

## *Edward Lhwyd's Protégés\**

Brynley F. Roberts

Edward Lhwyd, c. 1660-1709, is, in many ways, a scholar with whom modern academic researchers find it easy to relate.<sup>1</sup> The establishing of the Royal Society in 1662 is a convenient, though not a wholly accurate, way of marking the beginnings of modern science in that the method of enquiry that characterised the work of Fellows – observation, note-taking and reporting, data collecting, repeated experiments, all preceding explanation – is essentially that which has permeated scientific and academic research thereafter. These are the attitudes of mind and the ideals that governed Lhwyd's thinking and his approach in his studies so that he is recognisably a modern researcher in all the areas in which he was active – botany, palaeontology, archaeology, antiquities, linguistics. But Lhwyd is a kindred spirit for present-day academic researchers in the practical aspects of his work too, not only in the problems of funding which were endemic throughout his career nor yet in the evident tensions between his research and his administrative responsibilities, but more positively in his style of working.

Lhwyd was a powerful personality and a forthright individual who pursued his own lines of enquiry, but he was very much a team leader whose work is characterised by a collegiate spirit which reveals itself in his readiness to turn to colleagues for assurance, information and discussion and to involve others in what he was doing. He was always conscious of being part of a wider community. Lhwyd's final project would be the wide-ranging survey of the natural and human history of Celtic Britain and Brittany, the *Design* of which he had announced in November 1695 as an 'Historical and Geographical Dictionary', *Archaeologia Britannica* and a 'Natural History of Wales'. For this he set up a team of research assistants, some of whom accompanied him on his tour of the Celtic lands between 1697 and 1701 but all of whom were associated with him, both formally and personally, through the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford where he was Keeper. As project director (in modern parlance) and employer, Lhwyd set the agenda but there is no doubt that for him it was important that they should be trained so that they might be entrusted with responsibilities under his supervision. Sharing in his range of interests and in his standards they were required to gather data, as naturalists, antiquaries, copyists, draughtsmen, and sometimes even as linguists, and to interpret them intelligently.

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<sup>1</sup> An expanded version of a lecture given at the Annual General Meeting of the Society at the British Academy London, May 15, 2007, with Professor Prys Morgan, President, in the chair.

<sup>1</sup> For Edward Lhwyd see F. Emery, *Edward Lhuyd, F.R.S., 1660-1709* (Cardiff, 1971); Colin Thomas, 'Edward Lhwyd (Lhuyd), 1660-1709', *Geographers' Bibliographical Studies* 24 (2005), 63-78; Richard Ellis, 'Some incidents in the life of Edward Lhuyd', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1906-07* (1908), 1-51.

The importance that Lhwyd attached to tutoring and mentoring mirrored his own development. In his youth, at home at Llanforda, Oswestry, he had been a pupil of Edward Morgan, 'a skilled herbarist' in the employ of his father (he later became gardener at Bodysgallen, near Llandudno), and when he went up to Oxford in 1682 Robert Plot, the professor of chemistry and Keeper of the newly established Ashmolean Museum (opened formally in May 1683), took him under his wing, introducing him to the Oxford Philosophical Society (formed in May 1683), a university group in correspondence with the Royal Society and professing the 'new science', where he was able to report on his own chemical experiments. Plot appointed two undergraduate assistants in (probably) 1683 (they do not appear in the records until the following year), Obadiah/Abdias Higgins as 'Procustos' or Under-Keeper, fulfilling the role of personal domestic assistant and deputy until September 1689,<sup>2</sup> and Edward Lhwyd (already bearing the title 'Register of the Chymicall courses') whose task was to begin the compilation of the catalogues of the Museum's various collections and to supervise visitors and collect their entrance fees.<sup>3</sup> It was clear that Plot intended that, of the two, Lhwyd would be given the better opportunity to develop his skills and to acquire experience. In 1689, following the departure of Higgins, Lhwyd became, more formally, Under-Keeper of the Museum and with Plot's retirement pending he undertook a greater role in its administration and received £20, a half of the Keeper's income.<sup>4</sup> In spite of increasing friction between them and Lhwyd's rather ungracious attitudes towards him, Plot continued to involve Lhwyd in his own researches while the young Under-Keeper began to receive increasing support and encouragement from important and influential figures, John Ray and Martin Lister in particular. Lhwyd was perceived, not least by himself, as Plot's natural, though not inevitable, successor at the Museum and he was duly appointed Keeper in 1691. Lhwyd's researches quickly developed and became more focused, and it is probable that as he reflected on his own career, perhaps on the uncertainty preceding his appointment, he would have looked for a successor not simply as Keeper but even more especially as an antiquarian scholar or historian to continue the *Archaeologia Britannica* project which he began to plan about 1693/4.

The nature of Lhwyd's work as a botanist, palaeontologist and antiquary had impressed on him the importance of field-work and of local knowledge. Even before going up to Oxford in 1682 he had spent time collecting plants in

<sup>2</sup> Obadiah (Abdias) Higgins was the son of William Higgins of Thornbury, Gloucestershire. He matriculated from Magdalen Hall 14 November 1684 aged 21 and graduated B.C.L. in 1691. For his duties at the Museum see R.F.Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum, 1683-1894* (Oxford, 1986), 39-40. He was very helpful some years later following the death in 1701 of William Cole of Bristol, when Lhwyd was negotiating the acquisition of his collection of 'curiosities' which had long been under discussion. When he was in Bristol, one of Lhwyd's assistants, Hugh Griffiths (see below) refers several times to a 'Dr Higgins', perhaps Abdias who was still in Bristol in 1709.

<sup>3</sup> Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 39, 42.

<sup>4</sup> See A. MacGregor, *Tradescant's Rarities* (Oxford, 1983), 57; A. MacGregor et al., *Ashmolean Museum Oxford: Manuscript Catalogues of the Early Museum Collection (Part 1)* (BAR International Series 907, Oxford, 2000), 2.

Snowdonia, and letters around 1685-86 reveal not only how experienced a field botanist he was but that he was already involving friends in his collecting and instructing them in the practice and techniques of field-work. He himself had already been recording monuments and inscriptions in the field at least since 1689. His devotion to field-work developed further in Oxford though it changed its direction as he began to explore quarries in the surrounding area and then further afield in a quest for fossils to enrich the collections in Museum. When he accepted an invitation in 1693 to revise the descriptions of the Welsh counties in Edmund Gibson's new English edition of William Camden's *Britannia* (which was published in 1695), Lhwyd realised not only that he would have to visit as many sites as he could (in spite of the reluctance of the publishers) but that local informants would add significantly to his own observations and allow him to fill the inevitable gaps in his knowledge. This would be a constant consideration in all his work, summed up in his comment to his close friend John Lloyd in 1695 that with regard to local place-names, 'I can not see why an illiterat shepheard may not be beliv'd in such a case as soon as a Bishop'.<sup>5</sup>

Lhwyd's queries about local antiquities and the replies that he received from friends and acquaintances whom he knew in Oxford and who were now clergy or schoolmasters in Wales are the beginnings of the voluminous correspondence that he maintained throughout his career. Not a few of the letters he received during the collecting of information for *Britannia* were reproduced in the published volume, often to the surprise and sometimes the chagrin of the writers (in the few cases where there is no acknowledgement it is made clear that the descriptions are quotations), and many of the correspondents would play a part in the grand tour of Celtic Britain, as the authors of responses to the 'Parochial Queries' (which Lhwyd compiled in December 1696 preparatory to the tour, giving him a great deal of news and information about antiquities and manuscripts), as supporters gathering subscriptions and writing letters of introduction, and often also as providers of board and shelter. It must have been a source of much pleasure, and perhaps pride, to Lhwyd to see the quality of many of these descriptions of field monuments and to recognise the understanding that many of the correspondents revealed of his aims, for it was he who must have guided some of them in the respect for accuracy and detail that he required and who encouraged them in their questioning attitudes and their desire to contribute something to the study of their own cultural history.

But even in 1693 Lhwyd was not working in a vacuum. Natural history and antiquities were not new interests for undergraduates, clergy and gentry. Several of Lhwyd's correspondents show that they were familiar with the current antiquarian literature in England and many were avid gardeners and naturalists. County surveys ('Natural Histories') of antiquities, folklore and custom, *mirabilia* as well as of natural history were in vogue in England and in this context it is worth recalling that the initial invitation and offer to support Lhwyd

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<sup>5</sup> R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, vol. XIV, *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd* (Oxford, 1945), 279. This work is henceforth abbreviated to G.

to undertake a 'Natural History' of Wales, in the meaning of the English volumes, came from a group of Glamorgan gentry. For his part, Lhwyd had begun his study of the Welsh landscape while he was still an undergraduate and his Welsh interests continued after his first appointment to the Ashmolean Museum. What he offered his Welsh correspondents was not a new field of study but scholarly leadership, a recognised focus for individual interests and the prestige of a university connection. Among the earliest letters in his correspondence are instructions to friends as to what plants to search for and their locations, together with directions as to how plants should be packed for transit to him. Some of these letters are to David Lloyd, John's brother, whose knowledgeable interest Lhwyd respected, while others are letters to him from young undergraduates whose enthusiasm and excitement are unmistakable. Erasmus Lewes, writing from 'Pant David' (Pant Dafydd), Llangynllo, Cardiganshire, in November 1685, reports that he had 'hastened to y<sup>e</sup> sea-side w<sup>th</sup> spade & basket that according to y<sup>r</sup> Directions, and having gathered a basket-full of each [i.e., sea-plants and shells], I brought y<sup>m</sup> home packing up y<sup>e</sup> plants (according to y<sup>r</sup> directions),' but having failed to find means of transporting them to Oxford he has to confess apologetically that the plants had rotted.<sup>6</sup>

Three other friends, William Anwyl, John Wynne and John Lloyd, gave him their separate vivid accounts of plant-hunting on the slopes of Snowdon in a storm in 1686. Their commitment is obvious as is their real knowledge of what they were about.<sup>7</sup> Another early Welsh correspondent was Robert Humphreys of 'Trefdray' (presumably Trefdraeth), Anglesey, an accomplished naturalist and committed antiquary. He had been a student at Jesus College where he matriculated in 1672 aged 17 and graduated BA in 1676, MA in 1685. He was rector of Llansadwrn, Anglesey, 1682, of Llanenddwyn,

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<sup>6</sup> Oxford, Bodley Ashmole MS 1816, f. 41. Erasmus Lewes was the son of John Lewes of Llangynllo, Cardiganshire. He matriculated from Jesus College Oxford 1684 aged 20, and graduated BA in 1688. He was vicar of Roche, Pembs., in 1692, and of Brawdy, Pembs., in 1694, rector of Betws Bleddrws and vicar of Lampeter in 1695; he died in 1745. For his father's role in commissioning translations from Moses Williams, see *Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-70 (DWB)*, 355. Lewes maintained his enthusiastic support for Lhwyd's work, sending him accounts of several Cardiganshire parishes in 1697-98. He was a regular annual subscriber to Lhwyd's project and acted as a local 'agent' for other subscriptions. He later attempted to compile an English-Welsh dictionary, perhaps inspired by Lhwyd but certainly by his own experience in trying to gain confident facility in Welsh. His correspondence with Lhwyd, his 'kinsman' and 'cousin' (through the Pryses of Gogerddan) continued until Lhwyd's death. Lhwyd continued to inspire young undergraduates after their return home: William Gambold, writing on 11 October 1695 (Ashmole 1830, f. 31) refers to 'the injunction you were pleased to lay upon me while at Oxon.' to search out specimens of natural history for him.

<sup>7</sup> William Anwyl, son of Maurice Anwyl, 'gent.', of 'Llanuddwro', Caernarfonshire, matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, in 1684, aged 16. The family was well known in Merionethshire where William became High Sheriff in 1694. For the family, of Dolffrôg, Nanmor, Beddgelert, see J. E. Griffiths, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families* (Horncastle, 1914), 320.

Meirionethshire, 1684, and of Llanddyfan and Llanfachell, Anglesey, 1691, but when he died in 1708 he still held the benefice of Llanenddwyn.<sup>8</sup> In May 1687, when Lhwyd's links with the Oxford Philosophical Society and the Museum were being better formalised, Humphreys sent to the Society, in response to Lhwyd's request, a number of specimens, 'On Curiosities observed in Anglesey.'<sup>9</sup> Though this is the first extant witness to their relationship, this was not the start of their correspondence and he may well have been inspired and directed by Lhwyd in his searches in Llanddyfan 'and upon other sea-coasts in North Wales.' His descriptions are detailed and knowledgeable (it is interesting that he uses Welsh names for plants, glossed in Latin by Lhwyd) and he also has bibliographical references to substantiate some of his comments. His searches and observations were not simply a response to a friend's request for information; his personal pleasure and genuine interest are obvious when he hopes Lhwyd will visit him as he believes this place offers 'the best entertainment for a Naturalist.' Humphreys' eagerness to be of assistance was not a passing fancy, nor were his interests restricted to natural history. In 1694 he was delighted at the prospect of becoming one of Lhwyd's local helpers in the work on *Britannia* for which he compiled some excellent reports, giving detailed descriptions of antiquities and their sites and recording much local lore.<sup>10</sup> He maintained his links with Lhwyd, and though only five letters survive

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He writes, Ashmole 1814, f. 80, from 'Delefriog', 13 July 1686, not only with an account of the Snowdon expedition but also with his plans for his new garden. John Wynne's correspondence with Lhwyd has been published by W. Gibson, *Flintshire Historical Society* 32 (1989), 18-24. His letter, from Maes-y-coed, 7 August 1686, is in Ashmole 1817b, f. 379. In it he notes, under their Latin names, the plants they found on Snowdon and he tells Lhwyd that they had called at Bodysgallen, near Llandudno, on their way home to see 'old Morgan' whom they found 'busy in his garden, who made us all y<sup>e</sup> welcome he could, and presented us w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> finest flowers in his paradise.' John Wynne, the future principal of Jesus College, was the son of Humphrey Wynne, 'gent.', of Maes-y-coed, Caerwys, Flintshire; he matriculated from Jesus College, 31 March 1682, aged 16, BA 1685, Fellow and MA 1688. For his subsequent career as Lady Margaret professor of Divinity, bishop of St. Asaph and principal of Jesus College, see *DWB* 1106-7. He died in 1743. John Lloyd (Jack, 'Veteran') became one of Lhwyd's closest friends and most regular correspondents. Born about 1662-3, he was of Blaenyddol, Corwen. He was with Lhwyd at Jesus College in the 1680s and was ordained deacon in 1686, priest in 1687. After serving in Llangar and Gwersyllt, he became usher at Rhuthun school. He died in 1726. He supported Lhwyd faithfully in all aspects of his work, his research and publications. See B. F. Roberts, 'Llythraau John Lloyd at Edward Lhwyd', *National Library of Wales Journal* 17.1 (1971), 88-114; 17.2 (1971), 183-206.

<sup>8</sup> See A. I. Davies, *The Diocese of Bangor During Three Centuries* (Cardiff, 1929), 10, 12, 16. He was a brother-in-law to one of Lhwyd's close friends and faithful supporters, Maurice Jones, rector of Dolgellau. It is interesting to note also that Jones refers to Robert Wynne, one of Lhwyd's assistants on the tour (see below) as 'my kinsman' and that another of Lhwyd's correspondents, John Tibbott, was his curate at one time.

<sup>9</sup> R. T. Gunther (ed.), *Early Science in Oxford, vol. XII, Dr Plot and the Oxford Philosophical Society* (1939), 323.

<sup>10</sup> Other friends whom Lhwyd thanked for their contributions to *Britannia* were Erasmus Saunders, William Gambold, Maurice Jones, John Davies as well as others who are un-named.

(to 1701), they are sufficient to show Humphreys' continued and active interest in his garden, in experiments in cultivating marine plants, in local lore and also his connections with Thomas Bobart, the Oxford university garden curator, and the botanist, Dr William Sherard.<sup>11</sup>

The most notable of Lhwyd's early Welsh correspondents, however, was not one of the group of budding naturalists and antiquaries for whom he was both a focus and an inspiration. Rather, Nicholas Roberts, with whom Lhwyd was pleased to open a correspondence in August 1687, was one of the most experienced of the previous generation of natural historians and antiquarians. At the time vicar of Llanddewi Felfre in Pembrokeshire, Roberts (c. 1646-1707) had been headmaster of Queen Elizabeth grammar school Carmarthen (1672-86), during which time he had responded to Christopher Wase's 1673 questionnaire on 'the free schools of England' (data published as *Considerations concerning Free Schools in England*, Oxford, 1678).<sup>12</sup> In his response he commented under the heading 'MSS' that 'Our country is barren of these excepting some few antiquated Welsh pedigrees and genealogies, imperfect chronicles and unintelligible prophecies, that lie dormant in some private hands of little use (I suppose) to the advancement of the Commonwealth of real learning.' This may indeed imply that he was dismissive of Welsh literary traditions but it is worth considering that as a new-style antiquary he recognised the inadequacy of this type of material for the serious historian. He responded warmly to Lhwyd's request for assistance in 1687 and undertook 'to give an exact unfeigned account of this or y<sup>e</sup> neighbouring counties & y<sup>e</sup> productions thereof according to y<sup>e</sup> directions or enquiry.' Roberts had previously provided information to John Ogilby in his road atlas, *Britannia* (1675), and he was glad of the opportunity to rewrite, as a response to Lhwyd's 'Parochial Queries', the description of Pembrokeshire that he had compiled then but had subsequently lost.<sup>13</sup> A rather prickly character and a man of strong opinions readily expressed (he was bluntly critical of the shortcomings of earlier topographers and antiquaries like Speed and Camden), his own descriptions are based on close observation especially of sea birds and marine life along the coast of Pembrokeshire (some of his specimens were given to the Ashmolean Museum in 1689 and noted in the Benefactors' Book), but what is even more clear is that the vividness of his writing reflects his warmth of feeling for and his deep attachment to natural history.<sup>14</sup> He was unhappy that Lhwyd had quoted from one of his letters in *Britannia* as he had written it 'off-hand,' but nevertheless his warm support for the 'Natural History of Wales' continued and he collected specimens and information not only on natural history and noteworthy features like the garden at Mathry and laver bread but also on antiquities, inscriptions

<sup>11</sup> Humphrey's correspondence with Lhwyd is in Ashmole 1815, ff. 221-225. None of Lhwyd's letters to Humphreys is extant.

<sup>12</sup> See further B. Howells, 'Queen Elizabeth Grammar School in the seventeenth century', *The Carmarthen Historian* 3 (1966), 36-39.

<sup>13</sup> Ashmole 1817a, ff. 303, 312, 309-13.

<sup>14</sup> See excerpts quoted in 'Edward Lhwyd a'r bywyd diwylliannol Cymreig' and 'Edward Lhwyd y Cymro'; see footnote 17 below.

and Welsh manuscripts. Whatever may have been his view in 1674 of the value of Welsh manuscripts in his locality, he was prepared to accede to Lhwyd's request for information; he was more than ready to revive his lost interest in scholarship and to visit those whom he knew had collections of books and manuscripts and to list what he saw.<sup>15</sup> Nicholas Roberts was not only a careful observer of natural history around him. He was an intelligent critic, well read in the current regional surveys and antiquarian literature, and he was able to respond with understanding to Lhwyd's project.<sup>16</sup>

As Lhwyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* project developed and he undertook the lengthy research tour of Britain, Ireland and Brittany, his circle of correspondents and those to whom he could turn for assistance and discussion inevitably widened. He had already begun a fruitful correspondence with some leading and influential English scholars and their number would increase to include, for example, John Aubrey, Richard Richardson, Tancred Robinson, William Nicolson, Thomas Tanner. He enlisted the willing co-operation of Scottish, Irish and Cornish antiquaries and in Wales there were 'senior' figures whose advice and responses he regularly sought, such as Humphrey Humphreys, bishop of Bangor and then of Hereford, Richard Mostyn of Penbedw, as well as other less experienced friends whose opinions he valued, including Humphrey Foulkes, Rector of St. George, Denbighshire, John Lloyd, schoolmaster at Rhuthun, Henry Rowlands of Anglesey, and a host of other clergy and schoolmasters who were his local informants and searchers, men like John Davies (Newborough), Griffith Jones (Llanrwst), John Thomas

<sup>15</sup> He visited 'Capt. Edwards' at Rhyd-y-gors, Johnstown, Carmarthen, in December 1696-January 1697 to view the manuscripts there and listed some of them, Ashmole 1817a, ff. 323, 324. These were presumably some of the manuscripts collected by David Edwardes, the genealogist and deputy herald of Rhyd-y-gors who died in 1690. Most of his genealogical collections passed to his friend William Lewes of Llwynderw (1652-1722), but copies made for Lhwyd of some Rhyd-y-gors manuscripts are in NLW MS Llanstephan 154 and perhaps Peniarth 120. For David Edwardes see *DWB* 181; F. Jones, 'An approach to Welsh genealogy', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* 1948 (1949), 303-466, especially 419-21. For Rhyd-y-gors see F. Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families* (Dinas, Newport, 1997), 173.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas Roberts, son of Richard, of St. Davids, Pembrokeshire, matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, March 1665, aged 19. He graduated BA in 1668, MA from Christ Church 1671. In November 1672 he was licensed by the bishop to be schoolmaster in the Free School Carmarthen and he was presented to the vicarage of Llanddewi Felfre the following September. He was rector of Nolton, Pembs., 1678, and of Llanddewi Aber-arth, Cardiganshire, in 1687. He refused to take the Oath of Allegiance in 1689, stating publicly 'That the present parliament was not a loyall parliament ... and offered several arguments that the present king was not a loyal king, and said it was not lawfull to take the Oath by any that had taken the oath of Allegiance to the late king James.' The jury returned a true bill against him in the Autumn Sessions of 1689. See *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymm.* (1946-47), 217, 229. He was rector of Llanfalletg, Carmarthenshire, in 1691. The administration of his effects was granted to his son John, May 23, 1707 (*West Wales Historical Records*, II, 1911-12 (1913), 234-5). Roberts was, it appears, a difficult character with an acerbic tongue and his relationships with some of his parishioners and with the courts were not always easy.

(Llanbryn-mair), Rice Morgan (Bangor), Thomas Morgan (Cilybebyll).<sup>17</sup> Eager and enthusiastic, knowledgeable and intelligent, always responsive to Lhwyd's guidance, they were, however, established (or seeking to become established) in their careers (and not all in Wales), others were amateur antiquaries among the gentry and had their own responsibilities. None could become part of the research team that Lhwyd wished to set up as he embarked on his tour. A body of assistants, trained by him and familiar with all aspects of the project, was necessary to safeguard its continuance after the completion of the tour itself, and indeed after his day.

In spite of the tensions that arose from time to time, Lhwyd envisaged the *Archaeologia Britannica* project as being based at the Museum so that as he considered the future of the work he began to give thought to a successor as Keeper, who would come from among the assistants. Lhwyd was a sociable man. It is clear that he enjoyed the company of Welsh undergraduates (mainly of Jesus College) and that these informal relationships were important for him on a personal level and he was of practical assistance to many of them.<sup>18</sup> But they also meant that he was able to recognise the talents and intelligence of successive generations of students and to see their response to his plans. Thus, though some of his assistants were Museum staff, others were his personal *amanuenses* (or 'scribes'), employed by him on an occasional basis while his assistants, on the tour and later, were to be paid for from the subscriptions towards the costs of the tour (or from his own pocket). Some of the *amanuenses* were not undergraduates at the start of their involvement with Lhwyd but young men whom he had met on his travels or whose families had proposed their names to him as servitors or pupils as a step towards matriculating.<sup>19</sup> The relationship of the Museum-based assistants and the others with Lhwyd was, nevertheless, the same since all, however appointed, were employed and salaried by him; for their part, they were tied by the same bonds of loyalty and friendship.

The staffing structure of the Museum and its intended funding had been laid down in Elias Ashmole's first statutes of 1686 and the revisions proposed by Lhwyd, and which were accepted in the 1697 statutes, were aimed at tightening

<sup>17</sup> See further B. F. Roberts, 'Edward Lhwyd y Cymro', *National Library of Wales Journal* 14 (1985), 63-83 (edited English version, 'Edward Lhuyd – Welshman', *Nature in Wales* 2, 1984 [1985], 42-56); idem., 'Edward Lhuyd a'r bywyd diwylliannol Cymreig', *Cof Cenedl* (ed. G. H. Jenkins) 18 (2003), 37-69.

<sup>18</sup> 'At evenings, after his hard study in the day-time, he used to refresh himself among men of learning and inquiry, and more particularly Cambro-Britons, in friendly conversations...', Chalmers's *General Biographical Dictionary* 20 (1815), 232-6, quoted in *National Library of Wales Journal* 19 (1975), 85-6.

<sup>19</sup> See below for examples of the nature of Lhwyd's agreements with prospective 'pupils' and their families: Edward Pryse, Evan Evans and William Parry. Among his occasional *amanuenses* may be noted William Williams of Brynlllefrith, see n. 54, 76 below; Hugh Griffiths who continued to transcribe texts after completing his period of formal employment, see n. 64 below. 'Gill Jones' was assisting Lhwyd as a scribe and researcher in December 1706 (Ashmole 1815, f. 246): this is Gilbert Jones of Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, who matriculated from Jesus



up financial aspects without fundamentally changing the structure.<sup>20</sup> The Keeper was Ashmole's appointment and subsequent Keepers were to be appointed after his day by his widow and thereafter by the University Visitors. The Keeper was responsible for all other appointments – the Under-Keeper, his deputy, when required during his absence, and a cleaner. The Keeper was to receive a salary of up to £50 p.a., the Under-Keeper up to £15 p.a. (his deputy up to £5 p.a.) and the cleaner £2. p.a., a possible total of between £67 and £72 p.a.; the six Visitors received half a guinea each as honoraria, adding £3/3/- to the bill, which was to be met from the 'Perquisites' of the Museum. Any 'overplus' was to be used to purchase items for the collections. Though the University undertook the costs of maintenance and similar work, the main source of income was the entrance fees paid by visitors and these figures were to prove over-optimistic. After the first year they never produced the necessary sum so that from the first the Museum was under-funded with regard to salaries, expenses and purchase funds and additional sources of income had constantly to be sought. Robert Plot and his 'deputy', or rather his 'personal assistant', Higgins, shared their entitlement as best they could, and Plot gave the Visitors their honoraria and awarded Lhwyd whatever he found 'convenient',<sup>21</sup> suggesting that Lhwyd did not, at that time, have a designated position at the Museum. Lhwyd's revised statutes recognised the annual shortfall in the income (he reckoned that the 'Perquisites' seldom exceeded one fifth of what was required by the statutes) and in addition to increasing the details of the entrance fees, he introduced library fees and copying charges according to the time given by the Keeper or Under-Keeper in assisting and invigilating readers and users. The Sub-Librarian, a new post (the post of Librarian was subsumed within that of the Keeper) might receive a salary of £10 p.a. and both he and the Under-Keeper kept accounts of entrance and library fees to be reported to the Keeper. They were, however, allowed to retain any gratuities that they received. The new statutes related the salaries of the Keeper and Under-Keeper to what income was available, the former to receive two-thirds of the Perquisites, the Under-Keeper the remainder. They also stipulated that the Keeper, for every month of absence, should present the Museum with ten coins or other antiquities or 'natural bodies' – or ten shillings.

The structure was basically ineffective, in regard both to staffing and to funding. Lhwyd's (not entirely disinterested) proposal that financial penalties should be commuted to the provision of additions to the Museum's collections would enhance those collections, but the underlying financial problem remained. A Keeper was under pressure to ensure adequate funding while at

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College in 1704 aged 16 and graduated BA in 1707. One wonders how many fell into a category similar to that of Edward Samuel, vicar of Betws Gwerfyl Goch, when Lhwyd wrote to his friend John Lloyd, 23 November 1707, 'If any such old records are communicable I would gladly have them transcrib'd by Mr Samuel, since I am like to have nothing else for thirty shillings I layd out for a gown for him about three years since,' G 537.

<sup>20</sup> I have drawn extensively on Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, and MacGregor, *Ashmolean Museum Manuscript Catalogues* (see notes 2 and 4 above) for information on the staffing and funding of the Museum.

<sup>21</sup> Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 54.

the same time he would be tempted to supplement his own income by undertaking external activities. Junior staff, tied to the Keeper by their appointment and salaries, were usually undergraduates anxious to supplement their uncertain salaries, while continuing to pursue their degrees, by tutoring, acting as *amanuenses* or some other means, or they were newly graduated men who were seeking positions. The advantage of the system for Lhwyd was that it allowed him to select and train assistants on a personal basis within the Museum; the weakness became apparent when he was not present himself at the Museum and discovered that the structure did not give him an experienced deputy with sufficient authority to administer the institution.

There were many disappointments and frustrations. The composition of Lhwyd's team changed constantly as members graduated and searched for more secure posts. Lhwyd's first appointment, probably as Under-Keeper, was William Jones who appears in the accounts for 1691 sharing the visitors' fees 'by agreement' with Lhwyd. He was paid for work on the Museum catalogues in 1692-93 and he may have remained at the Museum until 1694.<sup>22</sup> Robert Humphrey was a promising choice as successor: 'I hope to see'm a good scholar in a few years, for he seems to be a very forward lad,' wrote Lhwyd to John Lloyd, 31 July 1694 (G 242) and he was 'conditionally' promised a place as 'deputy' but by May 1695 (G 271) Lhwyd reported to Lloyd that he 'prov'd very unfit for the post' and had been replaced. 'Unfit' is probably to be taken literally if he is the same person as 'Poor Robin Humphreys [who] dyed here of a consumption about 3 weeks since' (29 March 1697, G 326).<sup>23</sup> Around the time of Humphreys' departure Lhwyd's uncle, Edward Pryse of Gogerddan, wrote to him, 2 July 1695, recommending a local youth, the son of 'oure Kinsman Evan Evans,' and hoping 'y<sup>t</sup> you will accept of him to be y<sup>r</sup> man att the Museum in y<sup>e</sup> roome of David Evans, he being his eldest son and a pretty good proficient in scholarship & is att present att Ludlow schoole; and am informed will be fitt for the University w<sup>th</sup>in a short time, I must begg the favor of you y<sup>t</sup> you will reserve that place for him; being you must Employ some body under you; and as I am informed there being 10<sup>l</sup> allowance per Annum w<sup>ch</sup> will be a great help towards his maintenance w<sup>th</sup> w<sup>t</sup> his father can help him besides ...'<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 75, for the references to the accounts.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Humphreys, 'pauper puer', was the brother of Edward and William Humphreys, sons of William Humphreys, Maerdy, Gwyddelwern, Meirionethshire. For the family see *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1876), 128-9. Edward matriculated from Jesus College, April 1685, aged 17 and graduated from All Souls in 1688; he was rector of Llanycil in 1704; Robert matriculated from Trinity College, Oxford, March 1694, aged 16, and when he died around 14 March 1697 Edward sent Lhwyd warm thanks for his care of his brother (Ashmole 1829, f. 122). The family was an old established minor gentry family; see Griffiths, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire Families*, 189; G. Davies, *Noddwyr y Beirdd ym Meirion* (Dolgellau, 1974), 142-5.

<sup>24</sup> Ashmole 1817a, f. 179. In the same letter Edward Pryse writes: 'David Evans yo<sup>r</sup> & my old man is come hither and made application unto me to recommend him to Llanbadarne schools where I have settled him in y<sup>e</sup> place of Cobner who left his school about a fortnight since. I wish he may carry himself civil in all respects &c.' However David may have served Edward Pryse in the past, he had been one of Lhwyd's 'circle'. He wrote to him on 15 December 1694 (Ashmole

Nothing came of this initiative: Lhwyd probably felt that the youth would be too inexperienced to take on the responsibility of being his deputy. The vacancy was filled by Hugh Jones, 'my deputy here,' at a salary of £10 p.a.; '... his Unkle and Brothers must allow him some helps, otherwise he cannot subsist,' said Lhwyd, who believed in September 1695 that he was 'like to doe very well; if his Unkle allows him but any small encouragement.'<sup>25</sup> Lhwyd was well acquainted with him and his family. He had been carrying letters to and from John Lloyd in March 1695 and Lhwyd referred in friendly terms to his

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1815, f. 18) apologising for his long silence and referred to the many misfortunes that had befallen him, 'but to dispaire I am loath.' In a letter to his 'Brother', 4 August 1693, (Ashmole 1815, f. 13) he speaks of his 'sorrow [that] hath aggravated my distemper upon me' and of his ill health; a reference to his 'poor children' may suggest that his wife had died. In the 1694 letter to Lhwyd he reports on his visit to 'your uncle Parry' and to 'Mr Parry of Pant y Rhodyn' (see 'Note on the Parry Family' below), with both of whom, unless they are one and the same, he had discussed some manuscript collections and inscribed stones. He proceeded to Gogerddan to visit Edward Pryse. He found 'Mr Thomas well and hearty' there and concluded by assuring Lhwyd of his 'fidelity and readiness' to be of service. Any reply was to be sent to him at Allt y Corddu 'to be left at Mr Hector Gambold's house in Cardigan,' i.e. William Gambold's father. In a letter to Lhwyd in 1695 (Ashmole 1817a, f. 42) Edward Thomas (see footnote 46 below), who appears to have left Gogerddan in June/July 1695, referred to 'y<sup>e</sup> young Pedagogue M<sup>r</sup> David Evans' distributing Lhwyd's *Proposals* with little success because of his lack of contacts with the gentry and in a letter, 11 October 1695 (Ashmole 1830, f. 31), William Gambold informs him that 'Mr David Evans & I have entered Holy Orders.' This is confirmed by the entry in the Subscription Book (Green, ed. Yardley, *Menevia Sacra*, 356), where William Gambold of Exeter College and David Evans of Hart Hall were ordained deacons on 20 September 1695. Gambold was ordained priest on 3 October 1696 and appointed to a curacy in 'Poncheston' (Puncheston, Pembrokeshire), where he was inducted vicar on 1 December 1709; he died on 13 September 1728. For the Gambold family of Cardigan, see *DWB 1941-1970*, 333-4. Evans seems to have had a position in Machynlleth, perhaps at a school, and he was probably the David Evans who Lhwyd suggested might be responsible for conveying some of Hywel Vaughan's manuscripts to Oxford in November 1696 (G 313) and who wrote to Lhwyd, 23 January and 3 March 1697 (Ashmole 1829, ff. 91, 104). He spoke of returning to Oxford to take his degree and of his readiness to assist Lhwyd in spite of his disappointment at losing the school at Llanegryn. He sent an account of a large crystal recently discovered, supplementing a similar report that he had sent a year earlier. He was probably the David Evans, son of 'Evan Th.E.' of Llandygwyd (*recte* Llandygydd), Cardiganshire, who matriculated from Jesus College, 22 February 1691/2, aged 21 and who graduated BA from Hart Hall, 22 March 1696/7. He was ordained priest and appointed to a curacy in Cennarth, 28 May 1697, and became vicar of Llandysul in August 1697 (*Menevia Sacra*, 358, 359; a successor was inducted in August 1716). He wrote to Lhwyd from Llandysul, 30 January 1703 (Ashmole 1815, f. 17), thanking him for his many kindnesses and sending him information on an inscription in Llandysul churchyard (probably that described by S. R. Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* [Brecon, 1907], 193, plate I) and on inscribed stones in Tallylchau parish.

<sup>25</sup> G 271, 286. Hugh Jones (*pauper puer*) was the son of Thomas Jones of Llanenddwyn, Meirionethshire. He matriculated from Gloucester Hall, 15 November 1694, aged 23. He was the brother of Richard Jones who matriculated from Jesus College, 30 March 1683, aged 16 and graduated BA in 1686. He was rector of Llancilian, Anglesey, between 1698 and 1704; see Davies, *The Diocese of Bangor During Three Centuries*, 14, 15. As already noted, Robert Humphreys, Lhwyd's correspondent, was rector of Llanenddwyn from 1684 until his death in

brother and sister.<sup>26</sup> In an undated letter, but apparently around April-May 1695, Lhwyd wishes him to 'come up as soon as you can' when Dr Jonathan Edwards, principal of Jesus College, will have returned from his parsonage in Hampshire and he promises to try to 'secure him Burford school' (though it is not clear in what capacity) or a post as an *amanuensis*. He was clearly no raw youth and he had already sent Lhwyd some useful copies of inscriptions. He was an apt pupil and by August 1695 (G 280) Lhwyd was able to send him ('my servitor and deputy') to the chalk pits of Kent and to the Isle of Sheppey to search for specific examples of fossil stones. He was also a fine draughtsman if he is the same 'H. Jones delin.' who signed a drawing of a fossil fern which Lhwyd sent to John Ray around August-September 1695.<sup>27</sup>

Jones, however, probably felt that his future did not lie in the Museum and he was soon casting his eyes elsewhere. Ordained deacon and priest in October 1695, a mere year after his matriculation, he was dissuaded from seeking appointment as chaplain on a ship bound for the Canaries (Martin Lister had 'enflam'd [his] curiosity'<sup>28</sup>), but in November 1695 he was appointed (through the good offices and sponsorship of Henry Compton, bishop of London, and several influential naturalists, including Lhwyd) chaplain to the Governor of Maryland.<sup>29</sup> The Governor wished his chaplain to have some experience as a naturalist and he had turned to the Ashmolean Museum for assistance. Lhwyd's support was not wholly disinterested as he obviously hoped the chaplain would add to the Museum collections and enable him to learn something of the natural history of the province. In the event, Jones was appointed minister of Christ Church parish in Calvert County. While he was awaiting his passage in May 1696, Jones became acquainted with James Petiver, the London apothecary who was a well-respected botanist and collector of natural history specimens and who often acted as an agent for other leading natural historians. Jones agreed to 'settle' a correspondence with Petiver and to send him and Samuel Doody<sup>30</sup>

1708. Another brother, John, was a schoolmaster in Llandeilo Talybont, Glamorgan. A John son of Thomas of Llanbedr, Meirionethshire, matriculated from Jesus College, 7 April 1698, aged 17. See E. Owen, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum* (London, 1900-1922), IV, 883-4. There may have been another brother, Jezreel, an accomplished botanist who collected samples 'in Barbary': Stearns, *art.cit.*, 302, 245, below, footnote 29. The nomenclature of posts in the Museum is inconsistent and not always strictly in accordance with the title in the statutes. Nor should one read too much into the salary/allowance and the post described in the statutes.

<sup>26</sup> G 275.

<sup>27</sup> The drawing is now in John Ray's response to Lhwyd, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Autograph File R. The letter is dated 4 September 1695. For Lhwyd's answer see G 283-5, letter no. 135, 12 September 1695.

<sup>28</sup> G 283.

<sup>29</sup> The fullest study of Hugh Jones' work as a naturalist and of the background to his appointment to Maryland is R. P. Stearns, 'James Petiver, seventeenth-century promoter of natural science', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 62.2 (1952), 243-365, particularly 292-303, an article to which I am indebted for much of the information that follows.

<sup>30</sup> For Doody see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

reports and samples from Maryland, as he had already agreed to do for his sponsors, who included Martin Lister, Jacob Bobart and Tancred Robinson. Inevitably some confusion arose and Lhwyd alleged that two boxes of specimens intended for the Museum (Jones hoped to be recognised as a benefactor of the Museum) were pillaged by Petiver and Doody before reaching their destination.<sup>31</sup>

Petiver and Hugh Jones maintained a regular and frequent correspondence and through the former, reports from the latter to his sponsors and his specimens reached the Royal Society in London<sup>32</sup> where they 'excited the admiration of a wide circle in England,'<sup>33</sup> including John Ray and William Sherard, and perhaps even beyond. Jones continued his correspondence with Lhwyd, his Welsh friends at Oxford and his family, though Lhwyd complained in 1701 that he had not heard from him.<sup>34</sup> Petiver was, however, more fortunate. Jones's letter accompanying the two boxes sent in 1697 is a fascinating account of his voyage and of his first few months in Maryland, and Petiver also received numerous 'catalogues' of Jones's discoveries, evoking the description of him as 'A very curious Person in all parts of Natural History; particularly in fossils.'<sup>35</sup> Lhwyd's training was obviously bearing fruit, as can be seen also in an interesting and informative letter that Jones sent to Dr Benjamin Woodroffe, F.R.S., the principal of his former college, in 1699, describing the geography, natural history and society of the province in 1699, a careful and well ordered description that suggests that he had learned a great deal from the ideals and intentions of the English county surveys and their underlying sets of queries.<sup>36</sup> Hugh Jones does not appear to have enjoyed good health and he was not happy in Maryland. He would have dearly wished to return to Wales but this was not to be and he died in 1702.

Though Lhwyd's assistants' relationship with him was as director and employer, they were a genuine team linked both by friendship with Lhwyd and with one another. Language, family and local culture were important factors. Most of this first group of assistants came from Meirionethshire and Caernarfonshire. They knew one another, they were active participants in Welsh culture, but they were more crucially bound together by a shared informed interest in and enthusiasm for the tasks in hand. Even after ending any formal connection with Oxford they often remained in contact with their successors and in some cases continued to assist Lhwyd. Hugh Jones seems to have been

<sup>31</sup> G 462.

<sup>32</sup> See 'Remarks by Mr. James Petiver ... on some Animals, Plants, &c. sent him from Maryland by the Reverend Mr. Hugh Jones', *The Philosophical Transactions* XX (November 1698), 393-406.

<sup>33</sup> Stearns, 'James Petiver', 302.

<sup>34</sup> G 462.

<sup>35</sup> Stearns, 'James Petiver', 303 and footnote 143. The letter is printed pp. 297-300.

<sup>36</sup> Jones may have seen drafts of Lhwyd's 'Parochial Queries'. The letter, together with a commentary and information on Jones, has been edited by M. G. Krammen, 'Maryland in 1699: a letter from the Reverend Hugh Jones', *The Journal of Southern History* 29 (1963), 362-72. I am grateful to Dr Dewi Evans for drawing my attention to this article.

particularly friendly with one of Lhwyd's most remarkable assistants, William Rowlands, of Hafod y llan, Beddgelert, whom Lhwyd had seen as a possible successor. In a letter to Richard Mostyn of Penbedw, a knowledgeable gentleman-antiquary, 26 November 1695 (G 293), enclosing a copy of the proposals for the *Archaeologia Britannica* project, he faced up to an unspoken consideration:

There is one very obvious objection, which I have not taken notice of in the paper, because indeed I could not well answer it. And this is that if it please God I should dye before either of these books be fitted for the presse: all the encouragement given me, would be so much thrown away. In order to provide for such an accident, as well as I can; I shall endeavour to make choice of a young man, of some extraordinary parts & industry, for an amanuensis; and shall instruct him (as far as I am capable) in the studies of Natural History, and Antiquities; so that he may be qualified not onely to assist me in this undertaking, if it please God I should live to goe thorow with it; but perhaps to finish it as well or better then myself, should it happen otherwise. I have already an eye on one whom I think fit for the purpose, and also very desirous of such an employment. But I could wish the College would be so favourable as to chose him into the Foundation; that so he may have some being to depend upon in regard these singular studies will never come his way to preferment, but rather hazard him the reputation of being ignorant in every thing else, as we find it too often happens to men that signalize themselves in any one study.

He made the same point in a letter to John Lloyd around the same time (20 November 1695, G 292) referring to a young man 'who has parts enough to make at least as good a naturalist and antiquary as I am in a few years,' and whom he could instruct. Though the youth is un-named here, he is probably the one to whom Lhwyd again referred in a letter to Martin Lister, 12 November 1696 (G 314) as he outlined his plans for the tour of Wales, Cornwall, Ireland and Brittany:

My assistant and fellow traveller is one Mr William Rowlands Bachelr of Arts of Oriel College; who is an ingenious fair-condition'd youth and has tolerable skill in surveying and designing; and is also as well

acquainted as my self with the ancient and modern language of our countrey; nor doe I despair but that in a short time he'll be as well qualified as I am at present to carry on the *Dictionary* and *Archaeologia*, if it please God I should dye before I finish them.

This implies that Rowlands, about to graduate, had accepted the invitation to join Lhwyd on his great tour. His abilities and intelligence were already well known to Lhwyd from the contribution he had made to his researches preparatory to the revisions to the 1695 *Britannia*. During 1693 Lhwyd compiled 'a few general Queries' (G 208, October 1693) which he distributed 'to some Friends' as he began his work on the north Wales counties; these are probably the questions on 'some General Information that wou'd be Acceptable in this undertaking' in Bangor University Library, MS Penrhos V, 929. As the late Frank Emery showed, the Latin account of Snowdonia printed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* VI (1860), 237-40 (from a manuscript then owned by Robert Williams, Rhydygroesau, now NLW MS Cwrtmawr 376D) is William Rowlands' response to these questions or a set very like them.<sup>37</sup> The account discusses some place-names in Snowdonia with etymological speculations, seasonal snowfall and its duration, the ages and mortality of inhabitants, flora and fauna, stones and monuments, legends, stories and the folklore of saints, material used by Lhwyd in *Britannia* where, although the source is not specified, it is made clear that the information is being quoted. In the same manuscript are two collections in Welsh of the folklore of the Conwy valley and elsewhere, also written for Lhwyd, presumably as information for *Britannia*, in 1693.<sup>38</sup>

William Rowland(s) matriculated from Jesus College, Oxford, on 13 March 1693 and continued his searches on behalf of Lhwyd during July, October, November 1694, reporting, in three Latin letters, his notes on monuments in Beddgelert church, on *gemmae anguinae* that he had been offered, on Alpine flora that he had pressed and shells he intended sending as well as noting a grammar by Huw Machno, written c. 1621, that he had seen. During the summer of 1695, Rowlands taught in Burford (rendered Rhyd-Gedowrach by him) and Holt, Norfolk, and his English and Welsh letters to Lhwyd reveal the same intelligent interest in everything around him. He claims experience of lithoscopy and refers to stones from nearby quarries for which he has created his own Latin names until Lhwyd can enlighten him as to their recognised designation; his account of a journey to and from Cambridge (in a letter to Hugh Jones) where he had gone to meet John Archer<sup>39</sup> affords him an opportunity to

<sup>37</sup> F. Emery, in *National Library of Wales Journal* 18 (1974), 405-17.

<sup>38</sup> These are printed in *Cambrian Journal* (1859), 208-10, 142-50, *Cymru Fu* (Wrexham, 1862), 465-74.

<sup>39</sup> John Archer, of Kendal, was a nephew by marriage of Bishop William Nicolson, the antiquary, who worked closely with Lhwyd. Born in 1672/73 he matriculated from Queens' College Oxford in 1690 and was admitted to St John's College Cambridge in 1694 where he graduated MB in 1695. He died in 1735. G 125 notes that he became 'a skilled lithoscopist.'

make observations on 'a great ditch of exceeding length' (probably Devil's Dyke/St Edmund's Dyke), on birds which he had not seen before, on the significance of -wy in Welsh hydronyms and the derivation of Menai/Manaw, and on sundry buildings in Cambridge and Holt. Burford and Holt were not stimulating places for him as he is desperate for books to occupy his mind. These letters of 1694 and 1695 give an insight into what Lhwyd had recognised in the young student, for his descriptions, even when they are not in response to queries, are completely in tune with the topics that occupied Lhwyd's questioning mind.

In November 1695, Rowlands was thrilled that Lhwyd is 'to accept of my endeavours' in observation and comment, 'being the tendency of my genius is somewhat inclined that way, & being I always study, project, muse upon, & devise with myself how I may do my native country any services.' He looked forward to being trained in the practical skills, like mathematics, arithmetic, surveying and drawing, that Lhwyd required his assistants to acquire: 'I have this Opinion of my self viz. that I am as apt to learn as many others,' this from the young man who had remarked that Mr Archer did not know much about his collection of stones and that he himself was better informed, and who was 'inwardly possessed with some thoughts of being famous in my generation.'<sup>40</sup> William Rowlands was still the 'assistant and fellow traveller' in November 1696, but he had graduated from Oriel College (the same college as his cousin, Edward Samuel) in 1696 and for whatever reason the appointment was not taken up. There is a gap in their correspondence until November 1701 when Rowlands is vicar of Conwy (though this, of course, may be only an accident of preservation).<sup>41</sup> The final extant letter reveals Rowlands to be as interested and observant as ever, and as willing a colleague as he had been in the past in that he had sent an account (now lost) of Llangelynnin parish, Meirionethshire, to Lhwyd. His loss was clearly a blow to Lhwyd's hopes and plans.

Lhwyd had intended embarking on his tour in March 1696 but it was delayed for a year, though, encouraged by the first responses to his *Design*, he made a preliminary survey of parts of Wales (Bangor–Snowdonia–Hengwrt Library [near Dolgellau]–Swansea) in the six months from April to October 1696. His tour began in May 1697. He had been absent from the Museum for a brief period of seven weeks in 1693 when he was preparing his revisions of *Britannia* and it appears that William Jones, the Under-Keeper, had been left in charge at that time. Lhwyd obviously realised that his forthcoming prolonged absence would call for the appointment of a responsible deputy, but both he and the University appear to have been curiously relaxed about this aspect of the arrangements in the *Design* that he published at the end of 1695 where he described his plans and made an appeal for financial support. He set out the financial implications of his five-year project, which would call for extensive

<sup>40</sup> Ashmole 1817a, ff. 410, 414, 415.

<sup>41</sup> Rowlands took deacon's orders in March 1696 and was ordained priest in December 1698. He served as curate in Llanfairfechan (1698, 1700), Conwy (1699, 1700), Gyffin (1700, 1701) before being preferred to Conwy in 1701.



field work and travel, together with technical assistance and book purchases; maintaining a correspondence would be costly and local 'labourers' in mines and quarries would have to be paid for collecting fossils, but his own position is understated: 'being engag'd in no Profession, nor (by the favour of the University) oblig'd to Personal Attendance at my present Station, nor at all confin'd with the Care of any Family, I shall have little else to mind but to endeavour the Performance of this Task ...'

Lhwyd quickly scotched rumours of his intended resignation, emphasising to Martin Lister in February 1696 (G 301) that he had 'no thoughts of resigning my place on any terms, and probably shall never doe it; being I think as well satisfy'd with it, as I could be had I ten thousand a year.' The University, through the Visitors, was presumably satisfied that the Museum could be effectively supervised and managed during the Keeper's absence and were content to leave the arrangements to Lhwyd. His absence from the Museum for a few weeks in September 1691 had had disastrous results but all parties may have felt that the lessons had been learnt and adequate safeguards put in place.<sup>42</sup> True, the Visitors enquired about Lhwyd's return at their 1699 Visitation but found no fault with the supervision, 'such was either their carelessness or their good humour,'<sup>43</sup> much to the relief of the deputy who appears to have known more than he was prepared to reveal to them. Not until the Keeper's return was imminent and the shortcomings occasioned by his absence clear did the Visitors exercise their authority.

In November 1695 (G 290) Lhwyd wrote to Martin Lister regretting that his impending tour made it impossible for him to 'attend' the latter's son who was about to enter the University. 'However I hope we shall doe as well; tho I should not my self be at leasure to attend him: for I intend to make choice of a very ingenious deputy, a Batchelour of Arts, who is at present an excellent scholar, and has genius capable of making an able naturalist,' but in a few months he had again been disappointed as this young man had become tutor to family in Cambridge (G 301, February 1696). Lhwyd's first reaction was to send up 'for Ned Thomas to take care of the Museum while I am on this employment' (G 301)<sup>44</sup> at a salary of £20 p.a. and he may have offered a post to Humphrey Foulkes, another young graduate who had already shown his intelligent interest in linguistics and who would continue to co-operate with Lhwyd in the future.<sup>45</sup> In the event, William Williams was appointed.<sup>46</sup> Williams would be Lhwyd's Under-Keeper and deputy at the Museum during almost the

<sup>42</sup> For this period and the robbery that occurred see Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 65.

<sup>43</sup> Ashmole 1817b, f. 336.

<sup>44</sup> These letters are in G 301 (February 1696).

<sup>45</sup> 29 March [1696], Ashmole 1815, f. 50. For Foulkes see Caryl Davies and Mary Burdett-Jones, 'Cyfraniad Humphrey Foulkes at *Archaeologia Britannica* Edward Lhuyd', *Welsh Book Studies* 8 (2007), 7 - 32.

<sup>46</sup> Ned Thomas may have been Edward Thomas, son of Job, of 'Llanyderne' (Llanedern), Glamorgan. He matriculated from Jesus College in March 1687 aged 18. He may have been offered a place with Lhwyd in 1692 but if so, he did not take it up (Ashmole 1817b, f. 33). He kept in close touch with Lhwyd, reporting on Roman antiquities in Monmouthshire and

whole of the period of the tour together with Robert Thomas, the Sub-Librarian, until mid-summer 1699.<sup>47</sup>

There is no doubt that Williams was expected to carry a heavy burden of duties and responsibilities. Though Walter Thomas of Bernard's Inn was Lhwyd's agent in London and the country, Williams was the contact in Oxford, charged with collecting subscriptions that had been promised there. He was also responsible for keeping an account of the Museum finances, noting fees that he had collected (often with some difficulty) and payments that he had made, including the salary of the Sub-Librarian (claiming a forfeit for Thomas's absences from his post) and other incidental bills and debts. He prepared for the annual Visitation and carried out Lhwyd's instructions relating to the administration of the Museum and to his needs on tour. At the same time he had the usual run of tasks which were the lot of the Under-Keeper – copying and maintaining the catalogues, supervising and invigilating visitors and users and overseeing the work of the Sub-Librarian, relationships with whom were not of the best. He reported to Lhwyd regularly and there is no mistaking his personal attachment to the Keeper. Nevertheless, he lacked Lhwyd's status in the university and he was anxious to further his own career (he, like Thomas, was accused of being absent from the Museum frequently) and to safeguard his financial position. He sought Lhwyd's support in his application for a Fellowship from 1697 onwards but he became increasingly disillusioned with what his duties involved and dissatisfied with the salary arrangements which he interpreted differently from Lhwyd. Lhwyd was adamant that their agreement was in accordance with the statutes (that the Under-Keeper was entitled to a third of the perquisites, not the £20 Williams claimed<sup>48</sup>), responding with characteristic bluntness, 'I am sorry to find you so dissatisfied at your present station; and heartily wish you a better. My tendering it to you was partly out of Gratitude to Mr Deer, & partly out of a desire of encouraging (according to my small capacity) industry & merit.'<sup>49</sup>

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Glamorgan and he also visited (or perhaps served) Lhwyd's family at Gogerddan in 1694-95. Though he was seeking employment, Lhwyd does not appear to have contacted him for assistance in 1695. William Rowlands is not mentioned in the role of Under-Keeper. Lhwyd obviously saw him as being of greater value as his 'assistant and fellow traveller' on his tour than as his formal deputy in Oxford. Williams is referred to as 'my deputy' in February 1697, G 323.

<sup>47</sup> Robert Thomas was an undergraduate following his academic courses during his period as Sub-Librarian. He may have been the son of David Thomas of Neath who matriculated from Jesus College, 19 February 1695, aged 14 and graduated BA in 1698. He moved to Boverton, in the Vale of Glamorgan, as tutor to a family there and as curate of Llanmaes under Illtud.

<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Lhwyd had offered Ned Thomas a salary of £20 p.a. as his deputy in 1696.

<sup>49</sup> 17 March 1698, G 357. This is hardly fair, considering the difficulty that Lhwyd had experienced in finding a deputy. Richard Deer, rector of St George's, Glamorgan, was William Williams' cousin. Williams was the son of Maurice, of St. Nicholas, Glamorgan. He matriculated from Jesus College, March 1693, aged 20, graduated BA 1696, MA 1699, rector of Cheriton, Gower, 1701.

The financial information that Williams and Thomas gave Lhwyd in their letters to him, though not suspect, was hazy, especially for a man more concerned, one feels, with his researches and discoveries, and there was constant tension between the need to meet the salary requirements of Williams and Thomas and the need to meet those of Lhwyd himself. In March 1700, some nine months after the departure of Robert Thomas, the Visitors appointed Richard Mydleton Massey<sup>50</sup> as Sub-Librarian and *de facto* deputy in view of Williams' periods of absence. He proved himself an able administrator, but unfortunately he left in November that year, about a week before the return of William Jones and Robert Wynne, two of Lhwyd's tour assistants. William Williams was in Glamorgan by October 1700 (G 333), and he continued his personal links with Lhwyd and his other assistants – in October 1700 he had thoughts of 'crossing the sea' to meet with them in Cornwall. Tragically, he lost his life in August 1701 when he was 'drowned with 13 others off Glamorgan.'<sup>51</sup> When two of Lhwyd's 'fellow travellers,' William Jones and Robert Wynne, returned to Oxford in November 1700 they found the Museum in total disarray, much to their dismay, as they reported to him.<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps Lhwyd (and the Visitors) should have foreseen the likely effects of the Keeper's extended absence<sup>53</sup> but, hopeful that he would be able to direct and oversee the work of his two stand-ins, he embarked on his long-planned-for tour in May 1697 together with three assistants, William Jones, Robert Wynne and David Parry. They were not employed by the Museum (the Statutes allowed only for two junior staff) and the tour was not a Museum undertaking. The costs would have to be financed through Lhwyd's salary (the Statute commuting fines for absence to acquisitions was significant here) and through the subscriptions promised following the publication of the 1695 *Design*. The good initial response may have encouraged Lhwyd to establish a larger team than that which he had first envisaged in 1695-96 when he referred to William Rowlands as his 'assistant and fellow traveller,' apparently as his only companion.

Lhwyd had known both William Jones and Robert Wynne for some years and he had had opportunities to observe their interests and the quality of their work. William Jones had been appointed to the Museum in 1691 to catalogue collections of books (as Lhwyd had himself been by Plot in 1684) and he remained in this role during 1692-93; he may even have deputised (as Under-Keeper) for Lhwyd during his brief absence while he carried out fieldwork for *Britannia* in the autumn of 1693. It is not clear where Jones was after graduating

<sup>50</sup> Massey had a distinguished medical career; see G 333, n. 2; Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 97.

<sup>51</sup> Lhwyd wrote to an un-named correspondent with the news of the tragedy 'last week.' See Owen, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, IV, 886.

<sup>52</sup> See Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 97-8.

<sup>53</sup> Historians of the Ashmolean Museum have seen here the first signs of the decline in curatorial standards which would afflict the Museum for some years; see Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 107; MacGregor, *Ashmolean Museum Manuscript Catalogues*, 23.

– Robert Humphreys and Hugh Jones were Under-Keepers 1695 – but following the ‘resignation’ of William Rowlands in 1696 Jones may have been recalled to be the ‘assistant and fellow traveller’ by Lhwyd, who clearly recognised his abilities and his experience. He was fulfilling this role by November 1696 when he was told to call on Howell Vaughan, Aberffrwddlon, with William Williams of Brynlllefrith to collect four Hengwrt manuscripts which Lhwyd had had sight of during his brief tour in the summer of 1696, the loan of which he now requested in his letter to Vaughan.<sup>54</sup>

Robert Wynne was a member of a prominent gentry family in Meirionethshire. He writes first from Moel-y-glo, Llanfihangel-y-traethau, Meirionethshire, a house noted in *Parochialia* II, 101-3 as in the possession of ‘Mr Will. Wynne of Maes y Neuodh.’ The Maes-y-neuadd, Llandecwyn, pedigree shows that Robert Wynn (senior, High Sheriff in 1679, died 1691) married Jane, daughter of Robert Evans, Tan-y-bwlch, Maentwrog. Their children were William (High Sheriff in 1714), Morris, Jane, Elizabeth, Lowri (the first wife of the writer, Ellis Wynne), Margaret, Catherine, Ann and Robert, Lhwyd’s assistant.<sup>55</sup> Robert had written to Lhwyd on 9 August 1694<sup>56</sup> with an account of the strange fires which afflicted parts of Meirionethshire and Caernarfonshire, poisoning cattle and burning hayricks. The phenomenon attracted a great deal of enquiry and speculation throughout 1694 and one of Lhwyd’s friends, Maurice Jones, rector of Dolgellau, a ‘kinsman’ of Robert, wrote a full description which was published in *The Philosophical Transactions* 208, 20 January 1694, and which was abbreviated and published also in *Britannia*.<sup>57</sup> In his letter Wynne, probably in response to Lhwyd’s request for information about local antiquities, also gave a careful description of Coeten Arthur, a cromlech ‘south of Corsygedol,’ near Harlech.<sup>58</sup> Though he did not name Wynne, Lhwyd quoted from his letter in *Britannia* (71), and writing to Martin Lister, 23 August 1694, he describes the writer as ‘an intelligent sober person’ (G 242). In an undated letter<sup>59</sup> Robert Wynne assures Lhwyd that ‘Both

<sup>54</sup> G 313. In the event, Vaughan was as unwilling as ever to allow any of his manuscripts to be borrowed or copied and Jones was probably saved a visit and the humiliation which he would suffer two years later when Lhwyd again sought the loan of the manuscripts. For William Williams, a former *amanuensis*, see n. 76 below.

<sup>55</sup> For Llanfihangel-y-traethau see J. Lloyd, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* III (1957), 137-50. The Maesyneuadd pedigree is in Griffiths, *Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families*, 283, and see *DWB* 1098-99, family of ‘Wynn, afterwards Nanney,’ where the relationship of Moel-y-glo and Maesyneuadd is set out. The poet and friend of Lewis Morris and Goronwy Owen, William Wynn (1709-60) was the son of William and Margaret Wynn and thus Robert’s nephew. NLW MS Peniarth 182 was given to Lhwyd by William Wyn ‘de Maes y Neuodh’ in 1699.

<sup>56</sup> Ashmole 1817b, f. 381.

<sup>57</sup> See G 218, 233, 240, 243-3.

<sup>58</sup> See *Archaeologia Cambrensis* III.xv (1869), 133-5; VI.xx (1920), 99, 126-7; RCAM Merioneth Inventory (1921); 73, W. E. Griffith. ‘The Corsygedol cromlech’, *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* II (1953-6), 293-6.

<sup>59</sup> Ashmole 1817b, f. 393.

she [his mother] and my Brother [William, the head of the family] do well enough approve of y<sup>c</sup> Articles and consent thereto,' and he speaks of coming to Oxford in January.

It may be that these 'Articles' were the terms of an agreement c. 1697 to serve Lhwyd during the tour, similar to those drawn up in the case of David Parry (see below). The third assistant was not as experienced as Jones and Wynne. David Parry of Cardigan was not a student and, aged about 15 at the start of the tour in 1697, he was considerably younger than the others. As a pupil at, presumably, Cardigan grammar school, David Parry would have learnt some Latin and other subjects and he must have shown enough promise to impress Lhwyd. Related to Lhwyd through the Pryses of Glanffred,<sup>60</sup> William Parry of Cardigan, David's father, and his 'cousin' John Parry, writing on his behalf in December 1696, had recommended the boy as an assistant (trainee in modern terms) asserting that 'he [William] would rather his sonne should serve you than any other gentleman he knows.' Lhwyd's first proposal, as the tour was beginning planned, had been for a term of five years but when he later suggested an eight-year period the Parrys regarded this as 'somewhat longe.' Nevertheless, William Parry did not demur and 'cousin' John wrote, 15 December 1696, 'to declare unto you y<sup>t</sup> he is willinge y<sup>t</sup> you should dispose of y<sup>c</sup> younge man as you think fitt, for he hopes you will have him entered in y<sup>r</sup> universitie as soon as you think itt convenient.'<sup>61</sup> David Parry, however, suffered a bout of smallpox and was obliged to delay his journey to Oxford, much to the consternation of his family (and William Gambold, another old friend, see footnote 24), who feared, and indeed suspected, that Lhwyd might appoint someone else. David, 'a good natured young man & teachable,'<sup>62</sup> finally joined Lhwyd in Oxford in March 1697 and the final agreement appears to have been for 'meat, drink, cloaths, & 5<sup>lb</sup> Salary yearly during his 4 years service.'<sup>63</sup> He may have been the 'young beginner, whose raw exercise' as a delineator Lhwyd excused when he sent illustrations of some specimens to John Lloyd in May 1698.<sup>64</sup>

The team of four generally worked in pairs. From the first, Jones and Wynne almost invariably toured together while Parry remained Lhwyd's companion and pupil throughout. They shared the task of collecting data and specimens, of transcribing manuscripts and inscriptions, of describing and drawing antiquities and interviewing informants. Lhwyd respected the range of skills that he required from his assistants. They 'have each of them some skill in Plants, but their mean Tallent is in figured Stones wherein they have been very conversant

<sup>60</sup> See the 'Note on the Parry Family' below.

<sup>61</sup> Ashmole 1817a, f. 78.

<sup>62</sup> Ashmole 1817a, f. 72.

<sup>63</sup> Ashmole 1829, f. 126, 26 March 1697. Lhwyd appears to have suggested yet another change in the agreement and, puzzled rather than indignant, the Parrys sought an explanation and reminded him of the 'former agreement.' The change to a four-year from a five-year period reflects Lhwyd's revised timetable for his tour, due to end in 1701.

<sup>64</sup> G 372, 504.

these two years,' he wrote to Thomas Molineux (?) in June 1698<sup>65</sup>, and though he sometimes referred to them as 'amanuensis' or 'scribe', the term had a wider connotation than 'writer' and called for judgement and the ability to read various manuscript hands. They were expected to be able to reflect Lhwyd's own range of interests and to contribute to them. He had enough faith in his training and instruction and in their response to trust them to allow them to tour on their own and to make their own decisions on what was to be recorded and commented upon, so that as he began to prepare for his tour of Ireland his plan was 'to disperse ourselves, each emissary travelling alone and not to meet altogether till we come upon y<sup>e</sup> Gyants Cawsey.' Jones, and to a lesser degree Wynne, sent Lhwyd regular reports of their progress, especially in Ireland – Lhwyd actually refers to Jones's account of Connaught as his 'diary' – and he was sufficiently impressed to consider changing his plans so that he could follow their route and see for himself what they had described to him: 'Both he [Jones] and Robin Wynne have had such good success in their several Pilgrimages y<sup>t</sup> I have some thoughts of continuing in this Kingdom till Midsummer in order to review the same places.'<sup>66</sup>

Jones, as the most experienced of the assistants, was Lhwyd's deputy, undertaking the arrangements for his part of the tour, dealing with subscriptions and accommodation and accounting for the boxes of specimens which were being sent on ahead or to Oxford regularly, but his letters reveal far more his understanding of the nature of the tour and how intelligently he reported progress. It is easy to appreciate why his enthusiastic account of his 'pilgrimage' from Sligo through Connaught and Mayo whetted Lhwyd's appetite as his topics ranged from 'lithoscoping' on the sea shores and plant hunting on the hills to folk customs and local dress, to searching for and copying manuscripts, noting antiquities and place-names, describing Irish story-tellers reciting their tales late at night and practising his Irish.<sup>67</sup> Cornwall afforded a similar variety of tasks as he spent his time touring, noting and drawing monuments of all kinds, collecting starfish and copying a Cornish dictionary.<sup>68</sup> Jones knew exactly what information Lhwyd required and throughout the tour he revealed the range of expertise and curiosity that he had acquired. He did not possess the overbrimming self-assurance of the youthful William Rowlands nor perhaps his intellect, but he was very much in the same mould. Lhwyd regarded his skills as a palaeographer highly and also referred to him as his best 'Designer'.<sup>69</sup> The examples of his work as a draughtsman that have survived confirm that view of his abilities, for to him we owe some of the very fine drawings of historic

<sup>65</sup> 21 June 1698, Cardiff Library, MS 4.120, 5.

<sup>66</sup> Cardiff Library, MS. 4.120, 19.

<sup>67</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 296. There is a draft of this letter in Aberystwyth, NLW Peniarth MS 119, 11-13, printed in *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 22 (1967), 239-43.

<sup>68</sup> In Cornwall Lhwyd took the south coast, leaving the north to Jones (and Wynne) 'to copy such old inscriptions as shall occur, and to take what account he can of the geography of the parishes,' G 434.

<sup>69</sup> G 459, 372.

monuments in Lhwyd's notebook, NLW MS Llanstephan 185, and the detailed plan of the New Grange chambered tumulus that he made for Lhwyd and for Thomas Molyneux in 1700.<sup>70</sup>

Robert Wynne resumed his studies at the end of the tour and then sought ordination. He married Ann, daughter of John Lewis, Rhiw, on the Llŷn peninsular. He was seeking a curacy in 1701 and became rector of Rhiw in February 1705<sup>71</sup> where he remained until 1711/12 when he became rector of Llandanwg, Meirionethshire, where he died in 1729. He was made a prebendary canon of Bangor in 1710. Like William Rowlands, he never lost the enthusiasm that Lhwyd had engendered in him. He retained his links with Lhwyd and his circle of Welsh friends<sup>72</sup> and he remained a committed naturalist. In 1708 he was intent on undertaking an annual plant-hunting expedition to Snowdon and he sent Lhwyd reports on marine flora, shells and 'sea-stars' that he had collected on the Llŷn peninsular between Llanengan and Pwllheli, recalling with some nostalgia the discoveries that he had made when he was in Dingle in Ireland. The tour had been a memorable personal experience for him and his affection for Lhwyd and his work had not dimmed. He writes from Rhiw in 1708, giving an account of his personal circumstances: 'I had almost forgot to tell you y<sup>t</sup> I have a little Robin now of ab<sup>t</sup> 2 months old. I wish he were of age & capacity for your service.'<sup>73</sup>

The completion of the tour in 1701 marked the beginning of Lhwyd's real task, the writing of the several volumes that he had planned and advertised as the outcomes of the project. He travelled little, apart from a significant visit to Cambridge and another to Bristol to seek to close the discussions with William Cole, a long-standing potential donor. He endeavoured to re-establish his authority at the Museum, attempting to repair the damage done during his long absence but most of his time and energy were spent either at the Museum or away from Oxford in neighbouring villages analysing the data gathered on the tour and writing and compiling *Glossography* which was published in 1707 as the first volume of *Archaeologia Britannica*.<sup>74</sup> But even before the return from the tour Lhwyd was already actively planning the next volume of the project, the Historical Dictionary of personal and proper names. William Jones had left Ireland as early as February 1700, leaving the others behind, and he had been sent briefly to London to examine manuscripts of Welsh interest in Sir Robert

<sup>70</sup> See M. Herity, 'From Lhwyd to Coffey', *Studia Hibernica* 7 (1967), 127-45, for a discussion and plate 1 for Jones's drawing.

<sup>71</sup> Griffiths, *Pedigrees*, 174, refers to him as Robert Wynn of Maesyneuadd.

<sup>72</sup> One senses his attachment to Lhwyd when he writes of his brother, 'Mae'r Gwr o faes-y-neuodh yn ynyf am ei lyfr cywyddae a mine yn diodde, ag yn gadel iddo,' 1 February 1703, Ashmole 1817b, f. 38.

<sup>73</sup> 23 October 1708, Ashmole 1817b, f. 389.

<sup>74</sup> For Lhwyd's linguistic work see D. W. Evans and B. F. Roberts, *Edward Lhwyd, Archaeologia Britannica, Texts and Translations* (Aberystwyth, 2009); D. Cram, 'On wild etymology and descriptive profligacy: a contrastive case study', in B. Smith et al. (eds), *A Companion in Linguistics* (Nijmegen, 2004), 219-30; C. Davies, *Adfeilion Babel* (Caerdydd, 2000), 69-90.

Cotton's library.<sup>75</sup> Copying literary manuscripts and historical documents had been part of the activities of the team throughout the tour and Jones was a more experienced palaeographer than any of his colleagues. As ever, Lhwyd had given thorough instructions to his assistant, who wrote to him to Londonderry on 17 February 1700, 'I have Copied both y<sup>e</sup> Princip. et fin. of every head in a Velum or a MS in Chart. belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Brit. &c.'<sup>76</sup>

Lhwyd lost no time in dispatching Jones to London again very soon after he had joined him in Oxford on the return from Cornwall and he began his series of copious reports by June 1701.<sup>77</sup> John Davies saw him at work, writing on 2 September 1701: 'he looks very grave and his head sounds as if it were wholly intent upon y<sup>e</sup> businesse he is concerned in. and as to the labour of his hand, he has an index of his assiduity att his fingers ends.'<sup>78</sup> Some nine months later he was joined by a new colleague, Hugh Griffiths,<sup>79</sup> whose first letter to Lhwyd is dated 17 March 1702. The focus of the new group of assistants now changes and

<sup>75</sup> This, the most extensive private manuscript collection in England, was a quasi-public library much resorted to by scholars and antiquaries. Housed in Westminster from 1622, it was 'kept and preserved for Publick Use and Advantage' by act of Parliament in 1701. It became one of the British Museum foundation collections in 1753. See C. G. C. Tite, *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (Panizzi Lectures 1993, London 1994).

<sup>76</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 338. Describing the contents of one manuscript, Cotton Titus D.xxii, Jones wonders whether this had already been copied by one of his predecessors, 'Am yr wy'n gofio ddarlod i Mr W<sup>m</sup> Williams o Drawsfynydd ysgrivennu rhan vwy ag sy'n y llyfr hyn etto mi a ewyllysiwn gael gwybod,' Ashmole 1815, f. 337. This must be William Williams of Brynlllefrith, in the parish of Trawsfynydd. William Williams, son of William of Trawsfynydd, matriculated from Jesus College, 2 June 1685, aged 18, graduated BA from Merton College 1688, canon of St Davids 1697, rector of Llansanffraid Glyndyfrdwy 1700, and Llanelian. In a letter of 21 March 1697 (Ashmole 1829, f. 121) John Lloyd reports that he has given one of Lhwyd's 'papers' (i.e. the *Design*) to 'Mr Da: Wms of Bryn-Llefrith,' Trawsfynydd.

<sup>77</sup> Jones and Parry would have secured new agreements with Lhwyd at the end of the tour to continue their employment. Maurice Jones seems to refer to this in a letter to Lhwyd, 20 May 1701 (Ashmole 1815, f. 280), when he hopes that William Jones 'will be soe wise, & continue w<sup>th</sup> you & w<sup>t</sup> termes you please.'

<sup>78</sup> Ashmole 1814, f. 389.

<sup>79</sup> Hugh Griffiths was the son of Griff. Jones of 'Llanbader' (Llanbadarn), Cardiganshire. He matriculated from Jesus College, 1 April 1699, aged 19, and graduated BA March 1703, MA 1709; he was vicar of East Betchworth, Surrey in 1711. He died in 1735. His cousins, the brothers Griffith Davies and Thomas David, were 'day labourers' in London where they served Lhwyd faithfully, receiving and delivering letters and carrying out other errands. Thomas had met Lhwyd at Gogerddan in May 1699 when they had spoken together about 'hen scrifenadau Cymraeg.' Thomas wrote to Lhwyd, 6 June 1701, 'I rwyf fi fachgennyn un iaith yn ych tryblu chwi mewn ychydig leiniau,' enquiring about a copy of 'hannes y 12 patrach neu blant Israel,' i.e. *Testament y Dauddeg Padriarch* (1700), which he believed had been translated by one of Lhwyd's group and offering to give Lhwyd his copies of the works of 'yr hen feirdd.' He ended his letter, 'I rwyf yn gobeithio i gellwch chwi ddarllen ychydig eirie yma, er fy mod yn scrifennu yn amherphaid iawn. I rwyf yn cyfadde fy mod i yn rhy fyrr i ganfod dros ysgwppardau y sawl sydd yn fwy na myfi, oblegid na daeth neb erioed mewn cost na thraill i'm hathrawiaethu i, i ddysgu darllen, nag i yscrifennu ychwaith; ond fy mod yr hyn wdwyl yn ol y dalent a rodd Duw



their links are with Cardiganshire. As the senior figure, Jones took Griffiths under his wing giving him some easier manuscripts to transcribe at the outset<sup>80</sup> but he soon became a competent and intelligent *amanuensis* for himself. Lhwyd had explained which collections they should examine and they understood what type of material they were to transcribe or abstract and he continued to direct their work from Oxford in response to their reports, transcripts and queries.<sup>81</sup> John Anstis<sup>82</sup> was an invaluable mentor and guide who used his influence to assist them to gain access to libraries and to obtain permission to transcribe material, but it is striking how both Jones and Griffiths were called upon to make their own judgements about the material, especially as they began to compare the manuscript material with printed sources, such as Dugdale (presumably the *Monasticon Anglicanum*),<sup>83</sup> Capgrave (*The chronicle of England*), and Gale's 'Nennius' (presumably *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae scriptores*). They worked their way through a variety of sources, patent rolls, exchequer rolls, monastic charters, in the major libraries – Gresham College, the Tower, Westminster, College of Arms and Cotton Library – and they followed up clues as to where other manuscripts might be found, including a visit to Cambridge by Jones. He reveals his skills as a palaeographer in the scripts he sometimes reproduces and he gave comprehensive descriptions of the contents of the manuscripts on which he worked. His most significant discovery, however, was not an historical document but the glossary in British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A xiv which he hesitantly recognised as Cornish rather than Welsh.<sup>84</sup> Though the main task of the pair was to transcribe and abstract material for the Dictionary, they were in fact (with the main agent, Walter Thomas) Lhwyd's representatives in

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i mi, ag am hynny cymrwch oddiwrthyf fi ywellys da yn lle y'r gallu.' Lhwyd, who always respected the value of what informants could contribute, had little regard for social status and he described Thomas David as one 'who (like myself) has the misfortune to be troubled with the itch of curiosity.' He searched out effectively for Welsh books in London for Lhwyd. See R. Ellis, 'Llythyrau llafurwr', *Cymru* 25 (1903), 189-93. Another brother was John Davies, who became an army chaplain but was equally familiar with members of Lhwyd's circle of Welsh friends; it was he who had seen William Jones at work in London.

<sup>80</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 324, 20 March 1702, 'oblegyt fod y llaw yn o hawdh i dharlhen.'

<sup>81</sup> For examples of Lhwyd's directions to William Jones, see Ashmole 1815, f. 319<sup>v</sup>, 337.

<sup>82</sup> John Anstis (1669-1744), herald and antiquary, was from St Neots, Cornwall. Though primarily based in London, where he occupied many offices relating to public records, he had been of considerable help to Lhwyd in Cornwall and no doubt Jones had met him there. He continued to assist Lhwyd in his involvement with Cornish manuscripts and as a regular user of the Cottonian Library (and others) he was of particular help in directing Lhwyd and the *amanuenses* to the relevant materials in the London libraries.

<sup>83</sup> In Ashmole 1817b, f. 277, Lhwyd lists variant readings in two columns headed 'Dug<sup>d</sup>' and 'W. Jones.'

<sup>84</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 303, 3 July 1701: 'nis gwnn nad eilh llawer or geirieu yma tuedhu at y Kyrnŵag o rann bôd llawer o honynt yn ddieithr imi.' In a letter of 20 July 1701, G 461, Lhwyd writes, 'Will Jones is now at London transcribing some things for me out of the Cotton Library and the Tower: in the former he has met with *Vocabularium Latino-Wallicum* written on parchment about 200 years since weh yet is not Welsh but Cornish and so much a greater rarity

London, meeting on his behalf with English scholars like George Hickes, Edmund Gibson, Humphrey Wanley, receiving subscriptions and paying bills, buying books and sharing a great deal of confidential personal information, while at the same time striving, as best they could and usually with Lhwyd's support, to obtain a living or a post.

Life was demanding and their circumstances difficult. They were employed personally by Lhwyd at some nine shillings a week, often paid as a lump sum to cover an extended period of maintenance, lodging and food, and they relied on him for all their necessities, not only paper, pencils, candles, a magnifying glass, but, pathetically, for their clothes:

Mae talu am olchi a chanwylleu &c &c yn mynd a dryllh neu dhau o arian om koden bob wythnos, ag yn dal vy mhen tan dŵr nad alhaf gasglu keiniawg yn awr (vel yn yr haf) tu ag at brynnu dim a vo arnai eisieu. Jr wyf yn wir yn lhw m iawn am Grysieu nad oes gennyf un a dal ei wisgo, ag ni phrynnais yr vn er pan dhoethym o Gernyiw; Nid yw chwaith y sane ar Eskidieu ar Lhowdr ond diffaeth o ran tramwyo o Westminster ir Tŵr bob dydh vn lhw yrel yn vy hosanna am hEsgidieu. Mi a ewyllyssiwn hevyd brynnu Bibl a geir Lyfr Cymraeg &c od ydynt yn rhattach yma nag yn unlhe aralh yn enwedig y kryssieu wed ii gwnio yn barod. Velhy os gwelwch yn dha roi arwydhyn i M<sup>r</sup> Thomas i dalu im bynt ne bum swllt ar hugeint mi a vydhav yn rhwymedig ich am y cymwynas yma val am bob daioni aralh a wnaethoch immi tra bo chwyth.<sup>85</sup>

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but 'tis but brief.' In his Preface to the Cornish grammar in *Glossography* Lhwyd gives a different account (which may not be contradictory). 'Besides the three Manuscript books above, Mr. Anstis found a *British Vocabulary*, hand-written many ages since, in the *Cotton Library* in *London*, and, (a) as he did always, so according to his good will on the like occasions before and after, he wrote to me about it. When I had looked over the book, I perceived very well that it was not a *Welsh Vocabulary*, according to the *Latin* name (written at the latter end) *Vocabularium Wallicum*; but a *Cornish vocabulary*.' For *Vocabularium Cornicum*, compiled about 1100 and the most extensive Old Cornish document, see K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), 6, 60-61; E. Van Tassell Graves, 'The Old Cornish Vocabulary', Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1962 (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1965). A copy was made for Lhwyd by Moses Williams, Aberystwyth, NLW MS Llanstephan 85, probably referred to in a letter to Thomas Tonkin, 3 March 1704 (G 499), 'The old Cornish Glossary is also copied a month since.' Lhwyd referred to the Glossary more than once in the *Glossography*, e.g. pp. 4, 34, 229.

<sup>85</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 318, 16 December 1701. On July 31 1703[?], Ashmole 1815, f. 335, he complains of blisters: 'J mae arnai hevyd eisio hossanne ag esgidieu &c Pa rai os gwelwch yn dha roi kennad neu awdurdod i M<sup>r</sup> Thomas ei ddodi imi gymmaint ag a wassanaethu ei brynnu.'

There was a close bond of friendship between Lhwyd and all the assistants and Jones and Griffiths never failed to send their greetings, in their letters to Lhwyd, to the others in Oxford. William Jones was particularly close to Lhwyd, judging by the exuberant tone of some of his letters in Ireland, and it may be significant that he, most of all, wrote to Lhwyd in Welsh. He was energetic and active, restless at his enforced inactivity in Dublin while he awaited Lhwyd's return and the resumption of the tour; he feared becoming rusty and his brogues, he said, were ready.<sup>86</sup> It is, therefore, rather unexpected to see their relationship change so swiftly in May 1702; the letters are in English and Lhwyd is unmistakably the employer. It appears that someone in London (not Hugh Griffiths) had advised Lhwyd that Jones had been absent from his post; Lhwyd reacted sharply with a threat of dismissal. Although he appears to have relented, according to Griffiths in July 1702, matters were not helped when Jones left London without warning or permission to visit his sick father for some six weeks. Lhwyd's letters to his assistant are not extant but it is clear that he had been severely censured. Jones begged to be allowed to return and letters in August are full of accounts of plant hunting with old Oxford friends and of offers to assist Lhwyd, but there are no further letters from him to Lhwyd and sadly he fades from view.<sup>87</sup>

Hugh Griffiths, however, went from strength to strength. He was probably already one of Lhwyd's circle of Welsh assistants when he joined William Jones in London in March 1702. He continued his work after his colleague's departure though his reports are not as comprehensive as those Jones had compiled. He may have left London at the end of 1702 as he was anxious to return to Oxford to complete his degree and he does not reappear in the correspondence until

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<sup>86</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 295. In the same letter he writes, 'o ran gwell gynni fôd yn vy mrôgs yn korneitio yr kips ag yn kael ymbell hevraka o Sligo i Gilala neu'r Groes Velen na bod yn rhydu yma (heb ddim iw wneuthud).'

<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately it has not proved possible to identify Lhwyd's assistant among the plethora of William Joneses in Oxford around this time. William Jones, Llangar, who graduated in 1694 and is of a suitable date, was ordained deacon and priest in 1695 and it is unlikely that Lhwyd's assistant during 1697-1702 would have been an ordained priest. Lhwyd's assistant was a graduate and it is unlikely that he was the William Jones 'scholar' ordained priest in August 1702. A William Jones matriculated 13 March 1693 and though this date fits, it is not known what path his subsequent career took. Lhwyd's assistant was in deacon's orders by 13 August 1701 (G 463) and perhaps ordained priest 8 September 1701. He was certainly anxiously seeking preferment during this period and was in hopes of several parishes in Meirionethshire and Denbighshire but to no avail; he complains that he is not acquainted with the new bishop following the translation of Humphrey Humphreys to Hereford in 1701. Intriguingly, a draft letter in the hand of Gilia cholum MacMulen (for whom see below) to an unnamed correspondent but obviously to one of Lhwyd's 'circle' during the tour, in BL Add. MS 15072, f. 11, 23, December [1702], remarks, 'I suppose you have heard of the death of M<sup>r</sup> Jones. He was preferred near Bishops Castle to a place of Forty pounds a year but dy'd of his Rupture almost as soon as he came to it.' There are no references to a William Jones in the presentations in the diocese of Hereford from 1700-1710. (My thanks to Hereford Record Office for their search.) There are, however, other clues that remain to be followed up and it may be possible eventually to identify William Jones, perhaps of Denbighshire, at some stage.

1705. His letters thereafter, from Bristol, Elberton, Basingstoke, Newbury, are full of his personal problems and his hopes as he tries to obtain a position at a school and a curacy. Paradoxically, however, these are the years of his most important services to Lhwyd. Between February and November 1705, while he was in Bristol and Elberton, he was employed by Lhwyd to read the transcripts that he and William Jones had made and to prepare the proper names for the Historical Dictionary: 'I did indeed propose to hasten the Task I have of yours in my hands but yet (God willing) I hope to make some further progress in it ere a moneth comes about.'<sup>88</sup> Over the months he sent Lhwyd accounts of his progress (and sample pages), and he describes his method in compiling the dictionary, reporting finally in November that he had completed the work.<sup>89</sup> Lhwyd would have undertaken the final editing and he would have written an introductory essay (he might have entrusted aspects of the work to his new assistants at the Museum, David Parry or Moses Williams, as he did in *Glossography*) but had the book ever appeared much of the credit should, and no doubt would, have been given to Hugh Griffiths.<sup>90</sup> It is particularly galling to realise that had Lhwyd lived a little longer, the Historical Dictionary would probably have found its way to the press.

Lhwyd may have hoped for a new *amanuensis* about 1703, perhaps to replace William Jones or Hugh Griffiths. He had probably met David Lewis of Cilhernyn (and later of Pantybenne), Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, during his tour and the young man, then about 16 or 17, continued his interests in Lhwyd's researches and had kept abreast of news of his travels. His first extant letter to Lhwyd, in February 1702, begins by excusing his lack of information but then becomes brimful of accounts of his activities: a list of local dialect words not to be found in the dictionaries, a weather diary for 10 months in 1698, descriptions of four parishes,<sup>91</sup> news of manuscripts, three coins discovered in Llansteffan in 1697, a transcript of Welsh laws and some local folklore. Another letter in October 1702 has another list of dialect words and a report that he has been comparing local rites and customs with those of the Highlanders,

<sup>88</sup> February 25 1705, Ashmole 1815, f. 133. He reports further progress in April, f. 137.

<sup>89</sup> Ashmole 1815, f. 141.

<sup>90</sup> Griffiths continued to serve Lhwyd, acting as an *amanuensis* copying Cornish texts and their English versions. In June 1707 he wishes he could be involved with the second volume; see Ashmole 1815, f. 153.

<sup>91</sup> Cilymaenllwyd, Llanglwydwen, Henllan, Eglwys Fair. The description of Cilymaenllwyd in *Parochialia* III, 64, is signed David Lewis but the other descriptions, *ibid.* III, 11-13, are unsigned. For his account of Llanboidy and details of Lewis's work, see F. Emery, 'A new reply to Lhwyd's *Queries* (1696): Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 124 (1975), 102-10. For another weather diary, made at Llanberis by one of Lhwyd's correspondents for the same period, see F. V. Emery and C. G. Smith, 'A weather record from Snowdonia, 1697-98', *Weather* 31 (May, 1976), 142-50. David Lewis was the son of Lewis David and his wife Alice, daughter of Reynald Howell of Maesgwyn. He married Jane Protheroe in 1712 and settled in Pantybenne. He died before 1752. See Jones, *Historic Carmarthenshire Homes and their Families*, 31.

suggesting that he had seen the manuscript that Lhwyd had acquired,<sup>92</sup> but more significant is that he attempts, at Lhwyd's request, to elucidate the Juvencus *englynion*, a clear indication of Lhwyd's respect for his linguistic abilities.<sup>93</sup> A letter of 16 September 1703 discusses the same range of topics but by then he appears to have proposed himself, and had been accepted, as an assistant and was expecting to travel to Oxford. Family and neighbours, however, opposed the move, fearing its effect on his estate, and David Lewis was forced to withdraw in January 1704. He did not lose interest. In November 1708 he reports on some local inscriptions, antiquities and folklore and he expresses his 'approval' of the 'Armorican vocabulary,' some proof sheets of which Moses Williams had sent to Samuel Williams, his father. Some forty years later and aged about 60, the regret at not having been able to work with Lhwyd still rankled. Discussing these same topics with Lewis Morris in 1745 and offering him the same assistance, he cast his mind back: 'I was in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of my age discouraged from travelling with M<sup>r</sup> Llwyd who was for [?] me.'<sup>94</sup> There is little doubt that he would have made a valuable assistant as he shows the same intelligent and knowledgeable understanding of Lhwyd's work as did other successful *amanuenses*.

Lhwyd's team did not disintegrate with the departure of William Jones, Hugh Griffiths, Robert Wynn, William Williams and Robert Thomas. In his letters from London in 1702, and later when he was in Bristol, Hugh Griffiths frequently sends his regards to 'Gilli' in warm and friendly terms (13/5/02, 20/5/02, 20/6/02, 22/2/05, 25/2/05): this was Gilia cholum MacMulen, a young Gaelic speaker from North Knapdale, Argyll, whom Lhwyd had met on his tour in Scotland. He joined Lhwyd on his return to Oxford (or perhaps even earlier, during the tour) to be trained as an *amanuensis* but also as a personal general factotum. He was not the most dependable of assistants but the list of sconces (fines) that he incurred between 22 October 1703 and December 1705 serve to indicate both his waywardness – drunkenness, staying out late, frequent absences and leaving visitors unsupervised – and the nature of some of his duties – neglecting to light the candles and make the beds, not conveying messages, but also failing to 'write one page in the space of five weeks.' 'For entire neglect of business for the space of four months as appears by his half years work in writing the Lat.-Engl. Vocabulary, viz from the beginning to this mark [‡] in the margin of the Great Book.'<sup>95</sup> His signature appears in British Library Add. MS 15072, 'Giliecholum M<sup>c</sup> Mulen his Book Ogust 702.' Lhwyd failed to train Gilia but why he persevered with the lad (who was well enough liked by the other assistants) and how he kept his patience for so long is a

<sup>92</sup> See J. L. Campbell (ed.), *A Collection of Highlands Rites and Customs* (Cambridge, 1975).

<sup>93</sup> See B. F. Roberts, 'Translating Old Welsh: the first attempts', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 49-50 (1997), 760-77. His version is hardly less successful than those of the recognised scholars to whom Lhwyd turned.

<sup>94</sup> See H. Owen, *Additional Letters of the Morrisises of Anglesey (1735-1789)*, *Y Cymmrodor* XCLIX, part 1 (1947), letters 74 (4 July 1745), 84 (25 March 1746), Lewis Morris's reply, letter 85 (13 April 1746).

mystery, especially in the light of his irascible attitude towards the faithful William Jones, unless he continued to entertain hopes of producing a competent Irish scribe from such unpromising material.<sup>96</sup>

The remaining member of the tour was David Parry, whose college career began on his return from Cornwall. He matriculated from Jesus College in 1701 and graduated BA in 1705, MA in 1708. During 1703-04 Lhwyd and Parry's family strove to gain for him a Cardiganshire Scholarship at Jesus College on the strength of his academic attainments and more particularly on the grounds that he could claim descent from the donor of the award, Dr Griffith Lloyd, sometime Principal of the college.<sup>97</sup> All appeared to be going well for Parry, 'being very well below'd,' until his election was effectively opposed by John Wynne, Lhwyd's erstwhile colleague but now 'the frigid friend.' Lhwyd claimed that Wynne was his 'fervent adversary,' 'for reasons I thank God utterly unknown to me,' but it may be significant that Wynne's complaint was that Parry's 'belonging to the Museum was a hindrance to his performing his Exercise &c.'<sup>98</sup> and that this may have had a grain of truth. But he also seems to have spent some time in London in 1703-04 transcribing manuscripts under the guidance of John Anstis and apparently being instructed in writing and arithmetic in preparation for seeking a post as clerk. His position at the Museum may have been formalised around this time with his appointment as Under-Keeper. He must have matured during the years he spent at Lhwyd's side and it is a measure of Lhwyd's high regard for his abilities that he entrusted him, at the age of about 20, with the responsibility of writing a central section of *Glossography*, the *British Etymologicon*. Lhwyd, as was appropriate, wrote the Preface addressed to Bishop Humphrey Humphreys and had no doubt guided Parry in his work, but nevertheless he attributed the 'essay' without reservation to Parry, describing him in the general Preface as one who 'having every where travell'd with me, had acquire'd a more than Ordinary Knowledge in the Dialects of his Native Language; and seem'd otherwise well qualified for such

<sup>95</sup> Ashmolean Museum MS 5/1. There are other sconces in Ashmole 1814, f. 307.

<sup>96</sup> For Gilia cholum MacMullen see Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 102-3; J. L. Campbell and D. Thomson, *Edward Lhwyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699-1700* (Oxford, 1963), xviii; *Analecta Scotica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1837), 359-60. Lhwyd's 'man' accompanied the Swedish mineralogist John Angerstein on his visit to Wales, the West Country and Cornwall in September 1702-February 1703 (G 450-470). A letter in MacMullen's hand in BL Add. MS 15072, f. 11, addressed to 'Rev<sup>d</sup> S<sup>r</sup>,' clearly one of Lhwyd's companions on the tour, and dated 23 December [1702], refers to this visit as does another letter, also in his hand, f. 13, addressed to 'M<sup>r</sup> Matthews Oxford.' This, however, refers to 'My Master and M<sup>r</sup> Parry,' 'My Master tells me ...' If these are draft letters written by MacMullen under his own name, it may well be that the Scot spent part of the tour with Lhwyd before going to Oxford and was entrusted with duties other than transcribing and general service. Perhaps the bright lights of Oxford ultimately proved too great a temptation for Gilia.

<sup>97</sup> For the family connections see the 'Note on the Parry Family', below.

<sup>98</sup> G 503.

an Undertaking.<sup>99</sup> Parry became a competent scribe and palaeographer; some of his notes reveal his interest in language; he had 'some knowledge of Natural history and coins'; and he was praised for speaking Latin with foreign visitors at the Museum. When Lhwyd died unexpectedly 29/30 June 1709 there seems to have been a general expectation and acceptance that David Parry, as the best qualified to continue Lhwyd's work, would be his successor as Keeper – perhaps Lhwyd had intimated as much. Thomas Hearne had some doubts: 'He seems to me to be best qualify'd; if he would but be industrious, and apply himself to Business,'<sup>100</sup> but after a comparatively short period he was appointed to the position on 19 July 1709.

Parry had been Lhwyd's constant companion for twelve years since 1697; to him he owed his education, his nurturing and his career. It was inevitable that he should feel the loss of his mentor and friend more deeply than the others. Perhaps the bond had been too close, the dependence too heavy, and this may explain his swift decline into lethargy and drunkenness. He gave little effort to the task of directing the Museum or continuing Lhwyd's work (although he appears to have attempted briefly to arrange and number letters in the correspondence) and the signs of his deterioration appeared early. Hugh Thomas (1673-1720), the herald and genealogist who was one of Lhwyd's correspondents, wrote to a friend, within a few months, it seems:

He [Lhwyd] is succeeded in his office by one Mr David Parry, whom he brought up to his business and who is certainly capable of publishing his labours, if he could spare time from his pots and companions; but out of the tipling house he cannot spare one minute even to common civility, or to any learned man, or friend of Mr Lhuyd's, so that one paper of his cannot be seen.<sup>101</sup>

Similar comments were made by a visitor to the Museum in 1710:

...the *Custos* himself, Mr Parry, cannot show strangers over the museum for guzzling and toping... But the present *Proto-Custos*, as he is called, Master Parry is too idle to continue [the catalogue of stones], although he is little inferior to his predecessor Lloyd in

<sup>99</sup> Writing to Bishop Humphreys, 13 October 1706, Lhwyd enclosed some pages of the *Etymologicon* and a draft of his Preface, adding, 'My Fellow Traveller M<sup>r</sup> Parry, having been at the Pains of collecting these words, I would not (tho I had collected much the same before my self) deprive him of the Credit of Having some Hand in this Volume,' *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 17 (1957), 113-4.

<sup>100</sup> Thomas Hearne writing to Thomas Smith, principal of Hart Hall, 16 July 1709; see C. E. Doble et al., *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 11 vols (Oxford Historical Society, 1885-1921), II, 223-4.

<sup>101</sup> *Cambro-Briton* II (1821), 369.

natural history or in the knowledge of Cambrian, Anglo-Saxon and other languages. But he is always lounging about in the inns, so that one scarcely ever meets him in the museum, as I have already said; if it were not for this he could yet do well as he is still a young man a little over thirty.<sup>102</sup>

The sorry scene was summed up by Thomas Hearne when David Parry died on 10 December 1714:

Yesterday died M<sup>r</sup> David Parry, A.M. & Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum. He was a man of good Natural Parts & of a strong Constitution & having travelled with M<sup>r</sup> Lhwyd & being well versed in the Welsh & Irish Language he was able to have carried on M<sup>r</sup> Lhwyd's great Designs; but being a perfect Sot he shortened his Days, being just turned of thirty.<sup>103</sup>

Lhwyd's death, untimely though it was, need not have marked the end of the *Archaeologia Britannica* project, as Thomas Hearne noted. Lhwyd had from its inception attempted to make provision for the continuance of his scheme, especially perhaps the *Dictionary* and *Archaeologia*, even if 'it please God I should dye before I finish them,'<sup>104</sup> by selecting successive groups of assistants and pupils. It is striking that Lhwyd was able to maintain a team of intelligent and committed assistants without a break from 1695 until his death. David Parry had all of Lhwyd's papers, notebooks and correspondence at hand, and as the constant fellow traveller on the tour and closest colleague afterwards he was the person most familiar with their contents. He understood the project, he knew of the work of Hugh Griffiths on the Historical Dictionary and he had proved his own skills as scribe, linguist and antiquary. Lhwyd's friends and correspondents, in the period immediately after his death, might have been expected to support him. Two of Parry's friends from south Cardiganshire had joined the team during these last few years<sup>105</sup> and they brought a new dimension

<sup>102</sup> W. H. Quarrell and W. J. C. Quarrell, *Oxford in 1710 from the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (Oxford, 1928), 30, 31. The *Sub-Custos*, a Scholar of a College, was described as a 'ridiculous fellow.' Uffenbach was probably reflecting current views in Oxford of Parry's potential.

<sup>103</sup> Doble, *Remarks and Collections*, V, 4-5. For Parry's Keepership see Ovenell, *Ashmolean Museum*, 108-12.

<sup>104</sup> G 314.

<sup>105</sup> For Lhwyd's cultural associations with the area see G. H. Hughes, *Iaco ab Dewi, 1648-1722* (Caerdydd, 1953). Lhwyd was actively searching for a new *amanuensis* in August 1707. He began to employ someone from Cardiganshire, who 'seems yet an industrious and sober youth, and there's some hopes he may doe very well,' he said to his friend John Lloyd, usher at Rhuthun school, adding 'I don't question but one of your choosing would have proved fitter for my Turn, and a better scholar' (G 532).



to the work. Moses Williams (1685-1742) had been brought up in a scholarly literary environment.<sup>106</sup> His father, Samuel Williams, rector of Llandyfrïog, was an active copyist and translator, well known as a major figure in the literary and scholarly revival in the Teifi valley in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>107</sup> Born 2 March 1685, Moses Williams went up to University College Oxford where he matriculated 31 March 1705. Following Lhwyd's now established pattern, he seems to have been appointed Sub-Librarian of the Ashmolean Museum almost immediately – Lhwyd referred to him as the Librarian in August 1706<sup>108</sup> – and he was given the not unimportant task of translating and adapting Julian Maunoir's Breton tutor for inclusion in *Glossography*.

Prior to this, Lhwyd, again following his usual practice, had supported Moses Williams in attempts in 1705 to be appointed Bible-clerk. In his letter to Arthur Charlet, Master of University College, Lhwyd describes Williams as having 'the character of a very Industrious man and of one who seems likely to make Good use of the encouragement he recievs.' Dr George Hickes had hoped that some young students might be attracted to study 'the Antiquated European Languages,' and Lhwyd gives his opinion that 'The Bearer seems not to want Capacity or Inclination for such a Study; & promises, how unprofitable soe ever it may prove, to attempt the acquiring one or other of them, in case he shall be enabld to continue in the University.'<sup>109</sup> Lhwyd also supported Williams' appointment as Welsh editor for the translation of 'Dr Wells's letter.'<sup>110</sup> He graduated in 1708 and seems to have left the Museum shortly afterwards. In a letter to Lhwyd dated 28 January 1709, Alban Thomas said that he would be glad to hear from 'Moesen after y<sup>e</sup> finishing his Catalogue,'<sup>111</sup> probably referring to his possible role as a copyist of the continuation of the 1697 catalogue of the Bodleian Library made by Humphrey Wanley. He took deacon's orders 2 March 1709 and became curate at Chiddingstone.

Alban Thomas of Blaen-porth (1686-1771) was a close friend of David Parry (to whom he was related) and of Moses Williams (whom he served as match-maker) and the son of a well-known local poet and translator, Rev. Alban Thomas, curate of Blaen-porth and Tre-main (died about 1740), another leading

<sup>106</sup> For Moses Williams see J. Davies, *Bywyd a Gwaith Moses Williams, 1685-1742* (Caerdydd, 1937); G. H. Jenkins, *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978), passim.

<sup>107</sup> G. H. Jenkins, 'Bywiogrwydd crefyddol a llenyddol dyffryn Teifi, 1689-1740', *Cadw Tŷ mewn Cwmwl Tystion: Ysgrifau Hanesyddol ar Grefydd a Diwylliant* (Llandysul, 1990), 103-52.

<sup>108</sup> G 509.

<sup>109</sup> 28 September 1705, Oxford, Bodley MS Ballard 14, f. 78. George Hickes was the author of *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, 1705.

<sup>110</sup> G 507, 537. If the latter reference is to Edward Wells, *Letter to a friend concerning the Great Sin of taking God's name in vain*, it is worth noting that the Welsh translation, *Llythyr y Dr Well's at gyfaill. Ynghylch y pechod mawr o gymmeryd enw Duw yn ofer*, did not appear until 1714. It is interesting to see Williams, 'much more conversant than I in printed Welsh,' arguing with Lhwyd here about the status of some of his corrections.

<sup>111</sup> Ashmole 1817b, f. 23.

figure in literary circles in the Teifi valley. Alban (junior), then aged about 17 or 18, was involved in the attempts in 1703-04 to obtain a certified genealogy in support of Parry's claim for Dr Griffith Lloyd's Cardiganshire scholarship, and by 1703 he had already become one of Lhwyd's assistants in London, where he was distributing copies of Lhwyd's second set of proposals to fund the publication of *Archaeologia Britannica* and also transcribing manuscripts (probably following the departure of Hugh Griffiths). Lhwyd refers to him as his 'scribe' and his 'amanuensis' in London in 1707 (he also sought a place for him as corrector for the press of the Welsh Book of Common Prayer) and he was still busy copying Welsh literary manuscripts there in 1709, including copies of the works of the Welsh poets of the princes.<sup>112</sup> He signs his paper in *The Philosophical Transactions* in 1708 as 'Librarian Ashmolean Museum', suggesting that he had been appointed following Lhwyd's established pattern of employing assistants. Described by Sir Hans Sloan as 'a man of knowledge, wit and piety,' in 1713 he became assistant secretary of the Royal Society, a post for which the qualifications had been described as mastery of the English, French and Latin tongues and to be 'completely seen' in mathematics and experimental philosophy. He graduated MD from Aberdeen University in 1719 and practised for a few years in London but left suddenly in 1722. He subsequently practised in his home area.<sup>113</sup>

It is to Moses Williams' credit that, with the willing and practical support of Alban Thomas and Rev. John Morgan, Matchin, Essex,<sup>114</sup> he attempted to continue one aspect of Lhwyd's work – the listing of literary resources and the publication of manuscript materials. Though he received the encouragement of some of Lhwyd's former colleagues, he did not have an influential patron and he himself never enjoyed the social status that might have brought success and support. The real tragedy of the failure to continue Lhwyd's work lay with his last assistant, ironically the one who spent most time in his company as the research began to bear fruit. Only he could have retained the Oxford focus that had been so central to Lhwyd's networking. Lhwyd had been unrealistically modest when he had said more than once that particular assistants could carry on his work at least as well as he could – his intellect and range of experience were unmatched – but given the body of potential knowledgeable correspondents and informants who had been inspired by Lhwyd and the personal skills and the resources available to David Parry, as well as his own considerable abilities, the completion of the project, albeit without Lhwyd's innovative thinking, should have been a real possibility. What was lacking was

<sup>112</sup> For these references see G 536, 539. Alban Thomas's letters are in Ashmole 1817b, ff 19-28, Ashmole 1829, f. 21.

<sup>113</sup> See A. Evans, 'Dr Alban Thomas', in F. Green (ed.), *West Wales Historical Records* VII, 1917-18 (1918), 215-20; *DWB* John Davies, 102; Jenkins, *Cadw Tŷ mewn Cwmwl Tystion*, 111. Davies, *Adfeilion Babel*, chapter 4, discusses the work of Lhwyd's colleagues.

<sup>114</sup> See Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhwyd, Archaeologia Britannica, Texts and Translations*, 263-5; A. D. Carr, 'John Morgan, Matching, 1688-1733', *Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society* 5 (1965-8), 127-32; *DWB* John Davies, 68-101, Davies, *Adfeilion Babel*, 98-101.

the dynamic. In fact, however, the impetus had been lost long before the death of the new Keeper and he had dissipated any goodwill remaining for Lhwyd's work; even worse, real understanding of his achievements, most particularly in linguistics, would be lost for generations. The first, London-based Cymmrodorion Society reiterated his ideals in its 'General Heads of Subjects to be occasionally considered and treated of ...' in its 1755 Constitution,<sup>115</sup> but the members lacked his scholarly discipline and his intellectual commitment. Some of Lhwyd's friends who had been inspired by him would carry out important and valuable work on their own initiative, Henry Rowland, William Gambold, Erasmus Saunders, Erasmus Lewes, Humphrey Foulkes among them, but they lacked a sense of common purpose, working as individuals without a shared focus and with little or no connection between themselves. Of Lhwyd's erstwhile assistants, few were living in Wales at the end of his life, even though they retained many of their Welsh connections both at home and in London. But Lhwyd's genius for recognising talent and for inspiring and training these young men as his assistants and others as correspondents had enriched their lives and ensured that there existed in Wales a potential audience for the new cultural societies of the eighteenth centuries. All had not been in vain.

#### NOTE ON THE PARRY FAMILY

David Parry, Lhwyd's assistant, was the son of William Parry of Cardigan. William's 'cousin' John Parry (who sometimes referred to himself as Lhwyd's 'uncle') corresponded with Lhwyd on behalf of William in making arrangements for David's tutelage and later he was active in seeking a certified copy of David's pedigree when he was applying for the Cardiganshire Scholarship at Jesus College. His descent from the donor of the scholarship benefaction, Dr Griffith Lloyd, principal of the college 1572-86 and Regius Professor of Civil Law from 1577 until his death 26 November 1586, was claimed to be in his favour (G 503).

John and William Parry were members of a 'clan' whose intermarriages and other marital connections had created significant and influential estates in south Cardiganshire from the late sixteenth century. The Parrys traced their descent from Thomas Parry (son of Harri ap Philip of Llancych) who married, first, Dyddgu, co-heir and daughter of Rees David Lloyd of Noyadd Trefawr, in the parish of Trefdroyr (Trefdreyr, Troed-yr-aur); the marriage of his son David Thomas Parry to Maud, daughter and heir of Llywelyn ap Dafydd brought in Blaen-pant. John Parry and Edward Lhwyd were both descendants

<sup>115</sup> See R. T. Jenkins and H. M. Ramage, *A History of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, *Y Cymmrodor* L (1951), 141-44.

of this branch of the family; Lhwyd's mother, Bridget Pryse, and John Parry were cousins, their respective parents being brother and sister (of Glanfred). Thomas Parry's second wife Margaret was of Tywyn and St Dogmael's: their son, Stephen, married (1) Joan, daughter of Morgan Lloyd, Llanllyr, and (2) Anne, daughter and heir of Philip Gwyn, Cwmtedu. William and David Parry traced their descent through this branch (which never achieved the social distinction and influence of the Parrys of Noyadd) to Alsum (who married David Parry of Llwyndafydd and Cwmtedu), the daughter of Lewis Llywelyn Lloyd of Llanllyr, Dr Griffith Lloyd's uncle.

John Parry, MA, was the rector of Trefdroyr from 1680 (and archdeacon of Cardigan from 1721) until his death in 1727. His correspondence with Lhwyd during 1696-1703 show him to have been not only a serious historian interested in the history of St Dogmael's abbey and in local antiquities but also a progressive agriculturalist concerned about the quality of the clover seed he purchased and the nature of the soil needed for its cultivation. For this aspect of his life see Frank Emery, in Joan Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, V, (1640-1750)* (Cambridge, 1984), 417. He helped Lhwyd with the distribution of the 'Parochial Queries' and undertook to write an account of the parish of Trefdroyr for him (though it is not clear whether the brief account in *Parochialia* III, 89-90, owed anything to him); he collected subscriptions for the *Archaeologia* and he was of assistance to William Jones and Robert Wynne on their travels. Later he sought Lhwyd's help in the education of two of his sons, David (in Dublin) and Stephen (possibly also in Dublin), MP for the county 1715-24 and a patron of local literary works.

John Parry was of Panteinon and Pantyrodyn (noted in *Parochialia* as the only gentry seat remaining in the parish). He is the John Parry MA of Pant yr odyn in the 'Names of subscribers' in the *Archaeologia*, together with his brother, 'David Parry of Noyadh Esq.', and he himself would acquire Noyadd after 1712. David Parry of Noyadd may have taken another of William Parry's sons, William, as a servant at some stage. William (junior) wrote from Noyadd to 'Dear Brother' David Parry in Oxford in 1702 regarding his pedigree which 'my M<sup>r</sup>' was arranging to have attested by local heralds. There appears to have been another brother, Thomas, whom Lhwyd may have seen as a possible *amanuensis* in 1702 (John remarks, 2 January 1701/2, Ashmole 1817a, f. 95: 'y<sup>e</sup> boy is very handy & neat & can safely be brought with little pains to doe what you designe him for') but in London by 1703-04 he proved to be rather troublesome; he was then offered, or so he claimed, a position with John Anstis.

For David Parry's pedigree see Ashmole 1817a, f. 66, NLW MS Llanstephan 130, f. 86. For the extended Parry pedigree and family history see Samuel Rush Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (Brecon, 1907), 186, 355-6; Daniel Huws, introduction to the NLW Schedule of Noyadd Trefawr Deeds and Documents, 1962. Mr Henry Phythian-Adams kindly gave me a copy of the pedigree which he had drawn up (which also shows the relationship of Alban Thomas to the Parrys); and see Francis Green, *Menevia*

*Sacra*, ed. Edward Yardley (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1927), 163, 228-9.

John Parry's letters are in Ashmole 1817a, ff. 72-98; those of William Parry to brother David in Ashmole 1817a, ff. 108, 110; those of Thomas Parry in Ashmole 1817a, f. 102-106.