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Owain Glyn Dŵr: How a medieval rebel became the national symbol of modern Wales.



Owain's statue Corwen, Denbighshire, inscribed *Mab Darogan*: Son of Prophecy

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Chapter 1: Introduction

*'From that day to this, his name has been one of power in Wales; attempts to reduce him to the stature of a robber chief and lawless brigand have been ineffectual to quench the national devotion to his memory. For Welshmen of all subsequent ages, Glyn Dŵr has been a national hero. He may with propriety be called the father of modern Welsh nationalism.'*¹

J.E. Lloyd.

This dissertation will examine how the characterisation of Owain Glyn Dŵr by historians and by the wider culture has evolved over the centuries since his rebellion, and how those changes have informed, and been reflected in, the development of Welsh identity and nationalism. It will not seek to chronicle Owain's life or actions, except as they have been used to shape his portrayals. Including broader cultural characterisations of Owain provides context for the evolving judgments of historians, and shows how the trajectories of Owain's reputation and Welsh identity have interacted, from the days of Wales's submersion in the English state to the current era of devolved government in Wales.²

Owain's rebellion from 1400 to its end in about 1409 and his death in c.1415 was the final Welsh uprising against English rule and, notwithstanding the accession of Henry Tudor to the English throne in 1485, the last significant flowering of Welsh national feeling until the emergence of Welsh nationalism in the nineteenth century. The last Welshman to call

¹ Lloyd, J.E. (1931), *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn Dŵr)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (reprint Felinfach, Llanerch Publishers 1992), p. 146.

² Llwyd, H. (2003 [1559]) *Cronica Walliae*, Cardiff, ed. Williams, I.M. p. 224.

himself Prince of Wales, Owain became a significant figure to an extent never achieved by any previous Welsh leader. For his supporters he was a national redeemer, but a fearsome necromancer to many of the English.³ The mystical aspects of his eventual disappearance and the lack of any firm evidence of his death and burial place have fed Owain's legendary status as an icon of Welsh national identity.⁴

As this is a historiographical survey of Owain's portrayal, all sources are fundamentally primary sources, insofar as they speak to that principle. While Gideon Brough cautions that 'all of the sources contain inaccuracies which, inevitably, make them problematic';⁵ for the purposes of this dissertation accuracy is irrelevant, as their importance lies in the impressions they convey and how influential they were. *Owain Glyndŵr, A Casebook*, edited by Michael Livingston and John Bolland, provides a compendium of contemporary sources with translations, all fully referenced.⁶ These include florid bardic poetry about Owain, his correspondence with the kings of France and Scotland and the Irish lords, battle reports from both sides, parliamentary proceedings, and a wide variety of chronicles, many of which like Holinshed's, Hall's and the Dieulacres Abbey chronicles are hostile to Owain. The volume also contains explanatory notes about the sources and scholarly essays on aspects of Owain's revolt. Also providing valuable context and insight into some sources is Alicia Marchant's volume, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles*.

³ Henken, E.R. (1996), *National Redeemer: Owain Glyndwr in Welsh Tradition*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press.

⁴ Henken, E.R. (2013), 'Owain Glyndŵr in Folklore and the Popular Imagination', in Livingston, M. & Bolland, J.K., *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 583.

⁵ Brough, G. (2017), *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, London, I.B. Tauris, p. 1.

⁶ Livingston, M. & Bolland, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

References to Owain in the wider culture of Wales and England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries will be examined for their portrayals of Owain: from Shakespeare's vain braggart and Powel's condemnation of him for interrupting the civilising project of Welsh integration with England, through to the persistent validation of Owain by ordinary Welsh people.⁷ Also examined will be the slow rehabilitation of Owain's reputation in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in writings of the romantic and picturesque movement such as Ellis's *Memoirs of Owen Glendower* and Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, through to Thomas Thomas's frankly cheerleading biography of Owain, and later in more measured and diligently-sourced histories such as that by Jane Williams.⁸

Further rehabilitation of Owain will be seen in later writings by historians such as O.M. Edwards at the turn of the twentieth century, while a titan of Welsh history, J.E. Lloyd, showed how far Owain's reputation had recovered in Welsh scholarly circles and how firmly he had become associated with the modern Welsh nationalist movement by the early twentieth century.⁹ The dissertation will show how modern historians have broadly accepted Owain's evolved status as a symbol of Welsh identity, with Rees Davies highlighting Owain's national vision and ambitions for Wales, and Glanmor Williams

⁷ Shakespeare, W. (1598), *King Henry IV, Part 1*, Act III scene i. Project Gutenberg [online]. Available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1516/pg1516.html> (accessed May 25, 2021); Powel, D., Wynne, W., Caradoc, O.L. (1697 [1584]), *The history of Wales comprehending the lives and successions of the princes of Wales, from Cadwalader the last king, to Llewelyn the last prince of British blood with a short account of the affairs of Wales under the kings of England / written originally in British, by Caradoc of Lhancarvan; and formerly published in English by Dr. Powel; now newly augmented and improved by W. Wynne*, London, M. Clark, p. 320.

⁸ Ellis, T. (1775), 'Memoirs of Owen Glendowr', in Thomas, J., *A history of the island of Anglesey*, London, Dodsley, pp. 63-88; Pennant, T. (1778) *A Tour in Wales*, London, Henry Hugues; Thomas, T. (1822), *Memoirs of Owen Glendower*, Haverford West, Joseph Potter, (reproduction 2011, Charleston, Nabu Press); Williams, J. (1869), *A History of Wales Derived from Authentic Sources*, London, Longmans, Green & Co.

⁹ Ahronson, L.A.H. (2013) "A refreshingly new and challenging voice": O.M. Edwards's Interpretation of the Welsh Past', Ch. 8 in Evans, N., Pruce, H., *Writing a Small Nation's Past*, London, Routledge, pp. 127-140.

depicting him as a flawed and tragic hero.¹⁰ More recent scholarship will also be addressed, up to and including Brough's description of Owain as 'a figure of striking historical significance to this day.'¹¹ The dissertation will illustrate how Owain is a canvas on which successive generations of the Welsh paint an ever-evolving portrait of themselves, or at least how they would like to be.

Chapter 2 will examine primary sources from Wales, England, and elsewhere before, during, and after the revolt that helped form Owain's reputation – for good and bad – among contemporaries and succeeding generations. Bardic poems, letters, chronicles and other documents by Owain's Welsh supporters and his English foes will be examined for their representations of the man.

Chapter 3 will discuss how these conflicting representations informed the changing characterisation of Owain and interpretation of his place in Welsh history since the mid-eighteenth century in both scholarly writings and in the wider culture; and how Owain's image influenced, and was influenced by, the development of Welsh national identity and the growth of Welsh nationalism; up to the outbreak of nationalist violence in the 1960s and 1970s, and subsequently the creation of the Welsh Assembly and Senedd.

¹⁰ Davies, R. R, 1995. *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, Oxford, Oxford University Press; Williams, G. (1966) *Owen Glendower*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

¹¹ Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 248.

Chapter 2: How the bards built Owain's fame, and how the English traduced him

This chapter will examine primary sources from before, during and after Owain's rebellion to see how his image was initially constructed: both in Wales as a legitimate leader and potential national liberator, and in England as a traitor and a sorcerer.

Even before his rebellion, Owain had a public profile within Wales, aspects of which helped shape his attraction as a national figurehead. Sources showed him sharing the frustrations, resentments and aspirations of many of the Welsh, as well as possessing the ideal social, genealogical and military credentials to lead his people. Moreover, in an age and a country that enthusiastically embraced vaticination, he was an excellent vessel into which prophecies of liberation could be poured. Crucially, this image of the man described by Rees Davies as 'by far the greatest of "the barons of Wales"'¹² was crafted and broadcast across Wales by the bards.

Although Edward I's victory over Gwynedd in 1282 completed England's conquest of Wales, effectively bringing to an end the princely patronage of bards, the bardic tradition of praise poems continued to flourish in the halls of the surviving native nobility, or uchelwyr.¹³

Owain was an enthusiastic patron of bards, with six authenticated praise poems surviving which were addressed to him during his lifetime, including poems composed prior to the

¹² Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 130.

¹³ Bollard, J.K. (2013), 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Poets', in Livingston, M. and Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 497-498.

rebellion.¹⁴ Before and during the revolt, bards were able to spread word throughout Wales and across the social spectrum of Owain's pedigree, courage, and wisdom, burnishing his image and validating his authority, spreading a perception of Owain as a legitimate and effective national leader.¹⁵ Owain was clearly aware from a young age of the importance of bards for building his lordly reputation. At his hall at Sycarth, he provided what Iolo Goch (c.1320-c.1398), one of the foremost fourteenth century Welsh bards, called 'a shelter for poets'; adding, with perhaps a hint of cynicism, that the young Owain was 'a boy who knew to love poets. Thus is fame achieved!'.¹⁶

In 'genealogically obsessed' Wales¹⁷, lineage was central to a nobleman's leadership credentials. Bards spread word of Owain's royal connections: he was one of what historian A.D. Carr described as 'the surviving handful of native Welsh lords of royal descent'.¹⁸ Owain was a scion of the Royal houses of Powys and Deheubarth and a direct descendant of Llywelyn the Great of Gwynedd (c.1173-1240).¹⁹ The bards also celebrated Owain's military prowess employing their customary ostentatious grandiloquence, with Gruffudd Llwyd (fl. c. 1380-1410) eulogising Owain's courage on campaign in Scotland in the service of England's

¹⁴ Williams G.A. (2010), 'More than "skimble-skamble stuff": The Medieval Welsh Poetry Associated with Owain Glyndŵr – Sir John Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, Royal Society of Edinburgh Nov 16, 2010', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 2012, 181, p.3 [online] available at <https://www.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/documents/2088/pba181p001.pdf> (accessed April 17, 2021).

¹⁵ Bollard, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Poets', p. 498.

¹⁶ Lewis, H. (1959), 'Iolo Goch (c. 1320-c. 1398), poet', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], available at <https://biography.wales/article/s-IOLO-GOC-1320> (accessed April 14, 2021); Williams G.A. 'More than "skimble-skamble stuff"' p. 4; Huws, D. (2000), *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, Cardiff and Aberystwyth, University of Wales Press, pp. 88-91; Goch, Iolo (2013 [1387?]), 'Owain Glyndŵr's Court', ed. Johnston, D., Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 33; and Goch, Iolo (2013 [1385?]), 'Owain's Exploits in Scotland', ed. Johnston, D., Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 19.

¹⁷ Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 129.

¹⁸ Carr, A.D. (1995), *Medieval Wales*, St. Martin's Press, New York, p. 108.

¹⁹ Goch, Iolo, (2013 [1385?]), 'Owain Glyndŵr's Lineage', ed. Johnston, D., Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 25-29.

King Richard II.²⁰ The soldier Owain was exalted as, 'Eagle delightful beyond measure ... mighty his stroke'.²¹ Though the bard was likely exaggerating Owain's soldierly exploits in what was a relatively uneventful campaign, Owain's military skills clearly impressed, as he rose up the the ranks in successive listings of his lord, the Earl of Arundel's esquires, eventually heading the list for a 1388 campaign.²² As Bollard has argued, while the bards may not have had rebellion in mind, their poems gave credence to Owain's claim to be *Princeps Walliae* and helped sow the seeds of revolt.²³ There is little surviving Welsh poetry about Owain's military achievements during the rebellion, but one poem from the early years of the rebellion, whose attribution is disputed, illustrated the public image of Owain that bards were constructing. The poem eulogised, 'the fair, brave and fear-inspiring weapon of Glyndyfrdwy, Owain, bright bloody blade, ferocious defender ... the golden sword of the people'. It celebrated Owain's victories over the English descendants of the legendary Saxon invader of Britain, hailing the 'great lord' who 'kills in the battle-bog four hundred thousand of Horsa's line'; and declaring Owain worthy to wear the crowns of the three kingdoms of Wales: Gwynedd, Powys and Deheubarth.²⁴

Even the English recognised how influential the bards were in burnishing Owain's reputation and sought to stop them. In 1402, two years into the rebellion, among a swathe of anti-

²⁰ Williams G.A. 'More than "skimble-skamble stuff"' p.7; Looker, R. (1959), 'Gruffudd Llwyd ap Dafydd ab Einon Llygliw (fl. c. 1380-1410), a poet', in *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], available at <https://biography.wales/article/s-GRUF-LLW-1380> (accessed April 13, 2021).

²¹ Llwyd, Gruffudd (2013 [1385?]), 'Owain's Exploits in Scotland', ed. Ifans, R, Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 13-17, 263-269.

²² Goodman, A. (1970), 'Owain Glyn Dŵr Before 1400', *Welsh History Review, Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, Cardiff, Vol. 5 (Jan 1, 1970), p. 67.

²³ Bollard, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Poets', p. 498.

²⁴ Goch, Iolo (2013 [1402?]), 'When His Authority Was Greatest', ed. Johnston, D., Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 71-73; Williams G.A. 'More than "skimble-skamble stuff"' p. 32.

Welsh legislation, the English Parliament banned the uchelwyr from financing bards. The legislation condemned the poets as ‘wasters, rhymers, minstrels and other vagabonds’, and specifically blamed them for the ‘mischiefs’ in Wales.²⁵ These new Penal Laws came on top of oppressive legislation imposed on Wales since the 1282 conquest which severely curtailed the participation of the native Welsh in the life of their own country, limiting their rights to hold land, trade, and hold public office.²⁶ Though the Crown in the Principality and absentee English lords in the March relied heavily for the administration of their lands on Welsh officials – many of whom were accused of extorting or oppressing the locals; and though the church depended on Welsh clergy at a local level, English rule capped the ambitions of the Welsh and led to resentment and alienation among native Welsh leaders who were denied positions of rank they felt should be theirs.²⁷ In an age of protest across Europe, following the plague and political upheavals of the fourteenth century, the privileges afforded to the English incomers gave rise to ill-feeling and resentment among the native Welsh, causing friction between the two communities even as they endeavoured to live and trade with each other.²⁸ England’s suppressive policy prompted the bard Iolo to lament: ‘Behold a world caused by English Arrogance!’²⁹ and Gruffudd described the oppressed Welsh as ‘a kindred of wretches like drunken crows’.³⁰

²⁵ Anon, (1816), *The Statutes of the Realm (4th year, Hen. IV, c. 27)*, London, Dawsons, Vol. 2, p.140.

²⁶ Davies, R.R. (1987), *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 458-459.

²⁷ Carr, A.D. (2003), ‘Wales: Economy and Society’, Ch.7 in *A Companion to Britain in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Rigby, S.H., Blackwell, Oxford, p.136; Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415*, p.411.

²⁸ Carr, ‘Wales: Economy and Society’, p.128, 136-137.

²⁹ Goch, ‘When His Authority Was Greatest’, p. 71; Williams G.A., ‘More than “skimble-skamble stuff”’ p. 22.

³⁰ Llwyd, Gruffudd (2013 [1385?]), ‘I Know No Greater Lord’, ed. Ifans, R, Tr. Bollard, J.K. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 21.

As historians Carr and Davies have argued, Welsh resentment, allied with what Brough described as 'the ideology of the oppressed',³¹ provided fertile ground for rebellion, and Owain's dynastic links and martial experience gave him the authority to claim leadership. Even before he declared himself Prince of Wales, the groundwork of preparing Owain's image for national leadership had been laid, with Iolo as early as c.1385 proclaiming him 'the one head of Wales' (*un pen ar Gymru*).³² Intended or not, that description served to place Owain as the next Welsh champion. Owain's uprising was only the latest of several unsuccessful Welsh rebellions against English rule over the previous century, not least the 1372 attempt by claimant to the throne of Gwynedd, Owain Lawgoch, to invade Wales with French assistance.³³ Portraying his rebellion to the Welsh and the world as a national uprising, rather than a repeat of the dynastic campaigns of previous Welsh princes, Owain Glyn Dŵr pledged 'to liberate the Welsh people from the bondage of our English enemies'.³⁴ In letters soliciting support from Scotland's king Robert III and the lords of Ireland, he wrote of Wales 'held in bondage by your and our mortal enemies, the Saxons';³⁵ and to king Charles VI of France, he articulated Wales's grievances, telling how, 'my nation ... has been oppressed by the fury of the barbarous Saxons'.³⁶

Owain's international diplomacy and alliances helped augment his stature at home and abroad. Through his correspondence with Charles VI, Owain propelled Wales, and himself as

³¹ Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p.24; Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyndŵr*, p. 230.

³² Goch, 'Owain Glyndŵr's Lineage', p. 29..

³³ Pierce, T.J. (1959), 'Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri ("Owain Lawgoch" died 1378)', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], available at: <https://biography.wales/article/s-OWAI-APT-1378> (accessed April 28, 2021).

³⁴ Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 157.

³⁵ Adam of Usk, 'Chronicle', ed. & tr. Livingston, M. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 65.

³⁶ Owain Glyn Dŵr (2013 [1406]), 'Pennal Letter 1 & Pennal Letter 2', tr. Matthews, T., in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 121.

its leader, onto the international stage. From a colonised backwater, Wales was elevated to a participant in the long-running conflict between France and England. His alliance with France won him recognition as the legitimate Prince of Wales and military help against the English Crown, as well as approval from the Avignon Pope for his plans to separate the Welsh church from Canterbury, which owed allegiance to the rival Papacy in Rome.³⁷ Emphasising his image as nation-builder, he appointed a chancellor and ambassadors, summoned Welsh parliaments, and proposed two universities.³⁸

As well as hailing Owain as a champion with the right lineage and military prowess to free his people, the bards showed him sharing their suffering and thwarted ambitions. As a Welshman, Owain was denied the knighthood or higher honour that in England his wealth and military service would have earned him: during the fourteenth century as few as three Welshmen were knighted.³⁹ As Davies noted, 'No-one could have been as profoundly frustrated and disillusioned as Owain ... he could not even make it to the rank of a knight in England.'⁴⁰ Highlighting the nationalistic aspect of this snub, Gruffudd declared in verse that there was 'no greater lord' than Owain, and defiantly clothed him in the trappings of a knight or lord of England.⁴¹

³⁷ Juvenal, J. (2013), 'Jean Juvenal des Ursins, History of Charles VI', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 185; Owain Glyn Dŵr, 'Pennal Letter 1 & Pennal Letter 2', p. 123; Davies *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 121.

³⁸ Stanley, J (2013 [1405]), 'Harlech Parliament', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 119; Marchant, A. (2014), *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles*, York, York Medieval Press p.5; Lloyd, Owen *Glendower*, p. 121.

³⁹ Goodman, 'Owain Glyn Dwr before 1400', p. 67; Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁰ Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p.24.

⁴¹ Llwyd, Gruffudd 'I Know No Greater Lord', p. 23.

Another aspect of Owain's image that made him attractive as a rebel leader – not only to the landed and military classes, but across native Welsh society – was his link to prophecy. Davies argues that, without indigenous political structures, it was the prophetic tradition that knitted the Welsh together, underpinning a culture shared between 'the aristocratic and the popular'; such that a figure like Owain, who espoused prophecy and who was hailed as the fulfilment of prophecy, could become leader of 'a truly popular revolt', supported by all sections of society.⁴² Presented as evidence of his enthusiasm for prophecy, Owain retained a man called Crach Ffynnant as his *propheta* or personal prophet, though some have translated the word as meaning merely spokesman.⁴³ With phenomena like a comet in 1402 seen as presaging great death and bloodshed in the rebellion, bards declared that 'God and man prophesied' his exploits, and comparing him to legendary British and Welsh heroes like king Arthur's father Uther Pendragon, and Owain ab Urien, King of the post-Roman Cumbrian kingdom of Rheged.⁴⁴ Owain was astute in promoting his interests using prophecy and linking himself to these mythical heroes, as shown when he rallied his forces under Pendragon's standard of 'a golden dragon on a white field'.⁴⁵ Some of these mythical heroes, along with ancient British kings such as Cynan and Cadwaladr were associated with the *mab darogan*, the 'son of prophecy', who would return to drive out the Saxons and restore Welsh rule over the whole of Britain.⁴⁶ The given name 'Owain' was closely

⁴² Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 159.

⁴³ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 31; Fulton, H. (2013), 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition' in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 475; Sayles, G.O. (tr.) (1938), *Select Cases in the Court of Kings Bench under Edward I*, Vol. II, London, Selden Society, p. 37.

⁴⁴ Rous, J. (2013 [1480-1486]), 'Historia Regum Angliae', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 159; Anon (2013), 'Beauchamp Pageant', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 215. pp. 215, 397-398; Llwyd, 'Owain's Exploits in Scotland', p. 15.

⁴⁵ Williams, G.A. (2013), 'The later Welsh Poetry Referencing Owain', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 521, 526; Adam of Usk, 'Chronicle', p. 63.

⁴⁶ Fulton, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition', pp. 475-476.

associated with the *mab darogan*: previous Owains who had been contenders for the role of *mab darogan* were Owain ab Urien; Owain ap Gruffudd, the twelfth century king of Gwynedd; and Owain Lawgoch.⁴⁷ Though Owain Glyn Dŵr himself was never specifically linked to the prophecy during his lifetime, his disappearance after the revolt, and the lack of evidence of his death and burial, led the poet Rhys Goch Eryri to suggest that Owain would, like the *mab darogan*, rise again from 'a dwelling beneath heaven where there is no death'.⁴⁸

In an age that enthusiastically embraced vaticination, Owain was happy to cite prophecy in support of his cause; as he did in his letter to Scotland's Robert III with a prophecy attributed to Merlin linking the Scottish and Welsh as descendants of the sons of Brutus, the legendary progenitor of the British royal houses.⁴⁹ However, it has been argued that far from being Shakespeare's 'great magician', 'damn'd Glendower'⁵⁰ may have maintained a politically pragmatic view of vaticination, and 'a determination not to forego the practical and argumentative advantage that prophecy might confer'.⁵¹ One significant example of his use of prophecy for political and propaganda purposes was in the Tripartite Indenture, his military alliance with English barons Henry Percy and Edmund Mortimer to oust Henry IV and divide England and Wales between the three of them. Though there have been questions raised about its authenticity, the treaty is now largely accepted as genuine.⁵² The

⁴⁷ Pierce, 'Owain ap Thomas ap Rhodri ("Owain Lawgoch" died 1378)',

⁴⁸ Williams, G.A., 'The Later Welsh Poetry Referencing Owain', p. 524; Fulton, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition', p. 484; Henken, E.R. (1995), 'Three forms of a hero, Arthur, Owain Lawgoch and Owain Glyndŵr', in *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, Harvard University, Vol. 15. p. 22.

⁴⁹ Adam of Usk, 'Chronicle', p. 65.

⁵⁰ Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, Act I, Scene 3.

⁵¹ Strohm, P. (1998), *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation 1399-1422*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, p. 17; Fulton, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition', p. 475.

⁵² Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 93; and Livingston, M. (2013), 'An Amazing Claim: The Tripartite Indenture', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 489.

treaty suggests that the signatories are 'the same persons of whom the Prophet speaks, between whom the government of Great Britain ought to be divided and partitioned'.⁵³ This is regarded by many as referring to the *Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow King John*, based on the prophecies of Merlin, which foretells that the last of the six kings, described disparagingly as 'a Moldewerpe' or mole, and identified with Henry IV, would be overthrown by a triple alliance of 'a dragon in the North ... a wolf that shall come out of the West ... a lyon out of Ireland'.⁵⁴ A later English chronicler accused the conspirators of using the moldwarp prophecy to add mystical lustre to their claims and legitimise their agreement, but condemned them for 'geyving credite to such a vain fable'.⁵⁵ There are problems in linking the Tripartite Indenture to the prophecy: there is no direct contemporary evidence linking the Tripartite Indenture specifically to the Prophecy of the Six Kings, with the first textual connection in a sixteenth century chronicle hostile to Owain.⁵⁶ Moreover, though the prophecy fitted insofar as Percy was from the North, Mortimer's family were Earls of Ulster and Owain came out of the West, its animal imagery did not match the heraldry of Percy's blue lion, Mortimer's blue and yellow bars or Owain's gold and red lions of Gwynedd; and the dragon came from the North rather than Wales. Raphael Holinshed, whose chronicle was used as source material for Shakespeare's history plays, dismissed it as 'a foolish credit given to a vaine prophesie'.⁵⁷

⁵³ Anon, (2013 [1406]), 'Tripartite Indenture', ed. Livingston, M. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 115.

⁵⁴ Anon, (2013 [1406]), 'Prophecy of the Six Kings to Follow King John', Tr. Livingston, M. in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Hall, E. (2013 [1548]), 'Chronicle', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 226.

⁵⁶ Fulton, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition' p. 476.

⁵⁷ Holinshed, R. (2013 [1587]), 'Chronicle', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 243.

While the Welsh saw Owain's prophetic links as evidence that he was a man of destiny, the English depicted him as a 'gullible fantasist' dabbling in 'risible prophecy', who was following 'those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh phropheciars'; and who, with Percy and Mortimer were 'seduced' into their alliance by a 'falce fained prophesie'.⁵⁸ Where the Welsh saw Henry IV's inability to capture Owain from his mountain fastnesses amid unseasonal stormy weather as the fulfilment of prophecy, the English saw it as malevolent sorcery. It was the English, not the Welsh who accused Owain of using magic.⁵⁹ According to Holinshed, 'through art magicke, he caused such foule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow and haile'. Even chronicler John Hardyng, who boasted of fighting alongside Owain's ally 'Hotspur', son of Henry Percy, at Shrewsbury, accused Owain of commanding the weather through magic: 'The king had nothing but foul tempest and rain ... All men believed the witchcraft made it so.'⁶⁰ These accusations of sorcery drowned out some more sceptical English voices. The Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey in Staffordshire acknowledged the possibility that the weather was influenced by magic but pinned the blame on poor planning by the king's forces, saying, 'They almost always failed in their plans and too often laboured in vain.'⁶¹

The Dieulacres chronicle was otherwise hostile to Owain, and portrayed him as an 'evil-doer' who 'plundered and burned English townships in Wales' through 'trickery and

⁵⁸ Fulton, H. (2005), 'Owain Glyn Dŵr and the Uses of Prophecy', *Studia Celtica* 39 p. 121; Holinshed, 'Chronicle', p. 243.; Hall, 'Chronicle', p. 226.

⁵⁹ Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles* p. 104; Henken, E.R. (2015), 'Alicia Marchant, The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles: Review', in *Speculum*, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 90, No. 4, p. 1148.

⁶⁰ Hardyng, J. (2013 [1436-1464]), 'John Hardyng, Chronicle', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 207.

⁶¹ Anon, (2013 [pre-1413]) 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey' in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 99; Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles*, p. 2.

deceit'.⁶² Other English chronicles also condemned 'the mischief, destruction and treason that this Owain has wrought', 'never desisting to do evil', and 'treasonably plotting, conspiring and intending ... the death, destruction and everlasting extinction of the whole English language';⁶³ while Adam of Usk, a Welshman in English service whose loyalties have been disputed, described 'Owain and his wretches' committing 'flagrant barbarities' and 'unprecedented tyrannies'.⁶⁴ Similarly, Thomas Walsingham, in the *St Albans Chronicle*, denounced Owain as barbaric and treacherous, and dismissed the rebels as 'a mob'. As evidence he cited the mutilation of the English dead by Welsh women after Owain won the battle of Bryn Glas; and denounced Owain's reneging on an agreement to surrender Aberystwyth, saying, 'So it was that the last wrong act of that man was worse than the first'.⁶⁵

The English chronicles blamed Owain as solely responsible for the revolt, and painted him as ruthless, calculating and underhand.⁶⁶ They scorned the idea that Owain rebelled in order to liberate Wales; accusing him of baser motives. Some chronicles recount the Bishop of Asaph's early warning that spurning Owain's suit in his land dispute with Lord Grey might spark a rebellion.⁶⁷ While these accounts give some indication of Owain's pre-existing prominence in Wales; they prefer to attribute his rebellion to pique at being 'treated with

⁶² Anon, 'Chronicle of Dieulacres Abbey,' p. 97-99.

⁶³ Anon (2013 [1419?]), 'Prose Brut (Common Version to 1419)', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 177; Hall, E. 'Chronicle', p. 222; Anon, (2013 [1400]), 'De Owaino Glendworedy' in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 37; Leland, J. (2013) 'Itinerary in Wales', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 221-222.

⁶⁴ Adam of Usk, 'Chronicle' pp. 53, 147.

⁶⁵ Walsingham, T (2013), 'St. Alban's Chronicle', ed. & tr. Taylor, Childs & Watkiss, in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 159, 171.

⁶⁶ Marchant, *The Revolt of Owain Glyndŵr in Medieval English Chronicles*, p.122.

⁶⁷ Anon (2013 [1426?]), 'Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum', tr. Marchant, A., in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 177.

contempt'⁶⁸ by Parliament, who dismissed the Welsh as 'barefooted buffoons'.⁶⁹ Otherwise, Owain is accused of treacherous opportunism: taking advantage of king Henry IV's absence on campaign in Scotland or Flanders, either out of loyalty to the deposed king Richard II, or purely for self-aggrandisement.⁷⁰

Illustrating the stark differences in perceptions of Owain over space and time are two references linking him with the later Tudors. A poem by Ieuan ap Rhydderch (fl. 1430-1470) shows that, while the volume of bardic poetry about Owain dwindled after the rebellion's defeat, his heroic image in later fifteenth century Wales, during the Wars of the Roses, remained untarnished, and that the mantle of *mab darogan* had been inherited by Owain Tudor and his son Jasper – grandfather and uncle of the future Henry VII.⁷¹ The poet urged them to wield Owain Glyn Dŵr's sword against the English 'to make a conquest of ancient Hors and Hengist'.⁷² However, in the following century, attitudes towards Owain among supporters of the Tudor dynasty, which derived its legitimacy from Henry IV's House of Lancaster, had switched, with English parliamentarian Edward Hall denouncing Owain as an opportunist who, 'percieving the realme to be unquieted' seduced the 'wilde and undiscrite Welshmen' to accept him as their Prince'.⁷³

⁶⁸ Walsingham, 'St. Alban's Chronicle', p. 159; Anon (2013 [1471]), 'Out of an Old Chronicle', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, p. 213.

⁶⁹ Anon, 'Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum', p. 177.

⁷⁰ Leland, 'Itinerary in Wales', p. 221-222.

⁷¹ Jenkins, D. (1959), 'Ieuan ap Rhydderch ap Ieuan Llwyd (fl.1430-1470), Gentleman and Poet, of Cardiganshire', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], available at: <https://biography.wales/article/s-IEUA-APR-1430> (accessed May 6, 2021); Williams, G.A., 'The later Welsh Poetry Referencing Owain', p. 519.

⁷² Fulton, 'Owain Glyndŵr and the Prophetic Tradition', p. 488; Williams, G.A., 'The Later Welsh Poetry Referencing Owain', pp. 529-530.

⁷³ Hall, 'Chronicle', p. 222.

Other Tudor commentators also regarded Owain with odium. 'One of fortune's owne whelpes' is how he is described in the poem 'A Mirror for Magistrates', which disparaged his career and his ending by telling how Owain, 'seduced by false prophesies tooke upon him to be prince of Wales, and was by Henry then prince thereof, chased to the mountaynes, where he miserably dyed for lack of foode', hunted by the English. In a clear attack on the bardic respect for Owain's lineage with a pun on the name of the legendary Brutus, the poem declared, 'although he cum by due descent from Brute, he is a chorle, ungentle, vile and brute'.⁷⁴ Perhaps the most persistent image of Owain from the Tudor period is from Shakespeare's *Henry IV Part 1*, where, building on Holinshed's and Hall's template, 'Glendower' is portrayed as 'irregular and wild', an arrogant braggart, vainly boasting of his prophetic birth and his power to 'call spirits from the vasty deep'; but dismissed by his confederate Hotspur as 'tedious as a tired horse, a railing wife'.⁷⁵

In the 1600s and early 1700s, under English domination, Wales was a cultural and economic backwater. Its bardic tradition was moribund. In the public sphere, Welsh history was treated as a sideline to English history. Even Welsh historians were hostile to Owain, painting him as vain and susceptible to flattery that he could liberate the Welsh, that his early successes 'made the swelling mind of Glyndwr overflow its Banks', and that the repression that followed the revolt was his fault.⁷⁶ Owain's name was used as a synonym for treachery, and vain boastfulness.⁷⁷ However, Owain's image as national redeemer was said

⁷⁴ Baldwin, W. (2013 [1559]), 'Mirror for Magistrates', ed. Lucas, S., in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 232-234.

⁷⁵ Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1* Act 3, Scene 1.

⁷⁶ Powel, 'The History of Wales', pp. 315-319.

⁷⁷ Anon (1645), 'The Character of an Oxford-Incendiary', in Morgan, J., (1731) *Phoenix Britannicus, being a Miscellaneous Collection of Scarce and Curious Tracts* London, Morgan & Edlin, p.476; Pulteney, W. (1731?), *A Proper Reply to a late Scurrilous Libel, entitled, Sedition and Defamation Display'd*, London, n.p., p.13.

to have persisted among the Welsh people, with English poet and playwright Ben Jonson asserting that the Welsh still regarded Owain as a great hero.⁷⁸

Before, during and even after the revolt, the bardic tradition painted Owain as having the right pedigree, military capacity, and prophetic background to liberate the Welsh people from English domination. Through his early victories, diplomacy and plans to develop national institutions, Owain and others constructed his image as a nation builder, who thrust Wales onto the international stage. However, with the suppression of the Welsh 'under the yoke of servitude' that followed the failure of the revolt, and the decline of bardism, it was the hostile Tudor portrait of Owain as a bloodthirsty trickster and traitor that dominated his reputation in the public sphere through the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Jonson, B. (1756 [1619]), 'For the honour of Wales' in *The works of Ben Jonson*, ed. Whalley, P., London, Midwinter et al, Vol. 6, p. 47).

⁷⁹ Llwyd, H. (1573), *The Breviary of Britayne*, tr. Thomas Twyne, London, Richard Johnes, p. 59; Williams G.A., 'The Later Welsh Poetry Referencing Owain', p. 550.

Chapter 3: Owain's rehabilitation and elevation to national hero

Owain's public characterisation has been transformed over the past two hundred years from an 'ill-starred victim of ambition'⁸⁰ and failed rebel against legitimate authority into a defining symbol of Welsh nationhood and the embodiment of Welsh aspirations for independence. Though positive memories of Owain's struggle persisted among the ordinary Welsh, it took a cultural renewal movement and the emergence of new factors defining Welshness such as industrialisation to propel Owain into the forefront of Welsh nationalism. This chapter will look at this transformation of Owain's characterisation in scholarly discourse, and also importantly in the more general culture that provides the social and political context within which historians make their assessments.

Throughout the 1700s and into the 1800s, while scholars persisted with an 'attitude of chilly disapproval',⁸¹ towards Owain, his image in the wider society was more benign. His name may have retained a hint of danger and glamour, but it had lost connotations of treason and rebellion, even while Britain was fighting against revolutionary France, and later during the social upheavals of the Chartist movement. His name was used widely with no associations of insurrection: HMS Owen Glendower fought in the Napoleonic Wars, the mail coach from Aberystwyth to Birmingham was called the Owen Glendower, as was a racehorse that came sixth in the 1867 Derby, and a pub in the City of London deemed suitable for an 1837

⁸⁰ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 1.

⁸¹ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. 4.

Conservative party election meeting.⁸² Fanciful historical romances and gothic novels were written about him, and even ladies' gowns and grand houses were named after him.⁸³ Meanwhile, the ordinary Welsh still considered him a national hero. Welsh families proudly traced their ancestry back to Owain.⁸⁴ In an 1862 travel memoir, an English writer recounted conversations with Welsh people who spoke approvingly about Owain 'the great Welshman' who won 'brilliant victories over the English'. He recounted stopping at the Owen Glendower Inn in the town of Corwen, close by 'the domain of the great Owen' at Glyndyfrdwy.⁸⁵ Later travellers noted the Inn's 'fierce gigantic figure' of Owain that 'served for a sign, and attracted the attention of every ... traveller', suggesting that the people were proud of their local rebel. That affection, as a 'passionate cult' for Owain, was still evident in the 1940s to Corwen resident John Cooper Powys, author of a historical novel about Owain.⁸⁶

⁸² Phillips, M. (n.d.), 'Ships of the Old Navy', [online]. Available at <http://www.ageofnelson.org/MichaelPhillips/info.php?ref=1651> (accessed March 28, 2021); Anon (1835), 'Tuesday Evening a very serious accident happened', *John Bull*, London, Vol. XV, issue 763, July 27, 1835, p.8; Anon (1867), 'The Turf: Wednesday, The Derby Day', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, London, May 25, 1867, p.4; Anon (1837), 'City of London Election', *John Bull*, London, Vol. XVII, Issue 867, Sunday July 23, 1837, p.12.

⁸³ Anon (1849), 'Owen Glendower; or the Prince of Wales. An Historical Romance (review)' *John Bull*, Saturday Aug. 18, 1849. Vol: XXIX, issue, 1,479. P.12; Anon (1854), 'Mortimer: A Tale of the Times of Owen Glendower (review)', *John Bull*, London, April 15, 1854, Vol. XXXIV, Issue 1,740, p. 11; Rowe, J.G., (1896), 'The Welsh Outlaws', *Halfpenny Marvel Library*, London, Vol. VII, issue 165; Anon (1879), 'Spinnings in Town; the Glendower costume', *Myra's journal of Dress and Fashion*, London Oct 1, 1879, Vol. V, Issue 10, pp 17, 20; Anon (1888), 'The Glendower Mantle,' *Myra's journal of Dress and Fashion*, London Feb 1, 1888, Vol. XIV, Issue 2, p. 45; De Blaquièrre, D., (1896), 'The Names of Houses', *The Girls' Own Paper*, London, May 23, 1896, Vol. XVII, Issue 856.

⁸⁴ Morgan, P. (2012). 'From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period', In Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto Classics, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.48, 81.

⁸⁵ Borrow, G. (1862) *Wild Wales: The People, Language, and scenery*, Project Gutenberg (2011) p. 130 [online]. Available at: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/37665/37665-h/37665-h.htm> (accessed May 15, 2021); Fraser, A. (2021), 'Borrow, George Henry (1803-1881)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [online]. Available at: <https://www-oxforddnb-com.libezproxy.open.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2918?rskey=lbrtnE&result=1> (accessed May 15, 2021).

⁸⁶ Mavor, W.F. (1800), *The British tourists; or Traveller's pocket companion through England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland*, E. Newbery, London, p.191; Harper, C. G. (1902), *The Holyhead Road: The Mail-coach Road to Dublin. Vol. 2*, Project Gutenberg (2019) [online]. Available at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/58841/58841-h/58841-h.htm> (accessed May 15, 2021); Johnes, M. (2015), 'History and the Making and Remaking of Wales', London, *History, Journal of the Historical Association* 100(5 (343)), pp. 672-673.

Owain's reputation among antiquaries began a process of rehabilitation during the 1700s, but it was very gradual and from a very low starting point. Welsh history had come to be seen as merely an adjunct of English history, and among historians' chief concerns was Owain's threat to Wales's union with England. Welsh historian William Warrington (1735-1824) condemned Owain's 'private ambition' that interrupted England's civilising influence on the 'hostile and barbarous' Welsh.⁸⁷ That was a theme shared by Welsh advocate for English as a universal language, Rowland Jones (1722-74), for whom Owain was an aberration in the inevitable union of the English and Welsh, 'by nature and policy, as one people'.⁸⁸ Even some pioneers of the Welsh revival were hostile towards Owain. Poet Lewis Morris (1701-1765) and his brothers William (1705-1763) and Richard (1703-1779), who founded London's Welsh cultural salon the Cymroddorian Society in 1751, condemned him as a traitor.⁸⁹ Though they were committed to promoting Welsh culture, the Morris brothers were far from proto-Welsh nationalists, and while Lewis Morris was keen to be regarded as a 'proud hot Welshman', he was not above 'pandering to the English'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Warrington, W. (1786), *The History of Wales*, London, J. Johnson, p. 556.

⁸⁸ Jenkins, G.H. (2012), *Bard of Liberty: The Political Radicalism of Iolo Morganwg*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, p. 166.

⁸⁹ Jenkins, R.T. (1959), 'Morris, Lewis (Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn; 1701-1765), Poet and Scholar', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], Available at [https://biography.wales/article/s-MORR-LEW-1701?&query=lewis%20morris&lang\[\]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4670212%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=834%2C732%2C1051%2C848](https://biography.wales/article/s-MORR-LEW-1701?&query=lewis%20morris&lang[]=en&sort=score&order=desc&rows=12&page=1#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4670212%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=834%2C732%2C1051%2C848) (accessed May 9, 2021); Jenkins, R.T. (1959), 'Morris, Richard (1703-1779), founder of the Cymmrodorion Society', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online], Available at <https://biography.wales/article/s-MORR-RIC-1703> (accessed May 9, 2021); Morgan, P. (2012). *From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period*, In Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (Eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Canto Classics, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p.39. pp. 43-100.

⁹⁰ Jenkins, G.H (2014), *A Concise History of Wales*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 172.

Even historians and travel writers more positively disposed towards Owain felt compelled to condemn his treason and blame him for the destruction resulting from the revolt, and for the subsequent repression. One Welsh biographer, though praising Owain as ‘the glory of his age’, regretted ‘his only blot’, that ‘he raised his arm against his sovereign’.⁹¹ Similarly, an otherwise approving 1775 memoir of Owain by a Welsh clergyman condemned his destruction of Cardiff and Abergavenny, and accused him of treason, cruelty and covetousness.⁹² As an illustration of the depths from which Owain’s reputation needed to be rescued, even the Welshman who is credited with ‘rehabilitating Shakespeare’s half-demented rebel as a fine upstanding national hero’, the ‘proponent of the picturesque’, Thomas Pennant (1726-1798), felt the need to temper sympathy for Owain’s ‘brave stand for national freedom’ with criticism.⁹³ Undermining his portrait of Owain as national liberator, Pennant cast doubt on Owain’s motives in rebelling, suggesting that prior to the land dispute that sparked the uprising he had shown no ‘design of flinging off the English Yoke’, and he accused Owain of cynical manipulation in using prophecy to elicit support for his claim to the throne of Wales.⁹⁴

Welsh poets were more forthright in building a picture of Owain as national liberator, in the tradition of their bardic predecessors.⁹⁵ One poet, in a verse composed to redress ‘the ill-

⁹¹ Mervinius (1821), *Biography: Owain Glyndwr, The Cambro-Briton*, vol. 3, no. 23, 1821, pp. 17–27.

⁹² Ellis, ‘Memoirs of Owen Glendower’, pp. 67-73; Henken, E.R. (2002) ‘Legendry of Owain Glyndŵr’, *National Library of Wales journal*, 32(3), p. 276.

⁹³ Morgan, P. (1999), ‘Welsh Cultural Revival’ in *An Oxford Companion to The Romantic Age, British Culture 1776-1832*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 755. pp. 754-756; Morgan, ‘From a Death to a View: The Hunt for the Welsh Past in the Romantic Period’, p.82; Fitzpatrick, M. (1999), ‘Enlightenment’, *An Oxford Companion to The Romantic Age, British Culture 1776-1832*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 302. pp. 313-351; Lloyd, ‘Owen Glendower’ p. 4.

⁹⁴ Pennant, *A Tour in Wales*, pp. 19, 281, 301-369.

⁹⁵ Aaron, J. (2014), *A Nation Once Again: Owain Glyndŵr and the Cyraec Dream of Anglophone Welsh Victorian Poets*, *Library of Wales, Wales Arts Review* [online] Available at: <https://www.walesartsreview.org/the->

usage our country has of late years received from English writers', wrote: 'The great Glyndwr ... like a furious lion, burst the chain. The coward English fled, aghast with fear'.⁹⁶

Yet another poet applauded Owain as a freedom fighter and compared his heroic failure to the Spartan king Leonidas's stand against the invading Persians at Thermopylae.⁹⁷

In contrast to the Morris brothers, later prominent figures from the Welsh revival were more supportive of Owain. Among them was Edward Williams (1747-1826), better known as Iolo Morganwg, the driving force behind the druidic movement in Wales, reviving the tradition of bardic eisteddfods and forging – in every sense – a new version of Welsh history, much of it invented.⁹⁸ Though, like the Morrises, Morganwg had no desire to separate Wales from England, he sought to promote pride in Welsh traditions. That, allied with political radicalism framed by his Unitarian heritage and fuelled by radical ideas from the French Revolution, illuminated his recruitment of Owain to his cultural campaign, hailing him as 'the greatest of the greats' (*'y mwyaf o'n mawrion*).⁹⁹

Owain's reputation was a notable beneficiary of this new mood, exemplified by Thomas Thomas's unapologetically pro-Owain biography, published in 1822. Presenting Owain as a patriot and a symbol of Welsh freedom, Thomas declared 'an ardent wish to do justice to the memory of the last assertor of Cambro British rights and valiant vindicator of Welsh

gregynog-papers-1-a-nation-once-again-owain-glyndwr-and-the-cymraec-dream-of-anglophone-welsh-victorian-poets/ (Accessed March 1, 2021).

⁹⁶ Evans, E. (1772), *The love of our country, a poem, with historical notes, addressed to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn of Wynnstay, bt.*, J. Ross, London.

⁹⁷ Seward, A. (1796), *Llangollen Vale, with other poems*, G.Sael, London, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Williams, G.J. (1959), 'Williams, Edward (Iolo Morganwg) 1747-1826, Poet and Antiquary', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography* [online]. Available at: <https://biography.wales/article/s-WILL-EDW-1747?&query=#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&manifest=https%3A%2F%2Fdamsssl.llgc.org.uk%2Fiiif%2F2.0%2F4672175%2Fmanifest.json&xywh=928%2C559%2C1881%2C1518> (accessed May 17, 2021).

⁹⁹ Jenkins, *Bard of Liberty*, pp. 3, 166, 181, 192, 206.

liberty'. Referring to previous hostile profiles of Owain, including from his compatriots, Thomas questioned why Owain should be denied 'an encomiast of his patriotism' to counter 'the foul epithets and unqualified execrations so liberally bestowed by ... the English and the Welsh.' Foreshadowing later characterisations by Welsh nationalists, Thomas highlighted Owain's nation-building, his parliament and international diplomacy, which 'gave our countrymen a name among the nations of Europe'.¹⁰⁰

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a move among historians away from Morganwg's 'fabrications'¹⁰¹ and Thomas's cheerleading towards a more robust, source-led historiography: with opposing pressures of victorious imperialism and nascent nationalism throughout Europe, the times demanded serious nations should have properly-documented histories.¹⁰² For Welsh historians this curbed the myth-making surrounding Owain and provided more legitimate and verifiable foundations for Owain's characterisation.¹⁰³ One pioneer of this approach was Jane Williams (1806-1885), who stuck closely to primary sources, and largely steered clear of Thomas's positive spin; though she did ascribe to Owain mixed personal and patriotic motivations in language that foreshadowed later nationalistic portraits: 'The indignant Cymro,' she wrote, 'vehemently resolved to ... deliver from cruel oppression by asserting in arms his right to reign over the Principality.'¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Thomas, *Memoirs of Owen Glendower*, pp. ii, vi, 108, 124, 170.

¹⁰¹ Evans, N. & Pryce, H. (2016), 'Writing a Small Nation's Past: States, Race and Historical Culture'. Chapter 1 in Evans, N. (ed.) *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective*, Abingdon, Routledge, p. 18.

¹⁰² Evans, N. (2003), 'Finding a new story: The search for a usable past in Wales 1869-1930', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* Vol. 10, p. 145; Aaron, 'A Nation Once Again'.

¹⁰³ Marsden, R. A. (2011) 'Gerald of Wales and competing interpretations of the Welsh Middle Ages c.1870-1910', *Welsh History Review*, no. 25, pp. 314-345.

¹⁰⁴ Williams, J., 'A History of Wales Derived from Authentic Sources', p.435.

Two other historians elevated the profile of Owain as a symbol of Welsh identity and resistance even further at the turn of the twentieth century. O.M. Edwards, who is credited with popularising Welsh history by combining academic credibility with a romantic outlook, stressed Owain's centrality to Welsh identity in that he 'connects the old and the new in the history of Wales'.¹⁰⁵ Echoing Pennant, Edwards claimed the rebellion 'was at once welcomed' by all sections of Welsh society in all parts of Wales, and he praised Owain's nation-building vision. 'Of all figures in the history of Wales, that of Owen Glendower is the most striking and the most popular,' he wrote, 'But his majestic figure, his wisdom and his ideals remained in the memory of his country.'¹⁰⁶ Writing later, J.E. Lloyd, hailed as the 'founding and central figure' of Welsh historiography, is credited with 'placing a scholarly imprimatur on the popular image of Glyndŵr'.¹⁰⁷ However, it could be argued that, even as he sought to chronicle Owain's life using the tools of objective historiography, Lloyd, a prominent member of *Cymru Fydd* (Wales to Come), which advocated home rule for Wales, could not disguise his affinity with the man and his cause. Lloyd condemned hostile depictions of Owain and declared his intent: 'I offer my readers ... not a new Glyn Dŵr, but fair warrant for regarding him as the national hero we have always in Wales understood him to be'. He went on to assert that, 'Throughout Wales his name is the symbol for the vigorous resistance of the Welsh spirit to tyranny and alien rule and the assertion of a national character,' and dubbed Owain 'the father of modern Welsh nationalism'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Ahronson, 'A Refreshingly New and Challenging Voice', p. 131.

¹⁰⁶ Edwards, O.M. (1906) *A Short History of Wales*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, pp 70-74.

¹⁰⁷ Evans, N., *Writing a Small Nation's Past: States, Race and Historical Culture* p. 26; Pryce, H. (2011) *J. E. Lloyd and the Creation of Welsh History*, Cardiff, University of Wales Press, p. 159.

¹⁰⁸ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*, p. vii, 1, 146.

Lloyd's work and Rees Davies's 1995 book *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr* have been hailed as the leading works on Owain.¹⁰⁹ Davies sought to settle the controversy over Owain's motive in proclaiming himself Prince of Wales by asserting that, 'such a breathtaking claim can surely only be explained in terms of long-cherished dreams and aspirations'. In language likely to win approval from Welsh nationalists, Davies wrote that 'Glyn Dŵr's rebellion was a national revolt; it was to be its national vision and ambition which sustained it.'¹¹⁰ Other Welsh historians have also held up Owain as the progenitor of Welsh nationalism. Gwyn Williams said of the revolt, 'the Welsh mind is still haunted by its lightning-flash vision of a people that was free', while Gwynfor Evans described Owain as 'an unquenchable flame, a symbol of the determination of the Welsh to live as a free nation.'¹¹¹ In 1966, Glanmor Williams published a slim 64-page biography entitled *Owen Glendower*, aimed at a wide readership.¹¹² In 1993, a new edition was published with a new Welsh title, *Owain Glyndŵr*, with a fuller account of Owain's motives and an examination of his increasing stature in modern Wales as champion for Welsh nationalists. The new edition described Owain as, 'the very embodiment of their dominant aspirations' for an independent Wales with its own parliament.¹¹³ Not all modern Welsh historians agree, however. Though Gideon Brough credits Owain with building 'a functioning rebel state', and though he concedes that 'the Welsh folk memory of Owain ... has lasted the centuries'; he questions Owain's relevance to modern Welsh nationalism, saying that, 'While he is surely a popular, even inspiring figure in the eyes of modern Welsh nationalists, Owain had no hand in the creation of their movement,' and, despite his summoning of parliaments and plans for universities, is unlikely

¹⁰⁹ Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ Davies, *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 65, 102, 154, 171.

¹¹¹ Williams G. (1993), *Owain Glyndŵr*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 89.

¹¹² Williams, G., *Owen Glendower*.

¹¹³ Williams G. *Owain Glyndŵr*, pp. 26, 36, 89.

to have supported modern liberal causes such as the supremacy of parliamentary democracy over the rule of nobles, peasant suffrage, and votes for women.¹¹⁴

As Owain's reputation recovered in historiographical circles, he also gained currency in the wider culture. His status as an icon of nationalism and resistance gained momentum as a resurgent Welsh national feeling was fuelled by a number of developments in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that distinguished the Welsh from their English neighbours. Among these were the Welsh revival movements; the Rebecca riots and tithe protests; the development of heavy industry and trades unions, the rise of a distinctive Welsh Liberal tradition and the ultimately unsuccessful nineteenth-century campaign for Welsh home rule.¹¹⁵ Plays and poems portrayed Owain as an 'anti-imperialist warrior' fighting to preserve Welsh traditions and language. He was held up as a champion of democracy and equality in an 1894 ballad written by a Welsh Liberal home rule campaigner.¹¹⁶ One colourful advocate of Owain as national redeemer was Owen Rhoscomyl (1863-1919), also known as Arthur Owen Vaughan and Robert Scowfield Mills, an ex-British cavalry officer and former Wild West cowboy, outlaw and Indian-fighter under the moniker Robert Glyndwr. In terms resonant with contemporary radical politics, he painted Owain as a proto-socialist, 'a champion of the poor folk' and a freedom fighter who, however fleetingly, 'rescued the nation from alien spur and bridle'. Harking back to some of Wales's legendary heroes, Rhoscomyl hailed Glyn Dŵr as 'the greatest of all the Owens ...

¹¹⁴ Brough, *The Rise and Fall of Owain Glyn Dŵr*, pp. 3, 5, 248.

¹¹⁵ Jones, R.M. (1992) 'Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh,' *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1992, p. 332; Cragoe, M. (2004), *Culture, Politics and national identity in Wales 1832-1886*, Oxford, p7, 16, 38, 40.

¹¹⁶ Williams, R. [Goronva Camlan] (1870), *Owen Glendower: A Dramatic Biography: being a Contribution to the Genuine History of Wales, and Other Poems*, London, Williams and Norgate, pp. 136-141; Aaron, J., *A Nation Once Again*.

No other of all our heroes ever seated himself so firmly in the hearts of our race as this Owen'.¹¹⁷

Rhoscomyl's analysis helps explain why nationalist sentiment has fixed most emphatically on Owain, rather than other Welsh heroes. Through his nation-building programme, he is felt to represent, rightly or wrongly, a more democratic version of liberation, and his revolt is seen in modern Wales, with its industrial and Labour heritage, as a more inclusive uprising than the earlier princely dynastic campaigns of even Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, which can be characterised as territorial arrogation rather than national liberation. As Llinos Beverley Smith wrote, 'Welsh national consciousness (is) bred more on proletariat than on princes, on radical ideals rather than on royal ambitions'.¹¹⁸

It could be said that Owain is attractive to nationalists because his image is malleable.¹¹⁹ He has been co-opted by people of all stripes of Welsh nationalism. At the moderate end of the spectrum, Thomas Edward Ellis MP (1859-1899), a leader of *Cymru Fydd* and prominent Welsh Liberal MP, who advocated home rule for Wales but stopped short at independence, led a campaign to build a monument to Owain at Corwen.¹²⁰ In a similar patriotic-loyalist vein to Ellis, a 1915 children's book stirred its young readers with the exhortation: 'We ourselves are Owen Glyndŵr's army today'; however, this was not a cry for independence,

¹¹⁷ Rhoscomyl, O. (1905), *Flame-Bearers of Welsh History; Being the Outline of the Story of the Sons of Cunedda*, Merthyr Tydfil: Welsh Educational Publishing Co., pp. 211, 219; Ellis, J.S. (2013), 'Outlaw Historian: Owen Rhoscomyl and Popular History in Edwardian Wales', Chapter 7 in Evans, N., Pryce, H., *Writing a Small Nation's Past: Wales in Comparative Perspective, 1850-1950*, Routledge, London, p. 116; Anon (1897), "'Owen Rhoscomyl", on Owen Glyndwr', Denbigh, *North Wales Times*, 15 May 1897, p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Smith, L.B. (1984), *Llywelyn ap Gruffudd and the Welsh Historical Consciousness*, Cardiff, *Welsh History Review*, Vol 12, 1, p.28.

¹¹⁹ Henken, 'Legendry of Owain Glyndŵr', p. 275.

¹²⁰ Anon (1894), 'Owen Glendwr', Cardiff, *South Wales Echo* Oct 4, 1894, p3

but for loyalty to the Empire, and added implausibly, 'for this, Owen Glyndŵr dreamed and fought.'¹²¹ Also stretching the malleability limits of Owain's image is Wrexham Glyndŵr University, whose mission statement declares it is named after 'a man who cherished learning, loved his country, embraced an international outlook, and constantly demonstrated an inspiring and enterprising approach to life.'¹²² The constitutionalist-nationalist political party Plaid Cymru has also adopted Owain as its symbol. September 16 is the annual *Gŵyl Owain Glyn Dŵr* (Owain Glyn Dŵr Festival), and COVID-19-hit 2020 saw a socially distanced wreath-laying ceremony at Owain's equestrian statue in Corwen. A year earlier, at Machynlleth, the site of Owain's crowning and parliament, Plaid Cymru leader Adam Price declared that, 'Six hundred years ago we proclaimed ourselves an independent European nation ... It's a call to nationhood that is inspiring more and more people with its message of new hope.'¹²³ Price was also responsible for Owain's flag being flown over the Senedd in Cardiff on *Gŵyl Owain Glyn Dŵr* in 2017, 'in recognition of his vision for a self-governing Wales which controls its own fate'.¹²⁴ Far distant at the other end of the nationalist spectrum, in the 1960s, the *soi-disant* paramilitary group *Byddin Rhyddid Cymru* (Free Wales Army) claimed to be fulfilling Owain's dream of a free Wales; while in the 1970s, under the banner of *Meibion Glyndŵr*, (the Sons of Glyndŵr) a band of arsonists

¹²¹ Henken, 'Owain Glyndŵr in Folklore and the Popular Imagination', p. 582.

¹²² Anon, (n.d.) 'Our History', *Wrexham Glyndŵr University* [online]. Available at: <https://www.glyndwr.ac.uk/en/WhyStudyAtGlyndwr/Ourhistory/> (accessed May 23, 2021).

¹²³ Anon, (2019), 'Plaid Cymru Leader: Machynlleth a "Place of Pilgrimage" for Welsh Nationalists', *Cambrian News* Oct 7 2019 [online]. Available at: <https://www.cambrian-news.co.uk/article.cfm?id=130689&headline=Plaid%20Cymru%20leader:%20Machynlleth%20a%20'place%20of%20pilgrimage'%20for%20Welsh%20nationalists§ionIs=news&searchyear=2019> (accessed May 23, 2021).

¹²⁴ Anon (2017), 'Owain Glyndŵr's banner to be flown outside Senedd', *Nation Cymru*, 15 September 2017 [Online]. Available at <https://nation.cymru/2017/owain-glyndwrs-banner-to-be-flown-outside-senedd/> (accessed May 23, 2021).

burnt down the Welsh holiday homes of English people, as though they were carrying on Owain's long guerrilla campaign against English invaders.¹²⁵

By the 1700s, while the ordinary Welsh kept a vision in their hearts of Owain as a national champion and leader, perhaps even one that might rise again; Welsh scholars, including prominent champions of Welsh language and culture, regarded his image as inimical to the continued well-being of Wales, which they thought depended on union with England.

However, growing pride in the landscape, history, and culture of Wales, helped along by some druidic fakery, allied with industrial development of a peculiarly Welsh national character and growing political self-confidence, fuelled the growth of a wide range of nationalistic sentiment. This process in turn helped and was helped by an increased rigor by historians in source-led scholarly inquiry, which led to a reassessment of Owain's legacy.

¹²⁵ Henken, 'Owain Glyndŵr in Folklore and the Popular Imagination', p. 582; Johnes, 'History and the Making and Remaking of Wales', pp. 672-673.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Taken together, contemporary sources paint a Manichaean portrait of Owain. Bardic praise poems paint a flamboyant picture of Owain's valour, generosity, nobility, and the opulence of his manor; and Owain's letters and other documents convey the deliberate impression of a statesman in diplomatic negotiations with other powerful nobles. Conversely, chronicles, letters and campaign reports from the English side show Owain as treasonous, barbaric, cowardly, and a sorcerer. Over the centuries since the failure of his revolt, Owain's representations in scholarly and popular cultures have veered between these two characterisations. As Henken wrote, 'Glyndŵr changes to meet the changing needs of the people to keep him alive in tradition'.¹²⁶

Critics of Owain, who held sway in scholarly circles until the late 1700s, have focused on his betrayal of the Crown, his failure to join Hotspur in the Battle of Shrewsbury, his reliance on what were seen as cowardly hit-and-run guerrilla tactics from his mountain hideaways, and his brutal destruction of English-supporting towns and churches. Though a sense of nationhood had existed in the medieval period, the repression and Acts of Union that followed Owain's rebellion had subsumed Welsh history into England's.¹²⁷ The English interpretation of Owain held sway so thoroughly that, through to the late nineteenth century, even some Welsh revivalist figures articulated Whiggish criticisms that Owain's rebellion had achieved nothing other than a temporary and unwelcome interruption to

¹²⁶ Henken, 'Legendry of Owain Glyndŵr' p. 287.

¹²⁷ Hastings, A. (1997) *The Construction of Nationhood – Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 68-69.

England's civilising mission to the barbarous Welsh; analogous to the civilising mission used to justify Britain's imperial expansion in the nineteenth century.

However, through Morganwg's confected druidic lore, combined with romanticists' notions about the Welsh landscape, overlaid on the evident richness of Welsh history provided by revitalised scholarship, and a reawakening of Welsh identity engendered by social, religious, and industrial influences, the Welsh were provided with the 'invented traditions' that Hobsbawm cites as criteria for the awakening of a new national identity.¹²⁸ As Löffler has argued, these elements 'jointly created a sustained demand for a historicist view of nationhood.'¹²⁹ The new mood allowed a re-examination of Owain's historical role, and a reinterpretation of his importance as a national figure.

While Owain's status was being debated in the public sphere, Owain's image among many ordinary Welsh people was always one of national champion, as many eighteenth-century travellers attested. Though cynics could interpret Owain's programme for a Welsh parliament, universities and an independent church as ways of enlisting support from the disenfranchised Welsh and portraying himself abroad as the leader of a nation with a coherent structure of state, the majority view now is that he was invested in the process of nation-building. That interpretation fits better with the vision modern Wales has of itself, as a democratic, inclusive nation. According to Jan Morris, Owain has become 'the very image

¹²⁸ Hobsbawm, E. (2015 [1983]), 'Introduction: inventing traditions', in Hobsbawm, E. and Ranger, T. (eds) *The Invention of Tradition*, 2nd edn, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-2.

¹²⁹ Löffler, M. (2007), *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg, 1826-1926*, Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p. 1.

of Welsh identity', with a romantic vision of him leading the Welsh people, 'united in loyalty, triumphant'.¹³⁰

Owain's image has been used by all sections of Welsh nationalist politics: from terrorists justifying arson, through constitutional separatists advocating independence for Wales, to Welshmen and Welshwomen with no political aspirations other than pride in their country and their heritage. According to Henken, Owain has become 'the pre-eminent redeemer hero as well as a primary nationalist symbol', while Johnes has added: 'Glyndŵr was clearly a national hero, and one whose popularity went beyond politicized nationalists'.¹³¹

Owain Glyndŵr was a real man who in his time made a monumental impact on his homeland and the wider world. However, his importance in the modern world lies with the way his actions and motives are portrayed, and that depends on choosing elements from how his contemporaries and later generations have chosen to represent him: from the flamboyant praise poems of the bards to antagonistic chroniclers; and from critical Whiggish unionists to ardent nationalists. It can be said that none of them have painted a wholly accurate portrait of the man; but that their characterisations represent the kind of man they would prefer Owain to have been and reflect the kind of country they want Wales to become.

¹³⁰ Johnes, 'History and the Making and Remaking of Wales', pp. 672-673.

¹³¹ Henken, 'Three forms of a hero, Arthur, Owain Lawgoch and Owain Glyndŵr', p. 28; Johnes, 'History and the Making and Remaking of Wales', p. 678.

Appendix: A note on orthography

Throughout this dissertation, the central character has been referred to as the Welsh version Owain, rather than the Anglicised version Owen. For his cognomen, Glyn Dŵr has been used as this version is currently one of those most widely accepted nowadays.

Variations on his name, such as Owen Glendower and Glyndŵr, have been allowed in quotes when the quoted author or translator have used them.

Owain's first name rather than his cognomen has been used in every reference, not out of any familiarity or sympathy, but because that is his name, and his cognomen is not a surname. Under the traditional Welsh patronymic system, he was known as Owain ap Gruffudd Fychan, showing that his father and, via the term Fychan, his grandfather were both called Gruffudd. Owain's cognomen derives from his lordship of Glyndyfrdwy (Valley of the Dee) and has been rendered in various documents as Glendower, Glendour, Glendourdy, Glyndourdo, Glyndouido, Glyndouerdy, Glyndoueredoy and Glyndyvyrdoy. Shakespeare's English version, Owen Glendower dominated in texts until the late twentieth century.¹³²

J.E. Lloyd and later Welsh historian Glanmor Williams provide a vivid illustration of how even the changing representation of Owain's name has highlighted the continuing growth of Welsh self-confidence and increased mainstream legitimacy for Welsh nationalist sentiments in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Lloyd's 1931 book on Owain was

¹³² Williams, G.A. (2013), 'Owain Glyndŵr: The Name', in Livingston, M. & Bollard, J.K. (2013), *Owain Glyndŵr: A Casebook*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, pp. 497-498.

originally given the hybrid title – English first, Welsh second – of *Owen Glendower* (*Owain Glyn Dŵr*) at the insistence of the English publisher, with the taxonomy duplicated in a 1966 reissue. However, in 2020, a reprint by a Welsh publisher included a note commenting: ‘That such Anglicised forms now seem both archaic and ugly indicates that success of the Welsh language movement, of which Lloyd ... would approve.’¹³³

Similarly, in 1966, Williams published a slim 64-page biography entitled *Owen Glendower*, aimed at a wide readership, with a guide to pronunciation for non-Welsh speakers. In 1993, this popular volume was reissued with a new Welsh title, *Owain Glyndŵr*, with no handy pronunciation guide; suggesting that author and publisher thought mainstream Britain was now ready to accept genuine Welsh orthography.¹³⁴

¹³³ Lloyd, *Owen Glendower*; Lloyd, J.E (1931), *Owain Glyndŵr*, Cockatrice Books, republished 2020.

¹³⁴ Williams, G. (1966), *Owen Glendower*; Williams G. (1993), *Owain Glyndŵr*.

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A note on the bibliography

The bibliography has been split into two sections: primary sources and secondary sources. As this dissertation is a historiographical review of how Owain was perceived and portrayed through time by historians as well as by the wider society, many of the historians referenced could be categorised as both primary and secondary sources.

To avoid double-entry, it has been decided that the primary source bibliography should include all original, of-their-time references; as well as all history-writing which was published up to 1800. The secondary source bibliography includes all historical writing since 1800, including sources that were used as illustrations of Owain's changing characterisation.

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