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

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WELSH STUDENTS AT OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE AND
THE INNS OF COURT DURING THE SIXTEENTH
AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Wales

by

William Philip Griffith,

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Vol I

SUMMARY

Between c.1540 and 1640 at least 2500 Welsh students entered Oxford and Cambridge universities and the inns of court in London. Oxford had attracted many Welshmen in the middle ages, and continued to receive the majority, who were at their greatest proportion to the total student body in the 1590s. The popularity of Cambridge and the inns emerged after 1600, centring on the admission of wealthier students. Relative to population, North Wales counties were better represented. Approximately two-fifths of registered university Welsh entrants graduated B.A. or higher, and about one-fifth of the inns' Welsh intake became barristers.

Areal affinities figured significantly in Welsh associations with particular inns and colleges. Some colleges offered scholarships and fellowships to the Welsh, and new endowments strengthened these links. The presence of Welsh officials represented another bond, while the cautions and guarantor schemes, especially at the inns, further embodied areal ties. Kindred loyalties also counted.

This influx in admissions coincided with advances in Welsh schooling, which leading social groups supported. Important university bequests followed to assist Welsh students, notably at Jesus College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge. Informal financial contributions to the inns helped Welshmen there.

Interest in higher education was reflected in the professions. The quality of the Welsh clergy improved by the early seventeenth century, though there was still a dearth of divinity graduates, and many Welsh students gained better preferment in England. The traditional Welsh association with ecclesiastical and civil law was superseded by the superior attraction of the common law, many barristers benefiting from the new Welsh courts system.

University and inn alumni were prominent among Welsh members of Parliament and among justices of the peace by the 1630s. The educational experience contributed to Welsh cultural change, challenging the preconceptions of bardic learning and promoting new literature and values.

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The members of the university archives and libraries at Oxford and Cambridge, as well as those at the British Library and Public Record Office, London, and the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, have been of great service to me. The friendly assistance of the Gwynedd Archives Service and particularly of the archives department at U.C.N.W., Bangor, has been invaluable.

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Any errors which may remain are entirely my own responsibility.

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ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THE NOTES TO CHAPTERS

<u>Al. Cant.</u>	<u>Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. I, to 1751,</u> compiled by J. and J.A. Venn.
<u>Al. Oxon.</u>	<u>Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714,</u> compiled by J. Foster.
<u>A.P.C.</u>	<u>Acts of the Privy Council.</u>
<u>Arch. Camb.</u>	<u>Archaeologia Cambrensis.</u>
Baker-Mayor, <u>St. John's</u>	T. Baker, <u>History of the College of</u> <u>St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge,</u> ed. J.E.B. Mayor.
<u>B.R.C.S.</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.</u>
B.L.	The British Library, London.
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
<u>B.R.U.C. to 1500</u>	<u>A Biographical Register of the University</u> <u>of Cambridge to A.D. 1500,</u> compiled by A.B. Emden.
<u>B.R.U.O. to 1500</u>	<u>A Biographical Register of the University</u> <u>of Oxford to A.D. 1500,</u> compiled by A.B. Emden.
<u>B.R.U.O., 1501-40</u>	<u>A Biographical Register of the University</u> <u>of Oxford, A.D. 1501-1540,</u> compiled by A.B. Emden.
Cambr. Univ.	Cambridge University.
<u>Clenennau</u>	<u>Clenennau Letters and Papers in the</u> <u>Broqyntyn Collection,</u> ed. T. Jones Pierce.
<u>C.S.P. Dom.</u>	<u>Calendar of State Papers Domestic.</u>
<u>C.W.P.</u>	<u>Calendar of Wynn (of Gwydir) Papers,</u> <u>1515-1690,</u> compiled by J. Ballinger.
<u>D.N.B.</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography,</u> ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee.
<u>D.W.B.</u>	<u>The Dictionary of Welsh Biography,</u> ed. J.E. Lloyd and R.T. Jenkins.
G.A.S.	Gwynedd Archives Service.

<u>GI Adms.</u>	<u>The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521-1889</u> , ed. J. Foster.
<u>GI Pens. Book</u>	<u>The Pension Book of Gray's Inn, 1569-1800</u> , vol. I, ed. R.J. Fletcher.
Griffith, <u>Pedigrees</u>	J.E. Griffith, <u>Pedigrees of Analesey and Caernarvonshire Families</u> .
<u>H.E.L.</u>	W.S. Holdsworth, <u>A History of English Law</u> .
H.M.C.	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
<u>IT Adms.</u>	<u>Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660</u> , ed. W.H. Cooke.
<u>IT Records</u>	<u>A Calendar of Inner Temple Records</u> , vols. I and II, ed. F.A. Inderwick.
<u>Jour. Mer. Hist. Soc.</u>	<u>Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society</u> .
Laud, <u>Works</u>	<u>The Works of the most Reverend Father in God, William Laud</u> , ed. W. Scott and J. Bliss.
<u>L. and P., Hen. VIII</u>	<u>Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII</u> .
<u>LI Adms.</u>	<u>The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Admissions, vol. I 1420-1799</u> , ed. W.P. Baildon.
<u>LI Black Books</u>	<u>The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books, 1422-1845</u> , vols. I and II, ed. W.P. Baildon, and preface J.D. Walker.
<u>Limbus Patrum</u>	<u>Limbus Patrum Morganiae et Glamorganiae</u> , ed. G.T. Clark.
Lloyd, <u>Fowys Fadog</u>	J.Y.W. Lloyd, <u>History of the princes, the lords marcher and the ancient nobility of Powys Fadog</u> .
<u>Mont. Ccls.</u>	<u>Montgomeryshire Collections</u> .
<u>MT Adms.</u>	<u>Register of admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple from the Fifteenth century to 1944</u> , vol. I, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess and H.F. Macgeagh.

<u>MT Minutes</u>	<u>Middle Temple Records: Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, 1501-1703</u> , vols. I-III, ed. C. Trice Martin.
N.L.W.	The National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
<u>O.E.D.</u>	<u>The Oxford English Dictionary.</u>
P.R.O.	The Public Record Office, London.
<u>Reg. Univ. Oxon., I</u>	<u>Register of the University of Oxford</u> , vol. I, ed. C.W. Boase.
<u>Reg. Univ. Oxon., II</u>	<u>Register of the University of Oxford</u> , vol. II, ed. A. Clark.
St. John's	St. John's College, Cambridge.
<u>T.A.A.S.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club.</u>
<u>Trans. Caerns.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Caernarvonshire Historical Society.</u>
<u>Trans. Cymmr.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion.</u>
U.C.N.W.	University College of North Wales, Bangor.
<u>V.C.H.</u>	<u>The Victoria History of the Counties of England.</u>
F.P. White, 'Notes'	Biographical notes of College members, collected by F.P. White, at St. John's, Cambridge.
<u>W.H.R.</u>	<u>The Welsh History Review.</u>

INTRODUCTION

Although there is a long and continuing tradition of writing the histories of educational institutions in Britain and abroad, recent works have placed different emphases from earlier efforts. Contemporary studies seek to supersede past accounts by not only pursuing a traditional functionalist approach to the institutions examined but also by trying to place them in their changing social context and by attempting to impose a more critical analysis of the content of the education given at any particular time. Present work on the history of the European universities, for example, clearly illustrates these developments, as well as displaying a keener interest than ever before by historians of all periods in the central part played by these universities in national development and cultural change.¹ For instance, the great advances in higher education since the eighteenth century are now being well accounted for, and, indeed, forthcoming centenary celebrations of some centres such as those of the University Colleges of Wales at Bangor and Cardiff are likely to offer not merely institutional histories but the prospect of some real advance in our understanding of the impact of education on society, in this case Welsh society, and of the structure of that society itself, thus supplementing work already completed on education at other levels in modern Wales.

The rôle of higher education in Wales in earlier periods, however, has been largely overlooked hitherto. Prior to the emergence of a distinctive Welsh collegiate system during the late nineteenth century, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, together with the inns of court in London, played a not insignificant part in the education of

some Welsh social groups, and an assessment of their contribution was long thought desirable. Some beginnings of an assessment are made here, principally in estimating the impact on Wales of education at these places during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, a convenient starting point in many respects since there were many transitions in Welsh life during that period, politically, economically and socially, which have been well noted and which can be related to educational change. A.H. Dodd, alone, of historians in the past made any attempt to assess the importance of higher education in early modern Wales. Now more than ever a preliminary investigation of this aspect of Welsh history seemed justified and practicable, given the exploratory works on the inns and universities by L. Stone, W.R. Prest, D. Cressy, T.H. Aston and others, by which such an enquiry could be measured.

While the sources to be covered seem inordinately extensive for one person to tackle, an attempt was made to employ as representative a selection as possible, to try to answer the many questions that arose. The resultant thesis, it is hoped, will stimulate further investigations. The thesis attempts an impressionistic account of the Welsh students at Oxford, Cambridge and the inns of court drawn from the most useful sources, yet it is, too, combined with as rigorous an attempt as possible to assess the numbers of Welsh students and their proportion to the whole student body.

It would be less than useful were matters left at that. Though evidence from Wales, or about Welshmen, relating to the universities would be valuable, it would still be unsatisfactory unless an attempt

were made to show the Welsh student body in the context of Welsh society itself. Thus, it has been possible to identify precisely some of these Welsh entrants. Also, it has been possible to derive evidence about Welsh investment in education and to discover some of the students who were beneficiaries. An effort has also been made to relate the progress of Welsh students after they departed the inns or the universities, to trace their rôle in Welsh life and how a higher education played its part in their subsequent careers. In other words, the individual and national benefits of higher education, as they relate to Wales in this period, are considered.

The thesis examines, progressively and thematically, all these aspects, beginning with an opening survey tracing the links with these educational centres prior to the early sixteenth century. A detailed statistical investigation follows, of the numbers of Welsh students attending prior to 1640, their social status, their areas of origin and the proportion who took higher qualifications. College, inn and family records, wills and inventories are used to reveal something of the financial circumstances, living conditions and studies of Welsh students. Higher education is then related to contemporaneous developments of schooling in Wales and England, and there is some detailed examination of the financial provisions available to the Welsh student.

An assessment is then attempted of the impact of such education upon Wales. The value or otherwise to the Welsh Church of a university-educated clergy is gauged, while the influence on the Welsh of the inns and universities as disseminators of ideas of religious and political orthodoxy and conformity is also considered.

The importance of legal education as an avenue of advancement is then noted by reference to the progress of Welsh common and civilian lawyers. The educational background of those amateurs in the law, the justices of the peace, is analysed to determine what preparation was given them by the universities and the inns. Similarly, the educational qualifications of Welsh legislators in Parliament are briefly indicated.

Finally, the cultural implications of university and inn attendance are considered, in terms of their innovative and subversive effects on Welsh literature, language and general socio-cultural attitudes.

1. The History of the European Universities. Work in Progress and Publications, nos. 1-3, 1977-79, ed. J.M. Fletcher (University of Aston, Birmingham, 1978-80).

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries a rapid development occurred in the provision of general and higher education. It was symptomatic of the social changes then witnessed, with the need for men with both ability and wide knowledge to service the growing requirements of state and landed administration. In England three institutions in particular fulfilled the demand: the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the inns of court at London, part of 'the Third Universitie of England'.¹

It was at these institutions that Welsh scholars, too, for the most part, sought contact with the learning of the age, both new and traditional. They flocked there in considerable numbers by the late sixteenth century, and, it is thought, at times in greater number, by ratio of population, than their English counterparts.² The strength of attachment of the Welsh to these three centres of learning during the medieval period had been less obvious. Of the three, Oxford University alone seems to have contained a significant number of Welsh scholars,³ though the paucity of records in the case of Cambridge, and particularly the inns of court, frustrates any attempt to arrive at reasonably firm conclusions for the number of Welshmen there.

Welsh Associations with the Universities

So obscure are the origins of these institutions that early modern antiquaries were given full scope to weave many legends about their beginnings, particularly the universities. Welshmen subscribed

to these legends. Charles Edwards, for example, echoed the views of his contemporary, Anthony Wood, that Oxford University was founded by Alfred, who had sent to Wales for the assistance of two notable scholars, Asser and John D'Erigena of Monmouth.⁴ Wales figured in Cambridge's mythological past also. According to Richard Parker, the collapse of the kingdom after Arthur's death led Cambridge scholars to flee, 'to the shelter of the Woods in Wales where Christianity always flourish'd'.⁵

The origins of the two universities have continued to be a source of debate, even among recent writers.⁶ It is apparent, however, that Oxford had become a centre of learning during the early twelfth century, and among the teachers there was Geoffrey of Monmouth. Later, in 1184/5, Giraldus Cambrensis lectured there on his Topographia Hibernica, and by then Cambridge was also becoming a centre of learning.⁷

The initial lack of corporate structure within these centres of learning was typical of scholarly communities in Europe at this time,⁸ and during the thirteenth century there were several migrations of students between Paris, Oxford and Cambridge.⁹ Graeco-Roman learning, as interpreted by Christian writers, formed the basis of education in the universities and was a suitable preparation for service to the Church and the state. In northern Europe the clerical character of education was re-emphasised, with theology being given the greatest status, while in southern Europe Roman civil law became the focus of intellectual pursuits.¹⁰ Although theology was the queen of studies, in reality it was the arts course which gave to the northern universities their collective character and enabled their development as

'studia generalia'. The arts teachers, the regent masters, controlled the administration of each studium, Oxford and Cambridge included, and issued proofs of qualifications and study - licences to teach and degrees.¹¹ In southern Europe, during the high middle ages at least, the students themselves controlled the affairs of their universities.¹²

The corporate identity of Oxford and Cambridge was also strengthened by the attraction of the regular orders of the Church to study and found schools there.¹³ Church control of the universities, however, never developed as extensively as it did at Paris because the secular clergy invariably associated themselves with the arts masters and maintained their separateness from the regulars by having their own colleges.¹⁴ Moreover, the masters' authority in the English universities was protected and enhanced by privileges and support received from the Crown, resulting in powers of jurisdiction free from the interference of the town communities, from local bishops and from the papacy.¹⁵

These extensive powers were exercised in government by the respective chancellors at the two universities, who were usually elected from among the regent masters. The chancellors' courts, in dealing with members of the universities, had considerable authority in civil cases and in all but the most serious criminal matters, and they had independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction also.¹⁶ Other university officials, again elected by the regents, had financial and business powers and powers of public control which they could exercise over townspeople as well as over the student body, which was a large and intrusive element.¹⁷

The student body consisted not only of genuine scholars or clerks but also of their servants. In addition, superior members of the universities, consisting of graduate students, were also included, particularly graduates in the higher faculties, who were called 'masters'.¹⁸ A peripheral element comprised students who struggled to make their way in the face of so many costs and who often had to resort to begging. Such pauper students included many Irishmen and Welshmen.¹⁹ They, like many of the students, had to meet the charges for subsistence, accommodation, fees for teaching and for being allowed to progress to degrees.²⁰ A typical youthful entrant of between twelve and sixteen years of age could be in residence for up to twenty years before attaining all his qualifications, and after 1420 the terms of residence became more complicated and expensive when all students were required to belong to a hall or college.²¹

Two sorts of halls were permitted, those of a purely residential, often informal, character, and academic halls which were rented and run by masters who would teach undergraduates or graduates, or both.²² Young students were put into the care of these heads or principals of halls and were provided with money for their upkeep (commons) by their parents.²³ Senior hall members took charge of the younger members acting as contracted tutors and creditors and exercising a moral or, in some cases, a disreputable influence, as the behaviour of two Welsh students at Oxford in 1461 showed.²⁴

During the late middle ages a more disciplined, better organised, college system appeared at Oxford and Cambridge, derived in part from the example of the monastic hostels at the two towns. These lay colleges

relied on private benefactions and endowments for their establishment and were often intended to prepare their scholars and fellows for the Church or for administration. Teaching facilities separate from those provided by the universities at large were made available to the able students and the occasional poor scholars who were admitted.²⁵ During the fifteenth century these facilities, which were superior to those of the halls, were made available on a consolidated basis to fee paying commoners.²⁶

Medieval benefactors included the Crown, members of the clergy,²⁷ and the nobility,²⁸ who contributed endowments of land to provide regular annuities. In some cases lands in Wales were involved, for example, the alien priory of St. Clears annexed by Archbishop Chichele for his foundation, All Souls College, Oxford, in 1437.²⁹ Subsequently, the dissolved priory and lands of Llangennydd were also given to the College by the Crown, which secured the College's rights against all other claims. These grants no doubt contributed to the close link between the College and Welsh students after the late fifteenth century.³⁰ Alien priories in Wales and the Marches were also granted to Cambridge colleges, most notably to Godshouse founded in 1442. Lands belonging to the alien priory of Creswall, Herefordshire, together with all the lands and revenues of the alien priory of Chepstow were granted to the College by royal charter,³¹ and a guarantee against all rival claims was secured in an agreement between the College founder, William Byngham, and Henry Griffith, steward of the Duke of York, and the leading figure in the area.³² Later on, the College gained further revenue from the priory of Monmouth,³³ and in guarantee at the end of

the century by Philip Morgan, physician and adviser to Lady Margaret Beaufort, who was a notable benefactress to Cambridge in her own right.³⁴

The involvement of Welsh students in university and town life

In the absence of a seat of higher learning in Wales, it was Oxford University which held the greatest attraction for Welsh scholars.³⁵ The most recent estimate suggests that at least 390 Welsh students attended Oxford in the three or more centuries before 1500 and only thirty-nine attended Cambridge.³⁶ The majority had clerical associations, and St. David's diocese was especially well represented at Oxford, while St. Asaph diocese was the best represented among the few who attended Cambridge.³⁷ The prospects of clerical advancement were the clearest inducement for attending the universities and it was suggested that they had a civilising influence too.³⁸ It is unclear whether the final conquest of 1282, and the political settlement in Wales thereafter, frustrated these prospects and prevented attendance at the universities. The increased numbers of Welshmen to be found at the universities by the late fourteenth century may not only reflect the survival of more detailed information about registration, but also a genuine relaxation of control and the growing hope for better opportunities.³⁹

Whether Welsh clergy attended as a pretext for absenteeism is uncertain.⁴⁰ Papal dispensations became available, for example, for Lewis ap Hywel of Aber, in Bangor diocese, to attend university in 1378 - perhaps assisted by Ringstead's bequest⁴¹ - and Hugh ap Jevan ap Philip of Elfael, in St. David's, in 1425.⁴²

Clearly, university education for the most able offered a means of ecclesiastical advancement even for Welshmen, such as John of Monmouth, Henry Gower and Reginald Pecock.⁴³ The Welsh clergy who studied in the higher faculties, as opposed to the arts, tended to concentrate on canon and civil law rather than theology, presumably because they offered better posts and positions.⁴⁴ Not that the theologians produced by Wales lacked ability or eminence. Many became prominent in the regular orders like John David,⁴⁵ or Johannes Wallensis and Thomas Wallensis, a protege of Grossteste, who were of European renown as theologians and philosophers.⁴⁶

Welsh students resided in many of the halls and hostels at Oxford and Cambridge. At the former they attended as many as forty-seven halls, though there were a few where Welshmen seemed especially to congregate, such as St. Edward Hall, Hincksey and Vine halls and Trillock's Inn.⁴⁷ At Cambridge, King's Hall was fairly popular with the Welsh.⁴⁸ Although no doubt ethnic loyalties made such halls attractive, other factors also played a part. Thus, certain halls lodged only students belonging to particular faculties; at Oxford, Hincksey Hall and St. Edward Hall were places for legists, while Lawrence Hall took in only arts students.⁴⁹ During the fifteenth century several of these Oxford halls had Welshmen as their principals, for example, Philip Burgeveny at St. Edward Hall, John Bergeveny at Little Bedyll Hall and Richard Bulkeley at Tackley's Inn.⁵⁰

The halls often varied in size and quality, siting and domestic arrangements, but they also had common features such as the shared chambers, the small study spaces, chapels, libraries and the communal

halls where meals, services and lectures would be held.⁵¹ The urban location of these places presented health problems. Overcrowding, coupled with the generally dirty, ill-drained environment, seen particularly at Cambridge, presented many risks,⁵² and the better planned, superior college foundations of the later middle ages were an attempt to improve conditions,⁵³ at least for the graduate students. At Oxford Welshmen were drawn to All Souls and Oriel Colleges, especially since both taught the two laws in addition to theology.⁵⁴

Urban locations were foci for social disturbances, too, and for crime. Welshmen were involved in the darker side of town-gown relations as much as any other group.⁵⁵ Records of thirteenth and fourteenth century Oxford indicate the part Welshmen played in armed assaults,⁵⁶ murders⁵⁷ and thefts.⁵⁸ Ill-feeling between rival hostels and halls also brought tension, as in 1446 between Broadgates and Pauline Halls, both of which had their Welsh element.⁵⁹ Ethnic considerations played their part in hall loyalties, the Welsh at St. Edward Hall, the Irish at Aristotle Hall, for example.⁶⁰ Group or 'national' rivalries permeated many of the European universities, which their respective authorities and governments tried to control.⁶¹ Divisions were also apparent at Cambridge and Oxford,⁶² based on general regional identifications between North and South. Thus, the Scots and Irish and the North English formed the Northerners, while the Welsh joined the other English as Southerners.⁶³ Quite early in the thirteenth century sufficient governmental authority was secured by the university chancellors to appoint officials to control these groupings. Although violent outbreaks occurred between the respective 'nations' these were usually overcome

through arbitration.⁶⁴ At times Welsh students enforced their own identity through violence,⁶⁵ which could only be curbed by threatening to withdraw preferment.⁶⁶

During the late fourteenth century, Welsh students were involved in several severe riots which did little for their reputation,⁶⁷ nor that of for/the Irish, for that matter, and the political instability of the kingdom which followed, coupled with the Glyn Dŵr revolt, placed the Welsh students in an invidious position. Some of the students were clearly sympathetic to the rebellion and departed from Oxford to join in the revolt. Others were hostile to Henry IV, if not to the English. Yet, although authorities in the government and at Oxford were suspicious of the Welsh students, there seems to have been no victimisation.⁶⁸ The penal legislation passed against the Welsh seems to have left Welsh attendances at Oxford unaffected, though Parliament was naturally concerned about the risks to public safety when unattached students (that is, students who were not members of halls or hostels) wandered the countryside. The Irish were an increasing source of suspicion,⁶⁹ and in 1429, following robberies and arsons at Cambridge, the Welsh and Scots, as well as the Irish, came under the scrutiny of Parliament.⁷⁰

Whatever the effects of the rebellion, it was clear that by the 1430 s the Welsh were attending Oxford in large numbers,⁷¹ and that some of them at least remained as riotous and as ill-disciplined as of old, the saving grace being that others were 'honourable students peaceful and quiet'.⁷²

Welsh students and scholastic learning

For all such 'honourable' students, of course, most of their time was spent preparing for degrees and there were manuals which advised the student of his progress in his studies from learning grammar to completing his learning by becoming a doctor or master. Advice was available, moreover, not only about academic preparation, including building up a library, and securing money to meet the fees, but also about a student's proper conduct and behaviour.⁷³

A university entrant was usually expected to be already conversant with Latin grammar, but in the medieval universities facilities were available for learning Latin and taking degrees in grammar, which were useful qualifications for schoolmasters.⁷⁴ Latin grammar was an essential precursor to the general arts courses at the universities, which were taught mainly through lectures. The regent masters gave ordinary lectures in which texts were analysed and placed in their relevant context. cursory lectures of a more dialectical character were given by junior arts graduates, the bachelors, in which the scholars were expected to participate by debating points of relevance.⁷⁵ Such teaching methods were common to all the university faculties, not merely the arts, and they were practised not only in the faculty schools but in the halls and colleges too. In addition, there was the practice of disputation, whereby degree candidates were expected to defend or oppose prescribed propositions. There were, finally, a set number of texts which the student had to read before he could complete the degree.⁷⁶

Medieval university students were often very young when they were

admitted into the arts faculty, usually because good schooling was difficult to obtain, and, even allowing for various dispensations, students who persevered took a long time to graduate, particularly from the higher faculties.⁷⁷ The arts courses were, according to classical tradition, organised into the trivium and the quadrivium. The former consisted of linguistic studies - Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic (or dialectic). These were fundamental to other courses, and they increased in popularity and depth after the eleventh century.⁷⁸ The quadrivium subjects dealt with elements of formal logic, contained in arithmetic, music, geometry and astronomy. In addition, elements of natural science and philosophy were studied, especially towards the end of the master's degree and were called natural philosophy, moral philosophy and metaphysics.⁷⁹ Aristotle was the main authority in most if not all^{of} these fields, coupled with other classical and Christian authors and commentators.⁸⁰ The scientific aspects of Aristotle were given a fillip at the universities by the availability of writings by Arab authors, while Aristotelian logic and metaphysics formed the basis of medieval structure of thought in philosophy and theology, particularly^{that of} Aquinas, and, at Oxford, Duns Scotus.⁸¹ The student's learning process was centred on these authors and sources, and graduation came with the public display in disputation of the candidate's knowledge and ability.⁸²

The completion of the arts course to the degree of Master took up to seven years, and if a student desired to pursue further studies in the higher faculties to obtain bachelorships or doctorates, an additional period of between eight and ten years' study was expected.⁸³

Music and medicine were the least popular of the higher studies and their body of knowledge proved the least ^{capable of} developing.⁸⁴ Law was slightly more popular though never as much as in southern Europe. This was because canon and civil law had only a limited appeal, in ecclesiastical or maritime law, whereas the large body of law in England was the common law, taught at the inns of court. Nevertheless, as we have seen, canon and civil law attracted many Welshmen. The civilian students based their study on the Digestum Novum, while the canonists studied the Decretals.⁸⁵

It was theology which gave Oxford its fame during the middle ages, a subject of increasing importance during the fifteenth century.⁸⁶ It was the most time-consuming of all studies in the higher faculties. A Master of Arts took seven years to qualify as Bachelor of Divinity and a further two years were required for the licence of Doctor. In these years specific texts were studied and disputed, largely drawn from the Scriptures and from the Sentences of Peter Lombard.⁸⁷ Advances in Aristotelian philosophy gave greater impetus to theological speculation after the twelfth century and established a clear dichotomy between reason and faith. Medieval scholastic theologians attempted to reconcile or account for this, and at Oxford several streams of theological interpretation appeared - Grossteste's emphasis on metaphysical truth, Duns Scotus' employment of natural philosophy as a basis to understanding metaphysics, William of Ockham's extreme nominalism. Mathematics and moral philosophy also benefited, though by the fifteenth century all was entwined in a highly complicated thought system which brought forth a reaction in humanism.⁸⁸

Welsh theologians no doubt participated in such scholastic speculation as occurred after the twelfth century, though their exact contribution is difficult to detect. In the thirteenth century Thomas Wallensis, as we have seen, followed Grossteste, while towards the end of the century Johannes Wallensis was conversant with the latest philosophical commentaries of Averroes and Avicenna. In the fourteenth century Thomas Wallensis, the Dominican, defended the doctrine of the vision of saints and successfully altered its interpretation by the Papacy.⁸⁹ Anti-scholasticism, which Wycliffe embodied in late fourteenth century Oxford, had its echoes in the career of the Welsh scholar and layman, Walter Brut.⁹⁰ For the most part, however, the orthodoxy of scholastic thought prevailed, consolidated as it was in the Constitutions of 1408 imposed on clerical scholars by Archbishop Arundel, and by the founding of orthodox colleges.⁹¹

Pre-university education in Wales

The intellectual ferment of the universities had little effect on the outlook of the parish clergy.⁹² Indeed, this outlook may have been formed more by Augustinian neo-Platonism, rather than by scholasticism or anything else,⁹³ and there is little to show that well educated clergy in Wales, when they were resident, could do little to improve or change the climate of thought.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the Church locally fulfilled important responsibilities in education in the middle ages, principally by training candidates for the priesthood. University learning was incidental to this task, and the training provided at the local level was not easily available for the laity.⁹⁵

The various Church establishments taught Latin grammar, and other

portions of the trivium, largely as interpreted by medieval commentators such as Donatus.⁹⁶ Song schools designed to prepare choristers were the most elementary of these establishments. Music was, therefore, an additional subject on the curriculum, and there were several such schools in medieval Wales at the cathedrals and monasteries and at some collegiate and parish churches.⁹⁷ In schools of more advanced teaching at the cathedrals there were capable and talented masters, as at Llandaff and St. David's.⁹⁸ A few of the collegiate churches were also important educative centres for the clergy,⁹⁹ and occasionally secular and regular clergy acted as teachers.¹⁰⁰

No doubt the standard of education at these schools was often variable and their social impact was limited. Their major function was to prepare priests, and though some poor scholars may have been assisted, it is probable that the only section of secular society to benefit consisted of sons of the most prominent in each locality.¹⁰¹ The parochial schools may have had a wider social commitment but by the end of the fourteenth century, clerical monopoly of education was challenged by laymen, particularly merchants' guilds.¹⁰² The founding of Oswestry Grammar School by the Welshman, David Holbache, in 1407 illustrated this attempt to found a school independent of Church control.¹⁰³ Wales lacked a strong urban community, however, in which secular education could be maintained, and so, educational provision was largely the responsibility and prerogative of the Church and of individual churchmen, such as Dafydd ab Owain, Bishop of St. Asaph.¹⁰⁴

The classical learning of the trivium and quadrivium survived in another form in medieval Wales, in the work of the poets, who themselves

were often clergymen, but rarely university-trained.¹⁰⁵ During the high middle ages Latin grammar formed the basis of thought for the manuals produced to instruct aspirants in poetic technique, grammar and metre.¹⁰⁶ The Welsh lords or 'uchelwyr' were intimately linked with this sphere of learning and their patronage of the poets extended to commissioning translations from Latin and French into Welsh of popular texts and religious works.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, by promoting such learning and scholarship they encouraged their households to be schools too.¹⁰⁸ Many of the poets were lords and gentlemen in their own right, possessing considerable cultural as well as social influence.¹⁰⁹

Adulatory poetry, the chief product of bardic activity at these households, emphasised the virtues of leaders of society and made much of that learning, traditionally and so long appreciated in a Welsh-kindred-speaking, still dominated, society: grammar, poetry, heraldry, genealogy and antiquarian or folk memory.¹¹⁰ This was to be seen, for example, in the poems of Lewis Glyn Cothi and Gutun Owain.¹¹¹ Welsh poets were also aware of, and acknowledged, the great value of the formal classical learning of Europe, comprising the seven arts,¹¹² including rhetoric,¹¹³ and civil law.¹¹⁴ This appreciation may have been more superficial than profound though there seem to have been exceptions such as the gentleman poet, Ieuan ap Rhydderch, who attended Oxford University, where he studied not only the works of Aristotle and Ptolemaic astronomy but also chronology, French, and the Scriptures.¹¹⁵

The Welsh poets of the later middle ages also sang the praises of leading churchmen, members of the secular and religious orders, since

they, as much as the lay leaders of society, were important patrons. In their case, the poets not only extolled their love and knowledge of traditional Welsh learning, but they also praised their classical learning, and their knowledge of canon and civil law and theology, acquired at university, which they now revealed in serving their local communities. Thus, the learning of the civilians, Dr. David Kyffin of Llanrhaeadr¹¹⁶ and Dr. John Morgan, Bishop of St. David's,¹¹⁷ was fulsomely praised, as was the wisdom and learning of some of the university trained abbots such as Lleision ap Thomas of Neath,¹¹⁸ John Birchinslaw of Chester¹¹⁹ and Dafydd ab Owain of Strata Marcella, Strata Florida and Aberconwy, who became bishop of St. Asaph.¹²⁰

Some of the towns of Wales, more particularly along the Marches, were cultural and educational centres,¹²¹ and Oswestry, after the founding of the Free School by Holbache, provided valuable pre-university training.¹²² There was, however, no organised provision for higher education in Wales, either before the conquest of 1282 or afterwards. Welsh students had no difficulty in enrolling at the English universities, particularly Oxford, and the various Welsh rebellions, including, as we have seen, that of Glyn Dŵr, apparently did not disturb the normal pattern. Glyn Dŵr's revolt, however, brought with it not only the impetus to create the political unification of Wales but also a scheme for establishing, by papal consent, two universities, one for North Wales, one for the South. It is likely that the intention was to create and keep an educated clergy within Wales,¹²³ and presumably provide able clerks for the independent state. This followed a general trend in Europe at that time, whereby many princes and rulers established

new 'studia generalia'.¹²⁴ Moreover, it is clear that Glyn Dŵr relied heavily on the support of native-born, university-educated clergy such as Lewis Byford, Bishop of Bangor, Adam of Usk and John Trevor II, Bishop of St. Asaph.¹²⁵

Law and Welsh Society

The revolt reflected the social changes taking place in Wales, which had begun before the conquest and which had accelerated by the late fourteenth century. In particular, the revolt reflected the frustration of an emergent Welsh gentry and the lower orders at the worsening economic conditions and the apparent inequalities they faced in the Principality and in the marcher lordships.¹²⁶ Not that English rule had been wholly oppressive. Indeed, much opportunity was given to Welshmen, particularly local leaders of society, to participate in administration, and these chances were taken fully. Even after Glyn Dŵr's rebellion, and the expected reaction of Parliament, this state of affairs altered little.¹²⁷

Three systems of law converged in late medieval Wales, native Welsh law, English common law and the law of the marcher lordships. Welshmen had to be conversant with all three, particularly those who were most prominent in landed society. Indeed, men of ability and acumen came forth to administer or practise these laws. The rôle of men such as Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Cadwgan of Llandygwy near Cardigan¹²⁸ was highly important since they were conversant with Welsh law, particularly in its civil jurisdiction. Experts in Welsh law, 'dosbarthwyr', appeared in all the courts of late medieval Wales.

In the marcher lordships the law was an admixture of custom, of

English common law and of Welsh law, and the influence of English common law was increasingly important.¹²⁹ In the lands the Crown conquered in 1282 criminal justice according to English law was applied exclusively, while in some civil matters, too, English methods did not conflict with Welsh law.¹³⁰ The large majority of specialists in English common law in Wales were Englishmen, many of whom were from the adjacent border counties.¹³¹ The wider application of English law in Wales, however, soon required that Welshmen became conversant with it. Indeed, there were a few by the late fourteenth century who were practisers of English law in Wales. The most famous of these, the one most frequently alluded to by the poets, was Sir Dafydd Hanmer, of Hanmer in Maelor Saesneg. Originally of English descent, the Hanmers had become assimilated into the Welsh 'uchelwyr'. Dafydd Hanmer became serjeant at law in 1375, rose to prominence in royal service under Richard II, was Justiciar of South Wales in 1381 and Justice of the King's Bench in 1383.¹³²

The influence of English law on Wales increased not only as a consequence of the conquest and political settlement of 1284 but also as a result of social and economic changes, which affected the law of property. Already in pre-conquest Wales there had been tendencies towards adopting primogeniture, and these continued.¹³³ In addition, Welsh law itself became modified to facilitate the transfer of land.¹³⁴ Further, English land law and tenure became more important, through the influence of the Crown and of English settlers in Wales, and Welsh landowners gradually gained an increased preference and knowledge, acceptance and practice of English common law, which the careers of David Holbache and Geoffrey Cyffin reflected.¹³⁵

It is difficult to determine to what extent this interest in English law on the part of Welshmen led them actively to pursue studies in it and even to become lawyers trained at the inns of court in Westminster. There is no doubt that Sir Dafydd Hanmer trained there, and it is quite possible that Holbache and Cyffin also were trained there. Moreover, the growing relevance of English law in Wales may be illustrated by the mythical account of Owain Glyn Dŵr's attendance at the inns of court. Whether it was true or not, Glyn Dŵr epitomised the forward-looking gentleman of his day in his capacity as a royal official, his holding of lands by English tenure and in his being the son-in-law of Dafydd Hanmer.¹³⁶

In comparison with English law, Welsh law had never been so efficiently codified; nor was there an organised centre for training lawyers to compare with the inns of court.¹³⁷ The century or so prior to the conquest of Wales had witnessed a wholesale reorganisation of the legal system in England. Royal and ecclesiastical influences on law were combined and centralised courts were established under the authority of the Crown. Lawmaking was advanced through the regular calling of Parliament, and in the late thirteenth century the first steps were taken by Bracton to systematise the existing common law of England. Under Edward I royal authority to dispense law was extended and trial by jury introduced.¹³⁸

Later developments in English law came about not only through parliamentary legislation but also by royal attempts to resolve the conflicting jurisdictions of the established central courts of common law, the Exchequer, Common Pleas, and King's Bench. The Court of

Chancery arose to dispense equity, to determine issues not examined by common law, while other courts - conciliar courts - more closely linked to the Crown and independent of Parliament, came to deal with a variety of matters such as poor^{men's} causes (Requests), maritime and commercial matters (Admiralty), special felonies (Star Chamber). The Court and Council of Wales and the Marches, established by Edward IV, was another example, and it had wide powers of jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters, interpreting common law and equity. Common lawyers were not excluded from practising in these courts but these new institutions also afforded work to authorities in Roman law, the civil and canon law graduates in the universities.¹³⁹

English legal education

As a result of these various developments a body of professional common lawyers emerged, with judges and a small élite of pleaders or advocates, later serjeants at law, to argue cases.¹⁴⁰ The growing need for more advocates resulted in the appearance of 'apprentices', who were to become the most numerous practisers of law at the central courts. They became organised in hostels or inns in London and these subsequently seem to have developed as places for training lawyers.¹⁴¹

The inns of court - Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Middle Temple and the Inner Temple - were self-governing fellowships of apprentices, and as their teaching rôle increased on the admission of students or clerks, they changed. Senior and experienced counsel were nominated to give lectures or readings and to act as judges on the benches during the mock trials or moots, which formed an essential part of learning court practice. These readers and benchers as their intellectual

responsibilities and status grew, assumed greater control over the domestic and disciplinary organisation of the inns at the expense of the voice of the remainder of their fellowship.

By the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries not only had the benchers assumed a distinctive position at the inns, but there also developed other lesser rankings among each fellowship, again stemming from their educative activity. Lawyers of some years' membership in a fellowship were nominated to plead the mock cases at the various exercises held within the inns and they came to adopt the degree of utter barrister, to distinguish them from the other fellows, who were called inner barristers, and whose active participation in the exercises was minimal. Nevertheless, the inner barristers, too, as practising lawyers of a kind, had status above the clerks who included the raw students and the servants.

The internal importance of the status of utter barrister came, during the sixteenth century, to have a wider significance in the accrediting of pleaders in the courts of law, and this followed a long period during which the legal profession had risen in importance in England.¹⁴² The growing litigiousness of the time and the complexity of the common law made lawyers indispensable,¹⁴³ and an alternative calling to the Church emerged.¹⁴⁴ Social status was not a pre-requisite to entering this profession, and most of its members were drawn from the middling and lesser ranks of landowners.¹⁴⁵ Only one family from Wales of such origins, however, seems to have advanced through legal practice in England during the fifteenth century, the Kidwelly family. Originally minor gentry in Glamorgan, during the mid- and late fifteenth

century several of its members served the Crown or the duchy of Lancaster. Geoffrey Kidwelly, a lawyer at Gray's Inn during the reign of Edward IV, was steward to the duchy, while his nephew, Morgan Kidwelly, a reader and bencher at the Inner Temple, made a greater mark by serving Richard, Duke of Gloucester, becoming his attorney general when the latter succeeded to the Crown. He still retained some influence under Henry VII as a councillor, and he practised at the Court of Requests. He was of sufficient note to be knighted in 1501, and he purchased a sizeable estate in Devon.¹⁴⁶

Education and Society, and the implications of humanism

Kidwelly's progress was typical of the involvement of lawyers in government and politics during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Service to the Crown and to various lordships was a good avenue for advancement.¹⁴⁷ Lordships in Wales and the Marches offered opportunities for lawyers to act as stewards and clerks of local courts.¹⁴⁸ The Earl of Worcester's estates in South Wales, for example, gave valuable employment to Welsh lawyers trained at the inns of court during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁹ The corporate towns and their courts provided a further source of advancement to the lawyer.¹⁵⁰ As a result, and for the most skilled of practitioners in law, especially, the growing demand for their services gave lawyers a higher status, if not esteem in society.¹⁵¹ A reflection of this, as far as Wales was concerned, was the success of lawyers from Monmouthshire, which had changed socially and economically more quickly than the rest of Wales. In the first half of the sixteenth century, two lawyers with links with the area attained some eminence in legal circles in London, Thomas Atkins and

Sir Richard Morgan.¹⁵²

Greater expertise, together with more thorough and extensive training, were pre-conditions for the growing sense of professionalism which affected lawyers at all levels to some extent, and which became apparent in other fields, such as teaching and medicine, during the sixteenth century.¹⁵³ There were also cultural consequences of this change, for it has been suggested recently that it was through lawyers that a relatively gentle transition in Europe was effected from the ideals of medieval society which were absolutist and transcendental to those based on pragmatism and which were secular.¹⁵⁴

Such ideals were embodied in the intellectual and artistic changes first witnessed in Italy during the fourteenth century and which held common currency in Europe by the sixteenth century. Italian humanism has been defined as the confluence of two streams of study, of medieval rhetoric and of Latin literature, with the later inclusion of Greek, to form a body of learning consisting of grammar, eloquence, poetry, history and moral philosophy. It was largely a literary corpus, therefore, and it was by no means divorced from the prevailing major intellectual tradition of the time, Aristotelianism, while its subsequent influence on science and philosophy, albeit important, was indirect.¹⁵⁵ Humanists soon became essential figures not only in Italian intellectual life, but also in state government.¹⁵⁶ This followed the adoption of such literary studies, imitating the ancient Roman education, at the Italian universities, and by the early fifteenth century the term 'studia humanitatis' fully described these interests.¹⁵⁷ The Italian humanists' interest in antiquity was

reflected in copying and editing classical works of all kinds, commenting upon them and reviving ancient doctrines and ideals.¹⁵⁸

The concept of 'virtú' became especially important, defining as it did the responsibilities of the citizen to combine public duty with moral integrity, generosity and learning, all of which were superimposed on the late medieval ideal of gentility.

By the fifteenth century the classical renaissance had been widely disseminated, through contacts with the Italian papacy and by the attendance of foreign students at the Italian universities, seeking not only law degrees but a specific classical education too.¹⁵⁹ Italian humanists also attended other European courts and universities,¹⁶⁰ and in fifteenth-century England humanist thought was promoted by a few notable patrons, such as Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, or William Grey, Bishop of Ely, and by teachers such as Stefano Surgione, who was at Oxford in the 1460's.¹⁶¹ A crucial phase occurred at the end of the century with the contribution of largely Italian-educated, English humanists, such as Grocyn and Colet, the outcome of whose work was a modified English humanism that combined important elements of renaissance thought, notably Platonism, with a strong and established tradition of religious and clerical training. They had a profound influence on English thought, and on the universities, in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶² Secular ideas as well as religious beliefs were affected, principally the application of the concepts of the active life and virtue at a time of social change, giving the gentry and professional and mercantile groups new views of their role and place in society. Humanist learning provided a training for administration and leadership and a justification for status.¹⁶³

In England during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, secular interest in education and learning increased, for these became desirable attributes to distinguish an emergent gentry who were to be administrators in the commonwealth.¹⁶⁴ Although Dean Colet and Erasmus had advocated and prepared schemes for educational reform which would relate to large sections of society, in effect, by the mid-sixteenth century, the influence of the gentry, and their requirements for educating their sons, became very strong, and broader humanist plans were lost. Meanwhile, professional training, particularly in law and the Church, continued to be maintained and expanded by the inns of court and by the universities. State control and interest in education, particularly in the case of the universities, increased, largely as a result of the religious controversies which were sweeping Europe.¹⁶⁵ It was from England, and in the light of developments there, that humanist ideas and an interest in education were to grow in Wales. In the absence of an established court to provide patronage or of a sound urban environment to nurture scholarship, it was inevitable that Wales drew its intellectual ideas from England, from London and from the universities.

The renaissance idea of secular education reinforced the vocational commitment of the inns and the universities, and in the case of the latter some of the more altruistic aspects of humanist intellectual activity were gradually absorbed. However unchanging, conservative, and clerically orientated the curriculum of Oxford and Cambridge universities, it is clear that as the fifteenth century progressed there was an increase in the number of lay students in attendance, sons of the

nobility and the gentry, with no clerical vocation and seeking less specific enlightenment from the teaching, perhaps no more than a 'liberal' education.¹⁶⁶ The needs of these classes were not met by any specific alteration in the content of the education but solely in the preparedness of the universities and the colleges, and similarly the inns of court, to make room for these non-specialists.¹⁶⁷ At the universities, and to a lesser extent at the inns, these students would be under rules of discipline and their minds would be trained in classical knowledge and philosophy, in logical thought based largely on medieval scholastical authority. When humanist influences made some inroads into the universities, - the inns of court were, formally, unaffected - by introducing Greek and scriptural scholarship, it was primarily for the benefit of students who intended becoming clergy.¹⁶⁸ Such was the case at Oxford, at Balliol, New College and new foundations such as Magdalen College during the fifteenth century,¹⁶⁹ and at the turn of the century the influence of the new humanism was reflected in Lady Margaret Beaufort's benefactions at Cambridge, at Christ's College, at St. John's College, directed by Bishop Fisher, and in the endowments made by Bishop Fox at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Later, the ideals of the Reformation also led to improvements in clerical learning.¹⁷⁰

The universities, therefore, gave a sufficient, if not wholly satisfactory, education to two emerging types of student. These two types, however, were not clearly represented in the lists of Welsh students who attended Oxford and Cambridge during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Although the numbers from Wales attending Oxford and Cambridge were apparently increasing, the nature of the

registration and biographical details serves only to identify the scholars who became clergy.¹⁷¹ Only some slight evidence exists to suggest the presence of secular students from Wales at the universities during the late fifteenth century. There is a list of battels, probably for a university, concerning two sons of the prominent Salushury family of Lleweni, Denbighshire, towards the last quarter of the century,¹⁷² while Sir John Wynn in his family history recounts the progress of a gentleman's son at Cambridge in the early sixteenth century, in the service of a more affluent clerical student.¹⁷³ It is only with the better ordered records after the mid-sixteenth century that the lay, often non-graduating, students seem at all prominent, though their presence was no doubt established before then.

Of the clerical students from Wales at this time, few, it seems, had imbibed much of the new learning. The Welsh clergy, however, still had the major rôle to play in education. It was to the leading clergy in Wales, not to the emergent gentry, that Oxford University wrote seeking support to rebuild the University Church in 1490,¹⁷⁴ and it was the clergy who thought of making benefactions to university education; for example, Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, who made substantial bequests to his order, the Franciscans, at Oxford to assist scholars.¹⁷⁵

Apart from the bishops and some diocesan officials, who were often absentees, the educational background and training of the clergy in Wales in the early sixteenth century left much to be desired, and were at a great remove from the ideals set by the humanists of the new learning. The quality of the clergy in both the northern and the southern dioceses of Wales was equally bad.¹⁷⁶ In the deanery of

Llandaff in 1535 only one out of forty-two occupied posts was held by a graduate clergyman.¹⁷⁷ Graduates were few and far between, though where colleges had rights of presentation there were better prospects of graduates being preferred. All Souls College did present graduates such as Philip ap Howell to its living in the deanery of Gower.¹⁷⁸ Many graduates, however, were pluralists and therefore likely to be absentees or non-resident,¹⁷⁹ and, indeed, many able clergy who attended university did so by leaving their livings, often for extensive periods; for example, Maurice Gwynne, who held variously the livings of Llandeilo in Elfael and Llanbadarn Fawr between 1497 and 1508, during which time he was permanently resident at Canterbury College, Oxford, and was a university official.¹⁸⁰ Other Welsh clergy accepted livings only after their university career was completed; for example, Richard Bedo, M.A., who had been Fellow and bursar of All Souls, Oxford, before 1514. He seems to have left Oxford that year to become rector of Gladestry, Radnor. Like many of the graduate clergy, he soon found other livings in England, and thereafter was absent from his Welsh living, preferring the benefices he possessed which were close to Oxford.¹⁸¹

It was the Welsh clergy who resided away from Wales who were the ones to come into contact first with the humanist culture of Europe, especially of Italy. Although the Celtic fringes were apparently untouched by it,¹⁸² a few Welshmen chose to study in Italy during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, usually after first having attended the English universities. In 1493, for example, William Walter, D.C.L. of Oxford, took a doctorate of canon law at Bologna, while in

1513-15, John Pennant, B.C.L. of Cambridge, studied canon law at Perugia and graduated Doctor at Rome in 1524.¹⁸³ Among the Welshmen who experienced the influence of classical scholarship as well as traditional scholasticism, at the English universities during the later fifteenth century, was the civilian Owen Lloyd. Somewhat later there came two Welsh scholars who were associated with the actual development of English humanism, Richard Gwent and Richard Whitford.¹⁸⁴ Gwent, educated at Oxford, was an ecclesiastical lawyer and like Lloyd remained essentially a medieval scholar. Whitford, by contrast, was long in the mainstream of early English humanism. He was educated at Cambridge, and, as chaplain and tutor to Lord Mountjoy, came into close association with Erasmus in 1499. Later, he was chaplain to Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus, and was acquainted with Sir Thomas More. When finally taxed by the conflicts and divergences between the active, humanist, and meditative medieval ideals of life, however, Whitford chose the latter and entered the convent of Sion. Thereafter, he followed, and wrote about, a rule of life governed by mysticism.

Occasionally, there are signs that some of the resident Welsh clergy during the early sixteenth century were not unacquainted with classical authors such as Cicero,¹⁸⁵ but it would be too much to say that they saw these authors and understood them in the same light as the European humanists. Humanist inspiration, even to the degree which essentially medieval scholars like Gwent and Whitford understood it, required an urban environment and social contact such as was not to be found in Wales, and perhaps only in London in the whole kingdom. London, in fact, became an important focal point for Welshmen of all callings,

particularly after the accession of Henry VII, and it is no doubt as a result of these opportunities for social advancement, together, perhaps, with the greater interest in learning and education found in the capital, that we are confronted with the earliest evidence of Welsh laymen making provisions for education both privately, for their own kin, as, for example, in the case of John Roden of Burton, Denbighshire in 1512, who was sergeant at arms to Henry VII,¹⁸⁶ and publicly, as in the case of Sir Thomas Exmewe of Rhuthun, who became Lord Mayor of London. In 1528/9, he bequeathed sums of money to maintain poor scholars studying divinity at Oxford and Cambridge and also desired that any residue from his estate ought to be used to maintain poor scholars of good name and ability at the universities.¹⁸⁷

As will be shown in a later chapter; it is not long after this that evidence from within Wales itself appears of the concern for education, shown as private bequests to maintain sons and daughters, at school or college, and as public bequests to aid and assist students with scholarships, exhibitions and fellowships at the universities. This concern for education may, no doubt, be accounted for in part by the social and economic changes that were coming to fulfilment in Wales at this time, as shown in the considerable changes in landownership, in the consolidation of wealth and of estates - however small - and the increased control of local affairs in the hands of the emergent Welsh gentry, who were composed of men of native Welsh origin and of English settlers of the later middle ages.¹⁸⁸ These changes were further enhanced during the second quarter of the sixteenth century by the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of their lands,¹⁸⁹ and

also by the political settlement of Wales embodied in the Acts of Union.¹⁹⁰

Civic action and piety, ideals founded in the Renaissance and in the Reformation, in however diluted forms, were accepted throughout western Europe, and in Wales as in England they merged into the developing idea of gentility.¹⁹¹ Traditional Welsh cultural and social values, embodied in the learning and attitudes of the bards, continued to have their place, but they proved insufficient to meet all the demands of social aspirations and obligations.¹⁹² In particular, some satisfaction of the need to be educated, or to seem educated and enlightened, was required. This, the universities and the inns of court, as well as being centres of professional or clerical training, attempted to do, and Welshmen, like their counterparts throughout the kingdom, resorted to these institutions either to fulfil professional ambition or, more often, to reinforce social status and personal esteem.

CHAPTER I - NOTES

1. Sir George Buck, The Third Universitie of England (1615).
2. A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), p. 4. Vide infra chap. II.
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28. In 1444 Henry Grey, Lord of Powys, was licensed by the Crown to alienate the priory of Kersey in Suffolk on behalf of King's College, Cambridge. Although his successor forfeited his estates in 1459 for participating in the Yorkist rebellion, the grant was upheld (M.C. Jones, 'The Feudal Barons of Powys', Mont(gomeryshire) Coll(ection)s, I (1868), 334-5, 342-3).
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35. Glanmor Williams, Welsh Church, p. 26.
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43. Vide Hays, op. cit., also Williams, Welsh Church, pp. 70-71.
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46. Ibid., pp. 30-1, 143-51; Hays, op. cit., 327-30, 346-8.
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49. Wood, op. cit., pp. 67, 161; D. Macleane, Pembroke College (1900), p. 57.
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51. W.A. Pantin, op. cit., pp. 35, 81 ff.
52. J.B. Mullinger, op. cit., i, 241, 331-2, 336-40; H.E. Salter, 'City of Oxford', 102; R. Williamson, 'The Plague in Cambridge', Medical History, I (1957), 51-55.
53. Mallet, op. cit., I, 335-6.
54. Ibid., I, 256, 364-5; Hays, op. cit., 329-30.
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101. A.F. Leach, op. cit., pp. 207-8.
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103. L.S. Knight, 'Welsh Schools from A.D. 1000 ... ', 287-91; idem, Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600 (1927), p. 7 f.; Leach, op. cit., pp. 235-6.
104. Knight, Welsh Independent Grammar Schools, p. 13. Dafydd ab Owain, when Bishop of St. Asaph, founded a grammar school at Carmarthen.
105. Ieuan ap Hywel Swrddwal reputedly an M.A. of Oxford and accepted as such in B.R.U.O. to 1500. D.W.B. does not attribute a degree to him. Two other poets with degrees were Hywel ap Dafydd ap Ieuan ap Rhys, M.A., flor. 1450-80, and Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd, B.A., M.A., B.C.L., flor. 1430-70 (ibid. and infra n. 115). A local Anglesey poet of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has also been claimed as a graduate, Syr Dafydd Trefor, Magister in 1504 (I. George, 'Syr Dafydd Trefor, An Anglesey Bard', Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club) 1934, 70-72).
106. T. Parry, Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg (3rd ed., 1964), pp. 102-3; D. Myrddin Lloyd, 'Estheteg yr Oesoedd Canol', 230-1.
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113. I. Williams, ed., Gwaith Guto'r Glyn (1939), p. 177.
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132. D.W.B. and R.A. Griffiths, op. cit.; Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill, p. 125. Contemporaneously with Hanmer there was David Holbache (q.v.), and during the second half of the fifteenth century Geoffrey (Sieffre) Cyffin, Constable of Oswestry (Gwaith Guto'r Glyn, Appendix, p. 213).
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142. H.E.L., loc. cit.; J.H. Baker, 'Counsellors and Barristers, An Historical Study', The Cambridge Law Journal 1969, 214-17, 220-1.
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CHAPTER II

WELSH STUDENTS DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES: A STATISTICAL SURVEY

The attractions of the inns of court and the universities

By the mid-sixteenth century several English commentators remarked about the significantly changing composition of the inns and universities, in which, according to Thomas Lever, an influx of wealthy students was depriving poorer students of scholars' places.¹ Another writer, probably John Hales, remarked at the decline of real scholarship as a result of this trend. Students sought a smattering of learning at the universities and then departed to seek better posts elsewhere.²

However exaggerated some of these observations may have been, it is nevertheless true that the inns of court and the universities tried to accommodate the needs of sons of gentlemen and of others, who desired a general rather than a specialised education.³ Indeed, the inns of court appeared to be socially more exclusive in whom they taught, preparing 'gentlemen of blood' to administer justice.⁴

The growing complexity of government and administration stressed the desirability of good education, and this applied not merely to the acknowledged leaders of society, the aristocracy and the gentry, but to others who had opportunities to advance. Hence the increase in admissions at the inns of court and the growing lay presence at the universities during the sixteenth century.⁵ Not that the education provided at these places was necessarily valuable or particularly useful for such people beyond a formal preparation of the mind,⁶ but

its acquisition did denote status and esteem at a time of change.⁷

The education was more relevant and useful for those with professional aspirations, particularly in the Church or in law, and the inns and universities fulfilled these traditional functions even more strongly during this period.⁸

Such influences and trends were reflected in the admissions to these institutions of learning from Wales. Though generally poorer economically than England, the stress on status ^{in Wales} was as great, if not greater, and there was nothing to preclude the wide adoption of English ideas of gentility as the period progressed.⁹ Higher education was a means, therefore, of fulfilling the aspirations of many sons of gentlemen, yeomen and clergy in Wales, and particularly of younger sons whose patrimony was somewhat threatened by the wider enforcement and adoption of primogeniture.¹⁰ A clerical view in the early seventeenth century regarded education as an essential part of gentility,

'deyparth bonedd dusk
mab heb Duske tu a lusk.'¹¹

Welsh Admissions to Oxford

The growing numbers of Welshmen at Cambridge and at the inns of court were a new feature in the sixteenth century, and one which did not develop at the expense of the traditional ties between Welsh scholars and Oxford. Although detailed evidence regarding admissions at all these places is lacking for the period prior to the third quarter of the sixteenth century, there is sufficient evidence for Oxford to form some conclusions. The appearance of a large number of Welsh, or Welsh-sounding, names in the degree lists of the first

half of the sixteenth century has been explained as part of the influx of Welshmen into England, following the success of the Tudors,¹² and a recent estimate of the number of Welshmen at Oxford between 1500 and 1540, using Emden's lists, provides a total of 202 men or 2.9 per cent of all the names at Oxford in the period.¹³

The nature of the evidence necessarily provides little information about the lay, non-graduating, student, and relates largely^{to} the careers of graduate clergy and lawyers. Evidence as to the areas of origin of most of these students is deficient, and estimates of the Welsh students must depend on the association of likely surnames and patronymics, the membership of certain colleges or halls, and on post-university careers in Wales or the borders as additional indices.¹⁴ In the lists for 1501-40 some ninety-one positive identifications of Welshmen can be made, to which may be added a further twenty, who entered Oxford between c.1490 and 1500, and who continued there in the first, second, and even third decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁵ The 1501-40 register, however, contains many other names which deserve consideration as being likely Welsh students. In all, some 132 names can be seriously considered, of whom 115 show a high probability of having originated in Wales or the adjacent border districts. A further seven possible Welsh students entered Oxford in the decade or so before 1500.¹⁶ Thus, as many as 250 Welsh scholars and graduates may have attended Oxford University in the first four decades of the century, forming 3.5 per cent of all the names recorded as being members of the institution in that period.

Two sets of observations about Welsh associations with Oxford between c.1490 and 1540 can, therefore, be made; one by reference to the list of positive identifications, the other by also assessing the possible Welsh scholars. In terms of admissions (Table I), the identifiable Welsh membership entered at approximately two per annum between the last decade of the fifteenth century and 1530. No very distinct peak in admissions was seen in any decade. The inclusion of the possible Welshmen alters the pattern in two ways, by doubling the admissions per annum, and establishing peaks in admissions during the 1510s and 1520s, five or more entering Oxford. In both sets of figures a decline seems to have occurred during the 1530s, which may be a reflection of the generally unsettled state of the country and its direct effects on the universities.

TABLE I Welsh admissions^{*} at Oxford, c.1490-1540

	<u>Identifiable Welsh</u> <u>Students</u>	<u>Identifiable and likely</u> <u>Welsh Students</u>
c.1490-1500	27	44
1501-09	23	40
1510-19	25	50
1520-29	21	55
1530-39	12	47

Sources: B.R.U.O. to 1500; B.R.U.O. to 1540

* In a few cases the estimated decade of admission cannot be calculated from the evidence.

In addition to admissions it is important to try to distinguish the areas of origin of the Welsh students, and in this case only the

list of identified Welsh scholars is of significance. Accordingly, in the period between c.1490 and 1540 it was apparent that the largest group of Welsh students came from south-west Wales, from the area of present day Dyfed (Table II). This group was almost double the contingent from north-west and south-east Wales, while north-east and central Wales (approximating to present day Clwyd and Powys) were poorly represented.¹⁷ The associations of some likely Welsh students with the latter two areas, however, suggest that they may have been slightly under-represented in the first list.

TABLE II Areal Associations of Welsh Students, c.1490-1540

	<u>Identifiable Students</u>	<u>Possible Welsh Students</u>
S-E Wales	22	6
S-W Wales	41	9
N-E Wales	12	11
N-W Wales	24	1
Central Wales	7	8
Wales (unspecified)	5	97

Sources: B.R.U.O. to 1500; B.R.U.O. to 1540

A significant feature of the large south-west group was its links with All Souls College, a quarter of the students, at least, at some time or other being scholars or fellows there. All Souls preceded all the other colleges and halls associated with the positively identified Welsh intake. Oriel, too, was important, while of the halls New Inn, for north-west Wales students, and St. Edward Hall seem to have been popular. These colleges and halls

also featured significantly among the places to which the possible Welsh students belonged, and St. Edward Hall was particularly outstanding (Appendix I).

The great majority of the whole 250 names studied seem to have been secular clergy, with laymen and regulars attending in small numbers. Of the regular orders the Cistercians were the best represented, a significant fact given that they were the most prominent order in Wales. The regulars' courses of study seem to have led most of them, finally, to graduate in theology. Theology was not at all popular with the others, however. The large majority of the Welsh students ultimately pursued courses and/or graduated in the two laws. This accounts for the popularity of All Souls and St. Edward Hall and is in keeping with the well-established medieval pattern for Welshmen to pursue law careers in the Church or in the civilian courts. Among the identifiable Welsh students it was civil law which was the most popular, but it was not uncommon for it to be coupled with canon law. Two-thirds of the identifiable Welsh element and over half of the possible Welsh students possessed law degrees. Arts degrees were far less popular, particularly among the identifiable students, where they formed 16.2 per cent. Among the possible Welsh students arts degrees were more common and over one third - 38 per cent - were arts graduates.

Since the arts faculty was by far the largest and most popular at Oxford it is apparent that the extant student lists are inadequate. Only graduate students can be properly identified in this period, that is, the students who had a vocation. Although the

study of arts was a precursor to the higher faculties there are few signs that Welsh law graduates also graduated in the arts. The arts course was important for preparing for theology, however, and most of the Welsh theologians, few as they were, had also graduated in the arts. The arts course was also a foundation for preparation in the other higher faculties, though of the few names who graduated in medicine or music, barely a couple possessed arts degrees (Tables III (a) and (b)).

The callings of the great majority of the 250 students assessed for this early period were obvious from the nature of their studies; they became clergymen or advocates. There are precious few signs of the emergent Welsh gentry and the layman being in attendance, nor is there much indication of the humanist or the non-specialist scholar. Where social origins are clear, and a gentry background is identifiable, it was usually the younger sons of the gentry who were in attendance, scholars such as William Roberts, Robert Evans or Thomas Davies from North Wales who were set on a clerical career. Gentlemen lawyers were present in a few cases, for example, Edward Carne, John Price, Roger Williams and Thomas Wogan. The humanist influence, it could be said, was represented by Leonard Cox and William Salesbury, while the latter, and perhaps also Henry Morgan of Pencoed, Monmouthshire, (B.A. 1540), embodied the non-specialising student layman.

The ensuing three decades, 1540-70, prove scarcely more informative about the latter sort of student, and although the degree lists are detailed the problems of identifying each graduate, in the absence of a painstaking agglomeration of detail equivalent to Emden's

TABLE III (a) Final Degrees of students admitted c.1490-1540

	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Canon Law</u>	<u>Civil Law</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Theology</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Music</u>
Identifiable Welsh students	17	15	30	24	13	2	2
Possible Welsh students	43	29	27	2	11	1	-

(b) Other Degrees or Studies of students admitted c.1490-1540

<u>Final Degree</u>	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Canon Law</u>	<u>Civil Law</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Theology</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Music</u>
Identifiable Welsh students	1 arts 1 theology			1 arts	6 arts 1 arts + Civl.	1 arts	
Possible Welsh students		1 arts	2 arts		5 arts	1 arts	

works, are manifold. Thus, the estimates of Welsh graduates presented here are even more tentative than for the earlier part of the century.¹⁸ An estimated 101 graduates from Wales can be considered as having been admitted to Oxford after 1540 and before 1570, of whom forty-three are positively identified as being Welshmen. Admissions per decade were lower on average than in the preceding forty years and at their lowest during the 1540s, which may be a reflection of the continued religious uncertainties during the reign of Henry VIII. Although these estimated admissions recovered somewhat during the following decades, the degree graduation lists suggest that in Mary I's time there may have been a hiatus, again due to the religious and political uncertainties (Table IV).

TABLE IV Estimated admissions of Welsh graduates at Oxford, 1540-70

	<u>Identifiable Welsh Students*</u>	<u>Total Estimated Number (possible + identifiable)</u>
1540-49	13	24
1550-59	17	41
1560-69	13	36

Source: Boase, ed., Reg. Univ. Oxon., I

*excluding two incorporated from Cambridge.

The final degrees of the students considered here indicated a significant shift of interests compared with the previous period. The religious and political changes of the mid-1530s, and afterwards, had witnessed the total abolition of canon law as a course of study at the English universities and this was accompanied by a marked

decline in the popularity of civil law. Thus, these students in large measure were graduates in the arts faculty. Almost two-thirds of the possible students took arts degrees. Civil law had contracted to less than a third of the degrees taken, and several of these legists were arts graduates in the first place. Theology remained a minor interest, together with medicine and grammar, which was seen to disappear as a degree qualification (Table V).

TABLE V Final Degrees and/or courses of study pursued by Welsh graduates admitted 1540-70

	<u>Grammar</u>	<u>Arts</u>	<u>Civil Law</u>	<u>Theology</u>	<u>Medicine</u>
Identifiable Welsh students	1	26 (1 theol)	14 (6 arts)	1 (1 arts)	1
Possible Welsh students	-	41	14 (1 arts)	2 (2 arts)	1 (1 arts)

As a proportion of all the graduates recorded in this period, the Welsh element seems to have been a small one. The identifiable Welsh group in the 1540s was about 3 per cent, while if the numbers of possible Welsh students are also studied it might have been as large as 6.5 per cent of the whole. This suggests that, irrespective of the difficulties at the universities at the time, the Welsh element was, relatively, increasing, and it is tempting to see in this a liberating effect caused by the Acts of Union. In the following decade, notably in Edward VI's reign, these proportions of identifiable and possible Welsh students remained approximately the same. There may have been a significant falling away in new admissions during Mary's reign, and

this is reflected somewhat in the proportion of all estimated Welsh graduates during the early 1560s, at about 4.5 per cent (Table VI).

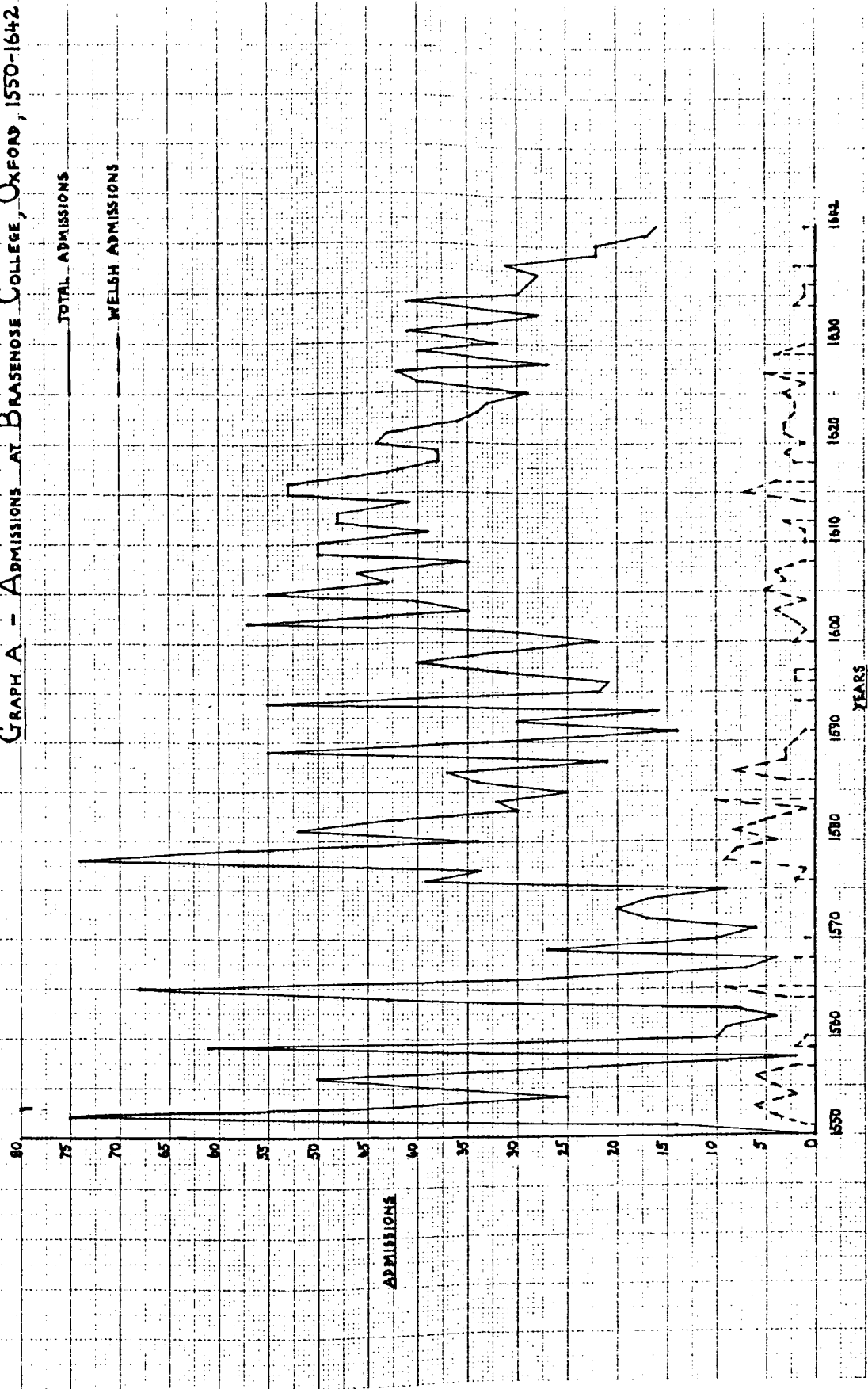
TABLE VI Estimated proportion of Welsh graduates to total graduates recorded at Oxford, 1540-71

	<u>Identifiable Welsh Students</u>	<u>Identifiable and possible Welsh Students</u>
1540-49*	16 (3%)	35 (6.55%)
1550-59	19 (3.48%)	29 (5.31%)
1560-71	16 (1.42%)	51 (4.52%)

*Graduates in this decade include nineteen admitted before 1540.

There is no certainty that, even allowing for the accuracy of these graduate numbers and estimates, the proportion of Welshmen at the University as a whole was remotely as large. In the absence of matriculation and admission details about non-graduates, as well as graduates, throughout the University, evidence must be drawn from individual colleges. In the case of Welsh students at Oxford, the admission registers of Brasenose, and to a lesser extent, of Christ Church Colleges are invaluable for the mid-sixteenth century and later. Since both colleges proved to be popular with Welsh students the admission details may exaggerate the Welsh presence somewhat. On the other hand, they do depict the presence of an element totally excluded from the degree lists: the lay, fee-paying, and non-specialist, non-graduating students. Moreover, as will be shown below, even when university registration developed, college registers were often more accurate in denoting admissions.

GRAPH A - ADMISSIONS AT BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, 1550-1642



During the 1550s Brasenose College was a society consisting of seventy to a hundred members,¹⁹ and Welsh students formed about 8 per cent of that membership, that is, significantly higher than the overall estimate of Welsh graduates in that decade. There were twenty-seven recorded admissions from Wales at the College in the decade 1550-59 and it transpires that the majority of these were short-staying, non-graduating students. Only ten became graduates and only two of these proceeded beyond the M.A. degree (Table VII and Graph A). At Christ Church, meanwhile, there were at least ten admissions from Wales in 1546-55 and, in a society which was the largest of all the colleges,²⁰ the Welsh members may have formed about 6 per cent of the total; a proportion which corresponds more closely with the estimated number of Welsh graduates.

TABLE VII Decennial proportions of Welsh students to total student admissions at Brasenose College, Oxford

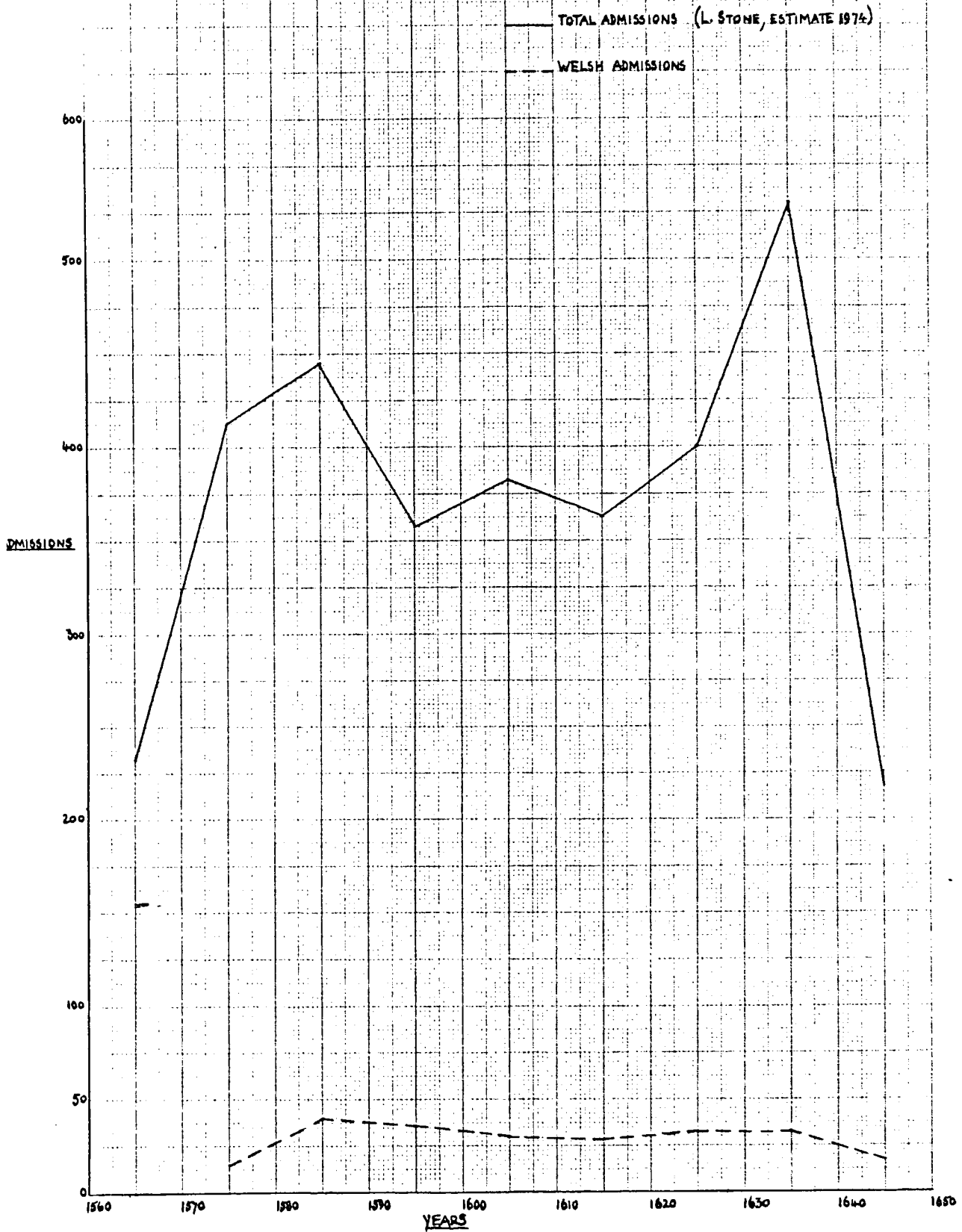
	<u>Total Admissions</u>	<u>Welsh Admissions</u>	<u>% Welsh Admissions</u>
1550-59	335	27	8.06
1560-69	211	15	7.11
1570-79	284	21	7.4
1580-89	364	45	12.36
1590-99	293	9	3.1
1600-09	413	23	5.6
1610-19	457	22	4.9
1620-29	368	24	6.5
1630-39	315	7	2.2
1640-42	55	1	1.82

Source: B.N.C. Register, vol. I

Admissions at both colleges, as in the University as a whole, were affected by the uncertain religious and political conditions of the late 1550s and 1560s. Welsh numbers were similarly reduced, but at Brasenose they continued to represent a significant element. Although Welsh admissions in 1560-69 were only slightly more than half those of the previous decade, they formed fully 7 per cent of all admissions (Table VII). Again, the majority of these proved to be non-graduating students, only five, it seems, becoming graduates.

From about 1570 onwards Oxford University's matriculation lists are sufficiently detailed to permit rough estimates to be made of the Welsh intake, the status and age of the students and their college affiliation. The limitations of the matriculation figures have already been assessed by Professor Stone,²¹ and the Welsh estimates must be considered in this light too. The matriculation lists of Oxford and Cambridge universities are imperfect, Stone shows. Many attended university without formally matriculating. Accordingly, matriculation figures require adjustment to account for under-recording. Thus, Stone suggests adjustments of between 25-41 per cent in the decennial figures for Oxford, 1570-1640, and 22-49 per cent in the figures for Cambridge, 1560-1640.²² That Welsh matriculations ought to be adjusted similarly is indicated by the disparity between matriculation details and college statistics for Brasenose in 1600-42. About 30 per cent or twenty-three names from Wales admitted at Brasenose were never entered in the University matriculation registers.²³

GRAPH B - ESTIMATED ANNUAL AVERAGE ADMISSIONS
AT OXFORD FROM WALES, 1570-1640



While adjustments to matriculation figures are no doubt essential for the whole period up to 1640, their interpretation is more debatable. Stone detects two periods of growing student admissions, 1550-89 and 1615-39; but the first period has been put in doubt by Russell's work, which argues that the growth is more apparent than real, being merely the product of better registration than ever before in the century, and showing more clearly the presence of more of the student population before, and especially after, 1581.²⁴ Stone's estimates are useful, nevertheless, in providing parameters for estimating the Welsh intake at Oxford and at Cambridge, and they have been adopted and employed here. Around 1581, therefore, with the better registration, the highest annual Welsh intakes of the whole period are revealed.²⁵ Earlier, in the 1570s, about thirteen recorded, and perhaps as many as sixteen estimated, Welsh admissions occurred per year (Table VIII, Graph B), but they formed but 4 per cent of the whole - little different from the cruder graduate estimates for the earlier part of the century. This was a distinctly modest intake and it compared unfavourably with the proportionate size of the Welsh (plus Monmouthshire) population to the kingdom's total population. Russell's remarks about unnoted, unattached students may have relevance here, given the known attendance of Welsh students at Oxford at minor halls or in informal arrangements, as well as those more formally registered.²⁶ Thus, the assessed Welsh intake is likely to be an underestimate. Welsh entries at Brasenose corresponded far more closely to the proportionate population size (Table VII). In 1580-89 a clearer picture emerges, and the Welsh intake at Oxford

represented 9 per cent of the total (Table VIII), about thirty actual matriculations and as many as forty estimated admissions per annum. This was the most significant decade for the annual size of Welsh matriculations (and therefore, of estimated admission), and may reflect not only the more accurate depiction of entries but also a new influx attracted by the progress of Jesus College, then emerging after its initial difficulties in the decade before as an important seat of learning for the Welsh (Graph C). Welsh admissions at Brasenose, too, were at their highest (Table VII) possibly being indicative of the pressures on students to affiliate fully at the colleges and surviving halls, noted by Russell.

Welsh admissions, at an estimated thirty-six per annum, continued to be impressive during the 1590s, and were at their second highest point of the whole period around 1599-1600. More significantly, the Welsh formed fully 10 per cent of the total estimated and recorded entrants (Table VIII, Graph C). This seems to run counter to Stone's notion of a general lull or slump in the figures. Welsh numbers kept up well, apart from c.1595, and it may well be because of the great popularity with the Welsh in that decade of Jesus College, whose attractions may, indeed, be a reason for the sharp fall in Welsh entrants at Brasenose (Table VII and Table XXIV), though there was a general fall in that College's intake too.

The ensuing two decades, 1600-19, notwithstanding the success of Jesus College, and a recovery in Welsh figures at Brasenose, did witness a reduction in Welsh matriculations, and more significantly, they formed a markedly lower proportion of the total, some 7.5 per

GRAPH C - ANNUAL MATRICULATIONS AT OXFORD
FROM WALES (AND MONMOUTHSHIRE), 1571-1642

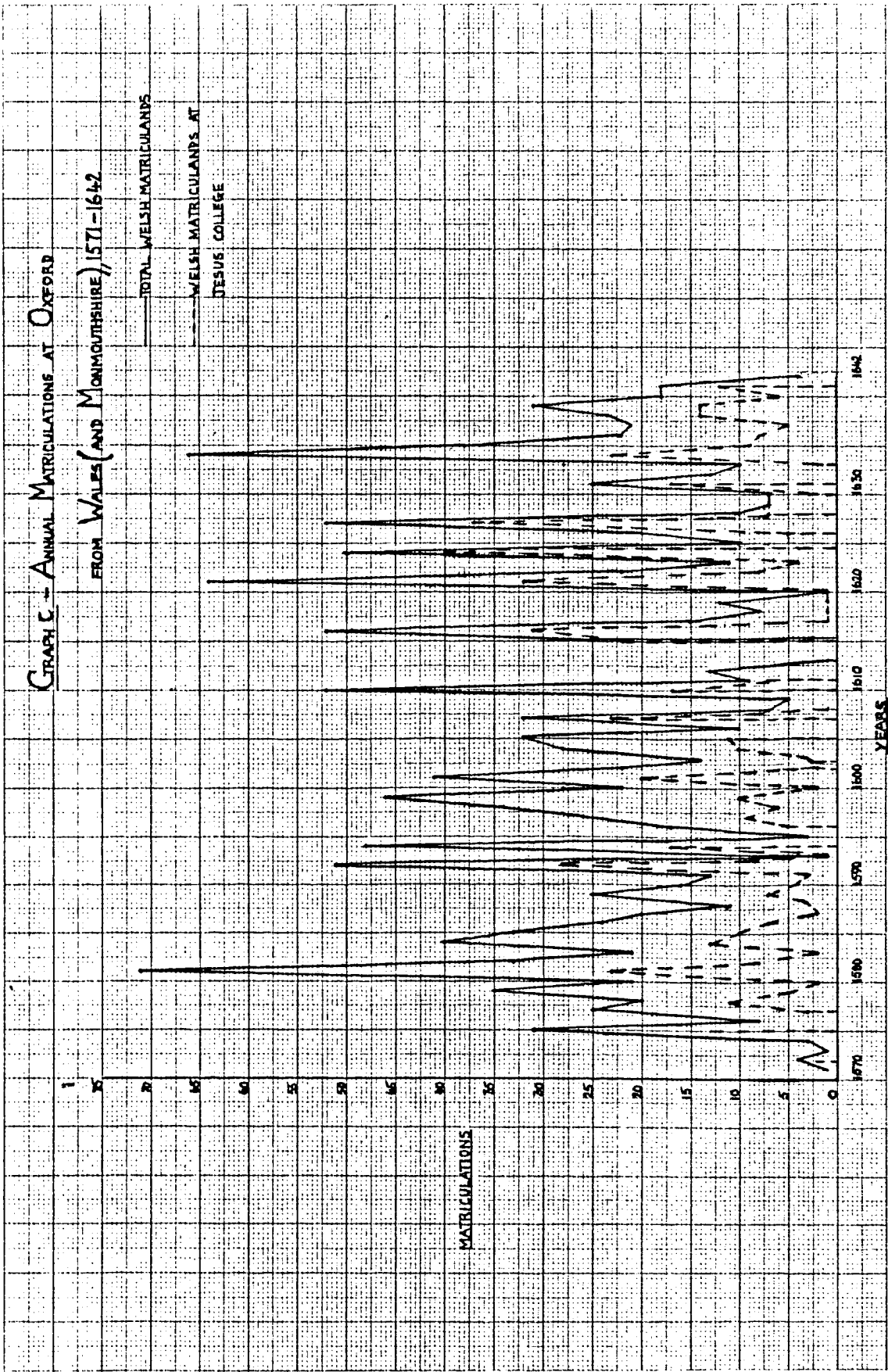


TABLE VIII Estimated annual admissions at Oxford from Wales (including Monmouthshire), and their proportion of the whole, 1571-1639

	<u>Actual Annual Matriculands</u>		<u>% Correction</u>	<u>Estimated Annual Admissions</u>		<u>Welsh % of Total Admissions</u>
	<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Wales</u>		<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Wales</u>	
1571-79	310	13.1	20*	372	15.7	4.1
1580-89	330	29.9	35	445	40.3	9.07
1590-99	254	25.6	41	358	36.1	10.08
1600-09	281	21.3	33	374	28.33	7.57
1610-19	277	21.2	31	363	27.77	7.6
1620-29	320	25.5	25	400	31.87	7.97
1630-39	424	25.6	25	530	32	6.04

*Based on Stone's 'Educational Revolution'. The other adjustments are from University in Society, I.

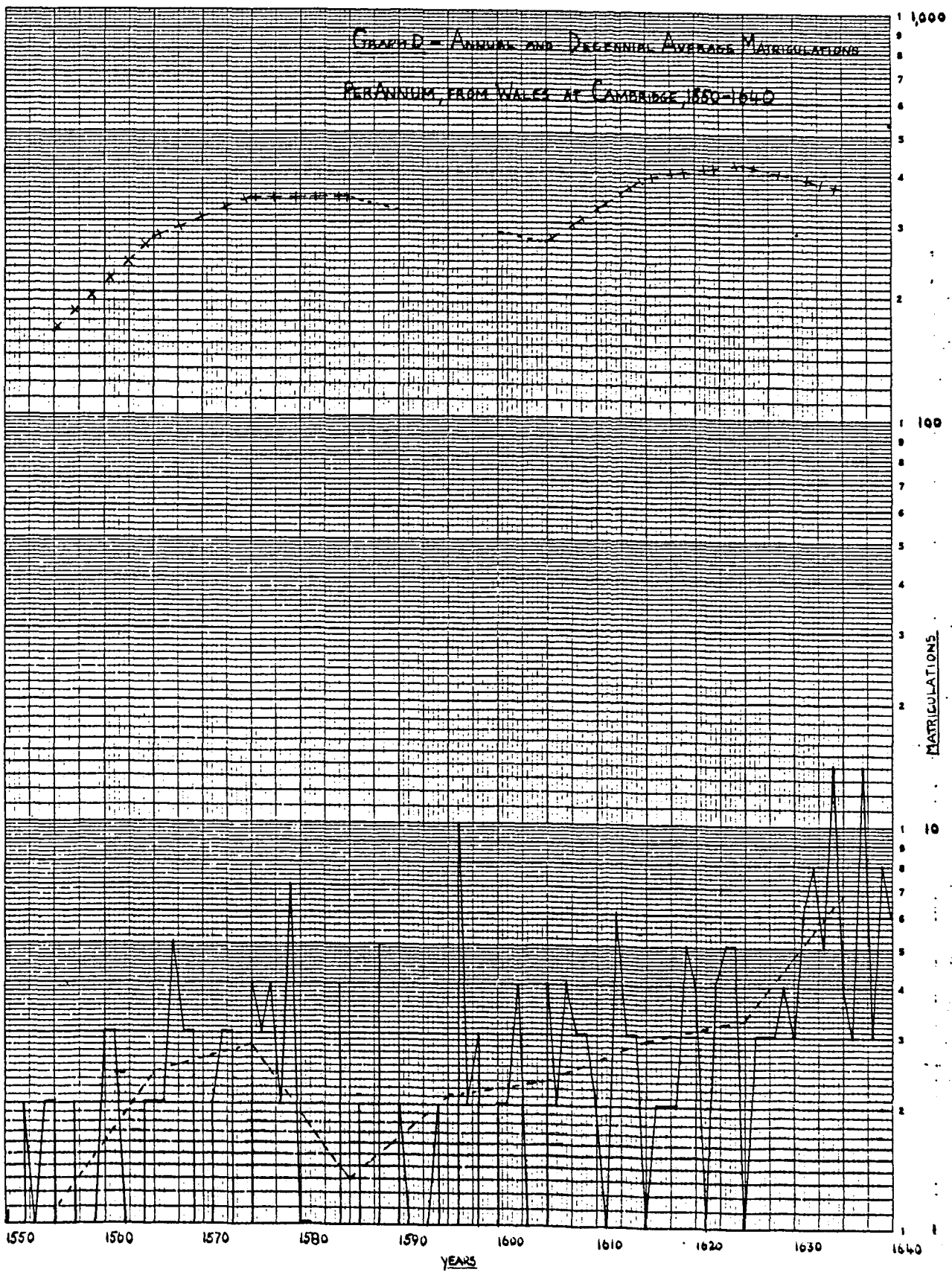
cent (Table VIII). With the overall advance or rallying of admissions after 1615 came an improvement in the Welsh intake once again, with significant peaks about 1621 and 1635 and a general recovery to the levels of the 1590s with some twenty-five actual, and perhaps thirty-two possible, entrants each year. This improvement, nevertheless, contrasted with the 'huge expansion' claimed by Stone for the total Oxford admissions, which surpassed the levels attained in the 1580s, and indeed the proportion of Welsh students while it remained basically unaltered in the 1620s fell markedly, to 6 per cent, in 1630-39. This was paralleled by a similar downward movement in the Welsh proportion and intake at Brasenose and at Jesus College (Table VII, Table VIII and Table XXIX).

It was Oxford, of the three centres of learning, which received by far the greatest number of Welsh students in the period, large enough for their progress to be meaningfully analysed compared with overall figures. Thus, in some respects, the Welsh admissions pattern at Oxford has been found to display an independent trend whilst Welsh numbers at the inns of court and particularly at Cambridge do not allow any significant separate conclusions to be drawn. Relatively, the late sixteenth century was the most important and flourishing period for Oxford's Welsh entrants, particularly in the context of their being a significant proportion of the student body. This contrasts with the general pattern outlined by Stone which stresses the post-1615 period, and it can be accounted for in part by the limited economic means of many of the Welsh entrants, sons of yeomen and lesser

gentry, and by the variable effects of price levels²⁷ on the costs of education. Price levels were generally quite favourable up to the 1590s and even until 1600 they may not have hindered resources too much, though such years as 1587, 1591 and 1595 seem to have experienced some deleterious effects (Graph C). The difficult years 1607-9, 1612-13, quite apart from general inflationary tendencies, must undoubtedly have contributed to the contraction in Welsh admissions during the early seventeenth century, while the lower prices before 1623 are likely to have somewhat restored matters. Inflationary pressures after the crisis of 1623 and particularly during the early 1630s seem to correspond to the trend in falling Welsh admissions which was at its worst from 1627 to 1632. Some improvement occurred around 1635 but a fall in admissions followed, coinciding with a further sharp increase in price levels by 1640.

Quite apart from the pressures and influence of economic circumstances on the ability of some Welsh families and students to meet the costs of attendance and admissions, there seems to be some evidence that the inns of court and Cambridge may have appeared more attractive than Oxford to others, probably the more affluent of students.²⁸ The more stringent government of Oxford under Laud during the 1630s was possibly another generally uncondusive factor, together with the deteriorating political situation after 1638, while it may be, too, that the characteristics of the Welsh population itself altered to restrain the still sizeable influx of Welsh students to Oxford. Owen's figures suggest that there was a slowing down of population growth in Wales, most notably in south-west Wales, which was an area

CHART D - ANNUAL AND DECENNIAL AVERAGE MATRICULATIONS
 PER ANNUM, FROM WALES AT CAMBRIDGE, 1550-1640



— WELSH ANNUAL MATRICULATIONS - - - WELSH DECENNIAL AVERAGE PER ANNUM + + + DECENNIAL AVERAGE OF TOTAL RECORDED ANNUAL MATRICULATIONS AT CAMBRIDGE (STONE, 1974)

traditionally associated with Oxford. The optimum level of demand for higher education may, therefore, have been achieved, and perhaps passed, by the time of the Civil War.

Welsh Admissions to Cambridge

Welsh links with Cambridge during the middle ages had been tenuous and this appears to have been the case in the first half of the sixteenth century. From the limited evidence available, degree lists and biographical details,²⁹ only twelve Welshmen attended Cambridge between 1500 and 1540, three of whom were graduates who incorporated from Oxford. Most of these Welshmen were clerical scholars, eight secular clergy with higher degrees, two with arts degrees. The Welsh attendance appears to have continued at a low level during the mid century. There are no comparable college details with those at Brasenose to indicate Welsh numbers, but the matriculation lists began earlier, in 1544, and, though imperfect, they nevertheless indicate the Welsh presence.³⁰ Admissions from Wales appear to have amounted to no more than one a year during the 1540s and 1550s. Allowing for Stone's various adjustments, Welsh admissions in subsequent decades increased only slightly, approximately two to three students in the 1560s and 1570s, barely 1 per cent of all admissions (Table IX and Graph D).³¹ In the 1580s when total admissions were rising, Welsh numbers may even have declined. They recovered their former numbers during the mid- and late 1590s, and the first decades of the new century saw no great change in this pattern, with Welsh admissions remaining stable at about two or three admissions per annum actually recorded. Allowing for error, perhaps four rather

TABLE IX Estimated annual admissions at Cambridge from Wales (including Monmouthshire), and their proportion of the whole, 1560-1639

	<u>Actual Annual Matriculands</u>			<u>% Correction</u>	<u>Estimated Annual Admissions</u>		<u>Welsh % of Total Admissions</u>
	<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Wales</u>		<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Wales</u>	
1560-69	295	2.4	20*	354	2.8	0.78	
1570-79	340	2.8	20*	408	3.36	0.82	
1580-89	344	1.3	35	465	1.56	0.38	
1590-99	298	2.1	20*	363	2.52	0.70	
1600-09	270	2.5	49	403	3.72	0.92	
1610-19	388	2.5	27	491	3.68	0.75	
1620-29	421	3.3	22	513	4.02	0.78	
1630-39	373	6.8	25	466	8.5	1.82	

*Based on Stone's 'Educational Revolution'. The other adjustments are from University in Society, I, 92.

than three Welsh students were admitted annually, less than 1 per cent of the total (Table IX and Graph D). Recorded admissions from Wales rose slightly during the 1620s, especially later in the decade, and between three and four were admitted annually, again less than 1 per cent of the total (Table IX). The increase continued into the 1630s and, indeed, was markedly higher during those years than in any previous decade. Over eight Welsh students, it is estimated, were admitted per year - an average of seven per annum were actually recorded - forming almost 2 per cent of the whole (Table IX and Graph D).

It is apparent from Professor Stone's estimates that it was Cambridge, of the two universities, which led the expansion of admissions at least until the early seventeenth century. The Welsh admission figures at Cambridge, however, are so imperceptible that it is most difficult to relate them to the general tendencies. The small rise in the numbers from Wales between 1550 and 1577 bears little relation to the apparent doubling in the recorded matriculations for the University as a whole. The slump in Welsh numbers during the 1580s may be a reflection of the apparent stagnation in the total matriculations at the University. The estimated admissions by Stone for that decade are, however, very high. The following decade, in which Welsh numbers recovered, was one which seems to have seen a decline in estimated admissions. Thereafter, although admissions from Wales increased, they bear little relation to the sharp overall increase during the early seventeenth century. Following a peak during the 1620s, the estimated and actual figures for Cambridge declined in

the decade before the Civil War. Wales was a marked contrast to this. That decade brought the most significant increase recorded for Wales. Thus, if anything, the pattern of admissions among the small Welsh element at Cambridge seems to have run independently of the overall trend and, indeed, at times, was at variance with them. In addition, Welsh admissions at Cambridge contrasted with those Welsh admissions at Oxford. Slumps in numbers were less severe and occurred at different times from those at Oxford. Moreover, the height of Welsh attendances at Oxford occurred in the 1580s, that at Cambridge during the 1630s.

Admissions at the Inns of Court

(i) 1550-89

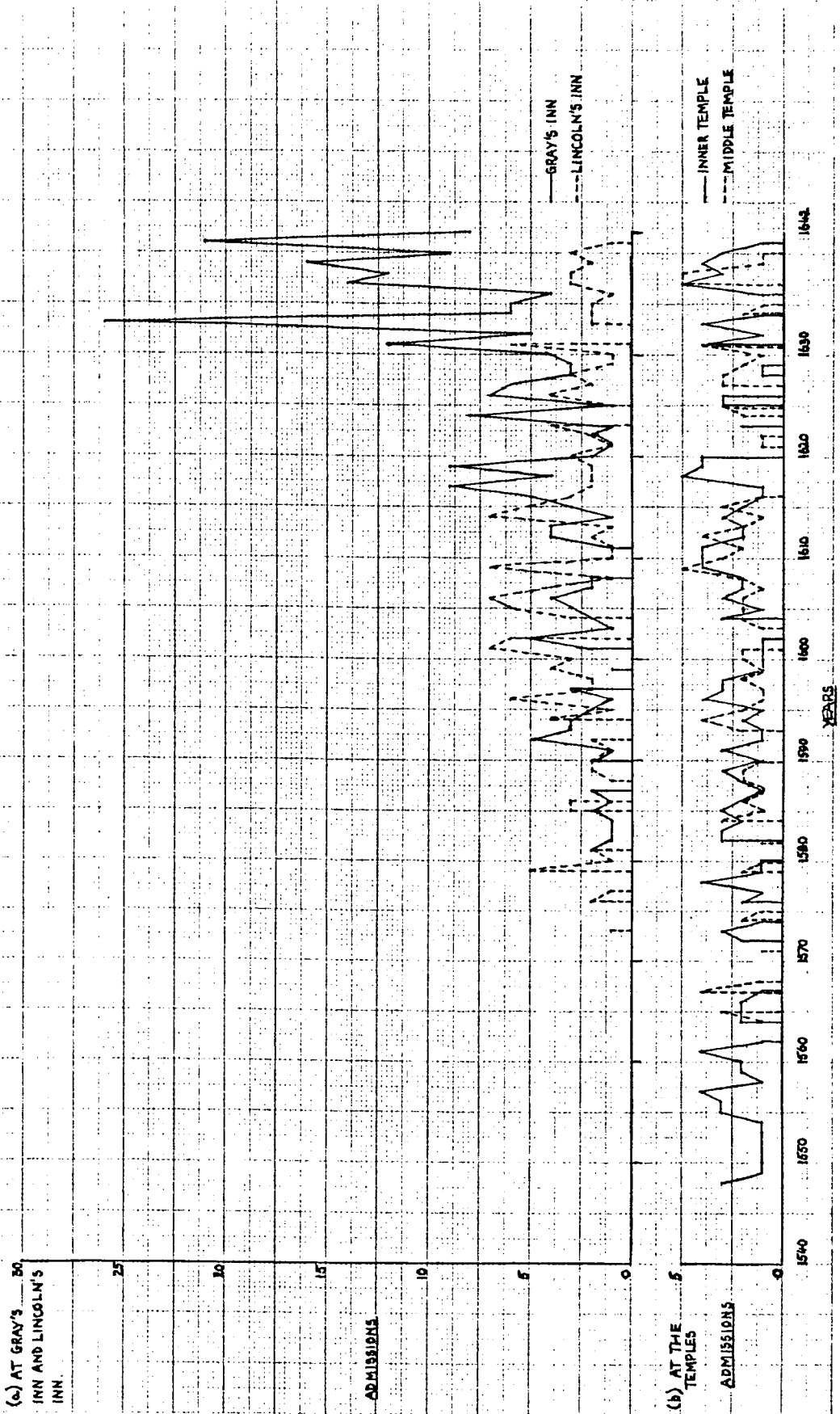
The admission trends of Welsh students at the inns of court, if anything, bear a closer relationship to the admission pattern at Cambridge than to that of Oxford. Estimates for the inns of court as a whole are practicable from 1581 only, when all four inns' registers began to note their students' places of origin. The earliest detailed register belongs to the Inner Temple.³² It indicates rising admissions from Wales during the 1550s, despite the troubled times of Mary's reign and that of Elizabeth (Table X). If typical of the other inns then it can be claimed that Welsh admissions were rising until the early 1560s and numbered between two and three students at each inn each year. Admissions thereafter were at a low ebb, improving slightly to about two a year during the 1570s but remaining fairly stable. Admissions at the Middle Temple were no better. Indeed, they declined to no more than one a year during the

TABLE X Decennial Admissions (including honorific) from Wales at the Inns of Court, 1550-89

	<u>Welsh Admissions</u>	<u>Total Admissions (including honorific)</u>	<u>Welsh % of Total Admissions</u>
1550-59 Inner Temple only	18	335 (2)	5.4
1560-69 Inner Temple only	14	449 (12)	3.1
1570-79 Inner Temple	14	307	4.5
Middle Temple	7	374	1.9
1580-89 Inner Temple	20	407 (3)	4.9
Middle Temple	14 (1)	519 (2)	2.7
Lincoln's Inn	13	456 (6)	2.6
Gray's Inn	10	694 (41)	1.4
(1580-89 Total	57	2077	2.74)

Sources: IT Adms.; IT typescript Adms.; MT Adms.; LI Adms.; GI Adms.

GRAPHIC - WELSH NON-HONORIFIC ADMISSIONS AT THE INNS OF COURT, 1548 - 1642



1570s and did not improve again until the mid-1580s. By then a modest rise in admissions from Wales to Lincoln's Inn - around two a year in the late 1570s - had already ended, and admissions were stagnant (Graph E).

As a proportion of the total admissions (including a few honorific admissions), these Welsh figures were again very small, less than the equivalent ratio of populations. The Welsh admissions (none was honorific before 1600) at the Inner Temple as a whole represented no more than about 5.4 per cent of all admissions during the 1550s, though there were exceptional years when they counted for 10 per cent (1556) and 15 per cent (1557). The following decade resulted in a fall in the proportion of Welsh students to about 3 per cent, and a fall in the actual numbers admitted was also recorded. There was no recovery during the subsequent decade, although as a proportion the Welsh students formed a slightly larger element than before (4.56 per cent). Admissions from Wales at the Middle Temple were even fewer and they formed 1.87 per cent. Thus, although by this time admissions at the inns of court were rising pretty sharply, the admissions from Wales, as at Oxford, were sluggish or at a low ebb. This remained the case, to all intents and purposes, during the 1580s, according to figures based on the composite admissions from all four inns. Approximately six Welsh students were admitted each year representing slightly less than 3 per cent of all admissions (Table X and Graph F).³³

**GRAPH - Annual and Decennial Average Admissions
 NEW-ENGLAND COLLEGE FROM 1580
 AT THE INING OF COURT 1581-1642**

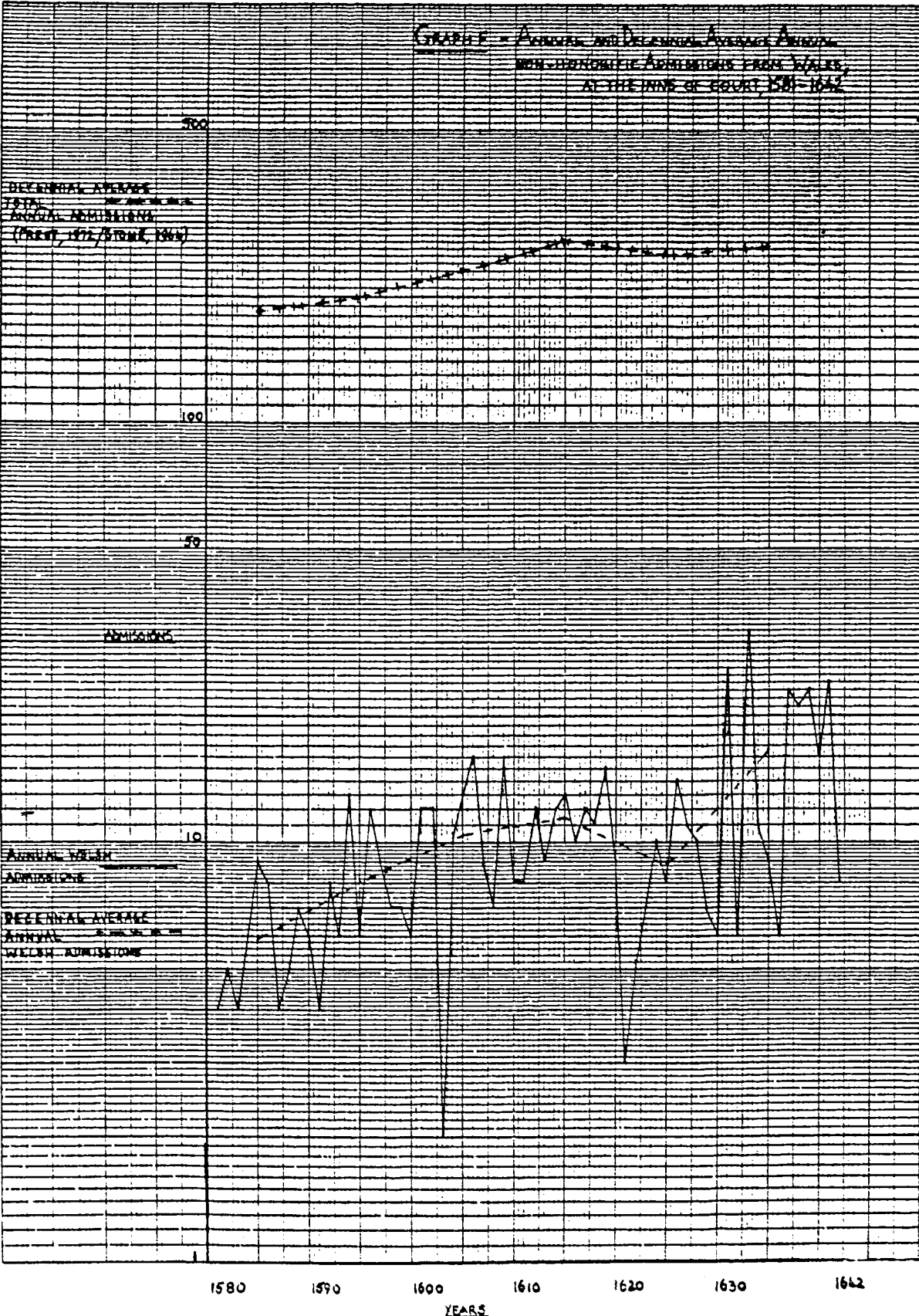


TABLE XI Non-honorary admissions from Wales (including Monmouthshire), and their percentage of the total non-honorary admissions at the Inns of Court, 1590-1639

	<u>Gray's Inn</u>		<u>Inner Temple</u>		<u>Lincoln's Inn</u>		<u>Middle Temple</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>Total</u>
1590-99	21 (3.07%)	684	20 (4.63%)	432	24 (6.04%)	397	14 (2.82%)	495	79 (3.93%)	2008
1600-09	21 (2.69%)	780	18 (4.38%)	411	44 (10.21%)	431	19 (2.87%)	661	102 (4.46%)	2283
1610-19	42 (3.9%)	1068	28 (5.69%)	492	26 (4.5%)	577	16 (2.61%)	612	112 (4.07%)	2749
1620-29	34 (2.93%)	1158	14 (3.33%)	421	21 (4.76%)	441	15 (3.1%)	483	84 (3.35%)	2503
1630-39	105 (9.73%)	1079	23 (4.86%)	473	22 (4.08%)	539	15 (2.83%)	529	165 (6.29%)	2620
<u>1590-1639</u>	222 (4.65%)	4769	103 (4.62%)	2229	137 (5.74%)	2385	79 (2.84%)	2780	541 (4.44%)	12163

Sources: GI Adms.; IT Adms.; LI Adms.; MT Adms.; W.R. Prest, Inns of Court 1590-1640, p. 11.

(ii) 1590-1640

In the ensuing decade, 1590-99, non-honorific admissions from Wales continued to increase to about eight per annum, representing 3.8 per cent of the total (excluding honorific admissions), and by 1600-09 between ten and eleven entered annually from Wales, 4.4 per cent of the total (Table XI).³⁴ Numbers from Wales continued to increase in 1610-19 to approximately twelve, although the proportion of Welshmen was slightly lower, about 4 per cent. The 1620s brought both a relative and an absolute decrease in Welsh admissions, no more than eight or nine being admitted, about 3.3 per cent of the total. The last decade before the Civil War proved to be the period of greatest popularity for the inns as far as Welsh students were concerned. Between sixteen and seventeen were admitted annually, some 6.3 per cent of the whole (Table XI).

These admissions from Wales do not contrast greatly with the general pattern relating to the inns between 1580 and 1640.³⁵ On the whole Welsh admissions rose fairly consistently until about 1616, seemingly responding as at Oxford to changing price levels but without the intervening marked slump in numbers experienced during the early 1590s and early 1600s by the inns in general. A serious decline in Welsh admissions occurred during the early 1620s, in common with admissions as a whole. Thereafter, numbers from Wales rose quite dramatically and whereas the highest peak for admissions for the inns as a whole had already been achieved between 1605 and 1615, the most important period for Welsh admissions occurred between 1631 and 1639. This, of course, also coincided with the contemporary

popularity of Cambridge for Welsh students.

Although Welsh admissions at the inns were not insignificant, it must be stressed that they never amounted to a proportion equivalent to relative size of the Welsh population compared to that of the kingdom altogether. Of course, at exceptional times and at particular inns, there were instances when the Welsh element was very large, and it could be said, generally, that Welshmen orientated to particular inns at certain times. Three of the four inns variously played significant rôles in housing Welsh students. During the period between 1590 and 1610 Lincoln's Inn received the largest proportion of Welsh students, including a remarkable 10 per cent, well above the norm, in 1600-09, the Inner Temple playing a significant secondary part, and after 1610 it was the latter that received the greatest proportion of Welsh admissions. Admissions to Gray's Inn in the 1610s were actually higher, though they formed a smaller part of its total intake. During the 1620s, however, when admissions generally declined, Gray's Inn kept its place better, and it became the leading inn for Welsh students. During the 1630s, as admissions increased once more, Gray's Inn reinforced its position as the leading inn for Welshmen, and the rate of admissions increased to such a degree that almost 10 per cent of the entry came from Wales. This percentage almost equalled the entry at Lincoln's Inn during 1600-09 and numerically it was far greater (Table XI).

Over the period as a whole the inns of court played a more important part in further education for Welsh students than did Cambridge, though both, of course, deferred to Oxford. The number of

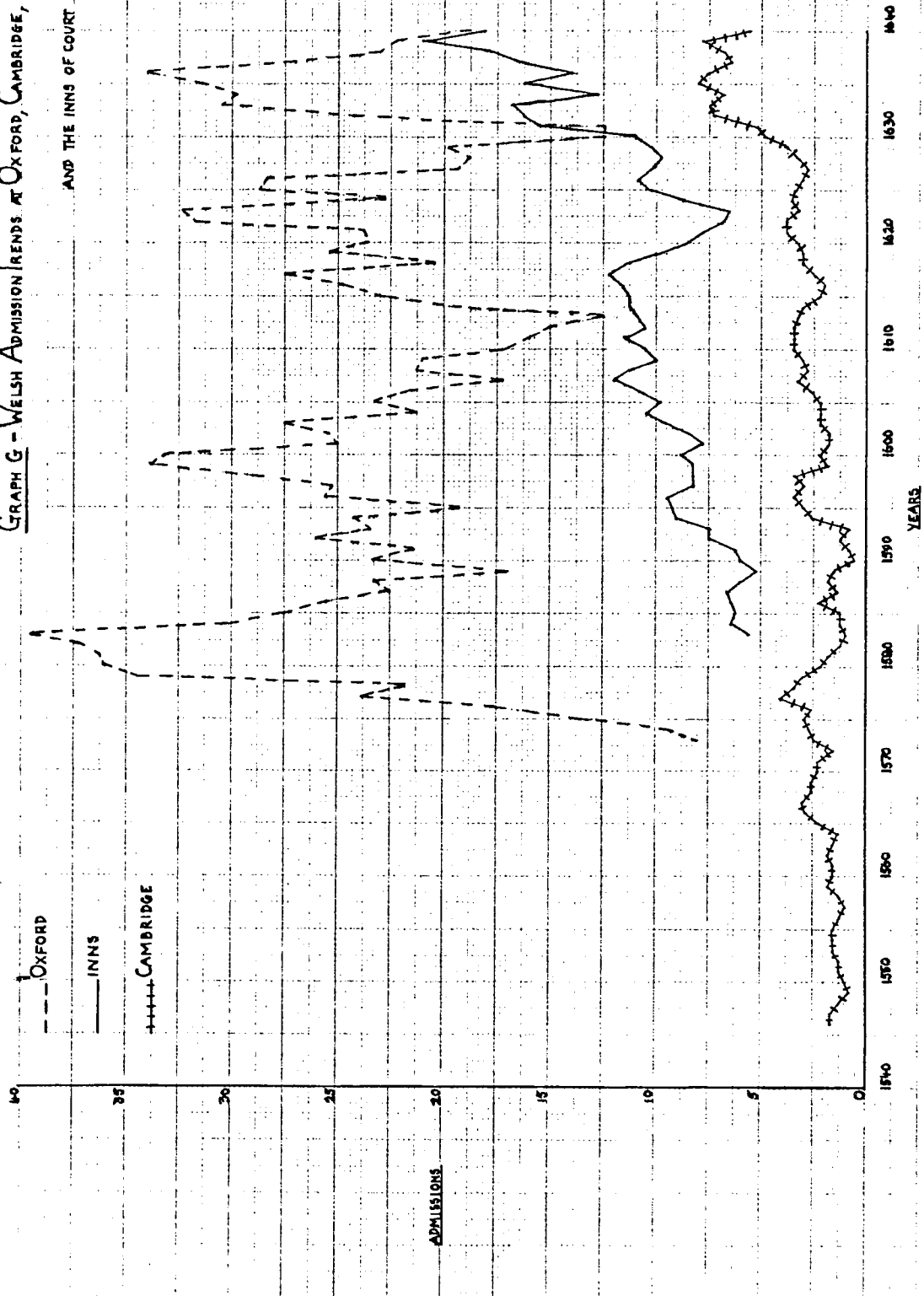
TABLE XII Estimated net totals of Welsh entrants per annum to Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court,
1560-1642, by decade

	<u>Oxford</u>		<u>Cambridge</u>		<u>Inns of Court⁺</u>		<u>Estimated net Welsh Admissions</u>
	<u>net total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>net total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	<u>net total</u>	<u>Wales</u>	
1560-69	-	-	354	2-3	-	c.2-3	
1570-79	372	16*	408	3	-	c.4	c.23
1580-89	445	40	465	2	-	3	45
1590-99	358	36	363	2-3	100	4	43
1600-09	374	28	403	4	114	5	37
1610-19	363	28	491	4	137	6	38
1620-29	400	32	513	4	125	4	40
1630-39	530	32	466	8-9	131	8-9	49
1640-42	-	17	-	6	-	9	31

*Years 1571-79

⁺Using Stone's 50% adjustment.

GRAPH G - WELSH ADMISSION TRENDS AT OXFORD, CAMBRIDGE,
AND THE INNS OF COURT (5 YEAR AVERAGES),
TO 1640



students entering the inns of court was inflated by the fact that many of their entrants had already attended one or other of the universities. In fact, Professor Stone has suggested that as many as 50 per cent of the inns' entrants had already been to university. Thus, to get reasonably accurate estimates of the actual number of individuals entering these places of higher learning each year one must couple the admission estimates of both universities with halved estimates for the inns. This seems to be a warrantable procedure, and, as will be shown below in the county statistics, large numbers of the Welsh entrants at the inns, though admittedly less than half, were found to have attended university too. By means of such statistical devices it seems possible to show that there were two important peaks in admissions from Wales during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; in 1600-09, when admissions at the inns supplemented the admissions at Oxford, and in 1630-39, when admissions at both the inns and Cambridge, together with a higher admission at Oxford, produced the highest annual admission estimate. What is reflected, therefore, is not merely the early influence of Oxford but the delayed but significant attraction of Cambridge and, especially, of the inns for Welsh students during the early seventeenth century. Placed in its context, the modest but regular entry of between thirty and fifty students, annually, out of a population of between 250-300,000 in c.1570-1642 was a considerable social and economic achievement (Table XII and Graph G).³⁶ It is this characteristic of Welsh society and higher education which should be appreciated rather than the occasional but spectacular numbers admitted from Wales which A.H. Dodd delineated

and which have all too easily been employed generally to exaggerate the anglicising and new cultural influences at hand in the period.

The Social Status of Welsh Students after the mid-sixteenth century

Although what was remarked upon about the inns and universities in this period was the influx of students from gentle origins, students of humbler origins were not wholly excluded. The inns of court were probably more exclusive since they had well-established aristocratic and gentle contacts,³⁷ but the universities had a broader social complexion. A hierarchy of rank existed there which admitted able students of poorer backgrounds, who could attend as foundation scholars if they were lucky, or as fee-paying commoners (usually classed as plebeians) or as semi-servants, servitors or sizars.³⁸ Serving college members, and particularly the wealthier students, provided the opportunity for maintaining an education and raised hopes of future advancement. Students of higher rank were usually to be distinguished from college scholars or graduate fellows, who were maintained by benefactions, because they paid their own fees for an education and upkeep suitable for people of their own status. Sometimes, and increasingly in the seventeenth century,³⁹ they coveted scholars' places, but usually they paid their own way and, indeed, the scale of fees distinguished the different classes of students. On the one hand there were the modestly maintained commoners or pensioners, on the other the wealthy fellow-commoners, who paid for and received many privileges extended only to fellows.⁴⁰

A student's status as a fee-payer or as a servitor in the college records gave some indication of his actual status in society.

Oxford University's matriculation lists, in contrast to Cambridge's, went further in attempting to indicate more precisely the social background of its students. Such attempts were not always accurate, as the more detailed of college registers, such as those of Brasenose, which noted secular as well as college status, show. Nevertheless, the Oxford matriculation lists are invaluable. The admission of the sons of gentry undoubtedly aroused attention, and, indeed, around 1600 sons of gentry, that is, the sons of gentlemen (*generosi filii*) and the sons of the upper gentry, the esquires (*armigeri filii*), together, formed a majority of entrants. During most of the period of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, however, the largest group in the matriculation lists were sons of men of lesser origins (*plebei filii*). A third group was also noticeable among the student population, though it was by no means as large as the other two, and it consisted of the sons of the clergy (*clerici filii*) and was at its most numerous during the last decade before the Civil War.⁴¹

In examining the social status of Welsh students all these main groups were represented; plebeians, sons of clergy, sons of gentlemen (*generosi*), and, finally, sons of the higher gentry consisting of esquires, knights and baronets, who were a small but highly influential elite in Wales at this time. Sons of gentlemen were at their most numerous in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, when the Welsh influx was at its greatest, forming about a quarter of all Welsh entrants. At other times they fluctuated between 15 and 20 per cent of the intake, except for the 1570s and the 1620s when they were only about 10 per cent. The higher gentry for most of the period averaged

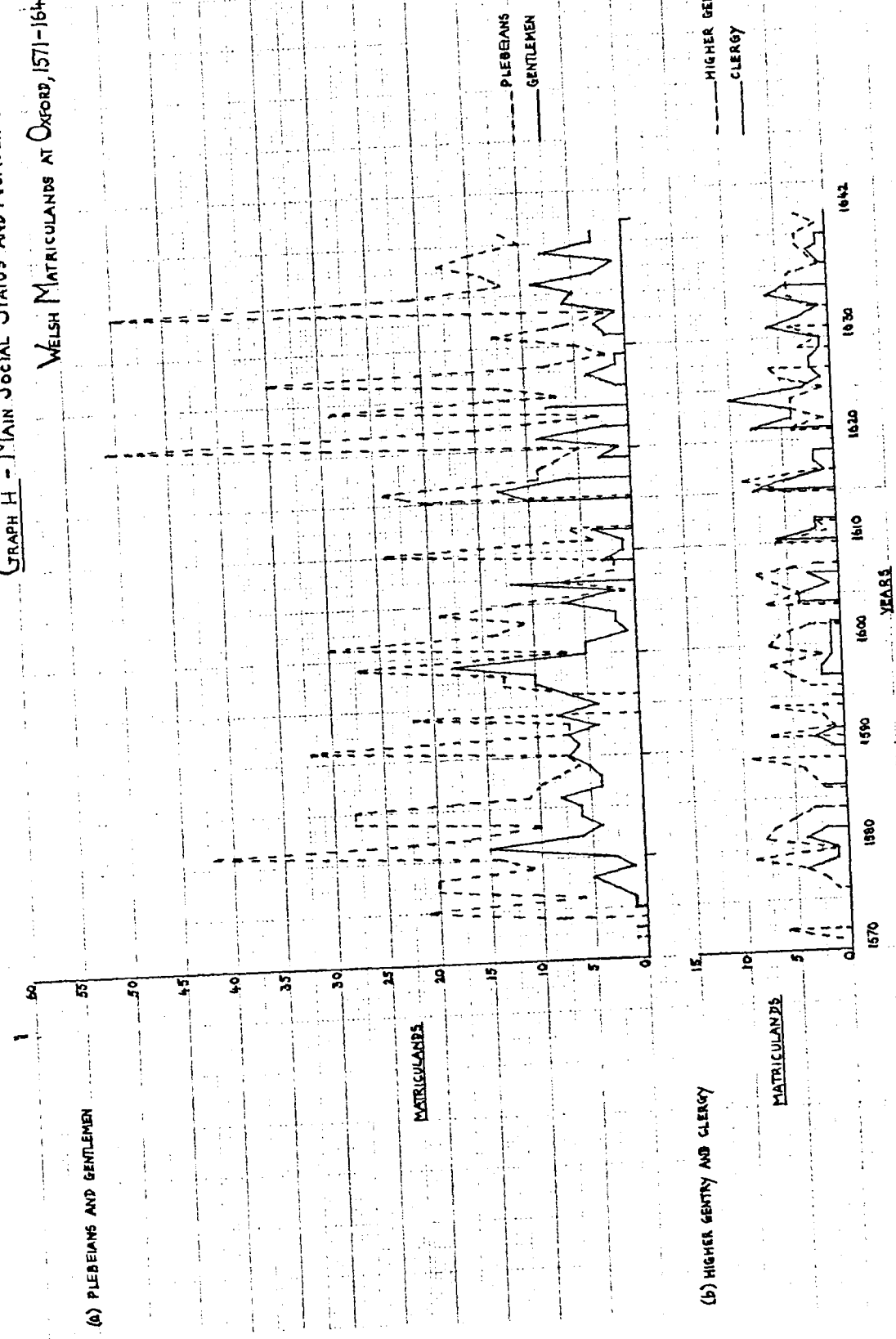
TABLE XIII Social Status of Welsh Matriculands at Oxford, 1571-1642

	<u>pauperes</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>generosi</u>	<u>armigeri</u>	<u>clerici</u>	<u>episcopi</u>
1571-79	1	83 (64.6%)	14 (10.9%)	21 (16.4%)	8 (6.25%)	1
1580-89	6 (2.05%)	165 (55.5%)	70 (23.9%)	41 (14%)	10 (3.4%)	-
1590-99	-	140 (54.7%)	72 (28.12%)	33 (12.9%)	9 (3.5%)	-
1600-09*	4	106 (50%)	44 (20.75%)	43 (20.28%)	12 (5.66%)	3
1610-19	17 (7.9%)	108 (50.4%)	37 (17.3%)	25 (11.7%)	25 (11.7%)	2
1620-29	-	168 (64.1%)	25 (9.5%)	32 (12.2%)	36 (13.7%)	1
1630-39	2	161 (62.1%)	41 (15.8%)	29 (11.2%)	26 (10%)	-
1640-42	1	26 (59.1%)	8 (18.2%)	8 (18.2%)	1	-
<u>Wales 1571-1642</u>	31 (1.87%)	957 (57.9%)	311 (18.8%)	232 (14%)	113 (6.8%)	9

Sources: Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii; Matriculation Register PP.

*plus 1 medici filius

GRAPH H - MAIN SOCIAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF
 WELSH MATRICULANDS AT OXFORD, 1571-1642



about 12 to 14 per cent of the entries, becoming most numerous in the early seventeenth century, about 20 per cent in 1600-09, due partly, no doubt, to the inflation of honours. The sons of the clergy, as the smallest group, represented no more than about 5 per cent until the early seventeenth century, and were at their most significant in the 1620s when they represented about 14 per cent of all Welsh matriculations (Table XIII and Graph H).

By far the largest group from Wales, however, was that consisting of sons of plebeians. They were at their most numerous around 1581; but other significant years were 1599-1603, the early 1620s, and around 1634. During the peak around 1600, plebeians formed a relatively larger proportion of the Welsh intake than of the university intake as a whole. The plebeians were a large and ever present group in the University and even at their smallest, numerically, they still formed at least half of all the Welsh entrants. This was true, of course, of matriculations at Oxford generally, though in the case of Wales the plebeian element became even stronger after the slump in numbers during the early seventeenth century. A further contrast may be seen in the fact that the sons of gentlemen group was far less significant among the Welsh intake than in the student population as a whole and even allowing for registration errors which might have exaggerated the plebeian element and underestimated the students from the gentry, the social composition of Welsh matriculands indicated a large majority from moderate origins.⁴²

In the difficult years of the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Welsh plebeian element, though the most

substantial, suffered a sharp decline from its position in the 1580s. Many of the yeomanry and some of the gentry who had formerly sent their sons to Oxford probably desisted in the 1600s, because of economic difficulty. In the 1620s when the Welsh plebeian group recovered, despite adverse economic conditions, it may more than anything show the slender means of some gentry's sons who had to accept matriculation at a lower status. Certainly in the 1620s the group of Welsh gentry students itself was smaller than it had been since the 1570s.

It is clear that the economic resources of social groups in Wales were scarcer than those of comparable groups in England and some Welshmen who considered themselves and were accepted as gentlemen in Wales, were, nevertheless, obliged to accept a lower evaluation in England. At Oxford, as Stone points out, there were economic advantages throughout the period to accepting a lower status, i.e. smaller fees to pay to the college and to the University.

This is an important qualification to apply to the plebeian group, and it can be exemplified by an examination of some pedigreed Welsh students at Oxford, which reveals several who matriculated at the lower status. They included the sons of fairly prominent, though usually second-rank, gentry families, such as William Glyne of Lleuar, Caernarvonshire, who matriculated at Oxford in 1617, Herbert Thelwall of Plas-y-Ward, Denbighshire (1590), Richard Blaney of Gregynog, Montgomeryshire (1619/20), Giles Nicholas of Llansoy, Monmouthshire (1624), Arnold Butler of Coedwentlas (1637/8), and William Button of Worlton (1585/6), Glamorgan. Several belonged to

cadet lines of leading families, for example, Owen Holland of Llandyfrydog, Anglesey (1636), John and Richard Anwyl of Parc, Merioneth (1610) and John Gamage of Coity, Glamorgan (1601). In many cases these students were younger sons and therefore could not expect the sort of expenditure devoted to an heir; hence the lower status. A further probable influence, in the light of the subsequent careers of some of these students, is that they were intended for the ministry. They would be expected to stay longer at Oxford and, indeed, to graduate. Thus, it was a prudent decision to matriculate at a lower status to lessen the prolonged expense. John Holland of Hendrefawr, Denbighshire (1575), Herbert Thelwall, above, William Wood of Talyllyn, Anglesey (1577), Hugh Madryn of Madryn, Caernarvonshire (1621), Robert Thomas of Tregroes (1587), and Nathaniel Gamage of Peterston (1622), Glamorgan, and Thomas Jenkins of Pant, Monmouthshire (1626), all became graduate clergy.⁴³

That the plebeian status of the Welsh students was over-emphasised and the representation of the gentry underplayed is also suggested by the Brasenose College register. The pattern of social origins of the Welsh students there is at variance with that of the matriculation lists. Plebeians formed only about a third of the Welsh entry whereas sons of the higher gentry represented fully 45 per cent of the Welsh intake during the first four decades of the seventeenth century (Table XIV).

The register also draws attention to the inconsistency of status between college register and university matriculation lists.

TABLE XIV Welsh Admissions at Brasenose, 1600-42

<u>pleb.f.</u>	<u>gen.f.</u>	<u>higher gentry</u>		<u>cler.f.</u>	<u>mercatoris f.</u>
		<u>armiq.f.</u>	<u>mil/equit.f.</u>		
24	13	26	10	6	1
(30.4%)	(16.8%)	(45.5%)		(7.5%)	

No. not in matriculation registers:-

3	7	14	2	1
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Source: B.N.C. Register, I

Rice Matthews of Glamorgan, for example, matriculated as a plebeian in 1604/5, but when he transferred to Brasenose in 1605, he was recorded as 'generosus'.⁴⁴ William Whittingham of Montgomery entered the College as a gentleman's son in 1625 but matriculated a year later as a plebeian.⁴⁵ Additional social groups are also revealed in the College register, notably as far as Wales is concerned, a merchant's son, William Erbery, later the famous preacher. He later matriculated under another status, 'clericus', though it was several years before he was ordained.⁴⁶ Erbery, as the product of Welsh urban life, is of particular interest since the university matriculation lists did not identify town groups, and early college registers can perhaps provide the required detail. Town gentry are possibly a different case, as may be shown below.

The College register shows, too, that by no means all of the gentry's sons were included among the Welsh matriculands. A

significant number of sons of gentlemen and higher gentry failed, or evaded, matriculation. While only three of the Welsh plebeians at Brasenose in the early seventeenth century failed to matriculate, seven, over half the gentlemen, did not, and sixteen of the higher gentry, over 40 per cent, failed to matriculate (Table XIV). Clearly, therefore, if applicable on a wider scale, there would be among the Welsh intake probably a greater proportion of students of higher status than the matriculation lists show, and some who regarded education in a different light. A slight smattering of learning was preferred to the completion of some or all the arts courses and the requirements to matriculate and/or graduate.

At Cambridge, the higher gentry were about the only social group which can be identified with any certainty from among the Welsh entrants. Recent studies of students of lesser status - yeomen and those of humbler degree - which show that opportunities for them were not lost during the early seventeenth century, have little relevance for Wales since they are based on admissions to colleges which had little appeal for Welsh students.⁴⁷ In addition, the university matriculation lists classified students not according to their social origins but rather according to their college status, whether they were foundation scholars, poor students or sizars, or fee-paying commoners or fellow-commoners. Of these probably only the fellow-commoners can be equated with a social class, namely the higher gentry.

Of the three college statuses primarily recognised in the university lists - sizars, pensioners (commoners), and fellow-commoners - the largest group among the Welsh students up until 1610

TABLE XV Welsh Students at Cambridge, 1560-1640

	<u>Sizars</u>	<u>Pensioners</u>	<u>Fellow-Commoners</u>	<u>Total</u>
1560-69	15 (53.6%)	12 (42.8%)	1 (3.6%)	28
1570-79	16 (61.5%)	9 (34.6%)	1 (3.8%)	26
1580-89	5 (45.45%)	5 (45.45%)	1 (9.1%)	11
1590-99	9 (47.3%)	8 (42.1%)	2 (10.5%)	19
1600-09	8 (53.35%)	2 (13.3%)	5 (33.3%)	15
1610-19	10 (34.5%)	13 (44.8%)	6 (20.7%)	29
1620-29	13 (40.6%)	13 (40.6%)	6 (18.75%)	32
1630-39	26 (39.4%)	32 (48.5%)	8 (12.1%)	66
1640-42	7 (41.2%)	7 (41.2%)	3 (17.6%)	17

Source: A1. Cant.

was the sizars. It had, however, been a group that was contracting in size, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century was followed as the second largest group by the wealthy fellow-commoners, who briefly became more numerous than the pensioners. Thereafter, as if social status were becoming inflated, the pensioners or commoners became the outstanding group. The sizars became the second largest group, followed by the fellow-commoners. Despite the reordering of their respective importance, all three groups expanded as Welsh admissions increased rapidly before the Civil War (Table XV).

The bulk of this rapid increase in Welsh admissions before 1642 centred on one college, St. John's, and it is fortunate that in the decade or so before the Civil War, the college register there became far more detailed about its entrants, especially about their social origins. The society of St. John's as a whole comprised a large element of students who were the sons of gentlemen and higher gentry, about 40 per cent in all. Another third were also from the lesser landed classes, the lower orders of farmers, yeomen, etc. The remainder of St. John's membership was of a professional or bourgeois background, including the sons of clergy as well as lawyers and doctors, and the sons of merchants.⁴⁸ The composition of the Welsh students attending St. John's was markedly different. Over half the students were sons of gentlemen and almost another fifth were from the higher gentry. The clergy's sons were the third largest group, about a sixth, while the lower orders, equivalent to Oxford's plebeians, formed barely more than one tenth (Table XVI). On this view, therefore, St. John's was a college for the better-off elements

TABLE XVI Social Composition of Welsh Students at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1629/30-1642

<u>Numbers</u>	<u>husbandman</u>	<u>yeoman</u>	<u>farmer</u>	<u>gentleman</u>	<u>esquire</u>	<u>clergy</u>	<u>Total</u>
	3	3	1	32	11	9	59
<u>College status</u>	3 sizars	3 sizars	sizar	2 fell-c. 17 pensrs. 13 sizars	4 fell-c. 6 pensrs. 1 sizar	1 fell-c. 1 pensr. 7 sizars	
<u>% of total</u>	5.1%	5.1%	1.75%	54.2%	18.6%	15.25%	
	└──────────┘ 11.95%		└──────────┘ 6.85%				

Source: J.E.B. Mayor, Admissions to the College of St. John ... , Cambridge, 1630-1715,
pt. I (1882).

from Wales, though not exclusively so. Among the lowest social element were three husbandmen's sons. The predominance of the gentry youth at the College, however, and the prominence of fellow-commoners and commoners among the Welsh during the early seventeenth century suggest that Cambridge was more easily accessible geographically, and possibly financially, too, to the most mobile and self-reliant class of gentlemen and higher gentry.

This was in very many respects true also of the composition of the students at the inns of court. Students of higher status predominated, and indeed were preferred by ordinance of the inns' rulers.⁴⁹ The four inns specified the social status of their students in their registers, and in fact the Middle Temple went further by indicating if the students were eldest or younger sons. Although fewer Welsh students attended the Middle Temple than any other inn, a sufficient number was admitted for an analysis of their background to be made. Except for the decade 1560-69, when the sons of gentlemen formed the largest group, sons of the higher gentry, i.e. armigers, esquires and knights, predominated. Well over half and often three-quarters of the Welsh entrants were of this background (Table XVII). Moreover, it was by no means the case that these students were younger sons seeking a legal education to make a career. The majority were eldest sons and heirs whose patrimony would be secure.

The predominance of higher gentry sons at the Middle Temple indicated a degree of exclusivity. The higher gentry were also the most prominent group among the Welsh students at Lincoln's Inn, but only after 1610. Here, more than at the Middle Temple, the increase

TABLE XVII Social Composition of Welsh Students at the Middle Temple, 1560-1639

	<u>generosi filii</u>	<u>esquire filii</u>	<u>knight filii</u>	<u>serjeant at law filii</u>
1560-69	5 (incl. 1 son + heir)	2 (2 s + h)		
1570-79	2 (2 s + h)	4 (2 s + h)		
1580-89	4 (2 s + h)	5 (3 s + h)	2	
1590-99	5 (3 s + h)	6 (4 s + h)	2	1 (s + h)
1600-09	1 (s + h)	15 (10 s + h)	1 (s + h)	1
1610-19	4 (3 s + h)	8 (4 s + h)	4 (2 s + h)	
1620-29	2 (2 s + h)	6 (5 s + h)	6 (2 s + h)	
1630-39	1 (s + h)	14 (8 s + h)		

Source: MT Adms.

in higher gentry may have resulted from the inflation of honours, entitling more people to higher rank. After 1610 sons of gentlemen, who had formerly predominated, were greatly outnumbered by sons of armigers and knights (Table XVIII). A similar pattern was also noticeable at Gray's Inn after 1610. Gray's numbers during this period grew more rapidly than did those of any other inn partly because it was even more prepared to admit the non-specialising student into its ranks. This may explain why not only sons of the higher gentry were present here in large numbers, but the sons of ordinary gentlemen too.⁵⁰ In fact in the 1630s sons of the higher Welsh gentry were outnumbered by sons of Welsh generosi (Table XVIII). Moreover, here and at Lincoln's Inn, and also the Middle Temple, eldest sons seem to have been in a majority representing a student element which was unlikely to concentrate or specialise greatly in legal training.

The admission registers of the inns were not always sufficiently accurate in depicting the economic means behind the status of many of its entrants. Students who had matriculated at Oxford as well as attending the inns of court were attributed different ranks in society by the two institutions and this, at least superficially, suggests that they were not necessarily of the worth they seemed. John Lewis of Gwersyllt Isaf in Denbighshire, for example, was recorded as the son of a plebeian at Oxford in 1624, but as a gentleman's son in Lincoln's Inn in 1627.⁵¹ Earlier, Nicholas Adams of Paterchurch, Pembrokeshire, matriculated as a plebeian's son at Oxford, in 1585, but entered the Middle Temple the following year as the son of an esquire.⁵²

TABLE XVIII Social Composition of Welsh Students at Gray's and Lincoln's Inns, 1590-1642

	<u>generosi filii</u>		<u>esq/armigeri filii</u>		<u>knight filii</u>		<u>serjeant at law filii</u>	
	<u>GI</u>	<u>LI</u>	<u>GI</u>	<u>LI</u>	<u>GI</u>	<u>LI</u>	<u>GI</u>	<u>LI</u>
1590-99	11	21	-	-	-	-	-	-
1600-09	16	34	2	7	-	1	-	-
1610-19	16 (7 s + h)	4	18 (6 s + h)	17	4 (2 s + h)	6	-	1
1620-29	11 (6 s + h)	7	18 (14 s + h)	11	5 (3 s + h)	3	-	-
1630-39	55 (22 s + h)	2	47 (27 s + h)	18	5 (4 s + h)	1	-	-
1640-42	20 (8 s + h)	2	18 (8 s + h)	2	2	-	1	-
<u>1590-1642</u>	129 (51.8%)	70 (49.2%)	103 (41.3%)	55 (38.7%)	16 (6.4%)	11 (7.7%)	1	1

Sources: GI Adms.; LI Adms.

Students were not always what they seemed to be, and this may have been true, especially, of those who were admitted to the inns of court from the inns of chancery. Fees for such entrants were lower and it was an incentive for students of lesser means to affiliate to the inns of chancery first before going to the superior inns. Many Welsh students did so, particularly before 1600: fourteen at Gray's Inn, twenty-five at Lincoln's Inn, and sixteen at the Middle Temple. After 1600, as the emphasis on proper status was enhanced for membership at the inns of court, admissions from the smaller inns of chancery fell sharply, and between 1600 and 1642 only eight Welsh students followed the path to Lincoln's Inn, four to Gray's Inn and two to the Middle Temple.⁵³

A similar decline in inns of chancery admissions occurred among the Welsh who entered the Inner Temple, too, and this is the only indication at this inn of the probable lesser status of some of its entrants. At the Inner Temple until the early seventeenth century, all entrants, irrespective of background, seem to have been classed as 'generosi' and it was only gradually that social distinctions, particularly of the higher gentry, were recorded (Table XIX). Sons of armigers and knights became a significant element in Welsh admissions by 1610-19 and between 1620 and the outbreak of the Civil War they predominated. Many students were still recorded as being generosi when in fact they were sons of the higher gentry, and often they were eldest sons. The inflation of rank may have been a partial cause of this shift in the social complexion of the admissions here and at the other inns of court, but at least one study of a locality in Wales,

TABLE XIX (a) The social classification of Welsh students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1571-1642

	<u>gen/gen. f.</u>	<u>arm/arm. f.</u>	<u>knight f.</u>	<u>lawyer f.</u>	<u>bishop f.</u>
1571-79	14	-	-	-	-
1580-89	16	-	-	-	-
1590-99	21	-	-	-	-
1600-09	12	-	2	-	-
1610-19	13	7	2	1	-
1620-29	2	9 (2 also entered as gen.)	2 (generosi)	1	-
1630-39	1	9 (8 gen.)	8 (3 gen., 4 arm.)	1 (gen.)	1 (arm.)
1640-42	3	2	-	1	-

(b) Admissions from the Inns of Chancery

<u>1571-79</u>	-	12	<u>1600-09</u>	-	7
<u>1580-89</u>	-	13	<u>1610-19</u>	-	4
<u>1590-99</u>	-	18	<u>1620-42</u>	-	0

Source: Typescript register of Admissions, IT Library

south-east Glamorgan (one of the richest parts of the Principality), suggests that the leading gentry had a preference for educating their eldest sons at the inns, rather than at the universities.⁵⁴

Age of Welsh Students at Oxford, 1570-1642

Neither the inns' registers nor the Cambridge matriculation lists give any indication as to the age of the students when they attended. Approximate ages of students were, however, noted in the Oxford matriculation registers and most of these students probably entered as soon as they left school. The age estimates for Oxford students are probably applicable to Cambridge, also, but since so many students entered the inns of court only after having attended a university the student element there may have been slightly older.

Older students were not entirely absent from Oxford between 1570 and 1642. In the later sixteenth century, a small number of the Welsh entrants were mature students (0.7 per cent), who were over thirty years of age, and they included clergy already in orders who entered Oxford in the late 1570s and early 1580s. It was one of these who was the oldest Welsh matriculand, aged thirty-seven (Table XX). Equally, there were several very young students in the Welsh intake, who were under thirteen years of age, the youngest being ten years old. They were a very small proportion (0.5 per cent), however, and the great majority of Welsh students were in their late 'teens or early twenties at matriculation. There was no one very distinct modal value in the age range, though eighteen years was slightly more common, in the case of a quarter of the students.

Ages at matriculation did not, of course, necessarily indicate

TABLE XX Age Distribution of Matriculands from Wales (and Monmouthshire) at Oxford, 1571-1642

<u>Ages</u>	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<u>Matriculands</u>	1	2	6	20	62	118	203	265
<u>%</u>		(0.54)		(3.74)	(7.12)	(12.24)	(15.98)	
<u>Ages</u>	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
<u>Matriculands</u>	381	250	182	69	40	21	9	1
<u>%</u>	(22.97)	(15.1)	(10.97)	(4.16)	(2.4)			
<u>Ages</u>	26	27	28	29	30	31 - 37		
<u>Matriculands</u>	6	3	4	2	1	12		
<u>%</u>						(0.72)		

the age of the students at admission. Indeed, many of the students would have been members of the university for a year or even more. Some matriculated just before graduating, some three or four years after admission, as in the 1620s. The majority of students, therefore, would have been quite youthful at admission,⁵⁵ probably about seventeen years of age. Ages at matriculation, therefore, were higher, and the average age for Welsh students over the period was eighteen years. A more accurate measure of the age of most Welsh students at matriculation, which minimises the extremes of age recorded, is the median, and for Welsh students it rested at 17.4 years, slightly higher than that calculated for the total student body in sample years for this period.⁵⁶

A further point made by Stone is the contrast in the ages at matriculation of the different social groups registered. The gentry and higher gentry social groups matriculated at an earlier age than the plebeians. It has been suggested that this was due to the fact that pre-university education was more easily available and completed sooner for the upper social groups than for plebeians, who may also have desired a more careful preparation since many of them had definite vocational ambitions in entering university. By the 1630s the contrast in ages was barely perceptible, perhaps because pre-university education was more freely available for plebeians, enabling them to enter Oxford sooner, and because academic standards of admission were higher, causing the upper groups to delay their entry.⁵⁷

The position was little different with the Welsh matriculands,

TABLE XXI Mean and Median ages of the respective social groups of Welsh students who matriculated at Oxford, 1571-1642

<u>Social Groups</u>		<u>1571 - 1642</u>	<u>1571 - 1616</u>	<u>1617 - 1642</u>
Plebeians	Mean Age	18.32		
	Median Age	17.72	17.61	17.87
Paupers/Servitors	Mean Age	18.23		
	Median Age	18.14	17.7	18.38
Generosi	Mean Age	17.33		
	Median Age	17.01	17.18	16.52
Armigeri	Mean Age	16.68		
	Median Age	16.26	15.84	17.00
Equitis etc.	Mean Age	16.87		
	Median Age	16.1	15.25	16.66
Clerici	Mean Age	18.15		
	Median Age	17.52	17.29	17.66
Episcopi	Mean Age	15.8		
	Median Age	14.66	14.5	14.5
<u>All Groups</u>	Mean Age	17.92		
	Median Age	17.40	17.33	17.57

for the most part. Taking the period as a whole, the group with the highest median age was also the lowliest, namely the poor scholars and servitors, who were over eighteen years. The largest Welsh group, the plebeians, though younger, also had a median age which was higher than that for the Welsh intake as a whole. The sons of clergy were also slightly above the median, while the sons of gentlemen and higher gentry had a progressively more youthful median age. The youngest element, however, proved to be those few sons of Welsh bishops, whose median age was below fifteen years (Table XXI).

That the median age for most of these groups rose as the period wore on may be seen when we compare the respective groups over two separate stages, 1571-1616 and 1617-42. Viewed in this way it will be seen that the higher gentry were very much younger in the first period, below sixteen years of age. This changed markedly in the second period, confirming Stone's view. All groups, with one exception, increased their median age. The exception was the group consisting of sons of gentlemen which reflected a marked drop in age, and this may well substantiate other observations about this group made above, namely that it was losing interest in the University as a centre of learning.⁵⁸

Total numbers and County Origins of Welsh students c.1550-1642

In addition to establishing age and status patterns of Welsh students, it is necessary to estimate their total numbers and areal distribution. Between c.1545-50 and 1642, about 2,500 identifiable admissions from Wales were entered at the three centres of learning. This figure⁵⁹ is undoubtedly an underestimate, for there were obvious

TABLE XXII Net admissions from Welsh counties at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court, c.1545-1642

	<u>Oxford</u>	<u>Cambridge</u>	<u>Inns</u>	<u>(University Admissions)</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglesey	154	28	41	(12)	211
Caernarvon	181	61	60	(23)	279
Merioneth	100	8	31	(10)	129
Denbigh	188	74	101	(27)	336
Flint	85	23	71	(22)	157
Montgomery	124	18	51	(13)	180
Cardigan	103	2	24	(6)	123
Caerwrthen	116	10	35	(12)	149
Pembroke	94	7	44	(15)	130
Radnor	43	1	21	(4)	61
Brecon	125	3	44	(14)	158
Glamorgan	234	6	80	(28)	292
Monmouth	170	1	96	(19)	248
Miscell. admiss.	45				
<u>Total</u>	1762	242	699	(205)	
					<u>Net Total:- 2498</u>

deficiencies in the way admissions were recorded. No doubt local studies, for example, of episcopal presentations or governmental records, will bring to light more Welsh students. In the meantime, and on the basis of the known limitations in registration, it can be suggested that the total number of identifications may be inflated by a further 15-20 per cent to obtain a truer impression of the Welsh student population at this time.

On the basis of recorded Welsh admissions, it is superficially apparent that the largest numbers come from the counties with the biggest estimated populations (Table XXII). In order to appreciate better the impact of higher education on Wales, however, these admissions were examined as a proportion of the estimated populations in each county in c.1550 and 1670 and, in addition, in order to consider the population levels during the early seventeenth century within the proper period of the admissions, the ratio was gauged of admissions to the mean of population c.1550-1670.⁶⁰ From this it emerges that higher education made its greatest impact in the county with the smallest estimated population, Anglesey. Its ratio was twice as favourable as that of Glamorgan, which had the largest population in 1670, and over four times better than the county with the biggest population in c.1550, Carmarthenshire. The southern counties, indeed, were poorly served and the area approximating to the diocese of St. David's was the worst of all. North Wales, and particularly the north-west, predominated (Table XXIII). This was a significant reversal of the position in the early sixteenth century when the largest identifiable group of students, particularly at Oxford University,

came from the south and especially south-west of Wales.

TABLE XXIII Ratio of students admitted at Oxford, Cambridge and the Inns of Court, c.1550-1642, to population, per Welsh county

(a) Population 1545-63 (b) Population 1670
(c) Mean of ratios (a) and (b), i.e. = ratio to mean population 1545/63-1670

One student per no. of population				
<u>Counties</u>	(a)	(b)	(c)	<u>Overall Rank</u>
Anglesey	46.3	76.6	61.4	1
Caernarvon	53.5	94	73.7	2
Merioneth	81.1	150.6	115.8	6
Denbigh	67.1	121.8	94.45	3
Flint	80.1	145.8	112.9	5
Montgomery	105.4	193.9	149.6	8
Cardigan	140.8	162.7	151.75	9
Carmarthen	230.7	250	240.35	12
Pembroke	154.4	242.6	198.5	11
Radnor	232.5	267.1	249.8	13
Brecon	134.1	172.1	152.5	10
Glamorgan	101	167.6	134.3	7
Monmouth	80.6	128.9	104.7	4
<u>Wales</u>	98.4	149.6	124	

Coincidental with this shift was the change in the location of the promotion and interest shown in traditional Welsh literature,

language, and antiquity, in which, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the northern counties of Wales were also dominant.⁶¹ There is no certain interrelatedness or correlation between these two trends. In fact, of course, the inns and the universities have been claimed as damaging, anglicising influences, which debilitated Welsh culture even though this was a period of innovation in Welsh prose to which university-educated men contributed greatly.⁶²

It can be posited that socio-economic circumstances contributed to both changes. In general economic terms, the counties of North Wales and the south-east were comparatively prosperous, since they contained important grain-producing and stock-rearing areas, on the whole less isolated than the south-western parts from English urban markets. The costs of education and culture may have been better borne by more people in some or all of the former areas than in the latter. Moreover, if the population estimates are accurate then it seems that south-central and south-west Wales became a stagnating society in this period.

Coupled with economic factors are questions of social organisation. The student admission patterns for North Wales reveal that a majority of the students came from a plebeian background, which, in rural terms, meant the lesser gentry and yeomanry. The subsidy lists indicate that such groups formed a significant element in North Wales society. Indeed, in north-west Wales, particularly Caernarvonshire and Anglesey, it seems that wealth was more broadly distributed and that there was a sizeable group which regarded itself as gentry, but gentry of distinctly modest means.⁶³ Following from this there would seem to

be two consequences. Educational opportunities as a means of advancement and to supplement status would not be eschewed, and it would be likely that yeomen's sons would also be attracted. Thus it is that 80 per cent of Anglesey's Oxford students were plebeians; in the other Gwynedd counties and in Denbighshire they exceeded 60 per cent. Moreover, of the Cambridge admissions, sizars were in a small majority among the North Wales students. A further result of such a socio-economic structure would be the relative lack of divergence between classes, with the result that cultural homogeneity would be preserved irrespective of education, and, given a degree of agricultural prosperity and development, the means would be at hand to patronise Welsh culture, and better education may even have allowed more to participate actively in it (Appendix III).

Flintshire, as a wealthier county and socially and economically tied to Cheshire, possessed a different student pattern from the rest of North Wales, in the proportionately higher number of gentry and higher gentry in its Oxford representatives. It more closely resembled the entrants from South Wales in the social composition of its students, for there, too, gentility was denoted by a greater economic superiority over other groups. Barely half the Oxford admissions were plebeians in the southern intake, and this was a consequence not only of students from gentle backgrounds being better able to afford to keep their status but also of the fact that lower social groups were economically less independent and self-reliant than in the North. The cultural consequences of this greater socio-economic divergence may have been two-fold. On the one hand, there may have been fewer people who were

able to afford to patronise and maintain traditional cultural interests in Wales. On the other hand, the most affluent, because of their very substantial wealth, would be increasingly absentee landowners involved in the wider spheres of culture and society in England, particularly the English towns.⁶⁴

As might be expected, since it was the land which so dominated Welsh life, professional groupings were hardly represented at all in the student numbers. A few lawyers' sons from Anglesey followed their fathers into the inns of court, and, as will be shown below, a substantial number of students from this county sought to reach the bar. Clergymen's sons formed the only professional group of note in these centres of learning, as far as Welsh entrants were concerned. In most cases clergymen's sons formed fewer than 10 per cent of the Welsh county admissions at Oxford. Radnor was an exception, so, notably, was Pembrokeshire, where the clergy's sons represented 18 per cent of the total. This was a fairly sizeable number (seventeen) and over a dozen clergy's sons were also admitted from Glamorgan and Monmouth. In all three cases it may be suggested that benefices, particularly in the south of those three counties, were substantial in value by Welsh standards and thus afforded the necessary income to supply a father with the means of educating his son.

Although the population of Wales at this time was still largely a rural and dispersed one, nevertheless the towns of Wales enjoyed a period of prosperity and development, particularly as marketing centres. Urban life was becoming more attractive for many reasons. The registers of the inns and universities, as they became more detailed, indicated

the attendance of students from the Welsh towns, usually the sons of minor town gentry, such as Hugh Lewis of Abergavenny, who was entered as a plebeian at Oxford in 1631/2 and as a *generosus* at Gray's Inn in 1633, or Richard Fletcher of Bangor, who was a sizar, and later Scholar, at St. John's, Cambridge, and whose nephews, also of Bangor, later attended Oxford as plebeians.⁶⁵ The urban element seems to have been at its strongest in eastern Wales, for most of the students registered came from Denbighshire, Glamorgan, Montgomery and Monmouth.⁶⁶

The distinction between town and country can be over-emphasised, however, particularly in Wales where rural society and its norms so predominated. There is little to show that the attitude of Welsh urban students to education differed. Rather, the usual motives for seeking a place at an inn or college seem to have applied, and there were common influences affecting the opportunity to attend. Religious and political factors influenced the esteem in which education was held. Intellectual or ideological pursuits at the universities and the inns made them more or less attractive, and, of course, economic circumstances affected the means of maintaining a student at his courses. What united town and country in Wales, however, was loyalty or attachment to one's locality, and localism was a characteristic which was transmitted to the inns and the universities. Frequently, what determined the attendance of a student were local ties or regional loyalties, established with certain inns of court or with particular universities and colleges,⁶⁷ and this seems to have been true in the case of Welsh scholars.

The influences on Welsh Admission Patterns at the Universities and the Inns of Court

By the mid-sixteenth century the majority of medieval halls and hostels at the universities had disappeared, most having been absorbed into the larger, more soundly organised, colleges. The halls continued to exercise an influence on the pattern of residence of Welsh students, however, particularly at Oxford in the period after c.1550 and up to the Civil War. The element of continuity was clearly seen, for example, in Henry VIII's royal foundation of Christ Church College in Oxford (1546), which received large numbers of Welsh scholars in this period (Appendix II). This College was based on Wolsey's recent foundation of Cardinal College (1525), which in turn had absorbed Vine Hall, to which several Welsh students had resorted in the medieval period. Moreover, the medieval hall most closely associated with Welsh students, St. Edward Hall, having many Welsh principals, was also granted by Henry VIII to his new foundation. The Welsh link with Christ Church was reinforced indirectly by the fact that it employed as an adjunct Broadgates Hall, yet another hall which had Welsh associations in the medieval period and which, in its quasi-independent state in the sixteenth century, had Welsh heads from time to time.⁶⁸ Earlier, it might be added, Broadgates Hall was linked with New College, which again received a fair number of Welsh students.⁶⁹

Some continuity in Welsh admissions may be seen in the association with Haberdasher's Hall, which was occupied during the sixteenth century by the new foundation of Brasenose College, which, again, admitted a large number of Welsh students. Haberdasher's Hall was eventually

claimed and annexed by Christ Church, but the Welsh links with Brasenose were reinforced by other matters. Bishop William Smyth of Lichfield, one of the founders, it must be recalled, was President of the Council for Wales and the Marches, and the new foundation gave preference to students from the Welsh marches and Lancashire. It seems clear, however, that Welsh students from the adjacent Welsh counties of Denbighshire and Flintshire, as well as from Glamorgan, were also attracted to this College.⁷⁰

Bishop Smyth was also a benefactor to Oriel College, which already attracted Welsh students in the middle ages. It may be that this was due to its having absorbed Tackley's Inn, but a more likely explanation is the close ties that the College developed with St. Mary's Hall, where many Welsh scholars resided. St. Mary's Hall continued to be a residential college for Oriel, and Welsh admissions there were high, added to which Oriel itself continued to receive large numbers from Wales who were attracted, no doubt, by the fact that the College made provisions of fellowships and scholarships to suitable Welsh students.⁷¹

Two other medieval halls which received Welsh students survived during the sixteenth century and continued to admit very many Welshmen. Gloucester Hall survived and came under the supervision of the new foundation of St. John's College (1560), which also admitted several Welsh students. New Inn Hall was even more strongly a Welsh hall. Once known as Trillock's Inn, it continued its independent existence as a legists' college, and was often headed by Welsh principals.⁷²

The other centre of legal studies for Welsh students in the later

middle ages was All Souls College, and this attachment continued to be a strong one up to the Civil War. Its lands in South Wales, no doubt, counted in part for its attractions, but students from all over Wales attended, and what was attractive, ultimately, was the readiness of the College to provide endowed places for the more able students from Wales.⁷³ The fact, too, that Welshmen often held leading posts among the College fellowship no doubt contributed.

The continuity of a hall tradition was less obvious in establishing the post-1550 attendance pattern of Welsh students at Cambridge, but it may be no coincidence that a relatively significant number of Welshmen attended Trinity College which had absorbed King's Hall, the most well-known residence of medieval scholars from Wales.⁷⁴

Besides the question of continuity, the Welsh choice of college after c.1550 may have been affected by other matters. As in the case of All Souls, several colleges received grants of land in Wales, for example, Christ's College, Cambridge, in the late fifteenth century and Christ Church, Oxford, and University College, Oxford, during the sixteenth century, the purpose of which was to maintain scholars and fellows, though not specifically Welshmen. Moreover, like All Souls and Oriel at Oxford, some Cambridge colleges when they reorganised their benefactions in the first half of the sixteenth century, made specific provision of scholarships or fellowships for students from Wales. This was the case at Queens', Jesus, and, more importantly, at St. John's, where the substantial endowments of Lady Margaret Beaufort were redeployed.⁷⁵

St. John's became the focal point for important benefactions largely or specifically directed towards Wales and Welsh students. The strong attachment of North Wales students to St. John's was already apparent as they received the Lady Margaret endowments, and this was enhanced by the bequests of Dr. John Gwyn (1574) and Bishop John Williams (1624). These links, moreover, were interconnected with schools in North Wales and with major English schools. The association between Cambridge and North Wales was further strengthened by smaller Welsh endowments at Magdalene, Queens' and Jesus Colleges between 1537 and 1622.⁷⁶

Welsh bequests were made at Oxford, too, primarily at Jesus College, which owed its establishment largely to the petitions of Dr. Hugh Price, Treasurer of St. David's Diocese (1571).⁷⁷ Though not founded specifically to meet the needs of Wales, Price's bequests ensured that Jesus became the most Welsh of all the colleges at the universities. Over three-quarters of matriculands at Jesus between 1575 and 1642 came from Wales, and the proportion rose from slightly over 50 per cent in the 1570s and 1580s to 90 per cent and more in the 1590s and 1610s. In other decades the proportion neared or exceeded 80 per cent (Table XXIV).⁷⁸ The early bequests and the men appointed principals ensured that in the main the College attracted students from South Wales and the borders. Students from the north of Wales were never excluded but it remained until the early seventeenth century for the effect of additional bequests and the presence of members from North Wales as officers of the College to attract men from their localities in marked numbers (Appendix V).

TABLE XXIV Proportion of Matriculands from Wales (including Monmouth*)
at Jesus College, Oxford, 1575-1642

	<u>Welsh matriculands</u>	<u>Total matriculands</u> <u>at Jesus</u>	<u>%</u>
1575-79	31	56	55.3
1580-89	62	112	55.8
1590-99	83	87	95
1600-09	69	86	80.2
1610-19	83	90	90
1620-29	139	166	83.7
1630-39	98	125	78.4
1640-42	26	29	89.6
<u>1575-1642</u>	591	751	78.69

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

*Compare and contrast with Stone, University in Society, I, 58-9, 71

The presence of Welshmen as leading members of colleges may also have played its part in attracting some students. Welsh principals seem to have been especially important, for example, in attracting North Wales students to Hart Hall and Oriel College, Oxford, and to St. John's, Cambridge, in the early seventeenth century. Such individuals may have facilitated the reinforcement of a pattern of attendance already established. The presence of Welshmen as university officials seems also to have assisted Welsh scholars to gain admission to the universities. There were at least three Welshmen acting as proctors for Oxford University during the 1590s and their influence

cannot be discounted in easing the decline in Welsh admissions in that decade. Welshmen acted as vice-chancellors also in this period, for example, John Williams at Oxford in 1604 and Owen Gwyn at Cambridge in 1616. As senior executive officers in the universities they would have considerable powers over admissions.⁷⁹

The ultimate authorities at the universities were the chancellors, and it transpired after the mid-sixteenth century that several were peers who had considerable influence in Wales. This was especially true in the case of Oxford University, where the Earl of Leicester under Elizabeth, and Lord Ellesmere under James I were highly influential figures in North Wales. The third and fourth earls of Pembroke were also chancellors of Oxford and they had considerable powers and interests in South Wales.⁸⁰

At the inns of court there were no traditional patterns to determine Welsh admissions and there were no opportunities to establish educational endowments. Admissions from Wales, therefore, were either randomly made or were determined by contacts with various personalities. Peers of the realm undoubtedly had influence and a more detectable one than that shown at the universities. The rôle of the Earl of Leicester, for example, in overseeing the Inner Temple is reflected in the attendance of so many of his clients and dependants from North Wales and the borders at that particular inn.⁸¹ A similar influence was exercised on behalf of the Earl of Essex and his clients in south-west Wales, at the Middle Temple. Moreover, Sir Thomas Egerton (or Lord Ellesmere, as he became) was an important influence at Lincoln's Inn.⁸²

There were, no doubt, particularly personal ties with some leading magnates that facilitated easier admission, but they are more difficult to detect. More obvious are the trends, by the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for Welsh students from particular localities in Wales to enter inns which contained leading lawyers and benchers from those areas. This is clearly the case, for example, with students from north-west Wales, who attended Lincoln's Inn, and students from south-east Wales who attended the Middle Temple. In the first instance, Hugh Hughes of Anglesey and William Jones of Caernarvonshire were important men, while at the Middle Temple, David Williams of Breconshire was a powerful influence.⁸³

A determining factor closely allied to local loyalties was the influence of kinship. This was to be seen in the admission and progress of several students at the inns of court, for example, those related to Jones and Williams, and it was a factor which also operated at the universities particularly where Welsh endowments were in operation. Thus, the Gwyn benefaction at St. John's, Cambridge, and several of the bequests at Jesus College, Oxford, were underpinned by family influences. Kinship also operated more informally at the colleges, particularly where family ties with heads of colleges were concerned.⁸⁴

Finally, and irrespective of such influences and considerations noted above, what influenced the admission and progress of many a student, of affluent as well as of modest background, was the cost of education, and it was often the case of the cheaper the better. It was no surprise, therefore, that colleges such as Jesus College and

halls like Hart Hall, in Oxford, were chosen because of their comparatively low fees. Similarly, at a time when fees and charges were subject to inflation at the inns of court, those of Gray's Inn remained the most stable and the cheapest.⁸⁵ The costs of education were often crucial, particularly if it were intended that a student should spend more than a short time at these institutions and acquire more than a veneer of learning. Those with vocational ambitions in the law or the Church, and those who desired some intellectual depth to their lives as future administrators, relied heavily on the financial support of their families and friends to maintain them over an extended period.

Welsh Graduates at Oxford and Cambridge

Many Welsh students, indeed, devoted themselves, with varying degrees of conscientiousness, to lengthy periods of study. It took between six and ten years to be called to the bar at the inns of court and to be allowed to practise, while at the universities the initial degree in the arts faculty, the bachelor's degree, usually took four years to complete. It was an intermediary degree to completing the arts course, and it required a further three years to graduate as master, which was the qualification most likely to bring good clerical preferment. The higher faculties, and the more advanced or higher callings associated with their teaching, required even lengthier periods to complete their courses.

The majority of Welsh graduates in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were graduates of Oxford University. By employing the extant degree lists and the surviving details about

TABLE XXV Proportion of Welsh graduates at Oxford to recorded and to estimated admissions per county, 1571-1642

	<u>recorded</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>No. graduates</u>	<u>% of recorded</u>	<u>% of adjusted totals</u>
	<u>adjusted estimate*</u>				
Anglesey	143	179	79	55.2	44.1
Caernarvon	177	221	75	42.4	33.9
Merioneth	98	122	57	58.1	46.7
Denbigh	176	220	94	53.4	47.2
Flint	77	96	26	33.7	27.0
Montgomery	123	153	70	56.9	45.7
Cardigan	100	125	36	36.0	28.5
Carmarthen	116	145	53	45.7	36.5
Pembroke	89	111	32	35.9	28.8
Radnor	42	52	11	26.2	21.1
Brecon	121	151	50	41.3	33.1
Glamorgan	226	282	80	35.4	28.4
Monmouth	164	205	64	39.0	31.2
<u>Wales</u>	1652	2062	727	44.0	35.25

Sources: A. Clark, ed., Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, pt.iii; Al. Oxon.

*an adjustment of 25% applied

admission or matriculation, an impression can be gained of the proportion of graduates to the total admissions from Wales. In addition, the counties of origin and status of many of these graduates can also be identified.

Fully two-fifths of the Welsh students recorded between 1574 and 1642 at Oxford graduated, at the level of B.A. or higher. Even if we adjust the admissions to account for unrecorded, non-matriculating students, the proportion of Welsh graduates would probably have been about a third of all Welsh students (Table XXV). In terms of actual admissions, and of estimated admissions, there was a considerable disparity in the proportion of graduates per county, from Radnorshire with the lowest percentage to Merionethshire with the highest. There was a significant contrast between the counties of North and South Wales, the former, with the exception of Flintshire, having a markedly high number and proportion of graduates. An undoubted relationship existed between the numbers of graduates and the numbers of plebeians' sons who were admitted in each county. Plebeians' sons seem to have been more desirous of obtaining degrees than students of other status groups, and their preponderance among the students from the North was illustrated in the degree lists, where they formed a larger proportion of the graduates than they even did of matriculands. In North Wales, except for Flintshire, almost 70 per cent of the graduates were of plebeian status (Table XXVI).⁸⁶ In the case of Anglesey the proportion approached 80 per cent. A further feature of plebeian students from Wales was their significance in the numbers of South Wales graduates. They exceeded by a marked degree their proportion of all the matriculands

	<u>pauper</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>oenerosus</u>	<u>armi/milit.</u>	<u>cler/episc.</u>
Anglesey	-	63	7	7	2
Caernarvon	4	46	9	4	8
Merioneth	-	30	9	2	3
Denbigh	1	62	13	3	9
Flint	-	9	7	3	3
Montgomery	2	43	6	4	9
Cardigan	1	20	9	1	3
Cardarthen	-	28	5	5	4
Pembroke	-	10	7	4	10
Radnor	-	6	2	-	2
Brecon	-	35	2	3	4
Glamorgan	-	40	15	5	5
Monmouth	2	30	9	7	8

Sources: Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii and iii; Matriculation Register PP; Al. Oxon.

from South Wales.

Proportionately fewer of the gentry's sons, that is, sons of gentlemen and higher gentry together, took degrees. This was true for South Wales, though for North Wales graduates the position was more varied. In Anglesey and Merioneth, despite the high plebeian element, students of gentry and higher gentry status formed a larger proportion of the graduates than they did of the matriculands. Flintshire gentry graduates formed approximately the same proportion that they did of the matriculands from the county, while they were proportionately fewer in the remaining northern counties.

Graduates who were sons of clergy (and of bishops), though small in number, formed a relatively larger group than did those of that status among Welsh matriculands as a whole. As was to be expected, they were a particularly significant element among the Pembrokeshire graduates, and in Monmouthshire and in the northern counties, excluding Anglesey and Merioneth, they formed over 10 per cent of their respective graduate totals. There was a distinct orientation, therefore, for sons of clergy to graduate, and probably to follow their fathers into the Church.

Approximately half of all these graduates proceeded beyond the B.A. degree, forming about 30 per cent of all the estimated Welsh admissions. The chief desire of these further graduates, especially those of North Wales, seems to have been to complete the arts course and graduate M.A. Out of approximately five hundred Welsh post-graduates, no more than a fifth proceeded beyond M.A. Few graduated in the higher faculties (Table XXVII).

TABLE XXVII Numbers of Welsh students admitted to Oxford, 1571-1642,
who graduated M.A. and/or took higher degrees (excluding
honorary degrees)

Anglesey	51	(42 M.A. only)
Caernarvon	53	(44 M.A. only)
Merioneth	47	(38 M.A. only)
Denbigh	80	(68 M.A. only)
Flint	16	(13 M.A. only)
Montgomery	38	(33 M.A. only)
Cardigan	25	(20 M.A. only)
Carmarthen	38	(29 M.A. only)
Pembroke	24	(19 M.A. only)
Brecon	27	(21 M.A. only)
Radnor	7	(6 M.A. only)
Glamorgan	44	(36 M.A. only)
Monmouth	45	(36 M.A. only)

Total Wales Numbers = 29.9% (24.5%) of actual Welsh admissions

Source: Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, iii; Al. Oxon.

The social status, where given, of all the Welsh students who graduated M.A. again indicates a high percentage of plebeian origins. Indeed, in the case of most counties, plebeians as a proportion of the M.A.s were greater than they were as a proportion of all matriculations. In a few cases, among M.A. graduates from Flint and Pembroke, they were lower, as was to be expected given the original composition of these counties' matriculands. In the case of Pembroke over 40 per cent of its M.A.s were sons of clergy, and again, as with the total degree estimates, sons of clergy were more prominent in each

TABLE XXVIII Status of Welsh students who took M.A. degree at Oxford, 1571-1642

	<u>pauper</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>generosus</u>	<u>armi/milit.</u>	<u>cler/episc.</u>
Anglesey	-	31	4	2	1
Caernarvon	3	23	6	3	6
Merioneth	-	24	5	1	4
Denbigh	1	40	12	1	9
Flint	-	6	6	1	3
Montgomery	-	18	2	3	6
Cardigan	1	12	3	2	2
Carmarthen	-	16	4	3	3
Pembroke	-	5	7	1	10
Radnor	-	3	-	-	2
Brecon	-	14	3	1	-
Glamorgan	-	24	8	4	3
Monmouth	-	23	8	1	8

Sources: Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, iii; Al. Oxon.

county, except Anglesey, than they had been in the original matriculation totals. With the exception of Flintshire again, sons of gentlemen and higher gentry were relatively fewer among the M.A.s than they were among the matriculands (Table XXVIII).

Those Welsh students admitted to Oxford between 1571 and 1642 were few in number who took degrees in the higher faculties. They included a small number of M.A.s and others who entered the higher faculties directly from their initial arts course. The number of these graduates was almost equally spread between North and South Wales, though it is noticeable that a proportionately high number came from Anglesey (Table XXIX). These Welsh graduates, moreover, in contrast to their counterparts in the first half of the sixteenth century, were predominantly theologians. This reflected the shift in emphasis placed on theology in this period and also the decline of civil law, which was remarked upon before. In terms of social origins, no very great conclusions can be arrived at since the numbers were so small. A majority of these graduates had matriculated as sons of plebeians, but it is important to note that a large minority of these graduates, particularly among the North Wales intake, were drawn from the gentleman and upper gentry groups, no doubt younger sons who were maintained at university to obtain professional status.

Except when it came to graduates in the higher faculties, it was seen that there was a large majority of graduates from North Wales, illustrating the greater interest and attraction shown towards education in that area and which also was seen in the rates of admission to Oxford. When one comes to examine the more limited evidence of degree

TABLE XXIX Number and Status of Welsh graduates* in the higher faculties, who were admitted to Oxford, 1571-1642

	<u>Theology</u>	<u>Civil Law</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>generosus</u>	<u>mil/armig.</u>	<u>cler/episc.</u>
Anglesey	7	3	4	4	1	-
Caernarvon	8	-	4	2	1	1
Merioneth	6	2	2	4	2	-
Denbigh	12	-	8	3	-	1
Flint	3	-	2	1	-	-
Montgomery	3	2	-	1	2	2
Cardigan	3	2	4	1	-	-
Carmarthen	5	5	3	3	2	1
Pembroke	4	1	1	1	1	1
Brecon	5	1	4	1	-	1
Radnor	-	1	-	1	-	-
Glamorgan	4	4	5	2	1	-
Monmouth	7	3	4	1	-	4

Sources: Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, iii; Al. Oxon.

*excluding honorary creations

taking at Cambridge among Welsh students, then again those from North Wales were, of course, in a considerable majority over their southern compatriots and so no fair comparison can be made.⁸⁷

Of the Welsh students admitted to Cambridge between c.1550 and 1642, half graduated at the level of B.A. or higher, a slightly greater proportion than that for Oxford in 1571-1642. If an adjustment is made to estimate and include the non-matriculating admissions from Wales, then the Welsh graduates were about 40 per cent of their number (Table XXX). The social status of these graduates was rarely given but an examination of the greatest proportion of students, from North Wales counties, indicates that the most frequent college status ascribed to these graduates was sizar, that is, near to, or equivalent with, Oxford plebeians. The pensioner group was also a very sizeable one, so that it may be inferred that the bulk of these graduates came from fairly modest, possibly lower gentry, backgrounds. The most affluent students, the fellow-commoners, who were usually sons of armigeri, hardly figured at all among the graduates.

The large majority of these Welsh graduates completed the arts course and graduated M.A., and the proportion of admissions who graduated M.A. from Anglesey and Caernarvon was significantly high (over 40 per cent), together with those of Denbighshire (over 30 per cent) (Table XXXI). Although the numbers of M.A.s in the northern counties varied considerably, as a proportion they were consistently high,⁸⁸ and most of these M.A.s were drawn from the ranks of pensioners and sizars. That the latter group was persistent in seeking further education was seen by the fact that they were prominent among the

TABLE XXX Proportion of Welsh graduates at Cambridge and status in four North Wales counties,
c.1550-1642

	<u>No. graduates</u>	<u>% recorded admissions</u>	<u>% adjusted admissions</u>	<u>sizars</u>	<u>pensioners</u>	<u>fell-comm.</u>
Anglesey	15	53.6	42.8	6	8	-
Caernarvon	36	59	47.2	17	5	1
Merioneth	5	62.5	50			
Denbigh	30	40.5	32.4	12	13	1
Flint	11	47.8	38.2			
Montgomery	9	50	40	2	5	-
Cardigan	2	100	60			
Carmarthen	3	30	24			
Pembroke	3	42.8	34.2			
Radnor	1	100	-			
Brecon	3	100	75			
Glamorgan	1	16.6	12.5			
Monmouth	1	100	-			

Source: Al. Cant.

TABLE XXXI Number and proportion of Welsh students, admitted
c.1540-1642, who took M.A. degree at Cambridge

		<u>% recorded</u> <u>admissions</u>	<u>% estimated</u> <u>admissions</u>
Anglesey	14	50	40
Caernarvon	31	50.8	40.7
Merioneth	3	37.5	30
Denbigh	26	40.5	32.6
Flint	7	30.4	24.1
Montgomery	6	33.3	30
Cardigan	2	100	66
Carmarthen	2	20	15.4
Pembroke	2	28.5	22.2
Radnor	-	-	-
Brecon	3	100	75
Glamorgan	1	16.6	12.5
Monmouth	1	100	50

Source: Al. Cant.

graduates in the higher faculties, most of whom had gone through a prolonged period in the arts faculty already (Table XXXII). As at Oxford, the chief interest lay in theology, and it is significant that from the fewer admissions to Cambridge, as opposed to Oxford, from North Wales, there were produced as many graduates in the higher faculties. Moreover, the number of M.A.s compared favourably with

TABLE XXXII Higher graduates from Wales at Cambridge, admitted c.1540-1642

	<u>Theology</u>	<u>Civil Law</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>sizars</u>	<u>pensioners</u>	<u>fell-comms.</u>
Anglesey	6	-	1	1	5	-
Caernarvon	6	2	2	7	1	-
Merioneth	1	-	-	1	-	-
Denbigh	11	3	1	9	3	-
Flint	2	1	-	1	2	-
Montgomery	1	-	-	1	-	-
Carmarthen	-	1	-	-	-	1
Glamorgan	-	1	-	-	-	-
Monmouth	-	-	1	1	-	-

Source: Al. Cant.

those produced at Oxford.

It is fair to conclude that the contrast in social organisation between North and South Wales reflected in the admissions or matriculation patterns was seen too, in the graduate numbers, where there was a greater impetus to get on on the part of those from modest backgrounds. It might be felt also that the various benefactions relating to North Wales may have been more effective in enabling students to graduate without the worries about maintenance.

What then of the various scholarships and fellowships available to the Welsh at the universities? Did they serve the progress of the humbler students and graduates, noted above, or were they becoming, as contemporary critics thought, the possessions of wealthier students drawn from the ranks of gentlemen and higher gentry? A recent detailed investigation of several Tudor and pre-Tudor foundations at Oxford has revealed that the plebeian element was by no means excluded from all foundation places during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though they seem to have declined as a proportion, from over half in the 1580s to about 40 per cent in the 1610s.⁸⁹ Sufficient evidence is available from a few colleges to make observations about Welsh scholars and fellows from the late sixteenth century until 1642.

Welsh scholars occupied many places at Christ Church College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge, both foundations of the Tudor period. The student foundationers from Wales at Christ Church were almost equally divided between sons of plebeians and sons of

TABLE XXXIII Social status of the Foundation Students at Christ Church College, Oxford, 1578-1642

Students admitted:-

1546-1577	-	12					
1578-89	9	3	-	-	-	1	
1590-99	2	1	1	-	-	-	
1600-09	2	-	-	-	-	-	
1610-19	1	3	-	-	-	-	
1620-29	-	3	2	1	-	-	
1630-42	-	-	-	-	-	-	
<u>Totals</u>	14	10	3	1	1	1	

Sources: Christ Church College, Oxford, Library, Matricula by T.V. Bayne (1877);
Al. Oxon.

gentlemen and higher gentry. What was remarkable, however, was that the plebeian element was declining by the beginning of the seventeenth century and sons of the gentry became dominant (Table XXXIII).

At St. John's, over a slightly longer period, scholars drawn from the pensioner class were in a majority over the sizars. The two classes were fairly evenly distributed throughout the period, and so, on the face of it, the poorer sizars were not losing out. The greater detail of the College registers after 1628, however, permits the correct social status of these scholars to be identified. What becomes apparent on investigating the nineteen Welsh students, admitted after 1628, who became scholars, is that the great majority of them came from the gentry and higher gentry class, with only one from the really humble background of husbandman's son (Table XXXIV). This conclusion would seem consistent with the sort of social pattern to be found in North Wales, in which there were many who possessed the lineage to be considered gentry but who lacked the economic means to substantiate it; this would seem to be the implication in assuming a sizar's role.

St. John's also elected a substantial number of Welshmen to its fellowships, and a majority of these came from the better-off students, the pensioners. Most of the sizars, assuming they were poor students, who became fellows, did so before the last quarter of the sixteenth century, after which time pensioners predominated (Table XXXV).

At Oxford, All Souls College elected a large number of Welshmen to its fellowships. Although social status was not indicated before the 1580s, there is sufficient knowledge about some of the earlier fellows to indicate that they came from the gentry lineage, for example,

TABLE XXXIV Social and College status of Scholars at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1547-1642

	<u>sizars</u>	<u>pensioners</u>	<u>unidentified</u>
1547-59	3	2	-
1560-69	-	1	-
1570-79	1	1	-
1580-89	2	5	-
1590-99	3	3	1
1600-09	3	4	1
1610-19	4	7	-
1620-29	1	5	-
1630-39	10	10	1
<u>Totals</u>	27	38	3

Scholars admitted after 1628:-

<u>entry</u>	<u>higher entry</u>	<u>clergy</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>unidentified</u>
10	5	2	1	1

Sources:- St. John's College, Cambridge, Library, Notes by F.P. White; Al. Cant.; J.E.B. Mayor, ed., Admissions to the College of St. John ... Cambridge, pt. I (1629/30-1665). (1882).

TABLE XXXV College status of Welsh Fellows at St. John's College,
Cambridge, 1547-1642

	<u>Sizars</u>	<u>Pensioners</u>	<u>Fellow Commoners</u>	<u>Unidentified</u>
1547-59	2	-	-	-
1560-69	2	1	-	-
1570-79	-	-	-	-
1580-89	-	3	-	-
1590-99	-	-	-	-
1600-09	1	-	-	1
1610-19	-	4	-	-
1620-29	-	2	1	-
1630-42	2	3	-	-
	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
<u>Totals</u>	7	13	1	1

Sources: St. John's College Library, Notes by F.P. White;
Al. Cant.; J.E.B. Mayor, ed., Admissions to
St. John's, Cambridge

David Lewis of Monmouthshire (1541), John Griffith of Caernarvonshire (1548), Griffith Lloyd of Cardiganshire (1566), Francis Bevans of Carmarthenshire (1573), William Wood of Anglesey (1577). During the late sixteenth century, however, and, indeed, up to about 1620, as many of the fellows were drawn from among supposedly plebeian students as from the gentry and higher gentry. Thereafter, up until the Civil War, the gentry predominated (Table XXXVI).

TABLE XXXVI Social status of Welsh Fellows admitted to All Souls College, Oxford, 1577-1642

	<u>pauper</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>gentry</u>	<u>higher gentry</u>	<u>clergy</u>	<u>higher clergy</u>	<u>unidentified</u>
1577-89	-	4	1	1	-	-	2
1590-99	-	2	2	1	-	-	1
1600-09	-	1	2	1	-	-	1
1610-19	1	1	4	1	-	-	-
1620-29	-	-	1	2	-	1	-
1630-42	-	-	1	3	-	1	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Totals</u>	1	8	11	9	-	2	4

Sources:- All Souls College List of Fellows, 1438-1937, (Oxford n.d.); Al. Oxon.

It is likely, therefore, that the large majority of Welsh graduates, particularly those taking arts degrees, would have to rely on their own resources to keep them at their studies, and that they could not depend on getting the assistance of college endowments. Although it might appear that the status of students admitted was not always as low as that recorded, it would be misguided, given our knowledge of the society and economy of Wales, to believe that the majority of Welsh university students and graduates were able to progress with total facility.

A final point might be made about the most Welsh of all the colleges, Jesus College, Oxford, where, by the 1630s, over 80 per cent of the membership came from Wales. The social composition of its fellows and scholars during the late 1630s showed that a strong plebeian element resided there, particularly during 1637 and 1638. Gentlemen and higher gentry did not dominate the foundationers' places, though they were quite numerous in 1639-41. Sons of the clergy were better represented here than in the fellowships and scholarships looked at in the other colleges. No doubt the comparative poverty of the Jesus foundation itself made it unattractive to higher social groups, as is illustrated by the foundation membership. On the other hand, wealth and high status were not wholly absent from Jesus College. As McConica has pointed out, the presence of wealthy, fee-paying, commoners led to the gentrification of the student body, and Jesus seems to have been no exception, counting as it did among its fee-payers as many as five noblemen's sons and up to eleven fellow-commoners (Table XXXVII).

TABLE XXXVII Social status of Fellows and Scholars of Jesus College, Oxford, 1637-41

	<u>pauper</u>	<u>plebeian</u>	<u>gentry</u>	<u>higher gentry</u>	<u>clergy</u>	<u>unidentified</u>
1637						
Principal and Fellows	-	11	1	2	-	-
Scholars	-	7	4	1	1	-
1638						
Principal and Fellows	-	11	2	1	-	3
Scholars	1	7	4	2	3	-
1639						
Principal and Fellows	-	10	2	1	-	-
Scholars	-	4	5	2	4	-
1640						
Principal and Fellows	-	6	5	2	-	3
Scholars	-	7	1	2	5	-
1641						
Principal and Fellows	-	3	5	1	-	-
Scholars	-	8	3	2	2	-

Sources: Bodleian Library, MS Top Oxon. c.173; Al. Oxon.

Welsh Barristers at the Inns of Court

Training for the bar at the inns of court took about the same time as it took to complete the arts course at university and to graduate M.A., that is, about seven years. At Oxford, it was seen that some 25 per cent of the registered entrants from Wales in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries graduated as M.A.s. Taking into account all non-honoric admissions from Wales at the inns of court between the mid-sixteenth century and 1642, it would appear that 20 per cent of these students were eventually called to the bar; a similar proportion, therefore, to the Oxford Welsh M.A.s. The proportion of Welsh barristers was not uniformly the same at all the inns of court, however. The lowest proportion of Welsh barristers to Welsh admissions (13 per cent) occurred at the Middle Temple and the highest, over a quarter, at the Inner Temple (Table XXXVIII).⁹⁰

TABLE XXXVIII Percentage of Welsh Barristers to all non-honoric admissions from Wales, c.1550-1642

	<u>Barristers</u>	<u>Admissions</u>	<u>%</u>
Middle Temple	14	103	13.6
Inner Temple	48	175	27.4
Lincoln's Inn	37	164	22.5
Gray's Inn	44	257	17.1
<u>Total</u>	143	699	20.45

Sources: IT Records; MT Adms.; LI Black Books; GI Pens. Book

Not all students were greatly interested in the law, and, as the

period wore on, more and more students took less and less interest in reading for the bar. This was, reputedly, especially so of Gray's Inn students, and was reflected in the low ratio overall of barristers to admissions at that inn (9.2 per cent) between 1590 and 1639.⁹¹ If, however, we compare the proportion of Welsh barristers to Welsh admissions here, then it was almost double (16.6 per cent) the overall ratio and it indicated a greater commitment on the part of more Welsh students to obtain legal qualifications. A similar picture obtains at the Inner Temple during the same period, with over a quarter of the Welsh entrants (25.2 per cent) being called, compared with 20.8 per cent of all admissions at the inn.

The other two inns presented a marked contrast, the proportion of Welsh admissions being called to the bar lower by significant margins than the overall proportion of calls. At Lincoln's Inn during 1590-1639 Welsh calls formed 17.5 per cent of all Welsh admissions, compared to the overall figure of 27 per cent. At the Middle Temple in the same period the relative proportions were 12.66 per cent and 21.3 per cent. The most obvious explanation for this unfavourable contrast in proportions is that at the peak of their popularity, the inns' Welsh intake consisted increasingly of non-specialist students with little or no incentive to belong to the legal profession; and, having noted the elevated social status of Welsh students during the early seventeenth century at these two inns, this may well be the case. At Gray's, it may be recalled, students of lesser gentry status continued to be admitted, who, it is likely, had more of a vocation; and it was

TABLE XXXIX The decades in which Welsh Barristers were admitted to the Inns of Court, 1550-1642

	<u>Lincoln's Inn</u>	<u>Gray's Inn</u>	<u>Middle Temple</u>	<u>Inner Temple</u>	<u>Total</u>
1550-59	-	-	1	5	6
1560-69	-	-	1	3	4
1570-79	3	-	-	4	7
1580-89	6	1	2	9	18
1590-99	4	6	-	5	15
1600-09	7	7	3	5	22
1610-19	5	6	2	5	18
1620-29	11	8	3	7	29
1630-39	1	12	2	4	19
1640-42	-	4	-	1	5

also cheaper to train there.

The period of Gray's Inn's greatest impact in producing Welsh barristers can plainly be seen to have been the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century when the inn predominated over the others in the loyalty of the Welsh (Table XXXIX). These years were, however, generally important for producing Welsh students who came to be called to the bar. Though it may be that the prerequisites for the call were lower and easier than in the sixteenth century, it appears to be just as important that the common law was becoming a distinct career for the Welsh student. This is confirmed by the proportion of barristers (half) from Wales produced at Lincoln's Inn, at a time when that inn's popularity with Welsh students in general had declined; a significant body of serious students, therefore, was to be found here, too. At the Middle Temple, which held the least attraction for the Welsh, there also the number of Welsh barristers increased.

If these inns facilitated the consolidation of the common law as a career for Welshmen then it appears that the Inner Temple did much to create the initial attraction. A small but consistent stream of Welsh barristers was produced here from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, often between a third and a half of the entrants being called. The 1580s were the decade in which the largest single proportion was admitted and then again the 1620s, in common with the other three inns, a large proportion (half) of students who became barristers, was admitted.

The growing importance of the legal profession in Wales, the notably increasing proportion of calls, may have some relation to the

TABLE XL Areal distribution, social and filial status of Welsh students admitted c.1550-1642, and called to the Bar at the Inns of Court

<u>County</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>% of total admissions</u> ¹	<u>Status where found</u>					<u>Sons</u>					
			<u>gen.</u>	<u>arm/esq.</u>	<u>kt.</u>	<u>lawyer</u>	<u>other</u>	<u>heir</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>younger (unspecified)</u>
Anglesey	11	26.8	7	3	-	1		6	1	-	-	-	1
Caernarvon	13	21.6	7	4	2	-		6	1	1	-	-	1
Merioneth	5	16.1	4	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	1
Denbigh	26	25.7	8	8	3	1		7	2	-	-	-	5
Flint	10	14.1	4	1	1	-	episc.f.	6	-	-	-	1	-
Montgomery	9	17.6	3	3	1	-		2	3	-	2	-	-
Cardigan	6	25	2	1	1	1		1	1	-	-	-	1
Carmarthen	3	8.6	3	-	-	-		1	-	-	-	-	-
Pembroke	10	22.7	4	6	-	-		2	4	-	1	-	1
Brecon	11	25	6	2	1	-		3	3	-	-	1	1
Radnor	2	9.5	2	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	1
Glamorgan	18	22.5	9	3	1	1		5	2	-	1	-	1
Monmouth	18	18.7	8	7	-	1		7	1	2	-	-	3
<u>Wales</u>	143 (incl. 1, county uncertain)	20.3	57	38	10	5	1	46	18	3	4	2	16

social complexion of the entrants. It seems clear that of all the Welsh students called between c.1550 and 1642 the large majority came from gentry, as opposed to higher gentry, backgrounds, and there are indications that this gentry group contained students of lower status from urban centres in Wales.⁹² All this may explain the relatively large number of barristers called who were natives of Anglesey and Denbighshire on one hand, and Monmouthshire and Glamorgan on the other. (Table XL).

It was not necessarily the case that barristers were drawn from younger sons of gentry seeking the security of a professional calling. In fact, eldest sons and heirs formed the largest group of sons among Welsh barristers, and they were particularly prominent among the North Wales students, possibly because the patril estates were too small or unremunerative. Younger sons were by no means excluded, however, and there was a large number among the Denbighshire barristers. Not all the barristers necessarily practised law, but eminent lawyers emerged from both eldest and younger son groups, for example, John Glynne and William Jones of Caernarvonshire, who were heirs to estates, and David Williams of Breconshire and Thomas Trevor of Denbighshire, who were younger sons.

A legal or university education could enable students of ability to attain, assisted also, no doubt, by patronage, positions of prominence and wealth in the kingdom, and many Welsh students succeeded in doing so. For others, such education was a preparation for their rôles in their local communities as clergy or landowners or figures in local government and politics. Such education was also a means of establishing new

cultural and social influences. Attention must, therefore, be paid to all these multifarious aspects of this education as well as to its content.

CHAPTER II - NOTES

1. Sermon at Paul's Cross, 1550, quoted in J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., ii (1884), 91.
2. A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England (1581), ed. E. Lamond, (1954), p. 22.
3. J. Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (1966), pp. 355-9; M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition (1959), pp. 125-30.
4. T. Ferne, Glory of Generosity (1586), quoted in W.R. Douthwaite, Gray's Inn, It's History and Associations (1886), p. 79.
5. A.B. Ferguson, The Indian Summer of English Chivalry (1960), pp. xvi-xvii, 213-15.
6. Ibid., pp. 185-8; F. Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (1954), p. 260 n.; R.M. Fisher, 'Thomas Cromwell, Humanism and Educational Reform, 1530-40', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, L (1977), 151-63.
7. L. Stone, 'Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700', Past and Present, 33 (1966), 44-45.
8. F.J. Fisher, 'Tawney's Century', in Fisher, ed., Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England (1961), pp. 10-12; K. Charlton, 'The Professions in Sixteenth Century England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal, XII (1969), 20 ff.; J. Thirsk, 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century', History, LIV (1969), 358 ff.
- 9. Vide supra chap. I, n. 18; A.H. Dodd, Studies in Stuart Wales (1952), pp. 1-2; and Dodd, 'Anglesey in the Civil War', T.A.A.S. 1952, 2-4.
10. H.A. Lloyd, The Gentry of South-West Wales, 1540-1640 (1968), pp. 144-5.
11. N.L.W., Bodewryd Correspondence, 37, Reverend Richard Parry in 1602.
12. C.W. Boase, ed., Reg(ister of the) Univ(ersity of) Oxford, I (1884), xiv.
13. I am most grateful to Mr. T.H. Aston, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Director of the 'History of the University of Oxford' for providing me (30/3/79) with details of the computerised lists

of likely Welsh students drawn from A.B. Emden, B.R.U.O. to 1500, and B.R.U.O. 1501-1540 (1974). My estimate differs by over forty names (vide infra).

14. cf. an early attempt to negotiate this problem, E.S. Byam, 'Welsh Graduates at Oxford (1522-89)', Arch. Camb., 3rd Ser., XII (1866), 517 ff.
15. Based largely on Emden, op. cit., supplemented by additional identifications gleaned from D.W.B., clergy lists, and genealogical details.
16. Those noted in B.R.U.O. to 1500.
17. St. David's diocese, which was the best represented of all the Welsh dioceses among the Welsh students, extended into central Wales, but an assessment of the details about the students indicates that most who came from this diocese originated in the south-west.
18. Based on C.W. Boase, ed., Reg. Univ. Oxon., I; J. Foster, ed., Al(umni) Oxon(ienses) 1500-1714 (1891-92); C.L. Shadwell and G.C. Richards, Provosts and Fellows of Oriel (1922); Brasenose College Register 1509-1909, I (1909); Christ Church College, Oxford, Library, Matricula 1546-1635 and transcript list of admissions, ed. T.V. Bayne, (1877); D.W.B.
19. J. Buchan, Brasenose College (1898), App. G, p. 176; vide infra Table VII and Graph A.
20. Boase, op. cit., p. xxii.
21. L. Stone, ed., The University in Society, I (1974), 3 ff.; Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', Past and Present, 28 (1964), 41 ff.
22. Stone, University in Society, I, 92-93. The adjustments recommended here are more substantial and supersede those in 'Educational Revolution'. Note also the deferred matriculations (ibid., 89).
23. B.N.C. Reg., I. Of seventy-nine Welsh students admitted in 1500-42, twenty-three did not apparently matriculate (29.1 per cent).
24. Table VI; Stone, University in Society, I, 6, 17; Elizabeth Russell, 'The Influx of Commoners into the University of Oxford before 1581: an optical illusion?', English Historical Review, XCII (1977), 721 ff.
25. The calculations which follow are based on A. Clark, ed., Reg(ister of the) Univ(ersity of) Oxford, II, pt. ii (1887), for 1571-1622, and on Oxford University Archives, Matriculation Registers P (1565-1615) and PP (1615-47).

26. Based on population estimates for England and Wales c.1545 in J. Cornwall, 'English pre-industrial population trends', Economic History Review, 2nd Ser., XXIII (1970), 32-44; L. Owen, 'The Population of Wales in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Trans. Cymmr. 1959, 99 ff.; D. Williams, 'A Note on the Population of Wales, 1536-1801', B.B.C.S., VIII (1935-7), 359 ff. The population of Monmouthshire was taken to be twenty thousand at this time; probably an underestimate. The proportion of the population of Wales and Monmouthshire to the population of England (excluding Monmouthshire) was 8.8 per cent; vide infra chap. III (i), nn. 1-11.
27. E. Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Prices of Consumables, compared to Builders' Wage-rates', Economica, N.S., 23 (1956), 295-314.
28. Stone, University in Society, I, 39-40, 72-73. Vide also p. 74, n. 36.
29. J. and J.A. Venn, Al(umni) Cant(abrigienses), pt. I, 1500-1714, 4 vols. (1922-27). This source is also used for Welsh admissions after 1540.
30. The records are used principally in the form in which they were published by J. and J.A. Venn, Book of Matriculations and Degrees (1913). These do not always indicate the matriculands' places of origin, and neither does Al. Cant. As far as Welsh students are concerned, however, we are fortunate that the most important Cambridge college for the Welsh, St. John's, possessed additional information to identify its students, which was collated by F.C. White, former Keeper of Records at the College, and is deposited there.
31. Estimates for the 1560s, 1570s and 1590s are based on Stone's article in Past and Present. He omits these in University in Society, I, 92, but includes estimates and adjustments for the 1580s and for the seventeenth century. Vide Graph D.
32. J. Foster, ed., Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn 1521-1889 (1889), (hereafter GI Adms.); W.P. Baildon, ed., Lincoln's Inn Records, Vol. I, Admissions 1420-1799 (1896), (hereafter LI Adms.); H.A.C. Sturgess, ed., Register of Admissions to the ... Middle Temple, I, 1501-1781 (1949), (hereafter MT Adms.); Students admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660, ed. W.H. Cooke (1877), (hereafter IT Adms.). This latter is supplemented by Inner Temple Library, typescript register, ed., R.F. Lloyd (1954).
33. Welsh admissions 1550-89 are recorded as a proportion of all admissions, including merely honorific admissions of notables, which were not clearly indicated in the registers. Only one honorific admission from Wales was detected during these years.
34. Welsh percentages are calculated on the total non-honorific admissions counted in W.R. Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640

- (1972), pp. 11, 33-5. Very few honorific admissions from Wales have been found for this period: four at IT, three at LI, eight at CI, two at MT. These consisted of Welsh peers, clergy and knights. To these might be added Welshmen employed and permanently residing in London as crown servants or men of commerce, e.g., at Gray's Inn, Elis Wynn, Clerk of the Petty Bag (1607), Lewis Owen, Serjeant of the Larder (1612), John Williams, the Royal Goldsmith (1612), (E.R. Stage, 'Three London Welshmen, c.1580-1624', (unpublished Diploma thesis in Local History, Scheme C, London University, 1976); D.W.B.).
35. Vide Stone, 'Educational Revolution, 52, Graph II, where he has employed seven-year moving averages. Annual Welsh admissions and matriculations have been set out unaltered (Graph F), and five-year averages of these have also been drawn to allow the depiction of deferred matriculations and registrations and to trace any cyclical influence (infra, Graph G). A comparison of inns' admissions from individual Welsh and English counties in 1590-1639 shows that most Welsh counties, especially in eastern Wales, were better represented than the peripheral counties of northern England. In other cases, allowing for differences in area, size of population and economic life, comparison was unfavourable to the Welsh counties, for example, with the adjacent English marcher counties.
36. Table XII follows Table III in Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 54, in reducing the inns' totals by 50 per cent to offset the likely proportion of entrants who had already attended university. No reference has been made here to those going on the Grand Tour, but vide infra chap. VIII. cf. A.H. Dodd, Stuart Wales, pp. 4-5, who seems to have slightly underestimated the size of the Welsh population in gauging the impact of higher education. Also, vide infra nn. 59-63 and text.
- 37. W.R. Prest, 'Legal Education of the Gentry at the Inns of Court, 1560-1640', Past and Present, 38 (1967), 20.
38. V.A. Huber, The English Universities (1843), II, i, 200-1.
39. Stone, University in Society, I, 41-2; 'Educational Revolution', 67.
40. Vide C.L. Shadwell, ed., Registrum Oriense (1893), pp. vi-xii; C.W. Boase, ed., Registrum Collegii Exoniensis (1894), p. xcvi.
41. Vide Stone, University in Society, I, 18-20, 28; 'Educational Revolution', 59 and Graph IV, 72.

42. Graph H. Compare with the graph in Stone, University in Society, I, 20. The plebeian element in general may have been overestimated, and the gentry and higher gentry groups together, underestimated by about 3 per cent (ibid., 13-15, 27-8).
43. J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees (of Anglesey and Caernarvonshire Families) (1914), pp. 110, 132, 242, 259, 270; J.Y.W. Lloyd, (History of the princes, the lords marcher and the ancient nobility of) Powys Fadog, III (1882), 50-1, 187; IV (1884), 308; G.T. Clark, Limbus patrum (Morganiae et Glamorganiae ...) (1886), pp. 273, 368, 370, 392, 395-6; D.W.B.; Al. Oxon.; J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire, I, i (1904), 130-1.
44. B.N.C. Register, I, 104; Al. Oxon.
45. B.N.C. Reg. I, 150; Al. Oxon.; cf. J.K. McConica, 'The Social Relations of Tudor Oxford', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th Ser., 27 (1977), 123-7.
46. B.N.C. Reg., I, 139; Al. Oxon.
47. Vide J. Simon, 'The Social Origins of the Cambridge Students, 1603-1640', Past and Present, 26 (1963), 58 ff.; D. Cressy, 'The Social Composition of Caius College, Cambridge, 1580-1640', Past and Present, 47 (1970), 113 ff.
48. E. Miller, Portrait of a College: A History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge (1961), pp. 30-1; Stone, 'Educational Revolution', 66, Table X.
49. W.P. Baildon and J.D. Walker, eds., The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. The Black Books, I (1897), 315, (hereafter LI Black Books); C.T. Martin, ed., Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, I (1904), 111, (hereafter MT Minutes); R.J. Fletcher, ed., The Pension Book of Gray's Inn, I (1901), p. 164, (hereafter GI Pens. Book).
50. W.R. Prest, Inns of Court, p. 30, shows that the Middle Temple was socially the most exclusive. Admissions to Gray's from Wales showed a higher proportion of gentlemen's sons and a substantially higher proportion of sons of upper gentry than were admitted there overall. The element absent from Welsh admissions was the middle-class, urban element. At Lincoln's Inn the gentry proportion from Wales was almost exactly that for the inn as a whole, while again the upper gentry were higher than the average for the inn, the bourgeois element once more being absent among the Welsh.
51. Al. Oxon.; Bodleian Library, Oxford University Register PP; LI Adms.; Lloyd, Powys Fadog, III, 187.

52. Al. Oxon.; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii; MT Adms.; West Wales Historical Records, II (1912), 76-77.
53. LI Adms., MT Adms., GI Adms.; Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 27, 129.
54. M. Robbins, 'The Agricultural, Domestic, Social and Cultural Interests of the Gentry in South-east Glamorgan, 1540-1640', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), vol. II, 638-40.
55. Stone, University in Society, I, 33. He has drawn attention to the imprecision of the matriculation registers in registering the students and in recording their ages very generally. Average age at matriculation could be as much as six months more than calculated (ibid., 88-90; L. Stone, 'Age of admissions to Educational Institutions in Tudor and Stuart England: a comment', History of Education, 6 (1977), 9.).
56. Stone, University in Society, I, 97.
Median age of Welsh (and Monmouthshire) students, $\frac{N+1}{2}$, where N = sum of matriculands, = 17.39 years. If the clergy who matriculated as mature students in the late 1570s and early 1580s are excluded the median would be 17.38 years.
Mean age of Welsh students, $\frac{\sum f_i X_{i10}}{N}$, where X = age variables, 10-37,
 f = frequency of matriculands at each age and N = sum of all matriculands, = 18.02 years. Excluding the mature clerical matriculands, the mean would be 17.92 years (Table XXI).
Standard Deviation $\sqrt{\left(\frac{\sum_{i=10} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N}\right)}$
 where X_i = ages of matriculands, 10-37, \bar{X} = mean age of matriculands, N = sum of matriculands, = 20.93 years.
57. Stone, ibid., I, 29-31, 97.
58. Vide supra Tables VIII, XIV. There is no inordinate imbalance in the length of the two periods chosen to consider the means and median, for there were several years in the first period when registration was deficient, viz. 1571-77, 1613-15.
59. Based on respective admission and matriculation registers supplemented by details from college registers and local record sources. All known admissions at Oxford and Cambridge, excluding respective incorporations, are counted, together with all known non-honoric admissions at the inns of court, except those who had also attended university; vide Appendix II.

60. Vide supra n. 26. The Monmouthshire population in 1670 was considered as having increased by the average rise for all the other Welsh counties - 59.9 per cent.
61. G.J. Williams, Aqweddau ar Hanes Dysq Gymraeg, ed. Aneirin Lewis, (1969), p. 18.
62. Vide chap. VIII for further discussions of these matters.
63. R. Stephens, 'Gwynedd 1528-1547: Economy and Society in Tudor Wales', (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 61-81; vide infra for further observations, chap. VII (ii).
64. M.E. Thomas, 'Glamorgan 1540-1640: Aspects of social and economic history', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1974); pp. 62, 111, 184, 204-5; H.A. Lloyd, Gentry of South-West Wales, p. 194.
65. Further details about Fletcher appear infra chaps. III (ii), V (ii), VI (ii).
66. Vide Appendix IV. The Welsh towns indicated are those noted by George Owen in his Dialogue of the Government of Wales, Description of Pembrokeshire, ed. H. Owen, III (1906), 287 f. and in The taylor's cussion, ed. E.M. Prichard, (1906), pp. 74 ff.
67. J.A. Venn, 'Matriculations at Oxford and Cambridge, 1544-1906', The Oxford and Cambridge Review, 3 (1908), 52-4; cf. Stone, University in Society, I, 78-80.
68. Rhys W. Hays, 'Welsh Students at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in the Middle Ages', W.H.R., IV (1969), 330; J. Foster, Oxford Men and their Colleges (1893), cols. 391-2; V(ictoria) C(ounty) H(istory of) Oxford, III (1959), 235; A. Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, ed. A. Clark, I (1889), 161, 591, 606-8; D. Maclean, Pembroke College (1900), pp. 94-95.
69. Ibid., p. 35.
70. V.C.H. Oxon., III, 216-8; J. Foster, Oxford Men, cols. 337-8; F. Madan, ed., Quartercentenary Monographs of Brasenose, I (1909), passim; Hays, op. cit., 330.
71. Hays, loc. cit.; Foster, op. cit., cols. 137-8; V.C.H. Oxon., III, 120-1.
72. Hays, loc. cit.; V.C.H. Oxon., III, 298; A. Wood, op. cit., 606-8; A. Wood, History and Antiquities of the ... University of Oxford, ed. J. Gutch, (1786), p. 676.

73. Vide infra Table XXXVI.
74. Hays, op. cit., 351; vide infra Appendix II.
75. Vide infra chap. V (ii).
76. Ibid., and chap. V (i); vide D.W.B. for Gwyn, under Wynne of Berthddu, and Williams; and Thos. Baker, History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge, ed. J.E.B. Mayor, (1869), I, 285, (hereafter Baker-Mayor, St. John's).
77. Vide infra chap. V (ii); E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), pp. 1-12; V.C.H. Oxon., III, 264 ff.; D.W.B. and Boase, Ren. Univ. Oxon., I, 81 for Price. Note, moreover, that the College was established on the site of White Hall, reputedly a hall occupied by Welsh students.
78. cf. Stone, University in Society, I, 58-9, 71, who presumably excludes Monmouthshire from his estimates. This is difficult to justify socially, culturally and geographically, and in terms of religious and local administration, all of which made the county an integral part of south-east Wales. In terms of Parliamentary representation and legal administration (except for the Court of the Council of the Marches), the county was separate. A further problem arises about whether the border counties or parts of them ought to be excluded from consideration since they bore so many similarities to Wales.
79. Vide infra chap. V (ii).
80. Vide chaps. V (ii), VI (iii).
81. S.L. Adams, 'The Gentry of North Wales and the Earl of Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands', W.H.R., VII (1974), 140-1, 143.
82. Vide chap. IV.
83. Vide chaps. IV, V (ii).
84. Ibid.
85. Prest, Inns of Court, p. 38.
86. cf. Appendix III infra.
87. Vide Appendix II.
88. The high proportions in some South Wales counties are misleading since the numbers of graduates are so deceptively small.

89. James McConica, 'Scholars and Commoners in Renaissance Oxford', in Stone, ed., University in Society, I, 151-81.
90. This table and the tables following are based on details about admissions to the bar contained in MT Minutes, LI Black Books, GI Pens. Book, F.A. Inderwick, ed., A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records (1896-1937), (hereafter IT Records); also J. Foster's lists of barristers called, up to the year 1887, in Cambridge University Library, Additional MSS 6708-6721.
91. W.R. Prest, Inns of Court, p. 52.
92. e.g., Hugh Lewis of Abergavenny, mentioned supra p. 103, pleb. at Oxford, gent. at GI, called to the bar 1642, Ancient of the Inn 1658.

CHAPTER III

WELSHMEN AT THE UNIVERSITIES

PART (i) : STUDENT LIFE

Student fees and costs

The most acute problem facing students attending the universities during the early modern period was that of cost, of how to pay for their education and their maintenance. Circumstances, indeed, during the sixteenth century accentuated the problem, especially for students of limited means. The twin effects of inflation and religious change brought about the sudden demise of those earlier halls and hostels¹ and their relatively inexpensive pattern of life. At the same time most of the endowed colleges, which were on a sounder footing, became more prepared to accept non-foundation students, who paid their own way.² Though their scales of fees were regulated according to their entrants' status, the colleges found that many of the poorer students were in financial difficulties which often caused them to leave.³ In previous centuries, of course, poverty-stricken students had resorted to begging to maintain their studies. Already during the fifteenth century the authorities had been ill-disposed to tolerate begging, and the universities had begun licensing bona fide penurious students. For most of the sixteenth century these controls remained in force, allowing students to beg for limited periods, guarantors being required to see that the beggars fulfilled their licences correctly on pain of fine.⁴ Welsh scholars seem to have been among those so licensed during the early part of Elizabeth I's reign. In 1562, for example,

John Vaughan, and Geoffrey Jones and Hugh Appowell of All Souls College were licensed with the appropriate guarantors in the University of Oxford, as were Robert Lloyd, Owen Davyd and John Jonys.⁵ In 1572, Henry Evans and Roger Griffith of Jesus College found Welsh sureties among the College graduates for their licences, the College itself, no doubt, being unable to assist them because of its early financial difficulties.⁶ Even members of wealthier colleges had to beg too; for example, at All Souls again, where Edward Price, B.C.L., was guarantor for the licences of William Price and Salamon Daves.⁷

Although colleges were increasingly prepared to accept more students they failed to help greatly the poorer ones since they sought to cater largely for students of some means. Fee-paying students not only became more numerous in the colleges but they also competed for scholarships and fellowships, hitherto often awarded to poorer scholars.⁸ To add to the difficulties of poor students, they were unable any longer to maintain an independent existence within the University, for they were obliged to affiliate to a college and therefore had to pay its fees. The enforced registration of the unattached student at Oxford was embodied by various statutes passed in the early 1580s by the University's Convocation of Regents.⁹ At Cambridge, regulating powers were already in force as a result of the Royal Statutes of 1570, which gave great authority to the heads of colleges.¹⁰

A final glimpse may be seen of these unattached students, who were so characteristic of the medieval university system, in a list

of such students at Oxford, 1562. That a portion of the Welsh admissions at Oxford, as in the middle ages, was formed of such students seems to be verified by this list, in which there are several Welsh or Welsh-sounding names. They seem to attest to a substantial Welsh presence at Oxford prior to the evidence reflected in the matriculation registers. A few of the students may have been almost wholly outside the formal arrangements of the University; for example, Rowland Evans, Thomas Williams of Folly house and Evan Gryffythe of Cobler house, but the majority were at least absorbed into the tutorial organisation and thus had some links with organised teaching and the colleges. Davye Morrys, for example, was tutored by Mr. John Beddo, 'assistant teacher', John Lewes by Watkyn Jones, John Vaughan and William Gwynne by Mr. Bayly of Cattestrete, Hugh Lewes by Mr. Morgan of All Souls.¹¹

The tutorial system at the universities had become firmly established by the mid-sixteenth century, with tutors having wide responsibilities for the conduct, study, and upkeep of their charges. Parents of fee-paying students were most sensible to this and to the costs involved. Sir John Wynn of Gwydir had to ponder long and hard about the fees involved in sending two of his sons to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1606. Fees were gauged according to the means of the student and the attention which was desired. Sir John could choose whether to place his sons in the fellows' commons, that is, if they were to receive the same domestic privileges as the fellows of the College, or whether they were to reside in scholars' commons, receiving the equivalent treatment given to scholars who were admitted

on exhibitions or endowments. The former was undoubtedly the more costly, at £60 per annum double the scholars' commons, quite apart from the cost of clothing. Tuition, similarly, was dearer, £4 annually for a fellow commoner, 40s. for a pensioner, that is, a fee-payer in scholars' commons.¹²

A student attending a college faced a whole host of payments relating to admission, diet and accommodation. This is clearly illustrated by a list of expenses relating to Gloucester Hall, Oxford, in 1631, a college which received a large proportion of Welsh students.¹³ Full fee-payers, commoners, paid 4s. on admission to the College society as a whole, and another 4s. to the officials, the butler, manciple and cook. Students of lesser means, semi-commoners or battelers, paid about half these sums, and wholly poor students were relieved of this particular burden. There were, in addition, weekly charges for service, and quarterly sums for the cooking staff.¹⁴

Concessions to students' means, within limits, were made over rents of accommodation. Staple Hall, belonging to Brasenose College, Oxford, had various-sized rooms available to students at rents ranging from 10s. to 20s. per annum.¹⁵ Room rents were sometimes used to pay those appointed within the college to teach undergraduates. This was the practice at Gloucester Hall,¹⁶ while elsewhere undergraduates were charged special fees to pay lecturers; for example, at Jesus College, Cambridge.¹⁷

Although teaching and lecturing at the college levels had become increasingly important during the later fifteenth and sixteenth

centuries, the instruction of students also involved their attendance at lectures organised by the university authorities, and students had to pay the requisite fees for these. At Oxford, small fines of 2d. were imposed on students who were absent from lectures in the arts faculty. Towards the end of the sixteenth century many students regarded these lectures as non-essential and were prepared to pay these fines for being consistently absent. In 1599, several Brasenose students, including Robert Griffith of Cefnamwlch, Caernarvonshire, were brought before the Congregation of the University to explain such absenteeism.¹⁸

Other fees were to be paid to the university as the student progressed through various stages in the arts degree. After 1602, Oxford imposed a payment of 6s. 6d. to be admitted to the B.A. degree and a further 5s. 2d. on its completion (at determination) the following year. Moneys from such fees went to pay various university officials such as the Registrar and the bedells of the faculties' schools. Very wealthy students, the grand compounders, paid additional sums as they advanced to their degree.¹⁹

Cambridge, too, imposed various payments on its students taking the B.A. and higher degrees.²⁰ Fees for taking higher degrees were also levied by Oxford, and grand compounders paid additional sums. Thus, Morgan Wynne (Winne), Fellow of All Souls, a younger son of the gentry family at Melai, Denbighshire, graduating doctor of divinity (D.D.) in 1634, would have paid, on the 1602 scale of fees, £18. 19s. 4d. for his presentation instead of the usual £4. 9s. 10d., and £9. 1s. 4d. at inception instead of £5. 17s. 0d. for an ordinary candidate.²¹

With the prospect of a whole host of college and university fees before them, particularly at the undergraduate level, it is not surprising that a majority of Welsh students at Oxford matriculated as the sons of plebeians, and the advantage of sons of the Welsh gentry taking such a status is obvious.

Student income and expenditure

Although the costs of being at university could be less than at some of the major grammar schools, the pattern of personal expenditure for the university student became more elaborate as the period progressed, particularly if he were from an aristocratic or squirely background.²² An account of the expenses of Robert Sidney at Oxford in 1575-6 shows how far the basic costs were exceeded, especially when it came to purchasing extra food, fuel, clothing and books and maintaining servants.²³ Some fathers were aware of the risks of over-extravagance. Sir John Wynn of Gwydir made sure that not too great a financial freedom was given his son Robert who, it was decided in 1607, was to be placed in the 'Clarks Commons' rather than with the fellow-commoners, for the former were 'tydd to more exersyse and are subiect to command and the Rub of the Howse'.²⁴ Robert Wynn was therefore limited to £10 in order to pay for his initial fees and expenses at admission. This required to be supplemented, of course, by money for the rest of the session, and the boy's newly appointed tutor, Jeremy Holt, aware of Sir John's sensitivity to extravagance but equally conscious that the boy had to be maintained in a style suitable to his status, calculated that £20 per annum would be a satisfactory sum, excluding the cost of clothing.²⁵

Such sums, though not particularly large, appear to have been a burden on the domestic economy of even leading Welsh gentry. At about the same time as Sir John Wynn worried over maintaining Robert at Cambridge, Sir Henry Jones of Abermarlais, Carmarthenshire, found that in order to pay for his brother Herbert at Oxford, he had to divert £40 out of money he owed his step-father.²⁶ Such caution and difficulty contrasted greatly with the state of affairs of the most well-off of students, sons of the peers, whose lifestyle at university was marked by conspicuous consumption. For example, a near contemporary of Robert Wynn at St. John's, Cambridge, Algernon Percy, heir to the Earl of Northumberland, ran up a bill of over £500 in 1615, not counting £150 spent on clothing.²⁷

In order that a student did not run into debt, it was essential that money was paid regularly to the tutor. Sir John Wynn had sent Jeremy Holt £10 direct by messenger in September 1609 to pay his son's expenses. Holt, in reply, enclosed minute details of his charge's expenditure, and anticipating the frequent delays in carriage, recommended to Sir John that he arrange a regular payment of money on a quarterly or half-yearly basis to meet expected costs.²⁸ Both tutor and student faced much anxiety if payments were irregular. The luckless Grufith Roberts, 'a poore scholar of Oxenford', was obliged to seek redress at Chancery in 1555 when the father of his charge William ab Ieuan ap Rhys completely ignored the bills totalling £5.13s. 4d. run up at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, on the son's behalf.²⁹ Irregularity in sending news and cash from home was something a student had to endure since there was often a shortage of suitable

messengers. Thus, from Oxford in January 1635/6, Jonathan Edwards of Wrexham complained to his patron, Watkin Kyffin, steward of Chirk Castle,

'Your long silence makes my lettre complementale, knowing not what to writte but how do you, my mind gives me that the scarcity of a convenient messenger is the cause of this my complaint, and your loathnesse to tye your letters³⁰ to such a long journey as to send "by London" ... '.

An even more urgent appeal to Kyffin from Oxford was made by John Edwards of Stanstey, Denbighshire, probably Jonathan Edwards's nephew, who was short of funds and begged that the £1. 10s. 0d. due him at Midsummer be sent, so that he could meet his expenses.³¹

Communications with the universities

In meeting such needs and appeals, parents and guardians often used trusted servants, friends and established carriers to preserve the lines of supply and news. One, John David ap John, was referred to in a letter to Sir John Wynn of Gwydir in 1611 as about to go to Cambridge during the Michaelmas^{term}, and that he could be sent sooner if Sir John required to deal more urgently with the matter of whether or not to continue his son Robert at St. John's College.³² That the matter was not urgent was fortunate, for, when Sir John finally sent his decision, his message was subject to the many delays often involved in these lines of communication, in this case an uncommonly tardy Cambridge carrier.³³

Relations and acquaintances were useful and probably more trustworthy in bringing students much-needed money from home. Thus, for example, in 1626 and 1627 Sir Roger Mostyn supplied his son,

William, at Cambridge with several large sums of money conveyed by cousins and relatives, and by the trusted servant of Dr. Owen Gwyn, then Master of St. John's.³⁴ Students, equally, could take advantage of these visits by friends and relatives to send word back home. There was sufficient movement between Wales and the university towns, and members of the Welsh community knew some of their number sufficiently well to employ them as links with home. Robert Wynn, for example, wishing urgently to report to his father from Cambridge about the illness of his brother William, who was also a student, was able to take advantage of his acquaintance with a fellow North Welshman, John Langford, to convey the news,

'I was constrayned to write very hastilie unto you at this tyme by reason that I met this bearer³⁵ John Langforde by chance in our buttreys ... '.

The commonest channel of communication between students and their families, however, was the university carrier, who was regarded as a minor official of the university and was given the monopoly of carrying between his chosen district and that university. At Cambridge, the carriers held their posts by patent of the vice-chancellor, and, at both Oxford and Cambridge, carriers were counted among the privileged persons, sharing the privileges of other university members, such as being under the judicial authority of the universities and free from the control of town officials. These carriers were natives of the areas they served and often assumed an importance far beyond their obvious duties, as the bankruptcy of Richard Smout, the London carrier at Oxford, revealed in the 1590s.³⁶

Glimpses of one or two of the Welsh carriers may be seen in their dealings with some of the North Wales gentry families during the early seventeenth century. The regular Cambridge carrier who served North Wales in the 1620s was Rowland ap Dafydd who delivered several of William Mostyn's allowances in 1626-7.³⁷ Whether Rowland was the slow carrier complained of by Sir John Wynn in 1611 is uncertain, but it was apparent that delay was the chief fault of the Cambridge carrier at that time. In 1607/8 Owen Gwyn, then fellow of St. John's, had counselled Sir John to send direct to London, perhaps by means of the drovers, rather than depend on the weekly journeys of the Cambridge carrier to keep in touch with his student son.³⁸

At Oxford in the 1620s the carrier for North Wales was William ap William, who in 1620 delivered an allowance to Robert Bulkeley of Dronwy, Anglesey, then at Christ Church, from his mother, Margaret verch Harry,

'this is to let you understand that you shall receive by William ap William the Carrier of Oxford fifteene poun³⁹des according to your letter and requestes ... '.

During the 1630s William was probably succeeded or accompanied in his work by a son, Edward ap William, who delivered a book to Cadwaladr, son of William Wyn of Glyn, Merionethshire, a member of Oriel College.⁴⁰

If the employment of carriers and messengers represented the cost and effort of maintaining students at university, then the cost and effort of getting them there in the first place was even greater,

particularly in the case of wealthy students. A list of disbursements by Sir Thomas Mostyn in the 1580s for the removal of his son-in-law, Pysr Griffith, to Oxford shows it cost £57. 17s. 10d. in all, including bestowing Griffith with £20 in cash, paying £4 for horses and carriage and paying various relatives and associates who would be responsible for Griffith when at Oxford. Griffith himself seems not to have carried the money with him to Oxford. Rather, it seems to have been entrusted to several men from North Wales who were senior scholars at the University, Richard Glyne, Mr. Mridyth and Mr. Rowland. This was a common precaution since young students were always likely to be attacked and robbed.⁴¹

The Wynns of Gwydir also found a variety of expenses facing them in sending students to university. Morus Wynn had to pay for a horse that died while taking his ward, Richard Mytton, to Cambridge, while Sir John Wynn paid out £10 for carrying Robert Wynn's goods by water from Eton School to London and thence to Cambridge by waggon.⁴²

Student journeys to university were hazardous whatever the precautions. Besides the dangers of robbery there were always unexpected tragedies awaiting travellers, such as that which overcame three south-west Wales students, as well as the sheriff of Pembrokeshire, at the Eynsham ferry in 1635/6.⁴³

The Poorer Students

Most Welsh students when they arrived at Oxford or Cambridge were not so well supplied as the Mostyns or the Wynns. As has been

shown before, a majority matriculated as plebeians or pensioners, while there was also a significant number which registered as sizars, that is, were students who only in part paid their own way and for the rest gained an education and a livelihood by being in service to wealthier students or to the general college society. At St. John's College, Cambridge, for example, Henry Evance of Bangor diocese was admitted to the College as sizar to Mr. Smith, presumably one of the fellows, in 1579. Earlier, William Morgan, the future bishop, having already been a sub-sizar, that is, serving a more affluent student, a fellow-commoner, was admitted sizar in 1565, serving Mr. Dakyns.⁴⁴

At Oxford, some 'plebeian' students, as well as the 'pauperi scholares', seem to have had to supplement their allowances by attending senior or wealthier members. John Rogers, for example, a native of Breconshire, noted in his common-place book the time he began to attend some of the graduate members of Christ Church, and at the young age of thirteen:

'Memorandum that I begane to make Mr. Reves bedd the xvi day of July and Mr. Simberbs bedd the xii daye of Auguste 1581.'⁴⁵

Really poor students were denoted not only by giving service but also by concessions made ^{to} them by the colleges. St. John's College, Oxford, for example, allowed poor students to reside rent-free in return for service, and also gave some remuneration by employing them in other duties such as rent collecting, for which Robin 'the Welshman' was paid 6d. in 1578-9.⁴⁶

The benefits of affluence of some very wealthy students were shared among those of limited means who found favour with them. At Oxford in 1639, several Denbighshire students benefited from the largesse of Thomas Myddelton of Oriel College:

'My Brother Jones, my Nephew John and my selfe cum multis aliis are to goe this morning to Breakfast to Mr. Middleton, whom wee shall, I hope find Generous, and therefore not to marre the hote meats ...'.⁴⁷

Not every student of means was allowed to be so indulgent.

Cadwaladr Wynne's father cautioned:

'I will allow you noe servitor you may serve your sealf and spare 6d. a weeke take heed least you be guld by the buttler that he set downe in his booke more for bread and beere then you call for ...'.⁴⁸

Subsistence

The matter of subsistence distinguished between various groups and different status within a college society. A daily basic supply of food was guaranteed by all colleges to their endowed, elected members. 'Commons' were given on a graduated basis according to the position and qualifications of the recipients. They ranged in ascending order from the regular servants, who received the smallest amounts (assessed in terms of a fixed sum of money), through the scholars, who were usually undergraduates or B.A.s, up to the fellows, usually masters or doctors, and finally to the college officers, who were drawn from among the fellowship, and the master or head of the college.⁴⁹ Many colleges, for example, Brasenose College and All Souls, Oxford, determined the payment of

commons by the prevailing price of wheat.⁵⁰ Additional fare could be given to members, but it had to be paid for, and was termed 'battels'. Usually members paid for these out of stipends given to them on a similar graduated basis.

At mealtimes, ranking was given expression in the seating arrangements and order of being served, for example, at St. John's, Cambridge,⁵¹ and it was in the light of the ranking of endowed members that the fee-paying students took their places. There was a variety of fee-payers at Brasenose College, Oxford, for example, including the graduates who were neither fellows nor scholars, and three types of undergraduates; the fellow or gentleman commoners, the most affluent, who paid for the same diet and comfort as the fellows, the commoners or ordinary fee-payers, who included most of the gentry and yeomen students, and the battelers, who paid the minimum of fees and were given credit for meals and tuition in return for serving the other members. Hence they were also known as servitors and were the equivalent of Cambridge sizars.⁵²

At Jesus College, Oxford, the huttery books, listing weekly charges to each member of the society for extra food, during the 1630s, reveal the complexity of rankings among its members. Not only were the regular, endowed members, the fellows, scholars, servants and under-servants, noted, but also all manner of fee-paying students placed according to rank. Students from the wealthiest of backgrounds, 'noblemen', took precedence above the higher graduates. The fellow-commoners, largely from the higher gentry, preceded the B.A.s, and below these came the less wealthy students including commoners,

battelers, presumably sons of yeomen and clergy who could afford to pay some fees, and the servitors, who included the poorest students. There was often much mobility between the last two groups.⁵³

These gradations were essentially similar in all the colleges and it was on these that the daily allocations and deductions for diet, valued in farthings, half-pennies and pennies, were determined. Servitors were usually given their diet free of charge, but the rest were obliged to pay, and detailed weekly accounts were kept, together with sum totals for each quarter of thirteen weeks, which made up the university terms, called after religious festivals: Michaelmas, Christmas, Lady Day (Annunciatio), and Midsummer (Baptista).⁵⁴

Since only the surnames of college members were usually noted in these lists, alongside which were recorded the value of the diet charges, it is usually difficult to identify all but senior students and fellows. Some samples of the commons lists for Christ Church College, Oxford, during the mid- and late sixteenth century were examined in order to gain some indication of the scale of subsistence of the College's Welsh members. In two sample weeks (the fourth and the eighth) during the Michaelmas term 1556 there were at least four Welsh students in residence, all endowed scholars receiving commons and battels. Among the graduates in theology was Griffin Roberts who in the fourth week received battels and commons worth 17d. During the eighth week, Roberts received subsistence worth 13½d. Another graduate, William Jones (Johnes), preparing for

TABLE I Dietary Charges of Welsh members of Christ Church College, Oxford, 1593-4

	<u>Weeks beginning:</u>			
	<u>11 Jan., 1593/4</u>	<u>12 April, 1594</u>	<u>12 July, 1594</u>	<u>11 Oct., 1594</u>
Mr. (William/Thomas) Aubrey	7½d.	8s. 1½d.	8½d.	1s. 6½d.
Mr. (Thomas/William) Aubrey	-	-	1s. 3½d.	1s. 2¾d.
Mr. (William) Prichard	10d.	-	8½d.	5¾d.
Mr. (John) Williams	2s. 7½d.	4¾d.	½d.	2½d.
Mr. (Hugh) Morgan	6½d.	6½d.	11½d.	1s. 0d.
Mr. (John) Gunter	-	6¾d.	2s. 1½d.	2s. 3¾d.
Dom. (William) Aubrey	-	6s. 8d.	2s. 10½d.	n.c.*
(Herbert) Thelwall	1s. 0½d.	10½d.	3s. 0¾d.	1s. 1½d.

* did not take commons

his M.A. degree, received in the two weeks diet to the value of $8\frac{3}{4}$ d. and $12\frac{3}{4}$ d. Lesser members also received less. Lewis Evans, one of the junior arts graduates, received 10 d. worth of subsistence in the first week, but only $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. in the second. John Herbert, one of the first twenty scholars in the list, was a light burden on the battels and commons, his charges amounting to $\frac{3}{4}$ d. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ d., while another scholar, Davys, probably the future Welsh scholar Siôn Dafydd Rhys, took no commons in the week (the eighth) he was recorded in the lists.⁵⁵

The irregularities in the subsistence drawn may reflect the absences of students from time to time, and possibly the existence of independent means in the case of some students, such as John Herbert who was from an affluent family. An examination of commons lists in the sixth week of each of four terms from Christmas 1593 further suggests that members did not always draw what they were entitled to. There were at least eight Welshmen in the College, all of whom were endowed members (Table I).⁵⁶

Only occasionally did the more senior Welsh members take all of what they were entitled to. It is likely that they had their own sources for food or indeed were absent and presented no burden to the society. A comparison of the weekly commons of two Welsh seniors at the College in the Midsummer term of 1592⁵⁷ shows the complex working of this system (Table II). The very small sums spent on William Prichard suggests he was often away from the College, and the account relating to one of the Aubreys (probably William) also suggests occasional absences. Often, however, the total weekly

TABLE II Commons of Messrs. Ambrey and Prichard

<u>Week</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Weekly total</u>	12½d.	16d.	17d.	20½d.	3½d.	1d.	14½d.	3½d.	10½d.	5d.	9d.	12½d.	19½d.	8½d.
<u>Sum item spent</u>	20½d.	17d.	10½d.	24d.	6½d.	5d.	14½d.	3½d.	10d.	11½d.	8½d.	13½d.	18½d.	8½d.
<u>Weekly total</u>	5½d.	4½d.	9½d.	3d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	4½d.	1d.
<u>Sum item spent</u>	15d.	4½d.	8½d.	3d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	1d.	4½d.	1d.

(William) AmbreyWilliam Prichard

account for Aubrey underestimated the items of expenditure recorded, and one can only assume that in this case sums for commons unspent in previous weeks were carried over to meet the current spending. This was not an uncommon practice.⁵⁸

Absences from college, such as seems to have been the case with Prichard, were not uncommon, and college statutes allowed their members some liberty. The buttery lists of Jesus College, Oxford, in the 1630s indicate its extent. Absentees were to be found among most ranks in the College, but the majority were drawn from among the fellows, scholars and fee-paying graduates. Most seem originally to have matriculated as plebeians but since the majority of the College were so registered it would be difficult to prove that those who departed did so because of insufficient means or inadequate salary to keep them at the College.⁵⁹

Facilities had been available for poorer students to borrow from university authorities. At Cambridge, some benefactors had left chests of money from which loans to poor students could be made in return for deposits of books or property of at least the value of the cash borrowed. These cautions, as they were called, could be sold if debts were unpaid and any surplus over the sum owed would be returned to the debtor. Loans of up to 60s. could be made to M.A.s, 20s. to B.A.s, and one mark to scholars. By the mid-sixteenth century, these arrangements had been abused by the replacement of tangible cautions with mere promissory notes and the exploitation of the system by wealthy students and non-members of the University.⁶⁰

Several colleges by the late sixteenth century adapted the idea of cautions for their own needs, particularly to overcome the problem of students, particularly undergraduates, failing to meet the bills run up by college officers in providing for their subsistence. In 1577, the Visitors of St. John's College, Cambridge, issued various orders for the prompt repayment of commons by sizars and commoners, and also by fellows. Tutors were charged that their pupils paid promptly. Failure to pay up was liable to be punished by fines, or, ultimately, by expulsion.⁶¹ At Oxford, similar regulations were drawn up by the Provost and fellows of Oriel College in 1586 and again in 1594 and 1597.⁶²

At All Souls College, Oxford, senior members regularly signed guarantees or bonds for battels in specific sums of money, usually between £10 and £20 for themselves and for junior members. John Williams of Monmouthshire, for example, signed a bond for £20 for himself in 1592, witnessed by two fellows.⁶³ Poor scholars, for instance choristers, were guaranteed their charges by fellows, often of the same county or area. In 1612-13 Richard Williams of Breconshire, son of the Welsh judge Sir David Williams, was pledge for the Monmouthshire chorister William Morgan, the latter having already been assisted by another fellow.⁶⁴ Dr. Thomas Gwynne of Bodychen, Anglesey, signed the bond of William Meredith, chorister, also of Anglesey, in 1613.⁶⁵ Oliver Lloyd of Berthlwyd, Montgomery, was guarantor for another chorister, Jenkin Vaughan, also of Montgomeryshire, in 1597. Vaughan, when he became Fellow, repaid the debt by signing the bond of Lloyd's nephew David in 1617.⁶⁶

All Souls was an exception among colleges in that it did not accept many undergraduates not directly members of the foundation, that is, not maintained scholars or choristers. Commoners were certainly not admitted, though room was made for some poor students.⁶⁷ Thus, the College did not experience a large intake of fellow-commoners, commoners, servitors, etc., with the attendant problems of organising and charging for subsistence. Whereas it could uphold the guarantor or pledge system, much like the inns of court, other colleges, which took in large numbers of undergraduates, further refined the idea of cautions, whereby each entrant on admission paid caution money, a form of security against the non-payment of commons' bills when a student left. St. John's, Oxford, in 1582 and Brasenose College in 1587, both decided that 40s. would be an adequate sum for a guarantee.⁶⁸ In 1618, Oriel College, under its Provost, William Lewis of Merionethshire, also adopted the caution money system and set sums on admission which students paid according to their college status. Commoners, therefore, were required to pay £5 to the College, the poor scholars or battelers only 50s., the fees to be collected by the Butler.⁶⁹ In a similar fashion, Exeter College imposed caution payments in 1629, with fellow-commoners being obliged to pay £6, commoners £5, battelers £4, and the poorest students £2.⁷⁰

Social distinctions were also marked so that by the seventeenth century wealthy students were not only expected to pay cautions but also to make gifts of silver plate for the use of the colleges. At Oriel during the late sixteenth century, scholars were

expected to make gifts of silver worth at least 50s.,⁷¹ while in the seventeenth century at Brasenose and Exeter, fellow-commoners from leading Welsh families such as the Stradlings and the Herberts made gifts of silver bowls.⁷² Jesus College, Oxford, also expected fellow-commoners to make such gifts,⁷³ and this seems to have been the case at St. John's, Cambridge, too. Robert Wynn, on being readmitted to the College in 1611 as a fellow-commoner, was expected to give, or rather his father was expected to donate, 'a silver peece of plate upon the Colledge, of what price you please ...'.⁷⁴

Suitable guarantors were required for the wealthy Welsh students who had to give plate as well as caution money. Areal association played some part in this, for example, at Christ Church, Oxford, where William Thelwall of Essex, a relative of the Thelwalls of Bathafarn, Denbighshire and former member of Christ Church and Jesus Colleges, in 1635 assisted two gentleman-commoners from north-east Wales, Roger Whitley and John Trevor, as well as a London student, William Byerley.⁷⁵ Family ties were also useful in providing guarantees as when Matthew Seys, a younger son of the Roverton family, Glamorgan, and former member of Christ Church, stood surety in 1636 for his brother William, who belonged to the under-, as opposed to gentlemen's, commons.⁷⁶

The guarantors for cautions and plate need not have been university members nor relatives. People of means and good security were all that was required, and tradesmen in the university towns proved just as suitable, as in the case of William Jones, a plebeian

student from Anglesey attending Lincoln College, Oxford, in the 1630s, who was sponsored by a local saddler.⁷⁷

College revenues

Admitting fee-paying students was often crucial for the newer or poorer colleges to provide a suitable income with which to maintain the elected scholars and fellows.⁷⁸ Most colleges in the sixteenth century had witnessed the devaluation of their benefactions, as inflation ate away at fixed money rents and annuities. To combat this, Parliament through the work of Sir Thomas Smith passed the Act for the Maintenance of the Colleges in the Universities and of Winchester and Eaton (1576).⁷⁹ It provided that when colleges renewed or set out new leases of their lands, one-third of the total rent was to be paid in kind (in wheat and malt), the amount of corn to be established by assessing this third part at fixed prices per quarter weight; so that, at a time of rising food prices, the colleges were guaranteed adequate supplies of grain to be deployed directly as commons or to be re-sold at prevailing market prices, which were higher, and the return to be used to buy further commons and stipends for the endowed members.

The operation of the Act was seen most clearly in Wales as it affected All Souls College. Its lands in St. Clear's, Carmarthenshire, during the 1500s were held by the noted civilian Dr. Robert Lougher at £16 per annum, a long-established rent.⁸⁰ Lougher's, and his son's, indentures to renew the tenancy, in 1579, 1583 and 1591, saw little change in the nominal value of the rent, but it did impose the terms of Smith's Act, with the result that the

money rent was reduced to £10.13s. 4d., but that the remainder of the old rent was made up of fixed proportions of wheat and malt, which, to the College's benefit, were adjusted slightly over the years.⁸¹ Substantially similar terms were retained in 1611, when the Lougher family renegotiated its tenancy, and in 1628 when the lands were held by a different tenant.⁸² A glimpse may be had of the College's other lands in South Wales a few years later, when Sir Thomas Mansell leased property at Llangennydd for £15.5s. 8d. annually plus 14½ quarters of wheat and over nineteen quarters of malt.⁸³

The Act, therefore, ensured securer rents and the surpluses on the corn rent ensured improved commons for endowed members. At All Souls in 1596, for example, the increase in the corn surplus amounted to £934.1s. 0¾d. in 1595-6. The profit could be used to supplement commons or, more often, retained as security.⁸⁵ Rarely was there full agreement about the use these profits were put to, particularly about the distribution of the surplus to the society and the preferential treatment for heads and senior fellows.⁸⁶ St. John's College, Cambridge, under its Master, Owen Gwyn, in 1628 formulated a system of dividends to distribute revenue from land among the fellowship according to seniority. It was an attempt to clarify the revised statutes of the College pertaining to this matter, and particularly of trying to ensure that inflation did not undermine wholly the fixed stipends set out for scholars and fellows.⁸⁷ For students of slender means it was important that if they got endowed places the income should be sufficient to

maintain them. Thomas Baker, the historian of St. John's, writing in the late seventeenth century, thought £6 per annum issuing out of an initial endowment of land worth £120 was sufficient to maintain a fellow.⁸⁸

Some colleges, such as Wadham and Corpus Christi in Oxford, were very well endowed;⁸⁹ others, such as Jesus College, were long bereft of adequate income to maintain the fellows and scholars as resident members, and it was only in the few decades before the Civil War that Jesus College began to receive sufficient endowments, particularly from Wales, to provide suitable maintenance for a resident regular membership.⁹⁰

Scholarships and Fellowships

Welsh students found well-maintained scholarships and fellowships at other Oxford colleges during this period. Christ Church, a recent royal foundation, was very well endowed. Theology scholars, usually arts graduates, were treated best, receiving a stipend of 20s. a term in the late sixteenth century, for example, Rice Powell in 1577-8,⁹¹ and 26s. 8d. per annum for livery, for example, Richard Vaughan in 1598-90.⁹² Senior philosophy scholars received 13s. 4d. per term and 20s. for livery, for example, Thomas Aubrey in 1577-8, and William Aubrey and Richard Lloyd in 1589-90.⁹³ Junior philosophy scholars and other undergraduate scholars - discipuli - received even lower stipends, philosophers such as Thomas Aubrey and William Prichard in 1589-90 receiving 6s. 8d.⁹⁴ a term and 13s. 4d. for livery, and the discipuli 4s. and 12s. in the first group, for example, John Gunter⁹⁵ in 1589-90, and

20d. and 10s. in the second group.

As the scholars progressed academically then so too could they progress to a higher, better qualified and better maintained group; for example, Thomas Aubrey in 1590 or John Lloyd, a B.A., who moved from the first group of discipuli to the second group of philosophy scholars in 1610-11.⁹⁶ Moreover, stipends were available for suitable students to fill college posts such as Bible Lecturer, which Lloyd occupied in 1611 or chaplain, which Maurice Roberts held in 1585.⁹⁷ Such an organisation of college posts and scholars' stipends depicted here among the Welsh students at Christ Church seems to have been little different at other colleges where Welshmen were involved or from the arrangements at Cambridge where a large number of Welsh scholars were elected at St. John's.⁹⁸

During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries fellows' remunerations also advanced, and from the point of view of Welsh students this is most clearly seen at All Souls College with the payments of fellows' 'liberata'.⁹⁹ During the first half of the sixteenth century junior fellows received about 20s., only about a quarter of which was actually to purchase livery, calculated as about five yards of cloth.¹⁰⁰ In 1533, Hugh Whitford, elected Fellow in 1530, received £1.1s. 0d.¹⁰¹ More senior fellows at this time received close to £1.10s. 0d., for example, John Howell, who had 27s. 8d. in 1539.¹⁰² Naturally the Warden of the College, its officials and senior fellows and doctors all got more.

Allowances rose gradually until the mid-sixteenth century and

remained stable thereafter until the 1570s. Junior fellows in 1551, for instance, received about £1.10s. 0d., for example, John Griffith and William Aubrey, and more senior fellows received progressively more. Henry Jones, a student at law, for example, received 36s. 8d.¹⁰³ By the early 1570s, junior fellows such as Griffith Lloyd received £1.11s. 0d., while senior fellows and college officers, such as David Lloyd, got more than double the sum, £3.11s. 0d.¹⁰⁴ The difference in seniority determined the sum to be paid, but what determined its actual payment was residence. Absentee fellows did not qualify and so Dr. John Lloyd, for example, was excluded from the liberata lists in the 1560s.¹⁰⁵

Payments altered only little in the later 1570s, with fellows of two years' standing in 1575 receiving 25s. (David Powell and Francis Bevans), those of four and five years receiving 31s. and 32s. (David Price and Owen Davies). Fellows of even longer standing, for example, Dr. Edward Price, a fellow for eight years, were given 36s., while college officers, for example, Foulk Owen, the bursar, and David Lloyd, the dean of law, got £5.¹⁰⁶ Thereafter, as College surpluses increased, the members were given significantly larger sums. Thus, in 1591, a junior fellow of two years' standing such as John Gibbons received 43s. More senior men who were graduating in the higher faculties, such as Roderick Lloyd, got £3.5s. 0d. The seniors, the doctors, such as Evan Morris, received as much as £11, while college officers were the highest paid of all; for example, John Williams, the dean of law, received £13.¹⁰⁷

By the early seventeenth century the livery payments at the

College were rationalised, so that most fellows received a proportionately larger basic allowance. The most junior and the Bachelor fellows were given £4, for example, Evan Price in 1601.¹⁰⁸ Other fellows below the degree of Doctor all received a basic allowance of £5, for example, Jenkin Vaughan, Thomas Gwynne, and Roderick Lloyd in 1607.¹⁰⁹ Leading officers of the College and the doctors received a basic allowance of £6.13s. 4d., for example, Oliver Lloyd in 1607.¹¹⁰ In addition, payments were made in the form of a dividend out of the surplus income of the College. In this respect senior members and officers were in a more favourable position. In 1607 the Warden received six guineas, the sub-Warden £4.10s. 0d., and the deans and bursars £2.4s. 4d. each; the two senior fellows, including Roderick Lloyd, also received £2.4s. 4d. Oliver Lloyd, as the only Doctor, received 30s., most of the fellows of some standing who were masters, including Thomas Gwynne, Jenkin Vaughan, and William Brynkir, received 19s. 8d., and the junior fellows 16s. 10d. each.¹¹¹

A fellowship, therefore, brought substantial remuneration to a student, and provided him with the means of pursuing further studies in the arts or the higher faculties, and also to acquire a position of authority and status within both college and university. The progress of Griffith Lloyd and John Williams is adequate testimony to this. Some long held their places, indicating the value placed on them. At All Souls, for example, a few Welsh fellows kept their posts for well over ten years, often long after achieving their doctorates. Evan Morris, for example, who became Fellow in 1577

and graduated D.C.L. in 1592, was still in residence in 1595. Similarly, Oliver Lloyd, appointed Fellow in 1591, was still there in 1612, again long after graduating D.C.L. While Morris and Lloyd were exceptional in their length of residence, other Welsh fellows of the College remained in their posts for as much as ten years or as long as it took to complete their degree, for example, Owen Meredith, Fellow from 1577 until about 1590-1 when he graduated B.D.¹¹²

Jesus College in the 1630s provided a contrast in the turnover in fellowships, particularly of Welsh fellows. It seems that, on average, fellowships there were not held for more than about five years,¹¹³ and in part this may have been because the College was unable to maintain its fellows for long as resident fellows. In addition, and in contrast to All Souls, Jesus made no special provision for preparing students in the higher faculties. Most of the Jesus College fellows remained M.A.s whereas a large number of those at All Souls took higher degrees in divinity and, in particular, law.

Given the limited number of fellowships available in the universities, only a comparatively small proportion of the Welsh students could have expected to be appointed to these posts. Of the recorded admissions from Wales between c.1545 and 1642 at the universities (2004), some 8.6 per cent (173) at least are indicated to have held college fellowships. Fellowships were especially available at colleges which had links with Wales in endowments and benefactions. Thus, there were at least forty-four Welsh fellows

at Jesus College, Oxford, from its foundation until 1642, and it is clear that by the 1630s Welsh students dominated the fellows' posts. In 1637, for example, of the sixteen seniors, Principal and fellows, present, thirteen were Welshmen.¹¹⁴ At St. John's, Cambridge, between 1547 and 1642, twenty-two of its fellows were from Wales, taking advantage of the particular Welsh benefactions and other available endowed places.¹¹⁵

In theory, in most colleges there were fellowships which were suitable for Welsh students, and Welsh fellows in the hundred years or so before 1642 were appointed to many colleges. At Cambridge, there were six Welsh fellows at both Queens' and Jesus Colleges and four at Christ's College, appointed through special provision set aside for Wales.¹¹⁶ Other colleges must have had open places which were filled by competent Welsh students. At Cambridge, Welsh fellows occupied posts at St. Catharine's (3), Clare (2), Trinity, Corpus Christi, Magdalene Colleges and Trinity and Gonville Halls (1 each).¹¹⁷ At Oxford, Welshmen filled fellowships at Merton (2), St. John's (2), Exeter (1) and Brasenose (1) Colleges,¹¹⁸ and at Oxford too, it is apparent that there were colleges, though having no statutes or benefactions specifically for appointing Welshmen, yet made regular provision for students from the Principality. Oriel College, for example, throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries elected Welsh students to fellowships (20), sometimes having a succession of Welshmen to one place, as in 1584 and 1602.¹¹⁹ All Souls College was of specific importance in this period, bestowing fellowships on students from all parts of Wales,

not just the south-west where it had land. At least fifty Welsh fellows were recorded at this College from the mid-sixteenth century until 1642.¹²⁰

University and College servants

Since scholarships¹²¹ and fellowships were associated with only a small proportion of the Welsh students, as much attention ought to be paid to the life and studies of the remainder. Before any such discussion can be undertaken, however, some notice must be made of another group, frequently overlooked in the annals of the colleges, who formed a permanent element in their affairs, namely the regular servants.¹²² Welshmen found a place among this group, too.

There is much detail about Oxford servants, though it is difficult always to distinguish the full-time servants from the poor student servitors.¹²³ For example, it seems quite likely that Griffith Owen, who was a servant at Christ Church in 1589-90, was also a matriculant of Hart Hall and a graduate of Christ Church.¹²⁴ Twenty years later, there was still a servant named Griffith or Griffin Owen officiating at the College church, but he was probably another poor scholar of the same name from Wales who was at the College.¹²⁵ Servants listed among the privileged members of the University may also have included students who were personal, rather than communal, servants, in the regular employ of wealthy students or prominent academics, for example, Roger Morris of Flintshire and Lewis Evans of Caernarvonshire who were members of Hart Hall in the early 1570s.¹²⁶ The Brasenose College register noted the admission

of Rowland Pilyn of Anglesey as a poor student serving Mr. Robert Harrison in 1579, while at Christ Church, a servant, Ellis Thomas, matriculated as a student in 1589/90.¹²⁷

Of the list of servants who were denoted as privileged members of Oxford University¹²⁸ in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, fully twenty-nine came from Wales, all but four from North Wales, again suggesting that men of modest origins from this area were going to the universities. Anglesey was the county of origin of about a third of these servants, and as was previously noted, this county had the highest proportion of plebeian students among the Oxford matriculations, and servants came from similar origins. Of the nine Welsh servants whose matriculation status was noted, seven were plebeians, two sons of gentlemen. It was no disgrace for gentlemen's sons to be in service, particularly as personal servants. In Rowland Whyte of the Fryars, Anglesey, one has one of the more famous examples of personal adviser-servant, who worked for the interest of Robert Sidney and his family, not only during the latter's academic career, but for several decades.¹²⁹

Some of the principals of colleges, on the evidence of their wills, also retained Welsh servants, for instance, Griffith Powell and John Williams of Jesus College, Oxford, and Owen Gwyn of St. John's, Cambridge, and the Oxford list of privileged servants indicates that there were Welshmen in service at most of the colleges and halls which received large numbers of their countrymen as students. The halls in particular stood out,¹³⁰ and possibly

servants there received some education gratis. If the signing of the Subscription Book is any indication, then the large majority of these Welsh servants was literate, only a few men of longer standing, such as John Hughes, servant to the Principal of Jesus College, being obliged to make a mark.¹³¹

Beyond the bare statistical facts little more can be added about Welsh university servants as a whole. In one case, however, that of Richard Williams, some more information about his social background can be gleaned. Williams was a butler at Christ Church, Oxford, and his name appears in a series of documents relating to the sale of land near Bangor to Pys Griffith of Penrhyn, a leading house in Caernarvonshire.¹³² A tenement belonging to Williams, formerly occupied by his brother and nephew, was sold to Griffith, and the transaction is unremarkable save that it reveals Williams's status as both a servant of Christ Church and as a gentleman of Maenol Bangor. One can speculate whether Williams went into service because he might have been a younger son needing to make his fortune elsewhere. His land in Bangor fetched a goodly sum of £200, so that at the time he was of some means.

Oxford may have been at the centre of the sale, for Pys Griffith had matriculated at University College 1586, and Williams may have done some service for him.¹³³ Certainly the influence of Oxford in the transaction can also be seen by the fact that the witnesses to Griffith's part-payment for the sale in 1592 seem to have been two Oxford men, William Lewis, probably of Christ Church, and Maurice Griffith, a member of University College.¹³⁴

One further point about Williams was his relative illiteracy, despite his contacts with learning. He signed the documents with a mark, and it may be surmised that, whatever his reasons for becoming an Oxford servant, they did not include getting an education. Similar marks, vertical crosses, for a servant named Williams appear in the Christ Church College livery lists as far back as at least 1577-8, suggesting that the Welshman was a servant of long standing. In 1589-90, the name and a similar mark appear in the stipend lists among, perhaps significantly, the 'pauperes'.¹³⁵

Such men as Williams were undoubtedly useful contacts when families of the same locality decided to send their sons to university. They could help keep the students in some order and probity if not ensure their intellectual progress. A college servant in this period warranted some status,¹³⁶ and Williams as butler, whether poor or not, would have ranked high among the communal servants.¹³⁷ His name does not appear among the servants given privileged status, and there must have been many like him. The employment of servants, especially personal servants, was a general reflection of contemporary society. It indicated the style of life towards which students aspired, ^{or from which they came} In a similar way, the sums of money expended, quite apart from battels, commons and tuition fees, and the goods and chattels acquired, were also indications of lifestyle.

Student lifestyle

Evidence is regrettably scarce about the means of the poorer

undergraduates and graduates, and one can imagine that they lived as sparingly as possible. What information we have about Welsh students relates to the sons of the gentry, and specifically to Pwys Griffith, noted above, William Brynkir, a student of Oriel College and Fellow of All Souls at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, and Robert Wynn of Gwydir, also noted above.¹³⁸

Once admitted, students had to spend money on making their chambers sufficiently comfortable, and bedding was of prime consideration. Robert Wynn, when he entered St. John's, Cambridge, in 1607/8, brought his own bed and bed-clothes with him.¹³⁹ It was important to have a minimum of such requirements. As William Brynkir reported c.1600, he could not do with less than two pairs of sheets,¹⁴⁰ and by 1612, Robert Wynn thought it decent to ask for a new bed-cover, being so ashamed of the old one.¹⁴¹ Chamber furniture and household equipment were also required. Brynkir paid 6d. for 'ye pott to drinke, a spoone and a trancher at the table', while Wynn's tutor spent 2s. 10d. for a 'chamber pott and basen' for him and 2s. 6d. 'for a deske', in 1609.¹⁴²

Clothing, and materials to make clothes, formed a major expense. Brynkir spent 10s. 6d. on four yards of fustian, 6d. on coarse lining and 2s. for white lining and bombast,¹⁴³ sums which were, however, modest compared with that spent on Robert Wynn at Cambridge. His tutor paid out 48s. 6d.:

'for lace for his gowne, pomes fustian, 2 yards and a halfe of fine gray freeze, baies and buttons, silk and ribben, 3 yards of mixt searge white fustian, russet fustian, cotton buttons, loose lace stiffening for his dublet and making up for his last suite....',¹⁴⁴

all of which, it is likely, on Owen Gwyn's advice, would have been purchased in London.¹⁴⁵

A large sum was paid out on as grand clothing for Pys Griffith by Sir Thomas Mostyn in 1582-3. Buttons and fustian costing 13s. 6d. were purchased to make a doublet and a shirt and hats were bought for 16s. 8d. The most expensive item, however, was five yards of silk program costing £3.6s. 8d. to make a cloak.¹⁴⁶

Such resources provide a contrast to the experiences of earlier Welsh students such as Griffith Evans of Christ Church, Oxford, who relied on his parents to send him cloth for his gown and the money to have it made up, and Richard Wynn of Gwydir, short of funds and having to wear threadbare clothing at Brasenose in 1574.¹⁴⁷ This would clearly not have pleased a grander student such as Richard Wynn's nephew, Robert, who wrote in 1612 that he considered not 'decent' the frieze his mother had intended sending him and his brother.¹⁴⁸ It was a sign of changing tastes and the frequency with which the universities' statutes relating to dress were being overlooked. At the same time Wynn felt he had to have clothing for both winter and summer.

Other expenses on dress included Griffith paying 8s. 6d. for jersey stockings and Robert Wynn 7s. 6d., to 'the hosier for stockings and socks', and 8d. another time for mending gown and

stockings.¹⁴⁹ Shoes were also required; Brynkir paid 21d. for two pairs, Wynn 5s. 6d. for 'a paire of shoes, a paire of slippers shoes soling'.¹⁵⁰

Wynn's lists of expenses which are more detailed than those of Griffith or Brynkir, indicated other aspects of student spending. Gloves at about 1s. a pair were bought fairly regularly as were candles, an important item at 4d. each to light the ill-lit chambers and studies. Garters and cuffs were also regularly purchased, with points¹⁵¹ to draw tapes in hems. Wynn paid for his commons regularly and, in addition, bought extra suppers. He paid 3s. each quarter for the making of his bed, possibly by a sizar, and 2s. 6d. each quarter to the laundress, one of the few female servants employed by colleges.

Robert Wynn was in a relatively favoured position. His father was reasonably indulgent provided his tutor took care to supervise the boy's spending. Other parents were unconcerned about their sons. The squire, William Wynn of Glyn, was told in no uncertain terms of the difficulties of his son Cadwaladr,

'you must with all expedicion send him some money, for his Gowen and Clothes are worne verie hard and thearfore I desire yow with all hast to furnishe him with all convenience befitting your sonne ...'.¹⁵²

Inventories of Welsh university students

Further information about the means of students of more senior standing is located in the wills and inventories proved in the university courts.¹⁵³ They indicate that these Welsh students

seem to have lived in a modest fashion. The wills dating from the late sixteenth century until the 1630s show a range of goods and belongings of between £10 and £30. At Oxford, Thomas Lorte's inventory was valued at £10.19s. 6d. in 1597, Thomas Aubrey's at £12 in 1595, Roderick Lloyd's at £35.5s. 6d. in 1609. David Seys's inventory was valued at £27.16s. 4d. in 1632, a low sum when one considers that the cook at Jesus College, Thomas Price, when he died in 1638, was worth £29.9s. 4d. Seys, indeed, was a debtor and his estate was subject to an action at the vice-Chancellor's court. At Cambridge, William Holland, whose will was actually proved at Canterbury, was worth £12.5s. 8d. in 1608, and Richard Fletcher in 1616 worth £64.10s. 8d.

In some cases these values are misleading. Fletcher's will was exaggerated by the various sums owed him, £23, of which £16 were 'dettes desperatt', that is, were wholly lost. Roderick Lloyd, as a senior lawyer at Oxford, was owed a very large amount, £278.12s. 2d. by various university members, including William Brynkir (10s.) above, and Jenkin Vaughan (10s.). Lloyd also held an advowson. By contrast, Thomas Lorte, when his whole estate was considered, was found, like Seys, to be a debtor to the sum of £22.2s. 9d.

A large proportion of the total wealth in these inventories, between a quarter and a third, consisted of chamber furnishings; and clothing also formed a significant proportion, cloaks, jerkins, hoods, surplices, stoles. Bedroom furniture of various sorts, beds and linen were also included. A very prominent item in most of these

inventories were books. They formed three-quarters of Seys's inventory, and half of Aubrey's and Lloyd's. A quarter of Holland's inventory was valued in books, while Fletcher's books formed a third of the whole nominal value of his inventory, or two-thirds of the inventory excluding the debts owing. Thomas Lorte was the least well served of the students.

Conditions for heads of colleges were obviously better. They were men of much substance if the will of Owen Gwyn, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, (1633) is typical.¹⁵⁴ His inventory was valued at £815.4s. 4d., of which £600 was in ready cash and another £85 was in the form of plate. The remainder was formed of clothing, furniture, bedding, a coach and horse, and books. His library, though probably a large one since it was worth £51, formed a relatively small proportion of the total value of the inventory.

Heads of colleges and senior fellows had precedence in the allocation of the best accommodation. The majority of college members had to share chambers which, in the sixteenth century, were frequently unceiled, cold, damp, dark and often also devoid of heating.¹⁵⁵ The influx of fee-paying students enabled and stimulated the construction of better chambers at many colleges, particularly at Cambridge, and by the 1630s considerable advances had been made at Oxford, too, for example, at Jesus College, in providing warmer and better-lit chambers.

There would be much anxiety about obtaining suitable living conditions for young students, and Sir John Wynn used his influence

with members of St. John's, whose rooms were generally above average, in order to gain suitable accommodation for his son Robert. A kinsman, John Williams, the future archbishop, obtained a satisfactory chamber for one winter for him,¹⁵⁶ and by 1609, Wynn's accounts indicate that he had a fireplace in his chamber, for he had to pay for fuel.¹⁵⁷ In 1612, the Master of the College secured a good chamber for him, and he was offered the previous occupant's furniture for £4.¹⁵⁸

At Oxford, Robert Wynn's near contemporary, John Thomas of Caernarvon, was assisted by William Brynkir, and the student had more good fortune, perhaps because of his high status, in being given a chamber for his exclusive use.¹⁵⁹ That was a considerable privilege since from medieval times, colleges had obliged students to share accommodation in threes or fours. Fellows, with few exceptions, were also obliged to share either with another fellow or with a student. Each fellow had his own bed, but if more than one student were also in occupation, they often had to share.¹⁶⁰ Fellows also had study cubicles in their rooms where they could supervise their charges. The wills of Roderick Lloyd and Richard Fletcher, noted above, indicate that they had desks for four or five pupils, and in Fletcher's will, he possessed a trundle bed, of the sort usually allotted to junior students.

Commons, like rooms, were allocated according to seniority, with the masters and seniors getting the largest share as they got the best furnished rooms.¹⁶¹ Communal living, however, entailed a common diet which, in the first half of the sixteenth century, was

inadequate and monotonous, consisting as it did of beef, broths and porridge. As diet became better funded, it improved, so that at the end of the century fee-paying and endowed members alike could partake of fish and poultry, and drink wine regularly.¹⁵²

Though diet and accommodation improved, the dangers of ill-health among the student population were still considerable. The risks of urban life continued and pestilence and fever were regular visitors to Oxford and Cambridge, disrupting academic work and dispersing the student body.¹⁶³ John Williams attested to this in 1608:

'I doe hope our colledge shall meete agayne before Christmasse; for as yeate there is more causeles feare than apparent daunger of any infection.'¹⁶⁴

Increasingly stricter precautions were taken by university and college authorities to remove their members, particularly the younger ones, to the country,¹⁶⁵ though seniors tended to be more stoical. Thus, John Williams remained at Cambridge in 1610, despite the virulent plague, to make up for time already lost.¹⁶⁶

Such illnesses and infections undoubtedly disrupted the university towns as centres of commerce and they did cause admissions to slump in the immediately succeeding years,¹⁶⁷ while parents whose sons were already there were most anxious. John Williams, for example, gave a detailed report earlier in 1610 of the care he took of Robert Wynn of Gwydir.¹⁶⁸

Besides plague, students' letters frequently contained references to illness. William Brynkir, in 1616, alluded to the

illness which had befallen him at Oxford and to the more serious discomfiture of William Glyn of Llewlar, who had seemed to be at death's door at one stage.¹⁶⁹ Robert Wynn had reported of the 'burninge feaver' which had hit his brother William at Cambridge and which had begun to abate largely through the care of a local woman. Clearly, such an optimistic report was insufficient for the Gwydir family, and William was ordered home from college, and never returned there.¹⁷⁰ Tragically, Robert Wynn himself was soon to die at Cambridge. Already having been ill in 1616 but improving 'in this hooly clymate and sayntyd weather', he relapsed into a prolonged fever and died the following year to the anguish not merely of his parents but also his tutor and fellows at St. John's.¹⁷¹

A happier outcome was the survival of Jonathan Edwards at Oxford in 1636. Care and attention paid dividends here, too, though this time it was the devotion of his relative and fellow student, 'brother' John Edwards, and his medicine, which rescued him:

'for his physicke has brought my body from a sickly and crasye droppinness to a good and healthfull temper. But thinke not that it was my good conceite that wrought more effectually than the medicine: for he hath administred to others with as happy successe.'

a fine testimony to a future medical career.¹⁷²

If college and university authorities took steps to safeguard the health of the students they also tried to administer other aspects of life too. There were considerable difficulties, for

example, in getting students to conform to the regulations of dress,¹⁷³ in preventing ill-judged sports and activity, football, tavern visiting, etc., and proctors had also to control and punish violent behaviour, in which the fee-paying short-staying students were prominent.¹⁷⁴ It was all too easy for the best of pupils to be drawn into Lenten feasting, sensual pleasure, viciousness and rejecting authority.¹⁷⁵ Little wonder that concerned parents, with some knowledge, perhaps, of college life could counsel their sons:

'Keepe company with honest students that apeare
evill courses as drinking and takeing Thobakko to
ther own losse and discredit of their freinds and
parents, whoe sent them to the university for
better parposes.'¹⁷⁶

Unruliness also bred violence, and although communal violence was less than it had been during the middle ages, Welshmen sometimes were involved in such behaviour,¹⁷⁷ and had a reputation, in the eyes of the concerned father above, at least, of being less than reliable. Cadwaladr Wynne was advised:

'I hadd Rather that you should keepe company with
studious honest Englishmen the with many of your
owne countrey men / who are more prone to be idle
Riotous / then the English ... '¹⁷⁸

This reputation was the product in some cases of unfounded allegation, as in Wood's accusation that the Welsh dominated All Souls College, Oxford.¹⁷⁹ In fact, of course, the Welsh dominated no college, except Jesus College, Oxford, but they were a recognizable group,

probably quite close-knit, and when drawn into internal college disputes it was all too easy to blame them; and at Magdalene and Caius Colleges, Cambridge, as will be discussed below, they seemed, superficially at least, to be subject to discrimination.¹⁸⁰

Personal violence and misdemeanour on an individualistic as opposed to a communal basis seems to have been more characteristic of student and town-gown activity in this period. Welsh students undoubtedly did their share of misdeeds against strangers and their fellows, the manslaughter of a student at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1613/4 being probably the most serious incident, but college, university, and even governmental, authorities were normally quick to investigate and to punish.¹⁸¹ Equally, Welsh students were victims to the casual violence and ill-feeling that arose, for example, the unprovoked attack on William Holland at St. John's, Cambridge, in the 1590s.¹⁸²

Fees and expenses, diet and accommodation, illness and violence comprised the circumstances in which students pursued their studies, and attention must now be paid to the features of university education in this period as experienced by students from Wales.

CHAPTER III : PART (i) - NOTES

1. Vide M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition (1959), pp. 34 ff.
2. Loc. cit.; Grace Book Δ . Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge ... 1542-89, ed. J. Venn (1910), p. vi.
3. F. Madan, ed., Quartercentenary Monographs of Brasenose, II, i (1909), (X) pt. 2, 30-31.
4. A. Clark, ed., Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii (1887), 1-2.
5. Ibid., 4. Hugh Appowel was perhaps supplicant for B.A. 1559 (C.W. Boase, ed., Reg. Univ. Oxon., I, 240).
6. E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), p. 17; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 4. Griffith, probably B.A. 1578/9, servant at Jesus College, 1572/3 (ibid., ii, 36; iii (1888), 79).
7. Ibid., ii, 5. Edward Price, Fellow of All Souls, from Wales (All Souls College, List of Fellows 1438-1937 (Oxford n.d.) and ex inf. J.S.G. Simmons, Librarian of All Souls College, (13/5/74)).
8. M.H. Curtis, op. cit., p. 81; K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (1965), chap. 5; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., ii (1884), 399.
9. Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 5, 45.
10. Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 380.
11. Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 6-8.
12. J. Ballinger, ed., C(alendar of) W(ynn of Gwydir) P(apers) (1926), no. 414; P. Yorke, The Royal Tribes of Wales (1799), p. 150.
13. C.H.O. Daniel and W.R. Barker, Worcester College (1900), App. C, p. 257.
14. Ibid., p. 112.
15. Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 31.
16. Daniel and Barker, op. cit., p. 112.

17. A. Gray, (A History of) Jesus College, Cambridge, revised ed. by F. Brittain (1960), p. 50.
18. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i (1887), 9-10; ii, 214; iii, 217; Al. Oxon., Matriculating pleb. f., he was 6th son of Griffith John Griffith of Cefnamwlch (J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 189).
19. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 64, 217 ff.; C.E. Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford, II (1924), 129-30.
20. H.E. Peek and C.P. Hall, The Archives of the University of Cambridge (1962), p. 46; J.R. Tanner, ed., The Historical Register of the University of Cambridge (1917), p. 50.
21. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 222; ii, 285; iii, 288; Al. Oxon.; All Souls College, List of Fellows, p. 13, amended by J.S.G. Simmons; J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 376.
22. J. Burnett, A History of the Cost of Living (1969), pp. 92-3.
23. H(istorical) M(anuscripts) C(ommission), De L'Isle and Dudley Manuscripts, I (1925), 268-9.
24. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir MS 473, 15 Jan., 1607/8; Al. Cant. sub Gwyn.
25. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 481, 28 June, 1608.
26. T. Jones Pierce, ed., Clenennau (Letters and Papers) (1947), no. 244, dated 1608; Al. Oxon.
27. G.R. Batho, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman', British Journal of Educational Studies, V (1957), 131 ff.
28. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 505, 8 Sept., 1609.
29. E.A. Lewis, ed., An Inventory of Early Chancery Proceedings relating to Wales (1937), p. 22.
30. N.L.W., Chirk Castle MS E. 3321, 25 Jan. 1635/6; Al. Oxon.
31. N.L.W., Chirk Castle E. 3334, 19 June, 1636; Al. Oxon.; J.Y.W. Lloyd, Powys Fadoq, III (1882), 81.
32. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 571, 4 Nov., 1611.
33. Ibid., 573, 19 Nov., 1611.
34. U(niversity) C(ollege of) N(orth) W(ales, Bangor), Mostyn MS 6478, Accounts 1625-7; Al. Cant.

35. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 736, 26 August [?1612]; Al. Cant. sub William Gwyn and John Langford.
36. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 315 ff.; Peek and Hall, Archives of the University of Cambridge, p. 47.
37. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6478.
38. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 476, 15 Feb., 1607/8.
39. U.C.N.W., Penrhos II/39, 12 June, 1620; Al. Oxon.
40. N.L.W., Clenennau Letters and Papers MS 444; Clenennau no. 444, n.d.; Al. Oxon. as Wynne.
41. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6476; Al. Oxon., for Griffith, Glyn, Richard Meredith and Henry Rowland; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., ii, 396-7.
42. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 61, f. 89, dated 1570; ibid., 473, dated 1607; cf. Clenennau 197.
43. A. Clark, ed., The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, I (1891), 243; C(alendar of) S(tate) P(apers) Dom(estic), Charles I, vol. X, 1636-7, 153.
44. R.F. Scott, ed., Notes from the College Records (extracted from The Eagle, magazine of St. John's College, Cambridge), 4th Ser. (1914-17), 165-6; V.C.H. Cambridge, III (1959), 440; St. John's College, Cambridge, Library, biographical notes collected by F.P. White (hereafter F.P. White, 'Notes'); Al. Cant., D.N.B. and D.W.B. sub Morgan; cf. Madan, ed., Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (XI), 17.
45. Bodl(eian Library, Oxford), Rawlinson MS D. 273, f. 305. For Rogers, vide Al. Oxon., Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 139; iii, 126; for William Simberb and Samuel Reve of Christ Church, vide ibid., ii, 38; iii, 56.
46. W.H. Stevenson and H.E. Salter, The Early History of St. John's College, Oxford (1939), pp. 217-18.
47. N.L.W., Chirk Castle E. 1357, 5 August, 1639; Al. Oxon.; Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 285; 'Brother Jones' was probably David Jones of Denbigh town, matr. Christ Church 1634 (Al. Oxon.).
48. N.L.W., Clenennau 444.
49. C.E. Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, II, 159, 180.

50. M. Burrows, Worthies of All Souls: four centuries of English history illustrated from the College archives (1874), chap. III, p. 44; Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (IX), 145-50.
51. J.B. Mullinger, St. John's College (1901), p. 24.
52. Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (XI), 16-17; J.R. Bloxham, A Register of the Presidents, Fellows, Demies ... and other Members of Saint Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford (1853-85), IV, i-iv.
53. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. c. 173, ff. 48^v-49; ibid., e. 82, ff. 25-32, for Lincoln College.
54. Ibid., e. $\frac{124}{2}$, ff. 34-35^v.
55. Christ Church College, Oxford, Library, MSS X(1) c. 3, Matricula 1547-1635, and transcripts by T.V. Bayne (1877). For Griffin Roberts, vide supra n. 29, also G.J. Williams, ed., Gramadeg Gruffydd Robert (1939), pp. x-xii; D.W.B. for John Herbert and John Davies (Siôn Dafydd Rhys).
56. Christ Church College, X(1) c. 30 and Bayne, op. cit.; Al. Oxon.; and Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 101, 102, 106, 136, 143, 161, 175, 195; iii, 109, 118, 129, 143, 149, 153, 154, 179, 197.
57. Christ Church College, X(1) c. 10. 'Au(w)brey' varies in spelling.
58. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. e. $\frac{124}{11}$.
59. Ibid., c. 173, ff. 3-12^v; e. 128, ff. 3 et seq.
60. Notes from the College Records, 3rd Ser. (1906-13), 91-92; Grace Book β . Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge ... pt. i ... 1488-1511, ed. M. Bateson (1903), introduction; Peek and Hall, Archives of the University of Cambridge, p. 5.
61. R.F. Scott, ed., 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, magazine of St. John's College, Cambridge, XX (1899), 287-90.
62. G.C. Richards and H.E. Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel, 1446-1661 (1926), pp. 186, 205.
63. Bodl., MS DD All Souls College, c. 262/13. John Williams of Monmouthshire, Fellow in 1593 (ex inf. J.S.G. Simmons and All Souls List of Fellows; Al. Oxon.).
64. Bodl., DD All Souls, c. 262/102, 111, 117; Al. Oxon.; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 244, 299; iii, 239, 306.

65. Bodl., DD All Souls, c. 262/107; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 362; iii, 183, 361; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 98-99.
66. Bodl., DD All Souls, c. 262/31, 128; B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-1641 (1973), pp. 249-50; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 168, 327, 333; iii, 207, 226, 336.
67. M.R. Burrows, Worthies of All Souls, pp. 115-16.
68. Stevenson and Salter, Early History of St. John's, pp. 240, 245; Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 41-42.
69. Richards and Salter, Dean's Register of Oriel, p. 247; C.L. Shadwell, Registrum Oriense, I (1893), 162. It is noticeable that after this new rule in 1618, several (ten) of the Welsh students (twenty-six) admitted direct to Oriel between then and 1642 were registered as servitors, whereas before, in 1601-18, all had been commoners. This illustrated the limited means of many of these Welsh students. Eight of the ten subsequently matriculated as plebeians or ministers' sons, the other two as paupers. In other respects the Welsh intake was a broad mix, with eleven of gentry status (ibid., *passim*).
70. C.W. Boase, Registrum Collegii Exoniensis (1894), p. xcvi.
71. Richards and Salter, op. cit., p. 213.
72. Monographs of Brasenose, I (1909), (V), 16; Boase, op. cit., p. 282; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 339.
73. E. Alfred Jones, 'The Silver Plate of Jesus College, Oxford', Y Cymmrodor, XVII (1904), 82-85.
74. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 574, 22 Nov., 1611.
75. Christ Church College, Oxford, Library, XIII b i Cautions 1625-41, ff. 44^r, 66^r, Matricula ff. 167, 185, 189, 195, and T.V. Bayne, transcripts; Al. Oxon. for Whitley and Byerley; there is no reference to Trevor here nor in Bodl., Oxford University Matriculation Register PP.
76. Christ Church College, XIII b i, f. 86. Two students named William Seys are recorded as having matriculated at Oxford in the 1630s (Al. Oxon.). They are probably the same person, namely the youngest son of Richard Seys of Boverton, and young brother of Matthew. It is just possible that this William Seys of Christ Church was the son of Richard Seys of Reeding and therefore nephew to Matthew. The Seys pedigree is not wholly clear, and it now transpires that Matthew and William were preceded at Oxford by David Seys, who, from his age at matriculation, must have been Richard Seys's second

son, not Evan. A Fellow of All Souls, he died young, and his brother Matthew Seys, then at Oxford, was his executor (infra n. 153 and text; G.T. Clark, Limbus Patrum Morganiae ..., pp. 218-9).

77. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. e. 82, f. 34; Al. Oxon.
78. Stevenson and Salter, Early History of St. John's, pp. 167-73, 210-12.
79. Act 18 Elizabeth I, c. 6 (L.L. Shadwell, ed., Enactments in Parliament specially concerning the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (1912), I, 190 ff.).
80. Bodl., MSS DD All Souls, c. 120/4-6, 9.
81. Ibid., c. 120/10-12. For Lougher (d. 1585), vide D.W.B., D.N.B., Al. Oxon.; A. Wood, Fasti Oxonienses sub 1564, in A. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ed. P. Bliss (1813-20).
82. Bodl., MSS DD All Souls, c. 120/13-16, agreements made by Robert Lougher, probably the civilian's second son.
83. Ibid., c. 120/21.
84. T. Fuller, The History of the University of Cambridge, ed. J. Nichols (1840), p. 273.
85. Bodl., MS DD All Souls, c. 263/249-50.
86. Ibid., c. 263/258; T. Fowler, The History of Corpus Christi College (1893), pp. 331-54; Stevenson and Salter, op. cit., p. 287.
87. 'Notes from the College Records', The Eagle, XX (1899), 140.
88. Baker-Mayor, St. John's, I, 81.
89. C.E. Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, II, 258; T. Fowler, op. cit., p. 339.
90. Hardy, Jesus College, pp. 16-17, 22, 68 ff.
91. Christ Church College, Disbursement Books XII b/20; Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 276; II, ii, 33. Powell of Wales attended the College 1567-79 (Matricula, f. 57).
92. Christ Church, XII b/32; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 103; iii, 102.
93. Ibid., ii, 103; iii, 101; Al. Oxon.

94. Vide supra n. 56 and text; also infra n. 153 for Aubrey.
95. Ibid.
96. Christ Church, XII b/55; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 269; iii, 271.
97. Ibid., i, 92; ii, 95; iii, 102.
98. J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, from the earliest times ..., ii, 379; C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, I (1842), 431 ff.; esp. 436-8.
99. Strictly meaning livery, but clearly in this context referring not only to allowances for livery but also to the annual allowance paid out of landed income (vide (The) O(xford) E(nGLISH) D(ictionary) (1933), sub livery, quoting Robert Hoveden, Warden of All Souls 1571-1614, and C.R.L. Fletcher, ed., Collectanea: First Series, (Oxford Historical Society 1885), pp. 207-8, 211).
100. Bodl., MSS DD All Souls, c. 263/175, 191.
101. Ibid., c. 263/178; B.R.U.O. to 1540; All Souls College, List of Fellows, amended.
102. Ibid., sub Howellys.
103. Bodl., MS DD All Souls, c. 263/199; vide D.W.B. for all three, and Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 215, 217, 225.
104. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/202; Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 252, 278; D.W.B., for Griffith Lloyd; All Souls College, List of Fellows, amended, for Lloyd.
105. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/200; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 204; II, ii, 10.
106. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/207; Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 268; II, ii, 186; iii, 12, 25, 26, 32, 34; D.W.B. for Bevans David Powell must not be confused (as do Al. Oxon. and Req. Univ. Oxon., II) with the famous Welsh antiquary, who was probably first in Oxford long before this. The present David Powell was a native of Monmouthshire (All Souls, List of Fellows, amended, and J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire from the coming of the Normans ... to the Present time, I, Pt. ii (1906), 264).
107. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/222; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 84, 109, 136; iii, 126, 140; All Souls, List of Fellows; vide infra n. 153 et seq. for Lloyd.

108. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/228; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 206; iii, 209.
109. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/230; vide supra nn. 65, 66, 107.
110. MS DD All Souls, c. 263/230; supra n. 66.
111. Bodl., MS DD All Souls, c. 263/229; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 236; iii, 236; and Al. Oxon. for Brynkir; also vide infra.
112. Vide supra for the fellows mentioned.
113. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. e. 132, f. 10.
114. Loc. cit., and ibid., c. 173.
115. F.P. White, 'Notes'.
116. Vide infra chap. V (ii).
117. Derived from Al. Cant.
118. Derived from Al. Oxon.
119. G.C. Richards and C.L. Shadwell, The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford (1922), pp. 81, 82, 88.
120. All Souls College, List of Fellows, amended.
121. e.g., vide supra chap. II, Tables XXXIII-IV.
122. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 381 ff.
123. Ibid., i, 386.
124. Christ Church College, Oxford, Disbursement Books XII b/32; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 90; iii, 116, supplicated for B.A. 1582/3, but no certainty he completed it. A Griffith Owen of Christ Church who was B.A. 1587/8, and M.A. 1590, was probably a different person, perhaps the 'generosus' of Anglesey buried at Oxford 1607 (A. Wood, Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, ed. A. Clark, III (1899), 135).
125. Christ Church College, XII b/55; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 317.
126. Ibid., i, 386, 388; ii, 29; iii, 38.
127. Brasenose College Register 1509-1909, I (1909), 58; Christ Church College, Matricula, f. 92; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 391; iii, 90.

128. Ibid., i, 386 ff.
129. Ibid., i, 389. Aged fifteen when he matriculated in 1574/5, he was among the most youthful of the Welsh servants; L.C. John, 'Rowland Whyte, Elizabethan Letter-writer', Studies in the Renaissance, VIII (1961), 217 ff.
130. Hart Hall had four servants, St. Mary Hall, three, Gloucester Hall, two. Of the Colleges, Christ Church, All Souls and Jesus recorded two each, Brasenose, St. John's, Exeter, Magdalen, and Balliol, one each.
131. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 401. Aged forty-nine in 1610, servant to Dr. John Williams.
132. U.C.N.W., Penrhyn (Castle) MSS 352-55, 25 and 27 May, 1589.
133. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 150. For further details of Griffith, vide D.W.B. As a very wealthy student (supra n. 41), he retained a personal servant at Oxford 1582/3 (U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6476).
134. U.C.N.W., Penrhyn 355; Al. Oxon.; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 144, 155; iii, 142, 162.
135. Christ Church College, Oxford, Disbursement Books XII b/20, 32.
136. F. Madan, ed., Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 38-39; (XI) 21.
137. Stevenson and Salter, Early History of St. John's, pp. 152-3; Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. c. 173.
138. Supra nn. 26, 111.
139. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 476, 15 Feb., 1607/8.
140. N.L.W., Clennau 423, c.1600.
141. C.W.P., 610.
142. N.L.W., Clennau 423; Wynn, Gwydir 505.
143. N.L.W., Clennau 423.
144. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 505.
145. Ibid., 476.
146. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6476.

147. N.L.W., Rhual 88, printed in B.E. Howells, ed., A Calendar of Letters relating to North Wales (1967), p. 215; Cardiff City Library MS 4.58, pp. 93-4 in J. Gwynfor Jones, 'The Wynn Family and Estate of Gwydir: Their Origins, Growth and Development up to 1674', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1974), App., pp. 536-7. For Evans, vide supra n. 55.
148. C.W.P., 610.
149. U.C.N.W., Mostyn 6476; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 505.
150. Loc. cit.; Clenennau 423.
151. O.E.D.
152. N.L.W., Brogyntyn 3220, 2 March, 1637/8.
153. J. Griffiths, Index to Wills proved in the Court of the Chancellor of the University of Oxford (1862); H. Roberts, Calendar of Wills proved in the Vice Chancellor's Court at Cambridge (1907); Peak and Hall, Archives of the University of Cambridge, pp. 48-51; Bodleian, Archives of the University of Oxford, Inventories vols. A-Bo, D-F, K-L, P, R-S; Wills vols. D-E, L, O-P; Administrations vols. LA-OX, S-TR; Accompts; supra n. 76; Cambridge University Archives, Wills and Inventories.
154. Ibid.
155. Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 31; J.B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the earliest times ..., ii, 400; M.A.V. Ball, 'University and Collegiate Planning in the later Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', (unpublished M.A. thesis, London, 1961), chap. V, passim.
156. C.W.P., 583, 3 November, c.1606-11, printed in P. Yorke, Royal Tribes of Wales, pp. 158-9.
157. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 505.
158. Ibid., 736.
159. Clenennau 458; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 294.
160. R. Willis and J.W. Clark, The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, III (1886), 299-303; Richards and Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel, pp. 77, 84.
161. Willis and Clark, op. cit., III, chap. IV, passim.

162. C.E. Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, I, 417; J.B. Mullinger, op. cit., i, 368; A. Gray, Jesus College, Cambridge, pp. 69-70; Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 42-43.
163. H.C. Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (1958), p. 18; R. Williamson, 'The Plague in Cambridge', Medical History, I, i (1957), 55; C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, I, 304; III (1845), 3, 243; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 157-8; B.W. Henderson, Merton College (1899), p. 72.
164. Cooper, op. cit., I, 346; C.W.P., 486, 20 Nov., 1608, printed in full in Yorke, Royal Tribes of Wales, p. 152.
165. J. Heywood and T. Wright, Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, II (1854), 50; Peek and Hall, op. cit., pp. 61-4; W.C. Costin, History of St. John's College, Oxford, 1598-1860 (1958), p. 24; J.R. Bloxham, Register of ... Magdalen College, Oxford, I, ii; Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (IX), 75-6.
166. C.W.P., 545.
167. Cooper, Annals, III, 228.
168. C.W.P., 539.
169. N.L.W., Clenennau 339. Glyn, or Glynne, probably the one who subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles before the University on 27 May, 1614 (Al. Oxon.). His relation to Brynkir is unclear since it seems he has been omitted in Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 270, while Lewys Dwnn, Heraldic Visitations of Wales, ed. S.R. Meyrick, ii (1841), 150, is too early.
170. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 736, 16 August, c.1611-15; ibid., 737, undated.
171. Ibid., 763, 10 June, 1616; C.W.P., 771, 781, and p. 508 f.
172. N.L.W., Chirk Castle E. 3319, 3 May, 1636, infra chap. III (ii), n. 109.
173. Mallet, History of the University of Oxford, I, 146-7; II, 119, 203; J.R. Tanner, Historical Register of the University of Cambridge, pp. 188-93; Mullinger, The University of Cambridge, ii, 143.
174. Ibid., ii, 97-8, 119-20; Mallet, op. cit., I, 105; Tanner, op. cit., pp. 199-201; Cooper, Annals, I, 141, 360, 410, 453, 583; II, 10, 279-80; A. Gray, Jesus College, Cambridge, p. 68; Monographs of Brasenose, II, i, (X) pt. 2, 35-7; M.H. Curtis, Oxford and Cambridge in Transition, pp. 53-54.

175. J. McCann and H. Connolly, ed., Memorials of Father Augustine Baker and other documents relating to the English Benedictines, Catholic Record Society (Publications), XXXIII (1933), 41-44, 62-64.
176. N.L.W., Clenennau 444.
177. Mallet, op. cit., I, 412; Cooper, Annals, II, 349.
178. N.L.W., Clenennau 444.
179. Mallet, op. cit., I, 379; C.R.L. Fletcher, ed., Collectanea, p. 189.
180. J.B. Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 287; A. Gray, Cambridge University. An Episodical History (1926), pp. 97-98; vide infra chap. VI (iii).
181. Bodl., MS Top. Oxon. d. 81, pp. 14-15, 24; Oxford Univ. Archives WPB 9; Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII (hereafter L. and P., Henry VIII), IV ii, 2710, 15 Dec., 1526; 3703, 29 Dec., 1527; XIII i, 555, 20 Mar., 1537/8; Mallet, op. cit., II, 240-1; R.L. Poole, A Lecture on the History of the University Archives (1912), pp. 36-37.
182. Cooper, Annals, II, 509; Richards and Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel, pp. 127-8. For Holland, vide supra n. 153 and text.

CHAPTER III

PART (ii) : UNIVERSITY STUDIES

The character of university education remained fundamentally unaltered in this period, bound as it was by the continuing tradition of scholastic pedagogy and Aristotelian thought. Humanism did, however, bring some invigorating insights into established scholarship, particularly in the classics and divinity through Greek literature and biblical and Hebrew study, and Cambridge, of the two English universities, seemed initially to be the more responsive.¹

The English Reformation caused no great radical change in the universities' curricula except that canon law was abandoned and students belonging to the regular orders were excluded.² Biblical scholarship, characteristically of Protestantism, was given more encouragement and some slightly greater emphasis was placed on the teaching of Greek and mathematics.³ The developing presence of secular students similarly failed to affect drastically the organisation of the universities as seminaries or the subjects taught. The pattern of education provided failed to match up to the ideal of a practical education voiced by some humanists, and in other respects, too, such as in the teaching of science, the universities remained traditional and unoriginal.⁴

The rediscovered or revalued classical authors, especially Cicero, and their works were assimilated anew into the established Christian and scholastic pattern of teaching,⁵ and although an

important injection of humanist introspection and self-identification was facilitated by the examination of such new sources, the framework of abstruse instruction and dogmatic thought persisted largely unaltered. The Edwardian educational reforms proved largely abortive, though Cambridge subsequently did gain some benefits from the Statutes promulgated in 1570.⁶

Scholastic learning was largely the product of a deductive body of thought and reasoning derived from Aristotle which underpinned a large part of the studies in the trivium, the philosophies and in the higher faculties, particularly theology. This was even the case in the proposed reforms of logic and rhetoric suggested by continental thinkers such as Agricola, Talon and Ramus who desired to reduce, modify or simplify the over-elaborations, the obtuseness and inaccuracies which had beset this body of knowledge since classical times.⁷ There was no quantum jump, therefore, in the patterns of thought, at least at the universities.

The universities, though very conservative, were sufficiently flexible to permit the views of Ramus and similar critics within the established intellectual framework to be heard. The Cambridge Statutes tolerated the attempted reassessment of dialectic and rhetoric, with its greater stress on the importance of a unified dialectical system appropriate for all fields of study. Ramism sought to dispense with the medieval and scholastic accretions of irrelevant knowledge by imposing a critical system (Method) based on the tests of three rules, of truth, veracity and wisdom, and by giving precedence to such logical analysis over the expression of knowledge as rhetoric.

All the liberal arts and the sciences could be subjected to these tests, by means of which knowledge and understanding could be better organised and made available to all men.⁸

This method of re-ordering knowledge - the acquisition of new knowledge was a different matter altogether - gained a measure of popularity at Cambridge, partly as a result of the intense theological debate there, and it was not unknown among scholars at Oxford either.⁹ Nevertheless, traditional scholastic logic or dialectic and rhetorical or oratorical training continued to hold their ground among most of the universities' teachers, given the renewed attractions of Ciceronianism,¹⁰ though it seems that they, too, were somewhat modified to make them more pertinent to the average arts student and more useful in general life, that is, in a life of practical activity as opposed to abstract speculation.¹¹

The actual process of learning for the student had changed little from the medieval period, being based on lectures prepared by the universities and by the respective colleges,¹² on disputations, in which dialectic was fully exercised, and on declamations, in which rhetorical ability,¹³ particularly in the case of divinity students, was emphasised.¹⁴ In this period, the student was further assisted by the fact that the printed word had become far more important - the visual, as opposed to the aural, method of understanding, of which Ramus was an advocate - and by the organisation of private study under personal tuition at the colleges, for which the fellows were responsible. While printing, no doubt, greatly assisted the growth of private study, its proper supervision left much to be desired. Many college tutors

proved negligent and most were of an unoriginal and scholastic frame of mind.¹⁵ Cadwaladr Owen, an important and successful tutor at Oriel College, Oxford, owed his reputation in part to his abilities as a dogmatic disputer at the schools and as a moderator of bachelors' declamations at the College.¹⁶ Griffith Powell, the civilian, and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, also had a high reputation as a tutor, but again, he was of no outstanding original mind but rather a careful and detailed commentator on Aristotelian dialectics.¹⁷

Intellectual conservatism was not necessarily a bad thing in the public eye, however. Elis Wynn, for example, brother of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, thought Oxford superior to Cambridge in its (more conservative) teaching, and thought that, with good tutoring, an inferior student would progress further in logic and philosophy at Oxford in two years than would an abler student in three years at Cambridge.¹⁸ Sir John Wynn himself held no particular preference for either university, though ties of kindred eventually made Cambridge the better choice for his younger sons. Of one thing he was convinced, that a university would be preferable to a school, 'yf I coulde meete with a good Tutor which god send me, beinge, Raera avis in Terris ...'.¹⁹

The choice of a good tutor was made difficult by the fact that usually both pupil and tutor had to be members of the same college. David Baker, for a time, was an exception, being allowed to be tutored by his relative, William Prichard of Christ Church, a fine if narrow teacher, who ensured that Baker kept to his studies, of the

Bible, arithmetic, rhetoric and logic. Such a good influence was retained for a relatively short time and when Baker was removed from Prichard's care, his academic progress was rapidly disrupted.²⁰

Parents were undoubtedly anxious that their sons might be well-tutored²¹ and such a relatively powerful figure as Sir John Wynn had the advantage over lesser parents. Thus, in the early 1600s, he had the benefit of advice from three North Wales fellows at St. John's, two of whom, Owen Gwyn and John Williams, were close relatives. In 1606, William Holland suggested to Sir John that the best way of securing a good tutor for his sons was to get Sir John's brother, Richard Wynn, a clergyman, to write direct to the Master, Dr. Clayton. It would impress the Master who would then nominate a tutor 'as will for his sake be verie respectiue and carefull of ther good'.²²

Owen Gwyn's influence acted more decisively. As a senior fellow, he had direct influence on the nomination of tutors and he reported that young Robert Wynn had been placed in the care of Jeremy Holt,

'... Mr of artes and one of our fellowes, a man of very good partes, and well qualified, one that I know wilbe booth painefull with him, and carefull of him.'²³

Holt seems on the whole to have been a satisfactory tutor and kept Sir John informed of the expenses and books purchased for his pupil. There were always many attractions to divert such young men from their course of studies, and in the case of Robert Wynn it was

fortunate that there was added supervision and control available in the shape of John Williams. Thus, late in 1608, he reported that Robert Wynn was more studious now that the gaudy days were passed. In addition, Williams intended to acquire a proper study for the boy, even one in his own chambers if need be.²⁴

By 1611, Robert Wynn had progressed sufficiently to be considered by Williams as capable of holding a fellowship.²⁵ His academic career, however, was disturbed by his father's proposal to send him to the inns of court and, more seriously, by Holt's decision to give up his Fellowship for a church living. Robert Wynn was the only pupil, in 1611, still under Holt's care, and that in name only, for Williams said Robert Wynn was actually being 'read unto by another'.²⁶

Though Robert Wynn was eventually kept on course for an academic career in the fellows' commons and then as a full Fellow, and was accompanied by a younger brother, William, there was continued concern for their studies and well-being. In 1612, John Williams, too busy as Proctor to guide them properly, wrote that there was absolutely no excuse for their

'absence from theyr studyes at extraordinarye houres, or any neglect of theyre Tutor's lectoures. And yeat they are nowe (as formerly they were) my under-neighboures.'

Proximity, therefore, was no advantage in controlling wild spirits, and Wynn's official tutor may have been less than satisfactory. Later, in 1612, it is clear that Sir John had not had a report from

the new supervisor,²⁸ Daniel Horsmanden, and when one eventually arrived, Robert Wynn was anxious to know of its contents so that he could adjust his behaviour accordingly. He also begged his father to send a gift of gloves to mollify the tutor.²⁹

The following year, the relationship was further complicated by the rivalry of John Williams and Thomas Horsmanden, the tutor's brother, both of whom were prebend^{aries} of Lincoln Cathedral.

Robert Wynn begged his father to be polite to Thomas Horsmanden, who had become his friend.³⁰ This element of mistrust seems to have become worse the following year or two and particularly at the time of William Wynn's illness at Cambridge. The worst aspect of the tutorial system as it then was can be seen in the observation that Daniel Horsmanden was absent throughout the while of William's illness.³¹ All care and tuition, therefore, must have been neglected and it was this, no doubt, as much as the keeping of accounts, which was at the root of Horsmanden's almost tearful apologia to Sir John Wynn, in which he denied trying to take advantage of tutoring the sons of such a powerful man, and insisted that he was a conscientious tutor whose only aim was to please:

'That little place which I heere hold were scarce worth the holding, if I could not keepe the good opinion of men as touching my playness and honesty undirect dealing being (as in all places odious so) in some more obnoxious and subject to disgrace and reproach than in Cambridg ... '³²

This evidently must have satisfied Sir John, for Horsmanden continued to be employed as Robert Wynn's tutor, and with no little affection, until the latter's death in 1617.³³

The Arts Course

Although tuition was very important in the progress of the undergraduate and the B.A. students, the onus still remained on the individual to make his own efforts towards understanding. Such was the tenor of much advice given by people who had gone through the mill themselves or who were at least conversant with university life. James Howell, not a particularly conscientious student himself, counselled a nephew to work hard and that it was better to borrow books than to buy them; in that way they had to be read and returned.³⁴ Cadwaladr Wynne was advised by his father to attend all the university exercises, disputes and declamations and to hear good sermons. The sermons, in particular, were to be heard, and the boy was told to make 'brieffe nots and abridgements' of these as well as of the other exercises.³⁵

James Howell, too, gave much the same advice. Attention was to be paid to divinity on Sundays. Of other subjects, once the 'briars of Logick' had been negotiated, then philosophy and mathematics were to be attended to, Howell adding that 'Philosophy should be your substantial food, Poetry your banqueting stuff'. Furthermore, the student should heed a tutor's advice on books, though never to read more than two books per subject!³⁶ As if to give further verity to the conservatism and traditionalism of learning, in the 1650s he advised not forsaking the 'Ancients' for modern authors,

'I hold this to be a good moral rule: The older an Author is, commonly the more solid he is, and the greater teller of Truth.'³⁷

In the main, the works of the 'Ancients' remained the recommended sources for examination, and the strands of teaching were largely unaltered also. In the curriculum of the arts, the trivium remained, though far less emphasis was given to the teaching of Latin grammar. Grammar degrees were phased out and the teaching of grammar was left to the emerging grammar schools, though at Oxford grammar remained a first-year subject.³⁸ While both universities taught rhetoric and logic or dialectic in the first two years, Oxford thereafter tended to continue with its emphasis on the traditional components of the B.A. degree for the remaining two years, of mathematics (especially arithmetic) and music, with geometry an important addition after 1636. Cambridge, in contrast, gave an earlier grounding in the three philosophies, and in particular in Aristotelian ethics, and more attention was given to Greek.

The final three years of the arts course, for the M.A. degree, in part involved an elaboration of some of the subjects already pursued, for example, ethics and in particular physics and metaphysics. Aristotelian ideas, particularly Aristotelian logic, formed the basis to these studies, and there was considerable overlap in the matters dealt with by the different subjects, notably metaphysics and physics. While the undergraduate course dealt with the basis of analysis and of the accurate expression and declaration of knowledge, the post-graduate course concerned itself with the analysis of causes and relations in the physical world and of first causes and of being.³⁹

The arts students, and indeed all the other members of the universities, were also required to attend religious services and to

give time to religious meditation. Further, the more enterprising and ambitious minds could seek unofficial means of improving their secular studies. At Cambridge, for example, John Williams, the future archbishop, studied geometry under Edward Briggs, at a time when the official mathematical teaching of the University was so poor, and through his contacts with Lord Lumley was able to secure unorthodox but sound tuition in Greek and Hebrew, as well as dabble in antiquarianism and learn French.⁴⁰

The universities' Statutes, as part of the learning process, laid down the exercises to be kept by arts candidates and the necessary periods of residence. Exemptions and modifications to the basic conditions were permitted. Peers' sons and sons of the higher gentry were allowed to take their B.A. degrees after three rather than four years, and similar concessions were allowed to outstandingly brilliant students, such as William Owen in 1550, allowed to present for his B.A. at Cambridge after only twelve terms and without having fulfilled all the exercises.⁴¹

Exercises could also be deferred or excused when circumstances warranted, for example, in the case of William Glynn at Cambridge in 1526-7, owing to the disruptions of plague, or William Arney at Oxford in the early seventeenth century, owing to the hazards of travel through flood.⁴² Cases of poverty, where genuine, let candidates proceed to their degree more quickly, as in the case of Andrew Maurice of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1602, and where scholars had outside, and scholarly, commitments they could not break, allowances were made in calls to graduate, for example, Robert Parry,

headmaster of Bangor Grammar School, who was supposed to graduate M.A. in 1593/4.⁴³

Despite such concessions, graduates and undergraduates in the arts were required to fulfil certain minimum conditions in order to graduate, and colleges had powers to punish the lazy or careless. Morgan Phillips of Oriel, for example, was admonished in 1538 for not reading all the specified authors and texts and of failing to fulfil necessary disputations on set topics.⁴⁴

A student's progress, indeed, was measured by his ability to participate in Latin disputations, on his ability to apply dialectical argument (employing syllogism, enthymeme, etc.) to all manner of subjects, and his talent to speak well with sound ordered arguments and a good turn of phrase. A Welsh student's notebook reveals the organisation of knowledge into the traditional scholastic fashion of questions and answers, in setting out the essentials of rhetoric. Rhetorical statements were explained as the sorts of precepts commonly delivered by youths, which were based on reason. Rhetoric itself was a skill through which correct reasoning and ornate speaking could be taught, and through the power of eloquent Latin further understanding could be gained. Eloquence, it was concluded, was the ability to speak wisely and ornately of the merits and virtues which Cicero, the contemporary authority, had enumerated in his Parts of Speech.⁴⁵

Through such understanding and by dialectical ability and exercise, the arts student would be prepared to dispute publicly, first as respondent or defendant of a given proposition. Before he completed his arts degree with a formal disputation, John Rogers of

Breconshire disputed publicly in the University at least twice, in February 1582/3, when one of his three questions was the frequently set one about the saltiness of the sea, and in March 1582/3.⁴⁶ In addition to participating in public disputations, Rogers also made copious notes of Oxford exercises he heard, such as those in November 1582, in which arguments and statements were substantiated by appeal to authority, to Cicero, again, and to Greek authorities, also of growing popularity, including Sophocles, Homer, Aesop, and Herodotus. Roman influences were revived, too, and were reflected in the recourse to Ovid, Horace and Virgil as well as Justinus and Seneca. Oratorical ability, therefore, encompassed both rhetoric and poetry and both classical tongues. Humanist influence was reinforced in the varied references to Erasmus, a persistent guide to style, and, too, more interestingly, to Petrarch.⁴⁷

This was all a preparation for the final Lenten exercises, where graduates were to respond to questions. John Rogers was respondent in 1585 to ethical questions such as whether there was happiness in life.⁴⁸ After these exercises the graduates had to participate in an exacting ceremonial, when the degrees were bestowed, and at formal disputations before the masters and higher graduates. Only illness, poverty, domestic trouble or pressing business could excuse an absence, as when Christopher Jones of Monmouthshire was embroiled in a law suit in 1611.⁴⁹

For the M.A. degree, a candidate had to dispute and give cursory lectures. Two sets of disputations, Austin and Quodlibet,

preceded the final inception at Oxford in the third year. The saltiness of the sea remained a staple topic for John Rogers, included as it was in his Austin and Quodlibet exercises, and his other questions related to ethics or to natural philosophy, for example, to the question of whether there was natural goodness in man, a profound issue which had taxed scholastic authorities before and was equally taxing to Reformation scholars then.⁵⁰ Such questions, the mundane and the philosophical, were typical of those set for the final incepting exercises 'in Vesperies' and 'in Comitibus', too, and it was the same at Cambridge at the Vespers and Commencement exercises.⁵¹ The final burden on the new graduate, as at the B.A. inceptions, was the obligation to feast the existing masters, particularly of their own college, and to make gifts especially to the heads of their colleges. At Cambridge in 1615, Robert Wynn was driven to much expense to present his kinsman, Owen Gwyn, the Master of St. John's, with gloves.⁵²

The new masters were in a position to continue their studies further. In addition, university Statutes obliged them to teach for two years, or as long as the authorities required. As regent masters, therefore, they could participate in the government of their university, while being expected to lecture regularly and perform in, and supervise, the disputations.⁵³ They would also tutor students, and, ideally, would impart to them the learning which they had acquired as arts students, learning gained not only through lectures and disputations but also by reading, which, with the growth of printing, had become an important aspect of education.

Some observations on the nature of the reading material of arts students can be made by reference to the book purchases of William Brynkir at Oxford and Robert Wynn at Cambridge in the early years of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ These books largely substantiate the claim for the continuing predominance of Aristotle as the chief authority in logic and the philosophies. Other classical writers, too, were studied, both Latin and Greek, largely for the purposes of rhetoric and oratory.

Robert Wynn in purchasing the work of Aulus Gellius, the Noctes Atticae, supplied himself with a general summary and introduction to several of the arts courses, including grammar, philosophy and mathematics, which was a valuable source also on classical history, then in greater vogue than ever before, and which was a work, too, employed by Renaissance scholars as a good example of Latin prose style.⁵⁵ A volume of Seneca the Younger was also purchased by Wynn, yet another author who, though not unknown in the medieval period, received greater interest from European scholars, such as Erasmus, in the sixteenth century for his affected style of Latin. Some of his ethical and historical comments, too, would have been worth study. A work of similar tradition and quality, purchased by Brynkir, was the Commentaries of Julius Caesar.⁵⁶

Other Latin authors were also receiving greater attention. The poets Martial and Terence in particular were popular; Wynn and Brynkir both had copies of the former, Wynn a copy of the latter also, while Greek study was represented in Wynn's books by a volume of Homer, again rediscovered by the continental humanists and almost universally

recommended for study. Finally, the most fundamental author to be studied for the benefits of style, grammar and general rhetorical and oratorical ability was Cicero, represented here by Brynkir's purchase of De Officiis, a commonplace work long available in the middle ages, which continued to be recommended by the humanists.⁵⁷

Both Welshmen received logical training, of which Aristotle was the prime source. Both purchased commentaries by the Italian humanist, Pacius, in Brynkir's case, a Greek-Latin edition of the complete Organon. Brynkir also seems to have had a volume by the neo-Aristotelian, John Case, but his final work of logic indicated new influences, namely a volume of Ramus, thus confirming that the latter's ideas had made a mark on Oxford, too, by the early seventeenth century.⁵⁸

Wynn's other purchases largely reflected the continuing predominance of Aristotle at Cambridge. His scientific ideas relating to form and matter, motion and physical change, the hierarchy of being and of living and inanimate objects possessed valuable logical and theoretical ideas, as well as inaccurate conjectures and a confusion of metaphysical speculation. Wynn's most valuable work on science was, therefore, probably the edition by Magirus on Aristotle's Physics. Another volume, by the long-studied Venerable Bede, Axiomata Philosophica, would have provided an alphabetical list of scientific terms and explanations not only by Aristotle but other philosophers too. Aristotelian science was being challenged by some European thinkers, notably in relation to his cosmography. At the universities, however, he still held sway.

The continuing study of Bede would indicate this, and Wynn also possessed a copy of Aristotle's De Mundo, in which the fixed cosmology of the stars and planets, their perfect forms and motions indicating the Divine Mover, were the persisting orthodoxies.⁵⁹

Knowledge of the divine, of ultimate reality, was, at bottom, the essence of Aristotle's ethical theories, too. The Nichomachean and Eudemian ethics provided for an analysis of moral views, and through moral discovery, deliberation on God was facilitated. Moral discovery aimed at securing the greatest good through right thinking and behaviour, in following the Mean in all things. Such would be the contents of the edition of Aristotle's Ethics by Theophilus Golius and the commentary by John Case, both purchased by Robert Wynn. The responsibility of the individual in society for his actions was, in essence, what was stressed here and they present somewhat of a contrast to the other work held by Wynn, a volume of the writings of Epictetus, then quite popular at the universities, a Stoic philosopher, whose views declared for an individualistic, and introverted set of values, divorced from and set apart from social responsibilities or tendencies.⁶⁰

Since Wynn was later to turn to religion and to clerical office, such ethical works may have been of some value and influence. Brynkir seems not to have purchased such works, but he, too, eventually, became a cleric, and his purchases at least indicate the character of the universities as seminaries, by his possession of two prayer books. Brynkir may have proceeded to study divinity after his M.A., and Wynn certainly did so at Cambridge, where, too, did his near-contemporary,

Richard Fletcher of Bangor. Fletcher, when he died, was well on the way to completing his B.D., but the library he left is also a valuable guide to his progress through the arts course. In the first place, he possessed a wide choice of classical authors, in Greek, notably, as well as Latin, which represented important literary influences and were major sources for the study of language and rhetoric, and the refining of eloquence. The epic poetry of Homer and more particularly the comedies of Aristophanes represented newer humanist influences in Greek. Of the Latin poets, Martial, Juvenal and Lucan were regularly studied sources, but Fletcher's volume of Horace, with a commentary, probably by Sturm, reflected a specific humanist literary interest which had arisen during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶¹ Latin prose was assisted by the work of Apuleius, one of the authors early printed by the humanists, in this case with a commentary by the Italian humanist, Beroaldi the Elder.⁶² All these sources of eloquence were fairly typical of the authors used in the Cambridge arts course, to which Fletcher added a traditional authority on grammar, Priscian, who had been a formative influence in medieval and scholastic learning.⁶³

No doubt Fletcher would already have been conversant with the study of grammar and rhetoric from his school days at Bangor, where Cato, Ovid and Cicero were among the prescribed authors. His dialectical training was limited by comparison, and the sole distinctive influence appears to have been Ramus. Aristotelian logic and dialectic, as such, were not absent but to be found in two commentaries, by Mercenarius, and, traditionally the most authoritative,

by Alexander of Aphrodisia, who was heavily criticised by Ramus for his excessive elaborations.⁶⁴ Further elements of Aristotelian natural philosophy were to be found in De Divinatione, on dreams, part of a larger study of being and consciousness, animal behaviour and behaviourism and the question of existence, all scientific questions or propositions leading to the problem of knowledge itself. These ideas were important and valuable, and still had force, superimposed on which were Aristotle's hierarchical metaphysical views contained in a commentary by Javellus.⁶⁵ A considerable contrast over a wide spectrum would have confronted Fletcher between the ideas contained in his Aristotelian sources and those in his volume of all Plato's works. The latter, an author recommended in the Cambridge Statutes for philosophy, represented a universalist, holistic view of the world, divinely controlled, in which ideas took precedence over matter, forms over particulars.⁶⁶

Fletcher also received some mathematical training. For example, another Greek author to be recommended in the Statutes was Strabo, a source of scientific and mathematical geography. His book entitled Geographia again represented the innovative efforts of the continental humanists.⁶⁷ More direct and up-to-date mathematical (algebraic) ideas may have been available to Fletcher in a book by Cardan, or alternatively some less valuable commentary on medicine or astronomy. Cardan's De varietate rerum was certainly in Fletcher's possession, among the most enlightened works of its time, dealing with physical and natural phenomena, and, as a work advancing speculative ideas

about the structure of the organic and the inorganic world, it was ahead of its time.⁶⁸ Fletcher was also able to keep in touch with one aspect of contemporary physics, namely optics, and possessed the recently published results of Kepler's experiments into light and refraction.⁶⁹

There were no direct sources of ethics in Fletcher's possession, though probably some of the metaphysical works mentioned above would have provided some enlightenment. Rather, any moral influence seems to have come from the few works of history in his collection. He owned a volume of Herodotus, in Greek, which would have been a good factual account of Greek and Persian history, if not one of profound ideas. It would also have been a good guide to style, and was a work that was popular with publishers throughout Western Europe at this period.⁷⁰ Of greater popularity and interest, given the religious climate of the age, was the Jewish writer, Josephus, while of local popularity was Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English Church. Both authors were represented in Fletcher's library and were authors who could be studied by the general arts student as well as by one about to study divinity.⁷¹

Finally, linking the interest in philosophy, metaphysics and divinity, was the subject of chronology. The dating of the origin of the world and past events became matters of considerable speculation in this period, involving Protestant-Catholic rivalries and rivalries between those who would use biblical sources only in their techniques and those who would employ classical, even barbaric, and certainly pagan, sources as points of reference to achieve their datings.

In Fletcher's library, this art was represented by Joseph Scaliger, who had produced the acutest mathematical account, based on the largest number of sources, and had caused the greatest controversy. A Protestant, Scaliger's views would have a greater hearing in such a university as Cambridge, though by no means universal assent.⁷²

The impact of printing on university study and the amount of sources available for the arts courses may be seen, finally, in a retrospective view, in an exhaustive list of titles and authors belonging to a Welsh student at Oxford during the early 1650s, Griffin Kyffin of Jesus College. The list, purchased by Kyffin, was to be employed, declared its anonymous creator,

'For the furnishing your Library with bookes of History, Chronologie, and with Authors in all the Arts and Sciences liberall etc., Critiques, Antiquaries etc. ... ',

and it was dedicated

'To a freind that desired the names of some bookes which might be fit to furnish a Library for yong but academcall scholars.'⁷³

It is unclear whether the work was specifically dedicated to Kyffin or whether it represents a trend to offer for sale guides to students which would ease the problems of poor tuition. At all events, the list was a comprehensive one, though largely uncritical, dealing with many of the courses and subjects inherent in the study of arts up to the B.A. and M.A. degrees. It is clear from the list

that despite the political and social upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s in England, the basic structure of the arts curriculum was unaltered in spite of the vocal criticisms of the religious radicals.⁷⁴

The list retained the elements of the trivium and quadrivium which were emphasised in the early modern English universities. Grammar was largely absent, while logic (rather than dialectic) and ethics received choice lists of recent and traditional authorities. Rhetoric and the general art of eloquence received closer attention still, and a whole host of classical authors, with considerably more emphasis on the Greeks than in earlier centuries, were recommended in the studies of poetry and oratory together with prose writing. Many works were suggested dealing with the analysis of language, largely to benefit style, and advice on ancient languages, such as Hebrew, Chaldean and Arabic, was given, in addition to Greek and Latin. The progress of humane studies was considerably increased by the 1650s, if the list is a fair indication, with history and antiquities receiving great interest. In many respects, what was to be learnt here was information about urban culture, for the geographical and topographical works recommended, the histories and the works of government, concentrated on Rome and the Greek city states.

No doubt such sources, too, would have been of value in the study of ethics, but there were separate sections for it and for the aspects of logic and philosophy appertaining to the old trivium and quadrivium. The works in these sections continued to be largely Aristotelian and

scholastic in character and to be literary and moral in character too. Formal logic and scientific thought was to a large degree overshadowed. Indeed, the author of the guide deliberately avoided commenting on mathematics.

The subjects dealt with, therefore, largely reflected the character of intellectual pursuits in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, namely intense interest in developing and elaborating knowledge of classical languages and sources, and a desire to adapt and refurbish traditional dialectic and scholastic philosophy, regarding all, still, as leading to the ultimate subject, namely divinity, queen of the subjects.

The list indeed represents a European curriculum, based on humanist scholars and religious writers drawn from throughout Western Europe. Of over a hundred sixteenth and seventeenth century writers and commentators in the list, there were no more than about fifteen British writers. Scholarship took precedence, moreover, over religious affiliations, and there were as many, if not more, Catholic scholars mentioned as Protestant ones. Further, the list indicated the shift northwards of scholarship, particularly in literature and philology, with Germany, France and the Low Countries predominating.

The influence of southern European scholarship was to be found largely in the first few sections of the list dealing with logic, ethics, physics and metaphysics. In these sections, Aristotelianism and scholasticism predominated and the centres of education in Catholic southern Europe continued to be authoritative. Thus, in logic, the chief writers and commentators included Franciscus Toletus,

Giaçomo Zabarella, Francisco Suarez, and especially Hurtado, (probably Casper Hurtado), who 'hath more difficultie, and subtilty than the rest' and who was reckoned about as difficult as Duns Scotus. Other Catholic logicians included Jan Maes, Jacques Wallius and Philip Christoph von Soetern, Archbishop of Trier. What characterised this whole section on logic was its conservative character, its strict adherence to Aristotelian and neo-Aristotelian thought, confirmed also, for example, by the recommendations to read the works of Griffith Powell, of the German anti-Ramist, Christoph Scheibler, of Faustus Socinius, all Protestants, and in particular, of Marcin Smiglecki, an obscure, highly conservative Polish logician, much studied at Oxford.⁷⁵

The preponderance of Roman Catholic writers led the author of the list to warn the reader to beware of such men,

'whoe that they may defend theire senselesse position of Transubstantiation in Divinitie are necessitated to maintaine many irrationall and inconsistent assertions in Logic especially aboutt the nature of proprium and Accidens, and of Quantitie.'

The succeeding section on ethics similarly reflected the predominance of recent Catholic, especially Jesuit, writers such as Pavone, Vasquez and Martinez. Traditional later medieval scholasticism was also recommended, largely in the 'speculative part and disputing part of Ethickes', based on Aquinas and his recent followers, but including, too, nominalist and classicist influences such as those of Buridan. Aristotle's ethical theories also held sway more directly in the commentaries of Martini, Riccoboni, Crellius and Case, as well as in

the works of the neo-scholastics.

The author of the list, however, acknowledged other ethical ideas in a sub-section on 'the positive part of Morality' and what he offered was a broad choice of various systems perfected by largely pagan authors 'very well worth the having and perusing'. Plato, and neo-Platonic authors such as Plutarch and Sallust and Hierocles of Alexandria were proposed, together with the stoicism of Epictetus and Arrianus, and the Epicurean views of Democrates.⁷⁶

In physics, Aristotle was the overwhelming authority and various commentaries on him were recommended, such as the medieval Theodore Metochita and Gille Colonna, and the modern anti-Copernican, Libertus Fromont. Contrasting analytical and physical theories were represented by the nominalism of Duns Scotus, and the atomism of Democritus, while the most hopeful sign of new, if disturbing, progress was represented in the addendum to this section which referred, though without comment, to the idealism of Descartes, the atomism of Gassendi, the rationalism of White and Digby, the alchemical experimentation of the latter, and the empiricism of Bacon.⁷⁷

- These more recent philosophical developments did little, however, to challenge or undermine the continued study of metaphysics and the established authority of Aristotle, who was coupled with those rational humanist or neo-scholastic interpreters who had been mentioned under logic and ethics, for example, Socinius, and, in particular, Scheibler and Suarez, who were given special recommendation with Combach.⁷⁸ Moreover, scientific developments did little to

encourage the author of this list to recommend books on mathematics, a discipline apart in his eyes.

The eschewal of mathematics and of divinity may have been partly compensated by the continued study of, and popularity of, chronology. The more technical works of chronology were those by authors such as Adrian de Jonghe, Bernard Hederich and the astronomer, David Origanus, while among the works of applied chronology were those of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, Edward Simpson, and the astronomer Calvisius. The rôle of religion in this discipline was considerable and was reflected in two ways, in the advocacy of Petau's refutation of Scaliger, who had undermined the Christian biblical chronology of the world, as expressed, for example, by Melancthon and Lydiat, and in the enlightened proposal of authors who had contributed to the reform of the Roman calendar, for example, Clau, Giraldi and Mästlin.⁷⁹

The progress of chronology, despite its limitations, was a product of the considerable efforts of sixteenth and seventeenth century humanists to safeguard and analyse all available classical sources. A reflection of this, in Kyffin's list, was the considerable attention paid to history. Of the classical historians, a broad selection of authors of various styles and techniques was given, with an emphasis on Greek historians. The list is unusual in eschewing some of the more popular Latin writers, such as Sallust, Valerius and Caesar, and interesting for its advocacy of lesser-known writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Herodianus, Sulpitius Severus and Ammianus Marcellinus. The editions of particular humanist scholars

were also recommended as being authoritative, the Tacitus of Lipsius, Horn's edition of Severus. Historical geography was a further aspect of the classical editions employed, of authors such as Artemidorus and Dicaearchus of Messene, as well as the expected works of Strabo or Ptolemy. Recent scholarship was found in the product of editing these works, for example, by Holtzman and Hoeschel, and in map-making, as by Ortelius. The method of history as such, apart from the very critical techniques employed in these various editions, was barely mentioned save in reference to Degory Wheare and, more particularly, Gerrard Johann Vossius.⁸⁰

History in classical times was but one form of the 'ars dicendi',⁸¹ and in the organisation of Kyffin's booklist, this literary association continued to be present. The ensuing sections were devoted to oratory, poetry and epistles, distinct but interrelated disciplines. The list's compiler aimed here to present as wide a choice of styles and subjects as possible drawn from classical sources, presumably with the intention of allowing the reader to perfect his own style and content, whether rhythmic, austere, spontaneous, pre-meditated, artificial or moral, through imitation and practice. In oratory, for example, several of the Attic orators were recommended, particularly Demosthenes and Isocrates, together with later Greek and Roman rhetoricians, such as Themistius and Quintilian whose styles were restrained and careful. Moreover, the aim was to present examples for all sorts of oratorical circumstances, court speeches such as those of Isaeus, the political speeches of Antiphon, and the praise oratory of Julian the Apostate.⁸²

A similarly wide choice was presented for poetry and prose writing, though there were a few possibly surprising exceptions, such as the failure to mention Horace or Ovid. The erotic aspects of the latter's works may have presented some objection, though it might be shown that there were certainly strong erotic elements in the works of Martial, Philostratus and Aristanetus.⁸³ The seminal classical influences in the development of Renaissance rhetoric, Hermogenes, Cicero and Quintilian, were all mentioned, though the list excluded the leading humanist writers on rhetoric (and dialectic), Ramus, Agricola and particularly Valla. Other contemporary, or near-contemporary, commentators were not, however, ignored. While the list advocated the study of original classical texts, it also listed the best annotated and most comprehensively prepared volumes. Thus, Grotius's editions of classical poetry and various Italian editions of epistles, by Manuti, for example, were especially praised, together with the efforts of such authors as Denis Lambin or the Flemish Latinist, Puteanus.⁸⁴

Humanist scholarship was sometimes awry such as in the doubtful attribution of authorship to certain works, as in the case of Longinus, or in the acceptance as genuine of unauthentic works, such as those of Anacharsis, Phalaris, and Crateris.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the considerable progress of classical scholarship by the mid-seventeenth century was reflected in the general collections of works relating to classical antiquity and in the glossaries and lexicons concerning classical Latin and Greek, and also Hebrew and 'barbaric' tongues, which were proposed. The list's compiler further believed that

detailed knowledge of the mores of classical antiquity would better enable the reader to understand the classical rhetoricians, poets, orators and historians. To that end, humanist studies of several aspects of classical life were proposed, relating to coinage, weights and measures, feasts and deities, though, perhaps significantly, there was little directly concerning political theory. The list concluded by noting a few collections of adages, including Erasmus's, drawn from classical sources, to inform, enervate, and probably also confuse, the reader.⁸⁶

The list's compiler had sought to provide as wide a choice of books as possible which would be available to build a library, that is, books which could be bought. While it may be that most students may have followed James Howell's advice and bought few books, the students at the pre-1642 universities could not have depended solely on the library facilities of the colleges and universities. Griffin Kyffin, for example, may have been among the first students at Jesus to find its library at all adequate, this some eighty years after the College's foundation.⁸⁷

Facilities at the university libraries of both Oxford and Cambridge were forbidden to undergraduates and to B.A.s during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Oxford's Library, before Bodley's re-foundation in 1602, had in any case been moribund, and subsequently, as at Cambridge, all Library members, the M.A.s and higher graduates, were required to pay small admission fees. At Oxford, membership was made available just prior to incepting for the M.A., and at least thirty-four Welsh students were so admitted between

1602 and 1622.⁸⁸ Access to books was essential to the masters given the demands made upon them, particularly in the sixteenth century, to teach and instruct. Welsh fellows at Oriel during the mid-sixteenth century, for example, were required to provide regular ordinary lectures each term for two years, were expected to dispute twice a term, to supervise the bachelors' disputations, instruct students in philosophy and read out of set works. At the same time, they themselves were preparing to read for degrees in the higher faculties.⁸⁹

The higher faculties

The arts faculties were the largest at both Oxford and Cambridge and were in some measure predominant. Yet, a significant proportion of arts students, not all of whom needed to have graduated, advanced into the higher faculties, especially into the faculties of theology which eclipsed the faculties of law, medicine and music in size and importance. These other faculties were weakened by a lack of intellectual development or by adverse political and social circumstances.⁹⁰ The medical faculties employed a conservative body of classical knowledge and gave relatively little practical teaching, especially at Oxford. Medical training was of a far superior standard in Italy, where many of the more serious students resorted, while in England medical advances took place outside the doctors' profession and away from the universities, and scientific progress generally was unconnected with the prevailing Aristotelianism of the universities.⁹¹

The progress of music, similarly, found new stimuli outside the setting of the universities with their traditional theories and the

prevailing influence of Church composition.⁹² Civil law was weakened by the relegation of canon law in 1535 to which it was intimately tied, and while it still had use and employment in the church and maritime courts, the studies at the universities were of no direct relevance. Moreover, although the Crown tried to enhance the status of civil law teaching at the universities, by, for example, introducing outstanding foreign teachers, such as Gentili at Oxford, the opposition of English common lawyers and the rivalries of the other higher faculties circumscribed the subject's progress.⁹³

In spite of the political and religious changes, indeed because of them, the theological faculties remained predominant. The scholastic, neo-Aristotelian metaphysical basis to Christian learning, espoused by Aquinas and Scotus and modern commentators, such as Suarez, continued to hold fast. In other matters, such as the organisation of the Church, personal belief and salvation, the obligations imposed on theologians to define them clearly gave their faculties an enhanced authority. Protestant literature took precedence, revealed especially in biblical scholarship. Calvin, Beza and Melancthon were especially important contemporary authorities, and, inevitably, questions of belief became confused with partisanship. Cambridge, in particular, was affected by strains of radical Protestantism and became a focal point for controversy in the mid- and later sixteenth century.⁹⁴

Progress to a degree in a higher faculty was determined by an initial requirement of having fulfilled some study in the arts, followed by the keeping of a necessary term of residence. In addition, there were set learning requirements, such as attending public lectures and

the completion of compulsory disputations supervised by the senior members of the faculty.⁹⁵ The learning requirements were not wholly unaltered in this period. From the mid-sixteenth century, for example, the reading of the works of Peter Lombard for degrees in divinity was terminated, though the obligations to preach or declaim 'ad clerum' were retained throughout.⁹⁶ The set tasks in music were probably the least altered, consisting mostly of compositions for church services. Few Welshmen, however, attended the music faculties.⁹⁷

As in the arts faculties, dispensations were allowed to postpone some tasks or to facilitate easier progress because of certain circumstances. Hugh Lloyd, for example, was temporarily excused his preaching obligations at Oxford in 1613 because of his church duties in St. David's diocese. John Davies of Mallwyd, though a mere B.A., was allowed to proceed to his B.D. degree, without the required learning obligations, because of his long church ministry.⁹⁸ Long study and practice in civil law seem to have qualified Robert Morgan to proceed directly to his LL.B. degree at Cambridge without difficulty in 1556/7, while at Oxford, Thomas Phaer, the lawyer, because of his great eminence in medicine already, gained rapid promotion to the M.B. and M.D. degrees without the set obligations of having to attend lectures and to have declaimed on the subject.⁹⁹

In the general course of events, students in the higher faculties, particularly those reading for doctorates, faced very long periods of study, readings and disputations. The term of residence could be shortened by the university authorities taking regard of the time spent in necessary regency, that is, in their teaching functions as masters.¹⁰⁰

Some of the exercises could be dispensed with if the scholar seemed unusually able, which seems to have been the case with Nicholas Robinson in his progress to the D.D.¹⁰¹ This seems, too, to have been the case with Gabriel Goodman, an eminent preacher, who was allowed to incept for his D.D. after a shorter time than usual from his regency and was allowed to exchange certain necessary exercises for the performance of additional 'ad clerum' sermons.¹⁰²

The length of residence and study could also be reduced by a practice called accumulation, one which was prevalent at Oxford by the late sixteenth century, and which permitted a candidate to take two higher degrees at once, notably the B.D. and D.D.¹⁰³ This practice at Oxford persisted until the appointment of Bishop Laud as Chancellor of the University in 1630, whereupon he proceeded to restore all the relevant Statutes to their full force, including the regulations regarding exercises and residence towards the taking of degrees. The speed and apparent peremptoriness of Laud's decision caught several students in the middle of their accumulation, including John Bayly, M.A. of Exeter College, son of Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, who was about to take his B.D. and D.D.

John Prideaux, Master of Exeter, took up Bayly's case, together with that of another accumulator, John Hodges of Lincoln College, since both were so near to completing their arranged courses. Prideaux attested to Bayly's academic abilities, his industriousness since taking his M.A., his expense of being in residence. Furthermore, he added, probably trying to influence Laud, Bayly was a royal chaplain.¹⁰⁴ Bayly himself had undoubtedly been greatly upset by the changes and

had so forgotten himself as to criticise both Laud and the vice-Chancellor of Oxford. Laud was willing to overlook this for the sake of the candidate's father.¹⁰⁵

Laud emphasised his great concern about shortened periods of study which might allow inadequately-trained students to proceed to higher degrees. For the B.D. degree, Laud felt that fourteen years was a sufficient period for a B.A. or undergraduate to spend learning divinity, and seven years would be appropriate for a master. These were traditionally established lengths of residence which he felt ought to be kept, and with the necessary exercises completed. Bayly was certainly qualified for the B.D. at least, and Laud acknowledged that the haste with which Oxford authorities had adopted his directions had created particular problems for Bayly and Hodges.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, in these two cases, the Chancellor relented, and a suitably apologetic Bayly was permitted to proceed to his B.D. and D.D. in 1631, accumulations thereafter being effectively banned.¹⁰⁷

Such practices and regulations had no effect, of course, on one aspect of degree-making, namely the universities' power to confer degrees, particularly higher degrees, on men of eminence. It was a matter of course, almost, that the degree of D.D. was conferred on the bishops if they had not already gained such a degree by academic means, and the influence of the Crown was a consideration in presenting these honours. Elizabethan Oxford, for example, bestowed doctorates on at least two Welsh bishops of St. David's, Richard Davies in 1566, and Marmaduke Middleton in 1583, when it was hoped that such action might assist Oxford graduates to gain preferment.¹⁰⁸

The academic progress to a higher degree, however complete the residence or the other exercises, depended ultimately on admission to and participation in the disputations at Vesperies and at Comitia or Commencement, and the questions examined dealt mostly with matters of relevance to their discipline. Civil law disputations, for example, were concerned with questions of international relations and actions between states, including allusions to topical events, with maritime law and the law relating to persons and to ecclesiastical administration, that is, the theoretical discussion of those aspects of civil law still relevant in England.

Candidates were nominated to answer affirmatively or negatively on set theses, and civil law, particularly at Oxford, continued to attract Welshmen to its study, who participated in these final exercises. Among the issues raised of personal law was whether the children of two brothers or two sisters could marry (William Aubrey, affirmative, 1597), of the law of inheritance, whether a first will with a codicil was not superior to a second will (William Meyrick, negative, 1627).¹⁰⁹ International law involved determining whether a treaty ought to be concluded with the infidel (Aubrey, negative, 1597), and ecclesiastical matters with the question of the tithe (William Griffith, 1627).¹¹⁰ Matters of potential controversy could also be set, such as whether the individual could lawfully resist the ruler (Thomas Gwynne, 1608), as well as issues of a more moral, superficially flippant, nature, such as the rights of husbands to beat their wives (Gwynne, 1608).¹¹¹

These were typical doctorate questions to which newly-made

bachelors of law, like David Seys at Oxford in 1627, were required to respond to the propositions of the doctoral candidates;¹¹² and these were questions that differed little, if at all, from those set at Cambridge.¹¹³

With the completion of these disputations and acceptance by Congregation, the new doctors of law, like their counterparts in the other higher faculties, were now in the forefront of their field of scholarship, and their disputative talents were best displayed at special occasions, particularly at royal visits. Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1566 provided an opportunity for three leading Welsh civilians to show their talents: Hugh Lloyd, Robert Lougher and William Aubrey. The two set questions were concerned with peace treaties and with the law of debt, which Aubrey defended and Lloyd and Lougher opposed.¹¹⁴

Disputative ability was the chief test for divinity scholars also, and the ultimate proof of this at Vesperies and Comitias was the outcome of regular practice and note-making, typified by the questions noted and analysed by Robert Morgan, who became B.D. at St. John's, Cambridge, in 1638. His elaborately indexed notebook included several set sections into which relevant questions and references were placed.¹¹⁵ Though many of the sections were seemingly uncontroversial, several others were of direct Protestant interest, such as those on grace, justification, faith, the Sabbath, the organisation of the Church, and the questions themselves illustrated the dialectical struggle against popery and sectarianism, dealing as they frequently did with predestination, the validity of papal

authority, church order, scriptural authority, heresy and schism, socinianism.¹¹⁶ The specific refutation of the Catholic positions was a paramount aim, and was seen notably in the rejection of the arguments of leading Catholic theologians, such as Bellarmine.¹¹⁷

Already in the arts course, students intended for theology would have dealt with divinity questions. Robert Wynn's Commencement verses in 1615 inform of four questions, concerning the spiritual powers of the priesthood, original sin, Anglican ordination as true ordination, and conscience bound by Church canon.¹¹⁸ With further application and disputing for the B.D. and by taking into account what matters were debated elsewhere,¹¹⁹ a theological student would be ready to pursue further studies and disputations, culminating in the public disputations required to qualify for a doctorate.

The degree disputations in theology were usually an elaboration of those already pursued at other exercises and were a mixture of propounding theological truth and confuting error. The questions disputed by Welshmen at Oxford for their D.D.s were typical of those set. Catholic truths were challenged, such as in John Lloyd's question (Vesperies 1595) on the corrupting influences of scholastic theology and the Latin Vulgate,¹²⁰ and in the arguments against worshipping and invoking the saints dealt with by John Williams (Vesperies 1602) and Hugh Robinson (Vesperies 1627).¹²¹ Robinson had also to refute the Catholic doctrine of Limbo, where the souls of the pre-Christian prophets were thought to reside.

Other candidates were called upon to dispute on overtly Protestant, Calvinist theology, particularly about sin and unconditional

election to salvation, discussed by Cadwaladr Owen (Comitia 1603), and about spiritual rebirth and baptism (Richard Puleston, *Vesperies* 1627).¹²² The denial of good works as a means to salvation (Morgan Winne, *Vesperies* 1634) and the upholding of the efficacy of the Scriptures (Hugh Williams, *Vesperies* 1634), were also important topics.¹²³ These fundamental tenets of belief, so important in the preparation of a sound and orthodox clergy, were regularly debated at these incepting gatherings and were of value to the whole student body.¹²⁴

Much reading was also required of students taking higher degrees, though the extant wills and inventories of books relating to Welsh students throw only a variable light on the literature of higher courses. The surviving lists of books of Oxford men all belonged to civilians, David Seys, Roderick Lloyd and Lewis Jones.¹²⁵ The books listed for Seys and Lloyd were distinctly few, in Lloyd's case possibly because, as a long practising civilian, he kept the bulk of his library in London. In any event, neither possessed books of law. Lloyd's books at Oxford included volumes of works by the Catholic theologians and metaphysicians, Aquinas and Bellarmine, perhaps remnants of works studied for logic, ethics and metaphysics in the arts course. Bellarmine may have been of added interest since as a canonist he had some relevance to a student of Roman law.¹²⁶ Seys's will mentions Ptolemy's Geographia, a standard text in the arts course at that time, and generally a very popular work, and a volume of nature poetry, which James Howell considered light relief for a student, William Browne's Pastorals.¹²⁷

Lewis Jones was but a recently appointed law Fellow at All Souls when he died and his more detailed library, similarly, showed but little sign of legal reading. Indeed, his books seemed almost wholly related to his arts courses. He possessed no less than six grammars as well as an introduction to grammar, suggesting that his pre-university education was an insufficient preparation; and one of the Greek grammars was by the Flemish grammarian, Gleynaerts.¹²⁸ Cicero was a central author in Lewis's linguistic studies for rhetoric, prose and common placing material.¹²⁹ Erasmus represented a prominent near-contemporary influence, in prose and, again, in the books of colloquia,¹³⁰ while the list also contained the works of the chief classical influences on sixteenth century literary humanism, apart from Cicero, namely Virgil, Horace and Ovid.¹³¹ In addition, literary and moral influences were enhanced by works of two of the most popular Latin historians in print in this period, Sallust and Livy.¹³²

Rhetorical and ethical ideas were also available to Jones in two works by the contemporary Dutch scholar, Cornelius Wouters,¹³³ and the remaining ethical works were Aristotelian, of Aristotle himself, probably the Nicomachean Ethics, and of the reformer, Melancthon.¹³⁴ As might be expected, Aristotle was, indeed, the main philosophical influence, the Organon being the chief work of logic and his Physics the main work of natural philosophy. The latter was supplemented by a compendium on the subject by the German Catholic theologian, Titelmans.¹³⁵ Additional material on logic consisted of a work by the German humanist Caesarius, probably his

commentary on the introduction to Aristotelian logic by the Flemish, neo-scholastic Catholic apologist, Clichtove, and the long-established commentary on Aristotle by Porphyry in his Institutes.¹³⁶

Ancient authority was Jones's sole source of geographical knowledge, Pomponius Mela, while his astronomical interests were set within traditional lines by Engel's mathematical calculations of planetary movements, and Stade's more recent tables of planetary locations during the third quarter of the sixteenth century.¹³⁷ These mathematical calculations had, of course, value in the understanding of the art of chronology. Interest in planetary observation also had an implied mystical and astrological intent and, in Jones's case, this could well have been coupled with the ideas gleaned from probably the most controversial work in his possession, Agrippa's De occulta philosophia, his defence of magic.¹³⁸

As with all students, however, Jones was expected to conform to the established pattern of religious belief and worship and he possessed two testaments, one in English. Copies of the Scriptures and various commentaries were, of course, that much more essential to divinity students and an examination of the inventories of two early seventeenth century Cambridge divines from Wales show, in contrast to the Oxford civilians, the sort of literature necessary to following their discipline.

Richard Fletcher of Jesus College, besides possessing a great many arts subject texts, had built up a good library in divinity. His fundamental biblical sources included two copies of the Bible in English, and a Greek-Latin testament, as well as a Greek New Testament,

edited by Plantin.¹³⁹ The ideas of the Early Church were important to Protestant theologians, and Fletcher had an edition of the decisions of the first four general or ecumenical councils of the Early Church.¹⁴⁰ Of the Protestant reformers themselves, Calvin was the chief authority, represented by the Institutes, highly popular among students of this period, and by his commentary on the Psalms. Calvin's most dogmatic associate and controversial supporter, and again a seminal influence in early Anglican or English theology, Theodore de Beze, was also included by virtue of his edition and translation of the Greek New Testament.¹⁴¹

Another controversial Protestant was the German, David Paré, whose commentary on Genesis was in Fletcher's list, and all of whose works were soon to be banned at the universities because he argued that royal absolutism could be justifiably challenged by rebellion.¹⁴² Paré's ideas were also somewhat critical of Calvinism, then predominant in the English universities, but a more outspoken Protestant voice was that of Piscator, the neo-Ramist, who had bitterly attacked the internecine sectarianism of the Reform churches, and he was represented in Fletcher's list by his commentary on the Epistles and the Gospels. Piscator, it may be added, had some influence in English Protestant circles, and, indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that Fletcher himself had Puritan sympathies.¹⁴³ Other less extreme Protestant writers were also read by him, including Zanchi, Peter Martyr's collaborator, and Spangenberg, the Lutheran commentator.¹⁴⁴

Fletcher's reading was not confined to Protestant authors. Catholic works were also represented, of a probably humanist character

in a volume by Mirandola and of a more orthodox nature in a scriptural commentary by Antonius.¹⁴⁵ Knowledge of Roman and ecclesiastical law and Catholic authority was obtained from works by Durandus, probably the 'Speculator' and his Speculum Judiciale, and by the Spanish jurist, Antonius Augustin.¹⁴⁶ These were further supplemented by the works of Silvester and Bellarmine, whose valuable work on Hebrew seems also to have been in Fletcher's list. Bellarmine was undoubtedly the profoundest and subtlest elaborator of Catholic beliefs and authority, and he was not allowed to stand unchallenged, for Fletcher possessed a widely available Protestant refutation of his views, by Trelcatius.¹⁴⁷

William Holland presents somewhat of a contrast to Fletcher in that he had a full academic and clerical career, securely and safely Anglican with no radical traces compared with Fletcher. Holland completed his B.D. degree and might have fulfilled his doctorate, too, but for his priestly obligations. Though he remained a Fellow of St. John's until his death, it is clear that he was at times absent in his Norfolk livings. His library, therefore, represents the books of a parish clergyman and not merely a divinity scholar.¹⁴⁸ Hence, it might be supposed that such a clergyman would be a source of knowledge, help and advice to his parishioners, which might explain the possession of a volume of Littleton's Tenures and a book detailing the extant Statutes.¹⁴⁹ It might also explain his possession of a history of Great Britain, possibly by the Scotsman, Gordon.¹⁵⁰

Several volumes were relevant to a knowledge of classical literature and philosophy; an account of various grammarians, possibly

by Jacobus Sylvius, a book of oratory by le Sylvian, a popular sixteenth century compendium of classical and humanist knowledge by the Swiss, Zwinger, and three volumes by the medieval classical commentator and moralist, Berchorius.¹⁵¹ Moral or ethical writings, as might be expected, were numerous and included the popular contemporary moral discourses of Thomas Wright, the English translation of the popular adaptation of moral philosophy by Giraldi, a fifteenth century moral discourse on the cardinal virtues and sins, and the calendar of religious and moral gleanings on the Gospels by the English Catholic theologian, Thomas Stapleton.¹⁵² These meditative works were further supplemented by two collections of sermons, one by the Italian bishop, Musso, on the Gospels and sacred feasts, a work popular throughout Europe, and the other a collection of lectures by Dr. John King, later Bishop of London.¹⁵³

Though the list contained several Catholic writers, when it came to theology proper, Holland seems to have been an orthodox Protestant clergyman. A volume entitled Antichrist Discovered probably referred to the anti-papal work of Robert Abbot of Balliol College, which included a refutation of Bellarmine's counter-claims, while Holland also possessed two biblical commentaries by Calvin on Genesis and on the minor prophets, together with a commentary on the Lord's Prayer and other meditations by his contemporary at St. John's, Robert Hill.¹⁵⁴ Finally, and most importantly, Holland had the Scriptures themselves to study: an English Bible and an English Testament, the former probably a copy of the Bishop's Bible of 1568, and the latter possibly the recent English translation of Beza's edition of the New Testament.¹⁵⁵

Thus, the development of the printed word had immeasurably enlarged and consolidated the body of knowledge available to all students. While aural techniques of mass learning remained in force at the universities, and at the inns of court also, printing facilitated the development of private study to a greater degree than ever before.¹⁵⁶

CHAPTER III : PART (ii) - NOTES

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8. Ibid., pp. 166-7, 176-9, 182-6.
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10. H.F. Kearney, Scholars and Gentlemen (1970), pp. 47-50; Mallet, op. cit., II, 146-8, 330 f.; Charlton, op. cit., pp. 151-2, 159-60; Simon, op. cit., pp. 356-9; J.B. Trapp, ed., op. cit., 90 ff.; Howell, op. cit., 110, 125, 138-9, 318-21.
11. L. Jardine, 'The Place of Dialectic Teaching in Sixteenth century Cambridge', Studies in the Renaissance, XXI (1974), 31-62.

12. W.T. Costello, The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge (1958), pp. 11-14; Mullinger, op. cit., ii, 9-10, 12-13, 51-52; E. Miller, Portrait of a College: A History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge (1961), pp. 37-38; T. Fowler, The History of Corpus Christi College (1893), pp. 38-41; H.W.C. Davis, Balliol College (1899), pp. 100-3.
13. Costello, op. cit., pp. 14-31.
14. Ibid., pp. 31-33.
15. K. Charlton, op. cit., pp. 131 f., 140 ff.; F. Madan, ed., Quartercentenary Monographs of Brasenose (1909), II, i (X) pt. 2, 30-32; W. Carr, University College (1902), pp. 98-102.
16. D.W. Rannie, Oriel College (1900), p. 92; G.C. Richards and H.E. Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel (1926), p. 187. Owen was also private tutor to Sir Robert Harley, and vide supra chap. III (i), n. 119.
17. Mallet, op. cit., II, 198; E.G. Hardy, Jesus College (1899), p. 35; vide D.N.B. and B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England 1603-1641 (1973), p. 263, for Powell; cf. Costello, op. cit., p. 8.
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20. J. McCann and H. Connolly, eds., Memorials of Father Augustine Baker ..., Catholic Record Society, XXXIII (1933), 40-41, 60-62; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 56, for Prichard.
21. E. Miller, op. cit., pp. 38-39.
22. C.W.P., 414.
23. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 476, Feb. 1607/8.
24. C.W.P., 486.
25. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 567, Aug. 1611.
26. Ibid., 575; vide supra chap. V (ii), n. 170.
27. C.W.P., 602.
28. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 609, 30 Nov., 1612.
29. C.W.P., 610, dat. prob. c.Dec. 1612.

30. C.W.P., 608, prob. dat. 1613, and vide Al. Cant. for Williams and the Horsmanden brothers.
31. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 736, 16 August [1615?]. One reason for Horsmanden's neglect may have been the demands on him by a more prominent pupil, Lord Algernon Percy (G.R. Batho, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman', British Journal of Educational Studies, V (1957), 139-41).
32. C.W.P., p. 508.
33. Ibid., pp. 508-9.
34. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, ed. J. Jacobs (1890-2), pp. 412-13. Howell, B.A. of Jesus C. 1613; his nephew 'J.P.' possibly John Powell of Presteigne, matr. Jesus 1627/8 (Al. Oxon.).
35. N.L.W., Clennau 444; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 40.
36. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, pp. 256-7, 432-3.
37. Ibid., pp. 609-11.
38. Grace Book Γ. Containing the records of the University of Cambridge for the years 1501-42, ed. W.G. Searle (1908), p. xxxi; W.T. Costello, op. cit., pp. 43-44; Curtis, op. cit., p. 85.
39. Ibid., pp. 85-92; Costello, op. cit., pp. 44 ff. and 147-9.
40. J. Hackett, Scrinia Reserata. A memorial offered to the great deservings of John Williams, D.D., ... (1693), pt. i, 10-11.
41. Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 13-14; Grace Book Δ. Containing the records of the University of Cambridge for the years 1542-89, ed. J. Venn (1910), p. 69.
42. Grace Book Γ, p. 227; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 21, 68.
43. Ibid., 16, 73.
44. Richards and Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel, p. 113.
45. Bodl., Rawlinson MS D. 1063, f. 114 et seq., and cf. Costello, op. cit., pp. 14-31.
46. Bodl., Rawlinson MS D. 273, f. 334; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 45; cf. Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 170.
47. Rawlinson MS D. 273, ff. 341-53.
48. Ibid., f. 334.

49. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 50 f., 62; Mullinger, op. cit., i (1873), 355.
50. Rawlinson MS D. 273, f. 334.
51. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 82 f.; Mullinger, op. cit., i, 356.
52. Ibid., i, 358; Mallet, op. cit., II, 129-30; C.W.P., 688, for Wynn's Masters' Commencement; vide also N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 567, for his expected charges (over £18) at the Bachelors' Commencement, 1611, in feasting and gifts.
53. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 90 ff.; and ibid., 92, for the exclusion of Maurice Roberts from teaching by virtue of his chaplain's duties at Christ Church.
54. N.L.W., Clennau 423; Wynn, Gwydir 505. Biographical details and the identification of authors and their works throughout chap. III (ii) and its appendix are generally based on the following works: A.M. Hyamson, Dictionary of Universal Biography (1951); L.G. Michaud, Biographie Universelle ancienne et moderne (1842-65); Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (1875-1912); Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th ed., 1910-11); D.N.B.; P. Edwards, ed., The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (1967); J. Hastings et al., eds., Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics (1908-21); The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia of Religious Knowledge (1908-12); W. Smith, ed., Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology (1849-50); C.H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors A-Ph', in Studies in the Renaissance, XXI (1974), 228 ff.; and Renaissance Quarterly, XXVIII (1975), 689 ff.; XXIX (1976), 714 ff.; XXX (1977), 681 ff.; XXXI (1978), 532 ff.; XXXII (1979), 529 ff.; Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale (1897-1977); The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975 (1979); British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books ... to 1955 (1960-66) and Ten Year Supplement 1956-66 (1968); Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600, in Cambridge libraries, compiled by H.M. Adams, 2 vols. (1967).
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56. Ibid., pp. 340, 423; Lucius Annaeus Seneca, 3 B.C.-A.D. 65; Gaius Julius Caesar, 102-44 B.C.; C. Julius Caesars commentaries, translated into English by Arthure Goldinge (1565).
57. Marcus Valerius Martial, A.D. 43-104; Homer, c.962-927 B.C.; Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106-43 B.C.; Publius Terentius Afer, c. 195-159 B.C.

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65. Aristotle, Parva Naturalia: Chrysostom Javellus, O.P., c.1470/2-c.1538: Quaestiones in Aristotelis XI Metaphysices libros (1576).

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74. Vide infra chap. VI (ii), nn. 94-123.
75. Franciscus Toletus, 1532-96; Giacomo Zabarella, 1533-89; Franciscus Suarez, 1548-1617; Casper Hurtado, 1575-1647; John Duns Scotus, 1265-1308; Jan Maes, 1592-1647; Jacques Wallius, 1599-1690; Philip Christoph von Soetern, 1567-1652; Griffith Powell, 1561-1620; Christoph Scheibler, 1589-1653; Marcin Smiglecki, fl. c.1618; Fausto Sozzini, 1539-1604; vide Costello, op. cit., p. 122 and n. 71.
76. Francesco Pavone, S.J., 1569-1637; Gregory Martin, d. 1580; St. Thomas Aquinas, c.1225-74; Jean Buridan, 1297-1358; Jacobus Martini, 1570-1649; Antonio Francesco Riccoboni, 1541-99; Johann Crellius, 1590-1633; Plutarch, A.D. 46-c.127; Publius Salustius, fl. A.D. 363; Flavius Arrianus, A.D. 96-180; Democrates, fl. 340 B.C.; vide J.J. Walsh, 'Buridan and Seneca', Journal of the History of Ideas, XXVII (1966), 23-40.

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82. Demosthenes, 384-322 B.C.; Isocrates, 436-338 B.C.; Themistius, A.D. 317-c.387; Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, c.A.D. 35-95; Isaeus, c.420-c.350 B.C.; Antiphon, 479-419 B.C.; Flavius Claudius Julianus, A.D. 331-363; vide W.S. Howell, 'Poetics, rhetoric and logic in Renaissance criticism', and Bolgar in idem, ed., op. cit., pp. 11, 14-15, 155 ff.; also, D.L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (1957), passim.
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85. Cassius Longinus, A.D. 213-73; Anacharsis, fl. 600 B.C.; Phalaris, fl. 570 B.C.; Crateros, fl. 3rd century B.C.
86. e.g., glossaries: Jean Buxtorf, 1599-1664; Valentin Schindler, d. 1594; Greek: Henri Estienne II, 1531-90; Jacques Toussain, c.1498-1547; Wolfgang Seber, 1573-1634; humane learning: Jan Gruter, 1560-1627; Guido Panciroli, 1523-99; Eilhard Lubin, 1565-1621; Wilhelm Laurenberg, fl. 1653-62; Latin: Sir Henry Spelman, 1564-1641; Matthias Martin, fl. 1628; Rodolph Hospinian, 1547-1627; ancient mores: Jacques du Bellay, c.1524-60; François Hotman, 1524-90; Jodocus Velareus, fl. 1528-40; Elias Schedius, 1615-41; Daniel Angelocrater, 1569-1635; Paulus Manutius, 1512-74; Desiderius Erasmus, 1467-1536; vide Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences ..., pp. 8-9, 24-27; and cf. the adages, proverbs, etc., kept in the commonplace book of Kyffin's senior at Jesus, Thomas Ellis, M.A., Fellow (Bodl., MS e. Mus. 227). Ellis's references to several of the most prominent English mathematicians (f. 1^v), Thomas Hood, Thomas Fale, Leonard and Thomas Digges, and John Davis, seem to give force to Hill's assertion that scientific and mathematical study increased at Oxford following the Parliamentary Visitation, though cf. Kyffin's list (Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, pp. 309-14).
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93. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 111-12; M. Bateson, ed., Cambridge Grace Book β, pt. ii, 1511-44 (1905), p. xxi; Costello, op. cit., pp. 135-41; Curtis, op. cit., pp. 155-60; B.P. Levack, The Civil Lawyers in England, pp. 16-20, 50-53; J.K. McConica, op. cit., 116-19.
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95. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 107-14, 125, 132-5; J.B. Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge (1888), p. 112; K.F. Russell, 'A Seventeenth century Oxford Licence to Practise Medicine', Medical History, I (1957), 66-67.
96. Cambridge Grace Books Γ, p. 328; Δ, pp. xii, 16, re. Robert Evans, Master of Magdalene, B.D. 1544; Cambridge University Archives, Liber Gratiarum Z (1620-45), f. 361, re. Richard Bulkeley, B.D. 1639; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 138; vide Costello, op. cit., pp. 112-13, for the continued unofficial study of Lombard.
97. Req. Univ. Oxon., I, 60, 167; II, i, 147; and D.W.B. re. John Gwyneth, Robert Perrot and Thomas Tomkins; vide also J.L. Davies, 'The Contribution of Welshmen to Music', Trans. Cymmr. 1929-30, 38 ff.; and R.E. Roberts, 'Welsh Music in the Tudor Period', ibid. 1925-6, 1 ff. for names such as Richard Edwards and Robert Jones.
98. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 132, 138; iii, 199, 283.
99. Ibid., i, 126-9, 161-2; Cambridge Grace Book Δ, p. 118, and vide p. 136 re. Hugh Glyn of Anglesey; vide D.W.B. re. Phaer.
100. Cambridge Grace Book Δ, pp. 205, 436, 437, re. Thomas Rowland (Rowland Thomas) of Anglesey, LL.D. 1567 (Al. Cant.), Henry Mostyn of Flints., LL.D. 1589, Richard Vaughan of Caerns., D.D. 1588/9 (ibid. and D.W.B.); Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 115-22, 139-45.
101. Cambridge Grace Book Δ, p. 197; D.W.B.
102. Ibid., and Grace Book Δ, p. 178; cf. also Richards and Salter, The Dean's Register of Oriel, p. 98, re. Richard Lorgan.
103. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 73.

104. P.R.O., SP 16/174/29; Bayly, M.A. Exeter Coll. 1615 (Req. Univ. Oxon., II, ii, 329; iii, 335); John Prideaux, Regius Professor of Divinity 1615-42, John Hodges, M.A. Brasenose 1595, Fellow Lincoln College 1599-1604 (Al. Oxon.).
105. P.R.O., SP 16/174/45.
106. Ibid., SP 16/174/46. Laud expected M.A.s to have been in residence for seven years before qualifying for the B.D., and B.A.s and undergraduates who were supposed to take nine years, he thought ought to take fourteen before incepting.
107. SP 16/174/85.
108. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 144-5, 233 ff.
109. P.R.O., SP 16/526/87; Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 183.
110. Loc. cit.
111. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 185-6; other examples of Welsh inceptors at civil law include: Hugh Floyd (1581), Wm. Aubrey, the younger (B.C.L. 1591), Evan Morris (1593), Griffith Powell (1599), Owen Floyd (1602) (ibid., 181-4).
112. P.R.O., SP 16/526/87.
113. J. Heywood and T. Wright, eds., Cambridge University Transactions during the Puritan controversies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1854), II, 155.
114. C. Plummer, Elizabethan Oxford (1886), p. 168 ff. Wm. Aubrey, the elder, Regius Professor of Civil Law 1553-4, advocate of Arches, Robert Lougher, Regius Professor of Civil Law 1566-77, Hugh Lloyd, Master of Winchester College.
115. U.C.N.W., Henblas A 2. Robert Morgan of Montgs., sizar of Jesus C. 1624, M.A. 1631 (D.W.B.: Al. Cant.).
116. U.C.N.W., Henblas A 2, ff. 13, 45, 66, 115, 129, 171, 192, 221, 231, 247, 278, 330, 350, 374, 384.
117. Ibid., ff. 299-305; vide W.T. Costello, op. cit., p. 123.
118. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 733; cf. Costello, op. cit., pp. 17-19.
119. U.C.N.W., Henblas A 2, ff. 533-4, 'Theses in Societate/discussa Mertonensi ex Ecclesia nostrae Articulis summo cum iudicio excerptae'.
120. Req. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 197. John Lloyd of Denbs., B.D. New C. 1592 (ibid., ii, 77; iii, 183).

121. Ibid., i, 202; P.R.O., SP 16/526/87. Williams, of Jesus C., Regius Professor of Divinity 1594-1613 (D.W.B.), Robinson of Mynachty, Anglesey, M.A. New C. 1610/11, B.D. and D.D. 1627 (Al. Oxon.; J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 24).
122. P.R.O., SP 16/526/87; Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 203. Puleston of Hants. and Oxon., B.D. Wadham 1620, one of the Pulestons of Allington, Flints. (Al. Oxon.; D.W.B., sub John Puleston), Owen, vide supra n. 16.
123. P.R.O., SP 16/271/69; vide supra chap. III (i), n. 22, for Winne; Williams of Anglesey, B.D. Jesus C. 1628 (Al. Oxon.).
124. Other Welsh inceptors in divinity at Oxford included: Henry Parry (1596), William Vaughan (1597), John Williams (1598), Richard Parry (1598), David Ellis (1609), Lewis Bayly (1613), John Davies (1616), Evan Vaughan (1619), William Dqlben (1619), Anthony Morgan (1620), John Hughes (1621) (Reg. Univ. Oxon., II, i, 198, 200, 206, 209, 213-16).
125. Oxford University Archives, CC. Inventories, vols. HO-J/Hyp/B/14, P/Hyp/B/17; Wills, vol L. Hyp/B/29.
126. St. Robert Bellarmine, 1542-1621.
127. William Browne, 1591-1643, author of Britannia's Pastorals (2 vols., 1611, 1616).
128. Nicolas Cleynaerts, 1495-1542: N. Clenardus Meditationes graecaniae in artem grammaticam, in eorum oratiam, quia viva praeceptoris voce destituuntur et literas graecas suo ipsi ductu discere coquuntur (1541); vide V.C.H. Oxon., III (1954), 174, re. academical qualifications of fellows of All Souls. Jones, B.A. 1566/7, Fellow 1569 (Al. Oxon.).
129. Opera Ciceronis Epistolica; M. Tulli Ciceronis Philippicae orationes XIIII in M. Antonium; M.T. Ciceronis Epistolae ad Atticum, ad M. Brutum, ad Quincum frat. Cum correctionibus P. Manutii et annotationibus D. Lambini (1570); M. Tulli Ciceronis Sententiae insigniores, et pia apothegmata ex ducentis veteribus oratoribus, philosophis, et poetis, tam Graecis, quam Latinis ... selecta; Rhetoricorum M.T. Ciceronis ad C. Herennium libri IIII.
130. Lingua per Des. Erasmus Roterdamum conscripta; Apothegmata ex optimis utriusque linguae scriptoribus ... collectorum libri octo (1564); Desiderius Erasmus, Colloquium familiarum opus; Epistolae D. Erasmi Roterdami; also, there were two copies of the unascribed De utraque copia, verborum et rerum praecepta, una cum exemplis dilucido brevique earmine comprehensa, ut facilius et iucundius edisci, ac memoriae quoque firmitus inhaerere possint (1556).

131. Publius Vergilius Maro, 70-19 B.C.; Publius Ovidius Naso, 43 B.C.-A.D. 17: P. Ovidii Herodium epistolae; P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV (2 copies); vide D. Hay, '1500-1700: The Bibliographical Problem: A Continental S.T.C.?', in R.R. Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences ..., p. 38.
132. C. Sallustius Crispus, 86-34 B.C.; Titus Livius, 59 B.C.-A.D. 17: T. Livii Decas quarta, Decadis quintae; P. Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians', 146-8.
133. Kornelius Wouters, 1512-78: Cornelius Valerius, Rhetorica ... universam bene dicendi rationem ... completens ... nunc ad majorem puerorum commoditatem per interrogationes et responsiones; Cornelius Valerius, The Casket of Jewels contayninge a playne description of morall philosophie Lately turned out of Latin into Englishe (1571).
134. Nichomacean ethics published in Greek eds. from 1536, Latin eds. from the late fifteenth century and Greek-Latin eds. from the mid-sixteenth century: Philipp Melancthon, Moralis Philosophiae Epitome. Item in Quintum Librum Ethicorum Aristotelis Commentarius, recognitus a Philippo et in quibusdam locis omnino renovatus (1539).
135. Franz Titelmans, 1498-1537: Fr. Franciscus Titelman Compendium Naturalis Philosophiae Libri duodecim de consideratione rerum naturalium, earumque ad suum creatorem reductione (1545).
136. Joannes Caesarius Juliensis, 1468-1550; Josse van Clichtove, d. 1543: Fundamentum logicae. Introductio in terminorum cognitionem ... una cum I. Caesarii commentariis (1538); Porphyry, A.D. 233-c.304: Porphyrii institutiones quinque vocum ad Chrysaorium (1542).
137. Pomponius Mela, fl. A.D. 43: Pomponius Mela de orbis situ libri tres; Jan Stade, 1527-79: Ephemerides novae ... J. Stadii ab anno 1554 ad annum 1576 (1560); Johann Engel (Johann Angelus), 1463-1512: Johann Engel. Astrolabium planum in tabulis ascendens: continens qualibet hora atque minuto equationes domorum celi ... (1502).
138. Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, 1486-1535: Henrici Cornelii Agrippae de occulta philosophia libri tres (1533).
139. Christoph Plantin, 1514-89. Greek New Testaments were published by him at Antwerp in 1573 and 1574. No doubt at least one copy of the English Bible must have been the Authorised Version of 1611.
140. A great many editions were published in this period of the acts of the various general Councils of the Early Church, among the most likely to be included in Fletcher's list being:

- Conciliorum quatuor generalium. Niceni. Constantinopolitani. Ephesini et Calcedonensis ... tomus primus ... [Tomus secundus, aliorum aliquot Conciliorum generalium] (1539). An edition of the decrees of the four Councils was also published in the collected works of Pope Clement I (1569).
141. Jean Calvin, 1509-64: In Librum Psalmorum, Johannis Calvini commentarius (1557), English translation 1571; Institutio Christianae religionis (1st ed. 1536, 2nd enlarged ed. 1559), English translation 1561; Theodore de Bèze, 1519-1605: English version of his New Testament ed., published as The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, translated out of Greeke; whereunto are adjoynd brief summaries of doctrine upon the Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles, together with the methode of the Epistles (1576).
142. David Paré (Paraeus), 1548-1622; vide C.H. Cooper, Annals of Cambridge, III, 143, and Acts of the Privy Council, XXXVIII, 1621-3, 232, 234 and esp. 237.
143. Johann Fischer, 1546-1625: Analysis logica septem Epistolarum Apostolicarum quae Catholicae appellari solent ... Una cum scholiis et observationibus locorum doctrinae (1593); cf. W.J. Ong, Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue, pp. 299, 302-4; vide infra chap. VI (ii), nn. 90-92.
144. Jerome Zanchi, 1516-90: Compendium praeciporum capitum doctrinae Christianae (1598); Cyriacus Spangenberg, 1528-1604. In addition, Fletcher's inventory listed 'Junius in folio 2 volumes'. While this may refer to Adrian de Jonghe (Junius), the Flemish classical scholar, commentator and philologist, it is more likely to be a reference to François Du Jon (Junius), the French Protestant theologian and philologist, 1545-1602, and to his work, F. Junii Opera Theologica ... Praefixta est ... vita auctoris, ab eodem olim conscripta (edita ab P. Merula) et narratio de ejusdem obitu (ex funebri oratione F. Gomari) etc. (2 vol. 1607, fol.).
145. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, 1463-94: Conclusiones philosophicae, cabalisticae et theologicae (1486); Antonius de Bitonto, d. 1454.
146. Guillaume Durand, 'Speculator', 1237-96; his nephew, also Guillaume Durand (Durandus, d. 1334), wrote opposing papal authority by conciliar government; Antonius Augustin, 1516-86: Antonii Augustini, ... de Legibus et senatconsultis liber, adjunctis legum antiquarum et senatus-consultorum fragmentis, cum notis Fulvii Ursini (1583).
147. Gerbert of Aurillac (Pope Silvester II), 993-1003; Lucas Trelcat, 1542-1607: A briefe Institution of the Common Places of sacred Divinity Wherein the truth of every place is proved, and the Sophisms of Bellarmine are reproved. Englished by J. Gaven (1610);

- also, vide R.W. Richgels, 'Scholasticism meets Humanism in the Counter Reformation, The Clash of Cultures in Robert Bellarmine's use of Calvin in "Controversies"', The Sixteenth Century Journal, VI (1975), 53-66.
148. Cambridge University Archives, Wills, III/12; Vice-Chancellor's Court, Inventories.
149. Sir Thomas Littleton, 1402-81: Littletons Tenures in English. Lately perused and amended (eds. 1594, 1600, 1604); A Kalendar or Table, comprehending the effect of all the statutes that have been made and put in print, beginning with Magna Carta enacted 9 H.3 ... untill the end of the Session of Parliament holden anno 3 R. Jacobi ... Whereunto is annexed an Abridgement of all the Statutes ... in force and use, with certain Quaeres (1606).
150. John Gordon, 1544-1619: A Panegyrique ... for the concord of the Realms of Great Britaine in unitie of Religion and under one King (1603). Alternatively, it might be the work of another Scotsman, John Major, 1469-1550: Historia Maioris Britanniae ...
151. 'Silva Gramatensis' - ?Jacobus Sylvius: In lingua gallicam isagoque una cum ejusdem grammatica latino-gallica, ex hebraicis, graecis et latinis authoribus (1531); Alexandre van den Busche (le Sylvian), c.1535-85: The Orator: Handling a hundred severall Discourses, in forme of Declamations ... (Eng. ed. 1596); Theodor Zwinger the Elder, 1533-88: Theatrum Humanae Vitae (1565); Pierre Bercheuer, d. 1362: Petri Berchorii ... opera omnia ... Ex recensione viri docti (3 vol.); vide W.J. Ong, 'Commonplace rhapsody: Ravisius Textor, Zwinger and Shakespeare', in R.R. Bolgar, ed., Classical Influences ..., pp. 111-17.
152. Thomas Wright, fl. 1604: The Passions of the minde By Th. W. (1601, enlarged 1604); Giovanni Battista Giraldi-Cinthio, 1504-73: A Discourse of Civill Life, Containing the Ethicke part of Morall Philosophie for the instructing a Gentleman in the course of a vertuous life by Lod[owick] Br[yskett] (1606); Lodowick Bryskett, 1571-1611; Summa in virtutes cardinales et vitia illis contraria, eorumque remedia, ad partem tertia libri de naturalibus exemplis: feliciter incipit (1480); Thomas Stapleton, 1535-98: Promptuarium morale super Evanqelia Dominicalia totius anni.
153. Cornelio Musso, 1511-74: Concionem Evangeliorum de Dominicis aliquot et festis (1594); John King, 1559-1621: Lectures upon Jonas delivered at York in 1594 by John Kinge. Newlie corrected and amended (1599).

154. Antichristi Demonstratio contra Fabulas Pontificas et ineptam Roberti Bellarmini de Antichristo disputationem (1603), (P. Milward, Religious controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources (1977), p. 156). A similarly entitled work by Dr. George Downname was also published in 1603, while there was also a verse work, of which a 1634 ed. is extant entitled, A true and plaine genealogy or Pedigree of Antichrist wherin is clearly discovered that hee is lineally descended from the Divell; and A Commentarie of John Calvine upon the first booke of Moses called Genesis: translated out of Latine into English, by Thomas Tymme (1578); Ioannis Calvini Praelectiones in duodecim Prophetas, quos vocant Minores (one ed. pub'd. 1610); Robert Hill, d. 1623: Christ's Prayer expounded, a Christian directed and a Communicant prepared ... To which is added a Preface of a Prayer, a pithie Prayer for Christian families (1606).
155. The most regularly published edition of the Bible at this date was the Genevan Bible revised by Tomson and others; vide supra n. 141 for Beza.
156. Private study evidenced also by the fact that Brynkir, Wynn, Jones and Fletcher all kept paper books for notemaking.

CHAPTER IV

LIFE AND SCHOLARSHIP AT THE INNS OF COURT

Continuity was no less strong in the organisation of the inns of court than in that of the two universities during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The established order of teachers and students remained basically unaltered and the dialectical manner of instruction, though weakened, persisted. Large numbers of students were attracted to the inns for a variety of reasons, social as well as intellectual, and in a general way studying the common law was of value because of its major importance, and during this period it assumed even greater complexity as well as a redefinition of its authority.¹

The fact that the inns were first and foremost residential centres for lawyers and places of professional training made them less collegiate in character, and unlike the universities and their colleges, they did not dominate their urban surroundings.² On both counts, therefore, the less conscientious student had a greater degree of freedom to follow other distractions than study, and well could Sir John Wynn of Gwydir charge his son and heir, John, to keep at his books, otherwise

'assure your self I wyll spare the chardge I
am at³ and you shall draw home to lyve a Contrey
lyf.'

Admission fines

These were the first burden of a student's costs and were levied on all those who gained ordinary, as opposed to honorific,

membership of the inns. Ordinary admissions were of two sorts, general and special. The former carried more detailed obligations on the part of the student, including fulfilling all the necessary learning exercises, attending the learning vacations, and carrying out other additional duties, for example, at Christmas. General entrants paid fees according to a scale depending on whether they had already studied law at the inns of chancery. Students admitted specially were discretionary students, that is, they could be exempted various learning exercises at the discretion of the governors of each inn, the most senior counsel, the benchers. Admission fines were usually higher than for general admissions, but again were discretionary.⁴ It is not wholly certain that these two types of admission distinguished between the wealthy and the less wealthy, though it appears that unsuccessful attempts were made to restrict sons of the higher gentry being admitted specially.⁵ Nor is it very clear, as far as the Welsh students are concerned, that the two types of admission distinguished between the serious and the less committed student. On the limited evidence available, relating to the Middle Temple, of thirty-four Welsh students admitted generally between 1550 and 1603, only three became barristers. In the same period, there were thirteen special admissions from Wales, and none of those was called to the bar. In the subsequent period, 1603-42, the distinction may have had greater force. There was an expansion in special admissions and a decline in general admissions from Wales. There were sixteen general admissions from Wales in this period, and six of these became barristers. Special

admissions totalled forty-eight and only six of these were called to the bar.⁶

In general admissions, fines were most favourable to those entrants who had attended the particular inns of chancery under the control of the particular inns of court. Thus, in the 1560s, for example, entrants from Furnival or Davy (Thavie) 's inns to Lincoln's Inn paid only £1. 13s. 4d., whereas entrants from the other chancery inns paid £2. 13s. 4d. and unattached entrants paid five marks.⁷ This gradation was retained in the seventeenth century.⁸ At the Middle Temple, general entrants from New Inn paid 20s. - they paid 40s. if specially admitted⁹ - during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,¹⁰ while entrants from the other chancery inns paid between 30s. and 40s.¹¹ As was seen above, during the early seventeenth century inns of chancery admissions became fewer, and this was apparent at the Middle Temple, where unattached students came to dominate the general admissions from Wales, paying 50s. and more.¹² In certain cases, as when the student was proposed by a man of note and influence, this sum could be reduced, for example, in the case of John Games of Newton, Breconshire, admitted at the request of Sir David Williams, Justice of the King's Bench, a former Bencher of the Middle Temple and a native of Breconshire, paying 40s. in 1612.¹³

Each inn of court's benchers had complete control over most admissions, except honorific ones, and they influenced ordinary admissions by increasingly restricting the entries from the inns

of chancery, which were places for training attorneys, by emphasising that their establishments were for training barristers.¹⁴ There was an associated drop in general admissions as a result and, increasingly, special admissions were encouraged and became more attractive. In terms of expense, the fines for special admission were substantial, for example, at the Middle Temple they were usually between £4 and £5.¹⁵ The discretionary element, however, saw the levying of lower fines, or of no fines at all in some cases, as a result of the influence of leading lawyers. Several sons of the Welsh gentry benefited thus at the Middle Temple, and David Williams was seen to exercise his influence and favour with the benchers there, for example, in the special admission of Richard Hoskins from Monmouthshire in 1593/4 for 40s. and, more especially, of his son, Henry Williams, gratis in the same year.¹⁶

Another Welsh lawyer's son to benefit in this way was Roger Hughes, son of Hugh Hughes of Anglesey, former Bencher of Lincoln's Inn. Hughes was initially admitted generally into Lincoln's Inn in 1611/12 at the very low fine of 3s. 4d. Soon after, he was awarded a special admission at the comparatively modest sum of £3. 6s. 8d. His admission bond granted him many privileges. He was exempted from all learning vacations and all duties within the inn; and, by favour of the Reader that term, he was excused attendance at the public or communal festivity called the Reader's Drinking. He was to be charged commons only on second helpings if he were out of the inn more than three nights a week.¹⁷

It is little wonder, therefore, that special admission was increasingly sought after by the better-off, more casual, student; and the four inns of court levied more or less similar fees or fines on their entrants, special and general.¹⁸ Most of the fines went to the use of the accepting inn, with a small proportion being paid to the officers of the inn; for example, at Lincoln's Inn, the Keeper of the Black Book and the Butler were each given sums of money, for registering the member and for supervising board and lodging.¹⁹ As at the universities, however, there was no certainty of payment on the part of the student, and by the late sixteenth century a system of sureties, or pledges or guarantors, had appeared, by which at least two people would stand security for the payment of admission fines and other fees by the new entrant.²⁰ Usually the sureties were already members of the receiving society, some being members of long standing, others relative newcomers. A few guarantors were outsiders, for example, members of the inns of chancery, who later often entered the inns of court themselves. In many cases areal associations or family attachments are to be seen in operation. In the case of the Welsh students, the available evidence shows the predominant rôle played by their compatriots in acting as guarantors (Table I).

Within this general tendency, influences of a more particular nature played their part, as may be seen in the Temple admissions. Welsh students who entered at the same time could support one another. For example, in 1609, Athelstan Owen, John Blayney and Richard Pugh from Montgomeryshire pledged each other at the

TABLE I The proportion of Welsh students admitted at the inns of court possessing at least one compatriot as quarantor, pledge or manucaptor

		<u>with</u> <u>Welsh quarantors</u>	<u>without</u> <u>any quarantors</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Welsh admissions</u>
<u>Middle Temple:</u>	1550-1603	19	21	47
	1603-42	41	5	64
<u>Inner Temple:</u>	1547-1603	65	1	90
	1603-20	33	9	49
<u>Lincoln's Inn:</u>	1570-96	24	-	34

Sources: MT Minutes; IT typescript register; LI Library, Black Book 5

Inner Temple.²¹ Among inns of chancery guarantors was Thomas Trevor of Denbighshire, who supported Henry Williams of Glamorgan at the Inner Temple in 1592 and who himself became a full member of the Temple a year later.²² Brothers assisted one another also, as in the case of John Canon of Pembrokeshire, who was supported by his brother William at the Middle Temple in 1601.²³ Family ties were frequently used. Thus, Edward Kemeys of Llanfair, Monmouthshire, was a pledge for George Kemeys at the Inner Temple in 1605, and the latter repaid the favour by pledging Edward's brother Charles in 1612.²⁴ At the Middle Temple, John Games, noted above, was guaranteed by his relative Thomas Gwyn.²⁵

Areal and county loyalties, as in the case of the Montgomeryshire students above, played an important part. It was often the case that longer-established members, barristers and under-barristers, helped students from their localities. Walter Aldey and Edmund Morgan of Monmouthshire signed the bonds of guarantee for Thomas Lewis at the Middle Temple in 1586.²⁶ Morgan, indeed, assisted several other students from south-east Wales, particularly Glamorgan, and his signature was often accompanied on the bonds by that of David Williams, above, who assisted many students, including Morgan himself, from south-east Wales, Herefordshire and Berkshire, the areas of his landed and legal interests, during the 1580s and early 1590s. At the Inner Temple in the same period, John Lloyd of Pennal, Merionethshire, was pledge for several students from North and mid-Wales, especially Montgomeryshire and Cardiganshire. At the same inn during the 1550s, Leyson Price had pledged many Welsh

students, notably those from his native Glamorgan.²⁷ At Lincoln's Inn, Hugh Hughes and Thomas Bulkeley of Anglesey assisted many students from North Wales.²⁸ Hughes, like Williams and several others, continued this practice of guaranteeing students for a long period, and only ceased on their election as benchers at their inns.

Welsh students received support from other directions too. London Welshmen may have helped, for instance, John Griffith of London, who was pledge for both John Wynn of Gwydir and William Lewis of Presaddfed, Anglesey, at the Inner Temple in 1576.²⁹ Welsh links with the borders cannot be overlooked, for several Welsh students found signatories for their bonds among natives of those areas; for example, Edward Morgan of Flintshire, when he entered the Inner Temple in 1562, and Richard Phillips of Carmarthenshire, who entered the Middle Temple in 1598.³⁰

This method of securing pledges or bonds from entrants was one means of the inns' ensuring some control over their students and of securing unpaid bills. It was not wholly satisfactory, however, for some debts long remained unpaid. This occurred in the case of William Morgan of Ystradfellte, Breconshire, a Middle Temple barrister, who had frequently acted as guarantor for South Wales students. On his death in 1649 he owed his inn £22. 17s. 3d. in unpaid sureties, commons and fees incurred on behalf of six Welsh students who had attended the inn many years previously.³¹

Chamber rents and allocations

In addition to the admission fine, the student had to make other

payments, one of the most important being for a chamber. Until the early seventeenth century, all the inns suffered from a shortage of chambers to house the influx of students. Consequently, competition for existing rooms was great, and their high fees much benefited the societies. The shortfall in living accommodation was met by the inns' sanctioning private speculation in chamber construction and by allowing students to resort to private lodgings in close proximity to the inns.³² The inns' authorities formally disapproved of such arrangements but they had to accept the state of affairs. Living out caused many parents to worry. Thus, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir incurred his father's reproof for lodging in a 'vittelynge hous', the nearest place he could obtain to Furnival's Inn, and when he became a member of the Inner Temple, he still lived out, albeit in a better place, in Fleet Street, that 'cost £3 or £4 by the yeare for I can gette a chamber in the hous for no money'.³³

These difficulties explain Sir John's own anxiety a generation later in trying to obtain suitable chambers for those of his sons who were to be sent to London and particularly to the inns of court. The inns controlled the letting of their chambers by fixing the length of leases to the proposed occupants in terms of lives or years. At Gray's Inn by 1660, for example, some well-established Welsh lawyers held chambers at varying terms: Rice Vaughan for sixty years, David Jenkins for one life and Lewis Morgan for fifty years.³⁴ The lessees could sub-let, or reassign their leases to others, provided the inns had the final word about those who would occupy or

share the occupation of each chamber. Occupants were responsible for the upkeep of chambers³⁵ and were liable to censure or punishment if they were negligent. Richard Lloyd, for example, was taken to task by Gray's Inn in 1631 for putting up inadequate rails outside his chamber.³⁶

When places became available there would be no shortage of inquiries or interests at work. Sir John Wynn's desire to buy the chamber, or probably more accurately the reassignment, possessed by John Panton at Lincoln's Inn, c.1602, was abruptly ended by the news that Panton's patron, Sir Thomas Egerton, the Master of the Rolls, had obtained it for another in the summer of 1603.³⁷ Egerton (or Lord Ellesmere as he became) possessed title to many chambers at the inn and controlled the occupation of many other places. His kinsman by marriage, William Ravenscroft of Flintshire, benefited by this in 1604/5³⁸ and soon after, Panton, his servant, a native of Denbighshire,³⁹ was again to frustrate Sir John Wynn. Sir John's eldest son and heir, John, was by then sharing a chamber with Hugh Hughes, the Anglesey lawyer.⁴⁰ When Hughes, in 1605, entered into occupation of Ravenscroft's old room, a vacancy ensued, which Panton, as the probable lessee, had the right to let or fill.⁴¹ Wynn's appeal to kinship to 'coosin' Panton, to admit Richard Wynn to share the chamber with his brother, so that he might study and avoid bad company, brought no reward. Even the influence of William Jones of Castellmarch, Caernarvonshire, a leading lawyer at the inn, brought no result.⁴² Although Panton promised much,⁴³ other interests prevailed, and a Glamorgan student,

Edward Powell, filled the vacancy.⁴⁴ This disappointment was such that Richard Wynn was kept at home for a year, deferring his admission until, in 1606, due to Powell's frequent absences and indebtedness, the inn's benchers finally decided that the two Wynn brothers could share the same chamber.⁴⁵

Sir John's dealings with the inns did not end there, however. Over a decade later, he was trying to secure a new chamber for his son Henry at the Inner Temple. He was informed that the reassignment of a chamber recently occupied by Lewis Annwyl from Merionethshire would be worth no less than £40, and there were the attendant dues outstanding which Annwyl had to pay before leaving. A third of the agreed sum between Wynn and Annwyl was to go to the inn or otherwise a 'composicion' had to be agreed with the society. This was presumably a reference to the entrance fine usually levied on new occupants.⁴⁶

The inns let whole chambers or parts of chambers to their members, whole chambers usually only to senior members.⁴⁷ Financial benefits accrued to the inns from the transference of occupation of those chambers and portions. Given the relative shortage of rooms, the opportunity to make agreements on renting or reassigning parts or complete chambers was crucial, as Sir John Wynn realised. Illegal selling of places without the benchers' permission increased during the early seventeenth century. The inns, nevertheless, kept control of many transactions, as is reflected by the tenor of Henry Wynn's letter in 1623, in which he stated that he had the prospect of a chamber on condition of paying £40 to the 'owner', as

well as a £7 entry fine and admittance money to the Inner Temple itself.⁴⁸

The inns received such sums for permitting the reassignment of places; seen also, for example, at Lincoln's Inn, between Thomas Hanmer and Henry White in 1622, and for allowing Leyson Thomas to relet his son's place in 1616.⁴⁹ Where possible, the inns seem to have directly supervised the transactions between members, again taking a portion of the negotiated or stipulated price as a fine, as in the case of Thomas Stepney in 1607 and Thomas Bulkeley in 1615 at Lincoln's Inn.⁵⁰ The inns could arbitrate where lessees of chambers and those who wished to acquire them disagreed. Thus, at a time when chambers were not in such short supply in the 1620s, the Inner Temple benchers reduced the sum demanded of Edward Lloyd of Montgomeryshire by the assignee.⁵¹ At Gray's Inn, kindred influence no doubt assisted Daniel Thelwall of Essex when the Treasurer, Sir Eubule Thelwall, reduced the sum demanded by the possessor of privately-built chambers at the inn.⁵²

Admissions to chambers or parts of chambers were, therefore, conditional on the members paying certain sums to the inns. Lessees - were expected to pay rents as lump sums or in regular portions,⁵³ while all who were to occupy rooms at the inns had to pay entry fines. At the Middle Temple these seem to have ranged generally from 20s. to £3,⁵⁴ but with greater sums demanded in some cases, such as the £10 required of Nicholas Adams of Pembrokehire in new chambers built privately and controlled by the Earl of Essex and his agent, Gelli Meyrick.⁵⁵

At the Inner Temple and at Lincoln's Inn, chamber entry payments consisted of a basic admittance sum of from 20s. to 40s., payable at Lincoln's Inn to the Treasurer, together with the more substantial entry fine for the use of the whole inn, usually ranging between £2 and £13, with most Welsh members paying around £5 to £6. 13s. 4d.⁵⁶ There were exceptional instances when far greater sums were demanded. While the nature and quality of the chambers often determined the size of fine imposed, the higher payments were required for admission to whole chambers, for example, at Lincoln's Inn, Edward Williams paying £40, reduced to £30, in 1624, and Alexander Portrey and Evan Seys together paying £30 in the same year. New and renovated chambers were also expensive. At the Inner Temple in 1634, John Bodvel paid £40 and Henry Wynn of Gwydir £65; at Lincoln's Inn, Richard Wynn, in 1636/7, paid £40 for a chamber rebuilt by his uncle, Charles Jones.⁵⁷ Even half-chambers could be expensive, for example, £30 levied on Thomas Williamson by Lincoln's Inn in 1626.⁵⁸ In most of these cases the rooms were at the disposal of the inns, so that the sums paid probably included the price negotiated for acquiring the lease as well as an entry fine.

A further determinant of the entry fine appears to have been the student's, or his family's, means to pay. This is illustrated by the comments of Richard Wynn of Gwydir, who had hoped that when he entered his brother's chamber at Lincoln's Inn, his £10 entry fine might have been reduced on the favour of Hugh Hughes, the North Wales Bencher. In the event, Hughes did little for Wynn,

who was told:

'the bench saied that the fine was too litle
and not too much knowinge you [Sir John Wynn]
to be a man of ⁵⁹very good livinge and able to
paie it ... '.

Benchers did make concessions, however. Marmaduke Lloyd, for example, a relatively senior member of the Middle Temple, was allowed to occupy part of a chamber without an entry fine, out of respect for the late bencher who had granted him the assignment.⁶⁰ Family influence may also have affected benchers' decisions. The prominence of the Trevor family at the Inner Temple during the 1620s, for example, resulted in low fines or exemptions on chamber admissions. Thomas Trevor, son of the Baron of the Exchequer, paid no fine on a half-chamber, formerly held by his father, in 1626. In 1628, William Trevor of Surrey paid only £3 for his entry fine, while in 1629/30, Edward Goodman was admitted gratis to a whole chamber formerly occupied by his relative, John Trevor of Surrey.⁶¹ At Lincoln's Inn, in 1616, Charles Jones paid only the 40s. Treasurer's fee, probably because he was the son of a judge and former bencher. William Griffith, similarly, paid only 20s. in 1638 for the part chamber formerly held by his father, while William Price, Charles Jones's nephew, was admitted into the whole of the latter's chamber for only £9.⁶²

Various conditions determined the occupation or retention of a chamber or part chamber. Members were usually expected to continue in residence and fulfil their exercises, or at least keep commons, in order to preserve their places.⁶³ Owen Griffith and

Hugh Owen, for example, were threatened with eviction in 1627 for having been absent from commons at Lincoln's Inn for over a year.⁶⁴ There were regulations against permitting non-members to reside in chambers and against occupying whole chambers without permission.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, strangers did occupy rooms at the inns quite frequently. William Wynn of Gwydir, for example, had a chamber and took commons - which presumably legitimised his hold - fully two years before he was officially admitted to Gray's Inn.⁶⁶ Wrongful occupation of rooms was punished. Hugh Griffith (or Evers), formerly a member of the Inner Temple, was found to have retained a place at the inn's Bradshaw Rents chambers in 1558, and he was promptly evicted.⁶⁷ Richard Griffith, in 1593, was ordered to withdraw from a part of the chamber, belonging to another, into which he had encroached.⁶⁸

Entitlement to chambers depended in part on seniority or ancienty of membership. Thus, Sir Edward Stradling, who cannot have been in commons regularly, was confirmed in the retention of a chamber at the Inner Temple in 1578, while John Owen of Pembrokeshire, on the other hand, though admitted to a chamber, had to give precedence to more senior members in 1599.⁶⁹ It was usually the more senior members, too, who could afford to purchase several chambers and to spend money on renewing or building new ones and benefit by particular privileges, such as the sole right to nominate occupants, as with John Glynne (1652) or Rice Gwyn (1588), or Griffith and Charles Jones (1618), and the opportunity to pay reduced rents, as with Simon Thelwall in 1628.⁷⁰ Not unrelated to the renting and

improving of chambers, moreover, was the opportunity to assign places to relatives, as in the case of the Jones brothers above. Benchers were prepared to allow relatives to share, for example, the Wynn brothers, noted above, Owen and John Griffith in 1616, and Thomas and John Hanmer in 1618/19, at Lincoln's Inn. There were, indeed, many instances at Lincoln's Inn, how typical of other inns is uncertain, of places in chambers being assigned between Welsh relatives and between members and students from Wales generally.⁷¹

Commons and other expenses

Commons formed another regular and expensive payment for the inns' members. Indeed, attempts were made to enforce the payment of commons even when members had been absent, and irrespective of any concessions granted by special admissions.⁷² Commons, after all, represented one of the few permanent sources of income for a society, but it seems that in spite of many orders actual attendance to take commons was often sparse, many preferring, despite the extra cost, the private eating places of the city.⁷³ All the inns passed resolutions warning of the consequences of prolonged absences or the non-payment of commons. The usual sanction was the loss of the chamber, and in the last resort the threat of expulsion was employed. Guarantors were sometimes allowed to make redress for their charges.⁷⁴

Originally, commons were to be paid weekly to each inn's steward, but by the mid-sixteenth century, payment was to be made every three weeks, and the stewards were to register those who did

or did not pay. Fines, loss of chambers, and further fines were the order of punishments for continuous non-payment.⁷⁵ Delayed payments of commons seem to have been on a broad scale in spite of the censures. In some cases non-payment may have resulted from the limited means of the members, particularly the younger students. The affairs of several of Sir John Wynn's sons suggest that the commons burden was a heavy one. In 1604, John Wynn, junior, complained of the burden of the Christmas vacation commons, which were inordinately heavy compared to the costs during the term. These commons and other charges Wynn had paid only by borrowing from his uncle, Elis Wynn.⁷⁶ His brother, Richard Wynn, was often behind in his commons' payments. In 1606, he paid up for six weeks' commons which were outstanding and which, together with more expensive feasts costing 4s., totalled 34s.⁷⁷ Early in 1607 he was far behind in his payments, and reported only the recent settling of two terms' (sixteen weeks) commons, totalling £4. The burden of the expensive Christmas commons had also been great, totalling 20s. Now, at the beginning of the Hilary term, he still owed commons for the preceding term, 50s. for ten weeks, and he only escaped the benchers' censure, and being put out of commons, by his chamber-fellow's prompt financial aid.⁷⁸

Another brother, Henry Wynn, in 1618 spent £5. 10s. 0d. of the £30 given him by his father on commons at the Inner Temple, and he anticipated having a further heavy bill during the Michaelmas term, even though he would be in the country - he would have needed to preserve formal membership - since the term was long and had

festivities such as on All Saints Day when the judges were feted. Wynn had already settled a chamber rent over the previous vacation of 3s. a week, and had agreed to pay 5s. in the coming term. These charges, plus money to his brother, William, and sums spent on books and on his father's business, left him little of the £30 to meet all his other outstanding costs.⁷⁹ Wynn's difficulties continued in 1623, when, because of the delay in his quarterage, he had borrowed £4 to pay commons, a debt still unrepaid. The Christmas vacation commons was to be £5 and for the preceding Michaelmas term he was expected to pay commons at a rate of 8s. a week, plus yearly pensions and his chamber rent of £5. 10s. 0d.⁸⁰ Because of such circumstances, it was common for members to be in arrears and there was some toleration of this by the benchers. Thus, Elis Wynn, Henry's brother, when he died at Gray's Inn, left a debt of £3. 5s. 0d. in unpaid commons, and there is no evidence that the benchers had given any prior reprimand for his indebtedness.⁸¹

Sanctions were enforced of course when failure to pay was persistent and the debts substantial, and this related not only to non-payment of commons but to the myriad other charges attendant on the inns' members. Regular payments, for example, were to be made to the officers and servants of the inns.⁸² Richard Wynn of Gwydir in 1606 and 1607 had to pay a whole host of fees. On being admitted to his chamber he paid, in addition to the £10 entry fine, 20s. to the Treasurer, 5s. to his clerk, 5s. to the Keeper of the Black Book and 2s. for a copy of the admission order. These fees had to be met by money borrowed from 'cousin Williams',

perhaps John Williams of Cochwillan, a member of St. John's College, Cambridge. As with commons, some payments could be deferred, and in 1607/8, it appears that Wynn owed at least two terms' fees due to the pensioner and the preacher (2s. 6d. each per term), as well as commons.⁸³

The non-payment of dues sometimes attained staggering proportions, and Welsh students were as remiss as others. At the Middle Temple in 1639, the debt for commons totalled £400, and among the thirty-three debtors threatened with expulsion were Thomas Bowen, who owed £10. 5s. 0d., and Henry Lewis, who owed £5. 7s. 0d., and in Lewis's case the threat may have been carried out.⁸⁴ Barristers were just as culpable. Griffith Williams and John Lewis were among eight in 1588 who owed the Inner Temple various fees and fines for missing learning vacations' commons. Lewis paid up, but Williams was one of three ordered later to be 'utterly disbarred'.⁸⁵

Younger students in particular required regular allowances to avoid getting into difficulties, and while friends and relatives might help, that was but a temporary solution. It was the generosity or otherwise of one's parents which was crucial. Sir John Wynn himself had been told by his father to live sparingly, and, in turn, had promised his father that he would avoid all distractions and extravagances.⁸⁶ This must have coloured Sir John's own conduct with his sons, the caution with which he sent his money, in the hands of as trustworthy people as possible, usually servants and drovers.⁸⁷ Money he sent only on condition that his sons were

studying properly and living within their means.⁸⁸

Law students nevertheless had certain views about their lifestyle and the standard they had to keep. Expenditure on suitable clothing was a regular item in the account of the Wynn family at the inns of court. Richard Wynn spent generously, though not excessively, paying £10 for a new gown on the one hand, but also paying 50s. for refurbishing an old suit on the other.⁸⁹ Henry Wynn seemed less careful. The £30 sent him by his father, though employed to pay his commons, were not used to meet all his obligations. Rather, he proceeded to order a summer suit and was eager to get winter and riding outfits also.⁹⁰ Buying clothes on credit was usual for people of their station. Elis Wynn left a 20s. debt for shoes, while his eldest brother, John, in 1605 ran up a considerable clothing bill which his father had to pay with no little suspicion about his heir's style of living.⁹¹

Other costs included regular payments for washing and starching clothes and spending on books. Henry Wynn intended keeping £3. 10s. 0d. of the £30 sent by Sir John on such purchases.⁹² In all, such moneys formed the personal expenditure of students of good background, to which could be added the stipulated fees and commons. During the early seventeenth century, therefore, £40 per annum was a minimum total cost for inns students of such backgrounds, and a fairly modest sum all told, as Owen Salusbury of Rûg in Merionethshire found in 1635.⁹³ Sir John Wynn, in 1601, considered £50 a good sum for his heir to have at Lincoln's Inn, which he offered to supplement by £6, provided

'you apply your booke well and spend your tyme in that good sorte I hear you do.'⁹⁴

Servants

Equally important to Sir John was the provision of a personal servant for John junior, no doubt because of his status as heir. The other brothers had to make do on their own. William Lloyd, therefore, regularly attended on young John Wynn, sending frequent reports to Sir John on the student's progress and at the same time transacting business on behalf of the Gwydir family and estate in the capital.⁹⁵ Lloyd had his own legal matters to pursue as well, at which time a young man, Robert ap Rice, was sent to serve John Wynn and to receive some education. John Wynn was charged by his father to find him

'a chamber with som good student an Englesman as near the In as you can and have a specyall care that he myspend not his tyme.'⁹⁶

Indeed, Sir John was prepared to support Robert for the very fact that he would be a fellow student as well as servant to John Wynn, being able to read, understand French and having already studied Littleton and Fitzherbert.

Like their counterparts at the universities, therefore, the inns of court servants were a varied and shadowy group. Some personal, almost honorific, servants received legal training in return for service. Robert ap Rice fits into this category, as does John Panton,⁹⁷ noted above, who served Sir Thomas Egerton and was a member of Lincoln's Inn. The inns' regulations permitted conscientious

students and literate servants to attend the senior members of the inns, though there is little tangible evidence of their numbers and social composition. In John Floyde of Conwy, however, we find one of this group, a servant who drifted from occupation to occupation. After migrating to London he found service with Welsh lawyers at the Inner Temple, John Lloyd and Rice Gwyn, in 1606. His service was brief, however, for he left to soldier in Flanders, returning thereafter to East Anglia, where he was detained by the authorities.⁹⁸

General service at the inns also afforded opportunities to advance. The most successful Welsh example was Thomas Ledsham, who was sufficiently wealthy to be a benefactor to education in north-east Wales, and who crowned an apparently unblemished career as Steward of the Inner Temple by being specially admitted to full membership of the inn, gratis, in 1601/2.⁹⁹ A less stainless career was John Powell's, made Steward of Lincoln's Inn in 1623, on the recommendation of Lord Keeper Williams no less, whose accounts were found to be wholly inadequate six years later. This was no isolated case; many inn servants were guilty of frauds and misappropriations, though in Powell's case, he blamed the large sums due to various tradesmen on the failure of members to pay their commons.¹⁰⁰

As well as the distinction between servants and members, there was also the distinction, as at the colleges, between members, seen most clearly in the hierarchy established at meal times. Benchers and senior barristers were set at separate tables apart

from the tables of the rest, which were again allocated on grounds of seniority.¹⁰¹ Although the diet was common to all, usually consisting of bread, beer and meat (beef or mutton), the most senior members took precedence in being served. The meals, paid for by the commons collected by the stewards, were a heavy responsibility for the cooks, especially special meals such as the feasting of the readers, and they could ill-afford to spoil the delicacies.¹⁰²

Illnesses and Death

From the available evidence the diet of members of the inns of court seems to have been better than that given to students and others at the universities. In other respects, however, conditions may have been worse, with the result that ill-health and disease were as great a fear as at Oxford or Cambridge. Despite the construction of new chambers living conditions at the inns were often poor, and private accommodation was often just as bad.¹⁰³ Henry Wynn painted a forbidding picture of inn conditions by describing to his father the chamber he had acquired for his son at the Inner Temple in 1619:

' ... a longe, darke and melancolly hole without any light in the worlde but one litle window not fit for any man to lye in, being so much out of fashion, ... '.

Despite this, Henry Wynn would have stayed there out of respect for his father,

'but that the very timber of the chamber is decayed and the rooffe being playstered doth hange downe as though it weare hanged about with paynted cloth that it cannot with all¹⁰⁴ likelihood stand long in that case, ... '.

Henry Wynn may have been obliged to stay, for he remained in poor conditions, and the chamber was clearly in a very bad state, a fact which Owen Wynn confirmed in 1621/2 while visiting London. He had thought of getting Henry a temporary place, so bad was the chamber, after which Sir John could seek a better chamber at the inn or more suitable rooms in Fleet Street. He added point to the latter by recounting how five people had almost been killed in a chamber similar to Henry's when the roof fell in. Moreover, Henry Wynn's place had long had no fire in it and was 'the more dankess and unholosome'.¹⁰⁵

Therefore, if typical, then young students of Henry Wynn's age must have faced some very hard conditions at the inns, whatever their social status. There was no immediate prospect of Wynn getting away either, and it was 1623 before a better chamber was sought.¹⁰⁶ The costs of acquiring a chamber and the competition for limited rooms must have circumscribed the efforts of searching. Nevertheless, the concern for Henry Wynn, however powerless to act, had particular point to it, remembering that Elis Wynn of Gwydir had died after a lengthy pulmonary illness at Gray's Inn. Elis Wynn had persisted in his determination to stay in London despite the harmful effect of the warm summer, and by the time he obeyed his father's recall to Gwydir in November 1619, he was fatally weakened, and died of a consumption, all too closely resembling his brother

Robert's fate at Cambridge.¹⁰⁷

Sudden death due to the harmful urban environment affected all classes, and the inns' members frequently succumbed to illnesses and plague. Benchers were sympathetic to absences through illness and were reluctant to put members out of commons, for example, David Phillips of Carmarthen at the Inner Temple in 1588, and Gabriel Goodman of Denbighshire in 1619, and William Glyn of Caernarvon in 1636, at Lincoln's Inn.¹⁰⁸ Severe outbreaks of disease and sickness disrupted life at the inns, and the benchers, no less than the universities, considered suspending learning exercises.¹⁰⁹

The experiences of the Wynn brothers and of other Welsh students illustrate these difficulties. John Wynn, junior, suffered a five weeks' long fever at Lincoln's Inn in 1603, recovering through the help of friends and his uncle who paid for the physicians.¹¹⁰

Sir John Wynn considered Lincoln's Inn, in fact, to be the healthiest of the inns, but, even so, in the summer of 1606 he was prepared to allow Richard Wynn to retreat to the country to study, which the latter did later on when a member of the society died in residence.¹¹¹

Henry Wynn not only witnessed the decline of Elis, but saw also the spread of a virulent disease at an overcrowded Inner Temple claim the life of his close friend, William Herbert; and that year, 1624-5, the plague threat in London was so severe that all the Wynn brothers in the capital retreated to Sussex 'for our preservation'.¹¹² Plague and illness not only disrupted the life of the individual student, they also disrupted the academic progress of the absent barristers. Thus, the readings of both Thomas Bulkeley and

Charles Jones were postponed because of the raging virulence that threatened the residents of London.¹¹³

Violence and disturbances

Plague was not the only source of disruption at the inns. More pervasive were the disputes and acts of violence and disobedience between members and with outsiders. Unruliness and disobedience, as at the universities, often stemmed from the pursuit of unsanctioned and often immoral pleasures, from unconfined festivities, as at Christmas, and from disputes about fees and commons and the wearing of inappropriate apparel. Personalised violence as opposed to communal disruption became more predominant, and benchers tried to curb this by orders and the more severe sanctions of fines, suspensions and expulsions, aided by the occasional intervention of the judges and the Crown. The benchers' authority was never complete, however, and some disturbances were an expression of the rejection of their authority.¹¹⁴

Welsh members of the inns were neither less nor more virtuous than the rest, and their transgressions ran the whole gamut of offences. Fines were imposed on Welshmen for wearing beards,¹¹⁵ abusing senior members,¹¹⁶ and for assaults.¹¹⁷ Assaults with deadly weapons were also witnessed, sometimes by established barristers who simply ignored benchers' censures.¹¹⁸ Clearly, this was no good example for others to follow, and it is unsurprising that servants also participated in violence as well, witness the servant who struck dagger blows against an inn official who had done down his fellow-Welshman, David Baker.¹¹⁹ This seems to be the only example,

however, of national loyalty inducing violence. There were no group hostilities on the part of Welsh students. Benchers had to curb, as well as violence, the tensions that arose over disputes about property. In 1590, the benchers of Gray's Inn tried to mediate in the dispute about the contents of the chamber of Richard Owen Theodore (Tudor) of Anglesey, who had died, taken by his chamber-fellow. In 1593, a similar incident following the death of Thomas Bulkeley, also of Anglesey, at Lincoln's Inn appeared too serious for internal mediation, and the matter was taken to the Court of Requests.¹²⁰

Of the Welsh members of inns who were recorded as having transgressed the rules of manners or behaviour at the inns, it is apparent that most were, or became, barristers and respected fellows of their inns. They were, in other words, more or less regular attenders at the inns, full-time students, and therefore subject to the tensions of life in such communal surroundings and to the temptations to resist the newly-asserted authority of the benchers.¹²¹

As well as perpetrators of violence and disturbance, Welshmen were also victims of internal violence¹²² and of the dangers lurking outside the entrances of the inns, in the metropolis itself.¹²³

There was a continued and high incidence of violence and disturbance at the inns throughout this period, and it was only to decline after 1640.¹²⁴ These disruptions in members' behaviour were paralleled in the period by the dislocation of what had emerged there during the middle ages as the pattern of teaching. The waning of the oral

teaching system of moots and exercises may, indeed, have been less due to the external influence of the printed word than to the inappropriate and ineffective regulations, like their regulations on behaviour, imposed by the benchers. The call to the bar became more a condition of the length of a member's continuance at the inn, his period of membership, than of the fulfilment of the requisite exercises. The imposition of fines by the benchers for non-fulfilment of these and of the post-call exercises required of new barristers was no adequate sanction to preserving intellectual standards.¹²⁵

The study of law among Welsh members of the inns of court

The learning exercises were, to recapitulate, dialectical or disputative in character, with a growing emphasis on rhetoric, as a result of the classical revival. Post-prandial exercises, called case puttings, of an informal character, involved small groups of members, barristers and students, debating certain set cases. More formal gatherings, mock trials, called bolts and moots dealt in growing degrees of complexity with the presentation of set cases and an analysis of the law concerned. Moots were the most public and formal of these gatherings in which readers or benchers acting as judges would also participate.¹²⁶

These exercises were held during the law terms and the intervening vacations. The four law terms, Michaelmas, Hilary, Easter and Trinity, were usually quite brief and the learning vacations were, therefore, just as important.¹²⁷ Benchers in each inn decided the number and occasion of learning exercises during each

law term; for example, moots were on Mondays, Tuesdays and Thursdays at Gray's, and on Mondays and Wednesdays at Lincoln's Inns.¹²⁸

During vacations the order of exercises would be reversed, while there were certain times of the year, feast days and Christmas, when no exercises would be held, and all would be given to levity. The most important vacations were those at Lent and at the end of the summer, when readings would be given by senior barristers nominated by the benchers to the bench of their inn. The formal importance of the readings was their discussion of statute law, and all members were required to attend and to follow the grand moots which were also part of these occasions. Supplementary to these were the readings and associated moots held at the inns of chancery during vacations, in which barristers of the inns of court read and other members were supposed to attend and participate.¹²⁹

The usual length of membership or continuance before a member could be called to the bar by the inn was about seven or eight years, though it could vary.¹³⁰ Of the Welsh barristers identified who were first admitted during the sixteenth century and up to the Civil War, and called before 1650, their continuance ranged between seven and seven and a half years at Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple, but at the Inner Temple the continuance was over nine years (Table II).¹³¹ This did not necessarily imply that exercise requirements were any stricter there. Indeed, inner- or under-barristers at the Inner Temple and at Lincoln's Inn faced only minimal requirements of attending vacation exercises, for example, none at all at Gray's Inn, and only at the Middle Temple

TABLE II Continuance of Welsh barristers called up to 1650

	<u>period</u>	<u>average length of continuance</u>	
<u>Lincoln's Inn</u>	1560-1650	7.4 years	(including one of 14 years)
<u>Gray's Inn</u>	1580s-1650	7.1 years	(incl. one of 17 years, one of 16, five of 10 years)
<u>Inner Temple</u>	1540s-1650	9.4 years	(incl. one of 17 years, one of 12, one of 11 years)
<u>Middle Temple</u>	1580s-1650	7.5 years	(incl. two of 10 years)

was there much strictness.¹³² Mooting was expected of members of two or three years' membership, but it was only for the few years prior to the call to the bar that there were more detailed and stricter conditions in the form of attending necessary vacations, especially the reading vacations, and completing the required number of grand moots, petty moots and imparlances.¹³³ The call to the bar was solely in the power of the benchers, including the readers' privilege to call, and new barristers, in theory, were required to participate in exercises on pain of lowering their status; and by the mid-sixteenth century they usually had to be barristers, and of a certain seniority, before practising at the Westminster courts.¹³⁴

In practice, benchers were prepared to set fines as a penance for evading or missing the requisite exercises rather than insist on the completion of those learning tasks.¹³⁵ Already in the early sixteenth century some admissions provided for exemption from terms, and presumably, learning vacations as well, provided the other exercises were kept, for example, John Pryce in 1541, Rice Mansell in 1547, Rice Griffin in 1538, at Lincoln's Inn, and Hugh Evers in 1547 at the Inner Temple.¹³⁶

Scales of fines were devised by the inns for compounding for, and for missing, exercises. At Lincoln's Inn, the loss of a reading vacation cost 20s. for an inner-barrister, for example, Richard Seys in 1586, and John Glynne during 1631-2. A little later, Arthur Owen paid 30s.¹³⁷ Thomas Williams, compounding for three vacations as an inner-barrister, paid 16s. in 1623, while those who had been called

to the bar, utter-barristers, paid double for losing vacations, for example, Roger Seys in 1586, Edward Powell and Henry Jones in 1609, and Owen Griffith in 1630/1, who paid 40s.¹³⁸ Fines were also levied for evading particular exercises. At Lincoln's Inn, a fine of 3s. 4d. was levied per moot lost, for example, on William Madryn in 1612 and on Owen Griffith, again, and Charles Jones in 1640-1, and a 6s. 8d. fine was placed on utter-barristers, such as Gabriel Goodman, in 1619/20.¹³⁹

At the Middle Temple, a fine of 20s. for losing a vacation reading was, it seems, imposed on all, above and below the bar, and at the Temple some impression can be gained from the records of when during continuance inner-barristers tended to lapse in their exercises. In the case of the Welsh students, they tended to lapse within a few years of admission, and those who were called to the bar almost invariably tended to miss exercises in the first few years after call. Some inner-barristers such as John Gwyn, admitted 1594/5, Henry Milborne, admitted 1630/1, and John Arnold, admitted 1584/5, all missed many necessary learning vacations within two years of their admission. This did not prevent Milborne, however, from proceeding, apparently conscientiously thereafter, to being called to the bar in 1638.¹⁴⁰ Nicholas Adams was another who began badly but then successfully proceeded to the bar. Thereafter, however, he continuously avoided the academic duties required of a barrister, was fined and seems, by 1600, to have departed the inn altogether.¹⁴¹

Other students at the Middle Temple seemed to have pursued

their exercises without demur, without, on the face of it, evading any of the learning requirements, but once called, they became most remiss, neglecting all their attendances at readings. Thomas Hughes, called in 1632, William Morgan, called in 1623, both were guilty of this, as was Philip Morgan, called in 1633, but whereas the first two paid the requisite fines for their absences, Philip Morgan stoutly refused, and the benchers took the ultimate sanction in 1642 of disbarring him.¹⁴² In many respects the most difficult period for the intending barrister was not the general time spent learning, nor the post-call period of fulfilling the qualifying exercises, but the time immediately before the call to the bar was published. Then, the benchers who nominated those members who should become barristers of their inns could impose conditions on those who desired to be called. Usually candidates had to provide certificates to attest that they had completed the necessary exercises and were obliged to provide quite substantial bonds, for example, the £40 expected of Lewis Lewis, Henry Morgan and the others called at Gray's Inn in 1633.¹⁴³ In the 1630s, benchers, perhaps conscious of the deteriorating standards of some barristers, also imposed conditions of fulfilling moots and other exercises before their call would become effective, for example, at Gray's Inn in 1634, John Wirne, Richard Lloyd and Edward Rumsey were all required to do so,¹⁴⁴ and at Lincoln's Inn in 1633, Arthur Owen was given similar conditions, as were seven other candidates.¹⁴⁵

Traditionally, only a limited number of calls had been

sanctioned by the benchers, and they seem to have been unwilling to admit large numbers in this period though there were undoubtedly extraneous pressures at work, such as the powers of patronage and influence which ate away at the basic criteria of intellectual ability and legal expertise. Evidence from two Welsh calls suggests that benchers wished to be satisfied that the new barristers had some competence. Thomas Williamson's call at Lincoln's Inn was only to be secure if the butlers reported his attendance at a series of moots, while Brochwell Griffith, who had a continuance of nine years, was called with a specific declaration by the benchers of his competence and explaining that the delay in his call was due solely to an omission.¹⁴⁶

The circumstances surrounding the calls of the 140 or so Welsh barristers recorded in the period 1550-1650 seem largely to have been unexceptional, the large majority presumably having been of sufficient continuance and practice. A few qualifications to the general pattern may be noted. All barristers were required to take the oath of supremacy, but in the calls of Valentine Prichard and Richard Baker, with their fellow candidates at the Inner Temple, the oath was to be imposed at the convenience of the benchers, something less than a compulsory commitment.¹⁴⁷ In other cases, and implicitly in all cases, candidates to the bar, if called, had to meet all the outstanding duties, usually monetary dues, owed their inns, seen clearly among those called at Lincoln's Inn in 1634, who included James and John Lewis and Edward Powell, and John Thelwall, Richard Owen, William Parry and others at Gray's Inn in 1637.¹⁴⁸

Seniority, as well as continuance, was a determinant in the timing of the call. Thus, the calls of several of the Welsh inner-barristers were conditional on other members having a prior claim through antiquity, for example, at Lincoln's Inn, William Powell in 1605 and Maurice Canon in 1621, and at the Inner Temple in 1634, Kenrick Eyton, John Edisbury, and Thomas Trevor.¹⁴⁹ Seniority proved decisive in the call of two Welshmen in 1591, Rice Gwyn at the Inner Temple, whose call had already been delayed, and Edward Holland at Lincoln's Inn.¹⁵⁰

The rôle of influence and favour in the calls of the Welsh barristers is more difficult to detect. Six of them owed their calls to their nomination by the presiding reader at their inn, Edmund Morgan at the Middle Temple, called by his guarantor David Williams in 1591, Nicholas Adams in 1594, and Marmaduke Lloyd in 1609, both also at the Middle Temple; and Walter and Henry Rumsey and James Price at Gray's Inn in 1608 and 1616.¹⁵¹ The operation of family loyalties may also have counted in the case of the Rumseys, for fully four of this family became barristers at Gray's Inn between 1600 and 1642. At the same inn, following the prominence of Sir Eubule Thelwall there, four others of the several branches of the Denbighshire family were called to the bar during the first half of the seventeenth century. Similar family influences, it may be suggested, facilitated the calls of other lawyers' sons, for example, at Lincoln's Inn, of Charles Jones and Owen Griffith, who was called after only six years' continuance.¹⁵²

The operation of aristocratic influences is not very clear in

the calls of Welsh barristers. It may be that the call of Marmaduke Lloyd and of Philip Stepneth at the Middle Temple in 1609, when both had only five years' continuance, was also a result of a residual interest of the Earl of Essex's faction, which was powerful in south-west Wales and at the Temple. More clearly influential was the Earl of Leicester in the call in 1588 of William Lewis, probably from the Chwaen Hen family in Anglesey, where Leicester's interests were strong of course. Accompanying Lewis was Griffith Williams, probably an intermittent member of the inn, of long standing, from Glamorgan. In both cases, favour did not excuse the obligations of new barristers, and both faced the risk of expulsion for failing to meet their dues.¹⁵³

As a result of a variety of factors the number of calls at the inns had increased markedly by the early seventeenth century, and indeed the extant records of bar calls at the inns may not tell the whole story. An alphabetical list of calls among the members admitted to the Inner Temple after 1606 considerably inflates the names noted elsewhere. Fully twenty-two of the Welsh members, admitted in 1606-42, are included in this list, of whom only nine can, in fact, be shown by other records to have been called.¹⁵⁴ It is possible that this is more a list of candidates for calls than of actual calls, since a further list, of 'barristers', in the same source,¹⁵⁵ more closely coincides with the names and numbers gleaned from the official sources. If so, then it suggests that a considerable proportion of the Welsh entrants at this inn, some 36 per cent, studied sufficiently, and maintained links with it, to have prospects of legal

promotion, and as has been noted above, over 25 per cent of the Welsh entrants here in actual fact succeeded in becoming barristers.

Whatever the failings of the system of instruction at the inns it was undoubtedly necessary to the acquisition of legal expertise. It was not, of course, a unique system and it did breed a scholastic, not to say often pedantic, style, which had much in common with university education. 'A good Logician makes always a good Lawyer', observed James Howell, adding that some preparation at university was very useful. Certainly a significant proportion of the Welsh law students had spent some time at Oxford or Cambridge, as had the recipient of Howell's advice, Richard Altham.¹⁵⁶ Consistent application to the works of law commentators was also recommended by Howell, and such conscientiousness was only available to someone who had already attempted to master another discipline:

'I heard it often said, that there is no Study requires Patience and Constancy more than the Common Law; for it is a good while before one comes to any Known Perfection in it, and consequently to any gainful Practice.'¹⁵⁷

Unlike the universities, the inns had no semblance of a formal tutorial system to ensure that a student made adequate progress in the law. The pledge or manucaptors were guarantors of financial integrity and that was largely all. Senior members of the inn bore some responsibilities for their students, which could be carried out well or ill. Sir John Wynn, when he was a student, seemed satisfied and confident of the choice of overseers before him, but his son Richard, as we have seen, received little help from

Hugh Hughes at Lincoln's Inn, while his brother John, who had shared a chamber with Hughes, seemed to have better prospects of study when Hughes was away.¹⁵⁸ The burdens of administrative work as well as active legal practice would have left little time for benchers and barristers to be efficient tutors.

Private tutors or relations were often employed to take care of the students. The Wynn family had the benefit of their contacts and relatives in London, and there were general instructors available, such as James Howell, who, if not altogether competent to teach law, might yet be able to prepare the student's mind for acquiring such knowledge. Howell became a full-time tutor in 1621 and a year later was tutoring Richard Altham at Gray's Inn, and may have been his instructor before then.¹⁵⁹ French tutors were often considered necessary for students whose knowledge of the language was deficient, it being so important to master Law French. The quality and the honesty of such tutors were something that had to be taken on trust, as Thomas Trevor found to his loss.¹⁶⁰

For the serious student, of course, much learning had to be done privately and, with the expansion of the printing trade, a mass of legal books was available for that purpose. In the early sixteenth century the press met the demand for printed editions of statutes, abridgements of statutes, and of reports of cases, Year Books, which had hitherto circulated in manuscript. Treatises on land law, especially Littleton's Tenures, were also available, as were specialist tomes on such subjects as writs and law administration.¹⁶¹ Indeed, as the century progressed, and during

the early seventeenth century, the scope of law publishing broadened considerably, to assist lawyers lower down in the legal profession and the lay magistrates. The continued influence of editions of statutes and of abridgements was reflected in the popularity especially of Rastell's Collections and Fitzherbert's Le Graunde Abbregement, and the growing interest in the history of the common law resulted in the publication of a whole host of medieval and contemporary commentaries; Bracton, Glanvill, Coke, Camden, in English translations as well as in Latin or Norman French.¹⁶²

Occasional glimpses are to be found of the reading material of some of the Welsh students. Robert ap Rice, John Wynn's young servant, had read Littleton's Tenures and Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium before entering Lincoln's Inn, and prior preparation was undoubtedly important lest the young student were to be totally overawed.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, the inns were never places solely preoccupied with law, certainly not in the case of the less professionally orientated student. It has been shown, for example, that only two of the seventeen known titles in Thomas Mostyn's library at the Inner Temple in 1643 had any relevance to law. The remainder consisted of works of religion, literature, history and mathematics.¹⁶⁴ There were, indeed, considerable opportunities to pursue all manner of non-legal activities, notably music, dancing and plays for the more casual student, and other intellectual paths such as history, astronomy or medicine for others. Thus, James Howell, praising a cousin at Lincoln's Inn for the poetic and philosophic allusions in his letters, advised attending anatomy lectures, 'if Ploydon will dispense with you ...'.¹⁶⁵

John Vaughan, the future justice, after Oxford, was more interested in maths and poetry at the Inner Temple before Selden's influence drew him back to the common law, and David Baker, after a classical education at Oxford, studied Latin and the classics at the Middle Temple almost to the exclusion of law, which came to seem too worldly and irreligious.¹⁶⁶

For the serious student the best preparation was to be found in notemaking, as efficient a method for law students as common placing was for those at the universities, and it could be applied to personal study and to recording the pertinent points of law made at readings and lectures at the inns and in the courts of law which inner-barristers were expected to attend. It was a practice which might have its drawbacks in the over-copious notemaking that sometimes resulted and the task of discrimination in the significance of the points noted.¹⁶⁷

Evidence of notemaking by two Welsh law students of the 1650s gives some clue to the interests pursued. Notes contained in the book-list¹⁶⁸ of the Oxford student, Griffith Kyffin, who also attended the Middle Temple, were a basic grounding in the common law. They included an elementary analysis of the law, tracing its derivation from eternal law and it was defined as being

'grounded principally upon 1. the law of Reason
2. the law of God, 3. divers generall customes,
4. principles that are called maxims 5. divers
particular customes 6. statutes ... !.¹⁶⁹

The notemaking then proceeded to delineate the origins of the common law courts, and, very importantly, the nature of land law and

of inheritance was examined in detail. Quite apart from elaborating on the uniqueness of the law, what received the greatest attention was land law. Thus fee, for example, was analysed and organised logically into its sum parts:

'1. Absolute, 2. conditionall 3. qualified.
Fee Simple may be had in 3 kinds of Intignances
viz. reall, personall and mixt ... ' ¹⁷⁰

The notes included references to various statutes, including several from the reign of Elizabeth I. Although the notes may have included some original work, the bulk seems to have been derived from a secondary source, and their contents suggest that Kyffin followed closely the work of the early sixteenth century lawyer, Christopher St. German, who published one of the commonest and most popular law guides.¹⁷¹ Kyffin's notes are of a fairly elementary type and it is likely that he did not seek to gain a great depth of knowledge. There is no sign that Kyffin studied for the law and, indeed, he died young, predeceasing his father, who must have had some legal expertise to be clerk of the peace in Denbighshire. A final point might be made that his book-
list of classical and philosophical works would have been a useful guide to exploiting the book resources of the capital.¹⁷²

The other Welsh notemaker of this period, William Williams, became an eminent professional lawyer, Solicitor General and Speaker of the House of Commons.¹⁷³ Part of his notebook refers to texts which would have been more appropriate to his period at Oxford University. They included portions of Scheibler's commentary

on the Metaphysics of Aristotle.¹⁷⁴ The law notes contained at the back of the volume were written in English and Norman French. Particular cases were quoted, though whether from a common source is unclear, to illustrate particular points of law. Fitzwilliam's Case discussed bargain and sale, Albany's Case and Ruddocke's Case dealt with re-releases, Heydon's Case and Browne's Case referred to copyhold. Indeed, the great majority of these notes, again, dealt with land law. Coke was an authority regularly quoted in dealing with some matters, for example, tenure, copyhold, rents, parceners.¹⁷⁵

An earlier, more interesting and detailed volume illustrating legal studies and exercises at the inns is that which belonged to John Griffith, a student at the Inner Temple during the 1620s and 1630s. He was the nephew of John Griffith, of Bloxham, Oxfordshire, secretary to the Earl of Northampton and a native of Anglesey. These notes show his attendance at a variety of readings and lectures, and at other inns besides his own. For example, he made a detailed account of the Summer Reading at Gray's Inn in 1633 by Ralph Whitefield, based on the statute 3 Jac. I., c. 5, to restrain recusants. A lecture by Whitefield at Staple Inn in 1628 was also detailed, and Griffith also included a collection of legal opinions and judgements given by contemporary lawyers, including Baron Trevor of the Exchequer on Knighthood and Knight's fees.¹⁷⁶

Readers and Benchers

The highest status that an inn of court member could attain there was to be elected to the bench, to become one of the governors of that society. Traditionally, they comprised the most learned

lawyers in that society, the readers, those senior barristers nominated in their turn, and according to their 'antiquity', or seniority, to lecture, during the learning vacations at Lent and during the late summer or autumn, to the whole society on a selected aspect of the law. To be nominated twice, to become a double reader, was especially prestigious and was the privilege of a select few. Beyond the status of reader, advancement in the law lay outside the sphere of the inns and within the authority to promote to the higher legal posts of royal counsel, serjeanties and judgeships.

The markedly increased membership of the inns during the sixteenth century and after invariably meant a greater number of utter-barristers who were competent to become readers. Efforts were made to acknowledge the rights of seniority leading to readership by appointing assistants and stewards to the readers, who would soon be called upon to read. There were many who were not called, however, and a practice was formed of nominating associate benchers, utter-barristers of adequate seniority, who would enjoy the privileges of benchers, for example, at commons, but who would not be called upon to read, and who did not have any voice in their societies' government.

These associate bencherships in a sense undermined the status of bencher and of the necessity of having to read to become one. The oral method of learning in any case became less important, as was seen by the absences from exercises and lectures, and, as far as the reading itself was concerned, there were cases of utter-barristers

becoming benchers before they had read. Moreover, during the sixteenth century, readerships became less attractive as compared with the lucrative practices available to many barristers. For all these reasons, therefore, there were many cases of utter-barristers foregoing their nomination to read or even to assist the reader, and paying quite swingeing fines for doing so.¹⁷⁷ Welsh barristers in this period reflected all these aspects of the readerships.

While associateships and readerships were connected with the more senior utter-barristers, their juniors were required or were nominated to perform teaching duties that could lead to such higher status. Readerships at the inns of chancery, for example, had to be fulfilled, and the experience must have been advantageous to those who were later to read at the inns of court. Charles Jones, for example, was Reader at Furnival's Inn in 1629, some five or six years before he was elected Bencher, and ten years before he read at Lincoln's Inn.¹⁷⁸ David Jenkins and John Gibbs read at Barnard's Inn before being nominated readers at Gray's Inn;¹⁷⁹ but it was by no means inevitable that an inn of chancery reader became a reader and bencher at his inn of court, for example, in the case of Richard Lloyd of Gray's Inn.¹⁸⁰ Yet, to neglect the chancery inn readings brought sanctions just as severe as those for the inns of court readings. John Edisbury, for example, was fined £40, later reduced to £20, for not fulfilling his readings at Lyon's Inn in 1642.¹⁸¹

Other duties for such utter-barristers concerned the festive elements of the readings at the inns of court. Though the readers

were given stipends for their tasks, they were also obliged to arrange feasts for the attendant membership, which became increasingly costly. The periods of the readings were ones of better fare than usual, for which special dues were levied, but a large part of the burdens came to be placed on those barristers nominated to be stewards of the reader's dinner. These posts were mainly prestigious, indicating a barrister's seniority, and they also indicated his future candidature to a readership and the bench. John White of the Middle Temple, one of four nominated to provide for a coming reader's feast in 1633/4, himself was Reader six years later. William Thomas of Lincoln's Inn, Steward in 1604/5, was called to the bench in 1613-14. At the Inner Temple, Leyson Price, Steward in 1560 and 1561/2, was called to the bench six years later. Similarly John Pryce, Steward there in 1562/3, was called to the bench in 1568, while Richard Prytherch, Steward in 1620, waited only two years for his call and reading.¹⁸²

Sometimes the order of progress was reversed, with stewards being nominated who had already been elected benchers. Usually they had not yet read and were expected to fulfil that task soon after their stewardship. Thus, Rice Gwyn of the Inner Temple was nominated Bencher before being Steward in 1605, as had Hugh Hughes at Lincoln's Inn in 1594-5. Edward Herbert of the Inner Temple, similarly, was admitted Bencher in 1634, perhaps because he was the Queen's Attorney, and was Steward the following year.¹⁸³

To neglect the stewardship brought fine and censure. Thus, John Thomas, who failed to act for the Summer Reader at the

Inner Temple in 1585, was fined £10 and threatened with disbarring and expulsion. His offer to do the work later was accepted and he was Steward to the Lent Reader of 1587.¹⁸⁴ William Ravenscroft, for failing to be Steward at Lincoln's Inn in 1595, was fined £5, while Robert Turbridge, who defaulted there in 1609, was ordered to be taken 'in suyte'.¹⁸⁵ Next to neglect, misemploying funds was a breach of duty that was heavily punished. Griffith Williams, Steward of the Summer Reading at the Inner Temple in 1594, was threatened with Chancery proceedings, while Arnold Bassett, in 1577 was told to provide detailed accounts otherwise his guarantors would be asked to pay up.¹⁸⁶

Readers and benchers were usually selected from among barristers of at least ten years' seniority, and probably more. Associates to the bench were of a similar character. At Gray's Inn, they were distinguished by the name of Ancients, and collectively they formed the Grand Company of Ancients. Possessing a significant intermediary status between reader or bencher and barrister, they had originally a definite teaching function as assistants to the readers. It does appear, however, that by the seventeenth century they were more of a self-perpetuating group, regularly nominating barristers who, though suitable, did not desire to be nominated to read. Seventeen of the Welshmen admitted at Gray's Inn in 1590-1640 eventually became Ancients of that inn.¹⁸⁷ At the other inns, associate bencherships were awarded to lawyers of obvious merit who were too busy to become readers and full benchers. Thus, Thomas Morgan was made an Associate Bencher of the Middle Temple in

1585 with the privilege of receiving benchers' commons, and it seems he was not required to make a gift for this privilege. At Lincoln's Inn in 1604, William Ravenscroft was made an Associate probably because of his seniority as barrister and his government office, in return for which he was asked to pay £5 to the inn's library.¹⁸⁸

Only at the Middle Temple was the distinction of benchership reserved solely for readers. At other inns some exceptions were made, though the large majority of nominees to the bench were required to read or otherwise forfeit their places. Until they had read, their powers as benchers would be limited and the government of the inns was always in the hands of the readers of longest standing.¹⁸⁹ The exceptional circumstances modifying the conditions of bencherships usually centred on eminence and seniority. Thus, William Ravenscroft, above, was raised to the status of Bencher on those grounds, plus the fact that he agreed to make a substantial donation to the chapel for not reading. Eubule Thelwall, in 1612, was awarded full bencher status by Gray's Inn, that is, presumably in terms of commons, etc., but his rights to govern were limited, and in return he was allowed to defer reading. By 1623 he had still not read, but because of his fame he was confirmed in his status, indeed, given a full voice in the benchers' government, a concession undoubtedly also influenced by his support for new buildings and chambers there.¹⁹⁰

Those called upon to read would probably already have served as stewards, and, in addition, it was expected that they had acted

as assistants in the readings immediately prior to this; that is, assisting the current reader in supervising the debates which followed each lecture or reading. At the Inner Temple, for example, John Lloyd was Attendant to the Reader at Lent 1608 and he himself read in the summer, Thomas Trevor, Attendant to the Lent Reader in 1619, read the following summer, and Richard Prytherch, Attendant to the Summer Reader in 1623, read in Lent 1624.¹⁹¹ At the Middle Temple, the four utter-barristers next in ancienty to the reader attended him 'at the cupboard', supervising the various reading exercises. Each in turn would then become reader, and so an attendant would wait on four readers before his own turn came. David Williams, fined for not being at the cupboard in the Autumn Reading 1588, did attend the next four and was Lent Reader himself in 1591. John White, similarly, at the cupboard in Lent and August 1639 and 1640, read in 1641.¹⁹² Readers at the Middle Temple, having completed their tasks, were expected to assist their immediate successors, as Williams and White both did in 1591 and 1642.¹⁹³

While a barrister's seniority usually determined his turn to be reader, social precedence did have a say. Thus, John White, who ought to have been Lent Reader in 1641, had to make way for the Queen's Attorney in that vacation. Thomas Trevor was nominated Summer Reader at the Inner Temple in 1620 as Knight and the Prince's Solicitor. Illness could also affect a reader's turn. In 1626, William Powell had to yield his reader's nomination because of illness and had to wait to be called again at Lent 1627. Peter Mutton had to postpone his Lent Reading at the Inner Temple in

1627 because of infirmity of body, and in his case he was fined £40, probably because there was no time to get a replacement.¹⁹⁴

Of the Welsh students admitted to the inns of court between the mid-sixteenth century and 1642, thirty-eight, or 5.4 per cent, were called to read or were nominated benchers of their respective inns.¹⁹⁵ With such a relatively small number, it is difficult to determine whether or not they were representative of the sort who made up the benchers as a whole. From the extant details of their admissions, younger sons were prominent, and most belonged to families of good pedigree.¹⁹⁶ These men's length of continuance, that is, from membership to nomination, does not wholly correspond with the conclusions of Prest for the period 1590-1639. For the Welsh, continuance was on average longest at Lincoln's Inn and shortest at the Middle Temple, which, for the general run of calls, had the most protracted continuance. Most Welsh members took between twenty-four and twenty-six years from admission to call to the bench, with students who were admitted earlier in the period taking less time and those admitted during the 1630s longer, due partly, no doubt, to the Interregnum (Table III).¹⁹⁷

Approximately half only of the Welshmen nominated readers or benchers at Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn and the Middle Temple, it seems, actually had read or did read. Some of the non-readers, as was observed above, were nominated for their prestige or ancienty, while the Welshmen who read, allowing for the disruptions of illness and plague,¹⁹⁸ did so fairly promptly, almost immediately at the Middle Temple, within a year or two, on average, at Gray's Inn and

TABLE III Average period of continuance of Welsh members admitted before 1642, called to be benchers up to and including the post-Restoration period

<u>Gray's Inn</u>	-	27 years,	including one of 21 years, one of 31 years, one of 32 years
<u>Lincoln's Inn</u>	-	27.6 years,	including one of 41 years, one of 37 years
<u>Inner Temple</u>	-	26 years,	including one of 18 years, one of 19 years, one of 35 years, one of 39 years
<u>Middle Temple</u>	-	25.6 years,	including one of 20 years, one of 31 years

the Inner Temple, and within about four years at Lincoln's Inn.¹⁹⁹

Those called who failed to give readings were punished by their societies by being fined, though usually not so heavily as the rules allowed. The greater punishment was the loss of bench status, and this was a fate which befell at least six of the thirty-eight called. Thus, Thomas Morgan was fined £10 by the Middle Temple in 1571 for not reading, lost his status, but was awarded an associateship fifteen years later because of seniority.²⁰⁰

At the Inner Temple, Leyson Price and John Pryce were both fined for their refusal to read in 1568 and were put from the bench.²⁰¹

Similar fates befell Marmaduke Lloyd and David Jenkins in the 1620s, fining and loss of status, though Jenkins succeeded in remaining an Ancient of Gray's Inn and, in 1660, for his loyalty to the Crown, was made Benchers with no reading obligations.²⁰²

The fate of those nominated (8) to the benches of their inns after 1642 is less easy to discern. Only two with certainty appear to have read before their inns, and while the established sanctions of fining, as in the case of Lewis Morgan in 1668, or expulsion from the bench, as with John Gibbs in 1664, were applied for not reading,²⁰³ the deterioration in the whole readers' system could not be prevented by such measures. There was, indeed, a transition in the authority and academic status of the benchers at the inns, which non-reading on a wide scale epitomised. Henry Milborne's recalcitrance showed particularly pointedly how far the benchers' authority could be ignored. Fined £20 by the Middle Temple in 1661 for not reading, he was heavily censured in 1663

for still not having paid up. He avoided outright eviction because of this on the technicality that when nominated to read, he had not had enough time to prepare. Called to read once again in 1663, he again refused, and was fined. Again the fine was unpaid, and again he was threatened with loss of chambers, being given a week to pay in 1667. At the last, after such a prolonged controversy, he may have paid, for he continued to reside at the inns, though not as a bencher, until the 1680s.²⁰⁴

Only two of the Welsh membership at the inns in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had the opportunity to become double readers, a distinctive honour, though by then less coveted. David Williams's second reading came on the occasion of his promotion to the status of serjeant at law, being Reader 'pro gradu' in Lent 1594 at the Middle Temple. Since he was the junior of the three new serjeants then created, it was to him that the task of reading fell.²⁰⁵ The time and the cost involved of reading once, let alone twice, appeared forbidding to many counsel, and the double reading declined as a result. Hugh Hughes's refusal of the invitation to be Double Reader at Lincoln's Inn in 1605 was one example of this, and he chose to pay the £20 fine to be discharged.²⁰⁶

Those barristers who fulfilled their tasks as readers lectured publicly in the hall of their inn before the resident members, lecturing up to three times a week for at least three weeks, during which time the grand moots and bolts would also be held. Though readings were largely devoted to explaining established law encompassed in certain statutes, there were opportunities for readers to convey

new interpretations. Coke advocated clear cut analysis, as few subtleties as possible, and as bare a style of presentation as possible.²⁰⁷

Details about the readings of five of the Welsh lawyers in this period have survived.²⁰⁸ The contribution of the Jones family of Castellmarch, Llŷn, at Lincoln's Inn is especially interesting. Charles Jones, Lent Reader in 1640, dealt with aspects of state power, in particular the authority of secretaries of state and whether they were entitled 'de jure' to sit in the House of Lords.²⁰⁹ No doubt, given the years of Charles I's personal rule, such a reading had a contemporary relevance, and Jones's father, William Jones, Lent Reader in 1616, had examined another aspect of the Crown's power, to issue patents and receive grants, as embodied in the statute 43 Elizabeth I, c. 1.²¹⁰ His reading consisted of seven lectures analysing certain suppositious cases. These lectures were preceded by prefaces outlining the particular clauses or aspects of the act, and of the previous statements of the law of patents and grants which the cases were to reveal. The cases were then presented by Jones and were followed by as many as seven or eight exhaustive points, in which certain features of each case were subject to scrutiny. The penchant for minutiae, the categorising of all the aspects of the law, was characteristic of the dialectical training of the period, which Jones would have learned not only at the inns but before that at Oxford. The fourth lecture, in particular, provided a forest of complicated observations about a single, though important, conditional clause in the act.

Jones's contemporary, and the third Lincoln's Inn Reader, was John Jeffreys of Wrexham, Denbighshire.²¹¹ The available evidence indicates that he gave fewer lectures than Jones, but that they may have been just as elaborate. In his first lecture he made no less than twelve points on the theoretical case under review. Like Jones, Jeffreys dealt with Tudor legislation, the Act 21 Henry VIII, c. 13 on pluralities, and, like ^{those of} Jones, each lecture was organised into a preface or preamble on certain portions of the law, then a model case was presented, and, finally, an explication under several points. The law was a complicated one, and it was reflected in the reading. While the first reading had so many points, the second consisted of the elaboration of one major point, and both the third and fourth lectures were devoted to generally the same theme. A further technical point about both readings was the prominence given to Law French as the medium of instruction and explanation.

The other two Welsh readers were both members of the Inner Temple, and they produced observations of sufficient points to merit comment and criticism by law writers. Edward Herbert, Lent Reader in 1635, dealt with aspects of land tenure, a common enough topic for readings. In the section on relief, Rolle's Abridgement mentions Herbert's views, about the obligation of a tenant by socage service to seek relief by making double service at harvest time alone, in contradiction of Coke's viewpoint.²¹² The other Inner Templar, Rice Gwyn, was Lent Reader in 1607. The preface to his reading²¹³ indicated that he sought to investigate the relationship between ecclesiastical law

and the common law, and that the Crown, especially the Crown in Parliament, was the source of all the Church's rights and powers.²¹⁴ The Crown was superior to external, papal, authority, as was statute and customary law to canon law.²¹⁵

The detail and authoritativeness of this reading were reflected in its rapid employment by the civilian lawyer, John Cowell, to define certain terms in his law dictionary, The Interpreter, published in the same year.²¹⁶ A controversial work, which in places asserted royal authority above the common law, The Interpreter did not, however, use Gwyn's ideas to maintain that view. Rather, Gwyn's analysis of church law was the basis for defining terms such as donative and *congé d'élire*.²¹⁷ Cowell also employed Gwyn's reading - being fresh in the mind - in tracing the developments of the central courts, of common and civil law, and some of the major legal offices.²¹⁸

Whether Cowell actually attended Gwyn's reading is unknown. He may have made use of the notes and accounts prepared by students and scribes, and the existence of two manuscript accounts of the reading, and of the account of the readings of William Jones and John Jeffreys, testify to the means of disseminating this learning, the product usually of the best minds among the inns' lawyers. Most students could not, and probably did not, hope to emulate these readers. Yet, it was apparent that circumstances were altering sufficiently in Wales, as in the rest of the kingdom, by the reign of Elizabeth I, to induce a great need for some education and understanding in law as in other matters, and the meeting of this need, in pre- as well as intra-university and inn teaching, must now be considered.

CHAPTER IV - NOTES

1. Vide W.S. Holdsworth, 'The Elizabethan Age in English Legal History and its results', Iowa Law Review, XII (1927), 321 ff.
2. W.R. Prest, The Inns of Court, 1590-1640 (1972), p. 111.
3. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 352, dated 23 June, 1605. John Wynn adm. LI 23 Oct., 1602, gen. (LI Adms.).
4. Master Worsley's Book on the History and Constitution of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, ed. A.R. Ingpen, (1910), p. 137; W.R. Prest, 'Some Aspects of the Inns of Court, 1590-1640', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1965), pp. 35-36.
5. Ibid., pp. 46-49; LI Black Books, II, xxi.
6. MT Adms. and MT Minutes, I and II.
7. LI Black Books, I, xii.
8. Ibid., II, xxi.
9. e.g., Richard Hoskins of Monmouth, 1593/4 (MT Minutes, I, 337).
10. Walter Aldey of Chepstow, Mon., 1585, William Awbery of Brecs., 1600, Edward Davies of Trewerne, Montgom., 1624 (ibid., I, 279, 409; II, 697).
11. e.g., John Games of Brecs. and Staple Inn 1579, Lewis Powell of Pembs. and Clifford's Inn 1595, and Gabriel Lewis of Glam. and Staple Inn 1588 (ibid., I, 226, 298, 356).
12. e.g., James Perrot of Carew, Pembs., 1590/1, Richard Phillips of Rushmore, Carms., 1598, Marmaduke Lloyd of St. David's, Pembs., 1604, David Lewis of Abergavenny, Mon., 1613, Henry Milborne of Wonastow, Mon., 1630/1, Edward Carne of Ewenny, Glam., 1640 (ibid., I, 171, 317, 383; II, 444, 564, 773, 891).
13. Ibid., II, 550; vide also I, 348; II, 534, 540, on the admission of John Gwyn of Brecs. 1594/5, Thomas Gwyn of Brecs. 1611, David Gwyn of Carms. 1610/11; and vide D.W.B. and The Middle Temple Bench Book, ed. J.B. Williamson, (1937), p. 86, for Williams.
14. Prest, thesis, p. 37, and Inns of Court, pp. 41-43; IT Records, I, xlvi-xlviii; MT Minutes, I, 104.

15. e.g., John Baker of Radnors. 1571, Lewis Lewis of Brecs. 1594/5, John Lort of Pembs. 1610, Thomas and Charles Hughes of Mon. 1624 and 1638 (MT Minutes, I, 154, 351; II, 697, 721, 837, 869).
16. *Supra* n. 10; MT Minutes, I, 336; also, other Welsh examples in *ibid.*, I, 296, 307; II, 587, 778, and IT Records, I, 341-2.
17. U.C.N.W., Plas Coch 188; cf. the special admission of other Welsh benchers' sons and relatives, John Lloyd 1608, Rice Gwyn 1611, Godfrey Prytherch 1633/4, William Prytherch 1637, at the Inner Temple (IT Records, II, 36, 62, 212, 259), and Charles Jones 1612, Robert Jones 1616/17, Richard Powell 1626/7, Robert Price 1639/40, at Lincoln's Inn (LI Library, Black Books, 5, 6, 7).
18. The Inner Temple was the most expensive, levying £8. 13s. 4d. for special, and £5 for general, admissions; cf. John Wynn of Gwydir there in 1572 (C.W.P., 46; IT Library, typescript register, p. 164).
19. LI Black Books, I, xii. The Keeper was nominated from the benchers or governors of the inn.
20. Ibid., I, 356; Master Worsley's Book ..., p. 137.
21. IT Library, typescript register, pp. 339-40.
22. Ibid., pp. 242, 246.
23. MT Minutes, I, 262, 411; e.g., also, Thomas Morgan for brother Edward of Mon. 1612/13 (*ibid.*, II, 561), and Richard Price for brother Thomas of Cards. at IT 1616 (IT, typescript register, pp. 375, 378).
24. Ibid., pp. 289, 305, 357; J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire ..., IV, ii (1932), 182.
25. Vide *supra* n. 13; Theophilus Jones, A History of the County of Brecknock, Glanusk ed., II (1909), 175-6,
26. MT Minutes, I, 284; Morgan of Bedwellty, Aldey of Chepstow, and Lewis of St. Pierre.
27. One of Morgan's pledges (1583) had been Edward Herbert of Montgomery (IT Library, typescript register, p. 199). Like David Williams, Lloyd's function as guarantor ended with his becoming Bencher of the Inn (1607). Lloyd was pledge for five students from Montgomeryshire, three from Cards., two each from Merioneth, Caernarvon and Flint, and one each from Denbigh and Carmarthen (D.W.B.; R.J. Lloyd, 'Welsh Masters of the Inner Temple', Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 158 ff.; G.T. Clark,

- Limbus Patrum, p. 84). Other Inner Templars who assisted Welsh students as pledges were Valentine Prichard of Mon. (1579) and Richard Prytherch of Anglesey (1595).
28. LI Library, Black Book 5, ff. 135, 229, 251^V, 289^V, 391^V, 392^V, 409^V, 450^V.
 29. IT Library, typ. reg., pp. 148, 164.
 30. Ibid., p. 113, and pp. 103, 109, 134, 152, 174, 316, for other examples; MT Minutes, I, 383, 393; and I, 258, 302, 337, 409; II, 697, 824, 869, for other examples; J.Y.W. Lloyd, Powys Fadoq, IV (1884), 231.
 31. MT Minutes, III, 1016, 1024, 1027.
 32. IT Records, I, lxxviii; Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 13, 18.
 33. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 46.
 34. GI Library, Ledger Book A, ff. 88-88^V.
 35. Prest, op. cit., pp. 12-13; IT Records, I, lxxiv; The Middle Temple Bench Book, p. xlvii.
 36. GI Library, Order Book I, f. 385^V; Lloyd adm. 1617/18, of Caerns. (GI Adms.).
 37. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 260, 26 Nov., 1603.
 38. LI Black Books, II, 87; D.W.B. sub Ravenscroft of Bretton.
 39. J.E. Griffith, Pedigrees, p. 105; U.C.N.W., General 2003; A.H. Dodd, 'Mr. Myddelton, the Merchant of Tower Street', in S.T. Bindoff et al., ed., Elizabethan Government and Society: essays to J.E. Neale (1961), pp. 261-2. Panton adm. LI 1594 at Egerton's request and Edward Panton adm. 1601/2 (LI Adms.).
 40. LI Library, Black Book 6, f. 315^V.
 41. Ibid., f. 306.
 42. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 360.
 43. Ibid., 390.
 44. LI Library, Red Book I, 40 Elizabeth - 1691, f. 13; Black Book 6, ff. 325, 327.
 45. LI Library, Red Book, ff. 13^V, 15.

46. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 887, 6 Dec., 1619.
47. LI Black Books, II, 129; Master Worsley's Book, pp. 140-1.
48. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 1107, 23 May, 1623.
49. LI Library, Red Book, ff. 57-57^V, 89^V. White was the eldest son of Rowland Whyte (supra chap. III (i), n. 129).
50. Ibid., ff. 20-20^V, 40.
51. IT Records, II, 150-1. Lloyd of Berthlwyd, Montgom., succeeded to the place of his mutual guarantor William Herbert of Dolforgan, also Montgom. (IT Library, typ. reg., p. 390).
52. GI Library, Order Book I, f. 361.
53. e.g., Walter Rumsey, GI 1632 (ibid., I, f. 393), and Edward Williams, LI 1623 (LI Library, Red Book, f. 99^V); vide Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 12-13.
54. MT Minutes, I, 206; II, 549, 736, 755, 762, 796, for Welsh examples.
55. Ibid., I, 363; also LI Library, Red Book, f. 15, re. Edward Williams.
56. Ibid., ff. 3, 8, 30, 73; IT Library, Chamber Admittance Book 1615-67, ff. 271, 274, 282, 294, 302, 330, 337.
57. Ibid., ff. 320, 361, 382; LI Library, Red Book, ff. 99^V, 100, 104, 177.
58. Ibid., f. 112^V.
59. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 398, 29 June, [prob. 1606]; 475, 5 Feb., 1607/8.
60. MT Minutes, II, 532.
61. IT Library, Chamber Admittance Book, ff. 328, 333, 345.
62. LI Library, Black Books, 6, f. 622^V; 8, f. 423^V; Red Book, f. 186.
63. MT Minutes, I, 84.
64. LI Library, Red Book, f. 109^V (sic). Griffith kept his place, and in 1630 he successfully petitioned the nomination of his fellow Caernarvonshire student, William Glyn, into the chamber (ibid., f. 148^M). By 1632 Griffith again faced eviction for being absent (Black Book 7, f. 328).

65. IT Records, I, 285; II, 66, 106.
66. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 867, 878.
67. IT Records, I, 197.
68. Ibid., I, 390-1, 393, 395. Richard Griffith of Beaumaris adm. 1590, pledge Rice Gwyn of Anglesey (IT, typ. reg., p. 231).
69. IT Records, I, 292, 428. Stradling special adm. IT 1552 (IT, typ. reg., p. 69).
70. IT Records, I, 352; LI Black Books, II, 395-6; GI Library, Order Book I, ff. 326^v, 383, 393; LI Library, Red Book, f. 70.
71. Ibid., ff. 15, 52-52^v, 54, 55, 73, 95^v, 100, 113, 148^v, 152, 172^v, 186, 197^v.
72. Master Worsley's Book, p. 147.
73. Prest, Inns of Court, p. 12.
74. LI Black Books, I, 356; II, 46; IT Records, II, 25-26, 56, 75; GI Pens. Book, p. 130.
75. Master Worsley's Book, pp. 161-6; Prest, thesis, p. 12.
76. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 336, 1 Feb., 1604/5.
77. Ibid., 398, 29 June, [1606].
78. Ibid., 475, 8 Feb., 1607/8; cf. MT Minutes, II, 882, for owing of commons of £9. 6s. 0d. by David Gwyn.
79. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 844, 7 Oct., [1618].
80. Ibid., 1164, 22 Nov., 1623.
81. Ibid., 887, 6 Dec., 1619.
82. Master Worsley's Book, pp. 156-8.
83. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 398, 475.
84. MT Minutes, II, 882; vide supra n. 16 for Bowen's special adm. Lewis of Brecks. adm. 1631 (ibid., II, 775). There is no further reference to Lewis after 1639, and Bowen seems to have departed by the summer of 1641 (ibid., II, 911).
85. IT Records, I, 353-6. New barristers such as Lewis of Llynwene, Radnors., adm. 1568 (D.W.B.; IT, typ. reg., p. 141), and

Williams of St. Brides, Glam., adm. 1558 (ibid., p. 90), had essential teaching duties to perform at vacations on pain of fine. Williams seems to have kept his status, but was in further difficulties later (*infra* nn. 153, 186).

86. C.W.P., 80, 29 Jan., 1576/7. There is a suggestion that John Wynn, by then married, had his wife with him in his lodgings near the Temple. Later letters to him were addressed to the Inner Temple, which seems to confirm that the offer to put his wife up at Gwydir was accepted, otherwise he would have had to have lived outside the inn due to the regulations regarding women (ibid., 83, 87).
87. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 221, 475, 836, 844, 877, 1107, dat. 1601-23.
88. Ibid., 356, 8 Sept., 1605.
89. Ibid., 398, 475.
90. Ibid., 844.
91. Ibid., 360, 887, and cf. ibid., 804, in which Elis Wynn received clothing and linen from home.
92. Ibid., 398, 475, 844.
93. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 27-28, quoting W.J. Smith, ed., Calendar of Salusbury Correspondence (1954), p. 154; Owen Salusbury adm. 1632 (GI Adms.).
94. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 221, 8 Aug., 1601; cf. the £50 sums sent to Thomas Mostyn in April and June, 1620, on his entry to Lincoln's Inn (A.D. Carr, 'The Mostyn Family and Estate, 1200-1642', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Wales, 1976), p. 315).
95. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 336, 356, 360; cf. Fortescue's estimate of £28 p.a., temp. Edward IV (IT Records, I, xi).
96. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 221.
97. LI Black Books, II, 39. At Egerton's request, given special admission, with its attendant concessions (*supra* n. 17), since he was unable to keep commons while attending Egerton.
98. LI Black Books, I, xiii, xxiv; A.W. Gibbons, ed., Ely Episcopal Records (1891), f. 10; vide *supra* John Lloyd, Rice Gwyn.
99. IT Records, I, 305, 372; IT Adms.; vide *infra* chap. V (i), n. 48.
100. LI Black Books, II, 246, 285-6, 290; Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 78-79.

101. Ibid., p. 48; IT Records, I, xxxiv-v; LI Black Books, II, ii.
102. Ibid., II, iii; GI Pens. Book, pp. xl, 319-20.
103. LI Black Books, I, xxxvii; II, xiv; IT Records, II, lxxvii, 257.
104. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 860, 5 Mar., [?1618/19]; cf. LI Black Books, I, iii-iv.
105. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 1008, 12 Feb., 1621/2.
106. Ibid., 1107, 27 May, 1623.
107. Ibid., 867, 10 Aug., 1617; 878, 14 Oct., 1619; 886, 3 Nov., 1619.
108. IT Library, Miscell. MS 30/17; LI Library, Black Book 7, ff. 444-444; Red Book, f. 77.
109. LI Black Books, I, xxxvi; IT Records, I, xlii; II, lviii, 184, 221; D.S. Bland, Early Records of Furnival's Inn (1957), p. 43.
110. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 260, 26 Nov., 1603; cf. among burials at the Temple Church, Robert Lloyd of Willington, Flints., gen. f., age 18, 'dyled of a feaver in Mr. Jones his chamber in the Middle Temple, buryed in the long walks', 12 May, 1652 (IT Records, II, App. IX, 363).
111. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 352, 398, 475, dat. 1605-7.
112. Ibid., 1283, 12 Jan., 1624/5; 1354, 3 July, 1625; IT Records, I, 285; cf. deaths at the Middle Temple of John Prichard of Neath, Glam. in 1565, and Tobias Lewis of Brecon in 1608 (MT Minutes, I, 150; II, 497).
113. LI Library, Black Book 5, f. 484; LI Black Books, II, 342.
114. Prest, thesis, chap. VIII; Inns of Court, chap. V.
115. IT Records, I, 179, 188.
116. GI Pens. Book, pp. 299, 300; LI Black Books, II, 294-5, 318.
117. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, IV, 1629-31, 29, 31, 33, noted in LI Black Books, II, App. X, 452-3.
118. MT Minutes, II, 728.
119. J. McCann et al, ed., Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, Catholic Record Society, XXXIII (1933), 70-71.

120. A(cts of the) P(rivy) C(ouncil), XX, 1590-1, 291-2, 15 Feb., 1590; U.C.N.W., Baron Hill I/28; P.R.O. Reg. 2/182/72, quoted in D. Cyril Jones, 'The Bulkeleyes of Baron Hill 1440-1621', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1958), p. 281.
121. GI Pens. Book, p. 300; LI Black Books, II, 305; MT Minutes, II, 629; IT Adms., pp. 6, 120.
122. MT Minutes, II, 673-4.
123. LI Black Books, II, 55.
124. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 99-100.
125. Ibid., pp. 124-36, thesis, pp. 241-9; Holdsworth, H.E.L., VI (1924), 481 ff.; K. Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (1965), pp. 177-95.
126. R.J. Schoeck, 'Rhetoric and Law in Sixteenth Century England', Studies in Philology, 50 (1953), 114-17; Prest, thesis, pp. 188-92.
127. C.R. Cheney, Handbook of Dates for Students of English History (1961), pp. 66-68, also noted by Prest, Inns of Court, p. 16.
128. GI Pens. Book, p. 16; LI Black Books, II, 165-7.
129. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 119-24; LI Black Books, II, 167.
130. Ibid., II, 32.
131. GI Pens. Book, pp. 120, 294; Prest, thesis, pp. 81-82. In a few cases, of students who had entered the inns in the years immediately preceding the Civil War, the national disturbances did slightly disrupt the progress to the bar, ten years being the continuance of David Gwyn (1637/8) at MT and of James Rumsey (1642), Robert Griffith (1641) and Rice Vaughan (1638) at GI. The longer continuance at IT appears not to be a function of the broader period investigated. Nine years was a common length well into the early seventeenth century.
132. Prest, Inns of Court, App. 2, pp. 246-7.
133. MT Minutes, I, 84, 339-40; II, 811-12; GI Pens. Book, p. 303; LI Black Books, II, 46, 262; IT Records, I, 344; II, 222, 236; O.E.D. sub Impar lance.
134. MT Minutes, I, 150, 201; GI Pens. Book, pp. xxxiii, 120, 294; LI Black Books, II, 45; IT Records, I, 433; II, 236; LI Library, Black Book 6, ff. 572^v-3, ordering in 1616 Ellys Lloyd, Edward Holland, Gabriel Goodman, Henry Pryse and William Madryn,

among others, to be present throughout the readings, 'beinge utter barristers'. Also cf. A.W.B. Simpson, 'The early constitution of the Inns of Court', Cambridge Law Journal, (1970), 251-3; J.H. Baker, 'Solicitors and the Law of Maintenance, 1590-1640', ibid., (1973), 57-59.

135. MT Minutes, I, 121; II, 562, 811; GI Pens. Book, p. 304; LI Black Books, I, 201; II, 46.
136. LI Library, Black Books 3, f. 130; 4, ff. 105^V, 123, 204; IT Records, I, 155, also cf. p. 168; vide supra n. 67.
137. LI Library, Black Books 5, f. 403; 7, ff. 337^V, 397. Seys of Glam., adm. 1585 (LI Adms.; supra chap. III (i), n. 76); Owen of Pembs., adm. 1626 (LI Adms.), and vide supra n. 70 for Glynne.
138. LI Library, Black Books 5, f. 403; 6, f. 473; 7, ff. 136^V, 337. Williams of Anglesey, adm. 1618, Powell of Glam. and Jones of Carms., adm. 1599, Seys of Glam., adm. 1573 (LI Adms.; supra n. 71).
139. LI Library, Black Books 6, f. 586^V; 7, f. 30^V. Madryn of Caerns., adm. 1607/8 (LI Adms.); vide supra nn. 71, 108, for Jones and Goodman, and supra n. 134.
140. MT Minutes, I, 274, 280, 283, 366, 369, 371; II, 785, 793. Arnold of Mon., adm. 1583/4, and Gwyn of Montgom., adm. 1594/5 (MT Adms.); vide supra nn. 12, 54, for Milborne.
141. MT Minutes, I, 295, 297, 366, 369, 375, 377; supra n. 55.
142. MT Minutes, II, 695, 699, 700, 705, 712, 720, 800, 807, 811, 812, 821, 824, 827, 833, 840, 847, 868, 922. W. Morgan, adm. 1616, T. Hughes, adm. 1624, both of Mon., P. Morgan, adm. 1625/6, of Glam. (MT Adms.).
143. GI Pens. Book, p. 314. Lewis of Carms., adm. 1625, Morgan of Mon., adm. 1626/7 (GI Adms.).
144. GI Pens. Book, p. 323. Winne of Flints., adm. 1626, Lloyd of Caerns., adm. 1617/18, Rumsey of Mon., adm. 1627 (GI Adms.).
145. LI Black Books, II, 309, 337; supra n. 137.
146. LI Library, Black Book 7, ff. 182^V-3, 261^V, 270, 288^V. Williamson of Flints., adm. 1621, Griffith of Montgom., adm. 1618 (LI Adms.); Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 52-54.
147. IT Records, I, 346, 368.
148. LI Library, Black Book 7, f. 410; GI Pens. Book, pp. 329, 374.

149. LI Black Books, II, 95; IT Records, II, 215.
150. Ibid., I, 369, 375; LI Black Books, II, 20.
151. MT Minutes, I, 320, 345; II, 512; GI Pens. Book, pp. 183, 224.
152. Walter Rumsey barr. 1608, Henry Rumsey 1616, Edward Rumsey 1634, James Rumsey 1652; Eubule Thelwall 1599, Eubule Thelwall 1618, Simon Thelwall 1636, John Thelwall 1637, Eubule Thelwall 1649; Charles Jones 1619, Owen Griffith 1621 (J.A. Bradney, A History of Monmouthshire, I, ii (1906), 384; Powys Fadog, IV, 308-22; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 169, 191).
153. MT Minutes, II, 512; IT Records, I, 319, 329.
154. IT Library, MS Miscell. 154, pp. 69 ff. The dates beside each name are admission dates and do not indicate when the calls were made. It is also fair to add that some whose calls are recorded elsewhere are not included in this source.
155. Ibid., pp. 105 ff. Another ten Welsh barristers in addition to the nine identified in the previous list are included; cf. chap. II for total numbers called at this inn.
156. James Howell, Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae, ed. J. Jacobs, (1890-2), p. 34, also noted by Prest, Inns of Court, p. 142, who also includes the contrary opinion of David Baker. Richard Altham, educ. Cambridge 1615 and GI 1615/16 (Al. Cant.; GI Adms.).
157. Epistolae, p. 33.
158. Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 138-9; N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 46, 348; supra n. 59. Sir John Wynn's choice lay between Mr. Morgan and Mr. Owen, probably Edward Morgan of Gwylgre, Flints. (adm. 1562, barr. 1570/1), and Peter Owen of Abergele, Derbs. (adm. 1558), who had been one of Wynn's pledges at admission (IT, typ. reg., pp. 88, 113, 164; supra n. 30).
- 159. J.D.H. Thomas, 'James Howell, Historiographer Royal', Brycheiniog 1963, 82; Prest, op. cit., p. 140.
160. R.J. Lloyd, 'Welsh Masters of the Inner Temple', Trans. Cymmr. 1937, 166.
161. H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1475-1557 (1969), pp. 76-85; L.W. Abbott, Law Reporting in England, 1485-1535 (1973), chap. I; A.W.B. Simpson, 'Source and Function of the Later Year Books', Law Quarterly Review, 87 (1971), 94 ff., and 'Keilway's Reports temp. Henry VII and Henry VIII', ibid., 73 (1957), 89 ff.

162. Holdsworth, H.E.L., V (1924), 358-402; H.S. Bennett, English Books and Readers, 1558-1603 (1965), pp. 159-66; English Books and Readers, 1603-40 (1970), pp. 118-25.
163. N.L.W., Wynn, Gwydir 221; supra n. 96.
164. Prest, Inns of Court, p. 165.
165. Epistolae Ho-Eliauae, pp. 411-12.
166. J. Gwynn Williams, 'Sir John Vaughan C.J. Common Pleas, 1603-74', (unpublished M.A. thesis, Wales, 1952), p. 12; Memorials of Father Augustine Baker, p. 46.
167. Ibid., p. 68; Prest, thesis, pp. 288-9; also vide L.A. Knafle, 'The Law Studies of an Elizabethan Student', Huntington Library Quarterly, XXXII (1968-9), 221 ff.
168. N.L.W., Wynnstay 23, supra chap. III (ii), n. 73.
169. Ibid., reverse, f. 1^v.
170. Ibid., ff. 2, 7^v, 10.
171. The Dyaloges in Enqlishe betweene a Doctor of divinitie and a Student in the laws of Englande, newly corrected and imprinted wyth new addicions; H.E.L., V, 266 f.
172. Adm. MT 1655, s. & h., Watkin, gen. (MT Adms.); also, vide W.M. Myddelton, Chirk Castle Accounts, A.D. 1605-1666 (1908), pp. 16-17 n., and supra chap. III (ii), nn. 73-86.
173. N.L.W., Wynnstay 31, dated 1652; for Williams, vide D.W.B., D.N.B.; matr. Jesus C., Oxford, 1650, did not graduate; adm. GI 1650 (Al. Oxon.; GI Adms.).
174. N.L.W., Wynnstay 31, ff. 1 et seq.; for Scheibler, vide chap. III (ii), n. 75.
175. Edward Coke, The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England or a Commentarie upon Littleton (2nd ed., 1629).
176. IT Library, Barrington MS 62, ff. 1-31, reverse ff. 26^v-29; J. Conway Davies, ed., Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Inner Temple Library, II (1972), 954. John Griffith adm. GI 1623, s. & h., Richard of Bloxham, Oxon., esq. (GI Adms.), barr. 1634, Ancient 1650, Bencher 1661 (GI Pens. Book, pp. 323, 376, 438). Became judge, was cousin to William Griffith, Chancellor of St. Asaph, and George Griffith, Bishop of St. Asaph (U.C.N.W., Penrhos 539; Griffith, Pedigrees, pp. 26-27).

177. Prest, thesis, pp. 99 ff.; C.H. Williams, 'Early Law Readings', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, III (1925-6), 96-101; J.B.W. Williamson, ed., Middle Temple Bench Book, pp. xvii-xviii, xx, xxix-xxx; IT Records, I, xxxii, xlv.
178. LI Black Books, II, 286, 339; supra n. 113.
179. GI Pens. Book, pp. 241, 385; Abbott, Law Reporting in England, pp. 33-34.
180. GI Pens. Book, p. 336, Reader at Barnard's Inn 1639.
181. IT Records, II, 267. Edisbury of Denbs., adm. 1625, (IT, typ. reg., p. 414).
182. LI Black Books, I, xv-xvi; II, xviii, 84; MT Minutes, II, 815, 900; IT Records, I, 205, 220, 224; II, 123. These stewardships were shared between inner- and utter-barristers, e.g., two each at MT (Benchers' Book, p. xix), the two inner-barristers probably serving prior to their call to the bar (LI Black Books, II, xxiii). Thomas, adm. LI 1589, of Glam. (LI Adms.); vide supra nn. 27, 115, 118 for Prytherch, L. Price and White, and infra n. 201 for J. Pryce.
183. IT Records, II, 10, 216; LI Library, Black Book 5, f. 486.
184. IT Records, I, 334, 339, 340, 342.
185. LI Black Books, II, 40; LI Library, Black Book 6, f. 430. Ravenscroft of Flints., adm. LI 1580 (LI Adms.).
186. IT Records, I, 288, 292, 395, 397 bis., 408; vide supra n. 85.
187. Stephen Price and Richard Griffith 1612/13, Simon Parry 1617, David Jenkins 1622, Eubule Thelwall, Thomas Morris and John Langford 1638, Simon Thelwall 1645, John Winne 1650, John Thelwall and John Gibbs 1654, Hugh Lewis, Eubule Thelwall, Edmond Jones and Lewis Morgan 1658, Roger Williams and Rice Vaughan 1662 (GI Pens. Book, pp. 202, 228, 242, 330, 354, 377, 409, 422, 444); A.W.B. Simpson, 'The early constitution of Gray's Inn', Cambridge Law Journal, (1975), 143-6; cf. also Edward Morgan of Gwylgre, Flints., referred to as an Ancient of the bar at the Inner Temple, 1601 (IT Records, I, 440; supra n. 158).
188. MT Minutes, I, 277; MT Bench Book, p. xxix; LI Black Books, I, ix; II, 85; LI Library, Black Book 6, f. 305; supra n. 185.
189. GI Pens. Book, p. xxxiv.

190. LI Library, Black Book 7, f. 46; LI Black Books, II, 219, 220; IT Records, III, 33; GI Library, Order Book I, f. 290; GI Pens. Book, pp. 194, 255, 266; Prest, Inns of Court, pp. 66-67; supra n. 166.
191. IT Records, II, 37, 42, 114, 118, 137, 140; supra n. 27, for Lloyd. Trevor of Trefalun, Denbs., adm. IT 1593 (IT, typ. reg., p. 246).
192. MT Minutes, I, 300, 303, 306, 310, 314; II, 878, 882, 889, 894; vide also John Puleston (ibid., II, 797, 804, 809, 815) in 1632-4, Autumn Reader 1634; vide O.E.D. sub Cupboard (4).
193. MT Minutes, I, 321; II, 920, 926; also Puleston (ibid., 629, 835), in 1635.
194. LI Black Books, II, 261, 266; LI Library, Black Book 7, f. 174; Mytton of Flints., adm. 1585/6, Powell of Glam., adm. 1599 (LI Adms.).
195. Fourteen at LI, eleven at IT, seven at GI, six at MT.
196. Eight second or younger sons indicated among the IT, GI and MT men, three eldest sons. Even such incomplete evidence is absent in the case of LI men; vide D.W.B. sub noms for biographical details.
197. Average continuance of Welsh benchers nominated before 1642:-
GI - 24 (average found by Prest for 1590-1639 : 25);
LI - 28.7 (24.9); IT - 22.5 (23.9); MT - 25 (26.4).
198. Supra n. 113; LI Black Books, II, 28; Prest, Inns of Court, p. 129.
199. Length of time between call to bench and reading of Welsh benchers nominated before 1642:-
GI - 2, 3, 1 years; IT - 3, 1, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 3 years;
LI - 5, 1, 5, 7, 4, 4 years.
200. MT Minutes, I, 182; LI Black Books, II, xxiv; supra n. 168.
201. IT Records, I, xlv, 249, 250-1, 259; supra n. 182;
LI Black Books, II, xvii, xxv.
202. MT Minutes, II, 738; GI Pens. Book, pp. 270, 430-1; supra n. 179.
203. GI Pens. Book, pp. 259, 446, 459; Morgan of Brecs., adm. 1635, Gibbs of Neath, Glam., adm. 1628 (GI Adms.); vide supra n. 187; A.W.B. Simpson, 'The early constitution of Gray's Inn', 139-42.
204. MT Minutes, III, 1153, 1158, 1186, 1187, 1189, 1191, 1194, 1218, 1220, 1260, 1262, 1264, 1351, 1352.

205. Ibid., I, 315, 316. According to the judges' orders, 1594, Lent readings at the inns were supposed to be given by double readers anyway, unless the benchers decided otherwise (ibid., I, 340, 341); Master Worsley's Book, p. 126.
206. Ibid., p. 125; LI Black Books, II, 40, 94; Prest, Inns of Court, p. 128.
207. MF Minutes, I, 339-42; GI Pens. Book, pp. 120-1; Prest, op. cit., pp. 119-24.
208. H.E.L., V, 393, 497-9; R.R. Pearce, A History of the Inns of Court and Chancery (1848), pp. 65-66.
209. C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, XV, 1639-40, 485-6. The right 'de jure' was denied; also, vide infra chap. VI (iii), n. 68.
210. R.R. Pearce, op. cit., p. 68; LI Black Books, II, 120, 133, 135, 139; B(ritish) L(ibrary), Harleian 1692, ff. 82-84^v, 'del confirmation del grants fait al roigne et de Letters Patents fait per le roigne'.
211. Ibid., ff. 80^v-81^v; Lloyd, Powys Fadog, III (1882), 68-69; LI Black Books, II, 61, 133, 135, 139.
212. H.E.L., V, 376; Henry Rolle, Un Abridgment des plusieurs cases et resolutions del Common Ley ... (1668), sub Tenure, (D) Reliefe. Herbert was one of Rolle's contemporaries at the Inner Temple who were 'of great Parts, Learning and Eminence', (ibid., I, preface).
213. B.L., Harleian 813, art. 26, ff. 111-118^v; Additional 28607, 'Concerning the :puall State of the Realme and of Ecclesiasticall persons, authorities and dues'. The former is the more complete version though it confuses 'cannon' with 'common' law.
214. B.L., Harleian 813, ff. 111-13.
215. Ibid., ff. 113^v-16. A sixth Welsh reader, or more strictly an Anglo-Welshman, John Puleston of MT (supra nn. 192, 193) seems to have dealt with royal powers over the Church, in this case title of benefice, concerning which he was, in 1634, acknowledged to be an expert, as also in other ecclesiastical matters (C.S.P. Dom., Charles I, VII, 1634-5, 206, 214).
216. John Cowell, The Interpreter or Booke Containing the Signification of Words (1607); H.E.L., V, 499, n. 7. Cowell's preface to his book is dated 3 Nov., 1607, while Gwyn was Lent Reader in that year.

217. Cowell, op. cit., sub Conge d'eslire, donative, Custos of the Spirituallities; B.L., Harleian 813, ff. 113-14^v, 116-16^v.
218. Ibid., ff. 111^v, 113, 114^v, 116, 117^v, 118.