The Welsh clergy 1558-1642

Thesis

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Llandaff Parochial clergy 1560 - 1642

1560 - 83

A comparison between the two dioceses in North Wales and the two in the South at once reveals the limitations of the sources. There is no source for the southern dioceses comparable in completeness to the Bishops’ Registers in Bangor and the parish-by-parish study of St Asaph by Archdeacon Thomas. The value of the Libri Institutorum for the Stuart period is revealed by the much fuller picture of the Llandaff clergy which it is possible to draw after 1603. J.A. Bradney’s study of the Monmouthshire parishes still leaves large gaps in knowledge of incumbents in the county during Queen Elizabeth’s reign. Even the Exchequer Books provide only partial evidence; whether some clergy did not compound, or whether in some instances patrons did not appoint a proper incumbent but only a stipendary curate, can only be surmised. Llandaff is fortunate in one respect, however, in that Bishop Kitchin’s second return, that of 1563, is particularly full in the information it gives, with names of both incumbents and curates, and notes on the status of various parishes - whether they were in fact chapelries, for instance, either temporarily or permanently.

In the thirty parishes of Llandaff deanery, appointments are known in sixteen between the 1560 return and the supremacy of Archbishop Whitgift, and a total of nineteen appointments is known in these sixteen parishes. These include incumbents returned at Cogan and Pentyrch in 1563, the only ones known in those parishes during Queen Elizabeth’s reign. Later in the Stuart period, Cogan was joined with Llandough, and some such arrangement may have been made informally in Elizabethan times - neither parish was very lucrative. Three of the cathedral clergy held livings in the deanery in this period - Philip Jones (Prebendary of Master Howell) was Rector of Llansannor (1576 - 79); William Evans, Treasurer in 1560, became Rector of Merthyr Tydfil in 1564; and Thomas Herbert, Vicar of Llantrisant (1576 - 81), later became Chancellor (1588). Of the twenty-nine known incumbents serving in the deanery in this period, including those supposed to have been continuing from 1560, five were graduates (17.5%) and a further ten were possible university students - a maximum of 51.25 per cent of clergy with a university background.
Somewhat more information is available for Groneth deanery in this period - appointments are known in twenty of the thirty-one parishes. These include the only ones known under Queen Elizabeth at St Bride's Major and St Bride's Minor. Both have a certain interest. John Thomas, at St Bride's Major in 1563, may have been a former Vicar of Prittlewell in Essex, deprived in 1554 almost certainly for clerical marriage. St Bride's Minor was taken on by John Cantlow or Cawnlor who was also incumbent of St Donat's. Llyswyrny had no known appointment in the Elizabethan period. The total of twenty-seven known appointments include three at Aberavon. Thomas Parry was there only between February and November 1564, and no reason is known for his abrupt departure. Four of the cathedral clergy were among the incumbents - Morgan Nicholas (Llandow 1571 - 83) became Archdeacon in 1582; Andrew Vaen (St Julit 1580 - 88) held a number of prebends in Llandaff and St David's; John Powell (Llantwit Major 1570) and John Evans (Coity 1581 - 92) were both prebendaries of Llandaff. It is clear from the fuller information available for Groneth deanery how difficult it was to attract university men to the diocese. Only four of those appointed in this period were known graduates - possibly also John Thomas (supra). Andrew Vaen, a B.C.L. was the best qualified among them. Seven others were possibly university students, and five of these were appointed after 1560 - perhaps a sign of improving standards. Graduates make up at most 18.5 per cent of the clergy in the deanery and the total of university men only about 28 per cent.

Abergavenny has large gaps in the information available. Twenty parishes record no change of appointments in this period, but two, Cwmyoy and St Bride's, have the only ones known under Queen Elizabeth, Wonastow has no record of an incumbent throughout the reign. Only eleven appointments are known (including those at Cwmyoy and St Bride's) in the first half of the reign. Probably the two most distinguished incumbents in the deanery in this period were Thomas Edmonds (Grosmont 1579 - 86), who was also a prebendary, and John Williams (Llandewi-Skirrid 1577 - 1612), who became Precentor in 1582. John James, Rector of Llanfoist in 1560, took on the adjacent parish of Abergavenny in 1566, and continued in the two parishes for possibly another twenty-three years. Of those known to have been serving in the deanery at this time, only four can be identified with any certainty as graduates, though the total of possible university men amounts to nearly half the
number of clergy. Three of the four graduates were appointed after 1560, while only one man with no possible university connection was appointed after that date. As in Groneth, this trend seems to indicate a gradual improvement.

In Usk deanery, appointments are known in only seven of the sixteen parishes between 1560 and 1583, but there is no parish in the deanery where no incumbent is known. Twelve appointments are known in these seven parishes. The figure is distorted by no fewer than four appointments having taken place at Trelleck (Tryleg), a Crown living, where information is available from the Lord Keepers' papers. The four incumbents in question served terms of eight, two, eight, and thirty-two years respectively. It may have been a case of searching for a man to whom the living was really congenial, though eight years were a moderate term for an incumbency. It is not known whether any of the first three men appointed moved on to other livings. Hugh Jones, Bishop of Llandaff from 1566, was Rector of Tredunnock (Tredynog) between 1560 and 1575. Of the twenty-one incumbents known to have been serving in the deanery in this period, five are known to have been graduates (23.8%), four of them appointed after 1560. A total of fourteen possibly came from a university background, i.e. 67 per cent. Of the seven non-university men serving, only two were appointed after 1560. Usk deanery, therefore, reflects the trends noted in Groneth and Abergavenny.

The picture in Newport deanery is even more sketchy. The only appointment known at Rhymney before 1624 is Philip Powell, recorded there in 1563. It is not entirely clear what happened at Newport parish church. John Price recorded there in 1563 could possibly be alias John Williams, who was there in 1560 - surnames sometimes change confusingly in this period. Again, he may have been the John Price who was Curate of Malpas (which adjoined Newport) in 1563; he may have been both or neither. In four other parishes in this small deanery, no appointment is known between 1560 and 1583. Bishop William Blethin became Vicar of Bassaleg between 1578 and 1589. It was some distance from his residence at Mathern, and it is doubtful whether he was really active in the parish. Bishop Blethin is one of three known graduates in the deanery in this period, two of them appointed after 1560. One possible student was appointed after 1560, two possible non-university men. Newport
deanery offers too small a sample of evidence to be reliable, but at least the picture there is not in conflict with that in Groneth, Abergavenny, and Usk.

Netherwent deanery also yields only sketchy information. Wilcrick at this time was jointly held with Llanmartin. No appointment is known at Llanfihangel Llantarnam before 1590. The 1563 return, however, shows Goldcliff and Nash as too poor to support a vicar, and being served jointly by a curate. Tintern Parva was likewise served by a curate until 1629 and Llandogo until 1648. In about half the parishes in the deanery, no appointment is known between 1560 and 1583. Of the incumbents known to have been serving in this period, Bishop Blethin (as he was to become) has already been noted as Rector of Roggiet in 1560. Rowland Kemeys, Vicar of Caerwent until 1572, and his successor, Geoffrey Price, were both prebendaries of Llandaff. Andrew Vaen, already mentioned in Usk deanery, was Vicar of Christchurch between 1574 and 1588. Of twenty-six incumbents known in this period, only five were known graduates (19%); three of them were appointed after 1560. Nine others were possible students, all but one of them in office in 1560. Just over half the incumbents in this period may, therefore, have been university men. Among those with no known university background, Lewis Bennett probably came from the Glamorgan family of Bennett. David Lewis of Penhow was possibly the son, or at least a relative, of his predecessor, Lewis Jones.

In the first half of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, therefore, Llandaff diocese was short of graduate clergy. In no deanery in this period do the graduate incumbents total 25 per cent of the whole. Those who possibly had studied at university without graduating bring up the total, with the graduates, to a more respectable level - 40 - 50 per cent in some parts of the diocese. The best that can be said of the academic qualifications of the Llandaff clergy in this period is that there was a small but significant improvement in the numbers both of university men and graduates, and that this was characteristic of the diocese as a whole, not just part of it.

1583 - 1603

In the second half of Elizabeth’s reign, information on clergy appointments is still sketchy. At fourteen parishes in Llandaff deanery, no appointment is known between Bishop Kitchin’s survey of 1560 and the end of Elizabeth’s reign. In one instance, the
incumbent in office in 1560 is known to have carried on until almost the end of the reign - Morgan Nicholas, who remained at Pendoylan until his death in 1596; it is probable that others did so, but except where a successor is known, it is not possible even to guess when the 1560 incumbent died or resigned. In five parishes, an incumbent appointed in the first part of the reign is known to have survived into the Stuart period (Llansannor, Michaelston, Porthkerry, St George's-super-Ely and Sully); there may have been others. This makes it even more difficult to form a picture than in 1560 - 83 when it may be reasonably supposed that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the incumbent in office in 1560 continued for a time. Six of the cathedral clergy held livings in the deanery in this period, including Morgan Blethin, son of the bishop, who became Rector of St Fagan's in 1590. What emerges most clearly, however, is that, of the fifteen men appointed to livings between 1583 and 1603, nine were graduates (60%) and a further four possible students - a total of 86.66 per cent university men. The two with no known university background were Craddock Sherry, who was at the important parish of St John the Baptist, Cardiff, from 1601 to 1633, and Rowland Kemeys (St Peter's-super-Ely 1583 - 90), probably of the Monmouthshire gentry, who was also Prebendary of Caerau (1581).

A similar picture emerges in Groneth deanery in this period. In twelve parishes, no appointment is known between 1583 and 1603. Jenkin ap Richard carried on at Cadoxton-juxta-Neath from 1560 to 1603 and Henry Richards at Llangan from 1570 to 1611; three others appointed in the first half of the reign may have continued beyond its end - William Davies at Aberavon, John Powell at Llantwit Major, and John ap Henry at Newton Nottage. Of those who received appointments in this period, thirteen out of twenty were graduates (65%) and one other was possibly a student - William Jones (St Julit 1588). difficult to distinguish among many of that name. Compared with Llandaff deanery, more of the new incumbents were graduates, but fewer university men (70%); this, however, redressed the balance of the first part of the reign. Only two of the cathedral clergy are known to have held incumbencies at this time - Andrew Vaen reappears in the adjacent parishes of Newcastle (1591) and Coity (1592) and also held Llanfaes (1601); Richard Turberville, Rector of Marcross (1597) became Prebendary of St Andrew's in 1604.
In Abergavenny deanery, a somewhat clearer picture begins to emerge. Appointments are known in twenty-three of the thirty parishes, and in five others (Dingestow, Llandeilo Gresynni, Llanddewi-Skirrid, Llanfair Cilgedin, and Llanvetherine) the incumbent appointed in the earlier period continued until late in the reign or even beyond. Twenty-five incumbents are known to have been appointed in this period; nine were graduates (36%) and the same number were possible university students - lower figures than for Glamorgan, but still representing an increase in university-trained men. Two men of distinction among them were Nathaniel Dodd (Llanwenarth 1595 - 1616), a D.D. and prebendary of Chester, and Thomas Edmunds (Llandeilo Bertholau c.1600 - 08), a B.D. prebendary of Llandaff. The latter was a cousin of Bishop Blethin.\footnote{As noted earlier, the genealogy of the Blethin family is well documented, with connections stretching back to the 12th century and beyond.}\footnote{79}

In Usk deanery, only Gwernesney and Raglan are without known incumbents in this period. The situation in the other fourteen parishes is complex. John Williams, Rector of Cemais (1560 - 90), may be the same man who was rector of Llangybi (1573 - 1611) and Llantrissent (1590 - 1620) - the latter two parishes are adjacent, and a total ministry of sixty years, though long, is not impossible. The incumbents appointed at Llanllowel, Tredunnock, Trelleck and Usk in the earlier part of the reign continued beyond 1603. Roger Thomas (Llantrissent 1588 - 90) may be the same at Llanarth in 1560. Of the new appointments in this period, three were graduates, one possibly a student, and two had no known university connection. John Williams was possibly one of the university students of that name; Roger Thomas does not appear in the university lists. This small sample is generally in line with what is known of the clergy in Glamorgan and Abergavenny.

Newport deanery provides an even smaller sample of data. No appointment is known in this period in four of the nine parishes, while at two others, the incumbent continued from earlier in the reign. Only three appointments are in fact known in this period; all of them as it happens, were Oxford graduates; Morgan Blethin (Bassaleg 1589 - 1623) has already received mention.

Apart from Usk, Netherwent presents a fuller picture than other deaneries in this period. No appointment is known in six parishes - Goldcliff, Llandogo, Llanfihangel Roggiet, Undy, Whitson, and Wilcrick, but at least one is known in the twenty-one
others, and in fact a total of thirty-two clergy appointed in this period are on record. Twenty-six of these possibly had a university background; twelve were graduates, fourteen only students. This is altogether a high proportion of those appointed (37.25 per cent graduates and 81.25 per cent with possibly a university background). This larger sample confirms the trend noted elsewhere in the diocese of appointing more university-trained men. Seven of those appointed also at some time held cathedral posts - a relatively high number for the diocese at this time, and again perhaps indicating a trend - in this case for greater involvement of the cathedral clergy in the parishes.

1603 - 28

In the second half of Elizabeth's reign, the information for Llandaff diocese is at its most scanty. It quickly becomes apparent that information is much more readily available in the Stuart period. This is partly because of the information which becomes accessible from the *Libri Instititorum*; but the increasing number of university men appointed, as noted in the previous section, means that more Llandaff clergy receive mention in *Alumni Oxonienses* and, more occasionally, in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

It has already been noted that in Llandaff deanery, no appointment is known at St Hilary after 1560. Craddock Sherry continued at St John the Baptist, Cardiff, 1601 - 33, and Edward Prichard at Llantrithyd 1598 - 1639. But appointments are known in this period in all the other twenty-seven parishes. For the most part, only one appointment is known per parish. This may suggest gaps in the records, and whereas some appointments almost certainly have escaped mention, the even distribution of those known points rather to the clergy of this period serving relatively long incumbencies - say, about twenty years, and being perhaps less mobile than their opposite numbers in St Asaph and Bangor. The fact that so much patronage in Llandaff was in the hands of the gentry, whereas in the northern diocese more of it was in the hands of the bishop, may have inhibited movement. Such a hypothesis could only be advanced tentatively, but it is significant that John Matthew, appointed to the Earl of Pembroke's living of Gelligaer in 1580, originated from Wilton, the Earl of Pembroke's seat, while James Whitney, rector of another of the earl's livings, Mitchel
Troy, in 1625, moved in 1631 to Donhead St Andrew, Wiltshire, in the gift of the same nobleman. These instances suggest that patronage may have been a significant factor in the mobility, or immobility, of clergy. Of the twenty-eight clergy whose appointments in the deanery are known in this period, sixteen were graduates (57%), and three possible students (two of them certain) bring up the total of university men to 67.8 per cent. Two of those appointed (Hugh Lloyd and Robert Robotham) later attained the degree of doctor of divinity; Richard Bassett was a B.D. One of those appointed was William Awbrey (Pendoylan 1613) whose career was spent mainly in the diocese of St David's. He was of the Breconshire gentry of that diocese. Well known names among the Glamorgan gentry appear among the incumbents - Bassett, Gamage (2) and Stradling (2) among them.

Groneth deanery offers almost as full a picture as Llandaff. Apart from Colwinston and St Bridge’s-super-Ogmore (supra), no appointment took place in nine parishes in this period because the incumbent appointed pre-1603 continued until after 1628 - again evidence of long-lasting incumbencies. But appointments are known in twenty-one parishes, again mostly not more than one per parish. Of twenty-five clergy appointed, eighteen were graduates (72%), and one possible and one certain Oxford student bring the total university men to 80 per cent. This is a vast improvement, particularly for this deanery, on the situation a generation earlier. Those appointed included two D.Ds. - Morgan Jones (Newton Nottage 1603, Llanfaes 1608, St Athan’s 1611); one D.C.L. - William Bassett (Newton Nottage 1625) and one B.C.L. - Richard Bassett (Llantrisant 1611). Apart from William Bassett, they all held cathedral posts, as did Edmund (al.Edward) James, M.A. (Cadoxton-juxta-Neath 1603).

Abergavenny is remarkably similar to Groneth. In seven parishes, no appointment took place 1603 - 28 because the incumbent continued from the previous period, but appointments are known in the other twenty-three. Again, these are seldom more than one per parish. Skenfrith had three in this period, but the three incumbents served respectively seven, six and twenty-three years. Philemon Blethin, son of Bishop Blethin, was appointed in 1606, and received Llandeilo Bertholau (about eight miles away) in addition in 1608; he resigned in 1613 - 14. He was the only one of the cathedral clergy appointed in the deanery in this period. He was succeeded at Llandeilo Bertholau by William Price, Whyte Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford.
These were probably the most distinguished of those appointed in the period, but of the twenty-four clergy whose appointments are known, eighteen were graduates (75%); one Oxford student brings the total university men up to 79 per cent, almost the same figure as for Groneth.

In Usk deanery, no appointment is known at Raglan or Wolves’ Newton, but appointments took place in all other fourteen parishes. In contrast with the other deaneries so far considered, two appointments are known in four parishes, four at Tredunnock, and three at Trelleck. The appointments at the last two call for some comment. John Williams stayed only two years at Tredunnock (1609 - 11); he may be the man of the same name appointed to Cemais in 1622, but if so, his career in between is unknown. John Hughes, D.D. son-in-law of Bishop Godwin, took on both Tredunnock and Trelleck in 1611, keeping the former until 1618 and the latter until 1625. At Tredunnock, he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Thomas Godwyn (alias Goodwin), who kept it only for a year (1618 - 19), but who reappeared to take on Trelleck in 1627. John Lloyd, who succeeded Godwyn at Tredunnock, stayed fourteen years. He was a close friend of John Clegge, Rector of Llangybi (1622), who was well in with the Goodwins and ultimately became Archdeacon in 1646. The remaining cleric, Henry Hackett, previously Rector of Machen (1620) moved to Ross-on-Wye in the Diocese of Hereford in 1627. He may have been a relative of John Hackett, domestic chaplain to Bishop Williams of Lincoln, later Archdeacon of Bedford and (at the Restoration) Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Tredunnock was in the gift of Oxford University, Trelleck in the gift of the Crown. Whether Bishop Godwin used his influence with either or both can only be surmised, but the appointments seem to have been made to suit the convenience of his family and circle in the way that Bishop Bayly used his powers of patronage in Bangor. Thomas Godwyn was one of five of the cathedral clergy to hold appointments in the deanery at this time, Robert Robotham appearing as another (Mitchel Troy 1611). Of the twenty clerics appointed to livings at this time, fourteen were graduates (70%), university men making up 80 per cent of the total - figures remarkably similar to Groneth and Abergavenny.

Newport deanery again offers only a small sample of data. In Llanfihangel-y-Fedw and Newport, no appointment is known from late in Elizabeth’s reign until the Civil
War, and none at Marshfield and St Bride's, Wentloog, until 1640 and 1639 respectively. Seven appointments took place in the other five parishes. These included the bishop, Theophilus Field, who held Bassaleg for about a year (1623 - 4). Six of those appointed were graduates. The seventh, Thomas Jones, may have been a university student of that name, but it is more significant that his appointment to Rhymney in 1622 is the first known there since 1563.

In Netherwent, there is some uncertainty about Samuel Sampson's appointment to Goldcliff. It probably came before 1628, but only the approximate date of his death (1631) is known. No appointment is known at Tintern Parva before 1629, and none at Roggiet between 1603 and 1628. But appointments are known in the other twenty-two, and Netherwent resembles Usk rather than the other deaneries in that two appointments are known in many parishes, four in Caerwent, five in Mathern, and three in Sudbrook. Five of the cathedral clergy held livings in the deanery, and three of them (Robert Robotham, Philemon Blethin, and John Dowle) were all Vicars of Caerwent - clearly a prestigious parish sought after by the senior clergy. Caerwent was a Crown living. Mathern was in the gift of the bishop. Richard and John Bullock, both Oxford men, probably brothers, held it for a year each in 1621 - 22. Nothing further is known about them; possibly both were overtaken by illness. At Sudbrook, the picture is distorted by a short incumbency of three years by Josiah Girdler - possibly of Staffordshire origin; the other two incumbents in this period served for ten and over twenty years. The two bishops also served as incumbents, Theophilus Field again for only a year at Christchurch (1625 - 6), but his predecessor, Francis Godwin, rather longer at Shirenewton (1603 - 14). A total of forty clergy received appointments in this period, an unusually large sample. Twenty-one of these were graduates (52.5%), and five possible students bring the university men up to 65 per cent - figures comparable more with Llandaff deanery than with Groneth, Abergavenny or Usk. In Netherwent, as elsewhere in the diocese, the drive towards university-trained clergy was forging ahead. However the graduate clergy appointed in this period included William Wroth, Rector of Llanfochtach (1611), that great pioneer of nonconformity in Wales. Clearly, the appointment of graduate clergy did not always work out as the hierarchy hoped.
In the last period before the Civil War, that of Laud's supremacy in the Church, no change took place in fourteen of the parishes in Llandaff deanery, almost half of the total. Appointments did take place in another fifteen, St Hilary still being without a known incumbent. Pentyrch had an appointment in 1630 for the first time (so far as is known) since 1563; the appointee was a man of distinction - Francis Davies, who ultimately became Bishop of Llandaff in 1667. Of the fifteen men who received appointments in this period, twelve were graduates (80%), and two possible Oxford students bring up the total university men to 93.33 per cent - thus further improving on the progress made earlier in the century. The sole appointee without a university background was Laomedon Fowler (Llantrithyd 1639) who had already seen service at Merthyr Dyfan (1623) and Cadoxton (1626).

The situation in Groneth was not dissimilar. No appointment is known at Colwinston, Llandough, or St Bride's-super-Ogmore from early in Elizabeth's reign until the Civil War or later, and none at Coychurch between that of Robert Thomas in 1591 and 1646; it is possible that he continued all that time. No change from 1603 - 28 is known in fifteen other parishes, so that appointments took place in only thirteen parishes - less than half. Nevertheless, sixteen clerics were appointed in these parishes, one more than in Llandaff deanery. These divide into nine graduates (56.25%), with four students, or possible students, bringing the total university men up to 81 per cent - a very slight improvement on the figure for 1603 - 28. Francis Davies appears again as Rector of Llangan (1638), and Michael Roberts, already noted in Bangor, as Vicar of Llangynwyd (1639). These were the only D.Ds. in the group, but John Gumbledon (St Julit 1639) was a B.D. Davies' predecessor at Llangan (1636) was Ambrose Mostyn, Puritan Vicar of Wrexham during the Interregnum, but as he returned to Llandaff in 1661 after his ejection (Rector of Llanwern 1661 - 63), he should be regarded as a Puritan rather than a proto-nonconformist.

Nor is the situation very different in Abergavenny, with the incumbent continuing in fourteen of the thirty parishes, and seventeen clergy known to have received appointments in the rest. Fourteen of these were graduates (82.33%) with two possible students bringing up the total to 94 per cent - figures almost identical with Llandaff. Robert Frampton (Bryngwyn 1633) was the only D.D. among them, and Philip Flower (Llangattock Feibion Afel 1641) the only B.D.; the latter also served at
Llanmartin and Wilcrrick in Netherwent deanery 1633 - 38. The only non-university man appointed was Aaron Watkins (Llanelen 1639), possibly a son of his predecessor, Richard.

In Usk deanery, twelve clerics were appointed in eleven of the sixteen parishes in this period. Seven of the twelve were graduates (58.33%), with two possible students bringing up the university men to 75 per cent. This is lower than in the three previous deaneries. It may be noted that the only B.D. among them George Crumpe (Trelleck 1639), received this degree in 1643; more unusually, John Hardwick (Mitchel Troy 1631) only received his M.A. in 1650; possibly his patron, the Earl of Pembroke, a great benefactor of learning, encouraged him to return to Oxford after the Civil War. Raglan had two appointments in this period - William Rogers (1634) and William Davies (1640), the latter possibly an Oxford student; these were the first appointments known since 1560. The Earl of Worcester had been criticised by Parliament for holding patronage when he was a Roman Catholic; he may have felt able to act more boldly during the eleven years' personal rule of the King.

In Newport deanery, appointments took place in only four of the nine parishes. Six clergy were appointed, three of them graduates. But they can hardly be considered very representative as the two rectors of Bedwas were the successive bishops, William Murray (1636) and Morgan Owen (1640). What is perhaps more significant is that two of those appointed, a third of the total, had no known university background. Rhymney and St Bride's, Wentloog, were both served by a possible student followed by a non-university man. Neither parish was very lucrative - respectively £5. 10s. 8d. and £4. 18s. 0d in the King's Book - and whatever the situation was elsewhere, it may have been difficult to attract men from the universities to these parishes. With uncertainty as to whether Llanfihangel-y-Fedw and Newport had incumbents at this stage, this part of the diocese may have been the least well served during Laud's supremacy.

Netherwent deanery, however, continued to show the improvement begun in the previous period. There was no change in seven of the parishes, but a total of twenty-six appointments are known in the rest. Taken with the previous period, this suggests a higher turn-over than in other deaneries, but no reason for this is apparent. At
Wilcrick, no fewer than four appointments took place (1631, 1633, 1638, 1640). It was poorly paid (nominally £2. 10s. 1d), and it is easy to understand why the last three incumbents should have moved on or (in the case of Thomas Morgan, 1640) taken another parish in addition; but it is not easy to see why John Edwards should have moved there from the (apparently) more lucrative parish of Caldicot. Bishop William Murray appears again as Rector of Shirenewton (1634 - 40) and Vicar of Caerwent (1639 - 40); and Bishop Morgan Owen as Rector of Shirenewton (1640). Three appointments at Shirenewton (the other being Walter Harris 1633) help to increase the total for the deanery. Twenty of the twenty-six men appointed were graduates (76.9%), and with one certain and three possible students, the total percentage of university men amount to 92.4 per cent. Thomas Gilbert (Nash 1635) later became Vicar of St Lawrence, Reading (1647) and a B.D. (1648). Philip Flower has already received mention. Lancelot Warnford (Christchurch 1640) was a B.C.L. These were, with the other two bishops, academically the most distinguishes in the group. The nine M.As among them included Playford Field (Penhow 1640), son of the former bishop.

Differences have been noted between different parts of the diocese, but the consistency of the overall picture is remarkable. In the first part of the Stuart period (1603 - 28), the graduates appointed in Glamorgan total 64 per cent and in Monmouthshire 64.8 per cent, while the total university men come to 73.5 per cent and 74.7 per cent respectively. Under William Laud (1638 - 42), graduates appointed in Glamorgan rise to 67.7 per cent but in Monmouthshire to 72 per cent, though there is considerable difference between Abergavenny and Netherwent on the one hand, and Usk and Newport on the other; but the total number of university men comes in Glamorgan to 87 per cent and in Monmouthshire to 86.8 per cent, to all intents and purposes the same. Apart from the consistency of these figures, the other most remarkable factor is the improvement from the Elizabethan to the Stuart period. Steady hard work under Bishop Blethin (1575 - 91) may have laid the foundations; under James I, credit must go to Bishop Godwin and the much maligned Theophilus Field. In the final period before the Civil War, credit must belong largely to Bishop Murray; the Laudian Bishop Morgan Owen arrived too late (1640) to make any great impact. Bishop Murray, of Scottish descent and English education, and with previous experience in Ireland, is one
of the least known among the Welsh bishops in this period. There is some reason, nevertheless, for thinking that he was not the least successful.

St David’s Parochial Clergy

1560 - 83

In St David’s diocese, as in Llandaff, it is difficult to form the more-or-less complete picture of the parochial clergy possible in the northern dioceses. The material available is unevenly distributed between different parts of the diocese and different periods, to a greater extent than in Llandaff. Francis Green and T.W.Barker’s *Pembrokeshire Parsons* serves that county as J.A. Bradney’s survey does for Monmouthshire; Pembrokeshire, moreover, had an unusually high number of Crown livings, for which the Lord Keepers’ papers provide records of appointment sometimes unknown to Green and Barker. Pembrokeshire almost certainly provides the fullest information for the period as a whole. As over a third of the parishes in the diocese were in this one county, that is perhaps fortunate; but many of the Pembrokeshire parishes were small and untypical of Welsh parishes in general, so that some caution must be used in generalising from the information they provide. Second to Pembrokeshire for fullness of information comes Breconshire, where Theophilus Jones’ work, accomplished early in the nineteenth century, is still a quarry of information. There were some fifty parishes in Breconshire distributed between five deaneries, and although Brecon as a border county may not have been typical of Wales as a whole, it was not markedly different from Radnor (which is less well documented), which in turn has points of resemblance with Montgomeryshire to the north; though the eastern part of the latter county was in the diocese of St Asaph, it was not unknown for clergy to cross the diocesan borders.¹⁰²

Episcopal records for the diocese survive for 1554 - 55 and 1560 - 62, periods of short duration, but which coincide with Queen Mary’s Counter-Reformation and Queen Elizabeth’s Settlement, and which saw, therefore, a number of parochial appointments. It is possible, therefore, to form a relatively complete picture of the parishes for the early part of Elizabeth’s reign. The great difficulty is knowing how long many of the clergy then serving continued in their parishes. Since incumbencies could vary from a few days to nearly sixty years, it would be folly to hazard more than vague guesses.
Especially in parts of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, information tends to be very sketchy for the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, though it should be noted that the same is true of some parishes in Pembrokeshire and Brecon. In some parts, little information is available even from the *Libri Institutorum* until the 1620s and 1630s, about which comment will be made later. 103

In all the parishes in the deaneries of Pebidiog, Pembroke and Roose, incumbents are known in the first half of Elizabeth's reign. In the other three Pembrokeshire deaneries, there was one parish in each where no incumbent is known - at Mynachlogddu (Dongledy) not before 1611, Llanychaer (Cemais) 1613 and Cenarth (Emlyn) 1628. This suggests that even in the poor and remote parishes of the county, provision was being made to supply clergy. In all the deaneries except Emlyn, some of the clergy in office in 1560 seem to have carried on throughout the first half of the reign, though one cannot be sure that they always continued until shortly before the next incumbent was appointed; but there were six such in Pebidiog (nearly half), seven in Cemais, but only three in the larger deanery of Roose. By contrast, some parishes had frequent changes of incumbent. Four appointments took place in Castlemartin; John Evans resigned after only a year (1563 - 64), for reasons unknown - possibly because of illness, but recusancy is also a possibility; his successor John Butler, Archdeacon of Cardigan, likewise lasted only a year, probably because of his appointment to Angle. Four appointments took place at Maenordeifi, but John Walsh is only known in October 1560, and his appointment may have been disputed - possibly the result of uncertainties arising at the beginning of the reign. At Talbenny (Roose) six incumbencies took place; Henry Goddard died in 1564 after only a year, but his successors lasted only two, four, two and three years before Thomas Bowen appeared (1574) with apparently more staying power; there is a suggestion of some malaise in the parish for four incumbents to have lasted so short a time, none of them, apparently, moving on elsewhere.

A number of the cathedral clergy and prebendaries of Brecon were involved in the Pembrokeshire parishes; Roose, with eight, 104 had most; Pembroke had seven, 105 and Henry Tanner (Stackpole Elider, 1559) was a prebendary of Hereford; Pebidiog, the
'home' deanery for St David's, had only two.\textsuperscript{106} It is difficult to estimate how many of the clergy came from a university background; at this stage, not all the cathedral clergy did, by any means. In Pembroke and Dongledy, somewhere around 45 per cent of those serving in this period may at least have studied at the universities, in Roose (41\%) and Pebidiog (38\%) rather less, while in the north of the county (Emlyn 29\%; Cemais 27\%) it seems to have been below 30 per cent. What is perhaps more significant is that a higher proportion of those appointed after 1560 seem to have been university men. In Pebidiog, for instance, all three graduates and the two possible students were appointed after 1560. Uneven distribution was to be a feature for some time - as was noted in St Asaph; * it is possible that Cemais had only two graduates among its incumbents, and one of these, Richard Williams (Maenclochog), was appointed as late as 1582.

Cardiganshire divides along its natural frontier, the River Aeron. South of the river, the deanery of Subaeron, including the Llanddewi Brefi group of parishes, is not in marked contrast with Pembrokeshire to the South. Four parishes have no known incumbent before the Stuart era, and these include the county town of Cardigan, which was, however, probably served from the adjacent parish of Verwick (Y Ferwig). In four of the Subaeron parishes and in Ystrad, the incumbent from the beginning of the reign carried on, possibly throughout the period. Penbryn had four incumbencies, one (John Williams, 1582) of less than a year, but three short incumbencies here were punctuated by the longer term of seventeen years served by John Hughes (1565 - 82). Four of the cathedral clergy are found among the Subaeron incumbents,\textsuperscript{107} and Thomas Edmunds, who has been noted as a prebendary of Llandaff. In the Llanddewi Brefi group, Bishop Davies' youthful son, Peregrine, also Archdeacon of Cardigan, was Vicar of Llandyfriog. In Subaeron, 52.9 per cent of the clergy may have had some university training, and in the Llanddewi Brefi group 62.5 per cent, graduates amounting to 29 per cent of the total in Subaeron and 50 per cent in Llanddewi Brefi. The above-average showing of the Llanddewi Brefi group suggests that its parishes carried a certain amount of prestige, and makes the dissolution of the college and the seizure of its lands a double disaster.

North of the Aeron, the picture was less rosy. Five of its parishes have no known incumbent until the Stuart period, Trefilan not before 1596. Four incumbents in office *\textsuperscript{nupra}, p.159.*
at the beginning of the period carried on, and appointments are known in only three parishes in this period. Only one incumbent is known to have been a graduate or even to have any university background; but this was the great William Morgan, who for five years (1572 - 1577) was Vicar of Llanbadarn Fawr - without doubt the most prestigious parish in the deanery - while continuing to study at Cambridge. With such a paucity of information, it is risky to make any sweeping judgements, but in its far remoteness, it is at least possible that Uwchaeron was in a lengthy period of neglect.

Carmarthenshire was not unlike Cardiganshire, and again there is something of a contrast between its deaneries, the estuary of the Tywi in this case marking a boundary between Carmarthen to the West, Llandeilo and Kidwelly to the East. More parishes in Carmarthenshire, however, are without known incumbents in the Elizabethan period, four in Carmarthen deanery (again including the county town, Carmarthen), six in Llandeilo and three in the small deanery of Kidwelly. Five incumbents seem to have continued from the beginning of the reign in Carmarthen, possibly as many as nine in Llandeilo, and at Llanedi in Kidwelly. Carmarthen deanery, with possibly 47 per cent of its incumbents from university, was well up the league tables. Llandeilo, at 26.66 per cent was well down, but again it is significant that out of only five known appointments in this period, four were graduates. One of these was Robert Holland, a native of Conwy and litterateur, appointed to the prestigious church of Llandeilo Fawr in 1582. Like Uwchaeron, Kidwelly had only one known graduate - Philip Jones at Llanelli (1567). The only known prebendary in the whole county at this time was Bartholomew Jones (Llandegley in the Collegiate Church of Brecon) at Merthyr (1568). One other incumbent worthy of note is William Yorke (Llandawke-Pendine, 1572); if the identification is correct, he was the son of a Lord Mayor of London and graduate of Peterhouse, Cambridge. One wonders whether he had any Welsh connections, and if not, what brought him to these remote parts. If there are hints of neglect in Cardiganshire, they are at least as pronounced in Carmarthenshire, though gifted men were clearly being attracted here too.

Gower deanery seems to have been close to Carmarthenshire in character as in location. Two of its parishes have no known incumbent until the Stuart period, two not until late in Elizabeth’s reign, one of them being St Mary’s, Swansea (1593). Three of the clergy seem to have carried on throughout from the beginning of the
reign. For the most part, parishes seem to have had only one appointment in this period, though there were three at both Ilston and Port Eynon - both of them Crown livings, where changes of incumbency seem generally to have been more frequent.* There was some judicious doubling up of parishes, Henry Holland taking on Bishopston and Cheriton, Thomas Hartley Reynoldston and Rhosili. With 35 per cent of the incumbents graduates and 52.9 per cent university men, Gower made a fairly respectable showing. The incumbents included three prebendaries of St David’s.

In the four deaneries within Breconshire, there were three parishes where no incumbent was known until the Stuart period, and two not until later in Elizabeth’s reign. Incumbents continued at two parishes in Brecon I, four in Brecon II, one in Builth and two in Hay. Brecon parish had four appointments. Thomas Hyde (1572 - 75) moved on to appointments in England. Thomas Wightman (1575 - 76) had previously been Vicar of Penbryn; it is at least possible that he was ageing. Walter Davies (1576 - 77) held the parish briefly during a longer incumbency (1570? - 1621) at the adjacent parish of Aberysgir; did he find the double responsibility too much for him, or was he ‘keeping the seat warm’ for Owen Davies (possibly a relative), who only completed his M.A. at Oxford the previous year? There was a sprinkling of prebendaries among the incumbents - two at St David’s and two of Brecon. Morgan Powell (Llangynidr, 1570) became Chancellor of Hereford in 1587 - a reminder that some of the country’s natural links were across the border into England. The proportion of graduates in the county tended to be low - 16.66 per cent in Brecon I, 21.4 per cent in Brecon II, but 42.8 per cent, high for the period, in Builth; the total university men work out at 36.66 per cent, 35.7 per cent and 57 per cent respectively - six possible non-graduate students in Brecon I formed an unusually high proportion. No university men are known in the three parishes of Hay deanery at this period, and only one appointment took place there - Lewis Rogers (Glasbury, 1567).

Elfael deanery is problematic because nine of its parishes have no known incumbent until the Stuart period, two not until late in Elizabeth’s reign. Three incumbents at the beginning of the reign continued throughout. Bus Cascob had four appointments. James Matthew’s term of two years has no known explanation. John Donne served eight years (1567 - 75) before moving to London. Ellis ap Robert (1577 - 78) seems vide n.52.
to have made a not very successful attempt to combine it with Maesmynys, some
distance away. Matthew Prichard, his successor, lasted only five years, but is not
known to have moved on elsewhere. The most distinguished of the incumbents in the
deanery was probably Lewis Gwynn, Archdeacon of Cardigan, (Nantmel 1577).
Thomas Jenkin (Bochrwyd, 1574) was a prebendary of Brecon. With 25 per cent of
its incumbents graduates and 40 per cent university men, Elfael was in line with Brecon
I and II. Whether some of the remoter parts of Radnorshire were suffering neglect
can only be surmised.

1583 - 1603

It has already been indicated that the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign is the period
when evidence for St David's is least satisfactory.* With information on
appointments being in many cases so sketchy, it is impossible to do more than guess
how long some incumbents remained in office, and therefore very difficult to form
anything like a complete picture of how parishes were being served. It is only possible
for this period meaningfully to concentrate on those appointments which are known.
As this situation carries on (as will be seen) in some parts of the diocese as late as the
1630s, this must remain the focus of most attention until virtually the end of the period
being studied.

In Pebidiog, no appointment is known in the latter half of the reign in six of the thirteen
parishes - 46 per cent. Fifty per cent might be a more correct figure. No
appointment is known at Llaneilfyw between 1554 and 1734. There must be a
supposition that whenever John Williams, appointed 1554, ceased to be rector (and it
could have been before 1560, or late in Elizabeth's reign) the parish went into a state
of suspended animation, probably being served as a chapelry from one of the
neighbouring parishes. This is not an isolated instance; other parishes known to have
had an incumbent under Mary or early in Elizabeth's reign then seem to have ceased,
and these will be noted in due course. Uncertainty over rights of appointment, confiscation, or inadequacy of endowment, suggest themselves as possible reasons.
While it is good to note that from late in Elizabeth's reign, parishes were 'coming to
life' again, it has to be noted that the reverse was also happening. In Llanrhian and
Mathry, among others, no appointment is known between 1564 and 1621 and 1613
*supra, p.201.
respectively. It is just possible that the incumbent appointed in 1564 continued to the latter date; it seems more likely either that someone was appointed meanwhile whose name has eluded the records, or that there was a gap - perhaps a prolonged one. It is the uncertainty between these three possibilities that makes a more definite picture so difficult to draw. What is true of Pebidiog is true for the whole diocese.

Considering Pembrokeshire as a whole, appointments are known in about half the parishes in this period. Of those who were appointed at this time 77 per cent for the county as a whole were, or were possibly, university men; of these, a majority are known to have graduated. Pembroke, the largest deanery, was virtually at the county average with 76 per cent; Dongledy and Roose were above at 80 and 82 per cent, Pebidiog below at 71 per cent. Emlyn comes at the bottom of the table at 66 per cent. Cemais at 80 per cent is perhaps surprisingly high, but a higher proportion of those appointed (41%) may not have been graduates, than was the case in the other deaneries. At least the university men were starting to penetrate into the remote north of the county. Again, a small number, but only a small number, of prebendaries appear among the parochial clergy - one new appointment each in Pebidiog, Pembroke and Roose. Among the non-university men appointed may be noted the antiquary, George ap Owen Harry, appointed to Llanfihangel Penbedw in 1594 and Whitechurch, not far away, three years later; the distinguished author of The Genealogy of James I, John Reilly, appointed to Manorbier in 1591, does not appear in the university lists, but as he was appointed by Christ’s College, Cambridge, it must be wondered whether he was not, nevertheless, one of their former students. Two other parishes in Pembrokeshire which seem to have gone into suspension, and remained in it until the Civil War, are Carew (Pembroke) and Wiston (Dongledy). Puncheston (Cemais) is known to have had an incumbent under Henry VIII (1536). He was presumably dead by the end of Elizabeth’s reign (perhaps long before), and none other is known there until 1623.

In Cardiganshire, the main fact is the small number of appointments which took place. Of the eight parishes in the Llanddewi Brefi group, appointments were made (so far as is known) in only two; in the other six, the latest appointment known is 1565; there is then a gap until the time of Bishop Laud or later. This can hardly be a coincidence. The seizure of the endowments of Llanddewi Brefi, which is discussed elsewhere,
seems to have had a disruptive influence on this whole group of parishes. But only four appointments are known in the rest of Subaeron, three graduates and one student in Uwchaeron. Llanbadarn Fawr, with an LL.B. and an Oxford student, continued to be well served. Even the two non-university men appointed had some distinction - Jarson Davies (Penbryn, 1584) was one of Bishop Davies’ sons; Lawrence Robinson (Trefdreyr, 1593) may have been related to Bishop Robinson of Bangor. In three parishes where no appointment took place, there had been one shortly before the end of the previous period (Cellan, Llanbedr-Pont-Steffan, and Llangeitho), and it is reasonable to suppose that the incumbent continued well on towards the end of Elizabeth’s reign if not beyond it. But there is still a suspicion of Cardiganshire falling into neglect.

The picture which emerges in Carmarthenshire is similar. More appointments took place - eight in Carmarthen, eight in Llandeilo, but only one in Kidwelly (Henry Fisher, an Oxford graduate, in Kidwelly town.) But no appointment is known in ten of the nineteen Cardigan parishes, or thirteen of the twenty-one in Llandeilo. As in Cardiganshire, those appointed seem to have been well qualified, and David Badcock (Llansadwrn, 1586) may have been the only non-university man among them - interestingly enough, a Lord Chancellor’s appointment. It should be noted, however, that John Norridge (Llandysillio, 1590) was also beneficed in East Anglia and Kent, and may have been very much an absentee incumbent. The phenomenon of parishes going into suspension is suggested here as in Cardigan and Pembroke: this fate may have befallen Llanddowror and Llansteffan (where an incumbent is known early in Henry VIII’s reign) in Carmarthen deanery; Cilycwm and Llanegwad in Llandeilo; and Pembrey in Kidwelly.

The picture is somewhat better in Gower, where appointments are known in ten of the eighteen parishes; Peter Jenkins seems to have continued at Penmaen from 1570 to 1605. Of the ten clergy appointed in the second half of the reign, six were graduates, and one other possibly a student.

The provision for parishes by doubling up noted earlier in the reign continued, William Bevan combining Loughor and Oxwich, and John Aster Rhosili and Swansea - thus at last providing Swansea with a proper incumbent. David Batcock (sic) of
Llanmadoc (1586 - 1610) was probably the same David Badcock noted at Llansadwrn (1586? - 1623) - in which case commuting across the Loughor estuary by boat would probably have been his best means of transport. Whether proper provision was being made for Llangynydd, Nicholaston, or Pennard at this time is unknown - no details of appointments are known, and they may have been served from other parishes.

As with the earlier part of the reign, more information is available about the four deaneries in Breconshire. A handful of parishes may not have been operative at this time - Llanfrynach in Brecon I, Llandyfaelog in Brecon II; in the latter, there is some uncertainty regarding the several parishes called Llanfihangel; while Llangasty Talyllyn has no known incumbent between the reign of Henry VIII (1536) and 1633. But nineteen clergy are known to have been appointed in Brecon I, twelve in Brecon II, eight in Builth, and two in Hay - in the last named, at Hay and Llanigon, the two parishes where an appointment is not known between 1560 and 1583; both those appointed were graduates. A majority of those appointed seem to have had some university education - 73.6 per cent in Brecon I, 83 per cent in Brecon II and 85.7 per cent in Builth, though Brecon I had the highest actual proportion of graduates (43%). Among those holding livings was Francis Godwin, D.D. (Llanbedr Painscastle, 1584 - 1617) who continued to remain as incumbent after becoming Bishop of Llandaff. Four prebendaries are known to have been incumbents in Breconshire in this period.

As with the earlier part of the reign, information is less forthcoming for Elfael. In six parishes, the incumbent appointed before 1583 is likely to have carried on, perhaps for the rest of the reign. But at Kerry, no incumbent is known between the death of Richard Price in 1577 and the appointment of John ap Reece in 1614 - and, as one of only two parishes in the diocese in Montgomeryshire, it was researched by Archdeacon Thomas. Eleven clergy are known to have been appointed in this part of the reign, and the really significant thing is perhaps that only seven of these had any university connections (63.6%), only two of them being graduates - the lowest figures for any part of the diocese for this period.

The trend towards the appointment of more university-trained clergy noted earlier in the reign clearly continued, though in some parts of the diocese, notably Cardigan and Carmarthen, it seems to have been a case of appointing a few well qualified men in a
select group of parishes. It is difficult to resist the impression that the further a parish lay from St David’s or Brecon - in Uwchafon, Radnor, or the remoter parts of Carmarthenshire - the greater the likelihood that it might be neglected or overlooked. While there was a regular participation of prebendaries in the parishes, they seem to have been less involved than in St Asaph and Bangor. While considerable caution must be exercised because of the patchy nature of the evidence, there is at least a suggestion that parts of the diocese were becoming run down in the latter part of Elizabeth’s reign. This would not be at all surprising. Old age and possible weariness towards the end of Richard Davies’ episcopate towards 1580, followed by the disastrous term under Marmaduke Middleton, ending in his suspension, were not a formula for success in so vast and difficult a diocese. Bishop Rudd had a formidable task on his hands when he took over in 1594, but even before the end of the reign he seems to have made some good appointments, some of them in parishes where there may have been a long gap. But credit must be given to Bishop Middleton for the appointments he did make; within limits, many of them fulfilled the Whitgiftian ideal.

St David’s 1603 - 42

It has been stated above * that one of the questions considered in this study is the impact of William Laud upon the Church in Wales, chiefly during the time of his supremacy in the Church of England as a whole as Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. But as he was Bishop of St David’s earlier than this (1621 - 26), in studying the parochial clergy it is intended to consider three periods, (a) before Laud’s appointment; (b) during the short time that he was bishop and (c) the time of his successors, Field and Mainwaring, until the outbreak of the Civil War. This approach differs from that adopted in the other Welsh dioceses, but has been followed in considering the cathedral and sinecure clergy in St David’s. This may result in a more continuously moving picture, whereas that for the other dioceses may be more like a series of stills.

In Pebidiog, it has already been noted that nothing is known of Llaneilfyw after the reign of Mary. It is possible that Roger Phillips, appointed to St Lawrence in 1598, continued there right up to the Civil War - no subsequent appointment is known. Appointments took place in all the other parishes. Most (six) took place in the first of

* supra, p.11
the three periods, but the picture is somewhat distorted by the fact that three appointments took place at Fishguard (1606, 1615 and 1617), but there is no clear reason for this turn-over. Half of those appointed in this first period were graduates, and two more were possibly students - a total of 83.33 per cent university men, which is up to the high levels attained in some deaneries under Elizabeth. While Laud was bishop, only four appointments took place (although this mean that they occurred in a third of the parishes) and only one of those appointed was a graduate, two others being possibly students. Nicholas Binks appears as the only non-university man, being appointed to Llanwnda in 1613 and Whitechurch in 1623. Presumably Laud approved of him in allowing him to hold two livings, little is known about him except that in 1644 he became sub-chanter. After Bishop Laud's time, three appointments took place, one graduate and two students, all under Bishop Mainwaring. One prebendary of St David's (Thomas Prichard) and one of Llanddewi Brefi (David Lloyd) were among the incumbents here under the Stuarts.

In Pembroke deanery, two incumbents may have carried on from late in Elizabeth's reign, William Davies at Castlemartin (1597) and Lewis Phillips at Rhoscrowther (1593). Apart from Angle, Carew, and Loveston, where no appointments are known from early in Elizabeth's reign, all parishes had changes of incumbent - eighteen before Laud's time, nine while he was bishop, and fifteen afterwards - a fairly regular turnover, though one may note that David Phillips was possibly fifty years at Nash and Upton (from 1576), no successor being known until William Wolfe in 1626. The figures for the early Stuart period are exactly the same as for Pembrok - 50 per cent graduates, 83.33 per cent possibly university men. Unlike Pembrok, however, the proportions are greatest during Laud's term as bishop (88% and 100%) and the proportion of graduates under his successors remained higher than in Pembrok (73.33%). Laud must claim some credit for this. Francis Hudson (Penally, 1624) was from Laud's old college, St John's, Oxford. As in Pembrok, a small number of prebendaries were among the incumbents - Richard Middleton, Archdeacon of Cardigan (Bosherston, 1617 - 24), three prebendaries of St David's, and one of Brecon.

In Dongledy, Thomas Middleton (appointed 1597) may have continued at Llawhaden until the Civil War. Wiston had no known appointment after 1562. A relatively high
number of appointments took place in the earlier period (1603 - 21) - fourteen; three occurred in Amblestone, Mynachlogddu, New Moat, and Prendergast. At New Moat, no one seems to have remained longer than ten years throughout the Stuart period, and at least three incumbents moved on elsewhere (though two others, in fact, moved to the parish.) In the other three, two incumbents served short, or relatively short, incumbencies followed by a third who (so far as is known) remained twenty years or more. In the early Stuart period, 57 per cent of those appointed were graduates, 85.7 per cent university men - figures not unlike those for Pebidiog. Under Laud, four of the five appointed were graduates, one of them Francis Hudson (Rudbaxton, 1623) already noted in Pembroke. Only two appointments took place after Laud's time, both being B.As. There is a suggestion that the deanery may have had a much more stable clergy as time went on - perhaps indicating that Bishops Rudd, Milburne and Laud took some trouble to find the right man for the right parish.

In the larger deanery of Roose, a large number of appointments took place - twenty-four in the early Stuart period, ten under Laud, and seventeen under his successors. This means that the changes of incumbent were fairly regular but more frequent than in Dongledy towards the end of this period. In several instances, the same clergyman was involved: Mark Carr (Camrose, 1628) also took on Llanstadwell (1634); William Ormond (Johnston, 1614) moved on to Walton West in 1619 and combined it with St Mary's, Haverfordwest (about five miles away) in 1630; Robert Holland, who had been Rector of Prendergast (in Dongledy) in 1597, moved to be Rector of Walwyn's Castle in 1607, which he combined with Robeston West for ten years from 1612. In the early Stuart period, the figures are identical with those for Pebidiog - 50 per cent graduates, 83.33 per cent university men. Under Laud, the percentage of graduates remained the same, but the total of university men dropped to 70 per cent before rising under Laud’s successors to 70.5 per cent and 94 per cent. Under Laud, another distinguished alumnus of St John’s College, Oxford, came to the diocese - William Sherborne (Talbenny, 1625) also Chancellor of Llandaff and prebendary of Lichfield; Robert Davenant, who succeeded him in 1631, came from the same college, as did Adam Hawkins (St Issell’s 1635). It may be noted, however, that Hawkins was prepared to accept the Cromwellian settlement, becoming Minister of St Mary’s, Haverfordwest, in 1656.129
In Emlyn, nine appointments took place in the early Stuart period and nine after Laud's time, but only two while he was actually bishop. However, taken overall, this means a change of about two incumbents, on average, in forty years, meaning a fair degree of stability among the clergy. However, Cenarth, without a known incumbent before 1628, then had three incumbents in five years - all Oxford men. If Bishop Field revived the parish after a period of suspension, the incumbents may have found it difficult to run, though the first appointee, Griffin Griffin, had already served as Rector of Penhydd (1614) and Llanfihangel Penbedw (1625); perhaps he was ageing, though only in his fifties. 130 Henry Williams (1632) lasted only a year; possibly he moved over for a relative (William Williams, who stayed longer); Henry reappears at Llandysul in 1639, but his whereabouts in between are not known. One incumbent worthy of note is Jenkin Bowen (Maenordeifi, 1611), who later became a D.D.(1643), also beneficed in Llandaff. 131 In the earlier and later periods, graduates amounted to 77.7 per cent of those appointed. The two appointments made by Bishop Laud are too small a sample to be significant. What is more worthy of note is that Edward Provand (Cilgerran, 1622) may not have been a university man, but he was also entrusted by Laud with the vicarage of St Dogmael's (1624) and with the chapelries of Llantwyd and Monington. He was ejected by the Puritans from Llantwyd, 132 but was still at Cilgerran in 1650, possibly remaining until the Restoration. Thomas Ponton, his predecessor at Cilgerran (1607) was the only other non-university man in the deanery in this period. He was almost certainly a relative of Hugh Ponton of Denbighshire, gentleman, who stood surety for him 133 - and possibly was able to exercise some influence on his behalf; he was also a cursal canon.

Cemais deanery saw fourteen appointments in the period before Laud, eight under him and nine after his time - again making an average of about two appointments in forty years. Two parishes deserve comment for opposite reasons. Puncheston had had no known incumbent after 1536 until Hugh Jones was appointed under Laud in 1623; perhaps another instance of a parish being brought back to life. Castle-Bythe, however, had five incumbents in four years. One wonders whether it can be a coincidence that the only non-university man among them was Lewis Elliot, who lasted about thirty years from 1616 until his ejection by the Puritans. 134 It can only be guess work, but one wonders whether Lord Ellesmere did wisely in sending a succession of
bright men from Oxford to the wilds of Pembrokeshire and finally hit upon someone who, with less academic background, proved to be like Edward Provand, a pastor with more staying power. Three of the four university men he appointed are not known in the diocese apart from the few months they spent at Castle-Blythe. The fourth, William Dolben, moved through a succession of appointments, never staying anywhere very long. These four short appointments distort the figure of 71.4 per cent graduates appointed earlier in the period, nearly twice the percentage under Laud (37.5%), the last sixteen years forming a mediate point at 55.5 per cent. The total proportions of university men appointed fluctuated less, at 85.7 per cent, 75 per cent and 77.7 per cent. Except where samples too small to be considered are concerned, these figures for graduates in Cemais show the biggest fluctuations among the appointments in the Stuart period. Taken as a whole, the appointments for Pembrokeshire are remarkably consistent, 57.6 per cent before Laud, rise slightly to 57.8 per cent under him, and thereafter to 69 per cent, while the total number of university men drops slightly from 84.7 per cent in 1603 - 21 to 78.9 per cent under Laud, before rising to 90 per cent at the end of the period. As was noted under Elizabeth * the distribution varies between deaneries at different times, but there is a gradual trend towards overall improvement.

In Cardiganshire, one is at once struck by the unevenness of the appointments which took place. In Subaeron, six took place before Bishop Laud's time, thirteen after it - only two while he was actually bishop; in Uwchaeron, four took place 1603 - 21, three 1621 - 26 and sixteen 1626 - 42. In the Llanddewi Brefi group, two appointments took place before Laud, six under him, and four thereafter. Allowance must be made for the possibility that other appointments were made under Elizabeth and the early part of James' reign which have simply eluded the records, but *prima facie* it looks as if Laud made a policy of regular appointments in parishes where none had been made for some time, and that his successors, Field and Mainwaring, carried on his policy. Thus, under Laud, appointments took place at Bangor and Henllan, Llandogy and Llanfair in the Llanddewi Brefi group, at Gogof and Llanllwchaearn in Subaeron and Caron in Uwchaeron. Under Bishop Field, Llangynillo, in the Llanddewi Brefi group, received an appointment (1630), but under Bishop Mainwaring came a whole spate - Aberporth and Llanwenog in Subaeron, Ciliau-Aeron, Llanrhystud, Nantcwnlle, and Trefeglwys in Uwchaeron - the region which hitherto seems to have been most *supra*, pp.208-9.
neglected. If the supposition is correct, that Laud saw to regular appointments being made where hitherto they had been neglected, it would be in accordance with his general policy in the Church. Several gaps seem to have remained, but it is of some interest that the policy seems to have continued after the fall of Laud - Cardigan and Llanfihangel Ystrad received ministers at the end of the first Civil War (1646 and 1647 respectively), Llannarth and Llandyfriog late in the Interregnum (1656 and 1658). If Trefilan in Uwchaeron is something of a mystery. The last appointment known there in this period is that of Richard Lloyd, some time around 1586. If he had lasted until the Civil War, he would have been there nearly sixty years - not impossible, but not very likely; otherwise an appointment must have taken place there of which there is no record, or after his death or resignation, the parish was left without a regular incumbent, contrary to the general policy in this region.

As in various Pembrokeshire parishes, there was sometimes a rapid turnover of incumbents. Llangoedmor had appointments in 1603, 1608 and 1614. All three appointees were M.A.s. The first two moved on elsewhere, but Henry Jones seems to have remained longer (possibly until the Civil War), though if so, combining it with Mynachlogddu from 1616. Aberporth had no known incumbent until 1637, but then had three incumbents in as many years, and the remarks made above about Cenart might very well apply here too. But in this instance, Eustace Davies (1637) is known to have moved on to Llanrhystud, where again he stayed only a year; his successor, John Davies, moved on after two years to Cregrina. The Radnorshire connection is interesting. Eustace Davies and John Hanley (1640) both came from there, Davies having also, previously, been Rector of Newchurch; John Davies (possibly a relative of Eustace?) moved on there. It is impossible to prove that there was any other connection between them but sheer coincidence seems unlikely.

As to the academic qualities of those appointed, those in Cardiganshire were not markedly different from those in Pembrokeshire - graduates made up 58.3 per cent of those appointed before 1621, 63.6 per cent of those under Laud, but dropping thereafter to 48.4 per cent, while the total (possible) university men rose from 83.33 per cent through a slight drop to 81.8 per cent under Laud, to 93.9 per cent from 1626 to 1642. The bare statistics, however, are less significant than what they conceal - that between 1603 and 1621, it was a case of too few appointments (only twelve
known), but those good men, while at the end of the period, far more men were being appointed to the remoter parishes, a smaller proportion of them graduates, but most of them having studied at the universities. Only seven graduates were appointed 1603-21, the same number in the far shorter period under Laud, but sixteen between 1626 and 1642.

Something of the same pattern is again discernible in Carmarthenshire. Three parishes in Carmarthen deanery received appointments under Laud for the first time, so far as is known, since the accession of Queen Elizabeth - Llanboidy, Llanfallteg, and Meidrim. After his episcopate, a number of other parishes in Llandeilo and Kidwelly deaneries received appointments for the first time known since early in Elizabeth’s reign or even before - Abergwili, Henllan Amgoed, Llanybyther, Llanfihangel and Llanelli. Appointments at others, as in Cardiganshire, are known only at the end of the Civil War or during the Interregnum - St Peter’s, Carmarthen, Llanddowror, Llangyndeyrn, Llanegwad, Llanfihangel-ar-arth and Pembrey. Nothing is known about Llansteffan between 1518 and 1671, while nothing is known at Llanddarog after 1559. At Llandingad, Rice Prichard, appointed in 1602, may have continued until the Civil War. This is probably the famous ‘Vicar Prichard’ (usually Rhys Prichard), author of popular Welsh religious verse, who graduated at Oxford in 1602, but whose career between that date and 1625 is uncertain. Forty years, or just over, would not have been unusual, but if so, this was the longest incumbency in the county under the early Stuarts. With eight appointments before Laud, eight under him, and eighteen thereafter, Carmarthen deanery resembles Cardiganshire; in Llandeilo deanery, eleven appointments 1603-21 and twelve 1626-42 are more even, but only two took place under Laud in the smaller deanery of Kidwelly, two appointments also took place under Laud, both at Llangynnor - Thomas Turner survived there for at most six months February - August 1623, but the reasons are unknown; five appointments are known before Laud’s time, and three afterwards. A higher proportion of appointments took place in Carmarthen deanery - an average of 2.4 per parish, as against 1.4 in Llandeilo and Kidwelly. This is partly explained by the latter two deaneries having more parishes where no appointment is known until the 1620s or 30s, but those appointed seem to have been more settled. Again, there were exceptions. Llanybyther, where appointments took place in 1633, 1637 and 1638, may have been
like Aberporth and Cenarth (supra), but the same had happened at Llandybie in 1616, 1618 and 1619. Unfortunately, the subsequent fortunes of these short-stay parsons are not known; Thomas Price (1619) who remained at Llandybie over twenty years before his ejection by the Puritans also took on Abergwili in 1628, but relinquished it in 1634. The percentage of students and graduates among those appointed followed a trend already seen in Cardiganshire - 62.3 per cent - 66.6 per cent - 45 per cent of the latter, 83.33 per - 100 per cent - 87.8 per cent of the former. The drop in percentages in the last period is offset, as in Cardiganshire, by the larger number of those taking on remote parishes in the county. Those appointed included a number of men of real distinction. Lewis Bayly, later Bishop of Bangor, was Rector of Llanedi (1605); William Nicholson, later Bishop of Gloucester, replaced Archdeacon Rudd at Llandeilo Fawr in 1626, shortly after Laud’s departure - an *alumnus* of Magdalen College, Oxford;¹³⁸ two *alumni* of Laud’s old college, St John’s, were Robert Cooper, Turner’s replacement at Llangynnor, and William Thomas (Laugharne, 1638), later Bishop of St. David’s.¹³⁹

In Gower deanery, three parishes, where no incumbent is known from early Elizabethan times or before, received appointments under Laud or soon after - Llanddewi (1624), Llangynydd (1622) and Reholdston (1626). Edward Vaughan may have continued throughout at Llanrhidian from 1596, but all parishes in the deanery seem to have been provided for in this period. No fewer than six appointments took place at Ilston (1606, 1608, 1615, 1620, 1626). Two of those appointed moved on after two or three years - Maurice Griffin to Llanbedr-Pont-Steffan, William Williams to Walwyn’s Castle, David Dolben (later Bishop of Bangor) and Jenkin Vaughan both had interests elsewhere, but it is good to record that the parish at last found a pastor who stayed some twenty years, and he a D. D. - William Edwards; he was also for a year Vicar of St Mary’s, Swansea (1632 - 33) and from 1640 Rector of Llanmadog. The latter parish had five appointments. These included William Awbrey (1610), William Williams (1614) already noted at Ilston, and Hugh Powell, who may have combined it for a year with Port Eynon. But Edwards’ predecessor, Hugh Vaughan, seems to have held the living for over twenty years (1619 - 40). There was, therefore, a certain amount of shuffling around of incumbencies and, as noted in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, some doubling up. Apart from William Edwards and Hugh
Power, Matthew Bennett combined Oxwich with Cheriton and Nicholaston. Nineteen appointments took place 1603 - 21, nearly double those for 1626 - 42 (ten), while only three took place under Bishop Laud; the frequent changes at Ilston and Llanmadog tend to distort this figure. The small number of appointments under Laud include John Howard, appointed to both Llangynydd and Oxwich in 1622 and which he served for seventeen years. He was one of only two men appointed in this period with no known university background. Nothing further is known about the other - John Gordon (Port Eynon, 1641). Apart from the Laudian period, the proportion of graduates was remarkably constant - 78.9 per cent 1603 - 21, 80 per cent 1626 - 42.

In the four deaneries in Breconshire, there are three parishes where the incumbent may have carried on from the second half of Elizabeth's reign, possibly until the Civil War - Llandefalle (1584), Patrishio (1582) and Llanfihangel Cwm Du (1592) - it is at least likely that they may have carried on until the early Stuart period; but nothing is known of them later. Llangasty Talylyn had no known incumbent after 1536 until an appointment was made in 1633 and another in 1642. Otherwise, appointments are known in all parishes. In Brecon I, eighteen appointments took place in the early part of the Stuart period, three under Bishop Laud, but twenty-seven after his time; it was similar in Brecon II, with five appointments 1603 - 21, three under Bishop Laud and fourteen after his time; in Builth, the figures were four, two and five, and in the three parishes in Hay deanery, two, one and two. There seems no clear reason why incumbents should have stayed a shorter time in the later period. Llywel had a more mobile succession of incumbents throughout, with six appointments between 1603 and the Civil War; three incumbents stayed only four years apiece, one six, but Hugh Hibberd apparently stayed eighteen (1618 - 36). Walter Davies (1604) had previously been Vicar of Brecon (1576) and may have been ageing; Henry Rogers (1608) moved on to Glasbury, but there are no apparent reasons otherwise for this rapid turnover. In the two larger deaneries, if the small samples from Laud's time are excluded, there was an increase, not only in the number of men appointed, but in the proportion of graduates; in Brecon I from 50 per cent to 74 per cent, and in Brecon II from 40 per cent to 50 per cent. All nine men appointed by Laud came from a possible university background. Among those with no known university connections was Thomas Perrott, Vicar of Defynnog (1608 - 17) and later Rector of Llanfihangel Talylyn.
(1631) and Maesmynys (1634) - probably a relative of Sir John Perrott and of John Perrott B.A., Rector of Cathedin (1622). William Awbrey held two livings at various times in the county, Llanfrynach (1617) and Cantref (1626). Other incumbents with the names of George, Lewis and Phillips may have come from the land-owning families. Comment must be made on Alexander Clerk, who was Rector of Talachddu for precisely two days from 11 September 1630, the shortest incumbency known in this period. He had previously been Vicar of Bochrwyd for a year (1629 - 30) and was also benefited in England. Since his successor, Walter Lewis, was appointed on 14 September, he did not exactly leave the parish in the lurch, and things were probably done by mutual arrangement, but his resignation after forty-eight hours is nevertheless extraordinary.

In Elfael, three parishes received incumbents under Bishop Laud where previously none is known - Llanbister, Llangynllo and Whitton, and two others received incumbents not long afterwards under Bishop Field - Llansanffraid-yn-Elfæl and Newchurch. No incumbent is known at Llanbadarn until 1682. At Clyro, Evan Gwyn became vicar in 1594, and may have carried on until the Civil War - no subsequent appointment is known. Otherwise, appointments are known in all parishes, twenty-one between 1603 and 1621, eight under Bishop Laud, and eighteen under his successors - a fairly even turn-over on average. Gladestry had five appointments. Richard Harries (1606) became a prebendary of Brecon, but only in 1612, four years after leaving Gladestry; his successor, David Lloyd, only stayed about six months before moving on elsewhere; little is known about Anthony Price (1608 - 12) except that he was a B.A. of Jesus College, Oxford. Henry Rogers, previously Rector of Llywel, stayed twenty-five years, and Richard Lloyd who succeeded him about nine, until he was ejected by the Puritans. The percentage of graduates among those appointed was not particularly high - 52.3 per cent 1603 - 21, 37.5 per cent under Laud and 44.4 per cent after his time; but it is probably more significant that all those appointed from 1621 onwards had possibly studied at the universities. Edmund (alias Evan) Vaughan was appointed by Laud to Cregrina - a D.D. of Jesus College, Oxford, who had previously served as Rector of Diserth (1610) and Vicar of Nantmel (1613). Another D.D. whom Laud introduced to the diocese, was Richard Bayly, later Dean of Salisbury.
The story of St David's under the early Stuarts (i.e. until the Civil War) can, therefore, be seen to be one of very gradual improvement in which successive bishops all played their part. There was no spectacular increase in the number of graduate clergy. On the other hand, it gradually became less common to appoint men who (apparently) had not studied at all at the universities. Where Bishop Laud's episcopate seems to have marked something of a turning point is the better provision that seems to have taken place for parishes in the remoter parts of the diocese - north Cardiganshire, east Carmarthenshire and Radnor. If this is correct, other factors must have been involved - availability of endowments, due responsibility by patrons, more men coming from the universities; but gentle encouragement from the bishop was probably necessary to achieve results.

The characteristics of the Welsh clergy noted in this chapter, and the differences between parts of Wales, fall into clearer perspective when compared to dioceses in England. There was a great increase in the number of graduate ordinands coming forward by the early seventeenth century. The whole Church of England benefited from this increase, as it made it possible to come nearer to the Reformed ideal of a learned clergy; but some dioceses benefited more than others. Ely and Oxford had always had the advantage that the universities were situated in them. London had the advantages of the metropolis, and in 1600 - 06, the roll of ordinands comprised eight-two graduates and twelve university students. Lichfield a few years later (1614 - 32) had an intake of eighty per cent graduate or student ordinands. Gloucester between 1609 and 1621 had only sixty-four and a half per cent. In Chester, the figure was more fluctuating.
Social and Geographical Origins of the Parochial Clergy

Of the 350 incumbents in St Asaph diocese (apart, that is, from those who attained higher office), the social background is known for 68. Of these, 22 came from gentry families (32%) - a figure which confirms that the landowning families were identifying themselves with the reformed Church at parochial level. Incumbents included three members of the Holland family, of Flintshire, along with familiar names such as Bulkeley, Myddleton and Thelwall. 60 of the sample group were clergymen’s sons (23.5%). The greater number of those who can be identified were entered at Oxford as plebeians, one (David Meredith, Rector of Nantglyn) as ‘scholaris pauperior’. If the 29 plebeians in the sample group (42.6%) are representative of the group as a whole, it suggests that the rank and file of the St Asaph clergy came from the middle classes, rural and urban.

The geographical origin of 78 of the clergy is known with reasonable confidence. 50 came from the Welsh counties of the diocese (64%); the inclusion of five from Shropshire would bring the proportion up to 70.5%. A further eight came from Caernarfonshire and Anglesey (10.25%), three from the Marches (two of them from Chester) and one from Staffordshire. Some 80% of the clergy, therefore, whose origins are known, were reasonably local. Five more came from South Wales, and one was entered at Oxford simply as ‘from Wales’. Five only are known to have come from further afield in England, one each from Yorkshire, Cumberland, Dorset and Kent; the one remaining, John Meredith, was a clergyman’s son from Berkshire, very likely a Welshman’s son.

Only 31 of the incumbents had English-sounding patronymics (8.8%) - a figure which excludes those with names used by Welsh gentry (e.g. Thelwall) and names suggesting Welsh origins (e.g. Conway and Tanat). 13 of those with English patronymics held livings in Shropshire, leaving only 18 (5%) appointed to livings in Wales.

46 of the incumbents in St Asaph had the distinctive Welsh ‘ap’ form of surname. This figure (13%) is less significant in itself than that all the persons concerned were appointed before 1600, all but five before 1580, twelve before the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Use of the form was clearly on the decline among clergy in this diocese.
Some students seem to have adopted a more English form (e.g. Jones for ap John) on going up to university, others to have followed the growing fashion among the gentry.

In Bangor diocese, the social origin of 57 of the 283 parochial clergy is known or may be surmised. Sons of the gentry form the largest group - 49%, as against 35% plebeians. The difference with St Asaph should not be over-emphasised. It is indeed possible that more clergymen in North-West Wales were sons of the gentry, but that in turn may be because more landowners, particularly in Caernarfonshire, chose to regard themselves as gentry. Again, more younger sons and cadets from the area may have chosen to enter themselves at Oxford as gentry. But the Bangor clergy include Richard Wynne, of Caernarfonshire; he may have been related to the Wynnes of Gwydir, but he chose nevertheless to enter himself at Oxford as a plebeian. 12.3% of the Bangor clergy in the sample group were sons of clergymen - little more than half the proportion in St Asaph. Two of the Bangor clergy entered Oxford as poor scholars.

Of the 64 Bangor clergy whose place of origin is known, 81.25% came from four of the five counties in the diocese - none is known from Montgomeryshire. 85.9% altogether came from North Wales (three from Flintshire), 93.75% from Wales as a whole. One came from Shropshire, with the Welsh patronymic Vaughan, one each from Essex, Wiltshire and Scotland.

19 of the clergy not known to have come from Wales had English-sounding surnames (6.7%). But more families in, for instance, Anglesey, seem to have adopted English surnames (e.g. White for Wynn/Gwyn), and it is not possible to be sure how many of the 19 were really of English origin, at least in the recent past. Only 13 of the Bangor clergy used the 'ap' form of surname (4.5%), less than a third as many as in St Asaph.

In the diocese of Llandaff, the social background of 89 out of the 401 incumbents is known or may be surmised. Plebeians account for 35 of these (39.3%), the sons of the gentry 34 (38%); 19 (21.3%) were clergymen's sons, one (Playford Field) the son of Bishop Field. The sons of gentry should, perhaps, be a few more: Thomas Bassett was entered at Oxford as the son of Rev. William Bassett, but the family was probably a cadet branch of the Bassetts of Beaupré. Charles Herbert was also entered as a plebeian, but it is likely that he came from one of the branches of the Herbert
family, in this case, one resident in Breconshire. More sons of the gentry are found in Llandaff deanery (i.e. East Glamorgan) than elsewhere. Whether proximity to Cardiff, or the compact nature of many of the parishes in the deanery, proved an attraction, can only be surmised.

101 of Llandaff clergy, or just over a quarter, can be plausibly identified as to county of origin. 54 (53.4%) came from the two counties which made up the diocese, 24 from Glamorgan and 30 from Monmouth. Seven came from elsewhere in South or Central Wales, and a further seven from North Wales. A number came from nearby counties in England - eight from Herefordshire, five from Gloucestershire (both bordering the diocese), two from Shropshire, two from Somerset and one from Bristol. 85% of those clergy known came from Wales and the Marches. At least some of those known to have come from further afield seem to have had some connection with Wales. Oliver Robotham (Buckinghamshire) was probably related to Archdeacon Robotham; John Matthew (Wiltshire) was appointed to one of the Pembroke livings; Richard Stradling (Somerset) was probably a relative of the Stradlings of St Donat’s, though he was entered at Oxford as a plebeian. It is noteworthy that though many of the livings in the diocese were poor, Llandaff attracted men not only from the prosperous local families, but from the whole of Wales and even the South of England.

76 of the Llandaff clergy (nearly 19%) have English-sounding surnames. A greater depth of English settlement, however, had taken place in South-East Wales than in the North, and a number of the 76 in question may well have been native to the diocese. Others may have been sons of clergymen. Richard Nicholas of Llandow, for instance, may have been the son of his predecessor; Thomas Wilkins of Llandyfodwg (1614) may have been the son or grandson of William Wilkin (sic) of Porthkerry (1560). Three contemporary clergymen with the name of Graunt suggest a local connection. But the dozen or so clergymen with English surnames in South-East Monmouth must have included some from across the border. Only seven of the Llandaff clergymen (1.74%) had the 'ap' patronymic; only one (Roger ap Philip) was appointed later than the 1560s; two used as alternatives the Anglicised forms Jenkins and Jones. A greater degree of adoption of English usage in this respect in South-East Wales is hardly surprising.
In St David's diocese, it is meaningful to treat Pembrokeshire, with its many small parishes, apart from the rest of the diocese. Of 48 clergymen in Pembrokeshire whose social origin may be surmised, 13 were sons of the gentry (27%). The proportion should probably be slightly higher: Edward Phillipps and William Dolben, though entering themselves at Oxford as plebeians, were probably from gentry families. Twelve of the Pembrokeshire clergy (25%) were following in their fathers' footsteps, 22 (including Phillipps and Dolben) described themselves as plebeians (45.8%). These percentages compare with 23.3% gentry, 20% sons of clergy and 51% plebeians in the rest of the diocese - in this respect, the differences were not very marked. Other social categories manifest themselves in Pembrokeshire. William Beech (Monkton St Nicholas) described himself at Oxford as the son of a yeoman; he came from Hampshire, where such a status was perhaps more clearly defined than in Wales. Nathaniel Craddock (Eglwys Gymyn), William Yorke (Llandawke Pendine) and Samuel Johnson (Henllan Amgoed) all described themselves as sons of merchants - the latter two, of London merchants. Nathaniel Craddock may have been related to Walter Cradock* of Cardiff.

Among the Pembrokeshire clergymen, 28 of the 50 whose county of origin is known (56%) came from the six counties in the diocese (including for these purposes Glamorgan, though only Gower lay within St David's). A further eight came from elsewhere in Wales - all but one of them (David Powell, Mathry) from North or Central Wales. If a further four are added from the Marches, 80% of those in Pembrokeshire whose origins are known were local. In the rest of the diocese, 31 of the 63 clergy of known origin (49%) were from within the diocese, 44 (70%) from Wales as a whole, and 49 (77.7%) from Wales and the Marches - figures only slightly below those for Pembrokeshire. Recruitment was, in fact, even more local than these figures suggest. 15 of 19 clergymen originating in Pembrokeshire (nearly 79%) took livings in the county, similarly 13 out of 14 (nearly 93%) in Brecon and Radnor. 6 clergymen from Montgomeryshire took livings in the diocese, though only the parishes of Kerry and Mochdre lay within it; perhaps Brecon was nearer for parts of that county than St Asaph or Bangor. A number of clergymen known to have originated in England also found their way to livings in St David's - 12 in Pembrokeshire (25%) and 14 (22.2%) in the rest of the diocese. Nor was it only to the more Anglicised parts of

* supra, p. 76.
the diocese that they went, such as the deaneries of Pembroke and Roose. In the twenty or so years before the Civil War, they are to be found in Carmarthenshire, William Nicholson (Llandeilo Fawr) prominent among them. The influence of William Laud may well have been at work here.* The Englishmen in question came from widely over the southern and midland counties, Christopher Middleton\textsuperscript{156} of Cheshire the most northerly by origin.

A sharper contrast between Pembrokeshire and the rest of the diocese lies in the use of English patronymics. Of 301 incumbents in Pembrokeshire, 85 had English surnames (28.23%); in the rest of the diocese, 58 out of 384 (15%) had. English settlement in Pembrokeshire is, no doubt, part of the explanation. As in Llandaff, possible family connections suggest themselves: between Nathaniel Craddock of Cambridgeshire (Eglwys-Gymyn, 1622) and Matthew Craddock (Hasguard, 1581), and between Henry Riley (Penally, 1600) and John Reiley (sic - Manorbier, 1591).\textsuperscript{157} Five out of six incumbents of Hasguard in this period had English-sounding surnames, four out of five at St Mary's, Haverfordwest, which suggests a degree of Anglicisation in those parts. 14 of the Pembrokeshire clergymen used the `ap' form of surname (4.6%), four of these appointed before the accession of Queen Elizabeth. 25 in the rest of the diocese (6.5%) used the `ap' form, 14 appointed before 1558. Only three incumbents appointed after 1580 used the `ap' form. Two of these were in Pembrokeshire, one of them the distinguished historian, George ap Owen Harry (Lianfihangel Penbedw, 1594) who perhaps kept it for antiquarian reasons. Two others had already adopted an alternative - David ap Lewis alias James (Llandyfalle, 1584) and Maurice ap John alias Jones (Maesmynys, 1560). The usage was clearly on the decline in St David's as elsewhere in Wales, but it is only one of the better-educated sections of the community which is being considered here. A study of parish registers might reveal how far this was reflected more widely in society.

**Pluralism**

Pluralism was considered to be one of the great problems of the Church, not only in the Age of the Reformation, but both before and after it. In this section, an attempt will be made to ascertain both the extent of pluralism in Wales and how serious a problem it constituted. Uncertainty as to when incumbents gave up their livings...
makes any conclusions tentative. 'Pluralism' for these purposes means the holding of two or more benefices with cure of souls. Pluralism by individual bishops has already been discussed. The holding of a cathedral prebend, or a sinecure, simultaneously with a single cure of souls is not, for these purposes, counted as pluralism.

At least 42 of the St Asaph parochial clergy were pluralists (12%). In Bangor, 45 were (nearly 16%), in Llandaff 59 (14.6%). In Pembrokeshire, 76 incumbents were pluralists (25%), in the rest of the diocese 49 (12.5%). Pembrokeshire, therefore, had a much higher incidence than the rest of Wales. This reflects the large number of small, poorly paid parishes in the county which were really unviable. Lack of information about many parishes in Uwchaeron Deanery and Carmarthenshire makes the situation there very uncertain.

The actual number of pluralities, however, is less meaningful than the situation of the parishes in question and the consequent effects on the ministry of the incumbent. Over Wales as a whole, including Pembrokeshire, pluralities of two parishes within ten miles of each other fall within a range of 38% in St Asaph to 52.5% in Llandaff. Here, it should have been possible for the incumbent to take a service in both parishes each Sunday (though that is not to say that he actually did so). At the other extreme were parishes over 20 miles apart, even up to 60 miles within the same diocese, which were in different dioceses in Wales or the Marches, or where one parish was more distant in England. In such cases, the incumbent had to divide his time between the parishes, or more likely, reside in one and entrust the other to a curate. There is little or no evidence in Wales as to what actual arrangement was made. Pluralities in this 'distant' bracket range from 28% in St Asaph to 37.7% in Bangor - a surprisingly high total for a diocese where pastoral care was on the whole good. Pembrokeshire, at 31%, falls within this bracket. In the rest of St David's, the proportion was only 22.4%. There remains a middle bracket of pluralities between eleven and twenty miles apart; where the incumbent would have found it difficult, but not necessarily impossible, to minister in both every Sunday. In St Asaph, 19% of pluralities fall within this bracket, in Bangor 11%, in Llandaff 22%, in Pembrokeshire 23%, and in the rest of St David's 20% - a remarkable consistency across Wales, with Bangor in this instance having a much lower proportion.
In a few instances, an incumbent is known to have held more than two parishes in plurality, in most cases, parishes close together. Hugh Robinson for a time held Caerhun, Llangelynnin and Trefriw, in the Conwy Valley; Thomas Williams in Llandaff apparently held Llanhari, Llantrithyd and Porthkerry, parishes only about five to seven miles apart. Such distances would have been manageable, but of course, the minister would have had to divide his time three ways between the parishes.

A few incumbents held a whole succession of pluralities. Griffith Hughes was Rector of Penmorfa in Caernarfonshire from 1603, possibly until 1613. This he combined for a year (1603 - 4) with Efenechtyd, in Dyffryn Clwyd, about 40 miles away. In 1611, he became Rector of Llangynhafal, also in Dyffryn Clwyd, apparently combining this with Llanrhuddlad, in Anglesey, in 1616. The dates when he gave up parishes are uncertain, so that it is possible that, apart from Penmorfa and Efenechtyd, Hughes had a succession of parishes rather than a complex plurality. His brief tenure of Efenechtyd is by no means unique. It is possible that in some instances, men were given a plurality for a short time as an alternative to having a long interregnum.

Pluralities in Wales (as elsewhere), therefore, represent a variety of practical realities. For Thomas Yale to combine Llantrisant, in Anglesey, where he was non-resident, with responsibilities in London, or for Henry Bodwrda to have livings in Merioneth and Norfolk, is difficult to justify by any criterion. Doubling up of small parishes, combining a richer with a poorer, or a larger with a smaller, might be termed 'pastoral re-organisation', something which, under Oliver Cromwell, was attempted on a grand scale.

A large majority of those who held pluralities had been to university - 78.5% in St Asaph, 84.4% in Bangor, 79.6% in Llandaff, 79% in St David's; again, a remarkable degree of consistency across the Principality. Not all, however, met the desired requirement of a Master's degree. On the one hand, it bears out Bishop Meyrick's warning* - that university men would expect more than one benefice to make it worth their while to settle in Wales. Not all pluralists in Wales were university-trained; not all those, even with a Master's degree, were pluralists. Those who held university degrees and contented themselves with a single parish, possibly in the 'wilds' of Wales, *supra, p.153; et vide, n.54.
are those most worthy of praise - provided that they proved in practice to be conscientious pastors.
Notes

2. ibid.
3. ibid.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. ibid., p.242. There were 77 vacancies in the archdeaconries of Lincoln and Stow in 1585. Lincolnshire had a plethora of small parishes, many of which carried poor remuneration.
8. Christophers, The Surrey Clergy (supra), pp.49, 140. The number of pluralists in Surrey had dropped to eleven by 1581. - ibid., p.135
10. ibid.
11. ibid., p.147.
12. op.cit.p.554
14. As has been seen, Bishop Bayly of Bangor was accused of not being scrupulous in whom he ordained, whereas Laud at St David's was discriminating even when ordinands remained scarce. supra, pp.69,80.
16. Owen, The London parish clergy (supra) p.23, notes that some of the most stubborn opposition among the London clergy in the vestiarist controversy came from those of ‘low’ social origin, many of whose fathers had been unable to afford to send them to university. Daily attendance at Morning and Evening Prayer in the college chapel attired in a surplice was designed to inculcate conformist habits among Oxbridge students.
17. These figures are quoted from Christophers, op.cit., p.57.
19. Hajzyk, op.cit., p.174. The archdeaconry of Leicester tended to be one part of the diocese which was better served. O'Day, op.cit., p.252, similarly notes that the Coventry area was the best served part of that diocese, with 24% graduate clergy in 1602 - 3.
20. Hajzyk, op.cit., p.175.
21. Christophers, op.cit., p.57 - 3,804 graduates in 9,244 parishes.
23. Sons of the gentry often attended university for a year or so, then migrated to the Inns of Court to study law. - W.P.Griffith, Learning, Law and Religion (supra), p.47. More plebeians from Wales graduated than sons of gentry.

25. At most, 6.79%, well below the national average - *vide supra*, p.


27. 9.1% of those 120 parishes, again below the national average. The problem particularly in Llandaff, is whether or how to include the parishes served by curates, for which little information is available.


29. For the dissolution of the monasteries in Wales, see David Williams, *History of Modern Wales* (London, 1982), pp. 55 - 8, Glanmor Williams, *Religion, Language and Nationality in Wales* (Cardiff, 1979), pp. 68 - 70. Note O'Day *op. cit.*, p.247: In some cases a patron would prefer to allow an unordained man (? reader) to serve for a small stipend than to present a duly qualified minister who would be entitled to the living's endowment.' It can only be speculated how far this situation may have existed in St David's and Llandaff. With the shortage of clergy, and poor remuneration in many parishes, patrons may have found it impossible to find any clergymen to fill some livings.

30. See St David's Parochial Clergy list *ad loc*.


32. Browne Willis, *St Asaph*, p.164.

33. Browne Willis, *Landaff* pp. 196 - 211.

34. Browne Willis, *Bangor*, pp.262 - 68.

35. PP IV, p.228.


37. Gruffyth Thomas (Cilcain), William ap Ieuan (Halkyn) Hugh ap Day (Holywell), Rees ap Thomas Wynne (Nannerch) and Rhys ap Ieuan (Tremeirchion) - though the date of the latter's termination between 1582 and 1585 is uncertain.

38. John ap Ellis (Kegidog), Ellis Prichard (Llanddoget), John Price (Llanddulas), John Lewis (Llanefydd), Jeffrey Kyffin (Llanrwst), Fulk Price (Llansannan), and Thomas ap Rhys Goch (Llansanffraid-Glan-Conwy).


40. Nicholas Kenyon (Knockin), John Price (Whittington), and Rice Roberts (Chirk), though the date of the latter's termination is uncertain.

41. William ap Owen Goch (Garthbeibio), Thomas Salusbury (Llanfair Caereinion), and Thomas Richards (Llanfihangel-yn-Ngwynfa).

42. Thomas Lloyd (Cemais), Griffith Davies (Llanbrynmaur), Robert ap Medd (Machynlleth), and Roger Cotton (Penegoes).

44. If so, St Asaph bucked the national trend. *Vide supra.* p. *et infra* p.

45. George Smith (Cwm), Robert Lloyd (Halkyn), Evan Morgan (Llanasa), William Vaughan (Rhuddlan), Thomas Kyffin (Whitford) and Peter Williams (Ysceifiog).

46. *AO.*

47. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* Whittington was reckoned at £25. 4s. 2d., Llansanffraid at £14. 6s. 8d.

48. *AO.*

49. David Ellis and Edward Kyffin (Caerwys), Simon Mostyn (Cwm), Robert Lloyd (Halkyn), Evan Morgan (Llanasa), John Kyffin (Rhuddlan), Richard Evans (Tremeirchion); as will be seen from the parochial lists, several of these held more than one appointment in the deanery.

50. DRT III, p.62.

51. *AO.*

52. St Asaph was probably exceptional, perhaps largely due to virtually the whole patronage of the diocese being in the hands of the bishop. Christophers, *op. cit.**, pp.202 - 4, notes that in Surrey, only clergymen appointed by the Crown tended to move, the rest to stay put.

53. Tanner MS. 179/f. 74v.

54. Christophers, *op. cit.,* p.63, remarks of the Surrey clergy that a graduate profession produced plurality-seekers, not necessarily good pastors.

55. According to Walker, II, p.239, Evans was ejected from Llanasa (presumably as a pluralist) and was deprived of his prebend of Meifod.

56. Thomas Lloyd’s appointment is also given as 1640 in *AC.*

57. Croombe Court Collection 910/477.

58. *AO.*

59. e.g. John Smith, Archdeacon of Llandaff, *supra* p. 102.

60. Griffith, *op. cit.,* p.2, attributes the low number of Welsh students at Oxford in the 1540s and ‘50s to the religious changes.

61. He was the son of William Williams of Cochwillan, near Bangor. *AC.*

62. Lans. MS.443/299. Christophers, *op. cit.,* p.184, notes that Lord Chancellors sometimes appointed a candidate to more than one parish, and left him to take his choice. Vaughan had been appointed to Chipping Ongar the previous year.

63. *AO.*

64. David Jones was a distinguished translator and collector of manuscripts, *DWB* (under Johns, Davie, p.442).

65. Prys had at least three successive curates. *AIP* pp.65, 70, 73.

66. The *Cambrian Tourist* (London 1830), published soon after the opening of Telford’s suspension bridge, lists ferries at (from South to North) Abermenai,
Caernarfon, Tal y foel, Moel y don, Porthaethwy (now, in English, Menai Bridge, Garth and Aber-Beauumaris,) pp. 202 - 3.

67. q.v. as Sinecure Rector of Ysceifiog, St Asaph No.30. He was the son of Peter Mostyn of Talacre. AO.

68. AIP, p.28.

69. Griffith, op.cit., p.5, notes a general increase of Welsh students at Oxford under Queen Elizabeth, but something of a hiatus in the 1590s.

70. q.v. as Sinecure Rector of Northop, etc., St Asaph No.22.

71. AO.

72. Tanner MS, 179/f. 185. (for William Benion). For Griffin Williams, AO. See n.62, supra.

73. AO.

74. q.v. as Cursal Prebendary of St Asaph, Cathedral Clergy No.69.

75. St Asaph Cathedral Clergy No.48

76. According to VE, Llandidloes was worth £4. 3s. 0d. p.a. Llangurig £9. 10s. 0d.

77. LI IV, p. 189.

78. AIP, p.45 (two refs. November and December).

79. AO.


81. Glamor Williams in Glamorgan County History, Vol.IV (Cardiff, 1974), pp. 228 - 29, has indicated the extent of impropriate livings in Llandaff diocese, and notes that patrons exacted simoniacl payment from candidates. See also no.29, supra.

82. Harleian MS.595, ff.11 - 17 v.

83. Cogan is assessed at £3. 8s. 4d. and Llandough at £5. 0s. 0d. in VE.

84. AC.

85. Harleian MS. 959, f.14

86. Assuming his surname to mean literally 'son of Lewis'.

87. Shiels, Puritans in the Diocese of Peterborough (supra), p.92, remarks, 'The first generation of Elizabethan bishops may not have been able to find learned men for the parishes, but they were beginning to set higher standards for those men they did find.'

88. q.v. Le Neve, Fasti, as Archdeacon of Llandaff. For his will, see Glamorgan County History IV, p.227, and for comment, infra p.325.

89. JAB 1/2, p.208. More precisely, he was a cousin of William Blethin of Shirenewton, who was himself a cousin of the Bishop.

90. This assumes that Craddock Sherry continued until near the time when his successor, William Erbury, was appointed. A vacancy in so important a parish is
unlikely. Replacements for Edward Prichard took place at both Llantrithyd and Marcross in 1639, which suggests that he had recently retired or died.

91. On patronage in Llandaff diocese, vide infra, pp. 257-61. See also n. 52.

92. *AO*.


94. St David’s Cathedral Clergy No.24.

95. JAB III/2, p.269.

96. JAB II/2, p.228; III/1, p.109.

97. *AO*.

98. *AO*.


100. It was assessed at £5. Os. 6d in *VE*.

101. *AO*.

102. Among the Vicars of Llandysul, Montgomeryshire, were Evan Thomas, who originated from Brecon, and Thomas Thompson, formerly Rector of Montgomery, in Hereford diocese. See St Asaph Parochial Clergy list Nos 286 and 287.


104. Richard Merdity (Burton), John Watkins (Hubberston), Randolph Mainwaring (Johnston), Richard Huet and William Griffiths (Llanstadwell), Thomas Lloyd (St Bride’s), Henry Goddard (Talbenny) and Richard Edwards (Walton West).

105. John Butler (Angle and Castle Martin), Lewis Thomas (Crinow), William Constantine (Gumfreston), Walter Jones (Hodgeston), John Jones (Monkton St Nicholas), Lewis Williams (Narbeth) and Richard Meredith (Rhoscrowther). Note also William Davies, appointed to Lawrenny in 1559.

106. John Gwynne (Jordanston) and Thomas Powell (Letterston). Note also William Davies, at Llandeloy from 1557.

107. David Evans (Cellan and Llanbedr Pont Steffan), Philip Jones (Llandoedmor), John Awbrey and John Williams (Penbryn - Awbrey from 1559).

108. *AC*.

109. The other is Llanddewi. See St David’s Parochial Clergy List before No. 650.

110. In neither case are they adjacent, but Bishopston is about seven miles from Cheriton, Reynoldston only about half that distance from Rhosili.

111. Henry Holland (*supra*), Lewis Williams (Ilston) and Richard Harries (Oxwich).

112. Vaynor (1586) and Talachddu (1602); Llandyfaelog Tre’r Graig (1620), Llanfihangel (1610 - the identification is uncertain) and Llanfrynach (1617).

113. *AO*. 
114. Lewis Gwynn (Llandyfaelog Fach) and Richard Meredith (Llanafan Fawr) were prebendaries of St David's, Lewis Thomas (Cantref) and Maurice Jones (Llanynys) were prebendaries of Brecon. Note also Thomas Hyde, Vicar of Brecon, who was Chancellor of Salisbury.

115. *AO*.

116. Beguildy (1605), Cefnllys (1589), Llanbadarn-Fynydd (1611), Llanbister (1623), Llandegley (1619), Llangynillyo (1625), Llansanffraid Cwmdeuddwr (1611), Llows (1624), Newchurch (1628), St Harmon (incumbent deprived 1593) and Whitton (1623).


118. In Pebidiog, Richard Phillips (Brawdy) was a prebendary of Brecon; in Pembroke, Richard Middleton, (Pwllcrochan) and in Roose Thomas Lloyd (Nolton) were both prebendaries of St David's.

119. PP IV. p.243

120. PP II, p.284. Barratt, *op. cit.*, p.405, notes that Oxbridge Colleges usually appointed graduates to their livings, even in the 16th Century when such candidates were in short supply.


123. *AC*.

124. Loughor is about ten miles from Oxwich, Rhosili about fifteen from Swansea.

125. Richard Meredith was still at Llanafan Fawr and Lewis Thomas at Cantref. New appointments were Richard Harries and Richard Middleton (Llandyfaelog Fach), Richard Turberville (Llanfeugan), and Bartholomew Carter (Maesmynys).

126. The two parishes are some ten miles or more apart.

127. *AO*.

128. Richard Middleton (Bosherston), Lewis Lewis (Cosheston) and Henry Griffith (Gumfreston) were prebendaries of St David's; Hugh Lloyd (Marteltwy) was a prebendary of Brecon.

129. For Sherborne, Davenant and Hawkins, *AO*.

130. He graduated B.A. from St Mary Hall, Oxford, in 1600 when he would probably have been just over 20. *AO*.

131. Q.v. as Prebendary of St Dubritius, Llandaff Cathedral Clergy No.45.


133. E334/14/85.

134. Walker, *op. cit.*, II. p.239.


136. For both Eustace Davies and John Hanley, see *AO*,.
137. For Carmarthen, Llangendeyrn, Llanegwad and Llanfihangel-ar-arth, see Richards, *op. cit.*, p.21.

**138. DNB.**

139. For Robert Cooper and William Thomas, see *AO*.

140. Oxwich is about four miles from Cheriton, but adjacent to Nicholaston.

141. About five miles apart.

142. If he is the one of this name who graduated at Oxford in 1542, he is likely to have been about 80.

143. *LI IV*, p.46. Both Clerk and his successor were appointed by Edward Lewis, Gent. *(ibid.*) so that this was not a case of a disputed right of patronage.

**144. AC.**

145. *LI IV*, p.46.

146. *AC, AO*.


148. *ibid.,* pp. 50 - 54.

149. *ibid.,* p.136.

150. *ibid.*

151. *ibid.*

152. Thomas Harding, of Wiltshire, was appointed to Llangurig in 1629. There is a possibility that he was recommended by George Herbert, Comportioner of the neighbouring parish of Llandinam, who moved to Fugglestone and Bemerton the same year.

**153. AO.**

154. *ibid.*

155. The Earl of Pembroke's principal seat was at Wilton House, near Salisbury.

156. Possibly a relative of the Myddletons of Chirk.

157. A father-son relationship seems less likely in this instance than one of uncle-nephew or two cousins.

158. *LP MS.915/14* (Parliamentary Survey of Pembrokeshire, 2 October 1650) contains proposals for drastic re-organisation of the parishes in the county.

159. The Canons of 1571 specified that two benefices held in plurality were to be not more than 26 miles apart (extended to 30 miles by the Canons of 1604). Christophers, *op.cit.*, p.126. Such were the problems of travel in many parts of Wales that a shorter distance would have been more realistic there.

160. Individual cases need to be treated on their merits. Humphrey Penrhyn was simultaneously incumbent of Welshpool (St Asaph) and Hordley (Lichfield and Coventry), but these two parishes, though in different dioceses, were only some seven miles apart. The Kynaston family, who were patrons of Hordley, also had influence in the St Asaph diocese.
161. Yale is spoken of in Bishop Meyrick's return rather vaguely as 'remaining at churches in London.' He was a legal doctor, and was probably engaged on legal business in London - if on behalf of the Diocese of Bangor, his benefice was probably *en lieu* of services rendered.

162. Barrett, *op. cit.*, p.138 states that after 1583, almost all pluralists in the dioceses of Oxford and Worcester were, in accordance with the Canons of 1571, Masters of Arts. O'Day, *Clerical Patronage (supra)*, p.287, says that between 1580 and 1620, pluralism in the Diocese of Lichfield and Coventry was rare, and usually involved neighbouring parishes. The Welsh dioceses seem not to have had so good a record.
APPENDIX TO THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY

THE LLANLLYFNI PAPERS

Reference has already been made to the virtual total absence of visitation returns in Wales in this period.* There is, however, something of an exception from the Diocese of Bangor: a collection known as the Llanllyfni Papers. These are a transcription of a piecemeal and damaged collection of documents discovered at Llanllyfni Rectory in the last century, and published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, Vol.9 (1863). Not being quite original source material, their contents have to be treated with caution, but there is no reason to doubt that they are a faithful rendering of the originals.

The bulk of the papers are records from two visitations, respectively c.1560 (i.e. early in Bishop Meyrick’s episcopate) and July 1623 (half way through that of Bishop Bayly). Those from c.1560 are from eight parishes in Dyffryn Clwyd.1 The interrogalia indicate Bishop Meyrick’s main concerns in the aftermath of Queen Elizabeth’s settlement:

1. Whether ministers have preached according to the Queen’s injunctions;
2. Whether they have the New Testament in English and Latin, and Erasmus’ Paraphrases;
3. How many chapters of the New Testament in English and Latin they have canned (i.e. learned by heart);
4. How many be resident and keep house; where the absent reside;
5. How many be concubinaries, and how many notoriously (i.e. openly) married;
6. Whether parsons and vicars serve their cure or else have curates.

Six of the eight incumbents returned that they read the homilies. John Edwards of Llanynys was licensed to preach. and did so quarterly. Geoffrey John (alias Griffith Jones) of Clocaenog did not possess the homilies, ‘but declareth God’s word to his knowledge sincerely’ - an indication of informal, and probably unlicensed, preaching which may well have been widespread at that time.

All eight had the New Testament in English and Latin and the Paraphrases, and all dutifully ‘canned’ chapters of the New Testament,2 as Archbishop Parker directed. Post-Ordination Training for non-graduates (and B.As.) was clearly in practice in this deanery.

* supra, p.1.

*
All eight incumbents were resident and kept hospitality. Four were married; four stayed single; none kept a concubine. The four married men had, presumably, formed or regularised unions soon after Queen Elizabeth's accession, or else, if they had married under Edward VI, they must have kept quiet about their wives under Queen Mary. All eight served their cure; John Edwards had the assistance of Robert of Madoc at Gyffylliog Chapelry; Hugh Davies of Llanrhaeadr had the assistance of George Smythe as curate. The latter is probably the same George Smith, who was to have a distinguished career in the dioceses of Bangor and St Asaph. He is recorded in the Papers as 'Sir', but he took his B.C.L. degree at Oxford as late as 1567, and 'Sir' (the title for non-graduate clergy, often for B.As. also) would have been correct for him in 1560 - 1.

The reports from these parishes might well be summed up omnia bene. It has to be remembered, however, that they represent less than an eighth of the whole of the diocese, and that Dyffryn Clwyd was, relatively, one of its most prosperous and well-served deaneries.

The returns from the 1623 visitation are more extensive, covering 35 parishes and chapelries. The returns from four others are recorded as 'destroyed by mice'. In this record, there are no returns from Dyffryn Clwyd, and only one from Arwystli - Llandinam, incorrectly recorded as Llanwnog. But the survey covers something like half the parishes in the diocese, and gives a fairly full picture of Anglesey, Caernarfonshire and Merioneth. It is particularly useful in providing information on seven chapelries and five parishes normally served by curates, where details otherwise are particularly sparse. It also provides the names of (possibly) 14 curates, who will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Two chapelries (Penmon and Llangwyfan) and six parishes (Llanddyfnan, Llangwylog, Dolwyddelan, Llanengan, Llanbeblig and Llandinam) recorded no sermons preached - Penmon, not for five or six years. At a further eight, sermons were preached less than the obligatory once a quarter, though half of these had three sermons a year. John Cadwaladr at Llanfairpwllgwyngyll had preached two sermons in twelve months - 'whether he be licensed or no, they know not'. At Pennal (a chapelry of Towyn), 'They seldom have sermons'. If these figures are representative, nearly 23% of
parishes and chapelries were without sermons, and as many had less than their quota. Llanddeusant and Llannechid (both with three sermons) were served by curates; but their incumbents were, respectively, Bishop Bayly himself and Griffin Williams, later Dean of Bangor and Bishop of Ossory, both Doctors of Divinity. There was no provision for sermons at Llandinam, despite its having two comportioners and a vicar. Llanengan, also served by a curate, was without sermons; the rector was Edmund Griffith, then Dean, and subsequently Bishop, of Bangor - another Doctor of Divinity.

Ten returns (i.e. 28.5%) reported that services on Wednesdays and Fridays were held only during Lent. Perhaps the neglect in so many parishes is less significant than that attention was being paid to week-day services in many others; the season of Lent also was clearly being observed. At Dwygyfylchi, Holy Communion had not been administered the previous Easter, a serious omission, but it is not stated whether the vicar had been unwell and unable to find a stand-in, or merely neglectful. It seems more serious that the Curate of Llanengan did not administer Holy Communion to the sick, or baptise sick children - both sensitive areas of the pastoral ministry. At Llanengan and Aberdaron, the dead were left unburied - for how long is not clear; it may be that the minister was not complying with the Welsh custom of burial within a day of death. At Trawsfynydd, 'It is usual to lay down dead corpses at cross-roads, and to say a prayer or two' - an example of surviving 'folk religion' despite efforts of reforming bishops to suppress such 'superstitious' prayers for the departed.

Proper care of the churchyard was a matter of concern; at Llaneugrad, the vicar kept animals (probably sheep) in it; at Llanllechid, the rector's horses defiled it - neither incumbent cleared up the mess. The Vicar of Dwygyfylchi made hay, threshed corn and kept bees in the churchyard.

John Edwards, Curate of Llanddeusant, was presented for failing to read the service in due time, failing to read the homilies, not keeping the parish registers, omitting the Venite from Morning Prayer, neglecting the Rogationtide procession, haunting alehouses, getting drunk and quarrelling with the parishioners. This was the chief case of scandal in the returns, all the more reprehensible since Edwards was the Bishop's curate. Griffith Piers, Vicar of Aberdaron, was suspected of being drunk in
service time. One scandalous minister and one suspect in 35 parishes (5.5%) is scarcely remarkable by the standards of the time. Equally reprehensible in modern eyes (probably) was failure at Llanfechell and Llandecwyn to make provision for the poor.

The worst neglect in these records took place at Llangwyfan chapelry in the parish of Trefdraeth (Anglesey), where the curate, John Prichard, was presented for reading the service 'two yearly and out of due season'. John Prichard may have been the same clergyman who was at that time Rector of Rhiw, or Curate of Llanbedrog, or possibly both. If the Rector of Rhiw had supplemented his meagre stipend by taking a curacy and a chapelry in addition, it would not have been unusual; a journey across the Llyn Peninsula and then by ferry across the Menai Strait in pursuit of his duties would not have been impossible, but if these were the circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that he only came to Llangwyfan twice a year. Absent incumbents otherwise seem to have entrusted their charges to proper curates. What is reprehensible is that four of the most distinguished clergymen in the diocese, Bishop Bayly (Llanddeusant), Edmund Griffith (Llanengan), Rowland Cheadle (Llanfechell) and Griffin Williams (Llanilechid), having appointed curates, did not supervise them more carefully to see that they were up to the mark, and did not preach more regularly in the churches for which they were ultimately responsible.

The Llaniltyfni Papers also contain a letter from King Charles to the Dean and Chapter of St Asaph, and one from Archbishop Laud concerning Ruthin School, which are discussed elsewhere.*

* infra, p.295. See also the note on p.124.
Notes

1. All references to the c.1560 visitation are from p.282 of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Series, Vol.9 (1863). The eight parishes are Llanrhaeadr, Llanynys, Llangwyfan, Clocaenog, Llanedilan, Llandyrnog, Llanfair and Efenechtyd; Llanbedr and Llangynhaafal were 'omitted'. Both received (separate) appointments in 1563; John Hughes was Rector of Llangynhaafal in 1561-2, possibly of Llanbedr also. George Robinson Rector of Derwen-yn-Iâl, was 'not apparent'. There is no return for Llanychan.

2. Two standard chapters set for study were St John, Chapter 6 (Jesus' discourse after the feeding of the Five Thousand) and Romans, Chapter 5 (Justification by faith). Other chapters were set at the Bishop's discretion.

3. Probably a misreading for 'ap'.

4. *AO*.


6. The names of the two comportioners, David Vaughan and Paul de ra voier (*sic*) identify the return as from Llandinam.

7. The chapelries of St Katherine, Penmon and Llanddona (apparently all served by the same curate), Llangwyfan, Llandecwyn (Llanecwyn), Talyllyn and Pennal; the parishes of Llangyngyll, Llanfihangel Ysceifiog, Llandegai, Dolwyddelan and Penmachno.

8. All references to the 1623 visitation are from pp.284 - 5.


10. p.284.


12. *ibid*.

13. *ibid*.


16. Edward Jones must have been a sturdy farmer - he had been at Dwygyfylchi since 1574 and was to remain there another 9 years. He was almost 70 in 1623, and indisposition associated with advancing years may well account for his failure to celebrate Holy Communion at Easter that year (*supra*). Hajzyk, *op.cit.*, *passim*, notes incidents of churchyards being profaned in Lincolnshire at this time.

17. The Rogationtide procession was also neglected at Llaneugrad, Llanegryn, Talyllyn and Trawsfynydd. In the days before parish maps, it was an important observance to determine parish boundaries, and where, therefore, people had parochial rights to baptism, marriage and burial.

18. p.284.
21. p.284. The name is rendered as 'Llangoyven'.
22. £6. 14s. 8d in VE. In 1661, it was reckoned as low as £6. 1s. 3¾d.
PATRONAGE AND SURETIES

Much attention has been given in recent research on the clergy to the subject of patronage. This is appropriate, as the matter has an important bearing on such questions as to how much influence bishops had over the selection of their clergy; the growth of Puritanism; the influence of such bodies as university colleges, cathedral chapters and municipal corporations on recruitment of clergy; and relations between the laity and the clergy of a particular diocese, both the hierarchy and the rank and file. Studies have revealed significant differences between dioceses. London, not surprisingly, was a law unto itself, where the Dean and Chapter of St Paul’s, the Crown and the Archbishop and Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, each had more patronage than the Bishop of London, who nevertheless had considerable influence, but less directly, over appointments. In the dioceses of Lincoln, Oxford and Worcester, the greater part of the patronage was in lay hands, mostly those of the gentry. By the late seventeenth century, five-sixths of patronage over the country as a whole was in lay hands.

The four Welsh dioceses differed considerably from those mentioned above, though in differing degrees. The Bishop of St Asaph had a near-monopoly of patronage in his diocese; the Bishop of Bangor had control of nearly as much. In St David’s, the Crown had considerable patronage, the gentry some, but the Bishop still had the lion’s share. Only in Llandaff was there a distribution between Episcopal and lay patronage comparable with that in some English dioceses. University colleges had very limited patronage in Wales - Jesus College, Oxford (that great alma mater of the Welsh clergy), for instance, acquired the advowson of Holywell (Treffynnon) from the Davies family of Gwysaney in 1626. The appointment of Oxford Professors and Heads of Colleges to prebends and sinecures in Wales was probably a more important channel of influence for that university. Even in Llandaff, no layman held more than a few advowsons. There was one possible exception; the Earl of Pembroke, whose importance will be discussed below. Undoubtedly one of Wales’ greatest noblemen, the extent of his patronage is hardly surprising. It is important for the history of the Welsh Church in this period that successive earls did not use their influence to build up a Puritan connection in the way that, for instance, the Hastings and Dudley families did in Leicestershire, or the Cecils and Harringtons in Rutland. The extent of
patronage held by these families was, however, exceptional - in Northamptonshire, for instance, no family owned more than seven advowsons. Even that would have been exceptional by Welsh standards. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, had considerable influence and interest in Wales, as had Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; but they had very little patronage of livings there. Wales' greatest nobleman, the Earl of Worcester, had little more, and what influence he had was circumscribed through his being a Roman Catholic. Paradoxically, the absence of laymen with considerable patronage, particularly those of Puritan sympathies, is one point where Wales resembled London, for all their other differences, more than many rural parts of England.

The Patronage of the Lord Keeper or Lord Chancellor

Much of the evidence of patronage, in the sense of who appointed whom comes from the *Libri Institulorum*. Since the evidence from this source is largely non-existent before 1603, the question of patronage can only be considered as a whole under James I and Charles I. In St Asaph and Bangor, most of the appointments under Elizabeth were almost certainly made by the bishop, but in the absence of evidence, one cannot be sure that a particular appointment had not been made by a private patron having obtained the right *pro hac vice*. Where appointments were indeed made by the bishop, one of the main points of interest, viz. the academic background of the clergy, has already been dealt with in the section on the parochial clergy. In the southern dioceses, more patronage was in private hands. Evidence from the seventeenth century shows the right of appointment changing from family to family, appointments with right *pro hac vice* and, occasionally, disputed rights of appointment. In these circumstances, it would be guesswork to know who the patrons of clergy were in Llandaff and St David's before 1603.

There is, however, one significant exception, and one so large and well documented that it deserves to be considered for Elizabeth I's reign. This is the patronage of the Crown, exercised by the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper of the day. Harley MSS.443 - 5 contain a comprehensive record of appointments made under Queen Elizabeth. There is, in fact, an overlap at the end of the reign regarding Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, who was Lord Keeper and later Lord Chancellor to both
Queen Elizabeth and James I. A comprehensive record of his appointments exists in Tanner MS.179. Lord Coventry, who held office under Charles I, is covered by the Croombe Court Collection. The two intervening office-holders, Viscount St Albans (Francis Bacon) and John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, have left no such record, but it is possible to piece together most of the appointments which they made from the Libri Institutorum.

The amount of patronage held by the Crown in Wales varied considerably from diocese to diocese. In the late seventeenth century (by which time it is possible to know more or less for certain who had rights of patronage), the Crown had the gift of only two livings in St Asaph - Kinnerley in Shropshire, and Kegidog (Cegidog or St George's), which earlier in the century was in the gift of the bishop.16 Seven parishes in Bangor were Crown livings, fourteen in Llandaff, and no fewer than sixty-nine in St David’s.17 Forty of these were in Pembrokeshire, thirteen in the deanery of Roose alone, and a further four in south Cardiganshire. This extraordinary concentration of patronage in south-west Wales seems to have come about through the large number of livings that were in the gift of religious houses in the late Middle Ages - the Knights Hospitaller at Slebech, St Dogmael’s Abbey, and particularly, the various Augustinian houses whose main source of support came from parochial tithes. At the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the right of patronage passed from these houses to the Crown, which seems to have retained virtually the whole of it in the period under investigation, though it had, for instance, disposed of Martletwy to the Barlow family and Wiston to the Wogans.18 Even without this concentration in the far south-west, the Crown had more patronage in St David’s than in the rest of Wales put together. It might be mentioned at this point that the convention was that livings valued at £20 p.a. or more in the Valor Ecclesiasticus were in the personal gift of the Sovereign, those under £20 in that of the Lord Keeper or Chancellor, together with livings of Crown wards and those in lapse for twelve months.19 Crown livings in Wales all seem to have been valued at under £20. Where the Crown promoted an incumbent, e.g. to a bishopric, it acquired the right to appoint a successor. The Bishop’s patronage also reverted to the Crown during a vacancy in see.

Before the appointment of Sir Thomas Egerton in 1596, four men held office under Queen Elizabeth, two as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal and two as Lord Chancellor -
the distinction is academic so far as patronage is concerned. It is relevant to consider the religious views of the various office-holders, in so far as they can be ascertained, though because of the sheer extent of the Chancellor's patronage, the influence of those who recommended candidates determined more appointments than his own personal convictions. The Queen's first choice was by far the best known and longest serving - Sir Nicholas Bacon (father of Francis), who was Lord Keeper from November 1558 until his death in February 1579. Bacon is usually regarded, along with Cecil, as one of the chief architects of the Elizabethan Settlement in Church and State. His attitude to Church affairs may be gauged from his opening address to Elizabeth's first Parliament in 1559 - the Tudor equivalent of the Queen's Speech. The inaugural sermon had been preached by Dr Richard Cox, soon to be promoted as bishop of Ely, who had upheld the use of the Edwardian Prayer Book of 1552 in the exiled community at Frankfurt under Queen Mary as against John Knox, who pressed for a more Calvinist Church Order. Cox had urged the Queen to destroy monasteries (whence Queen Mary's evil counsellors are supposed to have emerged), dismantle images and purify the Church. Bacon's speech was described by J.E. Neale as 'Protestant in tone [but] far from echoing Dr Cox.' Bacon urged Parliament to 'banish from their mouths "all contentious, contumelious, or opprobrious words, as heretic, schismatic, Papist and such like names and nurses of seditions, factions and sects"'. The Queen and Bacon were clearly of one mind in handling Church politics.

Bacon appointed some ninety men to livings in the diocese of St David's - a number not unduly large considering the extent of Crown patronage in the diocese and his own long tenure of office. Some thirty-seven of these were possibly graduates: in twenty-four cases, the identification seems reliable, in the rest it is possible; the higher figure would mean 41 per cent of the total. An equal number have no known university connection; the remainder are known to have been, or were possibly, university students. In interpreting Harley MSS.443 - 5, two difficulties occur; first, knowing, when the same name occurs more than once, whether it is the same clergyman receiving more than one appointment, or two (or more) clergymen of the same name receiving one each; the second is drawing a line between each Lord Keeper and his successor - it is not possible to know how many appointments were 'in the pipe-line' at the time of his death and were simply confirmed during the interregnum or
by his successor. One thing which does emerge, however, is that the number of university men appointed increased towards the end of Bacon's tenure of office—fifteen out of the last twenty-two (68%). Two factors probably played their part—the greater number of men of sound Protestant sympathies emerging from the universities, and the establishment by Bacon of a network of connections with Oxbridge colleges which brought promising young men to his attention, the latter is surmise, but a similar network can be traced in Lord Ellesmere's hands at the turn of the century.

In the other Welsh dioceses, the number of university men appointed by Bacon was not high—in St Asaph, four out of eleven men appointed were graduates, who included the archdeacon and two sinecure-holders. Six had no known connection with the universities, at least at the time; this group included Robert Whetell adhuc puer who is known to have gone on to Oxford. Bacon appointed four graduates out of thirteen in Bangor, and, to his everlasting credit, these included the great Edmwnd Prys as Archdeacon of Merioneth. Five others of those appointed in Bangor may have been university students. In Llandaff, which often had a low proportion of university men, only three out of seventeen men appointed are known to have been graduates; these included Thomas Edmonds, B.D., who was given both Chepstow and Grosmont. Five of the rest may have been university students, so that in Llandaff, as in St Asaph, more than half of those appointed seem not to have been university men. It comes, perhaps, as no surprise that Lord Keeper Bacon's appointments in these two dioceses reflect the difficulty of recruiting men from Oxford and Cambridge early in Elizabeth's reign. He had, to a large extent, to content himself with curbing simony, though at least on occasion, he exacted from a candidate an undertaking to preach once a month.

Bacon's role was hard to fill. It took the Queen two months (20 February - 20 April 1579) before her choice fell on Sir Thomas Bromley, and it is perhaps surprising that she at once conferred on him the full dignity of Lord Chancellor. Bromley came from a land-owning family in Staffordshire, was a protégé of Bacon and had a distinguished career as a lawyer behind him. His wish was to mitigate the laws for the execution of heretics (which still occasionally involved burning at the stake), which suggests that he may have been somewhat more 'liberal' than the Establishment. He is perhaps best known for presiding at the 'trial' of Mary, Queen of Scots; as he was the supreme judge in the country, it was a role difficult for him to escape. He certainly should not
be bracketed with the Puritan politicians and clergy who clamoured for Queen Mary's execution. On the contrary, the anxiety which the trial caused him hastened his own death in April 1587 (only two months after that of the Queen of Scots), and suggests that he was close in sympathy with Queen Elizabeth in her doubts and scruples. Otherwise, there is little that can be said about Bromley's ecclesiastical views, which probably did not differ greatly from those of his patron and predecessor, Bacon.

In his eight years as Chancellor, Bromley had to find sixty men to fill appointments in St David's - proportionately a much higher number than those appointed by Bacon in a longer term of office. There is no obvious reason why so many livings should have fallen vacant except that it was about 20 years after the big turn-over at the beginning of the reign when (presumably) a number of those then appointed would be dying in their late forties and fifties. Bromley may have lacked Bacon's network for finding graduates; twenty-one of the sixty were possibly graduates (39%) though one can be more sure about nineteen of them than with some of Bacon's appointees. This figure marks a drop, particularly from Bacon's last years, though Bromley appointed a higher number of possible students. Bromley seems to have done better in the northern dioceses; in St Asaph, six out of seven graduates were appointed to prestigious parishes in the diocese; seven (possibly eight) of the fourteen appointed in Bangor were graduates. Llandaff again came low in the league; three graduates out of fifteen represent only a proportionate increase from Bacon's time. But five others appointed may have been university students, which would bring the total of university men to just over 53 per cent.

After Bromley's death, the Queen is known to have considered appointing Archbishop Whitgift Chancellor - an ecclesiastical appointment which would have looked back to the days of Henry VIII and Queen Mary and forward to the appointment of Bishop Williams in 1621. Whitgift, however, was too busy with his ecclesiastical duties to take on a great office of state as well. The Queen's choice, Sir Christopher Hatton, is commonly supposed to have been close in churchmanship to Archbishop Whitgift, as against the Puritan inclinations of the Earl of Leicester's circle. Hatton is certainly known to have been close to the Queen. The story that he danced himself into her favour with his elegance in the galliard is probably legendary, but he is known to have acted as the Queen's personal spokesman in the House of Commons for some years.
before becoming Chancellor. He was not a great lawyer, and the professionals were won over only gradually by his wisdom and tact. In religion, he appears to have favoured neither the Roman Catholics nor the Puritans, and the maxim attributed to him was ‘in religionis causa non urendum non secandum’²⁹ - ‘no burning, no schism, for the sake of religion’.

Hatton held office for only four years (1587 - 91). His eighteen appointments in those four years averaged four or five a year, the same as Bacon’s, and less than the seven or eight under Bromley. What is remarkable is the high standard of his appointees. Fifteen out of the eighteen were graduates (83%). Even in the diocese of Llandaff, only one man appointed had no known connection with the universities, and five out of seven appointments were of graduates.

After the ‘Dancing Chancellor’, a professional lawyer took over as Lord Keeper - John Puckering, who only then achieved the dignity of a knighthood. Puckering had served two sessions as Speaker of the House of Commons (1584 - 6 and 1586 - 7), and had been engaged in the legal complications of the Babington conspiracy and the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. He also acted as Joint Commissioner in the trial of the Puritan, John Udal.³⁰ Like his predecessors, no particular religious bias can be attributed to Puckering. He was 47 years old at the time of his appointment, but survived only five years. There is no doubt that the Welsh clergy appointed by Puckering came up to the academic standards of those of his predecessors; all ten men appointed in St Asaph were graduates, and so were all three in Bangor. In Llandaff, all eight appointees were university men, six of them graduates - surely a sign of rising standards in that diocese. Twenty-three men were appointed in St David’s, more than in the other dioceses put together. Thirteen (possibly fourteen) of these were graduates and another three possibly university men - nearly 74 per cent at the maximum. Nevertheless, something of a shadow hangs over Puckering’s appointments - his ‘brief tenure of office...disgraced by a simoniacaal disposal of ecclesiastical patronage.’³¹ According to Camden, it was his subordinates, rather than Puckering himself, who were guilty of simony, but Puckering must bear blame for allowing or overlooking such practices.³²
The overall impression from the Welsh appointments made by the first four of Elizabeth’s Lord Keepers is of a succession of conscientious men working slowly but steadily to improve standards among the clergy. Their achievement was patchy - better in some dioceses and in some periods than in others - but there was clearly a general improvement as the reign went on.

A particular interest is attached to Lord Ellesmere, as he is usually known - Thomas Egerton, Baron Ellesmere and Viscount Brackley, appointed first as Lord Keeper, and subsequently given the full dignity as Lord Chancellor. He held office for just over twenty years from 6 May 1596 to 3 March 1617, slightly longer than Sir Nicholas Bacon. Moreover, he bridges the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. Historical interest has usually focused on his legal career, particularly his clash with Sir Edward Coke over the respective jurisdictions of the Courts of Chancery and King’s Bench. His influence on the Church of England by way of patronage would be a major field worthy of study. His has gone down - to all appearances correctly - as a man of piety, the first Lord Chancellor since the Reformation to maintain a domestic chaplain (John Williams, himself Lord Keeper 1621 - 5); he also employed John Donne for a time as his secretary. He has been described as a ‘lover of learning’, as a ‘loving faithful friend’ to Archbishop Whitgift and a ‘most constant favourer of the clergy and of the church government established’. If he shared a common theological outlook with Whitgift and his chaplain Williams, he may be described as a Protestant Episcopalian in Church government and a moderate Calvinist - such, indeed, was the almost universally held orthodoxy at the turn of the century. James I found him a man after his own heart in the Church and in the Law.

Between 1596 and 1603, Ellesmere appointed eighteen men in St David’s, two of them holding double appointments. Nine of these were graduates and six were or may have been university students. Of a total of eighty-one whom he appointed to the diocese, fifty-six were graduates (69%), eight almost certainly and one possibly were university students (11%) and sixteen had no known university background (19.75%). Similar proportions are repeated elsewhere in Wales. He appointed twenty-three clergy in Llandaff, sixteen of them graduates (69.5%), two were students (8.5%) and five had no known university background (21.5%). Interestingly enough, four of these five were recommended by the Bishop of Llandaff, no doubt making up for his
shortage of patronage - James Marton (Grosmont 1598) recommended by Bishop Morgan, John Howard (Kenfig 1607), David Jones (Itton 1608) and John Walker (Cilybebyll 1614) by Bishop Godwin.\(^3\) The fifth, David Prichard (Whitson 1609) was recommended by Andrew Powell, who later, with William Gunter, appointed him to Llanfihangel-juxta-Usk (1617).\(^3\) In Bangor, ten of Ellesmere's eleven appointments were of graduates (90%). In St Asaph, he made fifteen appointments, twelve of them graduates (80%). One of the non-graduates was Fulk Holland, appointed to the lucrative rectory of Kegidog (St George's) - a member of the powerful Flintshire family of Holland.\(^3\) It is not clear how Ellesmere came to make so many appointments to livings not usually in the gift of the Crown. Six made about 1600/1 probably came about through lapse when there was a vacancy in see. That does not explain the appointment of Fulk Holland in 1603, however.

Tanner MS.179 yields at least some insight into how Ellesmere recruited his candidates. He is said to have studied for a short time at Brasenose College, Oxford, and is likely to have kept up his connections there. But although Brasenose College produced a regular supply of candidates for the sacred ministry, including a number who went to Wales, few of them received appointments from Lord Ellesmere - three are known in St David's, two in Llandaff and one in Bangor. The services of John Williams as chaplain may have helped him find a few men from his old college, St John's, Cambridge, a college with Welsh connections, particularly with Bangor. David Dolben was recommended by Williams for appointment to the rectory of Ilston in 1615.\(^3\) Ellesmere's tenure of office as Chancellor of Oxford University (1610 - 17) must have brought him many useful contacts in finding well qualified ordinands. But the evidence reveals recommendations coming into him from many quarters - bishops (not exclusively Welsh ones), heads and fellows of colleges, lords, gentry - which suggests an elaborate network for bringing promising candidates to his notice.

Evidence also suggests that he may have found it easier to send bright young men to livings in rural Wales than induce them to stay there - indeed, the latter was the bishop's responsibility. Ellesmere made appointments to Ambleston in 1604, 1605 and 1612. Thomas Jones, who was there for a year or less in 1604-5, was a B.A. of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, recommended by his college. He may have been the same Thomas Jones appointed by Lord Keeper Coventry to Pontfaen in 1627 - if so, it is not
Ambleston was situated in rural Pembrokeshire about half-way between Haverfordwest and Fishguard. It was valued at £3. 19s. 8d in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, probably more realistically at £10 in the 1650 survey. It was; perhaps, not a very attractive proposition for a university graduate; but Hugh Bevan, appointed to the living in 1612, was a student of Jesus College, Oxford, and may have stayed as long as twenty-one years - the next known incumbent being David Williams in 1633. Bevan was probably there at least until 1628 (i.e. sixteen years) when Bishop Field made him Rector of Newchurch. Another of the Crown livings, Ilston, in Gower, saw frequent changes of incumbent - 1597, 1606, 1608, 1615, 1619, 1620 and 1626. Ilston was situated within a few miles of Swansea, and therefore had easier access to the amenities of town life, and (on paper at least) it was worth £9. 6s. 7d - two and a half times the estimate for Ambleston. Rosemarket, near Milford Haven, and valued at only £4 p.a. had Henry Barker as its incumbent for possibly twenty-eight years (1607 - 35), and he was a graduate of King’s College, Cambridge. It was, perhaps, the age-old problem of fitting a man to a job. Ellesmere sometimes appointed men to hold two livings simultaneously: Matthew Bennett had Oxwich (1604 - 22) and nearby Cheriton (1610); Thomas Panton had Marloes (1604 - 18) and Cilgerran (1607 - 22). William Dolben was appointed by the Crown to Castle-Bythe (1613), Llangenidr (1615) and Bosherston (1617) - the last-named possibly by Ellesmere’s successor, Bacon. Whether these appointments over-lapped, or whether Dolben held them in succession is not clear. Dolben not only had the influence of Ellesmere’s chaplain, Williams, behind him, but he was a highly qualified academic, becoming a D.D. in 1619. Among the men of academic distinction appointed by Ellesmere in Llandaff may be mentioned John Hughes, Vicar of Trelleck (1611), D.D., and two B.Ds. - Evan Price, Rector of Llanllowell (1604) and Newcastle (1608) and Hugh Powell, Rector of St Fagan’s (1614).

Ellesmere’s successor was Francis Bacon (as he is generally known), Viscount St Albans; without doubt one of the greatest lawyers and greatest intellects of the age. Because of the greatness and originality of his thought, it is probably misleading to try to attach a party label to him but there is no reason to separate him from the moderate Calvinism which was still in the ascendant when he held office. After some four
years as Chancellor, he was disgraced for bribery when Parliament met in 1621 and forced to retire into private life, his fall reflecting adversely on his chaplain, Field. During his time, seventeen appointments were made in the Crown livings in St David’s. Eight of those whom he appointed were graduates (47%) and eight others either known to have been students, or possibly so. These figures represent a drop in the number of graduates but an increase in the number of university men from Ellesmere’s time. No great significance can be read into the shift of balance between graduates and students. What is more meaningful is to compare these figures with those for Richard Milbourne, who was Bishop of St David’s about the same time (1615 - 21). Of eighteen clergy known to have been appointed by Milbourne, eight were graduates but only four known or possible students - in other words, Bacon’s candidates look better, at least on paper. It can only be speculation whether he managed to take over Ellesmere’s network of contacts. His appointments in Llandaff also stand up well to scrutiny: two candidates who became D.Ds. - Hugh Lloyd (St Andrew’s Major) and John Powell (Caerwent), another a graduate and a fourth without known university background. 75 per cent was a high proportion of graduates, particularly for Llandaff.

John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who took over from Bacon as Lord Keeper, held the office for just over four years. He was the last churchman to hold the office, and the only one, apart from Stephen Gardiner under Queen Mary, since the fall of Cardinal Wolsey in 1529. Despite his lack of legal training, he discharged the duties of his office competently for four years, but having antagonised Price Charles and the Duke of Buckingham over the Spanish Marriage project, he survived the new King’s accession by only a further eight months in office. He was a moderate Calvinist in theology but also something of a High Churchman in liturgy, out of sympathy less with Laud’s aims than with his methods. As Lord Keeper, he made nineteen appointments to Crown livings in St David’s diocese. The academic qualifications of his candidates differ little from those appointed by Bacon; a slight increase in the number of graduates (52%), a slight fall in the number of students. Again, it is interesting to compare his candidates with those appointed by William Laud while Bishop of St David’s almost at the same time (1621 - 6). Laud made twenty-eight appointments, a larger sample than Milbourne’s. Of these, only eleven are known to
have been graduates (39%), but as many as twenty-five altogether may have had some university training, which makes a very respectable percentage (89). Laud’s appointments in any case included some very distinguished men: Richard Bayly (Llansadwrn and Llanbister); Robert Cooper (Llangeinor) and William Sherborne (Talbenny) are three among them. William Nicholson came to Llandeilo Fawr in 1626 just after Laud had moved on to Bath and Wells. Francis Hudson had the distinction of being appointed to Rudbaxton by Lord Keeper Williams in 1623 and by Laud to Penally in 1624—despite the bitter rivalry between Williams and Laud at that time. Bayly, Cooper, Hudson and Sherborne were all graduates of Laud’s old college, St John’s, Oxford. He may have established some kind of permanent link between the college and the diocese. After his translation, other St John’s men who came to the diocese were Robert Davenant (Talbenny 1631), William Hazzard (Llanbister 1628), Adam Hawkins (St Issell 1635), William Owen (Dinas 1640) and William Thomas (Jeffreyston 1629). In the diocese of Llandaff, four men were appointed between 1621 and 1625, probably by Lord Keeper Williams. All of them were Oxford graduates. The rivalry between Laud and Williams is all the more regrettable when they shared so many common objectives.

Williams handed over the Great Seal in November 1625 to Thomas Coventry, first Baron Coventry, who held it until his death in 1641, on the eve of the Civil War. He was, therefore, one of Charles I’s most stable ministers, and may be assumed to have been in broad sympathy with the King’s policies in Church and State. He was no friend of Buckingham, but as the latter moved during the 1620s from support of the Puritan Preston to support for the High Churchman Laud, that gives little guidance as to theological position. In 1632, Coventry issued orders for vigilance in the apprehension of recusants but also for strict observance of Lent and fish days. The two taken together suggest a middle-of-the-road Anglican outlook at a time when the middle ground was being taken over by the Laudians. Coventry’s papers are preserved in the Birmingham Public Library (the Croombe Court Collection). The details which these contain, and the length of his term of office (just over fourteen years) make Coventry’s use of patronage almost as valuable a field of study as that of Sir Nicholas Bacon or Lord Ellesmere.
Twenty-four appointments made by Coventry are recorded in the diocese of St David’s. Proportionately, this is less than under Ellesmere, Bacon, or Williams - 1.7 a year as against approximately 4 under each of his three predecessors. There is a presumption arising from this that fewer livings were falling vacant, either because his predecessors had chosen men who stayed longer or who were younger and lived longer. The present writer finds the former suggestion more likely - evidence has been found elsewhere of well qualified men from the universities taking livings in the more remote parts of Wales and remaining there (apparently happily) for many years, a trend more discernible in the time of Charles I than that of Elizabeth I. Coventry certainly took the opportunity to choose his candidates carefully. Twenty of his appointees were graduates (85%), a proportion higher even than Ellesmere have achieved. The figures are even more impressive when compared with those of candidates appointed by the two successive Bishops of St David’s, Field (1626 - 35) and Mainwaring (1635 onwards). Field appointed twenty-three clergy, only ten of them graduates (43%), Mainwaring thirty, twelve of them graduates (40%). Inclusion of possible university students would bring up Field’s proportion to a respectable 86 per cent, but Mainwaring’s total would still be only 60 per cent. The inclusion of two possible students would give Coventry a grand total of 91 per cent. By any reckoning, therefore, his candidates were better qualified than those of the Bishops, but not markedly more so than Field’s. Field’s sycophancy of the great and the good probably paid dividends in an age when influence in high places counted for much. Field does not seem to have imported any men from his previous diocese, Llandaff; having had relatively little patronage there, he may not have had much opportunity to hand-pick good men. Mainwaring suffered from the double disadvantage of being an Arminian at a time when that position was still only winning favour, even at Oxford, and having incurred the censure of Parliament - being, in fact, a marked man whenever Parliament should be recalled. He was not, therefore, a bishop to whom every promising clergyman would choose to link his fortunes.

In the diocese of Llandaff, twelve appointments took place in Crown livings in Coventry’s time. That six of these were Coventry’s appointments is attested by the Croombe Court Papers. Three others almost certainly were, and three appointed towards the end of his time in 1640 - 1 were probably his, or were at least ‘in the pipe-
line' at the time of his death. Whichever is the correct reckoning, all his candidates were university men, and all were graduates except for one man in the first group who was known to be a student. Those appointed before 1640 included three D.Ds. - Robert Frampton, Thomas Godwin (son of the former bishop) and Michael Hughes, and one B.D. (George Crumpe). Coventry was, therefore, continuing the good work begun by his predecessors of raising the academic standards of the clergy in Llandaff.

In Bangor, Coventry made seventeen appointments. This was an unusually high number considering that only seven livings were in the gift of the Crown. But while he was Chancellor no fewer than three changes of bishop took place, with all the consequent vacancies in see, lapses of patronage and royal promotions. All those whom he appointed were graduates, and they included three B.Ds. - Michael Roberts (Llaneugrad 1631), William Price (Dolgellau 1632) and Richard Jones (Llanengan 1636). Two other appointments in Crown livings in the diocese were probably by him - Robert Marske at Eglwysail and Owen Evans at Llanddeiniolen. Marske was an M.A., Evans probably was likewise. In St Asaph, only four appointments by Coventry are known. Two were in the Crown living of Kinnerley, Salop. Robert Prichard, a B.D., was appointed to Llangynog in 1629, probably during the interregnum between Bishops Harmer and Owen. Coventry appointed Ellis Price as Vicar of Rhuddlan in 1633 in succession to Bishop Owen himself.

The record of successive Lord Keepers is, therefore, impressive from Sir Nicholas Bacon right through to the Civil War. Lord Coventry's achievement was as impressive as any, particularly as it came at a time when students at the universities were under some economic pressure. Successive Lord Keepers assisted diocesan bishops in seeking out and appointing good clergy. If sometimes their record outshone that of the bishops, it has to be remembered that they probably had a wider network for recruiting candidates, and that the patronage of the Crown always carried prestige in itself.

**Lay Patronage, St David's**

In St David's, the names of seventy-seven clergy appointed by specified lay patrons are known for the period 1603 - 42. This is a group large enough to be a meaningful sample. Few lay patrons seem to have had nomination to more than one parish, apart
from some exceptions which will be considered below. There was, therefore, never
more than a handful (if that) of clergy appointed by any lay patron at any one time. Of
the seventy-seven, forty-six were graduates (59.25%), six known students (8%) and
ten possibly students (13%). These proportions compare favourably with the clergy
appointed by successive bishops, but come closer to those appointed by the Lord
Keepers. The immediate impression is that the nobility and gentry of the diocese took
their duty of patronage seriously, and took trouble in finding well qualified men.62

The six men appointed by Sir Henry Williams of Brecon are worth considering as a
group. Thomas George (Llyswen 1617) and Lewis Morgan (Brecon 1621) were both
Oxford graduates. John Perrot (Cathedine 1622) and Thomas Rawlins (Hay 1625)
probably were likewise. Thomas Davies (Hay 1639) may well be one of the several
Thomas Davieses in the university records. Rowland Gwyn (Llangorse 1635) is not a
name in the Oxbridge records. Sir Henry’s candidates are, therefore a cross-section of
the group as a whole. He himself matriculated at St John’s College, Oxford,63 but like
many of the gentry, he seems to have moved on to the law without taking a degree.
None of his candidates, so far as is known, came from St John’s; George and Rawlins
were from Broadgates Hall, Morgan from Jesus College, and Perrot from Brasenose —
all colleges which produced a steady supply of ordinands. George and Morgan were
from Breconshire families (respectively clerical and gentry), Rawlins may have come
from a clerical family in Gloucestershire. Perrot may have been from the well-known
Pembrokeshire family of that name; he had already held two livings in Breconshire
before coming to Cathedine. Local connections seem, therefore, to have been a
strong factor in this group.

Another Breconshire squire, Charles Vaughan of Tretower, matriculated at Brasenose
before proceeding to the Inner Temple.64 He appointed William Parry (1620), Jeremy
Powell (1628) and James Wood (1634) to his living at Llandyfaelog. Wood was an
M.A., Parry a B.A. Powell is not known in the university lists. No further details are
known about the members of this group.

Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex (1591 - 1646) was one of the few noblemen with
patronage in St David’s. He appointed Francis Owen to Hodgeston (1631), William
Sherborne, Robert Davenant and Edward Love to Talbenny (respectively in 1625,
1631 and 1634), and William Beech to Monkton St Nicholas with St Michael (1639). Beech was probably the student of that name of St John’s College, Cambridge. Davenant, Love, Owen and Sherborne were all Oxford graduates, Davenant and Sherborne D.Ds., Love a B.D., and Owen an M.A. Clearly, Essex appointed men of high academic calibre, though he was not himself a university man. His entry in the DNB observes, ‘It is not likely that Essex looked with other than aversion upon the political and ecclesiastical proceedings of Charles’. He had been alienated from the Court since his divorce from Frances Howard and her re-marriage to James I’s favourite, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, a ceremony solemnised by William Laud. Essex had his revenge by leading the Parliamentarian armies in the Civil War. It is, therefore, of some interest that Owen and Davenant were ejected by the Puritans (Davenant in Wiltshire). Davenant and Sherborne were, as has been seen, graduates of Laud’s college, St John’s, and Sherborne received preferment at the hands of both Laud and Essex. He seems to have chosen his candidates, therefore, more for their academic (and, one hopes, pastoral) qualities rather than in any narrow, partisan spirit. He may have been like another Parliamentarian, Thomas Myddleton of Chirk, opposed to Laud politically (and personally), but not without some sympathy for his churchmanship.

Sir Thomas Cannon, of Pembrokeshire, matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, before going on to study law. He appointed John Prichard to Morfil (1620), William George and Robert Phillipps to Lllysyfran (respectively in 1625 and 1623). All were Oxford graduates, Prichard of Lincoln College, George and Phillipps of Hart Hall. Despite its abundant supply of Welsh ordinands, Cannon did not turn to his old college for his candidates. George originated in Denbighshire; nothing is known about the background of Prichard and Phillipps.

Apart from Sir Henry Williams, it would be necessary to know more about family relations and personal contacts to shed more light on how this group of patrons in St David’s selected the clergy for their livings.

Llandaff. The Gentry

Lay patronage was most significant in the diocese of Llandaff. Here, enough patrons and their appointees can be identified to warrant treating the gentry and the nobility
separately. Seventy clergy appointed between 1603 and 1642 by specified patrons among the gentry can be identified. As in St David's, only a few can be identified with any one patron. Considered as a whole group, forty-five were graduates (64%), four were students (5.7%), six may have been students (8.5%) and fifteen have no known university background (21%). In the diocese of Llandaff, it is possible to be more certain about the identity of clergy than in the other Welsh dioceses because of the higher incidence of English patronymics. These figures for Llandaff, therefore, are a particularly useful guide. The number of university men is comparable with that in St David's - around 80 per cent if all the possibles are included, Llandaff having a slightly higher proportion of graduates. The level, above the diocesan average, suggests that the gentry, with only one or two livings to consider, may have been in a better position to hand-pick their candidates. They may have been able to offer hidden inducements, such as hospitality at the big house, or presents of meat and game at the parsonage, though in the absence of positive evidence this must remain speculation.

One prominent Glamorgan squire was Sir Thomas Lewis. He is known to have made four appointments, all Oxford graduates: Samuel Bye (Llyswyrny 1630) and Stephen Slugg (Llantwit Major 1629) were two of them. But his two appointments to St John the Baptist and St Mary, Cardiff, are of particular interest, quite apart from their being ministers in an important town. William Erbury (1633) resigned in 1638 after being arraigned before the High Commission for Puritan nonconformity. His successor, Theodore Price, was ejected by the Puritans in the time of troubles. As with the Earl of Essex (supra), this suggests difficulty in trying to postulate a common party line between candidate and patron. A third instance underlines the point. Sir Francis Popham fought for Parliament in the Civil War. He appointed two men to his living of Cadoxton-juxta-Barry - Geoffrey and Laomedon Fowler (probably related). Both moved on elsewhere in due course, but both were ejected by the Puritans.

Ten of the clergy under consideration were appointed by a patron of the same surname:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clergyman</th>
<th>Living</th>
<th>Patron</th>
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<tr>
<td>William Bassett</td>
<td>Newton Nottage (1625)</td>
<td>Martin Bassett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Edwards</td>
<td>Magor (1635)</td>
<td>John Edwards</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Playford Field, Richard Stradling and Aaron Watkins were almost certainly related to
their respective patrons, the rest may have been, though one must be cautious with a
name like William Jones. But if each patron and minister were related, it would
amount only to 14 per cent of the group as a whole, and would not represent an undue
incidence of 'nepotism'. There would, of course, almost certainly have been
incidences of relationship in the female line, but these are harder to identify. Six cases
similar to those cited in Llandaff are known in St David's, including appointments by
Bishops Milbourne and Field. One in Bangor is mentioned below. The higher
incidence in Llandaff may reflect a better standard of education among the gentry
(though Seys and Watkins were apparently not university men), or there may have
been more livings in the diocese which sons of the gentry found attractive, perhaps
because of proximity to the big house.

Four members of the group of seventy were appointed by ladies: William Gamage
(Barbara Morgan), John Howard (Anne Davies), Robert Powell (Margaret Herbert),
and Walter Rogers (Joan Thomas). All except Howard were university graduates;
the ladies were evidently as good at selecting their candidates as their male
counterparts, despite not having the opportunity of a university education themselves.
Gamage came from a gentry family in Glamorgan, Rogers probably from
Monmouthshire - two instances which again suggest the importance of local
connections. The lady patrons are all described in the Liber Institutorum as widows,
which suggests that they obtained their right of presentation as administrators of their
late husbands' estates. Women could also obtain a right of presentation through
inheritance, or through purchase of the right pro hac vice or of land carrying manorial rights of presentation. Dorothy Owen is an example of the last in St David's diocese. Though these instances are few in number, they are worth considering. Patronage was one of the few ways (apart, of course, from the Queen as Supreme Governor) in which women could play a part in the Church of England directly, and in their own right. It was possible for women to become churchwardens, and it would be an interesting exercise (though out of the scope of this study) to comb the parish registers for instances of lady churchwardens in this period.

**Llandaff. The Nobility**

The patronage exercised by one nobleman, the Earl of Pembroke, was sufficiently extensive to be worth considering separately. Ten appointments are recorded between 1620 and 1640, six by William, Earl of Pembroke, one by his wife Mary, and three by his brother and heir, Philip. Apart from Richard Swinglehurst (Llanmaes 1624), all those appointed were graduates (90%), eight men from Oxford and one (Roger Cory) from Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The Pembroke family were well placed to find promising candidates for their livings, William being Chancellor of Oxford University and founder of Pembroke College - though none of their candidates are known to have studied at the latter. Three other appointments made to livings usually in their gift (but where the Earl is not named as patron) confirms the picture: two of the men appointed were graduates, the other a university student. The Earl made one recorded appointment in the diocese of Bangor - John Griffin, probably a university student of that name - as Vicar of Clynnog Fawr. The group taken as a whole divide into 78.5 per cent graduates, possibly 92 per cent university men. The Herbergs of Pembroke were mildly Puritan in religion and moderate Parliamentarians in politics. Two of their candidates were, nevertheless, ejected during the Civil War - Roger Cory (Gelligaer 1640) and James Whitney (Mitchel Troy 1625). The latter was in fact ejected from Donhead St Andrew, a Pembroke living in Wiltshire.

The Earl of Leicester was patron of Coity and made two appointments there - Roland Harries (1620) and John Gumbleton (1645). Both were graduates. Leicester may also have appointed Gumbleton to Llanhari (1632) - he was at one time his chaplain.
It is not known who appointed John Wilson to Llanhari in 1624; he may have been an Oxbridge student of that name.

The Earl of Worcester made one recorded appointment in Llandaff - that of Henry Prytherch to Michaelstowm in 1624. He may have appointed Richard Spencer to Magor in 1603; the appointment by him of William Rogers to Raglan in 1635 is certainly likely. He is known to have made three appointments in St David's: Thomas Williams (Llangynidr 1611), Matthew Herbert (Llangattock 1621) and Thomas Cecil (Llanbedr Painscastle 1639). Of these, only Cecil is known to have been a graduate. Thomas Williams is difficult to identify among several of that name. Despite the Earl's great wealth and influence, the family's Roman Catholicism may well have proved a barrier to recruiting good candidates. Henry, fifth Earl of Worcester, who held the title from 1628 to 1646, and his elder brother William (who predeceased him) were students at Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1591, but he seems to have kept up no connection with his old college. Apart from his religious convictions, temperament and indifferent health (gout) inclined him to a life of seclusion.

Bangor and St Asaph. Lay Patronage

Only nine appointments by laymen are known in North Wales, seven in Bangor and two in St Asaph. This small sample, however, confirms the pattern discernible in South Wales. John Griffin's appointment to Clynnog Fawr by Lord Pembroke has already been considered. The Bodfel family were patrons of Edern where they made two presentations, both men B.A.s. Sir John Bodvil (or Bodfel) graduated at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1602 aged only 19, and went on to study at the Inner Temple. Another John Bodvell, possibly his cousin or uncle, graduated at Oriel College in 1597 and subsequently became Rector of Edern. In this instance, a family-college link is clear. Reginald Rutter and his (supposed) widow made two appointments at Dwygyfylchi. The first was Reginald Salusbury in 1632, apparently not a university man, but probably one of the famous Salusbury family, and David Roberts in 1635; there are several Oxbridge students of that name. Another possible student, John Thomas was appointed Rector of Aber in 1621 by Sir William Thomas, to whom he
may have been related. Owen Owens, a B.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, was appointed to Llanrug in 1625 by Edward Littleton. This small group is miscellaneous, but all may have been university men apart from Salusbury.

In St Asaph, the only certain appointments by private patrons occurred at Oswestry. John Kyffin was appointed vicar by the Earl of Suffolk in 1625. Kyffin was a man of academic distinction who became a B.D. in 1630, and he was also Headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School. The Kyffins were a family of some distinction in both the diocese and the county (Salop). Suffolk was one of the Howards and had been Lord High Treasurer. What the connection between them was is not apparent. In 1640, Humphrey Wynne received the vicarage of Oswestry; he may have been a Cambridge student of that name. He was presented by a London merchant called William Whitmore, who obtained the right of presentation pro hac vice. Again, the relationship between the candidate and his patron is not apparent.

Sureties

First fruits and tenths were levies on incumbents of parishes and higher clergy first imposed by the Pope to support the Crusades. Long after the Crusades, the imposition continued as a useful source of papal revenue until, in England, they were transferred to the Crown by Henry VIII. The sums to be paid were recorded in the Valor Ecclesiasticus or King’s Book as it was commonly called, but the sum involved bore little relation to the real income of a parish, particularly after the Tudor price revolution. A. Tindal Hart in The Country Clergy (London, 1958) reckons that, in the course of 150 years, the income of many parishes ‘must have doubled if not trebled,’ though there were swings and roundabouts - the value of ‘great tithes’ (crops) sometimes dropped through a change to pasture, while the ‘lesser tithes’ (livestock) correspondingly increased. Such changes could be problematical if, by convention, the rector took the great tithes and the vicar the lesser ones. Walker’s assessment of the value of parishes in The Sufferings of the Clergy bears no resemblance to those in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. He reckons Merthyr Tydfil, for instance, to have been worth £140 p.a. as against £20. 5s. 7½d in the Valor. Walker’s estimate is probably the more reliable, though he had a temptation to exaggerate the figures in order to maximise the deprivation suffered by ejected Anglican clergy. Probably the most
accurate estimates of the value of Welsh benefices are those in the Parliamentary Surveys of 1650 for Anglesey and Pembroke, and Bishop Fleetwood’s Survey of St Asaph in 1707. But even if the sums to be paid were an underestimate, an incumbent had to find them on taking office. Many, therefore, found it convenient to pay by instalments, usually quarterly. When making arrangements with the Exchequer, a clergyman usually found two people to stand surety for him, though the number sometimes varied from one to four, and occasionally a clergyman was his own security, presumably by making a deposit with the Exchequer. Sometimes, clergymen stood surety for other clergymen, but the role was more usually filled by laymen. The record of these transactions sometimes sheds light on the friendships and relationships of the clergy.

More often than not, clergy found sureties among the prosperous craftsmen of London. Sometimes, these were members of the obviously wealthy crafts - goldsmiths, mercers, drapers, haberdashers and grocers; it is more surprising to find a bricklayer among them - like Jerome Talent of Westminster, who stood surety for Henry Vane, Rector of Bangor-is-y-coed in 1612. It is less surprising to find many of them residing in the more ‘fashionable’ suburbs of London - the parishes of St Dunstan-in-the-West and St Martin’s-in-the-fields, which then lay in semi-open country between the cities of London and Westminster. As well as those who identify themselves as craftsmen, and those known only by name and location, a number describe themselves as ‘gentlemen’. The term was often applied to those who practised law, and some, at least, of them were probably successful lawyers, particularly those living near the law courts in Westminster.

It must be presumed that many of these sureties, having no apparent connection with their clients, undertook the responsibility out of a sense of duty to the Church, even if the chances of a cleric defaulting were not very high. It also seems fair to assume that some kind of network existed for putting clergy in touch with prospective sureties. In a number of cases, the clergyman and one (or occasionally both) of his sureties had the same surname; this does not in itself imply a relationship, though no doubt clergymen often used the services of successful uncles or cousins in London. Thus, Edmund Lloyd of Middlesex stood surety for Richard Lloyd as Treasurer of Bangor. In some cases, a London Welshman may have been disposed to help Welsh candidates,
particularly if they came from the same area. Henry Rowland of St Matthew's parish, Friday Street, stood surety for Robert Prichard as Rector of Llangaffo (7.11.1608) and Llandyfaelog (6.11.1609), for Henry Griffith as Rector of Llansadwrn (30.9.1609), and Edmund Griffith as Rector of Llanbeulan (5.9.1610) - at least suggesting the possibility of an Anglesey connection. John Williams (later Bishop of Lincoln), when appointed Archdeacon of Cardigan and Rector of Angle, had as his sureties James Tudor and George Thorpe, both of St Martin's-in-the-fields. Tudor was presumably of Welsh origins. Since the Williamses of Cochwillan claimed to be related (however distantly) to the House of Tudor, it is possible that John Williams and James Tudor at least liked to think that they were related. It is more interesting that he did not seek sureties among his closer relations, Williams of Cochwillan, Griffith of Penrhyn, or Wynn of Gwydir. Nor did his cousin, Arthur Williams. Indebtedness to a close relative can prove an embarrassment, and in any case the Cochwillan and Penrhyn families were at this time in financial straits; the estates were bought up by the Earl of Pembroke before being recovered by Williams himself when Bishop of Lincoln.

Another recruiting ground for sureties was to be found among the local gentry, and with these, some personal connection, or at least cognisance, seems more certain. Hugh Bulkeley of St Bride's parish Fleet Street (presumably one of the Bulkeleys of Anglesey) and Thomas Cheadle of Beaumaris stood surety for Rowland Cheadle as Rector of Llanfechell. Rowland Bulkeley of Beaumaris stood surety for Nathaniel Hughes as Rector of Llangefni. William Bassett, appointed to Newton Nottage by Martin Bassett, had as one of his sureties George Bassett of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, gentleman. When Edward Whittington became Rector of Whittington (24.11.1608), his sureties were Edward Meredith of Shrewsbury and Anthony Norwich of Whittington - the latter a comparatively rare instance of a parishioner standing security for his own incumbent; as with close relationships of family, indebtedness to one's own flock has its obvious drawbacks. It is more surprising to find David Bowen of Bosham, Sussex, standing surety for Henry James (Rector of Llanddewi Aberarth 28.11.1608); one can only guess at a possible connection - relationship in the female line or a family friend; even more so with David Lloyd, Rector of Gladestry (27.4.1611), whose sureties were Henry Long of Whaddon Wilts., and Richard Budden of Wychwood, Gloucs. John Jeffreys, of Acton Hall, Wrexham, stood
surety for Bishop Parry in 1604. He does not seem to have been looking for any favours in return, since the only known clerics who may have been related to him were Richard Jeffreys, Vicar of Llanrwst (1638) and William Jeffreys, Curate of Holt (1669, in Chester diocese), both after Bishop Parry’s time. However, Fulk Salusbury’s surety for Bishop Rowlands of Bangor as Rector of Llansantffraid (10.6.1622) was part of a close link between the Salusbury/Salesbury family and the Church in North Wales.

The most interesting insight, is that revealed about relationships among the ‘clerical aristocracy’. Robert Robotham, Archdeacon of Llandaff, stood surety for Bishop Francis Godwin as Vicar of Shirenewton (1.10.1604), for Philemon Blethin (son of a former Bishop of Llandaff) as Prebendary of Llangan (11.10.1608) and again as Rector of Shirenewton (20.4.1619), and for John Clegg as Rector of Llangybi (24.5.1622) - later Prebendary of Llangwm and in 1646 nominated Archdeacon. When Robotham himself became Rector of Llangybi (28.11.1611), John Walsall of St Gregory’s in the city of London stood surety for him; he was Philemon Blethin’s other surety as Prebendary of Llangan, and stood for Morgan Jones as Vicar of Llanfaes (21.10.1608) and John Morgan as Rector of Vaynor (18.2.1610). This suggests a closely-knit circle with great influence in the Diocese of Llandaff in the early years of the seventeenth century.

A more loosely knit hierarchy seems to have existed at Bangor a little later, one where family ties seem to have meant more than personal obligation. The three interrelated families already mentioned were involved (Williams of Cochwillan, Griffith of Penrhyn, and Wynn of Gwydir), as also others to whom they were related - Dolben, Vaughan (including Bishop Richard) and Goodman (including Gabriel Goodman, Dean of Westminster). Edmund Griffith stood surety for William Prytherch as Rector of Llantrisant (16.4.1614) and (more significantly) for Robert White as Archdeacon of Merioneth (1623) and Rector of Clynnog Fawr (1625). David Dolben (later Bishop) was surety for William Dolben (presumably a relative) as Rector of Lawrenny in the diocese of St David’s. Robert Wynn, son of Sir John, and William Lloyd, gentleman, were sureties for William Lloyd (again presumably a relative of the latter) as Rector of Llanfairpwllgwyngyll (10.11.1624). The full significance of these family connections is apparent in the appointment of higher clergy in the Bangor diocese, discussed elsewhere.* But for certain factors, their influence might have been

* supra, p.145.
greater still. Sir John Wynn was involved in long-running disputes over church property, though mainly in the diocese of St Asaph. He was on friendly terms with Bishop Henry Rowlands of Bangor, less so with his successor, Lewis Bayly, and with William Morgan of St Asaph. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was a cadet, but highly successful member of this Williams-Griffith clan, a younger son of a younger son of William Williams of Cochwillan, Edmund Williams, who became Alderman (Mayor) of Conwy. Between 1616 and 1632, Bishop Lewis Bayly had his own family and followers to promote, and his relations with the gentry of the diocese were not always good. After Bishop Bayly’s death, two members of the group, David Dolben and Edmund Griffith, became successive Bishops of Bangor, but lasted only two and four years respectively. By the time of William Roberts’ appointment as bishop in 1637, Bishop Williams was in disgrace and in the Tower. It is interesting to speculate how things might have gone for this family group if Williams had yielded to pressure from Laud and become Bishop of Bangor. 102

Another very interesting and extensive network is revealed by sureties in the diocese of St Asaph. This had as its focal point Oliver Morris, gentleman, of Llangedwyn in Montgomeryshire. 103 Oliver Morris stood surety for at least 17 clergymen, some of them more than once. Most of them were appointed to parishes in Montgomeryshire, south Denbighshire or Shropshire (in the St Asaph diocese) - Berriew, Erbistock, Castle Caereinion, Llanarmon-Dyffryn-Geiriog, Llangadfan, Manafon, Llanymynech, Llanfyllin - but they included Rowland Owen at Bodfari (Flints.) and Thomas Meredith (Merthyr alias Criccieth), and Oliver Morrice (? a relative, at Llanaber) in the diocese of Bangor. He also stood surety for sinecure appointments - the rectories of Llandysul, Machynlleth, Denbigh and Nannerch and two prebends of St Asaph. By implication, Oliver Morris had a close relationship with some of the leading clerics of the diocese - John Davies (brother-in-law and collaborator of Bishop Parry), Lewis Gwynn (Rector of Denbigh, etc.) and John Williams (Rector of Llanymynech, Northop etc. and not to be confused with the Bishop of Lincoln.) His fellow sureties and candidates included members of the other leading gentry in the diocese - Foulkes, Kyffin, and Puleston.

A second network existed in St Asaph centring on the Thelwall family, particularly Simon Thelwall. The Thelwalls were an armigerous Denbighshire family, and Simon
was probably the same who matriculated at St Mary Hall, Oxford in 1584 before taking to the law. He became Proctor of the Court of Arches and Registrar of Bangor; he is described in 1622 as of the parish of St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, London. The Thelwalls were sureties for at least 13 clergymen, Simon Thelwall for 12 of them. As with Oliver Morris, these included cathedral prebends (Meifod 1622, Meladine 1625, a Cursal Prebend 1629), sinecures (Whitford 1634, Machynlleth 1639) and parishes (Welshpool 1623, Llanychan 1628 and 1638, Llandderfel 1641) and a sinecure in Bangor - Llanynys (1634). The Thelwalls stood surety for some of the key men in the diocese - Gabriel Parry (nephew of the Bishop) and Lewis Hughes (Rector of Machynlleth etc.) and were co-sureties with other leading families such as Morrice and Lloyd of Esclus. The motives of the Thelwalls may not have been disinterested. Four members of the family held livings in the diocese before the Civil War, including the prestigious sinecure of Whitford (William Thelwall 1634) and the lucrative rectory of Llandderfel (Andrew Thelwall 1641). In a diocese where virtually all the patronage was in the hands of the Bishop, public-spiritedness in the form of standing surety may well have brought its reward in the form of favour and influence. It is arguable that, like the Lord Chancellor, though on a smaller scale, the Bishop of St Asaph wielded so much patronage that he needed contacts with leading laymen in choosing suitable candidates.

No such comparable 'networks' have been discovered in the diocese of St David's. But the examples discussed above show an inner circle of influential clerics at work in Llandaff, and in Bangor and St Asaph a third way, apart from patronage and ordination, in which the gentry were closely involved in the workings of the Church.
NOTES


2. Shiels, Chalmers, *supra*.


5. Barratt, *op.cit.*, pp.358 - 61. In Lincoln, 1031 advowsons out of 1271 (81%) were in lay hands; in Oxford 141 out of 167 (84.5%); in Worcester, 132 out of 176 (75%).


7. *infra.* p.244

8. Exact figures for Llandaff and St David's are difficult to ascertain because of uncertainty as to rights of patronage in some parishes, and changes in others between 1558 and 1642. But even in Llandaff, the Bishop clearly held more patronage than in the three dioceses cited in n.5.

9. DRT II, 195.

10. *infra*, p.260


12. Shiels, *op.cit.*, p.38. These two families held a third of the patronage in the small county of Rutland. Shiels points out, however, that Lord Burleigh acted as a moderator rather than a promoter of Puritanism.


15. Owen, *op.cit.*, pp.241, 270. Only 16 London advowsons were in the hands of private individuals in 1603, only 5 of them peers of the realm.

16. The Bishop appointed John Holland to Kegidog in 1617. LI IV, p.149.


21. Bacon made, on average, 113 appointments to livings p.a. 223 in the first year of Elizabeth’s reign, when clergy were in particularly short supply. The scale of these appointments makes it clear that the Lord Chancellor could not know personally all his candidates. - O’Day, Eccl. Pat., pp. 90, 102.

22. In 1558/9, 110 of Bacon’s appointments were made on personal petition of the candidate (49%), a proportion which rapidly tailed off to 4% in 1562/3. In the 1560s, most candidates were appointed on the recommendation of bishops and other churchmen, thereafter joined by courtiers, colleges, etc., - ibid., p. 96.


25. DNB, Sir Thomas Bromley.


27. Bacon had a permanent staff to administer appointments. His registrar, Bartholomew Kempe, remained in office until 1592, but the importance of personal contacts between the Lord Chancellor and bishops, courtiers and heads of houses should not be underestimated. - ibid. p. 92.

28. The non-graduate in this group, William Horton, was appointed to the less prestigious parish of Selattyn, Salop.

29. DNB, Sir Christopher Hatton.


31. DNB, Sir John Puckering.

32. The degree of supervision exercised by the Chancellor over his subordinates is discussed by O’Day, Eccl. Pat., p. 93.


34. DNB supra.

35. c.f. O’Day, ibid., p. 94: ‘It seems likely that he was actively seeking to promote the moderate puritan cause and the interests of a learned preaching ministry’. Owen also, op. cit., p. 261, speaks of his concern for a graduate clergy and preaching ability, and regards him as more enlightened than his predecessors.

36. Tanner MS. 179 ff. 27v, 107v, 118, 168.

37. Ibid., f. 122v; LI IV, p. 110.

38. He was recommended by David Holland, armiger, whose chaplain he had been as a deacon. Tanner MS. 179, f. 80; AIP, p. 69.

39. Tanner MS. 179, f. 118v. John Williams is known to have supported the suits of seven petitioners in 1616 alone - O’Day, Eccl. Pat., p. 102.
40. Tanner MS.179, f.78; Croombe Court Collection 901/20. At least three possibilities are (i) becoming a schoolmaster; (ii) becoming a domestic chaplain and (iii) taking a living in England.


42. LI IV, p.61.

43. Tanner MS.179 f.24v; E334/14/62v; Tanner MS.179, ff.116, 178v; LI IV p.78. Christophers, *op.cit.*, pp.191 - 2, notes that Crown appointees in Surrey often moved on after only a short incumbency.

44. AC.

45. Tanner MS.179, ff.82v, 220.


47. Most incumbents who attained the degree of D.D., and many that of B.D., did so after appointment to a particular parish. The degree is worth citing as evidence of their continuing study and mental training after entering the parochial ministry.


51. LI IV, pp.6, 13.

52. AO.

53. Williams, as Bishop of Lincoln, was visitor of four Oxford colleges, including Brasenose and Lincoln, which produced numerous ordinands.


55. O'Day, *Eccl.Pat.*, p.90, notes that the average appointments p.a. had fallen to 98 under Coventry, 10% down on Ellesmere's time and 13% from early in Elizabeth's reign.

56. Coventry's chaplains examined candidates as to their learning and knowledge of Scripture. - *ibid.*, p.93.

57. All told, 59.7% of Coventry's appointees were M.As., a further 7% B.As. and 21.8% had higher degrees - i.e.88.5% of the total (1,223 out of 1,380) were graduates. 83% for Wales was, therefore, below the national average, but still respectable. - O'Day, *op.cit.*, p.105. A drop in Welsh students at Oxford in the 1630s may have contributed to the lower percentage. Griffith, *Welsh Students (supra)* pp.59 - 60, attributes this fall to economic pressures in Wales and a fall in the growth of population.

59. i.e. they were in Crown livings, unless the appointments were made p.h.v.

60. Llanddeiniolen was actually in the gift of the Prince of Wales, but the Lord Keeper is known to have made the appointment there in 1599. Eglwysail was a Crown living. LV.

61. For the network of information available in London, see O'Day, Eccl. Pat., p.95.

62. By contrast, patrons in Gloucester, Oxford and Worcester dioceses found it hard to find graduate clergy for poor livings. - Barratt, op.cit., p.405.

63. AO.

64. AO.

65. supra, p. 211.


67. AO.

68. AO.

69. LI IV, pp. 105, 104, 96.

70. LI IV, p.95.

71. LI IV pp. 102, 128, 109, 97, 126, 125, 126, 103, 93, 110. Christophers, op.cit., p.195, similarly notes ‘a few instances’ among the Surrey clergy of patrons appointing their relatives.

72. LI IV. pp. 97, 104, 105, 121.

73. PP I, p.249; ‘Dorothy Owen, widow of John Owen of Orielton, obtained the lease of the tithes of Brawdy and Hayscastle in February 1622 for the lives of Arthur Owen and Anne Owen, her daughter’.

74. Eamon Duffy in The Stripping of the Altars (Yale 1993) quotes an interesting (and apparently isolated) instance of a lady churchwarden, Lucy Scely, widow, at Morebath, Devon, in 1548. See p.499 et passim.

75. Mary, Countess of Pembroke, was apparently exercising the right of patronage on behalf of her husband at Machen in 1620. Alexander James was to do likewise with the next appointment, that of Henry James in 1625. LI IV p.115 does not shed any more light on the circumstances. There is, however, some uncertainty over Henry James’ appointment. He was either re-appointed, or his appointment was confirmed by Lord Keeper Coventry in 1634 (Croombe Court Collection 902/635), and it has been considered as a Lord Keeper’s appointment.

76. AC.

77. LI IV, p.195.

78. WII, pp. 228, 408.


80. For an account of Henry, Earl of Worcester, see Henry Dircks, The Life, Times and Scientific Labours of the Second Marquis of Worcester (London 1865). Henry was created Marquis of Worcester for his services to the King in the Civil
War (notably the defence of Raglan Castle) and the main subject of the book is his son, the second Marquis. LI IV, p.94 (Michaelston), p.51 (Llandynidr), p.55 (Llanbedr Painscastle).

81. LI IV, p.191.
82. AO for both John Bodvils.
83. LI IV, p.198.
84. Ibid.
85. LI IV, p.159.
86. Ibid.
87. op.cit, p.47
88. W II, pp.228, 408.
89. E334/14 f.206.
92. They had a common ancestor in Ednyfed Fychan. At the end of the first Civil War, Bishop Williams was prepared to address Oliver Cromwell as ‘cousin’ solely on the grounds of the latter’s family surname having formerly been Williams. There is no known connection between the two families.
94. E334/14 f.131v.
95. Ibid., 2.8.1609.
96. E334/17 f.370.
97. E334/14 f.177.
98. E334/14.
100. E334/16 ff.72v.
101. E334/17 f.25.
102. Laud offered Williams a pardon if he would take a Welsh or Irish bishopric in exchange for Lincoln, Lambeth Palace Codex Miscell 1030/92. Williams would not consider an Irish bishopric for fear of Strafford, and Bangor was the only Welsh bishopric which fell vacant during his disgrace (1637 - 40) though the document quoted is dated 7 July 1638, after Bishop Roberts’ appointment. For one of Caernarfonshire’s leading landowners to have become bishop of the diocese would have been an interesting concentration of power, but Laud seems chiefly to
have been interested in ousting Williams from the powerful diocese of Lincoln with its protected 'nests' of Puritanism.

103. Oliver Morris (al. Morrice) is mentioned in the *Calendar of Wynn Papers* Nos. 371 and 373 involved in business with Sir John Wynn of Gwydir over land purchases.

104. *AO* E334/16 f. 144.
IMPROPRIATIONS, CURACIES AND CHAPLAINCIES

The Unbeneficed Clergy: Curates, Chaplains and Schoolmasters

If the evidence for the beneficed clergy in Wales is patchy, that for the unbeneficed clergy can at best be described as sketchy. Several of the main sources do not purport to cover curates and chaplains - e.g. the *Libri Institutorum* and the Exchequer records the First Fruits and Tenths - though, as will be seen, curates are occasionally if illogically recorded. Parishes often have lists of incumbents displayed on church notice boards, but seldom lists of curates. The sources of information for curates and chaplains will be discussed below. However incomplete a picture emerges, it is one which should nevertheless be presented; the system could not have worked without these assistants to the parish clergy, and such information as is available helps to fill what would otherwise be a yawning gap in a study of the clergy.

It is important first of all to take cognisance of the kind of parish which one sort of curate served - the impropropriated parish where there was no proper vicarage constituted, but only a curacy, 'perpetual' or otherwise. As has been seen, Erasmus Saunders in *A view of the State of Religion in the Diocese of St David's about the beginning of the 18th Century* makes such impropiations the main burden of his complaint. But, as Saunders himself recognised, the problem was not only impropiations (perhaps not even mainly so) but those parishes which were 'turned over' to ill-paid curates. One difficulty in handling the subject is that the situation was not static between 1558 and 1642, let alone beyond those limits. In Saunders' day, the practice of 'appropriations' was 'spreading'. But the traffic was not all one way. There is evidence that some parishes, at one time 'turned over' to curates, received duly constituted incumbencies during the period 1558 - 1642, and there is a presumption of the same thing happening in others, particularly in the two southern dioceses.

Two initial questions to address are: the extent of impropiations; and how far the effects differed from diocese to diocese. Of St David's, Saunders wrote (with a sweeping generalisation), 'Almost all our tithes were appropriated either to the support of the bishopric, chapter or cathedral, or the use of religious houses' - the last group having, of course, fallen into lay hands at the Reformation. In the diocese of St Asaph, the rectorial tithes of ten parishes were appropriated to the bishop, the
prebendaries, or the vicars choral - Meliden, Llansilin, Rhuddlan, Tremeirchion, Abergele, Betws-ynant-Hros, Henllan, Llanefydd, Meifod and Gwyddelwern. Meliden was served only by a curate, and two other parishes where the prebendary was rector should probably also be included - Diserth, and Llanfair Talhaearn (where the two prebendaries were a kind of joint rector). But in the other nine, vicarages were duly constituted. Tremeirchion was assessed in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at only £5, and Llansilin at £8, but the others, upwards from £9. 10s. 0d., were not conspicuously worse off than many rectories in the diocese; Meifod at £15. 14s. 0d. and Henllan at £20 were better off than many. In addition to parishes held by the Cathedral, the lucrative rectory of Gresford (worth over £46) was held by the Dean and Chapter of Winchester; those of Guilsfield and Welshpool were held by Christ Church, Oxford, while Eglwys Fach rectory was purchased to endow Llanrwst School. In these parishes again, there were properly constituted vicarages. It may be noted that several of the vicarages which had impropriated rectories seem to have carried prestige and attracted distinguished incumbents - Abergele, Betws-ynant-Hros, and Gresford among them. The impropriated parishes in lay hands were Holywell (held after 1626 by Jesus College, Oxford), Mold, Ruabon, Wrexham, Llanfair Caereinion, Berriew, Betws Cydewain, and Llanlwwchaearn - in all of which vicarages were constituted - and Ysbyty Ifan, Bryneglwys, Llandysilio-ynt-Iâl, Llansanffraid-Glyn-Cerig, Llanwddyn, Llanllugan, and Tregynon, which were served only by curates. The Wynne family held four of these (Bryneglwys, Llandysilio, Ruabon and Wrexham), the Blayneys held Berriew and Betws Cydewain, and the Davieses of Gwysany held Holywell and Mold. The latter was an important town parish, but was assessed at only £10 p.a.; but, as with the parishes whose rectories had been appropriated by Church bodies, those held by laymen in the diocese of St Asaph had vicarages which were for the most part adequately endowed. The problem in the diocese mainly concerned the parishes served by curates.

Of the Welsh dioceses, St Asaph had the fewest impropriate parishes, both in numbers and as a proportion of the whole. The full analysis given in the previous paragraph shows some of the difficulties involved in arriving at a precise figure. The reports of the bishops to Archbishop Whitgift in 1603 include the number of impropriate parishes in the various dioceses - an indication that Whitgift was concerned about them. That
for St Asaph puts the number at nineteen. As shown above, the figure should be higher - ten impropriated to the diocese (or twelve if Diserth and Llanfair Talhaearn are included), four to other bodies, and eight to laymen, while, if the curacies are included, a figure of thirty-one would be reached. It is difficult again, to reach a precise figure for the total number of parishes. As has been said above, the opinion of the present writer is that the figures given in the 1603 returns for Bangor are too low, those for the other Welsh dioceses too high. Some adjustment to the figures would, therefore, be necessary. But on the figures given in Harleian MS.280, St Asaph had 19 impropriate parishes out of 121 (15.7 per cent; perhaps 25 per cent would be more accurate); Bangor had 38 impropriations out of 61 (62%); Llandaff had 98 impropriations out of 177 (55%) and St David’s 100 out of 305 (32.7%). At least on these figures, a 'league table' can be established, with the dioceses (in ascending order of proportions of impropriate parishes) - St Asaph - St David’s - Llandaff - Bangor.

From this, two things emerge. The first is that St David’s, whose state Erasmus Saunders found so lamentable, was not the diocese most affected with impropriations. The other is that, with Bangor at the top of the table, impropriations can hardly have been, in themselves, the problem Saunders made them out to be - Bangor was, by any reckoning, one of the more fortunate among the Welsh dioceses at this time. For the sake of comparison, it may be noted that the figures in the 1603 returns give Gloucester a percentage of 46.8 impropriations, Hereford 53, Chester 39.4 and Carlisle 19.3. The Welsh dioceses were, therefore, not conspicuously different, and certainly not conspicuously worse, than their English counterparts.

In the diocese of Bangor, the rectory of Amlwch was 'annexed' to the bishopric, Llangristioulos to the archdeaconry of Anglesey (which itself became joined to the bishopric), Llandudno to the archdeaconry of Merioneth, Gyffin to the deanery and Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd to the prebend of Llanfair. Only the last had a properly constituted vicarage. The rectory of Llanfihangel-y-Traethau was traditionally held by the Treasurer. The prebend of Penmynydd seems to have carried with it the care of souls. The rectory of Trefeglwys had been impropriated to Haughmond Abbey before the Reformation, that of Towyn to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry; Aberdaron, once impropriated to Bardsey Abbey, was purchased for the Master of St John's College, Cambridge. Trefeglwys, Towyn, and Aberdaron all had vicarages, though
Aberdaron seems to have passed through a period of transition. Towyn was assessed at only £6. 13s. 4d (the rectory at nearly ten times that figure) and this was the least well endowed of the three. In addition to these the diocese had a number of poorly endowed vicarages and curacies, which will be discussed below.

The bishopric of Llandaff had three parishes impropriated to it - Bedwellte, Coedcernyw, and St Bridge's, Wentloog; Merthyr Mawr was annexed to the archdeaconry; the Cathedral Chapter had Llangovan and Penycraith, also Llanvaches; individual prebends had Llandogo and Penteri (to Caerau), Llandevaud and Llanaber (to Warthacwm). Llanbadoc was impropriated to the bishopric of St David's. Lay impropiators in the diocese included the Mansell family (Margam) and the Williamses of Usk (Trostre). None of these parishes had a vicarage constituted, nor did other impropriated parishes - Llanishen, Llysfaen, Briton Ferry, Ewenny, Llanseinor, Malpas, Monkswood, Newchurch and St Arvan's. Clearly, the loss of revenue through impropriations was a greater problem in Llandaff than in the northern dioceses.

A similar picture to that existing in Llandaff emerges in St David's. Four impropriated parishes had proper vicarages constituted - Carmarthen, Llanbadarn Fawr, Mathry, and Trelech-a'r-Betws. The vicarage of Llanbadarn Fawr was assessed at £20 p.a. and indeed seems to have been a prestigious parish. But the other three were poorly endowed - Mathry assessed at £4. 6s. 7d., Carmarthen and Trelech at £6. 13s. 4d each. Carmarthen, indeed, seems to have been without an incumbent until the Civil War. The castle and market town of Builth had an impropriate rectory with provision only for a curate, and in the early eighteenth century there was only £10 p.a. to provide for two curates. More remote parishes with provision for a curate only included Dihewyd, Llanfair Nant Gwyn, Talley, and Tremaen.

Provision in impropriated parishes was, therefore, best in the diocese of St Asaph; in the other three, and particularly the southern dioceses, there is support for Erasmus Saunders' strictures. But as well as parishes 'turned over to curates', there were others where in theory, vicarages or rectories were constituted, but where no incumbent is known to have been appointed for long periods between 1558 and 1642, or even throughout. Again, St Asaph has the best record. Only two parishes fall
into this category, and for each there is a satisfactory explanation. The vicar of Llanrhaeadr-y-mochnant received the tithes for Llanarmon-mynydd-mawr, which he or his curates served virtually as a chapel-of-ease. Llanaelhaearn was assessed at the princely sum of 13s. 4d. In 1550, there were only four parishioners, and it was united with Gwyddelwern. Six years later under Mary Tudor, Bishop Goldwell ordered the vicar of Gwyddelwern to say Mass in the two churches, but by 1702, even the site of Llanaelhaern church was 'long lost'. Six parishes in Bangor diocese had no known appointment of an incumbent - Llannor, Nefyn, Penmachno, Carno, Llanegryn, and Llanbedr (Menai deanery). Note should also be taken of Abererch, where no appointment is known between Richard Conwy in 1582 and Hugh Conwy (a descendant?) in 1673. Carno, Llanegryn, Nefyn, and Penmachno are listed in Bishop Meyrick's return of 1563 as served by curates, and they and the others may in fact have been functioning throughout as curacies. Nefyn was assessed at only £2. 8s. 0d., which may have been insufficient to support a vicar unless he had private means. Penmachno, however, was better endowed at £9. 10s. 0d. The village was less isolated at that time before it was by-passed by Telford's Llangollen-Bangor road (A5) but the parsonage house may have been inadequate. Whatever the circumstances, it was in this parish that Bishop Morgan was born and spent his earliest years. No parish records are extant from Penmachno earlier than 1710, possibly being lost when fire destroyed the church in the nineteenth century. The absence of such records makes it still more difficult to ascertain what sort of ministrations it received.

The situation in the southern dioceses is less clear. Harleian MS.595 (Bishop Kitchen's return for Llandaff) is a particularly useful document, listing parishes and clergy serving them (including curates). For some parishes, it is the only document in the period giving any information. It lists 38 parishes in the diocese served by curates (see Vol.II, pp.288 - 91). Two of these, Bonvilston and St Hilary, are cited in the Valor Ecclesiasticus as incumbencies; but if no regular vicar was being appointed, it explains why the names of only one curate and one vicar (in 1560) are known respectively for them. The document is particularly revealing in recording that Goldcliff and Nash in Monmouthshire were insufficient to support a vicar, and were served by a curate for the two parishes. On paper, at least, they were not the poorest of parishes, being assessed at over £13 and £9 respectively, but the figures in
the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* are unreliable. A curate would not be expected to keep the same duty of hospitality as a vicar. Nash had an incumbent by 1588, Goldcliff possibly not until the early seventeenth century. The revelation about these two parishes suggests the possibility that there were others served by curates because of their 'insufficiency'. The return also mentions Uwchelli as vacant for thirty years (i.e. 1533 - 63) and the church 'almost fallen down' - an early example of the decay lamented by Erasmus Saunders. The list supplied by Bishop Kitchin is not totally comprehensive, but some of the parishes not included had in fact become chapels of ease e.g. Welsh St Donat's (al.Llandunwyd) and Llanfair Cilgoed, and may be compared with Llanarmon-mynydd-mawr and Llanaelhaern in St Asaph diocese.

The information yielded for St David's in Harley MS.595 is the least satisfactory of the four returns. In the first place, no names are given of clergy serving in the diocese (a defect it shares with Bangor) but it is less easy to piece together from it an exact picture of which places were curacies or chapelries. Over 100 curacies and chapelries are listed; these include a variety of places: town parishes where a proper vicarage had not been constituted (St Mary's, Pembroke; the three churches in Haverfordwest; Builth); chapels of ease - Caldey (Tenby) and Mwnt (Verwick), for example; a group of parishes on the Brecon-Herefordshire border, some of them in England, e.g. Ewyas Harold and Oldcastle; perpetual curacies, e.g. Llanstinning and Monington; and also several parishes which, like Bonvilston and St Hilary in Llandaff, in theory should have been incumbencies; Llanfihangel Brynpabuan and Llanbadarn Fynydd in Brecon and Radnor may well have become curacies for 'insufficiency'. Another 30 or so curacies and chapelries might be added to the list (see Vol.II, p.294). These include Strata Florida and Talley, where a chapelry of some sort seems to have survived after the dissolution of the monasteries; Spital and Llanddewi Aberarth may likewise have found themselves in limbo after the upheavals of the Reformation. Llanfair Nant Gwyn had become a chapelry of Whitechurch. But the uncertainty left may reflect two things; first, the difficulty in administering the vast, rambling diocese of St David's, and secondly, that Bishop Richard Davies had been diocesan for only two years when the return had to be made - Bishop Kitchin had been at Llandaff for eighteen years, and his grasp on the details of his diocese has received favourable comment.
So far as evidence for the personnel of the curacies is concerned, then, Harleian MSS.594/5 provide invaluable information for 1563; Bangor has a comprehensive list of those parishes which were served by perpetual and assistant curates, but without their names; St David's has a less reliable but still useful list of curacies and chapelries, but again, without any names. St Asaph and Llandaff have lists of names. The other principal source of information is provided by the ordination lists for the Bangor diocese, which are more or less complete. The researches of Archdeacon Thomas in St Asaph and J.A. Bradney in Monmouthshire unearthed a few parishes for which a more or less continuous list of perpetual curates can be put together. Otherwise, it is a case of an isolated reference in a biography or parish record. The resulting 'sketch' of the curates, therefore, consists of a line drawn across St Asaph and Llandaff in 1563, a line running through the diocese of Bangor and a few individual parishes, and an occasional touch here and there - a picture rather less complete than one of those unfinished Michelangelo masterpieces where parts are complete but where the imagination has to supply the colour and even the lines of the rest.

Harleian MS.594 lists 22 parishes in St Asaph diocese which were served by both an incumbent and a curate. These include several of the larger towns in the diocese - Wrexham, Oswestry, and Newtown - as well as several of the wealthier or more prestigious parishes - Bodfari, Northop, Betws-yn-Rhos, Cerrig-y-Drudion. Although the important towns of Denbigh and Mold were served by an incumbent alone, both had chapelries or perpetual curacies attached - Denbigh Parochial Chapel, Nerquis, and Treuddyn (attached to Mold). There is no single reason why an incumbent should have wanted a curate. The Vicar of Wrexham was away on study leave at Oxford; the rector of Bodfari was a pluralist; the Vicar of Betws-yn-Rhos and the Rector of Cerrig-y-Drudion were both nearing the end of their incumbencies, having been there, respectively, over 20 and over 40 years - both probably feeling the weight of age. But the truth probably is that in some instances, an incumbent quite simply wanted a curate and could afford one. Nine other curacies and chapelries are listed in the diocese. Three of these were parishes where the rector was ex officio a canon of the Cathedral - Diserth, Llanfair Talhaearn, and Meliden; Meliden parish also included the chapelry of Rhiwlynfnwyd alias Newmarket, which does not appear in other records. Bryneglwys, Eglwys Rhos, and Llandysilio-yn-Iâl were perpetual curacies (referred to already -
where the rectory was impropriate in lay hands); Halston and Melverley in Shropshire were chapelries. Eight curacies or chapelries are listed as having no divine service. Llansanffraed-Glyn- Ceiriog and Llanwddyn were both parochial curacies, and the lack of provision must be a cause for some concern - both were quite large and isolated parishes. The other six were chapelries which were either a chapel of ease (Capel Garmon - for Llanrwst), a garrison chapel (Denbigh Castle), or chapels associated with pre-Reformation devotion, notably the great shrine church of St Winifred at Holywell, just beginning a long period of decline before its restoration by Queen Mary of Modena in 1688 - still a focus of 'folk religion' for the many, and a centre of on-going devotion to Roman Catholics. Ministrations were available in the parish church where all these chapelries were situated.

Of those perpetual curacies where some kind of continuity is known, Meliden was served by William Hughes as curate in 1563, possibly the same who became Rector of Llysfaen in 1568 and Bishop in 1573. No other curate is known until the death of Richard Browne in 1623 - how long he had been curate is uncertain; he was possibly the same who was Vicar of Nannerch in 1589, or his son. William Griffith succeeded him, probably the one who became Vicar Choral in 1635. John Kyffin was also Prebendary of Meliden and Treasurer - a rare instance of a prebendary deciding to take on the care of souls where he was rector. Morgan ap Morgan was deprived under the Commonwealth in 1649; how long he had been curate is uncertain. The borough and county town of Flint constituted a chapelry within the parish of Northop. Nicholas Johns or Jones, known to have been there in 1548, may not have survived until the accession of Elizabeth; Thomas Brereton who was also Vicar of Northop was curate in 1563, Henry Morgan (?1620 - 23) later became Vicar of Pennant (1623) and of Cilcain (1628). Edward Jones (1624 - 27) combined the role with that of Rector of Llanelian, some 16 miles distant. John Prosser (1603), Richard Spicer (1627) and Henry Morris (1641) are not otherwise known. It is of some interest that in the 1630s the townspeople complained of having no preaching in Welsh. Diserth provides the names of no fewer than eight curates in this period. David ap Ieuan ap Tudur (1558) is possibly the same who became Rector of Mellteyrn in Bangor diocese in 1560. William ap David who was there in 1563, is impossible to distinguish among numerous William Davieses. Robert ap Edward, who died in 1611, is the next one known; he
for a time had charge of Caerwys (five or six miles away) when Thomas Griffiths, the vicar, was under suspension. Morgan Owens, known to have been there in 1615, may be the same who became Bishop of Llandaff in 1640 - if so, gaining parochial experience as a young graduate. Richard Pearkes (1615), Rice Fulkes (1623), Maurice Vaughan (1635), and John Piers (1636) all seem to have gone on to become incumbents. Edward Evans, Curate of Nerquis (1590), became Vicar of Mold (1594-1612). These cases, therefore, provide several instances of a curacy being a post of priest-in-charge of a parish, a stepping stone to a full incumbency; the way in which such a position would often be used today. It was not so in every instance. William Powell, Curate of Nerquis in 1620, may have held the office for the incredible space of 75 years, until his death in 1695, when he must have been nearly, if not over, 100; in 1682, he was also Curate of Treuddyn. He may have been the kind of clergyman who would not have been appointed an incumbent under the Anglican system, probably because of lack of academic learning, possibly because he lacked private means; he may be the same who was minister at Llendegla 1645 - 53 under the Puritans - in which case he must at least have been able to preach. Oliver Thomas, Curate of Eglwys Rhos in 1625, was possibly the Puritan author of that name,* possibly also minister at Llanrhaeadr-y-Mochnant during the Interregnum. Llanwddyn, without a curate in 1563, had Evan Lloyd in 1623 - possibly Vicar of Holywell in 1635 - and John Prydderch in 1627; it was not, therefore, left permanently bereft.

In trying to assess the academic qualifications of the curates at the beginning of our period (i.e. up and including the return for 1563), several difficulties are encountered: the problem of identification, and knowing whether or not some who were serving earlier were still there at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Nevertheless, what stands out is that the vast majority had no university connection so far as is known. 'Sir David' (Llanefydd 1563, and another at Ysbyty Ifan), 'Sir Thurstan' (Halston) and the 'Sir' at Northop whose name is not specified, could have been university students, possibly even Bachelors of Art, but it seems unlikely. What is equally clear is that those whose names occur after 1563 include a much higher proportion of graduates and possible university students; each group perhaps amounted to about a third of the total. Somewhat less than half of those serving as curates are known to have held incumbencies at some time in their career. As has been seen, two among them may * infra, p.339.
have gone on to become bishops; another (who will receive mention below) was also a schoolmaster. There was, therefore, no absolute distinction between beneficed and unbenediced clergy, but it seems clear that some at least were destined to non-incumbent status for the whole of their career.

The return for Bangor diocese in 1563 reveals 31 parishes which were served by both an incumbent and a curate - a higher number than in St Asaph. The list, however, includes Penmynydd, where the incumbent was a prebendary of the Cathedral, and Gyffin, a perpetual curacy where the rector was the dean. The figure also reflects the large number of parishes in the diocese which had chapels of ease, particularly in Anglesey, where Llantrisant had as many as four. What is more remarkable is that there was clearly no shortage of curates in the diocese. The impression is confirmed by there being 33 other curacies in the diocese. These include three groups of three chapelries (e.g. Pentraeth, Llanbedr, and Mathafarn) which were served by a single curate. Parishes like Nefyn and Penmachno, which had dropped in status to curacies, have already been mentioned. The most important parish served by a curate was St Peter's, Ruthin. Here the dissolution of the medieval collegiate church left a flourishing town poorly provided until Dean Goodman's new foundations (a grammar school, and almshouses with a clerical warden) made good the deficiency. Caergybi (Holyhead) was likewise left a curacy by the dissolution of the college, while Beaumaris had not yet attained the status of a parish. Tudweiliog, far down the Llyn Peninsula, was 'served by other curates'.15 (i.e. those serving near-by parishes). Without a list of names revealing who was serving where, one cannot be sure how much cross-coverage there was, particularly how many incumbents also took on curacies; but if the diocese was able to muster some 60 curates, the achievement is impressive at least in numbers. Equally impressive is the fact that only three chapelries are returned as having no divine service; Ceidio, Llanerchymedd, and Nantgwnadl. Ceidio was annexed to Nefyn (some three miles distant.) Llanerchymedd was a chapel of ease at the southern extremity of Amlwch parish, and finding the nearest ministrations probably involved the residents in some travel. Nantgwnadl, or Llangwnadl as it is more usually known, was held with Tudweiliog, some six miles away, and Bryncroes was in fact nearer. Among individual cases may be noted Hugh Robinson, who was Curate of Llandegai from 1613 until his ejection in 1650; also
Rector of the nearby (but not adjacent) parish of Caerhun, he was a Doctor of Divinity. Piers Thomas was appointed Curate of Beaumaris in 1576, and is known to have been there in 1611, 35 years later. He was an Oxford student, probably not a graduate, and seems to have found a fulfilling ministry as a curate in a market and county town. Some 22 of the Bangor curates are known to have gone on to become incumbents, three possible became prebendaries, one (Griffin Williams, Curate of Llanfihangel Yscetifiog) was a D.D. and became Dean of Bangor and Bishop of Ossory. Four curates in the diocese who were also schoolmasters will be discussed below. Only one curate in the diocese before 1563 can be named - Richard ap Jenns (sic), who was Curate of Llanallgo in 1561. Those appointed after 1563 break down into 19 probably graduates, 16 possible students, and 22 with no known university connection - figures not remarkably different from those in St Asaph.

Harley MS.595 lists 11 parishes in the diocese of Llandaff in 1563 that were served by both an incumbent and a curate. This number is only half that in St Asaph and little more than a third of those in Bangor, yet Llandaff had more parishes than either. It must represent in part a reflection of the relative poverty of the diocese - that few incumbents could afford curates. It is not surprising that one of the parishes should have been Merthyr Tydfil, where the rector was the Archdeacon, John Smith, who was resident in Exeter. There were other instances of plurality or non-residence at, for instance, St George's-super-Ely, Marcross, and Cadoxton-juxta-Neath. But it is remarkable that Bishop Kitchin returned very few parishes in his diocese which were without provision altogether, and the small number of curates may reflect a difficulty of recruiting clergy for the diocese (because of its poverty) with the consequent deployment of those available to take charge of parishes rather than becoming assistant curates. Whether Bishop Kitchin's return conceals parishes, virtually defunct, which were being neglected, is another matter. As has been seen, in addition to the 11 assistant curates recorded in the diocese, there were some 37 curacies and chapelries, some of them doubled up, which were served by curates. There were a few parishes in the diocese which had chapels of ease, such as Llantrisant (Llantwit Fardre and Ystradyfodwg) or had virtually taken over other parishes as chapelries (Redwick by Magor), but on nothing like the same scale as in the diocese of Bangor, and, unlike Bangor, Llandaff seems not have provided assistant curates to help the incumbent with
these chapelries. With virtually all the Llandaff curacies, only a single name of a curate is known, either from the 1563 return or from other sources. The exceptions are Bishton and Llanfihangel Llantarnam (two each), Llanishen and Llansoy (three each) and Llanbadog with six. Bedwellte should perhaps be added to the list. But Miles Griffiths (1569) and William Evans (1588) compounded for First Fruits and Tenths as Rectors, and it must be doubtful whether this was their correct status, or whether they were in fact Curates-in-charge with the Bishop as Rector. The latter was the position at Llanbadog, and it may be compared with Diserth in St Asaph diocese. As at Diserth, the curates seem to have been men of distinction, most of them possibly university men, and three of them probably going on to incumbent status elsewhere. One curate of particular note was John Dowle, who began his ministry as Curate-in-charge of St John the Baptist-infra-Cemais, becoming Vicar of Caerwent the following year, and eventually becoming a doctor of divinity and Treasurer of the Cathedral. David Williams, Rector of Sudbrook from 1625, took a curate (William Hutton) three years later; no particular reason why he should have done so is known - Williams seems to have remained as rector until the Civil War, and is not known to have been a pluralist. John Clegg, Rector of Llansoy and Llangybi, Prebendary of Warthacwm and, in 1646 (at least nominally), Archdeacon, clearly was a pluralist, and his employment of three successive curates, William Thomas (1631 - 34), Francis Price (1636 - 39) and Hugh Walter (1643) makes good sense. Thomas and Price were probably both university men, and both went on to be incumbents. It is of some interest that Clegg was ejected by the Puritans, partly for his inability to preach in Welsh. Whether his curates made up for this deficiency must remain a matter of speculation, but Price seems to have been a native of Monmouthshire and the son of a priest. Of the curates in Llandaff whose names are known, those appointed up to 1563 were largely men with no known university connections (possibly 75%). Of those appointed or known after 1563, the balance is the other way (8 possibly graduates, 9 possibly university men, and only 5 with no known university background). That the total number of curates known after 1563 is only about half the number known before underlines the importance of the 1563 return as a source. At least 20 curates are known to have gone on to become incumbents, some outside
the diocese, and at least three are known to have become prebendaries of the Cathedral.

The large number of curacies and chapelries known in St David’s diocese has already been remarked upon. That the names of only about 30 curates are known for the entire period reveals the gap in the knowledge available. Even of these, some only doubtfully belong within the compass of this study. Henry Storbow (Uzmaston 1534), Thomas Lloyd (Moylgrove 1536) and Thomas Martin (Oystermouth 1554) may have survived to the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign; Francis Coulton (Uzmaston 1647) and David Davies (Tremaen 1646) may have been appointed before the Civil War; Ambrose Mostyn (Pennard 1642) is clearly on the border-line. If these, and Morys Griffiths (St Martin’s, Haverfordwest 1550) are excluded, the number of names known is little more than 20. This means that either those known become a dangerously small sample, or a large number of curacies were neglected - probably both, though where the balance lies between the two would be significant in deciding how reliable Erasmus Saunders’ picture was for this period. Of the catalogue of names known, four are from Maenclochog between 1564 and 1582 - a perpetual curacy where the appointments were made by the Lord Keeper. Two of the four (William Davy and Richard Williams) were possibly university men, while Hugh Vaughan and Richard Williams are probably those who subsequently took livings in the diocese. Four names again come from the perpetual curacy of Moylgrove, three from Pembrokeshire Parsons and one from Tanner MS.179 - Lord Ellesmere’s appointment of Griffin Jones (1607), possibly an Oxford man, probably the same who became Vicar of St Issell in 1613. Bishop Mainwaring’s Register yields the names of one curate-in-charge - John Owens, to take care of Caldey Island; he was also Vicar of the parent parish, Tenby;29 it also yields the name of one assistant curate, Howell Prosser, appointed to the important parish of Llanbedr-Pont-Steffan in 1637.21 One of the St David’s curates about whom most is known is Edward Provand. He was Rector of Cilgerran (1621), and was acting as curate of both Llantwyd and Monington in 1624. On paper at least, Cilgerran was worth £9 p.a., Llantwyd £5, and Monington £3.10s.0d. It seems a clear instance of an incumbent, not a university man, virtually doubling a rather meagre stipend by taking on two additional curacies. The arrangement was no doubt facilitated by the Crown being the patron of both Cilgerran
and Llantwyd. Griffin Jones, Vicar of St Dogmael's (1598), may have held it in conjunction with Moylgrove (1607), though he seems to have been replaced at St Dogmael's in 1599. At the other end of the diocese, William Davies, Vicar of Bochrwyd (1619), became also Curate of Battle in 1624 - the livings were worth respectively £12. 6s. 8d and £5. 5s. 0d. Thomas George, B.A., was similarly Rector of Llyswn and Curate of Llan-y-wern in 1617 - in this case the curacy was worth £5, the rectory only £3.18s.7d. The researches of Theophilus Jones in Breconshire brought to light the names of three curates-in-charge at Llandeilo'r Fan and again at Gweddwr. Apart from Richard David (or Davies) at Llandeilo'r Fan' (1580), who was possibly a B.A., and four years later, Rector of Llywel, little can be gathered about the men concerned. With such small numbers, and, probably so unrepresentative a sample, an analysis of their academic qualifications does not have very much meaning. Few of those appointed after 1563 seem to have been graduates, rather more possibly university students. What is perhaps significant is that there was apparently no drop in the proportion of non-university men such as took place in the other dioceses, even Llandaff. It leaves the suggestion that it was difficult to attract well qualified men to the poorer posts in the diocese.

Sketchy though the evidence is regarding the Curates, it is still possible to draw some conclusions. One is that generalisations can easily be misleading. The Welsh curates were not a homogeneous group. Some men served as curates early in their career on the road to incumbencies, canonries, or even bishoprics - as is normal practice in the Anglican churches today. Sometimes, the incumbent of one parish might also be curate of another. This would have been virtually unheard of between c.1850 - 1950, though it is not unknown today where an incumbent takes charge of several small parishes - I was myself for a time Rector of Ashley, Vicar of Weston-by-Welland and Curate-in-Charge of Sutton Bassett. What would be very unusual today, but not uncommon in the period under study, is for the incumbent of one parish to be also assistant curate to the incumbent of another parish. However much such a practice might be open to criticism, it was one practical way to deal with the problems of plurality and a clergy with no pension rights. What is in contrast with present-day practice is the existence in Elizabethan and early Stuart times of an under-class of clergy who were 'stuck' in curacies for the whole of their career. Generally, they
would only have been educated to a standard below university entrance, and would have been poorly paid. Nevertheless, Erasmus Saunders makes it clear that such men were often more devoted in their ministrations than some of the better paid, graduate incumbents. Christophers' comment on the graduate clergy as plurality-seekers has already been noted.22 He also sees curates in Surrey as being something of an underclass among the clergy, who rarely advanced beyond incumbent status, often not as far as that.23 Owen, however, notes that London incumbents, who were rarely appointed under the age of 35, usually had a period of service behind them, either as chaplains, curates or country parsons, though occasionally, a talented candidate from the universities might proceed at once to incumbent status.24

What is also clear is that the Welsh dioceses, like those in England, had inherited a situation from the Middle Ages which began with the impropriation of tithes to monasteries, cathedral chapters and colleges, and where proper pastoral provision and endowment had not always taken place. There was, too, the problem of the 'decayed' parish, like Llanaelhaearn in Montgomeryshire, or Llanddwyn in Anglesey. The Reformation, as such, did little to remedy such situations, and until enabling legislation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made procedure swifter and cheaper, changes in the status of a parish could usually only take place by Act of Parliament.

It is clear, too, that the Anglican Church in Wales, as in England, suffered from a distinction of its clergy by status rather than by function - bishops, incumbents and curates, with the last-named group underestimated and usually under-paid. This again was a legacy of the Middle Ages. One of the greatest of the medieval popes, Innocent III (1198 - 1216) laid down the principle, 'Let nothing come before the care of souls'. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) launched a drive to ear-mark the revenues of the Church for those who were actually performing its ministrations. But three centuries later, the Catholic Church had made only partial headway with this great vision. After the Reformation, the Anglican Church came under attack from the Puritans for its retention of offices such as dean, prebendary and archdeacon, usually well-paid, but unknown to the New Testament; meanwhile, incumbents and particularly curates were often under-paid. As has been seen, Archbishop Whitgift and his disciples did much to make the system more acceptable at incumbent level. Some improvement took place where a curacy was a first (or at least an early) step in a
clerical career. But not for another two centuries could every curate expect to find, if not a bishop's mitre, at least the key to a vicarage, in his knapsack.

Chaplains to Private Patrons Mainly in the Diocese of Bangor

One area of particular interest in the Bangor Episcopal registers is the record of men ordained not as curate of a church or assistant to an incumbent, but to a title as chaplain to a private person, usually a member of the gentry. The Bangor registers give the names of over 100 clergymen so ordained between 1567 and 1608. Some of those ordained before 1567 and after 1608 may also have been chaplains to the gentry, but there is no indication of this. Bangor diocese was, of course, not unique in this respect, and Archdeacon Thomas noted the names of eight of the gentry in St Asaph diocese and Flintshire who kept domestic chaplains (see Vol.II, p.257). William Holland of Abergele was, indeed, one of those for whom the Bishop of Bangor ordained chaplains. Thomas defines their duties as including those of domestic chaplain, tutor to the children, and attendant on the squire. The duty of domestic chaplain would involve the conduct of prayers for the household, perhaps including Prayer Book Matins and Evensong, anything from weekly to daily. But it may be noted from the Bangor records that the gentry required, not just a deacon, who could discharge these functions, but a priest; and several of the chaplains proceeded to the priesthood after only a short interval, perhaps even on the same day. This suggests that gentlemen wanted a celebration of Holy Communion in their households, perhaps more frequently than the quarterly celebrations which were common at that time in many parish churches. It is possible that some of them wanted to avail themselves of sacramental absolution as in the days before the Reformation. What is not clear is whether these domestic chaplains acted as unofficial curates in the parishes where they resided. Parishes like Dolbenmaen and Llandegai, where they are found, which did not have the services of a proper incumbent, may have occupied them in the dual role of chaplain and curate, with the squire and possibly the parishioners footing the expenses - a useful supplement to the ministry when money was short. But Abergele, or the Cathedral parish at Bangor, already had due ministrations, and it must be supposed that the chaplains here confined themselves to their patron's household.

* See further on William Holland of Abergele, p.301.
More will be said later about their role as tutors, though the main duty largely speaks for itself. But it may be recalled that the Welsh gentry had a long tradition as patrons of learned men. Traditionally, they had been the patrons of the bards and native Welsh culture. That role still continued, but the Renaissance brought an interest in classical learning in Wales as elsewhere, and a new prestige attached to having a man learned in Latin (and possibly Greek) in the households of the gentry, particularly when they were sending their sons to the universities and sometimes to English public schools. But though some of the domestic chaplains were graduates, not all were (so far as is known) even university students; but comment on these will be made later. ‘Attendant on the squire’ was likely to mean more than a learned flunky or a man of letters to show off to one’s guests. Obviously it would vary from household to household, but other likely possibilities which suggest themselves are the use of these educated men for some kind of secretarial work, perhaps book-keeping, or as a trusted servant to go on errands.

So far, the gentry have been taken as normative as the patrons of these chaplains. They certainly were the employers of the great majority of them - *generosus* or *armiger* appear against most of their names, with the occasional *miles*. It is a moot point whether these should be treated separately from those whose patrons were clergy. This distinction has in fact been followed, the supposition being that when Edmwnd Prys, for instance, had a chaplain with a title to him he was in fact Curate of Ffestiniog and probably assisting also in Prys’ archidioconal duties. But as well as the gentry, there is one clear instance of a chaplain ordained to the household of a merchant - John Martyn to William Martyn, of Bangor. Domestic chaplains were not, therefore, the exclusive preserve of one social class.

Of some 112 chaplains under consideration, 35 can plausibly be reckoned to have been graduates - not necessarily at the time of their ordination. A further 27 have names which appear in the university lists and who may therefore have been students - again possibly after their ordination. Fifty, however, have no known university connection. Of these, 22 are entered as *literati* - men learned in grammar (the basic qualification for the sacred ministry), the equivalent of having completed a grammar school education. Four are entered as scholars. This last group are particularly interesting. The term usually means ‘one still studying grammar’; that must be assumed to be the
meaning here, in which case their role in the household may have been that of pupil-teacher - tutor to the younger children while still completing their own studies, perhaps with the advantage of access to the squire's library. Being a scholar or literatus at the time of ordination did not preclude the clergyman from continuing his studies, perhaps at university; indeed, William Reynold, ordained deacon on Christmas Day 1581 to the title of Maurice ap David ap Ieuan of Llandinam, is found at the time of his priesting in October 1583 to have been studying at Oxford. Though an isolated case, it may perhaps give an insight into the process that was in operation - that the gentry were sponsoring bright young men of limited means to be able to continue their studies, perhaps to gaining a degree; and it is very much to the credit of the class that they should have done so.

What is also significant is that at least 56 of these domestic chaplains can plausibly be identified as having moved into the regular parochial ministry. One or two are encountered as curates; one (Robert White) became Archdeacon of Merioneth, and another (Edmund Griffith), Bishop of Bangor. One, who will be mentioned below, became a schoolmaster. But most of them, as was to be expected, became incumbents of parishes. One or two, after going on to Cambridge University, ended up in livings in Essex and Suffolk. There is, indeed, a likelihood that others ended up in English benefices, but without a search of all diocesan records, it is impossible to ascertain whether this was so. Another part of the process that suggests itself; that a domestic chaplaincy could be a good way of starting a clerical career, particularly for the young, unmarried clergyman since it relieved him of domestic responsibilities. It obviously had attractions, not only for the impecunious not wishing to set up house. Several names among the leading gentry families appear among the domestic chaplains, and John Martyn was presumably related to William, the prosperous merchant of Bangor.

The great majority of the domestic chaplains who can be identified were ordained when Nicholas Robinson was Bishop of Bangor (1566 - 86). He ordained five deacons and three priests on 14 September 1572, ten deacons and one priest on 30 May 1574, six deacons and four priests on Christmas Day 1580, four deacons and four priests on Lady Day 1582 - and these represent the 'peak' numbers in the records of his ordinations. Domestic chaplains were ordained alongside those going straight into the parochial ministry, not at separate ceremonies. It may be that Bishop
Robinson saw the domestic chaplain as having a particular role to play in his diocese - a supplementation of the parochial ministry, perhaps in part an alternative to it; many of those whom he ordained are not known to have moved to curacies and incumbencies. But as well as ordaining men for his own diocese, the records show Bishop Robinson ordaining domestic chaplains for the dioceses of St Asaph, St David's, Chester, Hereford, Lichfield and Coventry, Worcester and Lincoln. Either his successors were less keen on the practice than Bishop Robinson, or more likely it met with the disapproval of Archbishop Whitgift, since there was a marked decline in the numbers ordained from 1584, the year when Whitgift became archbishop. Part of Whitgift's strategy against the Puritans was to compel them to take part in the parochial ministry where they would have to use the Book of Common Prayer. One of his last great achievements was the preparation of the Canons of 1604 which virtually confined the domestic chaplain to the households of the nobility. It is the belief of the present writer that Archbishop Whitgift made here one of his great mistakes, and one which did particular disservice to Wales: it restricted the sacred ministry too closely to the parishes; and it removed a flexibility in the deployment of clergy which was particularly adapted to the remoter and more impoverished parts of Wales. In the Principality, few Puritans were to be found lurking in the households of the gentry, while resident noblemen were few and far between.

Welsh Clerical Schoolmasters 1558 - 1642

The domestic chaplains just considered fulfil an important role in the ministry of the Welsh Church, at least in Elizabethan times. From the early days of the Church to the present day, there have been men who have felt the call to the sacred ministry, but not to serve in parishes. In the Catholic and Orthodox traditions, the monastic life has always offered an alternative. In the Reformed tradition, one of the main alternatives has lain in the academic and educational sphere; in England, it might be argued that St Augustine's monks at Canterbury began to teach almost as soon as they set out to preach and baptise. During the period under consideration, many Welsh clergymen spent most or all of their career as dons at Oxford and Cambridge. They lie outside the field of study, though they should not be forgotten. As there were no universities in Wales, the main scope for the non-parochial clergyman lay in school-teaching.
Grammar schools appeared on the scene relatively later in Wales than in England. In the Middle Ages, the great monasteries and collegiate churches offered an education in Wales as in England, often offering poor but bright boys a path-way to a life of greater opportunity. Such institutions disappeared under Henry VIII and Edward VI. Llanddewi Brefi may have survived for a time; the one long-term survivor was the College of Abergwili, transferred and refounded by Bishop Barlow at Brecon. Names of numerous canons of Brecon College are known under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts; it is probable that some of these taught in the school at Brecon, particularly those who were not involved in the parishes. Indeed, William Huet, Prebendary of Blaenporth and Llanwrthwl, is known to have been a schoolmaster, but at St David's. Otherwise, it was a long established custom in Wales for a learned clergyman to gather a group of boys around him and teach them, as country parsons used to do in Victorian times. This custom almost certainly continued after the Reformation - though there is very little record of it; an occasional reminiscence, or an entry in a university register that a candidate had been taught by some clerical gentleman. The domestic chaplains acting as tutors, described in the previous section, undoubtedly helped to fill a gap in the provision of education in grammar between the dissolution of the monasteries and the rise of the grammar schools. Not only the children of the family, but promising sons of the tenantry also, might be taught at the big house. There are traditions of monks surviving the dissolution being employed as tutors, and the great William Morgan was said by Sir John Wynn to have been taught along with the Wynn children at Gwydir before being sent on to Westminster School and Cambridge.

By the turn of the century, however, the grammar school was rapidly replacing the big house as the centre of education. Some 37 schools in Wales have been identified in Wales in this period, grammar schools and otherwise. Very little is known about most of them apart from their location - sometimes only that money was left in a will to found a school. At Llandeilo Gresynni in Monmouthshire, the money left may never have been taken up, and this may have been the case elsewhere. The list of 37 includes Oswestry Grammar School, situated in Shropshire, but part of the diocese of St Asaph - founded in the reign of Henry IV, and the oldest grammar school in the diocese. Monmouth, Old Radnor, and Presteigne were within Wales but part of the diocese of Hereford, while Hawarden was in the diocese of Chester. It is right to
include these schools as they would almost certainly be catering for boys from within the Welsh dioceses. The schools would average out at about three per county, but in fact they were very unevenly distributed. Monmouthshire had most, with seven; the large county of Montgomeryshire had only two, Cardiganshire had none. On a diocesan basis, St Asaph and Llandaff each had nine (supposing Llandeilo Gresynni actually to have got off the ground), Bangor had eight, St David’s (although the largest diocese) had only seven. The schools attached to the cathedrals at St Asaph and St David’s provided an education for more than their own choristers. But problems of distance could be overcome by boarding. John Williams, later to be Archbishop of York, was sent as a boarder to Ruthin Grammar School rather than to the grammar school at Llanrwst, nearer home. The more wealthy of the gentry were already sending their sons as boarders to English schools, particularly to Shrewsbury.

The names of only about thirty schoolmasters - or even probable schoolmasters - have come to light so far, but even this small sample, about which few relevant facts are known, seems to include all the possible permutations in relationships between the clerical ministry and the schools. John Kyffin, Headmaster of Oswestry Grammar School in 1624, held that post in conjunction with a string of incumbencies, including (for about a year) that of Oswestry town. Morris Hughes likewise was both Vicar of Abergavenny and Headmaster of the Grammar School, possibly for as long as thirty years. The Rector of Mellteyrn in Llyn was expected to be Headmaster of the Grammar School, while the Vicars Choral of Bangor, who had charge of the city parish, were expected to teach in the Friars School. Whether combining the two authority roles of incumbent and headmaster in the same person is a good idea is open to question. David Morys, Headmaster of Oswestry in 1562, combined it with being Vicar of Darowen; John Barclay, Headmaster in 1606, was successively incumbent of Llanddoget, Llansannan, and Newtown. All were some distance from Oswestry, and one assumes that, at least during term-time, he spent Monday to Saturday in school and rode out to his parish at the week-end. John Cragge was Headmaster of Abergavenny and Vicar of the adjacent parish of Llandeilo Bertholau, probably a better arrangement.

Some clergymen moved from school to parish, some moved the other way. John Davies, the famous lexicographer, was Headmaster of Ruthin, probably before taking
up his 40-year incumbency at Mallwyd. Edward Payne, ejected under Oliver
Cromwell after twenty two years as Headmaster of Oswestry, became Rector of
Cemais at the Restoration rather than returning to teaching. Two domestic chaplains
named John Martyn (or Martin) are known in the diocese of Bangor; one, already
noted, served William Martyn of Bangor, and the other William Morris of Treborth.
One of them, it is uncertain which, later became Rector of Llanberis before returning to
Bangor as Vicar Choral and Master at the Friars School, where his diligence was much
commended by the parents. His son, Thomas, also taught at the school as usher, and
was later ordained. Another William Martin, almost certainly of the same family, was
Rector of Llanfairpwillgwyngyll for a year before becoming Vicar Choral in 1629,
probably also teaching at Friars School. The Martins seem to have had teaching in the
blood, and were probably happier in the schoolroom than in the parish.

Another possibility was to combine a teaching post with a curacy. This gave the
schoolmaster the ministry to preach and administer the sacraments without having the
responsibility of running a parish. John Clerk and John Williams were masters at
Ruthin Grammar School and curates of Llanrhudd - a chapelry adjacent to the parish;
John Jones and Richard Williams were masters while being curates of Ruthin, which
may mean the same thing. Thomas Vaughan was curate and schoolmaster of Trinity
Chapel near Llandrinio in Montgomeryshire. He was a graduate of Jesus College,
Oxford, and no doubt taught grammar in that remote district. The undermaster at
Mellteyrn Grammar School was expected to be curate of either Bryncroes or Llanigon,
two parishes nearby which lacked a regular incumbent. Some chapelries and curacies
were in this way served by curates better qualified academically than might otherwise
have been expected.

Teaching posts might also be combined with sinecures. Maurice Burchenshaw, who
died in 1564, Surmaster of St Paul’s School, was Prebendary of Faenol, Precentor of
St Asaph, and sinecure Rector of Denbigh. Edmund Smyth a generation later,
Undermaster and later Headmaster of Merchant Taylors’ School, was Rector of
Bosherston in 1597 and ten years later, sinecure Rector of Stackpole Eliidir and Tenby.
Geoffrey Gethin, schoolmaster at Denbigh in 1560, was also sinecure Rector of
Llanbrynmair and Canon of St Asaph. William Huet, already noted, was a prebendary
of both Llanddewi Brefi and Brecon.
Two schoolmasters of Ruthin have a particular interest. Robert Griffith was originally ordained in 1601 to the title of Richard Griffith of Llandegai, to whom he was probably related. He may well have acted as both Curate of Llandegai and tutor at Penrhyn Hall, one of the great houses of Caernarfonshire. He was a master at Ruthin in 1607, and in 1615 became Rector of Llangwyfan in Dyffryn Clwyd, continuing thereafter in the parochial ministry. Lewis Lloyd was also ordained in 1601 to the title of Edward Lloyd, armiger, of Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd, to whom, again, he was probably related and very likely served as tutor in his household. He is known to have taken his B.A. degree, and may very likely have proceeded to an M.A. though there is no record of this. From 1609 to 1615, he was Headmaster of Ruthin. He is not known to have taken a parochial appointment, and may well be an example of a clergyman whose whole career was spent in teaching. A letter of Archbishop Laud (24 January 1636/7) reveals that something had recently gone 'very much amiss' at Ruthin School; the headmaster (whose name has not come down) had been dismissed, but the circumstances are not known. One thing seems clear. In England, and in Protestant countries on the Continent, a post as schoolmaster was usually regarded as a kind of curacy before a clergyman graduated to incumbent status. In Wales, this was clearly not always the case - a post as schoolmaster might actually be preferred to an incumbency. This may bear out the higher regard for book-learning traditionally ascribed to the Welsh. It is to be regretted that more is not known about the Welsh schoolmasters since they obviously played a vital role in the workings of the Church.

The problems discussed in this chapter arose to a large extent from the incompleteness of the Reformation. Improper parishes where no proper vicarage had been constituted and endowed, were a legacy from the Middle Ages. The recovery of improperly endowed revenues could only have been achieved in the face of opposition from the landed classes and other vested interests - too high a price to pay in Tudor times. The Elizabethan period also had experience of parishes being 'turned over to ill-paid curates' or even readers, either because adequate remuneration was not available or properly qualified clergymen could not be found; the
practice diminished, but did not disappear under the Stuarts. Improprations, and likewise decayed and depopulated parishes, were a problem that the Church had to live with in that age, in England and Wales alike.

In these circumstances, the rôle of the unbenefficed clergy underwent at least a partial transformation. Until the Reformation, something of a two-tier system was common in the parishes — graduate, beneficed clergy often non-resident, their duties supplied by an under-class of unbenefficed clergy frequently designated 'chaplains'. Such a system was at odds with the best thinking of the Middle Ages, and to a large extent gave way to the Reformed ideal of a resident, pastoral clergy. Nevertheless, higher clergy and even bishops still took on benefices and entrusted the actual care of them to curates. But at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, there were not enough well-qualified clergy even to fill all the incumbencies, and assistant curates had to be almost by definition an under-class. By the end of her reign, even graduate clergy had usually to serve a time as a chaplain or curate before taking on an incumbency — a transformation which reflected both the expansion of education and the improved status which the sacred ministry had acquired. There remained nevertheless an under-class of less well-educated curates who might never even attain incumbent status.

The scanty nature of the evidence on the unbenefficed clergy in Wales makes any conclusions tentative, but while differences can be detected between the Welsh dioceses, the overall picture seems to have differed little from that in England. The little evidence available suggests that clerical schoolmasters, few in number though they were, may still have played a useful and underestimated rôle in the sacred ministry. Did the sinecure clergy and the domestic chaplains also sometimes become involved in the parishes? There are at least hints that the answer might be 'yes', but the extent of such involvement remains tantalisingly unanswerable.
A Further Note on the Domestic Chaplain.

Most of the following section was written before the publication of William Gibson's *A Social History of the Domestic Chaplain, 1530-1840* (London and Washington, 1997). This book has particular value in focusing on a frequently neglected aspect of the sacred ministry, and placing the role of the domestic chaplain in the context of social life. In the period covered by this thesis, the domestic chaplain was generally held in low esteem, no longer the consecrated functionary of Catholic times, and not yet the learned cleric, fit company for gentlemen and men of letters. The domestic chaplain might enjoy a stipend which would have been the envy of many incumbents, let alone curates—£10 p.a. in most households, as much as £30 in those of the nobility—as well, very often, as free board and lodging. But the chaplain had to earn his keep by undertaking many tasks other than those of a priest—tutor, secretary and paid companion—and was often treated no better than a domestic servant.

Gibson’s study covers Britain south of the border. His general conclusions are not under question, but some caution might be exercised before applying them equally to Wales. It would be necessary to study the domestic servant in Wales (something beyond the scope of this thesis) to establish whether he (or she), and by implication, the domestic chaplain, had as menial a status in Wales, or in all parts of Wales, as in the great houses of England at this time (1558-1642). It is at least possible that the scarcity of new-style mansions in Wales helped to preserve for the servant more of the status of being 'one of the family'. It is also possible that in an area with a low standard of literacy, the Welsh domestic chaplain, with at least the equivalent of a grammar school education, carried more prestige than he would have done in England. The present author feels that the question must remain open as to whether the domestic chaplain in Wales in this period was better placed than his English counterpart. As will be seen in the following section and the appendix, domestic chaplains in Wales were not in short supply.
Notes

1. *Supra* p.1


6. *Supra* p.154

7. Harleian MS.280, f.164. Chalmers, *op.cit.*, p.113, attributes many of the problems of the Leicestershire clergy to impropriations, while Owen, *op.cit.*, p.90, notes that perpetual curates in London, on a fixed stipend, were particularly badly hit by inflation. Barratt, *op.cit.*, p.351, notes that 50 parishes out of 176 in the Diocese of Worcester (28%) were impropriated into lay hands, usually those of the lord of the manor; this was in contrast to the situation in Wales. - *supra* p.

8. DRT II, p.220.


11. Harleian MS.595, f.2


14. For these and other curacies see DRT ad *loc*.


17. AK.


19. Walker II, p.222. For Francis Price, see *AO*.

20. MR, p.2


25. DRT I, p.90.
26. The St Asaph 'Register' (see Appendix) included a memorandum that all priests were enjoined to say their morning and evening prayers daily during life on pain of excommunication. - G.M.Griffiths, 'A St Asaph "Register" of Episcopal Acts, 1506 - 71' in JHSCW, Vol.II (1956) p.33. This is a normal requirement of Anglican clergy. Parochial clergy are supposed to say Morning and Evening Prayer daily in their churches. Whether chaplains said the office privately, or publicly for their household, probably depended upon the wishes of their patrons.

27. David Morgan is recorded as Curate of Llandegai in 1623, 'who doth not dwell in that parish'. - Archaelogia Cambrensis, 3rd Series, Vol.9 (1863), p.284 (Llanllyfni Papers). David Morgan is not otherwise known, though he may have been the son of a former Rector of Llanfairpwllgwyngyll, and a student at Jesus College, Oxford, in 1615 (AO). He probably served another cure in addition to Llandegai.

28. e.g. Sir John Wynn, who sent one of his sons to Bedford School, not then exactly a 'public' school, but which had already developed beyond the status of a grammar school.

29. The term can, however, mean 'student', i.e. university student. - R.E.Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List (London, 1965). The latter meaning would seem more appropriate to the large number of ordinands so designated in the St Asaph 'Register'. Vide infra, Appendix.

30. For Bishop Robinson's ordinations, see AIP, pp.55 - 63.

31. Only one domestic chaplain is recorded as ordained after 1604 - Owen Gwynne in 1608.


33. DNB. See also his biography, Scrinia Reserata by John Hacket (London, 1693) I, pp.7, 12.


35. AO.

36. AIP, p.68; LI IV, p.205.

37. AIP, p.68.


39. Hajzyk, op.cit., p.167. In Lincolnshire, it was mainly impecunious curates who supplemented their income as schoolmasters (or, alternatively, as scribes).
40. Impropritate rectories might be in the hands of Oxbridge colleges or other powerful corporations. Instances may have been fewer in Wales than elsewhere, but the rectory of Holywell passed to Jesus College, Oxford; that of Gresford was held by the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.


43. supra, p.35; p.239. The change in the general meaning of 'curate' from the priest in charge of the parish to his assistant is significant of the change in rôle and status.

44. refs. as in n.41 supra.

45. Hajzek, op. cit., p.175; Owen, op. cit., pp.65,260-1; Shiels, op. cit., p.95.


47. supra, pp.276-8.

48. Maurice Burchenshaw, Rector of Denbigh, was 'resident and hospitable' in 1560 (RD); there seems to have been an expectation at Llandinam in 1623 that the Comportioners would either preach or arrange for sermons, supra, p.237; the Sinecure Rectors of Llanbrynmair and Machynlleth may have taken charge of their parishes, supra, p.163.

49. op. cit., pp.38-40. The status of the domestic chaplain was not helped by attacks from the Puritans under Elizabeth and the Laudians under Charles I. - ibid., pp.28-30.

50. Anglican priests have the prerogative of celebrating the Eucharist and pronouncing absolution, but these rites were no longer so central to spiritual life as before the Reformation. Chaplains in Roman Catholic households seem to have enjoyed a more honourable status.


52. The same may well be true of Northumberland and Cumbria at this time.

53. Gibson draws attention to the growing custom in England of the family and honoured guests dining at a separate table, servants (including the domestic chaplain) being assigned to lower tables according to status. Living quarters and access (or otherwise) to the Library would also be indicators of the standing of the chaplain in the household.
APPENDIX : The St Asaph ‘Register’

In 1956, G. Milwyn Griffiths published ‘A St Asaph “Register” of Episcopal Acts, 1506-71’ in the Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales, Vol. VI. As he points out,¹ the material is not a formal register as such, most of its contents were copied by William Bullock, notary public, from earlier records.² Like the Llanllyfni Papers, therefore,³ it is not original source material, but a transcription of documents no longer extant; but like the Llanllyfni Papers, there is no reason to doubt its overall reliability.

Its main contents are

(a) Institutions from January 1559 to March 1571;

(b) Ordinations; with the exception of three priestings, in 1524, 1539 and 1541, all taking place between September 1561 and October 1568.

Most of the material, therefore, is from the episcopate of Thomas Davies (1561-73).

Although the institutions follow the ordinations⁴ in the text they require less comment. For the most part, they add little to the material in D.R. Thomas’ three volume History of St Asaph. There are, however, some exceptions: the ‘Register’ supplies the dates of the appointment of two vicars choral, 10 April 5 and 12 May 1567⁶; respectively those of William Davies, who subsequently became Vicar of Cwm (1576), and may previously have been Curate of Diserth (1563); and Oliver [ap] Thomas, Vicar of Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant in the 1570s.

A more valuable piece of information is the appointment of Henry Powell as Chaplain to the Earl of Arundel (1560)⁷ - an addition to the handful of patrons of domestic chaplains known in the diocese.⁸ Fulk ap Thomas is recorded as coadjutor⁹ of Llanasa (1561), ‘the vicar’ (John Nicholas) ‘old and in poor health’.¹⁰ Seven months later, Thomas was appointed to the adjacent parish of Gwaenyscor; in 1575, he became Vicar of Llanasa also, but there had been two other incumbents since the departure of Nicholas in 1564.¹¹ On one point, the ‘Register’ conflicts with Thomas: it cites Lewis ap Richard as Vicar of Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain from March 1567, resigning by March 1571.¹² Thomas has a different sequence of vicars in the 1560s, and one Lewis
ap Richard Vaughan vicar 1578 - 79. It is possible that Thomas' source of information was inaccurate on this point.

The ordinations provide a wealth of information not otherwise available. Unfortunately, it is not altogether easy to interpret. 111 names are recorded, 19 of them twice (as ordained first priest, then deacon). Not all of these were for positions in the diocese of St Asaph. 25 were from Bangor, 4 from Hereford, 3 each from St David’s and Lichfield and Coventry (all from Shropshire), 2 from Chester and 1 from Llandaff. It is not altogether clear, however, whether (for instance) ‘Thomas ap John of the diocese of Bangor’ means that the said Thomas ap John was being ordained to serve in the diocese of Bangor, or that he originated from Bangor and was being ordained to serve in St Asaph. The former is more likely: 12 of the candidates from Bangor were ordained in 1566, the year when there was a changeover of bishops at Bangor, and Bishop Davies ordained two priests ‘in the parish church of Llanpeder’. Moreover, 12 of the candidates in question (not always the same ones) can be identified at least possibly with clergymen known otherwise to have served in the diocese of Bangor. A maximum of 73 out of the 111 came from St Asaph diocese, of whom 25 may be identified with incumbents known in the diocese, one with a vicar choral (William ap John) and two with curates - David ap Robert (Llanycil) and John Hugh (Gwyddelwern). A plausible identification has been found for only one other ordinand.

One of the most striking features of these ordination lists is that 82 of the 111 ordinands (73.8%) were ordained to a personal title of a member of the gentry. This includes candidates from all the dioceses in question. In one instance only (William Vaughan, 27 January 1566) was a candidate ordained to the title of a clergyman - the Vicar of Llanarmon-yn-Iâl (Ellis ap David ap Rees) whom, in fact, he succeeded the following year. What is impossible to determine is how many of those ordained to a personal title of the gentry were intended to become their domestic chaplains. Some, clearly, were not. The two curates cited above were both ordained to a personal title - David ap Robert to John Salesbury of Rûg, John Hugh to Lewis ap David of Abergele. Hugh Evans was ordained deacon on 14 July 1566 to the title of Maurice Wynn of Gwydir; twelve days later, he became Rector of Llanllyfni. Where Thomas ap John,
of the diocese of Bangor, was ordained to the title of John ap Griffith of Llyn, he was clearly destined to serve in the Bangor diocese, and indeed, he became Rector of Eglwysail (Anglesey) the same year (1561). John Powell of St David’s (title to John Genter of Brecknock) similarly was clearly destined for St David’s. But David Morgan, of St David’s was ordained to the title of William Holland of Abergele, as was David John of Llandaff. It is not clear whether William Holland was supporting two entrants to the diocese from South Wales, or sponsoring two who were about to return to their home dioceses. Some at least of those who have not been identified otherwise will have been beginning their career as domestic chaplains, but it seems that the gentry were sponsoring others, presumably guaranteeing them an income until they secured a living. If this is the case, it is an interesting insight into a way that the gentry were supporting the Church about which all too little is known. That some aspect of financial security is implied by the title is suggested by Rees ap Harry of Treuddyn being ordained ad titulum terrarum suarum ibidem. William Holland of Abergele gave a title to five ordinands in the two years from March 1562 to March 1564, including the two from South Wales mentioned above. Would he really have needed so many domestic chaplains?

Another difficulty in interpreting the evidence arises from an apparent change in practice, possibly due to a change of official in recording the ordinations. The ordinations of 50 men are recorded between September 1561 and February 1565. of these are entered as ‘scholars’, one as ‘literate’. This covers all the deacons ordained, and one priest, Richard Churchman, of Hereford diocese. The most plausible meaning of ‘scholar’ in this context is someone still at his studies, possible (but not necessarily) before going up to university, possibly still there. Identification of any of these ordinands with Oxbridge students has to be tentative, but in some cases, it is at least possible. Robert Evans, for instance, ordained priest in March 1562, may have been an Oxford student of that name. After April 1565, only four ordinands are entered as scholars. From that time, ordinands are more commonly identified by place, whether of origin or ministry (and it is seldom if ever the same as that of their sponsor.) 25 out of 34 men ordained between April 1565 and September 1566 are so designated by place (73.5%); all 27 of these ordained on 31 October 1568, both deacons and priests, are so designated. It may have been a way, quite simply, of
identifying the men more clearly: two men called Ieuan Griffiths were ordained deacon on 16 April 1566, one 'of Mold', the other 'of Betws-Gwerful-Goch'. If the place cited is indeed where their ministry took place, it supplies useful information on curates in the diocese.

Two things stand out clearly from the evidence. One is that there was no shortage of ordinands in St Asaph in the 1560s. In five of the six years from 1561 to 1566, Thomas Davies held one big ordination at which a minimum of ten men were ordained, and there were, in addition, smaller ordinations. 1565 was something of an exception, though there were three ordinations that year (February, April and December) at which respectively five, six and four men were ordained. In 1566, he held two ordinations, at which respectively ten and eight men were ordained. No ordinations are recorded for 1567, but this may be due to the deficiency of the document. In October 1568, Bishop Davies ordained thirteen deacons and fourteen priests, mostly for his own diocese. What the quality of the men whom he ordained was, it is almost impossible to guess.

The other point which emerges clearly is the frequent use of the 'ap' form of surname in the 1560s. This confirms the impression formed from other sources. 57 of the 111 clergy ordained (just over 51%) had the 'ap' form. While instances are found from Bangor, Chester ('English' Flint), St David's and Lichfield and Coventry (Shropshire), they are nevertheless most common among men from St Asaph diocese. One interesting case is that of Lewis ap Hugh, who became Lewis Hughes between being ordained deacon (April 1565) and priest (September 1566). Of the 72 members of the gentry who gave titles to the ordinands, only 21 (29%) used the 'ap' form of surname. This confirms the impression that the gentry anglicised their surnames first, followed by the clergy.

The 'Register' yields two further valuable pieces of information. It contains a memorandum that the priests had been enjoined to learn by heart the whole of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans and the Sixth [Chapter] of St John's Gospel, and to appear before the Bishop in a year's time to repeat them; deacons were to learn the first half of the Epistle. This testifies to the importance of these texts in the Reformation era, and how the clergy, particularly the non-graduates, were grounded in
them. As a bed-rock to their spiritual life, both deacons and priests were to say morning and evening prayers daily during life, on pain of excommunication.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{A note on clergy titles.}

Peter Heath notes\textsuperscript{34} that before the break with Rome, chaplains were expected to support themselves from their title until they received a benefice. These titles were to a large extent provided by the religious houses. It is not clear whether the St. Asaph gentry took over this rôle from the monasteries and nunneries, or whether they were continuing a tradition in the Principality.
Notes

1. op.cit., p.27.

2. ibid.

3. supra, p. 236.


5. ibid., p.45.

6. ibid.

7. ibid., p.41.


9. This is the only known use of the term in this period. It is most commonly used today when an assistant to a Roman Catholic bishop is appointed.

10. JHSCW, VI, p.41.


12. JHSCW, VI, p.45.

13. DRT II, p.252.

14. It is also possible, of course, that a mistake lay in Bullock's transcription, possibly mistaking Llansanffraid Glyn Ceiriog (for which no incumbent is known at this time) for Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain.

15. JHSCW, VI, pp.29 - 33.

16. ibid., p.29.

17. ibid., p.32. The church of Llanbedr Dyffryn Clwyd is meant. It is somewhat unusual for a bishop to ordain in this way in another diocese.

18. ibid., pp.31, 30.

19. Richard ap Howell, ibid., p.33, may be the same as Richard Powell, who graduated B.A. from Oxford in 1568 (AO). Powell became Vicar of Swindon, Wilts. in 1579. It is highly probable that others of these ordinands will have found their way to English dioceses.

20. JHSCW, VI, p.32.

21. ibid.

22. ibid., p.29.

23. ibid., p.30.

24. ibid.

25. ibid., p.32. 'To the title of his own lands there'.

27. *ibid.*, p.31.

28. AO.

29. *JHSCW*, VI, p.32.


31. *JHSCW*, VI, pp.31, 33. Seventeen months between ordination as deacon and priesting is longer than usual, but by no means uncommon at this time. John Wynn Lewis (*ibid.*, pp.29 - 30) was ordained deacon on 21 September 1562 and priest on 27th. This and Byldon (n.26) are the only instances which transpire from these lists of a man proceeding to the priesthood without the lapse of at least a few months.


33. *ibid*.

THE REMUNERATION OF THE CLERGY IN WALES

One point on which Archbishop Laud and the Puritans were in complete agreement is that the achievement of a learned, caring, preaching clergy required that they should be paid adequately. Yet, as Felicity Heal observes, 'One of the more remarkable features of the English Reformation is that the system of financing the English clergy was scarcely altered between the reign of Henry VIII and the Civil War'.

Henry VIII carried through an economic revolution when he dissolved the monasteries; it would have required an even greater revolution to restructure the finances of the dioceses and the parishes. Glanmor Williams has concluded that the income of the Church in Wales at all levels was low and inadequate before the Reformation, and the best that could be hoped for before the Civil War was that an unsatisfactory system could be made to work better. Clerical poverty was by no means unique to Wales. Archbishop Whitgift reckoned in 1595 that half the livings in the Church of England (including Wales) were worth less than £10 p.a. - the minimum, it was reckoned in 1535, necessary to discharge the duties of an incumbent. There were eighty such parishes in Whitgift's diocese of Canterbury, thirty-one of them worth less than £6.

There are formidable difficulties in studying the problem of clerical poverty, whether in Wales or in the Church of England as a whole. Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell brought off a tour de force in having the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 compiled. No comprehensive revision of it took place before the Civil War, and even after the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty, it was still used as a work of reference. But the value of money, and the income from such sources as glebe and tithe changed enormously in the century before the Civil War. The rate of inflation in this period is difficult to calculate, but Peter Bowden has reckoned that the price of agricultural produce (probably the most significant factor) rose from a base of 100 in 1450-99, through a figure below 300 in 1560 to 644 by 1640-9. In the same period, the purchasing power of wages dropped from 100 (1450-99) to about 50 in 1650. Surveys of various counties and dioceses took place in this period, and after the Restoration, and these have a great deal of reliability. Some surveys were undertaken by Puritan clergymen c.1586; Parliamentary surveys, including those for Anglesey and Pembroke, were made in 1650; while Bishop Fleetwood made a particularly thorough survey of St Asaph in 1707. There is some indication that in the fifty years after 1535,
the incomes of beneficed clergy in general trebled. This was so in Cornwall, and Bishop Middleton reckoned the same for St David's. But in Berkshire, while rectories increased in value three-fold, vicarages did little more than double their value. The Discoverie (1587) almost certainly exaggerates the income of certain parishes in St Asaph diocese at this time and the figures it quotes are sometimes greater than those in Bishop Fleetwood’s survey over a century later. It is generally agreed that the incumbents who benefited most from the rise in food prices were those who farmed their own glebe and/or received tithes in kind. Such incumbents were numerous in, for instance, Lincolnshire. In the West Midlands, restoration of impropricated tithes was seen as a way to improve clerical incomes during the Interregnum.

What has been said so far refers to the incumbent clergy. The position of the higher clergy and the unbenedicic will be discussed in due course, but it is appropriate to consider incumbents first, as the responsibility for preaching and pastoral work lay primarily on their shoulders.

If clerical incomes at the end of the Middle Ages were low and inadequate, the Reformation made some things worse, at least to begin with. Extra income from such sources as pilgrims’ offerings, sale of candles and masses for the dead, dried up. In two respects, Wales was more fortunate than many parts of England. First, clerical poverty was often at its worst in cities such as Norwich and Worcester, which had an abundance of churches, often with few parishioners and little or no income; in York City, the average value of parishes was only £4. These small, urban parishes had been particularly badly hit by the dissolution of the chantries and the religious guilds. In Wales, even the larger towns, such as Carmarthen, Swansea and Wrexham, had only one parish church; Cardiff had two (St John the Baptist and St Mary’s), but they were held jointly in this period. Town parishes such as Wrexham and Mold extended to the surrounding villages; increase in the value of tithes benefited these parishes - they would have benefited more if the rectories had not been impropricated. Secondly in Wales, too, small rural parishes were the exception apart from two regions - Pembrokeshire and South Glamorgan (including Gower). Here, small villages and
correspondingly small parishes were to be found comparable to those in, for instance, Wiltshire. 17

By any reasonable reckoning, parishes in Wales were generally poor, but not among the poorest. Few were assessed at under £5 p.a. in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, particularly in the north of the Principality. 18 In St Asaph diocese, there were none in the deaneries of Tegeingl, 19 Monte Alto, Bromfield and Iål, Marchia and Mawddwy, Cydewain, Cyfeiliog, and Penllyn and Edeirnion had one each, 20 Rhos, and Pool and Caereinion two each. 21 Llanaelhaearn (Penllyn and Edeirnion), assessed at 13s. 4d., hardly counts, since it was virtually depopulated, and from 1550 was to all intents and purposes a chapelry of Gwyddelwern. 22 Otherwise, the two Llansanffraids were the poorest parishes in the diocese - Glyn Dyfrdwy worth £1. 17s. 0d and Glan Conwy £2. The picture in Bangor was similar. The deaneries of Dyffryn Clwyd and Cinmeirch, Efionydd, Ardundwy and the three Anglesey deaneries, had no parishes assessed below £5. Aberdaron (Llyn) was assessed at £3. 9s. 0d, Llanberis (Uchor and Iscor) £4. 18s. 9d. Llanfairisgair (idem) £3. 6s. 8d. Dwygyfylchi (Uchaf) £3. 12s. 2d. Caerhun (Isaf) £4. 9s. 5d. In Arwystli deanery, Llanidloes was rated at £4. 3s. 0d. Llanwnnog at £4. 16s. 4d. These five deaneries, all small, had one or two really poor parishes; Anglesey and Dyffryn Clwyd, the more prosperous parts of the diocese, had no very poor parishes. Caernarfonshire was relatively poor, and clerical poverty becomes more extensive if Nefyn (£2. 8s. 0d) and Llannor (nil) are included. But like Llanaelhaearn in St Asaph, they beg the question - When is a parish not a parish? They are listed as such in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, but they were in fact served by curates. 23

In the south, there was clearly greater poverty because of the number of small parishes and those appropriated to monastic houses in the Middle Ages. In Llandaff diocese, the deaneries of Llandaff, Groneth, Abergavenny and Netherwent were all large - the first two with thirty-two parishes, the latter two with twenty-nine and twenty-seven respectively. In these four deaneries, parishes assessed at under £5 numbered seven (Llandaff), nine (Groneth), seven (Abergavenny) and eleven (Netherwent). 24 A third of those in the deanery of Usk (six out of eighteen) were also rated below £5. 25 In the small deanery of Newport, however, only St Bride's, Wentloog, fell below, and that not far below at £4. 18s. 0d. Netherwent not only had the highest percentage of
parishes assessed below £5 (40.7%) but three of them were particularly poor - Merthyr Geryn (£1. 11s. 3d), Tintern Parva (£2. 1s. 6d) and Wilcick (£2. 10s. 1d.)

In St David’s diocese, the situation was little better. The small deaneries of Builth and Hay on the English border had no parishes rated below £5. The much larger deanery of Elfael uch Moneth (Radnorshire) had only three out of twenty-five. Brecon I and Brecon II deaneries each had four parishes, respectively, out of nineteen and fourteen. All six deaneries in Pembrokeshire had parishes worth under £5, some of them very poor. Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Gower were somewhat better. Subaeron, the Llanddewi Brefi group, and Uwchaeron had respectively three, two and two parishes rated below £5, Rhostie (Uwchaeron) worth only £1. 6s. 0d. Carmarthenshire had some very poor parishes - Llangyndeyrn (Carmarthen deanery) £2. 13s. 4d., Llanfhangel Cilfargan (Llandeilo) £1. 6s. 8d., St Clear’s (£4), held with Llangain (£3) made up a moderate income of £7: Abergwili (£3. 6s. 8d) also had an income from two chapelries: in John Ecton’s time (1721) each of the chapelries was worth £5, and although in the sixteenth century they no doubt brought in less, it is possible that together they brought the incumbent above the £5 mark.

Wales, therefore, escaped some of the worst clerical poverty, the really poor parishes were to be found in the rugged terrain of Caernarfonshire, the more remote parts of Montgomeryshire, a few parishes in Monmouthshire, but mainly in the far South-West. But clerical poverty appears much worse if the next band of incomes is considered - those parishes assessed in the Valor Ecclesiasticus between £5 and £10. In St Asaph diocese, only the deaneries of Monte Alto, Bromfield and Iâl, Pool and Caereinion and Cyfeiliog had more than half the parishes assessed at £10 or more. In Bromfield and Iâl, six out of eight were so rated; the remaining two, Llandegla (£8. 12s. 3d) and Erbistock (£7. 14s. 4d) were some way towards the £10 mark.

In Bangor, the situation was more patchy, but in some parts better. In the deaneries of Isaf and Arwystli, all parishes fell below £10; in Ardudwy, seven out of eleven did. But in the remaining eight deaneries, at least half the parishes topped the £10 mark; in Llifon and Talybolion (Anglesey), only Llanbadrig (£7. 8s. 1d) was below that figure. Llanddyfnan (Dyndedd and Twrcelyn) was rated highly at £38. 6s. 8d. Other parishes in the diocese with a good income were Llanbedrog (£25. 11s. 4d) and Llaniestyn
(£21. 3s. 11d) both in Llyn; Llandyrnog (£19. 9s. 6d.) in Dyffryn Clwyd and Llandegfan (£19. 11s. 7d) in Dynnedd and Twrcelyn. In 1535, many of the best paid parishes in Wales seem to have been in the diocese of Bangor.

In Llandaff diocese, five of the six deaneries had sixty-eight per cent or more parishes assessed below £10 in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. Newport, with five out of nine parishes below £10 was better (55.5%), but the best paid of all its parishes was Bassaleg at only £14. 3s. 7d. Other deaneries had at least some better paid parishes - Merthyr Tydfil (Llandaff) £20. 5s. 9d., Coity (£21. 11s. 8d) and Coychurch (£21. 1s. 10d) in Groneth; Llanwenarth (Abergavenny) £26. 6s. 2d; Llangybi (Usk) £19. 10s. 9d and Christchurch (Netherwent) £23. 5s. 7d.

If the two lowest bands (£0 - £5 and £5 - £10) are taken together, there is little doubt that St David's diocese had the greatest incidence of poverty in 1535. It is easier to reckon the few parishes assessed above £10 than the many below that figure. Emlyn and Hay had none such in the Valor Ecclesiasticus; in Carmarthen deanery, Lampeter Velfrey alone reached £10, in Kidwelly, Pembre (£10. 15s. 0d.) alone was above it, Llanrhidian (£12. 13s. 4d) similarly in Gower. In Pembrokeshire, Letterston (£12. 11s. 0½d) was the only parish above £10 in Pebidiog. Dongledy deanery had two parishes above that figure - Mynachlogddu (£11. 12s. 11d) and Rudbaxton (£15. 4s. 0½d), Roose had three - Hasguard (£18. 6s. 6d), Burton, and St Bride's (each £15. 12s. 11d) and Cemais three - Newport (£16), Llanfyrnach and Meline (each £10). The large deanery of Pembroke was rather better, with eight parishes out of thirty-three at £10 or more (24%). In the southern part of Cardiganshire, there were three parishes in Subaeron rated at £10 or above and three in the Llanddewi Brefi group - twenty-eight and a half per cent if taken together. In Uwchaeron, however, only two parishes made the £10 mark - Llanbadarn Fawr (£20) and Llanfihangel Castell Gwalter (£12) - fifteen per cent of the whole. Brecon I and II deaneries each had four parishes valued at £10 or more (balancing the equal number below £5) - percentages of twenty-one and twenty-eight and a half respectively. These deaneries each had one 'plum' living - respectively Llandefalle (£40) and Llangattock (£31. 13s. 9d). There were few enough 'plums' in Wales in 1535, particularly among the benefices with cure. Apart from those already mentioned, Henllan (£20), Gresford (£21. 1s. 8d), Wrexham (£19. 9s. 8d) and Llandrinio (£24. 16s. 9d) were among the few in St Asaph around or
above the £20 mark; in Bangor, Llanrhaeadr-yng-Nghinmeirch (Dyffryn Clwyd) deserves mention at £28. 13s. 4d.\textsuperscript{31} The situation revealed in the \textit{Valor Ecclesiasticus} is likely to have changed little by the accession of Queen Elizabeth, twenty-three years later; parishes in the Marches\textsuperscript{32} Dyffryn Clwyd and Anglesey in particular often had adequate incomes, but there was much clerical poverty in the South and West of the Principality.

In assessing how the picture changed between 1558 and 1642, we may be allowed to take a backward glance at St Asaph diocese from Bishop Fleetwood’s survey, even though it was made sixty-five years after the outbreak of the Civil War, and caution must be used in comparing it with so different a source as the \textit{Valor Ecclesiasticus}. What clearly emerges is that by 1707, a minimum income of £30 had become normal, though not universal in the diocese. In the deaneries of Rhos, Bromfield and Iâl, Cydewain, Cyfeiliog and Mawddwy, all parishes were worth £30 or over; in Tegeingl and Marchia, a single parish fell below (respectively Bodfari and St Martin’s). Pool and Caereinion, and Penllyn and Edeirnion both had two parishes below; Llansanffraid Glyn Dyfrdwy, now assessed at £15, was clearly the poorest parish in the diocese; the others (Llangynog, Garthbeibio and Gwyddelwern) were all worth £25 or more. Furthermore, a number of parishes had emerged as comparatively well paid. Most of these were in the Marches - Gresford and Wrexham (both worth £100) and Whittington (£160), Selattyn (£140), Llandrinio and Llanfechain (both £120); but Cerrig-y-drudion and Machynlleth (both £100) and Mallwyd (£80) were deeper in the heart of Wales.\textsuperscript{33} £30 p.a. was a pretty basic income for an incumbent by 1707, and its adequacy or otherwise probably depended on how far a parson was able to ‘live of his own’. But clearly, North-East Wales as a whole, and not just the border country, had benefited from the rise in farm prices. The remuneration of Gresford and Wrexham represents a five-fold increase since 1535; but Mallwyd was worth nearly eight times as much (£10. 15s. 4d in 1535), while neighbouring Llanymawddwy had increased in value over ten times (£6. 18s. 0d. to £70) - clearly more than the rate of inflation. Even the income of Llansanffraid Glyn Dyfrdwy had increased over eight times. The raising of minimum incomes in the diocese had to be balanced against the fall in the value of money, and many were still left below the level of adequacy.
In the diocese of Bangor, the best point of reference for changes in clerical income is the Parliamentary survey for Anglesey made in 1650. A minimum income of £20 p.a. indicated by that survey can be compared with the £30 in St Asaph fifty years later. No parish on the island actually fell below the £20 mark. Llanbadrig, Llanfairpwllgwyngyll, Llangefni and Llandan provide instances in each deanery of a parish on the minimum. But many livings were well above that figure. Llanddwyfan, at £99. 10s. Od. was still the most valuable living on the island and probably in the whole diocese. Llanbeulan (£80), Llanrisant (£70), Llangeinwen and Trefdraeth (both £50) provide examples from other deaneries. Most incomes had increased two-and-a-half times or more since 1535, a four-fold increase being about the greatest. Again, some of the poorer parishes showed a greater proportionate improvement - Llanfairpwllgwyngyll had increased nearly three times from 1535 (£6. 14s. 11d). But an increase of two-or three-fold scarcely kept pace with inflation, and suggests that Anglesey, despite its traditional role as the bread-basket of North Wales, was failing to profit fully from the increase in farm prices.

In Llandaff diocese, there are two points of reference for changes in income. The survey taken in 1603 shows that incomes had, on average, doubled from 1535. This is the least that would be expected after the Tudor inflation. But there were considerable variations. The income of Cadoxton-juxta-Neath had increased five-fold from the poor £5. 11s. 11d of 1535, while Llandyfodwg had increased very modestly from £8. 13s. 4d to £10. Another point of reference is provided by Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. A number of clergymen were ejected from Glamorgan during the Interregnum, and (unusually for Wales) Walker quotes the estimated value of several parishes. Thus, he gives the value of Merthyr Tydfil as £140 p.a. and that of Coychurch as £160 p.a. These represent increases of nearly seven-or eight-fold from those in the Valor Ecclesiasticus; in the case of Llanfaes, the increase would have been nearly ten-fold. Walker quotes six other parishes where the income was £100 or more. It may be possible to reconcile the different impression from these figures. In other surveys (like that of 1603) the clergy may well have under-estimated their income, perhaps deliberately, to avoid a heavier assessment for First Fruits and Tenths and clerical subsidies. Again, there is the unknown factor as to how many of the parishes quoted by Walker were ones where the incumbent farmed his glebe or
received tithes in kind. In the good agricultural land of South Glamorgan, such parishes stood to profit from increases in value. Many incumbents in the diocese seem to have been on an income from commuted tithes or a fixed stipend. Although Walker had reason to state the full value of a parish to maximise the suffering of deprivation, there is no reason to suppose that his figures were exaggerated. In one instance, at least, they can be checked out. His valuation for Wrexham (St Asaph) was £60\(^{41}\) which, if anything, looks like an underestimate - only just over three times its value in 1535, three-fifths of its assessment in 1707.

Walker also quotes two figures for parishes in St David's diocese, both in Breconshire. His estimate of £110 for Llanafan Fawr\(^{42}\) would mean an increase of over eleven-fold from 1535. Such an increase is not impossible, but it would still be very large. His other estimate is that the three parishes of Llangattock, Llanelle (Llanelieu) and Llangene (sic - ?Llangynidr), from which Matthew Herbert was ejected, were 'all worth £250 per annum'.\(^{43}\) 'All worth' presumably means 'worth altogether', not 'each worth'. The value of these parishes in the Valor Ecclesiasticus is respectively £31. 13s. 9d., £4. 6s. 3d. and £13. 4s. 7d. - a combined total of £49. 4s. 7d. An increase of five-fold between 1535 and 1650 is quite feasible, and adds to the plausibility of Walker's figures in general. It has to be added that £250 p.a. in 1650 would have been a very handsome income for a parish priest. Llangattock and Llangynidr were adjacent, but Llanelieu was some ten miles distant, and pluralism was the penalty for its poor income.

The parliamentary Survey for Pembrokeshire (1650)\(^{44}\) at least gives a comprehensive picture for that county comparable with that for Anglesey. In Pembrokeshire, a minimum income of £15 seems normal, as against £20 in Anglesey; this seems reasonable as parishes in the latter were generally larger., and in good agricultural land. Even so, more than half the parishes in Pebidiog, Pembroke and Dongledy deaneries were below that figure, Ambleston worth only £10 and Granston (Trepoert) £5. 10s. 0d.\(^{45}\) The situation in Roose deanery was rather better, with nearly half the parishes (ten out of twenty-two) worth £20 or more. Individual parishes in each deanery had clearly improved more - Letterston (Pebidiog) £25, Tenby (Pembroke) £35, Rudbaxton (Dongledy) £30, Burton (Roose) £40, Maenordeifi (Emlyn) £34, St Dogmael's (Cemais) £46.\(^{46}\) The last figure represents a ten-fold increase from 1535...
which, as has been seen, is not unprecedented. The same comment applied to Llandaff - that there is a wide discrepancy between parishes which achieved a very substantial increase in income, and ones where it had increased but little since 1535, though the differences may be due, at least in part, to different criteria used by the commissioners. There were no real 'plums' in Pembrokeshire, Narberth (£50) being the most valuable living in the county.\(^{47}\) There was also, clearly, widespread poverty. The 1650 Survey draws attention to an abiding source of clerical poverty in Pembrokeshire - too many small, unviable parishes. It proposed drastic amalgamation of parishes with a single meeting-place for worship: for instance, Cilrhedyn, Clydey, Llanfihangel (Penbedw), St Dogmael's and Monington were 'convenient to be joined and to meet at St Dogmael's.'\(^{48}\) Financial stringency in the second half of the twentieth century has forced many such amalgamations, but with an attempt to keep as many places of worship open as possible.

Too little information is available regarding the remuneration of the unbeneficed clergy (curates and chaplains) to do other than make some general observations. A statute of 1414 had laid down a maximum stipend of eight marks (£5. 6s. 8d) for the unbeneficed clergy, and it has been reckoned that a curate in the 1530s needed between £4 and £6 to live on, depending on whether or not he lived with the incumbent.\(^{49}\) But at that time, curates in North Lancashire were only being paid £2. 6s. 9d., in 1600, they were still only being paid £4 p.a. whereas in London they might be receiving as much as £10.\(^{50}\) These figures put the poverty of Welsh curates in context. Bishop Richard Davies reported in 1570 that, of seventy-nine curates in his diocese, only eleven received more than £10, whereas thirty-three received £5 or less, and he complained of lay impropriators paying curates 40/-, four marks (£2. 13s. 4d) or £4,\(^{51}\) figures which compare with those for Lancashire. But such payment is not very meaningful unless it can be established whether or not a curate was receiving board and lodging at the big house or the parsonage. Instances can be found of curacies worth anything from nil to a competent stipend. Carno and Llannor, in Bangor diocese, were rated zero in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and were served by curates. Penrhy Free Chapel in St Asaph diocese was assessed in 1535 at £1. But in Bishop Fleetwood's survey, Bryneglwy curacy was worth £6, Rûg Chapelry £12, while Trinity Chapel, Montgomeryshire, was worth £20 together with the mastership of the grammar school; Margam curacy was
worth £40 in 1721, surely more than many incumbencies. The 1650 Parliamentary Survey shows the curates of Hynachlogddu and Newcastle Emlyn being paid only the traditional £4, while Ford Chapelry was worth only £2 in 1721. The better endowment of Rug and Margam points to a key factor in improving the stipends of the clergy - the good-will of the landowning classes. Personal and local factors were very much involved here, but as a generalisation, the rapacity of the gentry in Tudor times gave way to a more generous spirit under the Stuarts, a set-back under the supremacy of Laud (though Rug Chapel was founded in 1637, when Laud’s influence was at its height), and an increasing co-operation between the Church and the gentry after the Restoration. Trinity Chapel is an instance of another key factor in the remuneration of curates, namely whether or not a curacy was a part-time job along with schoolmastering, perhaps at one of the few established grammar schools, perhaps as a tutor at the big house, perhaps teaching village children for a small fee; in the latter two cases, there would be little record of their occupation or payment. If curates were full-time clergymen, the great unknown factor is how many drew an income from more than one parish, perhaps from several.

To look back on the Welsh dioceses from 1736, nearly a century after the end of the period under study, needs to be done with caution. But the information compiled under the operation of Queen Anne’s Bounty is more comprehensive than anything since the Valor Ecclesiasticus, and it can help to confirm or correct the more fragmentary information regarding changes in income in between. Of the incumbencies surveyed (i.e. rectories and vicarages), St Asaph diocese had none worth under £10 - as indicated by Bishop Fleetwood’s survey. There were five parishes worth less than £10 in Bangor, nine in Llandaff, and sixteen in St David’s. There were, therefore, some very poor parishes, particularly in South Wales. Perhaps the most significant information comes from the middle band of income, between £10 and £35 - i.e. parishes which were not desperately poor, but were still below what was then considered adequate. St Asaph had twenty-four such parishes (40%), Bangor twenty-eight (48%), Llandaff sixty-one (54%) and St David’s one hundred and thirty four (68%). The situation is made considerably worse if the chapelries are added to the picture. Some twenty-six in St Asaph divide equally between the middle and lower bands; thirty-three in Bangor show forty per cent in the middle band, sixty per cent in
the lower; in Llandaff, sixty-seven chapelries divide into thirty-four per cent in the middle band, fifty-nine per cent in the lower, but there were four chapelries (e.g. Margam) in the top band - above £35. In St David's, of nearly one hundred and fifty chapelries, eight-five per cent were worth less than £10.57

Some conclusions can be drawn from these statistics. Remuneration was particularly poor in the diocese of St David's, confirming the evidence of all other surveys, from the Valor Ecclesiasticus to Erasmus Saunders. But St David's was no worse than Lichfield and Coventry, which had a similar number of parishes, a similar number of them poor.58 In all the Welsh dioceses, a relative improvement in incomes of the poorest clergy seems to have taken place. But poverty seems to have become relatively greater in Bangor, thus confirming the impression of the 1650 Survey that incomes had not fully kept pace with prices. Llandaff, however, showed something of an improvement, which would support Walker's contention of at least some parishes enjoying prosperity. If sixty per cent of rectories and vicarages in St Asaph came into the band of adequate remuneration, then alone of the Welsh dioceses it was above the national average of forty-eight per cent.59 Apart from Lichfield and Coventry, the dioceses of York, Chester and Carlisle also had poor remuneration on a scale comparable to Wales, while parts of Norwich, Bath and Wells, Hereford and Lincoln had similar 'black spots'.60 The contention of observers from Whitgift to Erasmus Saunders, that impropriated parishes where no proper vicarage had been established (i.e. chapelries) created a particular category of clerical poverty, is amply borne out by figures for 1736, a problem more serious in the south of the Principality than in the north.

But as Ian Green points out, the 1736 Survey conveys an unduly pessimistic picture61 - as do all previous surveys - in that they fail to take account of pluralism, the holding of sinecures in addition to incumbencies, and extra income from offerings and fees. Schoolmastering has already been noted as an additional source of income. But pluralism brought its own problems, particularly when it involved parishes at some distance from each other.

With regard to the higher clergy, it is clear that there were few 'plums' in Wales. In St Asaph, the archdeaconry (valued in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at £74. 15s. 7½), the
rectory of Northop (£49. 14s. 9½d) and the ‘golden’ prebend of Faenol (£40) were the prizes; the archdeaconry was held *in commendam* by the Bishop from the time of William Hughes; the rectory of Northop was later annexed to the bishopric. In Bangor diocese, there were the archdeaconries of Bangor (£48. 6s. 3d) and Anglesey (£58. 10s. 7½d), the latter of which also came to be held *in commendam* by the Bishop; there was also the Wardenship of Ruthin (£47. 12s. 0d). In the South, the archdeaconries of Llandaff (£38. 12s. 8½d), St David’s (£56. 8s. 8½d) and Brecon (£40) probably offered the best prospects. Few of the cathedral prebends, apart from Faenol, were very lucrative: at St Asaph, there was Llanefydd (£37. 13s. 4d), at Bangor, Llanfair (£38); Merthyr (St David’s) came next at £25. 14s. 4½d. The prebends at Llandaff were particularly poor, St Cross valued at only 18/1½d. There were prebends worth little more at Wells (Cory: £1), Lincoln (St Botolph’s: £1) and Salisbury (Minor Pars Altaris: £2), but these were exceptions among a host of rich benefices, whereas in the Welsh cathedrals, it is the few rich prebends which stand out. That being so, it is all the more to the credit of the Bishops of St Asaph and Bangor that they used the prebends and sinecures for the most part in combination with parochial charges within the diocese. The Bishops of St David’s made similar use of the prebends of St David’s and the collegiate church of Brecon. It is remarkable that the Bishops of Llandaff managed as well as they did, having no sinecures or rich prebends at their disposal.

At one level, the Welsh clergy were without doubt badly paid: the bishops. In ascending order, the Bishops of Bangor, Llandaff and St Asaph were the three poorest in the Church of England, St David’s rubbing shoulders on the next level above with Carlisle, Chester, Gloucester and Rochester. It was only possible to discharge the duties of office if the income was supplemented by *commendams*, and the Bishops of St Asaph and Bangor can be forgiven for taking hold of lucrative archdeaconries. Two things made a great deal of difference in making ends meet. The first was a long term of office, which enabled the bishop to pay off debts and make maximum use of resources. This is where many Welsh bishops between 1558 and 1642 show up well, not least Richard Davies and William Hughes - though at the price of the former’s poor reputation for nepotism, and the latter’s for extensive pluralism. It was a different matter if a Welsh bishopric was regarded as the first rung on a ladder of
ascent to higher things in England, though Richard Vaughan and William Laud come across in a better light than the notorious Benjamin Hoadley (Bishop of Bangor 1716-21). If the Bishop had family property and was familiar with the area and its resources, the possibility of managing on the income of the see was greatly increased. The great William Morgan did not come from a wealthy family, and remained a relatively short time at Llandaff and St Asaph. He died worth only £110. 1s. 2d. and with the bishopric in debt. His contemporary, Henry Rowlands at Bangor, was able to leave substantial sums to charity in his will, and a hundred marks (£66. 13s. 4d) for gowns for the poor men and women who attended his funeral. Anthony Rudd found the bishop’s houses in St David’s diocese ‘not fit for any man especially a bishop to dwell and keep hospitality in’. Yet the Rudds were able to establish themselves among the Carmarthenshire gentry. Bishops certainly made use of the limited resources of the Church to provide for their families - Bayly of Bangor and Richard Davies of St David’s for instance. Parry of St Asaph seems to have refrained, for all his having ten children.

But however inadequate the remuneration of the clergy may have been, the important question is how it affected the quality of the sacred ministry. Poor remuneration was clearly an obstacle to filling certain livings - in Llandaff diocese in Bishop Kitchin’s time, in Uwchaeron perhaps for much longer, in Llannor, perhaps in Llanbrynmair. Bishop Roberts of Bangor complained that ‘all clergymen of hope and worth seek preferment elsewhere’. While his predecessor Bishop Bayly was accused of ordaining and instituting men of a humble background. It would be hard to dissent from Glanmor Williams’ conclusion that ‘The quality of the Welsh clergy was mediocre, to say the least’. Yet Bishop Roberts’ complaint scarcely does justice to the well qualified, hard-working men who did stay in his diocese, though doubtless the Bishop had seen promising young men go to seek their fortune in England. In the middle of the sixteenth century, there is evidence of too many clergymen chasing too few benefices, a situation largely precipitated by the dissolution of the monasteries and chantries. This situation turned round during Queen Elizabeth’s reign, and the remarkable thing is that the clergy became fewer in number but higher in quality. An increasing supply of good Protestant clergy from Oxford and Cambridge was a major factor here. Glanmor Williams puts his finger on another significant point, that the
Church in Wales could not have recruited the sons of the gentry and freeholders ‘if its benefices had offered only a bleak and unremunerative return’. Yet the evidence is that sons of the gentry were increasingly seeking a career in the Church. One element which must not be overlooked is the relative standard of living. This was lower in Wales than in the Midlands and south-east England, though not necessarily than in parts of the North of England. An incumbent might compare his own lot with that of a member of the minor gentry, particularly if he came from that class. George Owen of Henllys, Pembrokeshire, wrote in 1594 that whereas at one time, there were scarcely two gentlemen in the county who could muster £20 apiece, there were then those worth £500, ‘so that now there is no shire in Wales but is able to yield sufficient a number of gentlemen that may dispense £100 a year good land’. So far as Pembrokeshire is concerned, few enough clergymen could have gathered £20 a year in 1535, let alone £100 sixty years later. Elsewhere in Wales, the more remunerative parishes were bringing in £20 p.a. in 1535 and £100 some time in the seventeenth century. Even so, such parishes were the exception rather than the rule. But a career with the prospects of a ‘plum’ at the end of it would have had its attractions for a younger son of the gentry - an Arthur Williams or a Lancelot Bulkeley - with no prospects of succeeding to his father’s estates and no inclination to seek his fortune as a soldier or a lawyer. Sons of the gentry clearly did find such prospects attractive, not only in the rugged lands of North Wales but in the lusher territory of Glamorgan. What is not clear is the extent to which the more prosperous gentry (and freeholders and occasional merchant family) were able to subsidise their clerical sons, or how far the latter were helped by legacies or good marriages. An extra income of even £10 a year could have made all the difference between penury and comfort.

The question may be asked whether the Reformers were right in seeing an improved remuneration as the key to the Church’s problems, and whether they have not led scholars to exaggerate the importance of the question. Those who enter the sacred ministry seldom do so in search of financial reward: indeed, some element of self-sacrifice is usually expected. The Roman Catholic Church has traditionally expected a double sacrifice from its priests and nuns - poverty and celibacy; though this demand has worldly as well as divine wisdom in that it is easier to accept poverty for yourself than to impose it on your family. But the mediocrity of the Welsh clergy may have
been due to something other than poverty. Ambitious and adventurous spirits will always go off to seek their fortune, and not necessarily in monetary terms. Wales had no great centres of prosperity and population to rival Bristol, Norwich or York, let alone London, no great centres of culture and learning like Oxford and Cambridge. There was a 'brain drain' from Wales, not only as regards the Church but as regards the Court, the Law and politics. It could hardly have been otherwise. Yet it should not be seen as all loss. For the 'stay at home' disposition, or those with the 'salmon instinct' of returning home, the Church offered one of the few careers in Wales for a gentleman of good education but slender means. And it was attractive not only to native-born Welshmen, but 'outsiders' like Archibald Sparks and William Nicholson and the bright young men who accepted Lord Chancellor's livings and sometimes stayed for life. Mediocre pay and a mediocre clergy may have gone together, but it would be wrong to see it as a simple case of cause and effect.

Whatever differences there were among the clergy as regards pay, it is important to appreciate that a professional consciousness was developing among them, and there is no reason to suppose that this was less the case in Wales than in England. It is true that the higher clergy, and those in the wealthier parishes, to a large extent shared the life-style of the lesser gentry, while the less well off parochial clergy were on an economic level with small farmers and tradesmen. But, as Rosemary O'Day observes, common professional interests and duties, the need they all shared to study the Bible and prepare sermons, and have space and leisure to do so, did much to draw them together as one social group, while improving standards of education tended to reduce distinctions among them arising from social origin.
Notes


3. Michael L.Zell, ‘Economic problems of the parochial clergy in the sixteenth century’ in Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500 - 1800, ed. Rosemary O’Day and Felicity Heal (Leicester University Press, 1981), p.39. It may be noted that Archbishop Pechan (1279 - 94) ordered that the satisfactory minimum for English livings should be halved for Wales, - Glanmor Williams, The Welsh Church from Conquest to Reformation (Cardiff, 1962), p.283. That was at the time of the Edwardian Conquest, but something of the same principle must apply in Tudor times.

4. Zell, op.cit., pp.34 - 35. The three dioceses of Worcester, Gloucester and Oxford had respectively 15, 6 and 13 livings assessed at less than £5 in VE. The real extent of poverty in these dioceses is revealed in the band £5 - £10, where livings numbered respectively 93, 95 and 59 - 31%, 40% and 36% of the whole. - Barratt, op.cit., p.192.

5. See, for instance, the Liber Valorum (London, 1787).


7. ibid., p.599.


10. Zell, op.cit., p.39 In the diocese of Lincoln, livings on average only doubled in value from 1535 to 1604. Those in Lincolnshire were particularly poor. In Worcester diocese, livings increased in value five-fold in the same period, but as in Berkshire, rectories tended to improve more than vicarages.- Barratt, op.cit., pp.194 - 96.

11. supra, p. 34.

12. Lans. MS.120, NLW SA/MB/57. The Discoverie quotes the Rectory of Llandrinio as worth £160, Bishop Fleetwood £120; the Rectory of Llanrhaeadr £160, Fleetwood £140. Discoverie has the Prebend of Meliden worth £50, Fleetwood £30. However, they agree on £80 as the value of the Rectory of Llandrillo-yn-Rhos.


16. Heal, ‘Economic Problems of the Clergy’, p.104. St Mary Marisco and All Saints’, Beer Street, Norwich, were assessed at £0 in VE, St Helen’s, Worcester at £1. 2s. 6d.

17. See maps. Small parishes in Wales were commonest where Norman influence had been strongest. Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p.283, c.f. the village of Winterborne, near Salisbury, which was divided on feudal lines into the parishes of W.Earls, W.Dauntsey and W.Gunner.

18. Glanmor Williams, *The Welsh Church*, p.283, has a valuable analysis of the income of Welsh benefices as assessed in VE. This table does not, however, observe the distinction between sinecures, incumbencies with cure, and curacies, as used here.

19. Tremeirchion was assessed at just £5.


24. Llandaff deanery: Merthyr Dyfan, Michaelston, Penarth, St Bride’s, St Michael’s-super-Ely; the latter two were held together, as were Cogan and Llandough (£5). Groneth: Cilybeibl, Eglwysbrewis, Flemingston, Llandough-juxta-Cowbridge, Llanfihangel-ynys-afan, Llyswyrm, Penllyn, Pyle and Kenfig, St Donat’s. Abergavenny: Bryngwn, Cwmyoy, Dingestow, Llanfihangel nigh Usk, Rockfield, St Bride’s, Wonastow. The curacy of Llangiwa would make eight. Netherwent: Itton, Langstone, Llanmartin, Llanvern, Merthr Geryn, Penhow, St Pierre, Sudbrook, Tintern Parva, Undy, Wilcricck.

25. Gwernesney, Llandegfedd, Llanfihangel-Tor-y-mynydd, Llanlowel, Raglan, Llangovan would make seven, but there is no record of an incumbent in this period.

26. Brecon I: Aberysgir, Llanfrynach, Llyswen, Talachddu. Brecon II: Bronallys, Llanelieu, Llanfihangel Talyllyn, Llangasty Talyllyn. The vicarage of Crickhowell might be added, but it is not clear when this was held in conjunction with one of the comportions.

27. Llaneilfiw (Pebidiog) £2. 10s. 9d.; New Moat (Dongledy) £2. 8s. 7d.; Johnston and Trefgarne (Roose) £2. 0s. 3d. and £1. 13s. 7d. respectively: Carew (Pembroke) was assessed at £nil.

28. Llandaff deanery 69%; Groneth 68.75%; Abergavenny and Usk both 72%; Netherwent 85%.

29. Llangoedmor £12. 18s. 11d; Penbryn £14. 19s. 11d; Verwick £10. 12s. 4d.

30. Llandogy £10. 12s. 7d.; Llandysul £10; Troed-yr-aur £13.

31. The incumbents of these parishes were, however, often pluralists.
32. Two of the most valuable livings in Wales, Hawarden and Bangor-is-y-coed, were literally on the Welsh-English border. They were both in the diocese of Chester.

33. NLW SA/MB/57 ad. loc.

34. COMM. XII a/1.

35. Ibid, pp.50, 39 - 40, 44 - 45, 42.

36. Ibid, pp.41.


41. Ibid, p.325. Rowland Owen, the ejected vicar, was allowed £12 for his wife and children, a fifth of the value of the parish. Walker seems to imply that he was being underpaid, i.e. that its real value was over £60.

42. Ibid, p.409.

43. Ibid, p.278.

44. LP MS 915/14.


49. Heal, 'Economic Problems of the Clergy' pp.102 - 03.

50. Ibid, p.110. In Lincolnshire, curates were paid between £1 and £5. Teaching, taking more than one cure and conducting clandestine marriages were all resorted to to increase their income. - Hajzyk, op.cit., pp.198 - 200.


52. JE.

53. LP MS 915/14, pp.169, 166.

54. JE.


56. Addition of the parishes worth under £10 would bring the total of those inadequately endowed to 62% for Bangor, 61% for Llandaff and 77% for St David's.

57. Green, op.cit., pp.242 - 43.
59. Ibid, p.247. The proportion would be reduced if the chapelries were included.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid, pp.243 - 44.
62. LV, p.347.
63. St David's income (£426. 2s. 1d) was, however, reduced by the loss of its interests in the collegiate church of Llanddewi Brefi. - Glanmor Williams, 'The Church', pp.387 - 88.
64. Glanmor Willilams (The Welsh Church, p.270) has pointed out that the Welsh bishoprics were no poorer than the smaller ones in Italy. But the Welsh bishops had national duties to perform, such as attendance at the Council of the Marches and the House of Lords, as well as the expenses of travel to cover their dioceses.
68. Ibid., p.116.
69. LP MS 943, p.285.
70. SP16 (Charles I) 25.10.
71. Renewal and Reformation, p.310.
72. Zell, op.cit., p.31.
73. Renewal and Reformation, p.308.
75. J.Gwynfor Jones, op.cit., p.127. £20 p.a. in land was the property qualification for a Justice of the Peace - which had to be waived in Wales at the time of the Act of Union as so few gentlemen qualified. - Glanmor Williams, The Welsh Church, p.269.
76. The Gwydir estate in 1569 - 70 - the largest held by a native Welshman in North Wales - was worth less than £150 p.a. - Berlatsky, op.cit., p.117.
77. Bishop Meyrick was clearly aware of the extra demands involved in having a married clergy. Browne Willis Bangor, p.271.
79. O'Day, Ibid.
APPENDIX TO THE REMUNERATION OF THE CLERGY

CLERICAL WILLS

Few clerical wills are known from the period 1558 - 1642. The most revealing, almost certainly, is that of Thomas Banks, Dean of St Asaph (1587 - 1634). This was the subject of an article published by Francis Jones in 1947. The will in question not only gives an account of his worldly goods, but gives an insight into the life-style at the deanery house at Talar - with its hall, great and middle chambers, dean’s chamber and library, and farm buildings such as brewhouse, dairy, malthouse, stable and barn, clearly on the scale of a small manor house. With its ample beds and bedding, and a virginals (probably played by Mrs Banks), there was obviously a degree of comfort and refinement, though none of the furniture seems to have been of great value. Banks’ most valuable possession was his silverware (worth £27. 2s. 0d.) then his livestock - nine cows worth £18 and sixty-four sheep worth £14; farming was obviously an integral part of the way of life. But books worth £13. 6s. 8d. were a significant item; these he left, along with £20, to his nephew, Robert Cowell. He left £10 to his sister, Elizabeth Sherwood, but appropriately, his widow, Agnes Banks, was his principal beneficiary, and also his executrix. Unfortunately, there is no catalogue of his books; nor is there of the £5 worth of books left by Morgan Nicholas, Archdeacon of Llandaff in 1598. It is not possible, even with these eminent clerics, to gain the insight into their reading matter such as Christopher has provided for the Surrey clergy in this period.

Archdeacon Nicholas left more of value in livestock than in books; Thomas Evans, Rector of Coychurch (d.1591) also left livestock and land; Lewis Philip, Rector of Michaelston-super-Ely (d.1611) left cattle, sheep and horses probably worth a good half of his estate of £100. All the above-mentioned clergymen were obviously wealthy, and cannot be taken as typical of their order. But it is significant that livestock, particularly cattle, feature prominently in all their wills. That wealth could be reckoned in livestock as well as pounds sterling is borne out by wills of Henry VIII’s time. Meyrick Lewis in 1537 left a bullock each to Bangor Cathedral, the Friars of Bangor and Llanddyfman, and a heifer to Llangadwaladr. Similar bequests were made to Llandrillo in 1545, and in 1550 (temp.Edward VI) to the chapelry of
It would be necessary to know how many animals a clergyman owned, and how good he was at managing them to know how well off he really was. The clergy were, of course, beneficiaries as well as makers of wills. Thomas Griffith of Amlwch bequeathed 2 shillings (10p) to William Robert, the curate, in 1538 - hardly a windfall, even for those days; but in 1543, Lewis Lloyd bequeathed his brother David £5 sterling, a violet gown, two gold rings, two new shirts and, with his brother Robert, a half share each in his farm, David Lloyd was Vicar of Whitford (1537 - 62), and survived to the beginning of the period under study.

Wills from the same period (temp. Henry VIII) show that both clergy and laity were generous in their bequests to the church, often leaving money or goods for the church fabric. In 1541, Robert ap Howell, a draper from Oswestry, left a ‘load of lead’ to cover two chapels in the parish church. The previous year, Gitton ap John ap Owen had left goods for scouring and mending the high altar windows at Whittington. Edward ap Harry in 1547 left lead to cover Ruthin church. Owen Holland in 1530 left a silver-gilt chalice to Denbigh church, ten shillings (50p) to repair Edern and six shillings and eightpence (34p) to Llanfihangel Ysceifiog.

Some of the bequests from this period have a distinctly Catholic flavour. Peter Fowler, Rector of Northop, left £6 for a priest to say or sing mass for a year for his and his friends’ souls - and this in 1548, after the dissolution of the chantries. In 1538, Thomas Griffith of Amlwch left, among other bequests, six shillings and eightpence to increase the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Llanyiddoc. Money and goods were being left to the Friars Minor (Franciscans) and Carmelites up to the very eve of the Dissolution. This lends some support at least to Eamon Duffy’s assertion of the ‘vitality and popularity of traditional religion’ up to Queen Mary’s reign. It at least shows a stubborn adherence in some quarters to the Old Faith.

Historians have argued over the significance of the pre-amble to wills for the religious beliefs of the testators. Thomas Banks committed his soul ‘unto Almighty God, my Saviour and my Redeemer, by whose passion and merits only I do steadfastly hope to be saved at the dreadful day of Judgment’. This is a suitably Protestant declaration, as one would expect from a Church dignitary. His bequest of ten shillings towards the
repair of St Asaph Cathedral seems paltry besides his bequests to his family, particularly as he had served as dean for 47 years. Fortunately, by the time of his death (1634), the landed classes (or at least some of them) had recovered their taste for building and edifying churches.\textsuperscript{24}

A NOTE ON SOURCE MATERIAL

The scarcity of Welsh clerical wills in this period is matched by a similar scarcity of material such as terriers, from which information might be gleaned as to the extent of glebe, whether it was kept in hand or let out, how much of it (if any) was enclosed; the amount of fees and dues paid to the incumbent, and the condition of the parsonage house and other buildings.\textsuperscript{25} Terriers for fourteen Welsh parishes within the period of this study are lodged in the National Library of Wales. Nine of these are in St. Asaph, four in Llandaff, one in Bangor and none in St. David's. Only one (Llangynog, 1615) is earlier than 1630. Taken with Bishop Fleetwood's Survey of 1707, the St. Asaph terriers might serve as a basis for a study of how the Church in that diocese was using its resources c. 1630-1700. A study might also be made of the various leases extant from the diocese of Bangor. Either would be outside the scope of this present study, which is of the personnel of the clergy rather than an economic history of the Church in Wales.
Notes

2. ibid., p.156.
3. ibid.
5. ibid., p.158.
7. op.cit., p.73. Reformation classics by Calvin, Bucer and Zwingli featured prominently among the reading material of the Surrey clergy, followed, as the 16th Century wore on, by Foxe and Hooker. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, is known to have had an extensive library, which included, as well as theology and classics, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson. - Barrie Williams, The Work of Archbishop John Williams (supra), pp.61 - 2. Bishop William Glynne of Bangor (d.1558) left divinity books (again uncatalogued) to provide a library at Bangor Cathedral, but they were probably dispersed. - Archaeologia Cambrensis, 4th Series, XIII (1882), pp.236 - 9. (Arch.Camb.)
8. GCH, p.227
9. ibid.
12. ibid., p.148. Griffith also left 40/- (£2) to mend sacerdotal vestments, 6/8d for the fabric of Bangor Cathedral, 20/- (£1) to the Friars Minor of Llanfaes and 40/- to repair the church of Lianynowsant (?sic). See also n.19 infra.
13. Arch. Camb. XI (1880), p.120.
15. ibid., p.225.
16. ibid., p.226.
17. Arch. Camb. IX (1878) p.151. The original says ‘Llan Edant’ but Llanedern (more usually Edern) is probably meant.
21. The Stripping of the Altars (supra) p.5
22. ibid., pp.5ff.
COMMUNICATING THE FAITH

The success of a Church must to a large measure be assessed by its ability to communicate the Faith, not only in a missionary situation, but to each rising generation. Between the Reformation and the Civil War, the Welsh Church was faced with a particular challenge in this respect. The Welsh language and Welsh culture are among the most ancient of their kind surviving in Europe - arguably the oldest of all. In the Middle Ages, Latin was the medium of the Scriptures, the Liturgy and theology, though popular piety might express itself in the language of the people.¹ The Reformation demanded that Scriptures, Liturgy and not least preaching should be in the vernacular.² Could Welsh express the spirituality of the new age? An affirmative answer was necessary if the established Reformed Church was truly to be the religion of the nation. There is some uncertainty as to how much English was spoken and understood in Wales, many of whose inhabitants were Welsh speakers. John Penry declared in 1587

There is never a market town in Wales where English is not as rife as Welsh.
From Chepstow to Westchester ... on the sea side, they all understand English.
Where Monmouth and Radnor shires border upon the Marches, they all speak English. In Pembrokeshire there is no great store of Welsh.³

Penry was probably exaggerating usage of English, to reinforce his complaint of the lack of preaching in either language, but English was the main tongue in South Pembrokeshire ('Little England beyond Wales'), the Vale of Glamorgan, the Eastern border and the towns - though it has been seen that the townspeople of Flint, close to English influence from Chester, complained of the lack of Welsh preaching.⁴ The gentry, clergy, professional classes and those who visited and particularly those who traded with these areas were probably to a greater or lesser extent bi-lingual.⁵ But so far as the greater part of Wales was concerned, the Welsh language was the medium of communication. Even villages on the English side of the border in Herefordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire were Welsh-speaking.

But Welsh, like other European languages, faced another challenge which came, not so much from the Reformation, as the Renaissance. Latin and Greek were traditionally the medium in which loftiness of thought and sentiment was expressed. Could
modern languages emulate the Classics? Italian had already proved itself with *The Divine Comedy* (which Dante originally thought of writing in Latin), followed by Petrarch, Boccaccio and a host of Renaissance writers. French, English, Spanish and Portuguese were all to produce modern Classics in the sixteenth century. Could Welsh be a vehicle for humanist thought? The two challenges, of spirituality and culture, met in the translation of the Bible. If the Welsh language could meet the test, its future was assured.

The challenge was all the more formidable because Welsh culture itself was at the cross-roads. Wales had no Royal Court or Universities to promote the New Learning. The bards who had been the traditional standard-bearers of high Welsh culture, were by this time in 'grievous and accelerating decline'. In the Middle Ages, the monasteries and the gentry were their patrons. The Dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII removed one important source of patronage. The gentry continued to support the bards into the seventeenth century, but the landowners had rival claims on their time and money. The gentry increasingly sent their sons to learn grammar and study at English universities, and the rising generation wanted books in Latin and English even in preference to Welsh. From the late fifteenth century, the printing press increasingly dominated the world of letters, but by c.1550 the Welsh language had derived little benefit from it. Welshmen who wrote and published books found it easier, and more profitable to themselves, to do so in English, Latin or even Italian rather than in their native tongue. Throughout the whole period in question (1558 - 1642) and indeed for much longer, publication in Welsh was at a disadvantage because of the restricted clientèle. Only thirty books in Welsh were printed in the sixteenth century and only 150 in the seventeenth, but the importance of those books for Welsh culture and for Wales can hardly be over-estimated.

Because the issues of culture and spirituality are so closely linked, some account must be taken of the contribution by both laity and clergy to humanist studies. Two great pioneers were godly laymen, 'Erasmian humanists' as they have been aptly described - learned gentlemen of the type made fashionable by the Renaissance. Sir John Price's *Yn Llywyr hwn* of 1546 was in every sense a pioneering book. It contained the Welsh alphabet, the Calendar, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, Seven Sacraments, Virtues and Vices. It was clearly a catechetical work, and in the
introduction, Sir John expressed his apprehension at the 'incalculable darkness' that enveloped most of 'my nation', for want of knowledge of God and His Commandments.\textsuperscript{13} Glanmor Williams has written, 'The contents of Price's work may have been slight; but its significance lay in its insistence upon the crucial need to publish literature in Welsh for the generality of people if reform was to make any headway...'.\textsuperscript{14} Later in the century, Sir John Wynn was to write of the danger of the Welsh sliding into 'atheism' (i.e. ungodliness), and scarcely a writer of the period, Anglican, Catholic or Puritan, does not inveigh against the ignorance, superstition and ungodliness of the Welsh people. The attempts to combat these vices by catechising will be discussed later.

The role of the other great Renaissance humanist, William Salesbury, is currently receiving greater appreciation. He was a scion of a younger branch of the great family of Lleweni,\textsuperscript{15} one of the greatest among the North Wales gentry. Three of his early publications were works of humanist scholarship. \textit{Oll Synnwyr Pen Cymro Ynghyd} was a collection of Old Welsh proverbs which has been compared to Erasmus' \textit{Adages}. In 1547, he published a Dictionary in English and Welsh, and in 1550 \textit{A breife and a playne introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the British tong}. Following the Act of Union of 1536, there was a need for Englishmen and Welshmen to understand each other better, and the latter two works were in a sense a response to that need. In religion, Salesbury seems to have been a main-stream Protestant. In 1550, he published \textit{The baterie of the Popes Botereulx} (i.e. The battery against the Pope's Buttress), \textit{commonly called the high Altare} (an attack on the Roman doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass) and \textit{Ban wedi ei Dynnau o Gyfraith Hywel Dda} in which he defended clerical marriage (newly authorised under Edward VI) by appeal to the laws of Hywel Dda.\textsuperscript{16} This appeal to antiquity was to be characteristic of Welsh Anglicanism.\textsuperscript{17}

One of Salesbury's most important contributions to Reformed Anglicanism was his translation of the Epistles and Gospels, \textit{Cynnifer Llith a Ban}. Published in 1551, this was remarkably soon after Cranmer's first English Prayer Book (1549). As in England, the Epistles and Gospels appeared in the vernacular before the general translation of the Liturgy (as indeed happened more recently when Roman Catholics began to adopt the vernacular). As preaching at the Eucharist is usually based on the
lessons, this makes good pastoral sense. Glanmor Williams observes that despite the reign of Mary (1553 - 8), enough copies of Salesbury’s translation survived for Bishop Thomas Davies to authorise its use in St Asaph diocese in 1561; he hails the work as the most extended biblical translation in Welsh to that point.

It has been suggested that it was during his short time as Bishop of St Asaph that Richard Davies struck up his fruitful partnership with William Salesbury. Richard Davies, along with William Salesbury and Humphrey Llwyd, Member of Parliament for Denbigh Boroughs, is usually regarded as the guiding spirit behind the Act of 1563 authorising the translation and use of the Bible and Prayer Book in Welsh. Glanmor Williams has suggested that Salesbury probably used Mary’s reign to continue quietly with his work of translation at Plas Isaf. Certainly the Prayer Book, which may be wholly Salesbury’s work, and the New Testament, appeared with remarkable speed. With the New Testament, Salesbury had two collaborators - Bishop Davies translated five of the Epistles, Thomas Huet, Precentor of St David’s, Revelation. But the lion’s share of the work fell to Salesbury himself, and it is right to refer to it as ‘Salesbury’s New Testament’. The work has incurred much criticism over the centuries, and among its early detractors were John Penry and Morris Kyffin. The criticism largely centres on Salesbury’s treatment of the Welsh language in print. In his anxiety to show the affinities between Welsh and the classics, Salesbury tended to Latinise the orthography of the language; for example, he denoted the Welsh ‘eglwys’ (‘church’) as ‘eccles’ (after the Latin ‘ecclesia’); or ‘disgybl’ as ‘discipul’ (after ‘discipulus’). He also tended to ignore the normal mutations applied to certain Welsh consonants, e.g. instead of ‘yn nhŷ fy nhad’ (‘in my father’s house’) he used ‘yn tuy vy tad’.

In the context of time, an argument could be advanced for such usages, but in general they made the reading of his text much more difficult for Welsh people. Yet, apart from these quirks of spelling and presentation, Salesbury was a magnificent scholar and a great master of Welsh prose. Salesbury was in close contact with the traditional Welsh culture of the bards and eisteddfodau as well as being a pioneer of the new age. Thomas Parry has observed, ‘One of the effects of the Renaissance in every country was to draw men’s attention to the literary resources of the country itself, and to enrich them’.
Salesbury's other great achievement, the Welsh Prayer Book, has received less criticism, and it was undoubtedly a great step forward in communicating the faith to have the service in the language of the people. But no one has ever denied Salesbury's importance in preparing the way for William Morgan's complete Bible of 1588. Tradition has it that Bishop Davies and Salesbury quarrelled, and work on the Old Testament was abandoned. When Morgan began his translation of the Bible he was taking up where two distinguished predecessors (i.e. Davies and Salesbury) had left off. Morgan adapted Salesbury's translation of the New Testament (sufficient testimony to its merit) but with an orthography more in accordance with traditional Welsh usage. He had then the very great labour of translating the Old Testament and Apocrypha, though he may have had sight of such translations as Davies and Salesbury had been able to make. Nothing can detract from either William Morgan or his achievement, and he worked largely as a lone scholar, though he probably had more contact than is always realised with his many helpers, among them Edmwnd Prys, Richard Vaughan, William Hughes, Hugh Bellot, Nicholas Robinson, David Powel and Gabriel Goodman. These formed a circle of friends and colleagues from their days at Cambridge University; all became leaders of the Church in North Wales under Elizabeth I - except, that is, Gabriel Goodman, who, as Dean of Westminster, acted as something of an unofficial Secretary of State for Welsh affairs. The links at Cambridge between this group and Archbishop Whitgift should not be overlooked since he encouraged the work and helped to bring it to completion. 'A Bible in the vernacular would prove more conclusively than anything else that [Wales] had the potential to become the cradle of a Protestant humanism expressed distinctively in Welsh'. As Glanmor Williams also remarks, William Morgan, unlike many prophets, received honour in his own country and in his own lifetime. As early as Christmas 1588, Thomas Jones, Vicar of Llandeilo Bertholau, wrote a Cwndid expressing fulsome praise, even borrowing Biblical phrases to describe his work - 'sword of the Spirit', 'manna from Heaven' and 'bread of life'. Other poets, Huw Machno, Siôn Tudor and Owain Gwynedd among them, praised it in the classical Welsh Cynghanedd. The fact that Morgan won the approval of these, the traditional mouthpieces of Welsh culture, meant that he had achieved a major breakthrough. Prose writers soon followed with their tributes - the layman Morris Kyffin in his
introduction to his translation of Jewel's *Apology* (1595), Huw Lewis, in his preface to his translation of Miles Coverdale's work *A Sprytyuall and most Precious Pearle* (*Perl Mewn Adfyd*, published the same year), and George Owen in his account of Pembrokeshire. The value of Morgan's Bible in feeding the vocabulary of spiritual thought and preaching in Welsh hardly needs underlining. It must be mentioned at least in passing that Bishop Morgan's great work was subject to revision even before the Civil War, notably by Bishop Richard Parry and John Davies. The *Beibl Bach* of 1630 also deserves mention if only because it placed the scriptures literally in the hands of the people instead of it being restricted to the lectern. Michael Roberts, later Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, acted as corrector of the press for this 1630 version.

Edmwnd Prys, Rector of Ffestiniog and Archdeacon of Merioneth, made a unique contribution to Welsh literature and to communicating the faith. He will always be particularly remembered for his rendering of the Psalms into metrical verse. This was, of course, very much in the tradition of the Reformation - Archbishop Parker's metrical Psalter is chiefly remembered today for Tallis' tunes, Daye's 'Scottish Psalter' has one surviving hymn, 'All people that on earth do dwell', but in Elizabethan times they were characteristic of those churches which were influenced by Calvin. Attempts had been made before Prys to put the psalms into Welsh verse, notably by Captain William Midleton (c.1550 - 1600), a seafarer, and Edward Kyffin (c.1558 - 1603), the Flintshire parson; also by Siôn Tudur. All three had used the more traditional fixed metre, whereas Prys used *canu rhydd* (free-metre verse) traditionally used for less serious poetry such as carols and festival rhymes. His purpose was partly - perhaps mainly - didactic: children, servants and the unlearned could learn a carol by heart, whereas only a scholar could learn the more complicated verse forms. As such, Prys could reach the 80 per cent of the population (probably) who were illiterate. It is for Welsh scholars to pronounce on their literary merit and the place they have in the shift from traditional to freer verse forms. Of their popularity there is no question: between their first publication in 1621 and 1865 they ran into 99 editions, after which they seem to have come to an abrupt halt. They were published as an appendix to the Bible and Prayer Book, and also separately, with tunes. Prys thus gave Wales its first hymn book, one whose influence has been compared with that of Charles Wesley's
hymns in the Methodist Revival. Prys’ Psalter has gained him undying fame, but it is worth recalling that he wrote other poetry, including original compositions on spiritual subjects.*

Prys’ psalms may be compared with the catchy didactic poems of ‘Vicar’ Rhys Prichard, the Carmarthenshire parson whose work was beginning as that of Prys was ending. His rhymes, containing Christian teaching and moral exhortation were circulated in his life-time by word of mouth and in manuscript, though one was printed in a catechetical work, *Fannwyl blentyn dere nes*, as early as 1617. After his death, his poems were collected under the title *Cannwll y Cymry* (‘The Welshman’s Candle’) which became one of the classics of Welsh spiritual literature, running through thirty-four editions between 1659 and 1887, in the eighteenth century finding their way into English translations and into the Moravian Hymn Book. Prichard was, by the standards of his time, a High Churchman, a friend of the Laudian Bishop Morgan Owen, although his poems were treasured as much by Puritans and Dissenters as by Anglicans. But Prichard’s purpose was pastoral: sincere preaching from the pulpit often left a congregation unmoved, and was soon forgotten; but a simple verse heard three times could be remembered even by ordinary folk. Prichard’s practical approach seems to anticipate General Booth asking, ‘Why should the Devil have all the good tunes?’

The kind of popular religious poetry perfected by Edmund Prys and Rhys Prichard has points of resemblance both in style and purpose with cwndidanau, a form of poetry particularly associated with Glamorgan and the adjacent counties of Gwent and Carmarthenshire. ‘Accentual free metre’, as it has been described, had been a verse form familiar among the common people for centuries, and had been used in religious poetry for carols and prophecies. Poems written in this form on the eve of the Reformation often inveighed against the sinfulness of the times, and carried to a wider audience the message that would have been heard from parsons and friars in the pulpit. A generation of so later, adherents of the ‘old faith’ used it to denounce the Reformers and the Protestant religion, which Thomas ap Ieuan ap Rhys regarded as an Anglo-Saxon imposition upon the Welsh people. A still later generation used it in praise of the reformed religion, commemorating, for instance, the translation of the Bible into Welsh, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Ceri Lewis writes that cwndidanau fall *infra, p.359; et vide n.44.*
well below the standards of the classical Welsh tradition of poetry, with their inadequate sense of style, irregularity in the length of lines, and use of dialect forms. But he says that ‘they generally tell us much more about the manners and customs of the period and the changing conditions of life than does the strict-metre poetry’... Cwndidau were, therefore, rooted in the life of the common people, and they show the vitality of Welsh poetry at the time of the Reformation and its adaptability to expressing the powerful religious sentiments of the age.

The informal method of teaching used by Prys and Prichard with their poems needs to be set in the context of the abundance of catechetical material produced in Welsh in this age. Catechism, strictly speaking, instruction by question and answer, had been the standard method of passing on the faith to the rising generation since the Middle Ages, and since the Council of Lambeth in 1281, it had been the duty of pastors to instruct their flock in the Pater Noster, Creed and Seven Deadly Sins. With the Renaissance, the Ten Commandments came to replace the Seven Deadly Sins as the basis for moral instruction. In November 1561, Bishop Thomas Davies of St Asaph ordered that parish priests should ‘have the catechism in the mother tongue in Welsh read and declared in their several churches every Sunday with the answer made thereunto accordingly’. The order is interesting in that no catechism in Welsh is known at that time, unless Sir John Price’s book met the need. It is possible that clergy used the Catechism in the English Book of Common Prayer, put it into conversational Welsh, and used that for the basis of instruction. A Welsh Catechism did, however, appear in 1566 - 7. The following year there appeared The Ten Commandments in Welsh perused by Dr Yale, later Prebendary of Faenol and Chancellor of Chester. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul’s and a moderate Puritan, produced an expanded version of the Prayer Book Catechism which was translated into Welsh in 1578. F’annwyl blentyn dere nes of 1617 has already been mentioned. Much of the literature produced by the Roman Catholics in Welsh was of a didactic character. Morys Clynnog produced Athravaeth Grisnogawl (‘Christian teaching’) in 1568. Rhosier (or Roger) Smyth translated Peter Canisius from the Latin as Cynmoded o Adysc Cristnogawl (Summary of Christian teaching), published in two parts, in 1609 and 1611. In 1618, Eghurhad Helaethlawn o’r Athravaeth Grisnogawl (Full explanation of Christian teaching), by the great Cardinal Bellarmine,
was published at St Omer. These works were products of the Catholic humanism of the Counter-Reformation by exiles on the Continent. Another work of Catholic piety was *Y Drych Cristianogawl*, attributed to Gruffydd Robert, published in Rouen in 1585; it, and Morys Clynnog's work, have been described as simple books for common people. Another of Rhosier Smyth's works, *Gorsedd y Byd* (The Stage of the World, 1615; from Boiastuau's *Theatre du Mond*) took as gloomy a view of the world as any Reformer. Catholic, Anglican and Puritan shared a common desire to raise the moral and spiritual state of the Welsh nation, and all sought to reach the hearts of the people through literature in their own language. Robert Parsons is often seen (not without reason) as the arch Jesuit plotter. But his *Christian Directory* was found fit to be adapted for Protestant edification by Edmund Bunney and translated into Welsh by John Davies of Mallwyd as *Llyfr y Resohision* (1632). Glanmor Williams has written that 'The Counter-Reformation was a resounding failure so far as Wales was concerned'. A counting of heads at the end of Elizabeth's reign would seem to bear that out - less than 1,000 known recusants in a population of over 200,000. Yet the light of the *hen ffydd* was never completely extinguished, and Welsh literature would be the poorer without the contribution of the Catholic humanists.

The literate classes in Wales to some extent fell into a higher and lower group. The higher social class consisted largely of the gentry and higher clergy - wealthier and on the whole better educated. The lower class was made up of minor gentry, yeomen, richer tenants, lower clergy, merchants and shop-keepers. The latter had little knowledge of Latin or English, but could read Welsh. Some of the Anglican publications about the turn of the century were of a 'heavy' nature, and perhaps aimed more at the former class, as leaders of society and church. Jewel's *Apology*, the first great defence of Anglicanism, was translated into Welsh by Morris Kyffin in 1595. The same year, Huw Lewys translated Miles Coverdale's *Spiritual and Most Precious Pearl*. Edward James' translation of the *Book of Homilies* (1606) was probably meant mainly as a supplement to the Bible and Prayer Book for non-preaching clergy, though it remains a repository of Anglican teaching. Robert Holland translated William Perkins' *Foundation of the Christian Religion*; perhaps a more popular book, as Perkins was probably the most widely read spiritual writer in England c.1600, though he was a serious and highly competent theologian.
It was not until 1630 that two other popular spiritual classics appeared in Welsh. Robert Llwyd, vicar of Chirk, at the instigation of Bishop Hanmer, translated Arthur Dent's *Plain Pathway to Heaven* as *Llwybr Hyffordd yn cyfarwydd o'r anghyfarwydd i'r nefoedd.* 38 Chirk at once links Llwyd with Thomas Myddleton of Chirk Castle who helped to promote *Y Beibl Bach* the same year, which was something of an *annus mirabilis* of Anglican spirituality in Wales. The other publication was Rowland Vaughan's translation of *Practice of Piety* which appeared as *Yr Ymarfer o Dduwioldeb.* 39 Bishop Bayly's book has a double interest, in that the original was written by a Welsh bishop, albeit when he was still a parson in Evesham. It was one of the most popular spiritual classics of the age; it ran into many editions and was translated into many languages. Two more editions appeared in Welsh in the seventeenth century, in 1656 and 1675 - testimony to its continuing popularity. Parry makes the shrewd observation that the spiritual literature of the sixteenth century emphasised learning, that of the seventeenth century sought godliness. 40 It is possible that the Roman Catholic writers perceived the need earlier than their Anglican counterparts to appeal to a 'popular' audience, perhaps because few of the higher literate class were in their camp.

The late development of Puritanism and Nonconformity in Wales means that it is difficult to identify a distinct contribution coming from that quarter. It was only with the Civil War and Interregnum that certain prominent clergy moved across from the Anglican to the Independent camp - Ambrose Mostyn of Swansea, for instance, or Edward Ellis of Guilsfield. John Penry in his last months was clearly a Separatist, David Williams has written that 'Penry's influence on his contemporaries in Wales was nil. Even his memory died out in Wales'. 41 But his *Aequity of an Humble Supplication ... in the behalf of the countrey of Wales* appeared at a crucial time in 1587 when Morgan was near completing his translation, and Penry's book probably stung Whitgift into pressing on with publishing the first complete Welsh Bible. The *Humble Supplication* ranks with the *Admonitions to Parliament* among the great works of Elizabethan dissent; but like his other published works, it was written in English. Separatists would have found it even harder than Roman Catholics to publish works in Welsh before the Civil War - Catholics could at least resort to the press on the Continent.
Two ministers who may be described as moderate Puritans contributed to catechetical literature in this period. These were Oliver Thomas and Evan Roberts. Thomas, possibly Curate at Eglwys Rhos in 1635, ministered at Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant during the Interregnum; Roberts may be the same who was suspended by Bishop Field of St David's for 'inconformity' in 1634; he ministered at Llanbadarn Fawr during the Civil War and after. Thomas was probably the author of Car-wr y Cymru, a catechism for children published in 1630, and a larger version the following year. Thomas and Roberts brought out another Welsh catechism, Sail Crefydd Cristnogol (The Foundation of Christian religion) in 1640, and Thomas was the author also of Drych i dri math o bobl (A reflection for three kinds of people) about 1647, reprinted by Stephen Hughes in Tryssor i'r Cymru (Treasure for the Welshmen) in 1677. After the sharpening of the focus of loyalties in the Civil War, the works of Lewis Bayly and Rhys Prichard were probably treasured more by Dissenters than Anglicans - both were in the Calvinist tradition of spirituality, which was less fashionable in Anglicanism after 1662. Mention might be made of the writings of Morgan Llwyd, both poetry and prose, even though they lie after the period under study. His Llythyr i'r Cymry Cariadus (Letter to the dear people of Wales), a kind of pamphlet exhorting to a more godly life, is an example of an early completely original prose work in Welsh - most of the work which has been cited was in the form of translations from other languages, ancient or modern. The really original compositions in Welsh in this period were either poems or sermons, though that does not diminish their importance. It is worthy of note that surprisingly few Welsh sermons have survived from the period 1558 - 1642 - one by William Morgan and Richard Davies' funeral oration for the Earl of Essex. It may be that the Welsh relied more on the immediate aural impact of a sermon, whereas the godly in England at this period clearly liked to chew over their sermons in their studies. A volume of Bishop Sandys' sermons was translated into Welsh in 1622, and William Nicholson's sermons were published in English, but these seem to be exceptions which prove the rule. Morgan Llwyd also poured out his soul in poetry. Edmwnd Prys' poems are, perhaps, characterised by a greater loftiness of sentiment, but in such poems as Fy enaid, cyfod, cân I Dduw and F-y Niw, cusana fi a'th fin Llwyd shows a passionate devotion which cannot fail to move even those for whom Welsh is not the mother-tongue. Though he lay in the future, Morgan Llwyd *supra, p.31.*
shows some of the spirit which was already moving and which would burst forth when
the shackles of the Laudian regime had been cast off.

Communicating the faith in English

Welsh clergy, including the recusant priests, made a substantial contribution to the 100
or so Welsh titles published before the Civil War. The contribution they made to
titles published in English and Latin is also significant. Bishop Lewis Bayly's *The
Practice of Piety*, which ran through 36 editions before 1636, including the first Welsh
edition already referred to (1630), * deserves pride of place. As already mentioned in
their biographical summaries, two Welsh bishops, George Carleton and William Laud,
produced two of the best apologiae for the Church of England vis-à-vis Rome.
Laud's *Conference with Fisher the Jesuit* actually took place while he was Bishop of
St David's, though it was only published later. The only work of George Carleton
published while he was Bishop of Llandaff (1618 - 19) seems to have been his *Oration
at the Hague before the Prince of Orange* (1619), the fruit of his work as spokesman
for the Church of England at the Synod of Dort. The writings of Gervase Babington,
Theophilus Field and Francis Godwin have all received mention.** Sermons were
published by Bishops Field, Mainwaring, Rudd and Vaughan, as well as those by
William Nicholson (later Bishop of Gloucester) already referred to. (supra).

Those below episcopal rank also made their contribution. John Blenkow, Vicar of
Abergwili (1640) published his sermon, *Michael's combat with the Devil;* Richard
Hughes' *Byd a bugail* (World and Shepherd, 1632) was published in both English and
Welsh; while the prolific writings of Pierre du Moulin, senior, run to 39 entries in the
Short Titles Catalogue. His son and namesake published two works before the Civil
War. Du Moulin, père et fils, belong to the world of European letters, but they
brought distinction to the diocese of St Asaph as successive Rectors of Llanarmon-yn-
Iâl.

Note should also be taken of clergymen of Welsh origin who served for most of their
career in England. Godfrey Goodman, nephew of Dean Gabriel Goodman, served in
Wales as Comportioner of Llansannan, sinecure Rector of Ysceifiog and Rector of
Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog before becoming Bishop of Gloucester. Four titles are
credited to him, including *The creatures praising God, or, the religion of dumb
* supra, p.63. * supra, pp.50-1, 75, 58.*
animals and The fall of man. Another Bishop of Gloucester, Henry Parry (1607), published two Latin sermons, De Regno Dei (1591) and Victoria Christiana (1606). Griffith Williams, Bishop of Ossory, published six volumes of a devotional nature between 1614 and 1636. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote a highly controversial best-seller, The Holy Table, Name and Thing (1637), which got him into serious trouble with Archbishop Laud. Four of his sermons were published, including his funeral sermon for King James, Great Britain's Solomon. He also published a very limited edition of a manual of instruction for the first Duchess of Buckingham, Three Small and Plain Treatises (1620) which was reprinted after the Restoration, probably in an edition revised by Bishop John Hacket.

Welshmen who communicated in English in this period must include two eminent religious poets. Apart, possibly, from Vicar Prichard, their works reached a wider audience than their contemporaries who wrote in Welsh, and they have an abiding place in English literature. Both belong to the metaphysical school of poets who reigned supreme between the death of Shakespeare and the rise of Milton. There are, indeed, close links between the founder of the school, John Donne, and the first of these Welshmen, George Herbert. Donne was a friend of Herbert's mother, Magdalen, and preached her funeral sermon. The other, Henry Vaughan, underwent a spiritual experience after reading Herbert's poetry which greatly influenced the rest of his life and his own work.

George Herbert became so closely identified with the little parish of Fugglestone and Bemerton near Salisbury (largely as a result of Isaak Walton's famous life) that it takes an effort of imagination to realise that he only spent just under three years there at the end of his short life. Until his ordination, his life (in reverse order) was spent at Cambridge University, London (where he had his education at Westminster School) and Wales. There is some uncertainty as to whether he was born in London or at Montgomery Castle, but there is no doubt that his family were firmly established among the gentry of Montgomeryshire, and that George Herbert was once returned as Member of Parliament for Montgomery Borough. It was the Welsh-born Bishop John Williams who persuaded Herbert to enter the sacred ministry, secured his appointment as Comportioner of Llandinam (possibly also the sinecure rectory of Whitford) and conferred on him the prebendal stall of Leighton Bromswold. Bishop
Williams may have come to know Herbert through his chaplain John Hacket, who had been Herbert's contemporary at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge. Williams was certainly a close friend of the Earl of Pembroke, and may have recommended Herbert as a suitable appointment to Fugglestone. The close connection between Williams and Herbert is usually underestimated. George Herbert has often been seen (through Izaak Walton's eyes) as the ideal country parson of the Caroline Age, a living embodiment of the ideal of Archbishop Laud. Others have interpreted the depth of his spirituality as the mark of a crypto-Puritan - a fate which also afflicted that remarkable Welsh country parson, Rhys Prichard. Herbert's ministry at Bemerton did fall under the personal rule of Charles I and during the supremacy of William Laud, though before he became Archbishop of Canterbury. But it came at the end of a generation of loving pastoral care inspired by William Perkins and other Church Puritans. Bishop Williams was himself a disciple of Perkins, and practised his principles as Rector of Grafton Underwood before commending them to others as Bishop of Lincoln. The serene trust in God's mercy so characteristic of Herbert's poetry breathes the same air of moderate Calvinism as his pastoral ministry. In the opinion of the present writer, Herbert's spirituality belongs in the mainstream of theology in the Welsh Church at that time - the moderate Calvinism expressed in different ways by Richard Vaughan, Lewis Bayly, John Williams and Rhys Prichard.

The literary merit of George Herbert's poems is outside the scope of this study. Their theological implications are more relevant. High Church Anglicans have appropriated the ritualism of his prose masterpiece, *A Priest to the Tempe*. Dissenters have appropriated more of his hymns. Herbert is so 'much loved' as a religious poet that it is quite a surprise to find only four of his hymns in *The English Hymnal*. Of these, *The God of Love my shepherd is* is a metrical paraphrase of the 23rd Psalm in the spirit of Daye and Edmwnd Prys. *King of Glory, King of Peace* is described by Helen Vendler as 'phrased in clichés, while *Teach me, my God and King* is 'pure versified catechism'. That leaves only *Let all the world in every corner sing* as both great poetry and a successful hymn, and that only because in *Luckington*, Martin Shaw found a tune to fit the musically awkward punch-line, 'My God and King'. In Anglican worship, Herbert's poetry has been more effective as the text for anthems, notably Vaughan Williams' *Five Mystical Songs*. His poems have played a more
significant role in Nonconformist hymnody from the anonymous *Select Hymns Taken out of Mr Herbert’s Temple* (London 1697) to John Wesley and the Methodist Hymn Book and beyond. But this was only achieved by considerable adaptation which ruined much of their poetic quality while making them suitable for congregational singing. The sentiments of Herbert’s poetry, in its original form, are deeply personal, ‘born in experience and aimed to recall or recollect that experience’.⁵⁰ Their abiding place is not so much in liturgical usage as in personal piety and devotion, along with Bishop Williams’ *Manual* and Lancelot Andrewes’ *Preces Privatae*.

George Herbert’s disciple, Henry Vaughan, is on the periphery of this study. He was not a clergyman, but his twin brother was. His poetry was not published, and much of it not written, until his enforced exile in the Welsh countryside at the end of the Civil War, when he read George Herbert’s poems. But he belonged so closely to the world of the Welsh clergy before the Civil War that it would be invidious to omit reference to him.

Henry and Thomas Vaughan were descended from an old Breconshire family and educated together at Jesus College, Oxford. Thomas took to theology and became Rector of Llansanffraid. When ejected by the Puritans, he retired to London and became an important figure in Rosicrucianism. Henry studied medicine and practised as a doctor, but was rusticated to Breconshire for his royalist sympathies at the end of the Civil War. He felt himself neither truly Welsh among the Welsh (not being fluent in Welsh) nor truly English among the English, and called himself a ‘Silurist’ after the Silures, who inhabited south-east Wales in Roman times. A number of influences came to bear on him. S.L.Bethell sees the great Lancelot Andrewes as one of them, particularly his famous sermon on the Recapitulation in Christ - the redemption of all creation in Christ as the consummation of the Resurrection.⁵¹ Behind this again, Bethell sees the theology of St Irenaeus, who, he believes, has been underestimated as an influence in the Anglican tradition. Elizabeth Holmes sees Platonism as the main influence on Vaughan, particularly in the up-dated version of Henry More and the Cambridge Platonists. He also probably encountered the same influences as his brother Thomas - Hermes Trismegistus, Dionysius the Areopagite and Jacob Boehme.
among them. Elizabeth Holmes sees in Henry a meeting of the hermetic teaching; in Thomas, by contrast, she sees a ‘fantastic, credulous spirit’.

The same writer makes the pregnant observation that ‘The metaphysical poets indeed, in their hope to track the quintessential beauty whether abstract or embodied, are first cousins to the alchemists’. Henry Vaughan’s Platonism finds expression in his belief in the pre-existence of the soul (though he is never explicit about this), and his worldview of the human race as being in exile, banished from a lost ‘Eden’. Walter Pater summed up the philosophy of the hermeticists in a way that would apply equally well to the poetry of Henry Vaughan: a three-fold world, terrestrial, celestial and intellectual - ‘Every object in the world is an analogue, a symbol or a counterpart of some higher reality in the starry heavens, and this again of some law of angelic life in the world beyond the stars’. Vaughan’s famous poem, My soul, there is a country (which has found its way into the hymn books) is a beautiful expression of this concept. As Elizabeth Holmes says, much in his poems is mediocre, but his ability to find in his own rustication the counterpart to the human condition as he saw it, and to find in the beauties of the countryside the reflection of a greater world ‘beyond the stars’ gives him an abiding place in English literature. It also accords with what is often seen as an abiding characteristic of Celtic spirituality: the withdrawal from the world into the interior realm of the spirit.

Izaak Walton wrote the lives of five Anglican worthies who between them seemed to embody the best of the Church of England’s ministry in that age. George Herbert belongs to that set, as does his mentor John Donne, and both are among the great metaphysical poets - doubly, therefore, at the heart of Anglicanism. Henry Vaughan can hardly claim so central a place, quite apart from being a godly layman rather than a clergyman (Anglicanism has through the centuries had some great lay exponents). His spirituality is outside the main-stream of Anglicanism, but it expresses a yearning in the soul of the British nation which is not confined to any one tradition. He confirms the claim made by Frances Yates - that Calvinism afforded a scope for more speculative flights in both science and philosophy than would have been possible in the Catholicism of that age.
NOTES


2. The vernacular was the medium for confession, instruction and preaching before the Reformation. - Glanmor Williams, 'Unity of Religion or Unity of Language? Protestants and Catholics and the Welsh Language, 1536 - 1660' in *The Welsh Language before the Industrial Evolution (WLBIR)*, ed. Geraint H. Jenkins (Cardiff, 1997), p. 206. Sir John Price's work (*ibid.* p. 207) suggests that the two last were not being well discharged in Wales in the early 16th Century.


4. DRT II, p. 182.


7. *TWTR* p. 140.


10. Stephen Hughes, in his introduction to the 1670 edition of *Canwyll y Cymry* declared that it would take twenty years to sell off an edition of 6,000 Welsh Bibles where an English edition would sell off in two.

11. *TWTR* p. 156.


20. *WRE* p. 195

21. *Ibid.* p. 199. As Glanmor Williams points out, it was very much in the spirit of the Renaissance. Salesbury also 'retained too many archaisms and outmoded words and expressions'. - *WLBIR* p. 215.

25. *TWTR*, p. 204.
32. *TWTR* p. 165.
40. Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
42. *DWB* (Appendix).
43. Vicar of Llandeilo Fawr from 1626; later Archdeacon of Brecon and Bishop of Gloucester.
44. e.g. his hymn on the Annunciation. See A.M. Allchin, *Praise above all* (Cardiff, 1991) pp. 26 - 9.
46. Twenty copies were printed, probably for private distribution, of which only three are known to survive.
48. See references in *Hierurgia Anglicana*, passim.


57. Wootton, Donne, Herbert, Hooker and Sanderson.

APPENDIX

Lay Spirituality

Nurturing godly lives is - or should be - one of the main concerns of the Church. The spirituality of the laity is not strictly germane to this study, and the evidence for it is scanty enough. But occasional glimpses come through, and it is worth taking account of them as illustrating the end-product of the clergy’s work.

Sir Thomas Stradling lived through all the changes in religion from Henry VIII to Elizabeth I, and while he dutifully attended the services of the reformed Church, his spirituality clearly had its roots in the Catholic past. Glanmor Williams in The Story of St Donat’s Castle, relates how in March 1559 (four months after the accession of Elizabeth, and when her Reformation settlement was in train) a great ash tree crashed in his park at St Donat’s; the stump ‘stood to a height of seven feet above the ground and in the trunk appeared a cross rather longer than a man’s foot’. The part which had fallen to the ground presented ‘the same figure of the cross in all its details’. The phenomenon created a great impression and was even hailed as a miracle. Sir Thomas got himself into trouble for having caused four pictures to be made of the likeness of the cross; for this, he was imprisoned in the Tower and tried at the assizes at Brentwood, in Essex. He was released in October 1563 on a bond of 1,000 marks to appear before the Privy Council at twelve days’ notice. He was in trouble again with the Privy Council in 1569 for his continued refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy under the Act of Uniformity. He was then 71 years old and suffering from gout; when he was able to leave the house, he was a regular attender at his parish church. Every year, he and his family received Holy Communion ‘at the usual times’. When confined to the house, he had divine service read in his chamber on Sundays, Holy Days, Wednesdays and Fridays ‘as is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer’. It is not related who led the service - probably the local vicar or a domestic chaplain. But the picture comes across of a godly layman to whom Common Prayer was considerably more than going to church on Sundays, health permitting. When he was younger, in Henry VIII’s reign, he may well have used the Latin devotional books such as the Hours of the Blessed Virgin which did so much to foster lay piety before the Reformation. He may well have found the English Prayer Book a preferable and more
easily intelligible alternative. It is recorded, moreover, that he supplied other parishes than his own with wine for Holy Communion when supplies were short. 4

Nearly a century later, Walter Powell, gentleman, of Llandeilo Gresynni, Monmouthshire, was keeping a diary. He was the nephew of one clergyman (Hugh Powell, former Vicar of Llandeilo Gresynni) and brother of another (William) with whom he lived for a time at Llandeilo Vicarage. Unfortunately, relatively little can be deduced about church life from his diary, despite his close clerical links - perhaps for the most part, it was something that simply went on and was not worth recording. He quarrelled with a later Vicar of Llandeilo, Owen Rogers. The argument arose in 1643 between Rogers, as incumbent, and Powell, as churchwarden, over custody of the church key. Powell objected to it being kept in an alehouse, and wanted it nearer the church - a knowledge of the locations in question would no doubt make the quarrel more meaningful. Rogers, however, was not obliging, and Powell refused to attend Llandeilo church from July 1643 until May 1650, by which time Rogers had been ousted by the Puritans. The episode is not a very edifying piece of Christian charity. Powell went to the adjacent parish of Llanarth to receive his Easter Communion in April 1644, and continued to do so in subsequent years. 5 Evidently, there is nothing new about quarrelling with the vicar and taking oneself off to another parish. Rogers was possibly a quarrelsome man: he became involved in a fight in 1644. 6

Personal examples of behaviour such as these are hard to come by. Generalisations can sometimes be made which are also revealing. Baptism, marriage and burial are always regarded as the most personal offices of the Church, at least for most people. Late in the Stuart period, it was common in Wales for baptism to be administered on the day of birth or at least on the following day, or at most within a week. This shows the anxiety of parents lest their children should die unbaptised, and also the danger of infant mortality. There is evidence that this practice as to the timing of baptism was frequently followed in Wales earlier in the seventeenth century. 7 With infants a few days old at most, the sacrament was often administered at home. Practice here departed from what the Book of Common Prayer regarded as normative - baptism administered in church on a Sunday or Holy Day (when at least some of the parishioners might be expected to be present, apart from the family) up to about ten days or a fortnight after birth. This was, however, at least a permissible deviation so
far as the Church authorities were concerned. A more serious deviation was the common practice of clandestine marriage⁸ and one at which the clergy connived and for which they sometimes received punishment. Clandestine marriages (i.e. where banns were not read, and possibly at uncanonical times and seasons, and elsewhere than in church) were often performed to circumvent opposition from families, or within the prohibited degrees. Sometimes they reflect a conflict between Church law and accepted social custom.⁹

Burial also was frequently performed with what nowadays might be thought indecent haste, on the day after death, or even on the very day.¹⁰ Even an eminent cleric like Bishop John Hanmer was buried on the day after his death. It is difficult to know whether this practice was followed to dispose of a corpse as soon as possible after death, either to lessen the spread of disease, or because contact with a corpse was ritually defiling, as in Jewish custom. Possibly the reason was psychological - to get the actual business of burial over while the relatives were still in a state of shock. Under these circumstances, the rites of burial would be performed as simply as possible. The opportunity for family and friends to gather and mourn came two or three weeks later at a commemoration service - a privilege now granted usually only to the more distinguished among the departed. A sermon might be preached on such an occasion, particularly for the well-to-do.¹¹ It was the custom to make an offering to the parish priest and clerk at funerals, a survival from Catholic times when their services were required for requiem mass. The old Celtic custom continued of ringing handbells at funerals, despite attempts by Archbishop Grindal and others to stop it. Bells were rung on 5 November to celebrate deliverance from the Gunpowder Plot; after 1660, they were also rung on 29 May to celebrate the Restoration of Church and King.¹²

Wales had its own distinctive way of keeping Christmas. At dawn, on Christmas Day, Mattins was celebrated, a custom known as plygain (cock-crow). Later in the day, after dark, in fact - came gosper canhwyllau (candlelit Vespers or Evensong) a service still kept up in parts of former Montgomeryshire. Evensong was usually said at 3 o’clock in the winter months to avoid the expense of artificial lighting, and the candlelit
service in the dark days of mid-winter must have brought an especial joy to the celebration of Christmas.¹³

As has been seen before, there were many customs which reforming Bishops regarded as 'superstitious' and which they tried, largely in vain, to suppress.¹⁴ These, and some of those described above suggest that there was a distinctive local flavour to Welsh piety. The Welsh clergy of this period came largely from the same background as their parishioners, and probably sympathised with and understood these local customs. Either they helped to foster them, or regarded them as harmless and fell in with them for the sake of peace and charity.

Since attendance at church was obligatory under the Act of Uniformity, it is not surprising that the wealthier among the laity took an interest in their comfort and convenience. With regard to pews and other seating in church, it has been said that 'The Welsh had a particular conviction of their absolute possession'.¹⁵ Sara Snead, of Hope, Flintshire, conveyed to Robert Davies, Esquire, all her rights to 'seats, rooms, benches, kneeling places, burials and burying places in the south aisle of the parish church of Mold'¹⁶ like any other piece of personal property. Rival claims to such rights in Dolgellau church led to an unedifying feud between the Nanney and Owen families,¹⁷ and 'an orgy of destruction'.¹⁸ More constructive results (at least in the literal sense) came from the dispute at Llanfihangel Ysceifog, Anglesey, between the Holland and Terringham families. Sir Thomas Holland obtained a faculty from Bishop Griffith to demolish the chancel wall and build an aisle, wishing to worship there because he was 'aged and very heavy'. The local squire, Sir Arthur Terringham, however, wished him 'to take away the two seats he has most inconveniently erected in the chancel near the communion table' and 'not to build the aisle... above the petitioners' seats'.¹⁹ Obviously, prestige and precedence entered the dispute. Sir Thomas seems to have got the better of the argument, claiming that 'In every chancel within the whole county of Anglesey there are ancient seats belonging to special owners' - the Terringhams themselves had such seats at Llanedwen.²⁰

On occasion, the gentry concerned themselves about more than pews or even chancels. Mention has already been made²¹ of the Rudds and the Wynns building chapels (partly at least for thier own convenience). A gentle lady who deserves mention in this
connection is Margaret Symmons, who built Ford Chapel, Hayscastle, Pembrokeshire, in 1627, for the convenience of her tenants. It was consecrated by Bishop Field. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as Baron Denbigh, began the building of a new church in that town to meet the needs of the parishioners. The work was delayed by his death, and was not completed until the 1630s.

Special mention should be made also of Rûg Chapel, built by the Salusbury family of Lleweni. As restored recently by Cachw, it is an abiding monument to the spirituality of the Caroline Age in Wales. It was built in 1637, when Archbishop Laud was at the height of his fortunes, and the design of the chapel, a single cell structure with the altar railed off at the east end, conforms to his ideals. It is perhaps less remarkable that Laudian ideas should have penetrated Wales via distinguished families like the Salusburys than that ‘Laudianism’ should have aroused so little controversy, being applied with pastoral sensitivity and general consent.
Notes to Lay Spirituality (Appendix)

1. (Cowbridge, 1983) pp.24 - 9

2. The Book of Common Prayer specifies that 'every Parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one'. The other 'usual times' were Christmas and Whitsun; Michaelmas was also frequently observed by receiving Communion.

3. Sir John Wynn instructed his domestic chaplain to take household prayers, catechise and preach, but also 'If I go to bowls or shuffle board, I shall like of your company, if the place be not made up with strangers'. - Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500 - 1700 (Basingstoke and London, 1994), p.338.

4. David Matthew, 'Further Elizabethan Documents' in the BBCS Vol. VI Part 2 (1933), pp.162 - 63. Provision of Communion wine has a Protestant air about it - Catholics received Communion only under the species of bread.

5. J.A. Bradney, The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny [sic] in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman, 1603 - 1654 (Bristol, 1907), passim.


8. Ibid.

9. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister, for instance, was socially accepted in England though frowned upon by the Church.


11. Ibid., p.138 e.g. that preached by Bishop Richard Davies at the funeral of the Earl of Essex in 1577 and subsequently published.

12. Ibid., pp.144 - 45.


14. supra, pp.47, 66.

15. Heal and Holmes, op. cit., p.338.

16. Ibid.

17. Both were prominent landowning families in the area.


19. CSPD 7.1.1639/40.

20. Ibid.

21. supra, pp. 59, 82.

22. PP I, p.298. It may be noted that, when Bishop of Hereford, Field consecrated the restored church of Abbey Dore. Whether or not Field could in any sense be called a 'Laudian', he fell in with Laud's policy of consecrating new and restored churches. Passing reference may be made to another godly lady, Ann Wen
Brynkir, who is described as 'altogether given to godly prayers and religious exercises'. - Heal and Holmes, op.cit., p.364.

23. SP 16/300/64. As Rev. John Salusbury explains in the document, the former parish church lay a mile from the town; otherwise, the townspeople had to worship at the castle chapel, which was inconveniently small, particularly during the assizes. A similar situation existed at Caernarfon, Harlech and Pembroke, where the nearest parish churches were outside the town, respectively at Llanfair-is-gaer, Llanfair-juxta-Harlech and Monkton St. Nicholas. The arrangement was probably a hang-over from medieval times when the more anglicised population of towns was served by similarly anglicised chaplains attached to the castle garrison. Among other castle towns served by chapelries rather than parish churches were Beaumaris, Builth, Flint and Holt.

24. The altar was railed off at Llanrhychwyn, a chapelry of Trefriw, in 1636. Hugh Robinson, Vicar of Trefriw, may have come under Laudian influence as Archdeacon of Gloucester (1625 - 7). The altar rails in Wrexham church are said to have been pulled down in 1643, but by Roundhead troops rather than by the local Puritans. G.W.O. Addleshaw and Frederick Etchells in The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship (London, 1948) p.151n., draw attention to the remarkable altar at Mallwyd: - set in the middle of the church (Williams' ideal) but railed off on all four sides (Laudian), the black marble altar of 1734 (technically illegal) probably replacing an earlier wooden altar so placed. It is not unique, a similar altar being found at Gibside, County Durham, but Mallwyd may symbolise a practical Welsh compromise.
CONCLUSION
The first aim of this study, as stated in the Introduction, was to ascertain who the Anglican clergy in Wales were c.1560 - 1642. The results vary according to whether they were (a) cathedral clergy; (b) sinecure holders; (c) incumbents of parishes or (d) non-beneficed clergy. It seems possible now to be virtually sure as to who the cathedral clergy were, apart from some (possibly) disputed appointments, and so to up-date the lists in Le Neve's *Fasti*. Likewise, it seems possible to be virtually certain who the sinecure holders were in St Asaph and Bangor; the information for St David's is more sketchy, and almost certainly there were others, particularly in Elizabeth's reign, whose names have not come to light. Something like a coherent picture of the parochial clergy also emerges in St Asaph and Bangor, though with gaps in our knowledge as to what was happening in some impropriate and (apparently) suspended parishes. In Llandaff and St David's, there are greater gaps in the records, particularly in Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire, but the names of literally hundreds of clergy are known, and in some parishes a complete list of incumbents can be drawn up. It is hoped that this section in particular will form the basis for further researches into the Welsh clergy in this period. Almost certainly there will be names still to be discovered, in parish records, letters, wills, etc. But it has to be pointed out that the exhaustive researched by J.A.Bradney into the parochial records of Monmouthshire still leave many gaps (some of them partially filled from records examined in this thesis); it is still to be hoped that other names will be discovered. It is the non-beneficed clergy, curates and schoolmasters, where the records are least satisfactory - often no more than a tantalising glimpse, though that glimpse is at times a moment of revelation.

As to how far these clergy lived up to the ideals set by the Reformers, and by Whitgift in particular, the answer seems to be that they showed up as well as might be expected in the circumstances, and probably as well as their counterparts in many parts of England. Wales benefited, like England, from the foundation of grammar schools and the expansion of university places; the academic qualifications of the clergy rose, though not uniformly or consistently. Pluralism certainly was not eradicated. But pluralism was mitigated by placing adjacent or nearby parishes under the same incumbent. It is possible that pluralism was a greater problem in Wales than in some
parts of England. Rosemary O'Day claims that in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry between 1580 and 1620, pluralism was rare, and where it occurred, normally involved neighbouring parishes. In Wales, as has been seen, efforts were made to keep pluralism to parishes that were at least close to one another, if not adjacent, but instances have been found of incumbents managing parishes sixteen or twenty miles apart - not an impossible distance to travel, but one not inconsiderable in those days. Instances have been found of incumbents holding livings even more distant apart from one another in Wales, or one in Wales and another distantly in England. Pluralists in Wales seem usually to have entrusted a second parish to a curate.

Sinecures were often used to supplement the income of parishes; cathedral clergy often took on a cure of souls, but how often they discharged the office themselves, and how often they left it to a curate, is uncertain. One of the best features of the time was that most of the bishops were resident in their dioceses for most of the time. The fact that most of them were Welshmen in Elizabeth’s reign, and in the North also under James I and Charles I, was an important contributory factor; that all the Welsh dioceses had long incumbencies from more than one bishop was particularly fortunate - it made it possible for such bishops truly to be fathers to their flock. The Elizabethan and early Stuart period was in this sense a ‘Golden Age’ between the eras of non-resident, promotion-seeking bishops of the Middle Ages and the period following the 1689 Revolution. Their example was followed lower down the hierarchy: resident, long-serving cathedral clergy, parish priests and even curates are a feature of the age.

To use a phrase such as ‘in the circumstances’ is an acknowledgement that the Church in Wales (and in England) in the Elizabethan and early Stuart era was acting under limitations imposed by history and politics. During the Interregnum, an attempt was made under the Propagation Act to get away from the parochial system and turn the Church in Wales into a vast missionary organisation. Such a scheme was too radical, even for those revolutionary times; in a different context, Bishop Alfred Edwards put his finger on the weakness of such a scheme, viz. that it undermined a pastoral ministry. The Cromwellian régime, however, attempted another, less drastic scheme of reform - pastoral re-organisation which involved the merging of small, unviable parishes (in Pembrokeshire, for instance), and the elevation of chapelries into parishes where size of population warranted it. These reforms, which followed a common
pattern in England and Wales, perished with Oliver Cromwell. The Restoration Church returned to the pre-war policy of \textit{ad hoc} pluralities and occasional union of 
cures and sinecures. The Cromwellian period showed what could and probably should 
have been done, but the creation of new parishes was largely the work of the 
nineteenth century, the amalgamation of old ones largely that of the twentieth century.

The Elizabethan and Stuart Church proved unable to deal with the very real problem of 
improper parishes. It must be said that Churches in Western Europe, both Catholic 
and Protestant, have been singularly unsuccessful in attempts to recover their former 
property. But impropriations were only one of the Church's problems. The Church 
in Wales had two further problems, one particular to itself, the other more general to 
the Church of England. As regards the former, the Welsh bishoprics were particularly 
poor. But whereas poor English bishoprics like Rochester and Gloucester contained 
at least a few well-endowed parishes (Foots Cray, for instance, or Cirencester), there 
was virtually nothing comparable in Wales. This is a reflection, not on the Welsh 
Church or its leaders, but on the poverty of the country. In this respect, Wales can 
best be compared with the diocese of Carlisle, covering the old counties of 
Cumberland and Wesmorland. But, as has been seen, the general poverty of livings 
in Wales was not conspicuously worse than that in York or Lichfield and Coventry. 
The generalisation runs true in Wales as elsewhere that clergy who received tithes in 
kind or farmed their own glebe stood to be better off than those whose tithes were 
commuted or who received fixed stipends, which failed to keep up with inflation. This 
was true in London and in rural Lincolnshire as well as in Wales. But those who 
received tithes had to be their own tax-collectors, and those who farmed glebe their 
own estate managers, which may not be the best qualifications for the sacred ministry. 
As more Welsh clergy (almost certainly) came from the rural background of the gentry 
and the yeomanry, they may have been better able to cope with economic realities than 
some of their English counterparts drawn from the urban middle classes. The problem 
had no apparent solution in the period under study. In urbanised parts of Protestant 
Europe, it might have been a realistic proposition for the clergy to surrender their 
endowments and live on the voluntary contributions of the faithful; such a scheme 
might have worked in London and the large cities, but hardly in rural Wales. 
Alternatively, the Crown might have taken over all the revenues of the Church (not just 
\textsuperscript{* supra, p.316.}
those of the monasteries and chantries), as in some Lutheran countries, and paid the
clergy a more-or-less fair stipend. But if Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell ever
considered such an idea (e.g. when the Valor Ecclesiasticus was compiled), they seem
to have been deterred by the Pilgrimage of Grace. Not until Queen Anne’s Bounty
was even a partial solution found; not until the clergy became (in effect) salaried
employees of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was it really solved. The Church in
Wales in this period still stands indicted on three counts: it failed to stop the despoiling
of the College of Llanddewi Brefi; bishops (sometimes under financial pressure)
continued to make sales and leases of Church land, that were, in the long term,
disadvantageous; and it discontinued the practice of ordaining men to personal titles when this procedure created a reserve of clergy not dependent on parochial income.
On the other side, credit must be given to bishops like William Morgan who stood up
to rapacious landowners, at some cost to themselves; while the foundation of grammar
schools created an alternative reserve of clergy, many of whom doubled their duties
(and their stipends) in the parishes.

An attempt has been made in this study to see the part played by the four Welsh
dioeceses in the Church of England as a whole at a time when Anglicanism was taking
shape. The debate continues (and perhaps always will) as to exactly what Anglicanism
is and when it was formed - at the beginning of Elizabeth I’s reign or the end; perhaps
as early as the reign of her father. The most relevant question in this study is the part
which Wales played in that formulative period. It is best to look for the answer in
three periods - that of Elizabeth’s religious settlement, the age of Archbishop Whitgift
and that of Archbishop Laud. In the first of those periods, the situation was little
different in Wales from what it was in England. Richard Davies has probably been
underestimated as one of the great Elizabethan Reformers; like his counterparts in
England, he was working alongside colleagues of a variety of churchmanship and
background to make an order which would both function and survive. The age of
Archbishop Whitgift saw a fruitful response from Wales to the initiatives from
Canterbury in which personal relationships between Whitgift and the leadership in
Wales (not least William Morgan) played an important part. The reputation of some
Welsh bishops in this period is tarnished, e.g. by immorality (Middleton), nepotism
(Bayly) or pluralism (Hughes), but improvements were made in the academic standing
of the clergy and the provision of preachers. William Laud seems to have shown a real pastoral care for Wales, both as Bishop of St David’s and later as Archbishop. If Wales was different from much of England in his time, the real difference was that Puritanism had made so little impact on the principality. Laud’s influence in London and the South-East may create a misleading impression of the Church of England as a whole. The ‘backwardness’ of Wales (if such it was) may not have been very different from the situation in the far North West or parts of Devon and Cornwall. But the patient work of improving academic standards went on under Laud; Welsh sees (in the main) continued to go to Welshmen. The appointment of Roger Mainwaring to St David’s was probably a mistake; but Laud deserves some credit for appointments like those of Richard Bayly and William Nicholson. His policy on the altar seems to have made no great impact in Wales before the Civil War. It has been seen * that the men who were to lead the Church in Wales at the Restoration, like George Griffith of St Asaph and Francis Davies of Llandaff, were already emerging in the 1630s. It must cause some regret that the ‘hard line’ taken by Laud caused men like William Erbury and William Wroth to leave the Anglican ministry when they had been left alone for years in their parishes; perhaps the breach was inevitable.

Another important conclusion reached in this study is that of the danger of making blanket generalisations about the Church in Wales in this period. The standard criticisms of the Church, not only in Wales, and not only at this time - pluralism, non-residence, clerical poverty and ignorance, nepotism - have to be examined diocese by diocese and district by district; likewise the progress made towards a learned and caring clergy. The attempt has been made in this thesis to examine the situation in this way, and important variations have come to light. St Asaph, for instance, suffered from less of a shortage of clergy in the 1560s than other parts of England and Wales; Llandaff (apparently) attracted fewer graduate clergy than the northern dioceses, while St David’s seems to have had more parishes unable to support an incumbent. It is to be hoped that scholars in the future might be led to compare and contrast Welsh dioceses with those in England - St Asaph with Chester, for instance, or St David’s with Carlisle; comparisons have been made in this study, where possible, with other dioceses and counties where the clergy have been researched.

* supra, pp.170,197.
As was said in the Introduction, the Church in Wales was at this time - for better or worse - an integral part of the Church of England, not something 'foreign' to it. That is not to deny that there was an elusive quality of 'Welshness' transfusing the four Welsh dioceses. The space devoted in this thesis to Communicating the Faith reflects the author's support for the belief that probably the most important element in fostering that quality of Welshness was the result of translating the liturgy and Scriptures into the language of the people. One influence on the English Reformation which is often underestimated is that of Desiderius Erasmus. The Christian Humanism which he inspired infused the spirit of Anglicanism on both sides of the border. It gave Welsh spirituality its distinctiveness, while being true to the wider spirit of Anglicanism. Such evidence as has come to light regarding the social origins of the clergy, and the use of patronage and sureties, suggests that Wales may have differed from England in having a greater social cohesion and a more solid commitment to the Established Church. It would be for social rather than ecclesiastical historians to suggest whether it was, quite simply, that the landed gentry were more firmly in control in Wales than in England. The part played by the gentry as sureties and sponsors, notably in the diocese of St Asaph, shows how valuable the co-operation was between the leaders of society and the Church.

There are two more or less objective tests to which the Welsh Church of the Elizabethan and early Stuart era can be put - indeed, to which it was in fact put: How did it stand up to the strains of the Civil War and Interregnum? and To what extent did it retain a hold on the loyalties of the Welsh people? Until a latter-day Matthews should arise to compile a Walker Revised for Wales, the evidence from the Sufferings of the Clergy must be treated with some caution, but the names and figures cited by Walker at least serve as a basis for discussion. Walker lists some 38 clergy ejected in St Asaph, 19 in Bangor, 107 in Llandaff and 145 in St David's; he acknowledges uncertainty as to how far these involve repetitions; in some instances they clearly do. Roughly speaking, these figures represent 35 per cent, 21 per cent, 63 per cent, and 55 per cent of the incumbents of the dioceses respectively. That Llandaff should head the list is not surprising; it was in the front line of the war in a way that most of Wales was not, and more of the landowners in the South were Roundhead, and therefore likely to take note of clergy of the opposite party. Bangor on the other hand, remained in
Royalist hands almost to the bitter end, when Archbishop Williams was able to negotiate an unusually generous settlement. 13

These figures can be interpreted in two ways: were the clergy ejected for what nowadays would be regarded as scandalous behaviour - drunkenness, swearing, fornication or neglect of duty? Or were they scandalous by reason of their stubborn adherence to King and Prayer Book? Or was it a mixture of both? Those ejected included the exemplary William Nicholson and the scholarly Thomas Vaughan; doubtless there was 'dead wood' among the rest. Fifty of those who survived to the Restoration told the House of Lords that their harsh treatment was due to 'affection and loyalty to His Majesty of blessed memory'. 14 Others who did not survive would no doubt have claimed the same, whether or not they would have been entirely justified in so doing.

Thomas Richards (hardly a champion of the Church in Wales) gave it as his judgement that 'The "via media" was a complete success in Wales' - but this was meant more as a criticism than a compliment, for he adds that 'the Third Prayer Book and the highest embodiment of its ideals, was the sacred palladium of the immigrant clerk and the unpreaching pastor'. 15 The evidence suggests strongly that provision for preaching in Wales often fell short of what the Church authorities required (i.e. a sermon once a quarter in each parish church), let alone what the more zealous Reformers would have wished (a sermon once a week). But it should not be thought that the laity would always have agreed. During the Interregnum, one Welsh countryman complained of preachers 'eternally thundering out in the ancient British tongue'. 16 Hajzyk describes country folk in Lincolnshire, bored with lengthy sermons, behaving like a class of naughty school-children. 17

It was remarked in the introduction that the Church in Wales could be its own worst enemy. Bishop Richard Davies of St David's referred to parts of his diocese being 'places of extreme darkness'. 18 His successor, Marmaduke Middleton, spoke of 'the people greatly infected with atheism and wonderfully given over to a vicious life' 19 - though he was hardly of unblemished reputation himself. At the other end of Wales, Sir John Wynn of Gwydir was apprehensive lest 'the people fall into atheism'. 20 It would be difficult to establish whether the Welsh people were better or worse than
their English counterparts. Nor is it easy to know whether the bishops and their lay supporters deliberately exaggerated the problems they faced. There seems little doubt that there was a strong element of 'folk religion' in Wales, bound up with holy wells, pilgrimages, funeral rites etc., against which both Catholic and Protestant bishops in their time inveighed in vain, with which the suppressed tradition of the early British Church had perhaps more successfully come to terms. What Church authority might regard as superstition ('darkness'? ) might appear to simple folk as traditional wisdom. 'Atheism' in this context seems to have meant 'ignorance of Christian teaching', and its use has echoes of early Christians dismissing pagans as 'atheists'. 21

Towards the end of the period under investigation, Bishop William Roberts of Bangor wrote that 'By reason of the poverty of the place, all clergymen of hope and worth seek preferment elsewhere'. 22 That much of Wales was poverty-stricken is without question. Bishop Field complained that at St David's, there was 'not so much as a leech to cure a sick horse'. 23 That some Welsh livings were desperately poor is true. That many Welshmen - some of them noted in this study - sought lusher pastures in England is again true. But Bishop Roberts hardly did justice to learned and devoted pastors like John Davies and Edmwnd Prys who lived out their lives in remote parishes in Wales. Those who complained of the poverty of Wales seem invariably to have been men who had known a higher standard of living and a more sophisticated world view in Oxford or Cambridge.

A different criterion by which the Welsh Church in this age might be judged is whether it produced saints, heroes or martyrs. Non-Anglicans might observe that the real martyrs of Wales at this time were those like John Penry and John Jones, who witnessed against the established Church, not for it. At the time of Queen Mary's Counter-Reformation, Wales produced only three Protestant martyrs including Bishop Ferrar. But even its severest critics will acknowledge that the Welsh Church in this age produced one group of men who made a priceless contribution to Welsh spirituality and the Welsh nation: the translators, pre-eminently William Morgan, but with him Richard Parry, Edmwnd Prys, John Davies and many others. Apart from these, the Welsh Church nurtured others who were certainly distinguished: Richard Davies, William Blethin, Henry Rowlands and Anthony Rudd were all worthy bishops. Welshmen who served the Church in England were headed by Gabriel Goodman,
Richard Vaughan and John Williams. All were eminent; none was exactly 'great'. The greatest among them, probably, was Richard Vaughan. He died of apoplexy in 1607 at the age of 57. Had he lived to the Biblical span of three score years and ten (i.e. to 1620) he might well have succeeded Bancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury and proved a more fortunate choice than George Abbot.

In the Anglican calendar, there is one saint of Welsh origins who is chiefly remembered for his services in England - George Herbert. His commemoration on 27 February simply confirms the place he has long held in popular affections as the saintly parson-poet. If Herbert was much 'Anglicised' it has been seen that he had a counterpart in Henry Vaughan, a layman who stayed behind in Wales. It would be in keeping with the genius of Anglicanism if its Welsh heroes in this age were a scholar (William Morgan) and a parson-poet (George Herbert). That other parson-poet, 'Vicar' Prichard, should also be remembered as a dynamic and very original kind of evangelist. 24

Christians witness to their faith in many ways:- some, by giving their lives for their beliefs; others, by dedicating themselves to lives of prayer, penitence and chastity; others again, in lives of quiet service. Martyrdom was the particular mark of the early centuries of the Church. The monastic life seems more at home in Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy than in the more domestic piety of Protestantism. But it is likely that the Welsh Church had many quiet saints like William Lewis, Rector of St Fagan’s. ‘He was a very charitable man, had many children and grand-children, and was also of a great age: nevertheless he was dispossessed of all [in 1649], put out of his house in St Fagan’s, and his corn was seized upon in his barns ... so that he was obliged to retire to a small tenement for life, that his father had procured for him in his younger years, in the parish of Llysfaen in this country, where he lived contentedly, free from the clamour and hurry of business. He lived to be restored to his livings, 25 to the great joy of his friends and parishioners; and after two years enjoyment of them, ended his life in a good old age’. 26 If Lewis had not been ejected in the time of troubles, even this simple record of him might be lacking. But such unsung saints are the real backbone of any church.
The other great challenge which the Welsh Church had to face, and by which it must be tested, is the emergence of Protestant Nonconformity. Even with the weight of Cromwell's authority behind them the Puritans found it difficult to make headway in Wales, and there are grounds for regarding Puritanism as an English import not readily welcomed in Wales. But as Glanmor Williams observes: 'The Commonwealth régime had brought into being in Wales a hard core of Puritan Dissenters who could neither be compelled nor persuaded to conform to the worship and beliefs of the Established Church ... They remained a minority, it is true, but a significant minority.' How significant a minority were they? After seven hard years of the Clarendon Code, Episcopal returns in 1669 report 10 dissenting congregations in St Asaph and 30 in Llandaff. In Bangor, it was reported 'that there are no conventicles held within the whole diocese'. Of the conventicles denominated, the great majority (11 out of 15) were Quaker. There is no return extant for St David's in 1669, but a return four years earlier noted 10 nonconforming clergy in the diocese; some of these were among the 13 granted licences in 1672, at the Indulgence, to hold Presbyterian or Congregational meetings; five such licences were granted in St Asaph and one (at Llanfair Dyffryn Clwyd) in Bangor.

The final conclusion may be that the Welsh Church in this age was the victim of its own success; that by its achievements rather than by its shortcomings, it nourished a longing for holiness which it found difficult to satisfy. Glanmor Williams has written, ... 'in Protestant countries like England and Wales the Reformation ...released energies which it would be difficult to contain within the bounds of a state church'. Though they have featured little in this study, there was always a small but intensely loyal group whom the Welsh Church never satisfied - the Catholic recusants. There can be little doubt that these were to be numbered at least in hundreds - official returns tended to underestimate them if not to ignore them altogether, perhaps because bishops felt powerless to do very much about them. As in England, the protection of Catholic land-owners, notably the Marquis of Worcester, was important to their survival. It has already been seen * that they were more numerous in the inland regions than on the coasts. Their survival was all the more remarkable in that their spiritual nourishment, particularly the Mass, depended on the ministrations of seminary priests from the Continent, and Wales tended to be on the end of a long circuit. Few in number they

* supra, pp. 38, 58.
They may have been; stubborn, even heroic, they undoubtedly were. They made their own distinctive contribution to Welsh vernacular literature, while the on-going devotion at St Winifred's shrine at Holywell (the only pilgrim shrine in Britain with a continuous history going back before the Reformation) is a lasting tribute to their memory. In 1642 and 1660, there was a band in Wales of both Catholics and Dissenters, and the Church in Wales was never the Church of the whole nation, though it probably came nearer to that mark than the Church in England did. The route from the Elizabethan-Jacobean-Caroline Church in Wales to the Interregnum, Restoration, Whig Supremacy and Methodist Revival is an intensely complex one, and there is no simple chain of cause and effect. In retrospect, the period covered by this study may seem, if not a 'Golden Age', one when conditions for Wales, and particularly the Anglican Church in Wales, were more propitious than most times between the Edwardian Conquest and Disestablishment. If the Church in that age went some way towards fulfilling the ideals of the Reformation, it is to judge it by the standard it would have chosen for itself.

It may be wondered whether one weakness of the Church in Wales at this time was that it was inward-looking. That a large proportion of the Welsh clergy either originated from Wales or were of Welsh stock is in contrast with London or Surrey, but not with all parts of the Church in England. The need to communicate in the Welsh language made the employment of Welsh clergymen virtually inevitable. But it was not wholly exclusive. Two factors compelled the Welsh Church to be more outward-looking. One was that those of its ordinands who wished to study at university had to do so outside Wales, usually at Oxford or Cambridge. The other is that the Church in Wales was not (at this time) a separate province, let alone a separate Church, and there was a two-way traffic between livings in England and Wales. The contribution of Welsh clergy to the life of the Church in England has received only passing mention; it is outside the scope of this study, but it is a counterpoint to its theme which should not be underestimated or overlooked.
Notes

1. 'Clerical Patronage...' (London Univ. thesis), p.287. In Surrey, too pluralities were mainly of neighbouring parishes. (Christophers, op.cit., p.140).

2. Thomas Banks, John. Davies of Mallwyd and William Powell of Nerquis would be examples of each from the Diocese of St Asaph.


5. The Church of England in 1660 was a rare exception.

6. Foot's Cray was assessed in VE at £100, Cirencester at £200.

7. According to VE Edinghall and Kirkbride seem to have been the richest livings in Carlisle diocese, worth respectively £80 and £50 - both more than any Welsh cures.

8. Obermann (op.cit., pp.211 - 12) notes how continental Protestantism in the cities, such as Zwingli's Zurich, involved the laity in a more active participation in the Church.


10. In the diocese of Durham, however, which included Northumberland, a concerted effort was made to promote the Reformed Faith, even at Berwick-upon-Tweed, but proximity to Presbyterian Scotland probably influenced the Church authorities. - Wilson, op.cit., pp.578 ff.

11. Supra, p.5.

12. Walker cites Thomas Vaughan from both Llansanffraid and St Bridget's apparently unaware that the latter is an Anglicisation of the former.


16. ibid., p.7.

17. op.cit., p.154.

18. Supra, p.28

19. Supra, p.47

20. For Sir John Wynn, see supra, pp. 52, 55, 59.

22. *Supra*, p. 81

23. *Supra* p. 81. John Williams of Conwy (later Archbishop) is said to have suffered permanent injury from a childhood accident because no doctor was available nearer than Chester.

24. Richards’ comment *(op.cit., p.12)* that Prichard ‘verges dangerously near the eucharistic theory’ is testimony that the latter was, in fact, a High Anglican. Richards probably means that Prichard displays some kind of belief in the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

25. He was Rector of St Peter’s-super-Ely as well as St Fagan’s.


29. Strictly speaking, it was meeting places that were licensed in 1672.


32. The diocese of Exeter drew to a large extent on ‘native’ clergy. - O’Day, *The English Clergy (supra)* pp.137 - 8. Ordinands who had not studied at the universities usually served in their ‘home’ diocese because of the system of letters dismissory.

33. The occasional Scottish graduate has been noted. I have come across no instance of a student from Trinity College, Dublin, serving in Wales, but that does not necessarily imply that there were none.
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