts drew attention to several failings on the part of Welsh commissions, though they were not failings exclusive to Wales. They centred largely on the J.P.s' inadequacies in the administration of social policy, licensing, poor relief, corn-marketing, etc., and in security matters, such as levying musters, rather than the failure of judicial responsibilities.<sup>13</sup> There were also, however, failings of the kind anticipated in 1536 and which were witnessed throughout Wales. Juries, composed of very inferior landowners,<sup>14</sup> were often subjected to intimidation by powerful neighbours, including J.P.s, causing them to

be partial in cases of serious felonies.<sup>15</sup> Instances of faction among J.P.s, their tolerance of unruliness and their disrespect for law, were to be seen in the Welsh counties, particularly in the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> It was not surprising, therefore, that the authority of the J.P. was rejected or opposed at times,<sup>17</sup> and there were incidents in Breconshire in 1590 in which the then barrister, David Williams, Oxford and Temple trained, feared for his life for upholding the rule of law against his fellow commissioners.<sup>18</sup>

During the seventeenth century, while faction continued to be a part of county life, and a factor in the composition of the bench,<sup>19</sup> features of extreme disregard for the judicial process seem to have declined, if the government reports are an adequate reflection. Although higher education was no pre-requisite to admission to the local bench,<sup>20</sup> the significant trend in the composition of the working or local justices in the Welsh counties, that is, the non-honorial or non-dignitary element in the lists,<sup>21</sup> was the increase in the number who had attended an inn of court or university. Though their education might not have had a specific application or function to it, it cannot be wholly misleading to suggest that these J.P.s, because of their learning, and its humanistic emphasis, were more reasonable and conscientious in their duties and possessed more of the qualities Lambard thought desirable.

Dignitaries, where they had local connections, could also be counted among the local J.P.s, for example, some of the Welsh bishops and aristocrats, such as the earls of Pembroke, who were invariably well-educated. The large majority of the J.P.s were landed gentry,

added to whom there were occasionally some lawyers and clergy, who probably had a greater general understanding of law. It was the landowner-gentleman element, however, which bore the burden of the tasks in Wales and it was its educational background which changed most markedly. By the 1630s, approximately half the working or local justices in the Welsh counties examined here had attended the universities and/or the inns of court, where their matriculation or admission details confirm them to have been mostly the sons of the higher gentry, or at the very least, the sons of gentlemen, in other words, confirming that they very much represented the county élites in Wales.

It is difficult to be certain about the educational background of the early Welsh commissions from the 1540s until the 1570s, due to the deficiencies of registration at the inns and universities. On the available evidence, an examination of J.P. lists in the selected eight Welsh counties in 1543<sup>22</sup> indicates that rarely more than one of the justices had attended these places of learning. Frequently, those so educated were English lawyers associated with the Courts of Great Sessions. There were also a few native-born, university-educated clergy or civilians, such as Robert Evans, Dean of Bangor, in Caernarvon, Rowland Meyrick, Chancellor of St. David's, in Cardigan, and Henry Morgan, a canon of Llandaff, in Glamorgan. It was, in fact, only in Glamorgan that there were any local landowner-justices who had gone to university or to the inns. Three, or possibly four, in that county were so educated, but elsewhere such examples were rare indeed.

Such a pattern continued in the reign of Edward VI, while in Mary's

reign and during the early years of Elizabeth I, it is clear that it was not always wealth or eminence, still less education, which were the qualifications to the commissions of the peace in Wales. Rather, it was religious conformity which seems to have been the determinant, and there was undoubtedly a purge of the Marian commissions, notably in North and mid-Wales, between 1558 and 1564.<sup>23</sup>

The limited numbers of Welsh J.P.s who attended places of higher education before 1558 provide a pattern similar to that which seems to have obtained in the English counties also.<sup>24</sup> During the early years of Elizabeth no great change seems to have occurred in the educational background of the English county benches and it is after the 1580s that a marked shift occurs in the proportion of county magistrates who attended the inns and, more especially, the universities. As in Wales, by the second and third decades of the seventeenth century, the proportion which received higher education was about 50 per cent, and both countries, therefore, seem to have shared a common pattern of development throughout.<sup>25</sup>

During the first two decades of Elizabeth's reign, the educational background of the Welsh J.P.s was generally very modest. Glamorgan was the exception in the county lists examined for 1561 and 1573-4. In 1561, five of the thirteen local justices had attended a university or an inn of court, and in 1573-4, the proportion was eight out of seventeen. Few at most in the other counties were so well-educated, though Caernarvon was a slight exception in 1573-4, with six out of seventeen of the local justices having attended these educational institutions.<sup>26</sup> In many cases, including Glamorgan, a feature of the J.P.s who had

received higher education was that they consisted of several lawyers. In Glamorgan, the commissions included Leyson Price of Neath, the Inner Templar, and the civilians, Dr. David Lewis and William Evans, Chancellor of Llandaff. These latter two were also in the Monmouth commission. In Caernarvon, civil lawyers dominated the higher-educated element, with Edmund Meyrick, John Gwyn, James Ellis, Rowland Thomas and Elis Price, all doctors of law, closely associated with the county. Whether they were all active, of course, is another matter. Men such as David Lewis, Leyson Price, John Gwyn and John Price of Gogerddan in Cardiganshire, another Inner Templar, were all active London lawyers.

There was some slight advance in the number who had received higher education in most Welsh counties by the 1570s. More significant advances occurred in the two subsequent decades, especially in Flint and Montgomery which had lagged behind before. The lawyer element was again noticeable, with men such as the Inner Templar Edward Morgan, and the civilian Sir Richard Trevor in Flintshire, Thomas Morgan of the Middle Temple in Monmouth, Richard Owen Tudor and Hugh Hughes of Lincoln's Inn, with Dr. William Griffith, in Anglesey. Glamorgan, too, continued to have its lawyer element, with Leyson Price and William Evans remaining, added to whom was Roger Seys of Boverton, the Lincoln's Inn counsellor. Generally there were more better-educated J.P.s in the Welsh commissions of 1585 and 1596, with perhaps the southwest Wales counties lagging behind. As a proportion of all the local or working justices, however, they formed no more than about a quarter to one third, Glamorgan's proportion, indeed, declining from over a half



to less than one third. This, of course, was largely due to the continued expansion in the size of the local commissions, permitting more of gentle status, though probably merely adequate in terms of land and learning, to participate.<sup>27</sup>

The county lists of the early seventeenth century, those examined for c.1608 and c.1622, indicated an increase in both the number and proportion of working justices, especially landowner-justices, who had been educated at the inns or the universities. More accurate admission and matriculation registers may account in part for this, but it was nevertheless a remarkable change, given that there was a continued expansion in the size of the local commissions (as well as in the honorary complements). In Montgomeryshire, 60 per cent in 1608, and 74 per cent in 1622, of the local J.P.s had attended the inns or the universities. Flint's proportion advanced from one third to 68 per cent in 1622, as did that of Cardigan from 37 per cent to 64 per cent. Over a half of the local justices in Caernarvon and in Glamorgan in 1622 had been to university and to the inns of court, again a relative and absolute increase, while over 40 per cent of the local J.P.s in Monmouth and Carmarthen were so educated. There was an overall and significant improvement, therefore, especially in south-west Wales, in the educational background of the J.P.s and only Anglesey showed a decline from 50 per cent, which had been achieved in 1608, to 38 per cent in 1622.<sup>28</sup>

After the early 1620s, strenuous attempts were made to reduce the size of the local commissions, including the number of local J.P.s, for fear that the quality of the benches had become diluted by inadequate

and inferior men. Thus, the Welsh lists sampled for c.1636-38 were smaller than in the previous two decades, and in some cases the smallest since the 1580s. Though the quality of the J.P.s in Wales may have been maintained or improved in terms of status by such limitations, there was no further noticeable advance in the standards of education achieved, although as a proportion of working J.P.s, the well-educated were now slightly better-represented in the benches of Monmouth, Caernarvon, Carmarthen and Anglesey. The proportion of J.P.s who had been in higher education fell slightly in the other counties, but they still exceeded 60 per cent in the Flint and Montgomery lists. The average proportion of J.P.s thus educated, for the whole eight counties, was almost 53 per cent, and all the counties had at least 40 per cent of their J.P.s who had been to inn or university.<sup>29</sup>

The seventeenth century libri pacis for Wales, as before, contained the names of a few men who had had a thorough education at the inns or the universities, for example, two doctors of divinity in Montgomeryshire in 1622, and, more often, the inclusion of common lawyers such as Edmund Morgan, Andrew Powell, Richard Seys and William Thomas in Monmouth and Glamorgan, or William Jones and Richard Prytherch in Anglesey and Caernarvon. Their own legal practices must have circumscribed their appearances in the petty and quarter sessions and in fulfilling other duties required of a J.P. On the other hand, lawyers such as Richard and Roger Seys, Hugh Hughes, Marmaduke Lloyd and Peter Mutton did hold legal posts in Wales at some stage in their careers, and when they were elevated to the judicial benches of the Great Sessions,

or more notably to the Westminster and Irish Courts in the case of William Jones, they continued to be included in the lists and may even have participated in some of the quarter sessions.<sup>30</sup>

There is little evidence to indicate how active the Welsh J.P.s may have been on their own or at the petty sessions, while at the quarter sessions the picture may have varied. In south-west Wales, only a small hard core of J.P.s were regularly active in the three counties of that area. The signing of recognizances as a measure of activity seems to show that during the early seventeenth century, at least, in Caernarvon and Glamorgan, most of the J.P.s were reasonably active and that there was no distinction between those who had received higher education and those who had not.<sup>31</sup>

Another indication of activity, relating to Flintshire,<sup>32</sup> of the attendance of J.P.s at the quarter session meetings in Hawarden in 1605-6, shows that between one third and two thirds of the J.P.s attended at any one meeting. Twenty-one justices in all were named, of whom six had attended the inns or the universities. Such education seems to have been no guarantee, though still a fair indicator, for regular attendance, and for being included in the quorum, that is, of J.P.s who were, supposedly, learned in the laws. Only four of these six were quorate. Edward Morgan of the Inner Temple was non-quorate and his attendance was very irregular. Also non-quorate was John Conway IV of Bodrhyddan, recently educated at Oxford and at Gray's Inn. He missed all the meetings. Of the quorate members, Peter Mutton attended two out of six meetings, his legal practice being probably too demanding otherwise. The clergyman, Dr. Henry Mostyn of Talacre, and his Oxford educated kinsman,

Sir Roger Mostyn, attended three times, and this was as good as all but one of the non-university and non-inn educated element and better than all but three of them. The last university and inns' scholar was also significantly the most conscientious of all the J.P.s, George Hope, a local gentleman, who attended all the meetings.<sup>33</sup>

As in the case of Morgan, or of Conway, above, the receipt of higher education and of professional training elsewhere was no guarantee of inclusion in the quorum, arguably the most active as well as the most learned of the J.P.s. Thus, in Glamorgan in 1561, only one of the better-educated J.P.s was quorate, the lawyer Leyson Price, who was consistently a member of the quorum. In later years, particularly in c.1622, as many as half the higher-educated J.P.s were found to be non-quorate in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Montgomery and Carmarthen. In part, it was because they were newly appointed men lacking practical experience of the bench. On the other hand, several J.P.s of long standing and high educational qualifications were also excluded, such as Dr. Robert Robotham in Monmouth in 1622, or Cadwalader Owen in 1608, and Dr. Fulk Price and Edward Homes in 1622, in Montgomery. Nor was it a matter of excluding clergymen. Many of the Welsh lawyers were non-quorate or only occasionally quorate, presumably because of their legal commitments, for example, Roger Seys in Glamorgan, Andrew Powell in Monmouth, Richard Prytherch in Anglesey and Sir Richard Trevor in Flint.

Several other lawyers, on the other hand, were regularly of the quorum, such as Richard Seys and William Powell in Glamorgan, Valentine Prichard in Monmouth, Robert Morgan in Flintshire and Richard Owen Tudor in Anglesey. Even some of the busier lawyer-judges

were included, such as Peter Mutton, above, Marmaduke Lloyd in Cardigan, Hugh Hughes in Anglesey and William Jones in Caernarvon. No doubt they had succeeded in preserving an active presence in their localities enabling them to participate at least on occasions in the quarter sessions and in the lesser duties. Equally, it does suggest that being quorate was becoming less a mark of superior knowledge and responsibility and conscientiousness and more a nominal honour.

A final possible sign of the activity or otherwise of the educated element on the local commissions is to be seen in the estreat returns, indicating the J.P.s who signed quarter sessions business and who were, therefore, presumably the most active.<sup>34</sup> An investigation<sup>35</sup> of estreats in four Welsh counties between the late sixteenth century and the mid-1630s indicates that between a quarter and a half of the local justices participated, most of whom were of the quorum. It was by no means the case that these J.P.s were the best-educated. The best proportion of higher-educated signatories was almost a half, in Glamorgan and Caernarvonshire. It was significant that such J.P.s included university-educated bishops and other clergy, for example, in Montgomery and Caernarvonshire, while in Glamorgan, local lawyers from the inns of court were prominent. Professional training, therefore, did help.

Central government was dependent on whatever quality of justice was on offer and, as Lloyd says of south-west Wales, it may be that any active J.P. was preferable to no activity at all.<sup>36</sup> Membership of the local benches, though not necessarily an active membership, was appropriated by the Welsh poets as a further attribute of the gentility of their patrons, usually to be praised in general or in passing without

much reference to administrative skill, still less to educational qualification.<sup>37</sup> The Welsh gentry employed the deference owed them as powerful landowners and patrons, possessing the distinction of ancestry and descent, to function in these administrative and honorific duties as in other aspects of Welsh life.

In much the same way, it was these latter qualities which determined who would represent Wales in Parliament between the Acts of Union and the Civil War.<sup>38</sup> As with the case of the J.P.s, however, a good education was an increasingly significant added attribute of these representatives. Between 1540 and 1640, the county and borough constituencies in Wales experienced on average some twenty-seven or twenty-eight elections to Parliament, and the Members of Parliament so elected were usually drawn from leading county gentry or were attached to them by virtue of kinship or eminence. From the point of view of educational background, it would seem that in eight Welsh county constituencies, including Monmouthshire, at least five of their M.P.s had attended university or the inns of court. Of the Welsh borough constituencies, including Haverfordwest, there were eight who had at least five members elected who were so educated. Cardiganshire and the Cardigan borough constituencies were the best-served of all in this respect.<sup>39</sup>

The proportion of M.P.s in each constituency so educated varied considerably, in part because there was a larger turnover in representatives in some seats than in others. Breconshire, for example, had only eleven different representatives over the whole period, while

Merionethshire had twenty. Monmouthshire, a double member constituency, had thirty-seven. Similarly in the borough seats, there was a contrast, with Beaumaris, on the one hand, having only eleven different members, and Caernarvon and Montgomery, on the other, with twenty-one. The highest proportion of representatives with higher education occurred in Cardiganshire, Denbighshire, Anglesey and Breconshire, and in their respective borough constituencies. In the county seats, the proportions ranged from 40 to 50 per cent of all members, and in the borough seats, the proportion ranged between 30 and 40 per cent who had been to the inns or the universities. In the Welsh constituencies as a whole, 28 per cent of the M.P.s in the county constituencies seem to have received a higher education, and in the borough seats, 25 per cent were so educated. The worst-served constituencies in this respect were Pembrokeshire and Haverfordwest.<sup>40</sup>

The educated element became more noticeable by the early seventeenth century, and while the value of such education to these legislators has again been criticised,<sup>41</sup> in the case of the Welsh representation what is significant is the fact that many fully-qualified lawyers were elected who were by no means inactive in debates or in framing bills. Though some of these lawyer-M.P.s were Englishmen attached to the Council of Wales and the Marches or to the Court of Great Sessions,<sup>42</sup> the great majority were Welshmen and usually they served their local districts, where they had benefited from the legal business sent them by the local gentry or where they held recorderships.<sup>43</sup> Some, in the seventeenth century, were also justices in the Great Sessions, and having political ambitions, they were able to exercise some influence

by virtue of their offices and their kindred ties to get support. This, for example, is what Sir Peter Mutton tried to do, though only partially successfully, in the elections of 1624 and 1625 in Caernarvonshire and Caernarvon boroughs.<sup>44</sup>

Nineteen Welsh M.P.s in this period were lawyers of the inns of court, all but two being barristers or higher in the legal profession. In addition, there were at least two other common lawyers from the adjacent English borders who by virtue of kinship were to represent Welsh seats.<sup>45</sup> All this was symptomatic of the growing attractiveness of the common law as a professional calling in Wales. However, the older tradition of the civil law in Wales was also reflected in the composition of the Welsh M.P.s. Eleven Welsh civilians represented Welsh constituencies, mostly in the mid- and later sixteenth century, most of whom were again quite prominent London lawyers.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, since the great majority of all these lawyers were based in London, it may be concluded that one reason for their nomination was that it would ease the burden on the localities to maintain them at Westminster, particularly since it was the borough seats, composed of small and insufficient market towns, that they invariably represented.

Professional training did not necessarily make these M.P.s effective representatives and some parts of Wales were indeed ill-served.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, the Welsh lawyer-M.P.s seem to have been more active than their lay associates during the sixteenth century, in committee and in presenting bills, for example, Thomas Bulkeley, John Price and David Williams. Lawyers were also the more active and prominent element among the representatives during the early seventeenth century, for



example, Sir John Herbert, Sir William Jones, Sir Eubule Thelwall, and Sir Peter Mutton, and, as we have seen before, it was the Welsh lawyers, of all political hues, of the Welsh membership, who were most active in the Parliaments of 1640.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, to conclude, a higher education became a more noticeable characteristic of local administrators and political representatives in Wales by the early seventeenth century, and professional legal training, especially, seems to have provided a greater competence and devotion to duty.

CHAPTER VII : PART (ii) - NOTES

1. W. Blackstone, Commentaries on the Laws of England (15th ed., 1809), I, 7-8, 24-25; J.H. Gleason, The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640 (1969), p. 89; J. Hurstfield, Freedom, Corruption and Government in Elizabethan England (1973), pp. 217-33; W.T. MacCaffrey, 'England: The Crown and the New Aristocracy 1540-1600', Past and Present, 30 (1965), 52 ff.
2. K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (1965), pp. 150, 194-5; C. Hill, Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (1974), pp. 149 ff.; H.F. Kearney, Scholars and Gentlemen (1970), pp. 26-27; W.R. Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640 (1972), pp. 151-2.
3. D.J. Allan, The Philosophy of Aristotle (2nd ed., 1970), pp. 136-7, 144-5; and also cf., for example, F. Copleston, A History of Philosophy, III (1953), 217-21, 348-52, 397-400.
4. J.P. Dawson, A History of Lay Judges (1960), pp. 136 ff.; G. Sawyer, Law in Society (1965), p. 94; D. Lloyd, The Idea of Law (1964), pp. 26-33; W. Holdsworth, H.E.L., I (1922 ed.), p. 124; I. Bowen, 'Grand juries, justices of the peace and quarter sessions in Wales', Trans. Cymmr. 1933-5, 59-61.
5. W. Lambard, Eirenarcha, or of the Office of the Justices of the Peace (1581), pp. 32-35, 281.
6. L. and P., Henry VIII, X, 1536, 182.
7. Ibid., 88-89.
8. Vide supra chap. II and Royston Stephens, 'Gwynedd 1528-1547: Economy and Society in Tudor Wales', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 169 ff.
9. U.C.N.W., General 13495, ff. 65, 69, 92, 104; E. Gwynne Jones, 'Caernarvonshire Subsidy Roll, 1597-8', B.B.C.S., VIII (1935-7), 336-7; J.R.S. Phillips, The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1541-1689 (1975), pp. 1 ff.
10. The following libri pacis were consulted in the original and employed in conjunction with Phillips, op. cit., passim: B.L., Lansdowne 737, 1218; Egerton 2345; P.R.O., SP 13/F 11; 14/33; C 193/13/1, 2. Vide also H.A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640 (1968), pp. 136, 142-3; Gareth E. Jones, 'Local Administration and Justice in Sixteenth Century Glamorgan',

- Morgannwg, IX (1965), 12; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Justices of the Peace and their Duties during the Seventeenth Century', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1966), pp. 46-48, 66-70.
11. P.R.O., C 193/13/2, ff. 77, 81; C.E. Long, ed., The Diary of Richard Symonds, Camden Society, LXXIV (1859); M.E. Thomas, 'Glamorgan 1540-1640: Aspects of social and economic history', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1974), pp. 56, 62; Huntington Library, California, Collection, Ellesmere MSS 7218, 7288, 7295.
  12. Ibid., 7155; U.C.N.W., General 13969, 13971, 13972; C.S.P. Dom., James I, X, 1619-22, 295; C.W.P., 783, 813.
  13. Clenennau, General 40; A.P.C., XIII, 1581-2, 427-8; XXXIX, 1623-6, 16, 125-6, 216-17, 356; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XI, 1637, 153.
  14. Royston Stephens, op. cit., pp. 57-65; Clenennau, 202.
  15. A.P.C., VI, 1556-8, 6; XII, 1580-1, 11; XV, 1587-8, 377; XXII, 1591-2, 481, 514, 542; C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, IV, 1529-31, 546.
  16. A.P.C., X, 1577-8, 79; IX, 1575-7, 94-95; XVI, 1588, 419-20; T. Wright, ed., 'Anglesey', Arch. Camb., 4th Ser., XII (1881), 65-67, 73-74; M.E. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 29-31, 35, 42-45.
  17. A.P.C., XXV, 1595-6, 503; XXVI, 1596-7, 464; XXX, 1599-1600, 216.
  18. Ibid., XIX, 1590, 136; also ibid., XXIV, 1592-3, 333-4; XVIII, 1589-90, 319.
  19. C.W.P., 526, 531, 532, 550, 551, 1403; J. Gwynfor Jones, op. cit., p. 59; and vide J.H. Gleason, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
  20. H.A. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 144.
  21. Gleason, op. cit., p. 15.
  22. J.R.S. Phillips, op. cit., *passim*.
  23. M. Bateson, ed., A Collection of Original Letters from the Bishops to the Privy Council, 1564, in Camden Miscellany IX, Camden Society, New Series, LIII (1895), 16-18, 81; A. Hassell Smith, 'The Personnel of the Commissions of the Peace, 1554-64', Huntington Library Quarterly, XXII (1959), 301 ff., which contradicts J.H. Gleason, 'The Personnel of the Commissions of the Peace 1554-64', ibid., XVIII (1955), 169 ff.

24. Victor Morgan, 'Cambridge and "The Country"', in L. Stone, ed., The University in Society (1974), I, 237.
25. Ibid., 238-9.
26. Glamorgan: five educated at the inns or universities\* from thirteen local or working J.P.s (1561), eight out of seventeen (1573-4); Monmouth: three out of thirteen, three out of sixteen; Caernarvon: one out of ten, six out of seventeen; Anglesey: one out of nine, three out of nine; Carmarthen: one out of nine, three out of four; Cardigan: none out of nine, three out of nine; Montgomery: none out of twelve, one out of thirteen; Flint: one out of seven, one out of twelve.  
\* Excluding uncertain cases.
27. Glamorgan: nine out of sixteen (1585), six out of twenty (1596); Monmouth: two out of nineteen, two out of ten; Caernarvon: five out of twenty, five out of twenty-two; Anglesey: four out of seventeen, two out of fifteen; Carmarthen: none out of twenty-two, one out of nineteen; Cardigan: one out of fourteen, two out of eleven; Montgomery: two out of seventeen, four out of fourteen; Flint: three out of fourteen, six out of eighteen.
28. Glamorgan: eleven out of twenty-four (1608), fifteen out of twenty-eight (c.1622); Monmouth: seven out of twenty-four, eleven out of twenty-six; Caernarvon: nine out of twenty-five, twelve out of twenty-two; Anglesey: eleven out of twenty-two, eight out of twenty-one; Carmarthen: four out of nineteen, ten out of twenty-four; Cardigan: six out of sixteen, nine out of fourteen; Montgomery: fourteen out of twenty-three, twenty out of twenty-seven; Flint: nine out of twenty-four, thirteen out of nineteen.
29. Glamorgan: twelve out of twenty-six (1638); Monmouth: ten out of twenty; Caernarvon: nine out of twenty-five; Anglesey: seven out of seventeen; Carmarthen: eight out of seventeen; Cardigan: eight out of sixteen; Montgomery: eight out of thirteen; Flint: thirteen out of eighteen.  
Average proportion of higher-educated in these Welsh counties: 39.5% (1608), 54.3% (1622), 52.7% (1636-8).  
Over the whole period, a majority of these J.P.s were university- (especially Oxford) rather than inn-educated. About half of those who had been to the inns, more in South Wales, had also attended university. LI and IT were the best-represented of the inns.
30. C.W.P., 977; J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Caernarvonshire Justices', pp. 18-19, 62; also cf. V.C.H. Cheshire, II (1979), 43.
31. J. Gwynfor Jones, op. cit., pp. 81-85; H.A. Lloyd, Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 145; Gareth E. Jones, 'Local Administration ... in ... Glamorgan', 17; cf. Gleason, Justices of the Peace in England, p. 105.

32. N.L.W., Wales 4/974/8, f. 1. I am grateful to Prof. J. Gwynn Williams for this reference.
33. Roger Mostyn, Oxford 1584, LI 1588; John Conway IV, Oxford 1593, GI 1594; George Hope, Oxford 1591/2, LI 1595; Peter Mutton, barr. LI 1594; Edward Morgan, barr. IT 157C/1, a J.P. since 1575 and only quorate in that year (Phillips, op. cit., pp. 95 ff.; Lambard, Firenarcha, p. 246); Henry Mostyn, Cambridge 1567. Of the 15 non-higher-educated gentleman J.P.s, 12 attended twice or less out of five quarter sessions, 2 attended three times, 1 four times (cf. Gleason, op. cit., p. 105).
34. Lambard, op. cit., pp. 458 ff.
35. P.R.O., E 137/78/1, 5, 10; 137/86/1; 137/87/1, 9; 137/88/6; 137/106/9; 137/107/5; 137/118/1, 8, re. Carms., Montgom., Glam., Caerns. I am grateful to my late colleague, K. Williams-Jones, regarding these sources.
36. H.A. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
37. U.C.N.W., General 11670, f. 65; 11668, f. 12; Mostyn 9, ff. 42, 133, 136; Penrhos 1573, ff. 152, 182.
38. A. Everitt, 'Social Mobility in Early Modern England', Past and Present, 33 (1966), 59 ff.; A.H. Dodd, 'Flintshire Politics in the Seventeenth Century', Flintshire Historical Society Publications Journal, XIV (1954), 25-34; idem, 'The Civil War in East Denbighshire', Trans. Denbighshire Historical Soc., III (1954), 41-48; E. Gwynne Jones, 'County Politics and Electioneering, 1558-1625', Trans. Caerns. 1939, 42-46; H.G. Owen, 'Family Politics in Elizabethan Merionethshire', B.B.C.S., XVIII (1959), 185-91.
39. W.R. Williams, The Parliamentary History of the Principality of Wales from the earliest times to the present day, 1541-1895 (1895) passim. The county seats with five members or more having received higher education were: Anglesey, Cardigan, Caernarvon, Denbigh, Flint, Glamorgan, Monmouth, Merioneth; the borough seats: Beaumaris, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Caernarvon, Denbigh, Montgomery, Brecon, Radnor.
40. Ibid.
41. K. Charlton, op. cit., and C. Hill, op. cit., criticising J.E. Neale, The Elizabethan House of Commons (1963 ed.), pp. 289 ff.; but vide also Prest, Inns of Court, 221-2.
42. e.g., J. Puckering, M.P. Carmarthenshire 1584, W. Pye, M.P. Brecon borough 1620, 1624, J. Walter, M.P. Radnor borough 1588 (Williams, op. cit.).

43. *Supra* chap. VII (i), n. 47, and C.W.P., 99.
44. Ibid., 1178, 1189, 1316, 1318, 1320-2, 1324-5, 1328-30.
45. Lawyer-M.P.s from the inns of court included, from LI: Hugh Hughes, Thomas Bulkeley, William Jones, Charles Jones, Thomas Phaer, Peter Mutton, John Glynne, John Panton, William Ravenscroft; from MT: Nicholas Adams, William Morgan, David Williams; from IT: John Price, Simon Thelwall, Edward Morgan, Leyson Price, Henry Wynn, and Reginald Williams from Shropshire; from GI: Eubule Thelwall, Walter Rumsey, and Sampson Eure from Herefordshire.
46. D.C.L.s: Griffith Lloyd, John Gwyn, Robert Lougher, William Griffith, Edward Carne, John Herbert, David Lewis, John Price, Elis Price; B.C.L.: William Aubrey; and Simon Thelwall.
47. H.A. Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 93 ff.
48. A.H. Dodd, 'Wales's Parliamentary Apprenticeship (1536-1625)', Trans. Cymmr. 1942, 8 ff.; J.E. Neale, op. cit., p. 143; Prest, Inns of Court, 222-3; C.W.P., 1209, 1228, and *supra* chap. VI (iii).

## CHAPTER VIII

### CULTURAL INTERESTS AND INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS AS REFLECTED BY WELSHMEN EDUCATED AT THE INNS OF COURT AND THE UNIVERSITIES

Wales faced a profound dilemma in cultural and intellectual matters during the early modern period. Welsh culture and literature experienced the pressures of having to adapt from their largely oral, bardic tradition, based on local patronage, to new external influences and values derived from the civic and pietistic traditions of the Renaissance and Reformation in which the printed format took precedence. Furthermore, intellectual activity expanded, particularly in urban environments, and it was a question whether Wales, socially or economically, could sustain such activity on a consolidated basis. Indeed, it transpired that Wales was insufficiently endowed with the means or the opportunity to exploit fully and independently the developments in European culture and scholarship, and the trend was for a greater dependence to be placed on the facilities and resources of the populous towns of southern England. The influx of the literate, and socially more superior, members of Welsh society to the inns and the universities was symptomatic of these developments.<sup>1</sup>

The limited progress made in the use of the Welsh language in the revolutionary medium of printing was all important.<sup>2</sup> The most learned and enlightened of Welsh intellectuals, such as William Salesbury, early on acknowledged the need to develop the Welsh vernacular as a medium of teaching and information, but conceded also that Latin, as a common medium, and the growing place of the English vernacular were creating divided loyalties. At a time when Salesbury and his close contemporary,

Sir John Price of Brecon, were first employing Welsh in print,<sup>3</sup> English language books had already secured a large part of the printing trade and the book market in the kingdom,<sup>4</sup> and were offering to readers a wide spectrum of different subjects which could be read in a standard language.<sup>5</sup>

The publication of Welsh books never achieved such a broad scope, but rather was confined largely to the fields of religion and grammar,<sup>6</sup> representing a small-scale but brave attempt by the most enlightened of Welsh scholars to secure a place for the language in these new developments. These scholars had, for the most part, been educated at the English universities, had experienced the new streams of interest in classical literature and antiquity and the growth of the English vernacular, and had drawn the conclusion that rather than have English linguistic uniformity, it was essential to preserve the most ancient and noblest of languages in Britain, the Welsh tongue. The publication of religious books in Welsh provided an added pious or moral imperative and obtained surer financial backing.<sup>7</sup>

The general lack of an urban environment in Wales circumscribed Welsh and Welsh literary activity in several ways. Though there was a strong continuing tradition of manuscript copying in Wales among the educated clergy and gentry, which was cheaper than printing, this exchange of texts and information was slower and unco-ordinated, as the cleric Richard Parry found.<sup>8</sup> In England, by contrast, and particularly in London, where all sorts of scholars congregated, there were established groups of translators, receiving direct patronage from the nobility, to publish all sorts of material in the English vernacular.<sup>9</sup>



London interests helped promote what little publication occurred in the Welsh language, for one certain source of finance for the Welsh scholars lay with the London-Welsh mercantile community.<sup>10</sup> The Welsh gentry, by contrast, seem to have waned in their expected interest and support for the language and literature, and in any case the hefty costs of printing seem to have been too much to be borne by most estate incomes.<sup>11</sup>

Since even the English language book trade was sluggish and only irregularly economic,<sup>12</sup> it is clear that Welsh books, or even books about Wales and its language in English or Latin, could only find a limited demand, and publishers and authors faced the choice of either restricted printing runs or having unsold surplus copies.<sup>13</sup> The sympathetic Welsh-born, London printer, Thomas Salisbury, himself held the view that a <sup>financial</sup> return had to be made if Welsh books were to be printed regularly.<sup>14</sup> In addition, though the London-Welsh community had close links with London printers, several of whom must have had Welsh or border county origins,<sup>15</sup> the problems of distance between authors and printers in the matter of correcting proofs and transporting completed copies added to the difficulties as well as to the costs.<sup>16</sup> Government licensing, of course, circumscribed the development of provincial printing, even at the university towns.<sup>17</sup>

These problems, too, may have circumscribed attempts to publish potentially more popular works, herbals, manuals of husbandry, poetry, etc., which remained in manuscript. Government censorship, in addition, may have restricted the publication of religious or political literature. Yet, what further prevented developments in Wales was the breach between

the traditionally acknowledged upholders of Welsh literature and culture, the poets, who remained resistant to the calls for popularising and promoting their knowledge, and the university-trained scholars and intellectuals, who strove to integrate Welsh literature and language with the whole corpus of Western literature and thought. It is no coincidence, to repeat, that the initiative for publication, and for the works published relating to Wales and its language, and the establishing of Welsh as a literary and public language, was derived from those who had imbibed not only the Welsh bardic and literary ideals but had also drawn deeply on the religious ideology of the universities and the advances made in classical literary studies and history.<sup>18</sup>

An inertia pervaded the attitude of the Welsh poets designed to preserve the exclusivity of bardic, courtly learning at a time when there was a broadening of education and higher education and with it the emergence of an intelligentsia which could have been involved in such a learning also. Sadly, though bardic culture shared with university learning some common roots in the classical arts, and which both acknowledged,<sup>19</sup> this provided no basis for development or change.<sup>20</sup> To the Welsh bards, learning continued to mean, first and foremost, Welsh language grammar, poetry, heraldry, genealogy and antiquities, and only in the second instance, and then largely in the case of the clergy alone, was university learning given any acknowledgement.<sup>21</sup> As before, in the medieval period, poetic praise of the clergy was stereotyped,<sup>22</sup> with brief references to the universities as the location of their learning<sup>23</sup> and some indication of their expertise as linguists

(Hebrew, Greek and Latin),<sup>24</sup> civilians<sup>25</sup> and divines,<sup>26</sup> and, where appropriate, they would note the contribution of these clergymen to the Welsh language, for instance, in the cases of Bishops William Morgan and Richard Davies.<sup>27</sup>

The Welsh bards had little, by contrast, to say about the education of laymen in Wales in this period despite it being a time of increased attendance at the inns and the universities. The common form of bardic praise for the Welsh gentleman concentrated on his qualities of noble lineage and descent, liberality and generosity, qualities which were, of course, also applicable to the renaissance notion of gentility and virtú. References to expertise or to education, the new elements in the renaissance ideal, were few, and would seem to suggest that it was not a pre-requisite of gentility either for the bards or, on the face of it, for the patrons. Special or outstanding learning merited some observations, such as linguistic facility,<sup>28</sup> or notable scientific or antiquarian learning, as in the case of Humphrey Llwyd.<sup>29</sup> Professional skill, as in the legal profession, was largely underplayed in comparison with other qualities and virtues under display, for example, regarding Simon Thelwall and Sir William Jones.<sup>30</sup> Devotion to Welsh language and literature was emphasised greatly in comparison with formal education, for example, in the case of the Bodwrda family.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, there seems to be only one Welsh poem in this period to have made more than a brief mention of education and to have tried to relate it in social terms, a 'cywydd' in praise of Griffith Vaughan on his return from Oxford University, a well of unfettered piety and true worldly knowledge, a school of great renown. However virtuous and

famous a man, he is not so outstanding without having been under its roof. Now Oxford's true worth will be seen when Vaughan comes to hold office in his two countries (Ardudwy and Meirionydd).<sup>32</sup>

University education in some measure added to the leadership and the authority of the gentry,<sup>33</sup> but it was often a leadership and authority, and, indeed, a gentility which had a different basis from that traditionally regarded by the poets. If the poets underwent self-doubt about justifying and praising some of the newer Welsh 'gentry',<sup>34</sup> they were also suspicious of those new aspects of gentry life which threatened the traditional order. English, or more precisely Italianate, ways and fashions were criticised, and the universities, too, seemed to undermine the traditional linguistic and cultural affinities of many Welsh students, divorcing them from their roots.<sup>35</sup> Some poets prepared collections of Welsh poetry and history for Welsh exiles at the universities, such as Dr. Theodore Price or Dr. John Williams, in order to enable them to preserve their Welsh links and heritage.<sup>36</sup>

Some students seem to have succeeded in preserving an interest in Welsh culture and of integrating it with their broader classical studies, for instance, in the case of the Bodwrda family, or of Edmund Prys, or of Thomas Ellis in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> For people such as these, who had been immersed in Welsh poetry and antiquity before attending the universities, one can see that such an education must have presented an enhancing influence, grafting new, fresher ideas and concepts onto an old tradition,<sup>38</sup> many of whose proponents stoutly refused to acknowledge any innovation.<sup>39</sup>

Yet, whatever the merits of education at the universities or the

inns, a degree of anglicisation was inevitable, by virtue of the milieu in which they were located, and by the growing political and administrative demands on the literate élite in Wales.<sup>40</sup> Ethnic and linguistic bonds were weakened while status group loyalties were strengthened. Sons of the Welsh gentry became acquainted with the English language, with English ways and with children from similar English backgrounds by their attendance at the grammar schools or through the teaching of tutors, and even the children of the middling and lower orders in Wales seem to have been set into the English fashion.<sup>41</sup>

The inns and the universities were a force for continuing this development. Patterns of behaviour at the inns were especially anglicised. At the universities, while Latin continued to be officially enforced in the teaching and at many of the formal social gatherings in the colleges, nevertheless, the progress of English was considerable, witness Laud's efforts to stem the tide in 1636. In any event, the universities and the inns did much to break down regional loyalties, even though the Welsh tended to clan together in certain inns and colleges. A sense of identity was created among disparate elements in the kingdom who belonged to the ruling élite.<sup>42</sup>

The agricultural hinterland of the southern towns and of London could not but fail to attract many Welshmen, while the urban areas themselves, and especially London, were centres of exchange and commerce, of advancement, where the learned and the cultivated congregated. The significance of London and the court was immeasurable, establishing a wide and new cultural influence that drew in the inns of court and

the universities also.<sup>43</sup> Little wonder that Welshmen and educated Welshmen were drawn and captivated. There was no urban centre remotely similar to uphold and promote Welsh culture and to complement the gentry's interest - Ludlow was unsatisfactory<sup>44</sup> - while the absentee nobility could hardly have fulfilled hopes of patronage, the Herberts becoming increasingly divorced from Wales and anglicised.<sup>45</sup>

Though Welsh culture might be supported in London by the Welsh mercantile element and at households such as those of Dr. John Dee at Mortlake,<sup>46</sup> most Welsh scholars had to depend on and seek patronage from the eminent whose desire was for books in Latin or English. Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester were especially prominent, particularly since they had ultimate power over the inns of court and the universities as their governors and chancellors, and could patronise the likely scholars, including Welshmen, such as Lewis Evans.<sup>47</sup> Later, Lord Chancellor Ellesmere proved an equally munificent patron and supporter of the arts. Several Welsh writers, products of the universities, indicated in their dedications the debt they owed him; John Lloyd, Thomas Floyd, Sir William Vaughan, Sir John Stradling and John Owen.<sup>48</sup> Owen, of course, drew on wider London patronage still, from the royal family, from the border county judge, Roger Owen, from the Welsh clergy, such as Richard Vaughan and John Williams, and from the aristocracy, particularly Sir Philip Sidney.<sup>49</sup> The Sidney family had already assisted the progress of Welsh antiquities by favouring Dr. David Powel, while Robert Cecil, another of Owen's patrons, had fairly close ties with the Welsh intelligentsia in London in the late sixteenth century, which included Powell, Dee, Hugh Broughton and Dean Goodman.<sup>50</sup>

Aristocratic support had earlier, too, been a means of promoting Welsh antiquities either in Latin or English, for a wider audience, as in the case of Humphrey Llwyd, who had the advantage of overseas travel with his employer.<sup>51</sup> Travel, indeed, together with an interest in antiquities and involvement in plays and dramas, seem to be some of the features of cultural life among the more anglicised of Welsh students and gentlemen by the seventeenth century. Going abroad, in addition to attending the inns or the universities, was a new avenue of education and cultural appreciation for the wealthier sons of gentry and nobility in Wales and its borders. Anglicised scions, such as Sir Edward Herbert and James Howell,<sup>52</sup> were copied in this by young Welsh gentlemen, who were gradually being assimilated into the broader gentry community in the kingdom. John Wynn of Gwydir and John Trefor of Trefalun, for example, went abroad, and there was a general increase in numbers seeking permission to travel on the continent,<sup>53</sup> where they could assimilate Italianate ideas especially, and which they could add to those Renaissance, and Reformation, ideas, gained in English towns or from the English press.<sup>54</sup>

One particular form of these influences which proved popular with Welsh students and gentlemen, together with their English counterparts, was the play and its various other forms such as the masque and the revel. Though Ludlow, as a provincial capital, seems to have provided some taste for this,<sup>55</sup> London and the university towns were more potent transmitters of this new or revived cultural form. While plays were a feature of grammar school activities also, the universities proved to be the centres for the restoration of classical plays and they provided

an opportunity for scholar-producers, such as John Dee at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1546.<sup>56</sup> College members also wrote plays in English or Latin, employing classical and biblical themes and using Seneca for stylistic inspiration. Tragedies and comedies were produced, the latter at Cambridge especially, and it was as a Cambridge student that Nicholas Robinson produced his comedy Stylius at Queens' in 1552/3.<sup>57</sup> Robinson's own account of royal visits to Cambridge and Oxford indicates the care taken to produce new plays and the importance placed on experimenting with new techniques and forms. Expensive dramas were set up which required large casts and inevitably the Welsh student was drawn in to participate in such exciting events.<sup>58</sup>

Lighter communal festivities were also permitted at vacations and festival times, during which the junior members of colleges were allowed authority over the feasting, games, plays and entertainments.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, at the inns of court, the inner-barristers took command of the revels in the winter vacation, and at the Inner Temple, Welsh students were regularly elected officials of the Christmas festivities, particularly as stewards or auditors or as assistants to the committees of the music.<sup>60</sup> Although benchers had ultimate authority over such occasions as marshalls of the revels, the inner-barristers could all too easily kick over the traces to become wild and violent.<sup>61</sup>

The plays and masques which were a part of these festivities could also be turbulent affairs, but they represented a part of a regular pattern of urban cultural enterprise, in which play-acting and music and dancing had priority. As at the universities, royal visits



to the inns of court were special occasions for entertainment. In 1633/4, for example, Sir Edward Herbert represented the Inner Temple on an inns' committee arranging a royal masque, which was so successful that it was re-played at court.<sup>62</sup> In 1635, the Middle Temple put on a successful masque of its own for the Queen, in which at least three Welsh students participated.<sup>63</sup> Earlier, in 1616, Thomas Trevor of Trefalun was one of the Inner Templars in an inns' masque presented before Prince Charles, while in 1612/13, John Morgan of the Inner Temple was a friend and colleague to William Browne, who wrote the songs to a masque celebrating the marriage of James I's daughter to the Elector Palatine.<sup>64</sup>

Plays and masques were a mirror of life delineating the sanctions of society, emphasising its hierarchical nature and defining accepted and unacceptable forms of behaviour. Those who attended or participated in these activities at the colleges or the inns or in London generally were bound to pay attention and understand the underlying sentiments of the playwrights and behave accordingly. On occasion, the place of the Welsh themselves in English society was defined, as in the royal masque at Gray's Inn in 1617/18, in which Welsh characters were employed-as stock comedy turns, and this was by no means the only example. It reflected clearly the painful adjustment that the Welsh, and particularly the Welsh gentry, had to make to be assimilated into the wider community of the kingdom. Their boastfulness of descent, their curious idiomatic English and their continued use of Welsh, their choleric nature and their bravary, and their parsimoniousness, represented the sometimes satirical, sometimes affectionate, metropolitan

view of the Welsh as the nearest of foreigners and the most distant of provincials.<sup>65</sup>

For the educated Welsh and the Welsh intelligentsia, therefore, there was a tension, between adherence to native Welsh culture and an affiliation to the burgeoning metropolitan English culture. In the case of the latter, it is clearly seen in the contribution of university-educated Welshmen to a developing tradition of salon verse, for example, in the case of John Owen and Hugh Holland,<sup>66</sup> and of a rich stream of meditative, not to say religious, English language poetry, for example, by George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Sir John Stradling.<sup>67</sup>

A point of convergence between the two cultures lay in the common interest in British history and antiquities, in which Welsh-speaking and anglicised Welsh scholars, and English scholars also, could participate. The inns and the universities were an important influence in this respect, nurturing as they did an interest in classical literature and antiquity, historical precedents and historical dramas.<sup>68</sup> They brought together students of like interests, as Robert Vaughan of Hengwrt found at Oxford when he met other young gentlemen from Wales interested in the Welsh past.<sup>69</sup>

During the later sixteenth century, most of the Welsh writers on Welsh history were products of the universities and either wrote of the Welsh past as a fundamental part in the development of the 'British' state, for example, David Powel, or wrote of local interests and associations, as did Sir Edward Stradling. In the seventeenth century, both these strands of Welsh historical study were pursued again by university-educated men such as Robert Vaughan and Thomas Wilkins.<sup>70</sup>

The Welsh legal profession was also involved in historical study. During the sixteenth century, the Inner Templar, John Lewis of Llynwene, did much detailed work on Welsh law, albeit based heavily on Geoffrey of Monmouth.<sup>71</sup> Lewis, nevertheless, continued to be a valuable influence and his work gave much evidence for Robert Vaughan's investigations.<sup>72</sup> Vaughan, indeed, also corresponded with two other Welsh lawyers who were interested in the Welsh past as collectors of manuscripts if not as writers, Sir John Lloyd and John Vaughan, the latter informing Robert Vaughan of his unwillingness to allow his collection to be copied until it was all safely gathered into the Temple Library.<sup>73</sup>

The inns of court in the early seventeenth century were full of lawyers who had antiquarian and historical interests, and an interest in Wales was displayed by at least three leading lawyers, Sir Roger Owen, Sir John Doddridge and James Whitelock, all of whom used the library of the famous collector, Sir Robert Cotton.<sup>74</sup> Sir Simonds D'Ewes was another lawyer with historical interests, and it was by virtue of the good offices of a Gray's Inn student, David Lloyd, that he succeeded in reinforcing his contact with the great Welsh antiquary and grammarian, Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd.<sup>75</sup>

Within Wales itself, the Welsh intelligentsia strove to preserve contact with one another by exchanging ideas and manuscripts and pressing for the publication of new works on Wales. By means of London associates they were also able to maintain a rapport with English antiquarians and writers, for example, in London, through the influence of Dr. Thomas Yale, the civilian, and Dr. John Dee. Depositories of documents, clarified by guides such as those published by Thomas Powell, revealed sources that

could be used practically, for example, to identify title to property, as well as for historical purposes.<sup>76</sup>

It was a fact, however, that by writing and publishing for a wider audience than that which resided in Wales, most of the Welsh historians and antiquaries wrote in English or Latin. The Welsh tongue was largely ignored and by-passed in the process with the risks of consequent ossification. It was symptomatic, therefore, of the assimilation of most of the highly-educated and most able section of the community into the wider learned community of the kingdom.<sup>77</sup> In other fields of scholarship, too, was this assimilation revealed. Welshmen, who had attended the universities and the inns of court, participated in a broad spectrum of published works in the English language or Latin; classical commentaries by Hugh Lloyd, John Lloyd and Griffith Powell, translations by Leonard Cox and William Vaughan, grammars by Cox and Hugh Robinson. Translations from European languages to English were produced by David Rowland, William Thomas, Thomas Powell and John Davies.<sup>78</sup>

Theoretical and practical works relating to political economy, botany and medicine were produced by James Howell and Rice Vaughan, William Salesbury, John Davies, Thomas Williams, Thomas Phaer, John Jones and the lawyer Walter Rumsey,<sup>79</sup> and there were Welsh authors who swam against the prevailing orthodoxy of Aristotelian and neo-Aristotelian thought. Outside the confines of university thought, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, attempted to establish a new but conservative epistemological system in place of an Aristotelianism so much under attack by sceptical thought in Europe.<sup>80</sup>

Herbert also proclaimed the need for scientific experiment and in this he was followed by men of a far more irrational, mystical, frame of mind, adherents of the hermetic tradition. Though, as we have seen,<sup>81</sup> scientific interests and cabalist writers, such as Agrippa, were not unknown at the universities, these ideas flourished most strongly in the courtly and metropolitan environment of London. At the base, magical, level, one discovers the astrological speculations of the Anglican clergymen, John Evans, while on a higher, subtler and scientific plane are the major contributions of John Dee and Robert Recorde, particularly in geometry and mathematics.<sup>82</sup>

Order and method were undoubtedly an important development in the approach to the natural sciences, and Recorde reflected this in the systematic way he addressed mathematics and the manner of its teaching. He was also a leading proponent of the ideas of Copernicus in rejecting the ethnocentric view of the universe.<sup>83</sup> The mystical implications of this discovery were adopted by Dee in his cosmography and symbolically applied to explain the material world.<sup>84</sup> Such an interpretation of the world was subsequently echoed by Robert Fludd, a man of Welsh extraction, and, during the mid-seventeenth century, by Thomas Vaughan, brother of Henry, the poet, who, following his education at Jesus College, Oxford, proceeded into the world of chemical and alchemical experimentation.<sup>85</sup> He most clearly echoes Dee and the general mystico-magical outlook to the world in his apologia for the Rosicrucian brotherhood in 1652, in which magical symbolism was combined with a mystical belief in Christ and Christianity as the keys to all learning and enlightenment.

Such views paved a way for a transition from the predominance of scholastic thought, which still held firm at the universities, to the proposition of the validity of empirical ideas and scientific investigation that learned men came to accept by the late seventeenth century.<sup>86</sup> Such a transition had been assisted by the major development of printing which had accumulated all the disparate materials of the classical and scholastic past, to reinforce traditional intellectual thought patterns to begin with and, subsequently, to provide a base for new thought and also for cultural innovation. Welshmen, as members of the inns and the universities in this period, had clearly benefited greatly from this expansion in the sources of literacy, even if it had meant undermining their own native cultural interests and values. Furthermore, a portion, perhaps 2 per cent of the identifiable Welsh student element in c.1540-1642, had actually published works in various languages and of varying quality, thus actively participating in those revolutionary changes overcoming Western European thought.

CHAPTER VIII - NOTES

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84. Ibid., pp. 184-5; N.H. Clulee, 'John Dee's Early Natural Philosophy', Renaissance Quarterly, XXX (1977), 632 ff.
85. Frances A. Yates, The Art of Memory (1969 ed.), chaps. 15 and 16; idem, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (1972), pp. 30 ff. and App., p. 235; Wood, Athenae Oxon., III, 722; E.D. Jones, 'The Brogyntyn Welsh Manuscripts', N.L.W. Jour., VII (1951-2), 171 ff.
86. H.F. Kearney, 'Scientists and Society', in E.W. Ives, ed., The English Revolution 1600-1660 (1968), pp. 110-14; but cf. L. Stone, ed., The University in Society (1974), I, 48-56.

## CONCLUSION

This thesis represents an attempt at a general survey of the concern shown in Wales towards university and legal education during the early modern period, and of the impact of that education on Welsh society. Though Wales underwent many clearly apparent changes, political, administrative and social, the less perceptible but no less real influence of educational development was, arguably, just as profound. By the turn of the seventeenth century, the acquisition of a good education had raised expectations considerably, among laymen and clergy alike, and represented a significant departure from the middle ages.<sup>1</sup>

A network of grammar schools and of lesser parish and private schools which had emerged by 1640 attest to this change and, significantly, such schools as the endowed schools at Bangor, Rhuthun, Botwnnog, Beaumaris, Abergavenny and Brecon were also intended to consolidate and to promote the pursuit of higher education at the inns and universities.<sup>2</sup> Changes in religion and legal administration in Wales quickened the aspirations of professional men who encouraged the admission of students to the inns and universities by their benefactions.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the clearest signs of educational progress, as they affected Wales, came in the altered pattern of attendance at Oxford, where, by the later sixteenth century, there was a significant secular and non-specialising element. Moreover, during the 1620s and 1630s, the inns of court and Cambridge attracted a greater number of Welsh students than ever before, particularly the sons of the more affluent Welsh gentry. At Oxford, too, they were better represented than the matriculation

registers, which record a majority of plebeians, might at first suggest. Nevertheless, there seems to have been some positive correlation between the modest means of many Welsh students and their ambition to proceed as far as possible, reflected in the degree pattern in general, and especially by the relatively greater influx of students from less affluent and more sparsely populated North Wales.<sup>4</sup>

Welsh attendance at these three centres was not necessarily haphazard, for there were determining considerations, such as kindred, areal and local loyalties. All Souls College, Oxford, prior to the emergence of Jesus College, attracted Welshmen from the whole of Wales, given its landed interests in Wales and the borders, and its preparedness to nominate Welshmen to its endowed places. General endowments were available for Welshmen at other colleges, too, while Welsh benefactions at Jesus College, and at St. John's College, Cambridge, created close associations with South and North Wales respectively. Such associations could be exploited, as in the case of the Gwyn benefaction at St. John's, by those who had ties of friendship or kinship with the trustees and college officials. The great influx of Welsh students to Jesus College soon made it the predominant college for the Welsh, amply demonstrated during the 1620s and 1630s by the efforts to secure it new benefactions as the only 'certain seminary' for Wales.<sup>5</sup>

The presence of Welshmen as officials at other colleges and at the inns of court also led students to take advantage of local loyalties; for example, North Wales and Lincoln's Inn, South and south-west Wales and the Middle Temple, and north-east Wales and Brasenose College. There were, in addition, traditional Welsh areal attachments to old halls at



the universities, which were transferred to the colleges into which they were integrated, while the system of guarantors or pledges, as at All Souls or Christ Church, Oxford, and at the inns of court, gave further force to areal loyalties and family ties.<sup>6</sup>

Endowed places at the colleges, as at All Souls, provided a good measure of maintenance for the minority that received them, but students of even affluent backgrounds, like the Wynns of Gwydir, who were fee payers at the colleges and the inns, for there were no endowments at the latter, had to balance carefully their expenditure between food costs, general fees and bills for books and clothing. About £20 per annum by c.1600 was the minimum cost to maintain a student at the inns and universities. The low status ascribed to so many Welsh students, especially at Oxford, indicates how close they lived to this minimum standard of maintenance.<sup>7</sup>

Good advice from sound tutors or guardians was indispensable in both financial and moral matters. Equally, sound tuition was important in a student's intellectual progress. Though lectures at the universities, and case puttings at the inns, with their attendant notemaking-procedures, continued to be important, though sometimes avoided by the less diligent, personal reading, study and regular practice at disputations held great significance. Evidence from the few remaining book lists and notebooks belonging to Welsh students confirm that at the universities there was an active revival of classical literature for linguistic and rhetorical studies, but that Cicero continued to be the chief influence. The works of Aristotle, which influenced theology and the other higher faculty subjects, was the fundamental basis to the arts courses in a

modified scholastic form, and radically altered in some cases as by the inclusion of Ramus. At the inns of court, the dialectical procedures were directed at statute and case law, particularly it seems, from the limited evidence, to land law, but there were opportunities to pursue humanist studies as well.<sup>8</sup>

Following the Reformation, not only was religious piety encouraged, but outward demeanour and conformity were considered essential at the universities and increasingly important at the inns. Welsh divinity students read Protestant theology, anti-Catholic argumentation and general meditative literature of a non-controversial nature.<sup>9</sup> On the whole, the Welsh student body seems to have acquiesced and conformed to the Anglican orthodoxies imposed after 1558. Where they tended to doubt or reject the Anglican settlement, more openly at the inns, perhaps, they tended to a conservative view, adhering to the old Catholic faith. The impact of Protestant and radical ideology at the universities cannot be under-estimated, however, witness not only John Penry, but also his contemporary, John Rogers, and in the seventeenth century the Puritan associates of William Wroth and William Erbery.<sup>10</sup>

After the Marian period, of the Welsh students only William Hughes aroused theological conflict at the universities to the extent of warranting the intervention of the Crown through its councillors. Most Welsh students and seniors eschewed the extremes and accepted the regulations set down by Dr. John Williams and others concerning controversial subjects likely to upset the notion of a state church under the rule of princes, however ungodly. The extent of the religious loyalty of the mass of Welsh students, moreover, was revealed during

the Civil War and after, for only a very few, such as Erbery, at all contemplated challenging the ideological concepts which the universities in particular represented.<sup>11</sup>

Conformity in the state religion was coupled with pressures to conform to general royal authority. As far as the Welsh university students were concerned, their experience of direct royal intervention was found in individual royal mandates to place them in endowed places, as in the Gwyn Fellowships at St. John's, and more generally in the matter of trying to determine college government. Welsh students and seniors were affected by several such interventions by the Crown and its councillors and by the controversies which ensued, as at St. John's, for example, or earlier at Magdalene, Cambridge, or at Jesus and Oriel Colleges, Oxford. Direct government intrusion at the inns was less obvious, though the benchers there, including Welshmen such as Hugh Hughes and William Jones, acceded to government directions. As in religion, so also in politics, Welsh members of the inns and universities were largely conformist. Some aspiring Welsh barristers, such as John Glynne and Charles Jones, might, by 1640, have been critical of the Crown, but by and large, such doubts did not extend to opposing the King in the Civil War. Junior and senior Welsh members alike displayed their loyalties by fighting for Charles I or by accepting expulsion and sequestration when Parliament eventually gained control of the colleges and inns.<sup>12</sup>

The religious orthodoxies propounded at the inns and universities were relevant to those who would be the lay magistrates in Wales and more so in preparing an educated clergy to improve the Welsh Church.

Almost two-fifths of recorded Welsh entrants after c.1550 graduated B.A. or higher, a majority with the intention of becoming priests. Indeed, in Bangor diocese, a consistent advance occurred in clerical quality after the 1570s with first enlightened Cambridge alumni, and then Oxford graduates, being ordained and preferred to livings. Nevertheless, in all Welsh dioceses, the poverty of the livings and the better prospects of preferment in England resulted in the loss of many able Welsh graduates, while university education did not necessarily ensure the Church better preachers, especially since so few of them were divinity graduates.<sup>13</sup>

The advance in higher education benefited not merely the traditional professional group in Wales, the clergy, but gave stimulus to that other significant profession, the lawyers. Training civil and canon lawyers had already characterised the education of Welshmen at the medieval universities. Though canon law disappeared after 1535, the production of Welsh civil lawyers continued, and was held to be of great note by Humphrey Llwyd in Elizabeth's reign. At least thirty-five Welsh civilians practised as advocates in London in 1500-1640, a few, such as Dr. David Lewis, achieving the pinnacle of their profession, and many others like Dr. John Gwyn, benefactor of St. John's, Cambridge, achieving much affluence.<sup>14</sup>

More significant still was the emergence of the common law profession among the Welsh at the inns of court, a development which seems to have been largely a product of the sixteenth century and after, when English common law was fully and uniformly established in Wales. No less than a fifth of Wales's inns entrants became barristers, and

at least one third of those practised in the lucrative Westminster courts. At the Courts of Great Sessions in Wales and the Court of the Council of Wales and the Marches at Ludlow there were offices and posts of advancement, culminating in the elevation of several Welshmen as judges in Wales itself during the reign of Charles I, a most important development. The business offered by the Welsh gentry was also important, and, all in all, the benefits were considerable, as the social and economic advancement of lawyers like Hugh Hughes, John Lloyd and Richard Seys testify; and a few were sufficiently able, and not merely politically loyal, to gain royal promotion to the highest law offices in the land.<sup>15</sup>

A third profession, indeed, emerged from this higher education, namely the academic calling itself. At the inns of court, it was shown in the success of some 5 per cent of the Welsh intake in being called to be readers in law at their inns. The readings, which a majority seem to have fulfilled, showed that they had reached the highest standards of legal expertise. At the universities, academic careers for the Welsh, already reflected in earlier times by headships of minor halls, was characterised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by appointment as lecturers of colleges, in obligations to teach as necessary regents and tutors, and most important of all, in promotion to professorships and masterships of colleges, for example, the careers of Dr. John Williams of Jesus College and William Price at Oxford, and most clearly Dr. Owen Gwyn of St. John's, Cambridge, a political academic.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, the inns and universities transmitted cultural values

and standards to which the natural leaders of society, the gentry and clergy tended to conform. The contribution to leadership was revealed by the increasing proportion of Welsh J.P.s who had been educated at the inns and universities, approximately 50 per cent by the 1630s, and by the significant proportion of lawyers and university alumni among the Welsh members of Parliament. Culturally, the milieu of the inns and universities gave to Welsh students the opportunity to experience new English or European cultural forms and values - most notably plays and masques, often of a didactic kind. Renaissance learning, however, did encourage a greater interest in the Welsh vernacular, and university-trained clergy and gentry in particular were active in promoting Welsh publishing. On the other hand, these new values were distinctly different and decidedly unacceptable to the upholders of the traditional culture of Wales, the poets, and greater than the community of interest in Welsh literature could accept, so that a culture clash could not be avoided. Further, just as many graduate clergy were drawn away into English church life, then, too, many able Welsh talents were attracted to the literary, scientific and well-patronised circles of London and the court.<sup>17</sup>

By 1640, a distinct pattern of higher education centred on the inns and universities had established itself among the Welsh gentry, clergy, lawyers and intelligentsia. Oxford still held the primary attraction, though the inns and Cambridge had gained in importance. The ensuing civil and religious disturbances did upset this pattern, in that they harmfully disrupted teaching at the inns in particular, so that after 1660, while academic activity at the universities

continued unaltered, the inns waned in power, as is revealed in the falling Welsh admission figures. In other respects, the pre-1640 Welsh admissions pattern persisted. Cambridge and St. John's continued to attract a significant number of students from North Wales, while Oxford was recruiting Welsh entrants at an annual rate markedly higher than that of the 1630s. Jesus College, more than ever, secured its claim to train the Welsh clergy and gentry. Indeed, in the 1660s, under Leoline Jenkins, it sought to consolidate the advances in schooling and endowments made before 1640, and it established itself as the chief college for the Welsh for the remainder of the pre-industrial period, an Anglican seminary, a centre of Welsh antiquarian pursuits and the upholder of hierarchical values.<sup>18</sup>

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Chapter V (i).
2. Ibid.
3. Chapter V (ii).
4. Chapter II.
5. Ibid. and chapter V (ii).
6. Chapters II, III (i) and IV.
7. Ibid. and chapter III (i).
8. Chapters III (ii) and IV; cf. also James McConica, 'Humanism and Aristotle in Tudor Oxford', The English Historical Review, XCIV (1979), 291 ff., which appeared too late to be considered fully here. Note esp. 314 for his comments on John Rogers's notebook.
9. Chapter III (ii).
10. Chapter VI (ii).
11. Ibid. and chapter VI (iii). See also J. Gwynfor Jones, 'Thomas Davies and William Hughes: two Reformation Bishops of St. Asaph', B.B.C.S., XXIX (1981), 320-35, on the Hughes controversy, which appeared too late for consideration here.
12. Chapter VI (ii), (iii).
13. Chapters II, VI (i).
14. Chapters V (ii), nn. 31, 35, and VII (i).
15. Chapter VII (ii).
16. Chapters III (ii), IV, V (ii), VI (iii), n. 48.
17. Chapters VII (ii), VIII.
18. C.S.P. Dom., Charles II, III, 1663-4, 546; E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), pp. 131 ff.; Al. Oxon.; L. Stone, The University in Society, I (1974), 71, 77-81, 91, 102.



APPENDICES TO CHAPTER II

Appendix I - Links between Welsh/possible Welsh students and Oxford colleges and halls, 1500-40.

<u>Colleges</u>	<u>Areas of Origin</u>					Wales (unspecified)
	S-E	S-W	N-E	N-W	Central	
All Souls C.	1	10/1	1/			1/3
Reef H.						/1
Brasenose C.			1/			/3
Broadgates H.	2/	2/1				/2
Canterbury C.		1/				
Cardinal C.						/2
Greek H.	1/					
Hart H.						/1
Hinksey H.						/3
Lincoln C.	1/					/1
London C.	2/			1/		
Magdalen C.	1/			1/		/3
Neville H.		3/	1/			
New C.	1/					
New Inn H.		1/		5/		/3
Oriel C.	1/	2/	2/	1/		/1
Peckwater I.						/1
St. Alban H.						/2
St. Edward H.	1/	2/		1/	1/	1/8
St. Mary H.						/2
Vine H.		1/		1/		/4
<u>Regular orders</u>						
Augustinians						/2
Benedictines			1/			
Cistercians	2/	1/	1/		2/	1/
Dominicans					1/	/1
Franciscans						/1
Premonstratensians	1/					

	Gloucester H.	Hart H.	Brasenose C.	Christ Ch.	St. Edmund H.	St. Mary H.	JESUS C.	Oriel C.	St. Alban H.	All Souls C.	Magdalen H.	Broadgates H.	New C.	Balliol C.	Lincoln C.	Wadham C.	Corpus C. C.	Queen's C.	Trinity C.	Exeter C.	University C.	St. John's C.	Magdalen C.	New Inn H.	Merton C.	Pembroke C.	C. unknown	TOTAL
Anglesey	2	17	3	36	31	1	16	8	1	5	3	1	9	1	1	-	1	3	-	1	2	-	6	-	-	-	6	154
Caernarvon	1	43	15	30	8	3	21	15	2	7	-	-	4	1	1	-	2	-	5	6	13	-	1	-	1	-	2	181
Meirioneth	1	25	3	12	2	-	22	19	1	3	-	1	2	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	1	100
Denbigh	9	14	28	23	17	16	35	17	4	1	1	-	1	13	2	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	188	
Flint	1	7	22	13	2	6	7	7	4	-	2	2	-	3	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	85	
Montgomery	1	20	13	8	3	6	25	13	2	3	3	1	2	4	7	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	5	-	-	2	124	
Cardigan	1	2	1	2	-	3	59	16	3	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	2	1	1	103	
Carmarthen	2	-	1	3	4	-	88	1	-	4	-	3	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	116	
Pembroke	5	-	5	3	4	4	1	46	4	-	1	1	1	2	-	4	-	6	-	-	-	7	1	1	-	2	94	
Radnor	2	2	6	2	-	2	14	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	-	43	
Brecon	16	4	7	6	-	1	76	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	3	1	1	-	1	125	
Glamorgan	16	4	37	8	20	4	108	4	-	5	1	10	2	-	4	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	2	3	-	2	234	
Monmouth	16	7	7	11	4	11	78	5	3	-	5	3	-	1	1	-	1	2	-	4	1	-	2	5	-	-	170	
Wales			24		1	1	1		4			1	1					1								11	45	
TOTAL	73	145	172	157	96	56	596	110	21	35	17	24	22	29	28	7	9	21	7	12	24	20	24	14	3	5	35	1762

Appendix II - Matriculation and Admissions of Welsh Students at Oxford c. 1550-1642.

	Magdalene	Queens'	St. John's	Christ's C.	Jesus	Trinity C.	Clare	King's	Gonville & Caius	Peterhouse	Corpus C.C.	Pembroke	Sidney Sussex	St. Catharine's	Total
Anglesey	2	3	12	-	5	1	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	28
Caernarvon	3	10	38	3	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61
Merioneth	-	1	4	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
Denbigh	1	14	38	3	7	7	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	74
Flint	-	6	8	-	5	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	23
Montgomery	-	2	8	-	3	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	18
Cardigan	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Carmarthen	-	8	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
Pembroke	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	7
Radnor	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Brecon	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
Glamorgan	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	6
Monmouth	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	7	47	114	10	26	15	2	5	4	5	2	2	2	1	242

Appendix II - Matriculations and Admissions of Welsh Students at Cambridge c. 1544-1642.

	Inner Temple	Middle Temple	Gray's Inn	Lincoln's Inn	Total
Anglesey	11 (3)	-	10 (3)	20 (6)	41 (12)
Caernarvon	9 (4)	3	15 (2)	33 (17)	60 (23)
Merioneth	13 (4)	-	10 (3)	8 (3)	31 (10)
Denbigh	27 (8)	1	52 (15)	21 (4)	101 (27)
Flint	11 (3)	2 (1)	31 (6)	27 (12)	71 (22)
Montgomery	21 (6)	5	19 (4)	6 (3)	51 (13)
Cardigan	14 (2)	4 (2)	4 (2)	2	24 (6)
Carmarthen	5 (1)	6 (2)	15 (5)	9 (4)	35 (12)
Pembroke	6	24 (9)	7 (2)	7 (4)	44 (15)
Radnor	8	5 (3)	8 (1)	-	21 (4)
Brecon	9 (3)	20 (9)	13 (2)	2	44 (14)
Glamorgan	15 (3)	10 (4)	29 (11)	26 (10)	80 (28)
Monmouth	26 (7)	23 (4)	44 (8)	3	96 (19)
TOTAL	175	103	257	164	699 (205)

Appendix II - Non-honoric admissions from Wales at the Inns of Court  
and the numbers who had also attended University ( ), c. 1545-1642.

	paup./serv.	pleb.	gen.	arm./mil.	cler.	others (medici f.; episc. f., etc.)
Anglesey	2	111 (80%)	12 (8.6%)	7 (5.1%)	5 (3.6%)	1
Caernarvon	7	102 (61.4)	21 (12.6)	27 (16.2)	7 (4.2)	2
Merioneth	-	69 (65.1)	17 (16.2)	5 (4.7)	5 (4.7)	-
Denbigh	3	112 (63.6)	25 (14.2)	20 (11.3)	7 (3.9)	9
Flint	1	35 (44.8)	18 (23.1)	17 (21.8)	4 (5.1)	3
Montgomery	2	69 (57)	22 (18.1)	19 (15.7)	9 (7.4)	-
Cardigan	-	54 (53.4)	25 (24.8)	13 (12.9)	5 (4.9)	-
Carmarthen	2	61 (52.6)	21 (18.1)	22 (18.9)	9 (7.7)	1
Pembroke	2	27 (29.3)	30 (32.6)	15 (16.3)	17 (18.4)	-
Radnor	1	19 (47.5)	9 (22.5)	6 (15)	5 (12.5)	-
Brecon	2	75 (61.9)	21 (17.3)	15 (12.4)	8 (6.6)	-
Glamorgan	3	121 (54)	51 (22.7)	31 (13.8)	16 (7.1)	2
Monmouth	1	84 (52.5)	35 (21.8)	19 (11.8)	14 (8.7)	7

Appendix III - Ascribed Social status and % of Welsh matriculands at Oxford, 1571-1642

	sizar	pensioner	fellow-commoner
Anglesey	9	14	2
Caernarvon	34	20	3
Merioneth	7	1	-
Denbigh	27	29	8
Flint	4	8	6
Montgomery	7	6	3
Cardigan	1	1	-
Carmarthen	3	2	4
Pembroke	2	1	2
Radnor	-	1	-
Brecon	2	1	-
Glamorgan	2	-	1
Monmouth	1	-	-

Appendix III - Ascribed College status of Welsh students admitted to Cambridge, c. 1541-1550

	gen.	arm./esq.	equ./mil.	lawyer f.
Anglesey	15	11	2	3
Caernarvon	27	19	7	1
Merioneth	12	14	-	-
Denbigh	42	31	7	-
Flint	26	21	8	-
Montgomery	21	18	4	-
Cardigan	9	8	3	-
Carmarthen	20	9	4	-
Pembroke	11	23	1	-
Radnor	9	7	-	-
Brecon	19	19	3	-
Glamorgan	29	19	6	-
Monmouth	53	23	7	1

Appendix III - Social status of non-honourific admissions from Wales at the Inns of Court,  
c. 1545-1642.



Appendix IV - Entrants from the Welsh towns at the Inns of Court and Oxford and Cambridge, and their or their family's status, c. 1550-1642.

p - plebeian; g - generous; a - armiger; e - esquire; Kt. - Knight; c - cleric; y - yeoman; \* - entrant's status unidentified; ( ) previously at university or inn of court.

	LI	MF	IT	CI	Cambridge	Oxford
Anglesey - Beaumaris	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1600
Caern.	Kt. 3a, g	*	Kt.	Kt.	(*), y	e, * 3p, g
Bangor	a				g, *	* 4p, c
Caernarfon	g					3p, a
Conwy	(a)	(a)		4*	2e, g, *	a
Botwnnog						p
Merion.	- Harlech			*		g, p
Bala				*		
Dolgellau		*				3p
Denb.	- Denbigh	*	*			p, g
Rhuthun				2g, (p)	3g, (2g)	2p
Wrexham				2g		3g
Flints.	- Caerwys					p
Mont.	- Montgomery		(p)			Kt., p
Machynlleth		*		e		
Llanidloes		*				
Texelton		*		*		
Melshpool		*		(g), e	*	2p., g

	LI	pre- 1600	1601-42	pre- 1600	1601-42	pre- 1600	1601-42	GI	pre- 1600	1601-42	Carbridge	pre- 1600	1601-42	Oxford
Card.	- Lampeter													3p
Brecon	- Brecon			g, (2g)	(g)							2g		g, a
	Hay			(a)										a
	Builth													p
	Crughywel							(g), g, 2e						g
Radnor	- Presteigne			g		3*		(a), e						p, a
Pemb.	- Pembroke					*								c
	Haverfordwest			g, e										g
	Tenby			2e										*
Carm.	- Carmarthen							(g), 2g						3p, g
	Llanymddyfri													p, c
	Llangadog													p
	Cydweli													2p
	Laugharne													*
Glam.	- Cardiff				(g)	*								5p, g
	Cowbridge													2p
	Teath		(p), a	g		*		2g, (g)						2p, g
	Swansea		a					3						* 3p, 2g

	LI	NI	IT	GI	Cambridge	Oxford
	pre-1500	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1600	pre-1500	pre-1600
	1511-42	1601-42	1601-42	1601-42	1601-42	1601-42
Yonnu.						
- Monmouth						* 5p, c
Abergavenny		g	* ,Kt.,(e) 2*	* e, g, (g)		* 5p, *
Newport			*	(a)	*	a
Usk				4g, (p, g)		p, 2g
Caerleon			*			
Chepstow		g				

1571-5 1576-80 1581-5 1586-90 1591-5 1596-1600 1601-5 1606-10 1611-15 1616-20 1621-5 1626-30 1631-5 1636-42

Anglesey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	5	3	1
Caernarvon	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	3	-	6
Merioneth	1	4	6	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	2
Denbigh	2	4	2	2	-	2	1	1	-	11	6	2	2
Flint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	1
Montgomery	1	-	3	1	-	2	1	1	2	1	1	3	2
Cardigan	2	7	8	1	6	1	4	2	6	3	7	3	7
Carmarthen	-	1	16	3	7	9	9	4	1	8	8	9	10
Pembroke	-	-	2	7	3	3	7	2	1	9	-	2	1
Radnor	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	1	2	1	3	1
Brecon	3	2	3	1	12	5	5	4	5	6	7	8	7
Glamorgan	2	4	6	3	17	5	6	9	7	13	8	6	13
Monmouth	-	-	6	3	3	2	6	4	10	13	4	12	6

Appendix V - Quinquennial Matriculations from the Welsh counties at Jesus College, Oxford 1571-1642, with possible associations with masters, fellows and benefactors.

## Appendix V

Anglesey - bequests of Bp. Henry Rowlands 1609, and Dean Owen Wood 1616, of Lewis Owen 1623, and Dr Thomas Gwynne 1632; gift of Lewis Roberts c. 1640; Maurice Meyrick, Fellow in 1621; Michael Roberts, Fell. c. 1624-37; John Roberts, Fell. 1631-8.

Caernarvon - bequests of Bp. Rowlands and Dean Wood; Dr John Lloyd, foundation Fell. 1571; Dr Theodore Price, non-resident Fell. 1622.

Merioneth - Dr John Lloyd, foundation Fell.; Richard Nannie, Fell. 1612-21; Theodore Price, Fell. 1622; John Ellis, resident Fell. 1622; Henry Floyd, Fell. 1632-8; Henry Vaughan, Fell. 1638.

Denbigh - Dr David Powel, Coll. member 1570s; Sir Eubule Thelwall, Principal, 1621-30; money contribution (1620) and bequest by Bp. Richard Parry, 1622; bequests of Sir Thomas Wynne and Stephen Rodway, 1629; Robert Lloyd, Fell. 1621; Richard Williams, Fell. 1625; Richard Lloyd, Fell. 1631-8; Jonathan Edwards, Fell. 1638; Owen Wynne, Fell. 1640.

Flint - Sir Eubule Thelwall, Principal.

Montgomery - benefaction of Dr Oliver Lloyd, 1625; John Lloyd, Fell. 1632-8.

Cardigan - Dr Griffith Lloyd, Principal 1572-86, and benefactor; Griffith Powell, resident Fell. 1590-1612, Principal 1613-20 and benefactor; David Parry, bequest 1640; substantial financial contribution of Cards. gentry 1620; Thomas Lloyd, Fell. 1602; Rice Morris, Fell. 1632-8; Daniel Evans, Fell. 1638.

Carmarthen - Francis Bevans, Principal 1586-1602; John Williams, Fell. and Principal 1602-13; Francis Mansell, Fell. 1613-20, Principal 1620-1, 1630-57, 1660-1; benefaction of Thomas Reddrich 1616; financial contribution of Carm. gentry 1620 and by Bp. Morgan Owen and Dr Richard Basset 1640; Edward Atkins, Fell. 1602; Morgan Powell, Fell. 1615-21; Robert Jones, Fell. 1634-41; William Thomas, Fell. 1635-7; Richard Jones, Fell. 1636-9; Thomas Lewis, Fell. 1640; John Lewis, Fell. 1640.

Pembroke - Dr Robert Lougher, foundation Fell., Thomas Huet, foundation Fell., Bevans, Williams and Mansell, Principals; contributions by Pembs. gentry 1620; bequest of Sir Thomas Canon, 1622; Thomas Prichard, resident Fell. 1618; William Dolben, non-resident Fell. 1622.

Radnor - Evan Vaughan, resident Fell. 1602-21.

Brecon - Dr Hugh Price, original Benefactor 1571-4; bequest of William Thomas 1633; substantial contributions of Brecs. gentry 1620; Dr William Aubrey, foundation Fell., Thomas Powell, Fell., 1632-8; bequest of Herbert Westfaling, Bp. Hereford, former Fell., 1601.

Glamorgan - Francis Bevans, Principal; bequest of Dr Thos. Gwynne; contribution of Bp. Morgan Owen and Dr Basset; important contributions from leading gentry, 1636-40; Edward James, Fell. 1586; John Maddocks, resident Fell. 1615; Edmund Stradling, Fell. 1625.

Monmouth - Dr David Lewis, Principal, 1571-2; William Prichard, Fell.  
1622 and benefactor 1623; Mrs Mary Robinson, benefactress 1620;  
William Thomas, benefactor; William Prichard, Fell. 1632;  
William Walter, Fell. 1640; Philip Flower, Fell. 1641.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III Part (ii)

Philosophical, rhetorical, and scientific authors, ascribed authors, their commentators and editors, and their dates (where found) abstracted from 'Liber Grufini Kyffin', 1654 (N.L.W., Wynnstay 23).

? = identification uncertain

Section 1. In Logique.

Philip von Soetern, Abp. Trier, 1567-1652; Marcin Smiglecki, fl. 1595-1618; Johann Rivius, d. 1594; Antonius Rubius; Franciscus Toletus, 1532-96; Giacomo Zabarella, 1533-89; Casper Hurtado, 1575-1647; Jan Maes, 1592-1647; Jacques Wallius, 1599-1690; John Duns Scotus, 1265-1308; Christoph Scheibler, 1589-1653; Melchior Flavius; Griffith Powell, 1561-1620; Fausto Sozzini, 1539-1604; Petrus Aureoli, 1280-1322; Alexander Aphrodisia, fl. A.D. 200; Francisco Suarez, 1548-1617.

2. For Ethickes.

Francesco Pavone, 1569-1637; John Case, d. 1600; Jean Buridan, 1297-1308; Francisco Suarez (q.v.); Johann Crellius, 1590-1633; Alessandro Piccolomini, 1507-78; Henricus Velstenius; ? Edwardi Guatandi; Jacobus Martini, 1570-1649; Joannes Magirus, d. 1596; Antonio Francesco Riccoboni, 1541-99; St. Thomas Aquinas, c. 1225-74; Gabriel Vasquez, 1549-1604; Gregorio Valentia, 1551-1603; Jean Malderus, 1563-1633; Diego Alvarez, d. 1635; Francisco Zumell; Gregory Martin, d. 1580; Plutarch, A.D. 46-c. 127; Plato, 427-347 B.C.; Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 3 B.C.-A.D. 65; Epictetus, A.D. 55-135; Simplicus, fl. A.D. 532-555; Flavius Arrianus, A.D. 96-180; Claude de Saumaise, 1588-1653; Hierocles, fl. A.D. 430; Maximus Tyrius, A.D. 125-185; ? Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 121-180; Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106-43 B.C.; Joannes Stobaeus, A.D. fifth cent.; Andronicus of Rhodes, fl. 70 B.C.; Melchior Goldast, 1576-1635; Daniel Heinsinus, 1580-1635; P. Sallustius, fl. A.D. 363; Leone Allacci, 1586-1669; Democrates, fl. 340 B.C.; Demophilus.

3. For Phisickes.

Aristotle, 384-322 B.C.; Antonius Rubius (q.v.); Franciscus Toletus (q.v.); Ambroise Paré, d. 1590; Alexander Aphrodisia (q.v.); Jacques Charpentier, 1524-74; Aegidio Colonna, d. 1316; John Duns Scotus (q.v.); Jacobus Martini (q.v.); Theodore Metochita, d. 1332; Dominico Bannes, 1527-1604; Libertus Fromont, 1587-1653; Jean Chrysostom Magnen, c. 1600-post 1660; Democritus, 460-357 B.C.; Pierre Gassendi, 1592-1655; René Descartes, 1596-1650; Everard Digby, fl. 1590; Thomas White, 1593-1676; Francis Bacon, 1561-1626.

4. For Metaphysickes.

Aristotle (q.v.); Fausto Sozzini (q.v.); Petrus Fonseca, 1528-99; Christoph Scheibler (q.v.); Cornelius Martini, 1567-1621; Jacobus Martini (q.v.); Francisco Suarez (q.v.); Dominique de Flandre; Johann Combach, 1585-1651.



5. For Mathematicks, I referre you to the professors in these sciences, who as your knowledge is more soe (I am confident) their charitie will not be lesse in communicating their directions in this particular.'

6. For Chronologie.

M. Paul Crusius (Kraus), 1525-72; Joseph Juste Scaliger, 1540-1609; Thomas Lydiat, 1572-1646; Denis Petau, 1583-1652; ? Alphonsus (Gutierrez) a Vera Cruce; Giglio Georgio Giralardi, 1479-1552; Christoph Clau, 1537-1612; Michael Mästlin, 1550-1631; ? Jos. Zerlinus; Philip Melancthon, 1497-1560; Theodorus Gaza, 1398-1475; Jean Perelle; Adrian de Jonghe, 1511-75; ? Johannes Laet, 1582-1649; Bernard Hederich, 1553-1605; David Origanus, 1558-1628; ? Conradus Powell; Christoph Helwig, 1581-1617; Seth Calvisius, 1556-1617; Johann J. Funk, 1518-66; James Ussher, 1581-1656; Edward Simpson, 1578-1651.

#### Section 8. For Orators

Demosthenes, 384-322 B.C.; Domitius Ulpian, d. A.D. 228; Hieronymus Wolf, 1516-80; Isocrates, 463-338 B.C.; Themistius, c. A.D. 317-387; Denis Petau (q.v.); Flavius Claudius Julianus Apostate, A.D. 331-363; Libanus, A.D. 314-93; Antiphon, 479-419 B.C.; Andocides, 467-391 B.C.; Isaeus, 420-350 B.C.; Dinarchus, 361-280 B.C.; Lesbonax, fl. 303 B.C.; Lycurgus, 396-323 B.C.; Herodes Atticus, A.D. 104-180; Demades, 380-318 B.C.; ? Alphonsus Micratius; P. Aelius Theodorus Aristides, A.D. 129-189; Willem Canter, 1542-1617; Aeschines, 389-314 B.C.; ? Gaspar Heidanus, 1530-86; Cicero (q.v.); Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, A.D. 35-95; Titus Livius, 59 B.C. - A.D. 17); Georg Draud, 1573-1630(5); Cassius Longinus, A.D. 213-73; Gerard Langbaine, 1609-58; Hermogenes, fl. A.D. 200; ? Gaspar Laurent; Claudius Galenus, A.D. 131-c. 201; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, c. 54 B.C. - post A.D. 7; Marcantonius Antimachus, c. 1473-1552.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V Part (i)

Estimated length of attendance of some Welsh pupils at Shrewsbury School, prior to their matriculation or admission to university or inn of court.

Student	Admission date at Shrewsbury	Matric./adm. at univ./inn	Estimated years of stay at Shrewsbury*	Estimated age at adm. to Shrewsbury
Pys Griffith	1584	Oxf., 1585, age 17	1	15
Samuel Powell	1584	Oxf., 1592, age 18	7	10
William Robinson	1589	Oxf., 1591/2, age 16	2	14
Humphrey Robinson	1589	Oxf., 1591/2, age 15	2	13
Richard Nanney	1590/1	Oxf., 1596, age 21	4	16
Elis Brynkir	1592	LI, 1596 -	3	-
William Brynkir	1598	Oxf., 1599, age 18	1	17
John Hanmer	1600/1	Oxf., 1606, age 15	5	9
William Madryn	1600/1	Oxf., c. 1602, -	1	-
Brochwell Griffith	1610/11	LI, 1618 -	6	-
Richard Blaney	1611/12	Oxf., c. 1615/16, age c. 17	4	13
John Glynne	1614/15	LI, 1620/1; Oxf., 1621, age 18	5	12/13

\*Allowing in most cases a one-year lapse between first entry to university or inn and matriculation or registration (vide L. Stone, The University in Society, I, 88f.)

Student	Admission date at Shrewsbury	Matric./adm. at univ./inn	Estimated years of stay at Shrewsbury	Estimated age at adm. to Shrewsbury
Thomas Madryn	1618	Cambr., 1631, age 18	c. 10*	5
Thomas Coytmor	1619	Cambr., 1623/4, -	3	-
Rowland Meyrick	1620/1	Oxf., 1623, age 15	2	13
Lewis Nanney	1622/3	LI, 1628 -	4	-
Richard Anwyl	1633	Oxf., 1637, age 17	3	13
John Vaughan	1636/7	Cambr., 1641, age 15	3	11
Foulk Middleton	1637	Oxf., 1639/40, age 17	2	14
Edward Morris	1637	GI, 1639, -	1	-
Charles Salesbury	1637	GI, 1642, -	4	-
Evan Lloyd	1637	Oxf., 1640, age 18	2	15
Peter Davies	1638	Cambr., 1642, age 18	3	14
John Davies	1638	Cambr., 1642, age 18	3	14
Griffith Bodwrda	1638	Cambr., 1639, -	1	-

\*He actually entered Cambridge from Whitchurch Grammar School.

Sources: Shrewsbury School registers, ed. Calvert and Auden; Al. Oxon; Al. Cant.; LI Adms.; GI Adms.

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- II Printed
- III Contemporary published and unpublished works and writings

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Admission lists, registers, biographical collections and  
bibliographical works

C. SECONDARY SOURCES

- I Unpublished Theses and Dissertations
- II Books
- III Articles
  - (a) In the most frequently cited journals
  - (b) In other journals

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(Note: all printed books published in London, unless otherwise stated)

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| SP 12 | 66/26(1), 29; 75/79; 91/35; 114/59;<br>118/37, 38, 68-71; 125/26; 126/48;<br>127/17-19; 197/34, 35; 162/29; 165/1, 2;<br>182/15-17, 19, 27, 31; 219/79, 89;<br>275/88. |
| SP 13 | F/11.  |
| SP 14 | 33; 38/30; 96/15; 121/5, 12, 44, 54, 69.   |
| SP 16 | 165/18; 174/29, 45, 46, 85; 241/44;<br>242/33; 249/1; 271/69; 415/4; 526/87;<br>540/364.   |
| C 193 | 13/1, 2.   |
| E 137 | 78/1, 5, 10; 86/1; 87/1, 9; 88/6; 106/9;<br>107/5; 118/1, 8.   |

2. The British Library, London (formerly the British Museum)

- |                |  |
|----------------|--|
| Harleian MSS   | 280, 813, 1692, 6995, 7031, 7033, 7038,<br>7046, 7047, 7176. |
| Additional MSS | 5820, 5825, 5843, 15669, 15670, 28607.                       |
| Lansdowne MSS  | 11, 21, 23, 24, 106, 737, 981, 983, 1218.                    |
| Egerton MS     | 2345.  |

3. The Bodleian Library, Oxford(a) University Archives

Oxford University Matriculation Registers P and PP.

CC. Inventories	vols. A-Bo; D-F; Ho-J; K-L; P; R-S.
Wills	vols. D-E; L; O-P.
Administrations	vols. LA-OX; S-TR.
Accompts	

WPB 9 Vice-Chancellor's Court hearings, 1613/14.

(b) Library MSS

Rawlinson	D. 273; D. 399; D. 1063. Q.e. 2.
Top. Oxon.	c. 22; c. 173. d. 81. e. 82; e. $\frac{124}{2}$ ; e. $\frac{124}{11}$ ; e. 128; e. 132.
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Additional	B. 109.
DD All Souls College	c. 120/4-6, 9-16, 21. c. 262/13, 31, 102, 107, 111, 117, 128. c. 263/175, 178, 191, 199, 200, 202, 207, 222, 228-30, 249-50, 258.

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137, 139, 140, 154, 156, 165,  
168, 187, 210, 214, 230-33, 243,  
307, 328, 338, 339, 362, 401, 402,  
414, 478, 484, 499.

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| Bodewryd              | Correspondence 37, 38, 40, 63.<br>A. 12. |
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| Brogyntyn             | 3220.                                    |
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| Chirk Castle          | E. 1357, 3319-21, 3334, 5595.            |
| Clenennau             | 339, 423, 444.                           |
| Dolfriog              | 405.                                     |

Llanfair and Brynodol	95.
Lleweni	674.
Roger Lloyd 2nd group	338.
Nanhoron	531.
Penlle'r gaer	167.
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Mostyn	6, 9, 11, 78, 184, 302, 366-373, 958, 1281-2, 1285-92, 1339, 1558, 2988, 2990, 2994, 3002, 3009, 3515, 6407, 6476, 6478, 6486, 6871.
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