

## NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF BANGOR IS Y COED.<sup>1</sup>

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It may conduce to the better understanding of certain points dealt with in the following paper if, at the outset, it is stated that the modern parish of Bangor Is y Coed (otherwise called "Bangor Monachorum") contains five townships. Of these, Bangor is situated on the right bank of the Dee, and lies in the commote of Maelor Saesneg, or hundred of Maelor, within the county of Flint. The other five townships are Ryton, Eyton, Sesswick, and Pickhill, which are all on the left bank of the river, in the commote of Maelor Gymraeg, or hundred of Bromfield, and in the county of Denbigh. The portions of the present townships of Pickhill and Sesswick adjoining the parish of Marchwiell made up formerly a distinct township, that of Bedwell.

To the settlement of the question whether Bangor is to be identified with the *Bovium* of Antonine's *Second Iter*, I have no new contribution to make. Upon this point, therefore, I shall only say that there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the Roman station occupied the particular site, nearly opposite Bangor Rectory, which a recent writer has marked out for it. The writer just mentioned has planted the camp in a field called *Gro Iolyn* ('Iolyn's Strand' or 'Iolyn's Pebble Beach'), in the township of Sesswick, on the left bank of the Dee, a little below Bangor Bridge.

<sup>1</sup> Read before the Society, February 6th, 1889.

This field is liable to periodical floods, and is now as flat as a table. And though it is said that "all kinds of mounds and hillocks" were cleared away about thirty years ago from this very place, it is not pretended that anything was removed at all resembling the regular walls and ramparts of a Roman camp. The main reason alleged for locating the camp in this field is that along one side of it runs a narrow ditch called "The Foss," a name, it is remarked, "so decidedly Roman." But *ffôs* is the ordinary Welsh word for a 'ditch,' so that if this name is the note of a Roman camp, we must look for such a camp along every ditch in Wales. If there ever was a Roman camp in Bangor, and the river held in Roman times its present course, a much more likely place to look for it would be on the opposite bank of the river, within a tract of land which includes the site of the existing church and churchyard, and which includes also "The Stanyards," a field in which, according to Pennant, squared stones have in fact been dug up. But nothing can now be pointed out which would warrant us in saying that on this or any other site in Bangor a Roman camp actually stood. I cannot even learn that a single Roman tile—that characteristic and imperishable mark of the Roman builder—has ever been found within the parish.

Nor is it possible to agree with the conclusions attempted to be drawn from the name "Buck Morgan." This is the name given (probably incorrectly) in the tithe-apportionment survey to a field near the Villa Farm, Bangor. The first part of this name is assumed to be the form into which "Bovium" has been degraded in the course of time, while in the latter part of it we have reference, it is said, to the Pelagius of the Pelagian heresy, under his supposed Welsh name of Morgan. But it is impossible to believe that "Bovium" could, in any number of Welsh-speaking or

English-speaking mouths, ever become "Buck;" and as to *Morgan*, *Morcant*, which is the older form of this name, does not mean 'sea-born,' and is not the counterpart of Pelagius. Moreover, Pelagius left Britain long before the founding of Bangor monastery. "Buck-kil," a name by Willington Cross, has also been brought forward as containing a reference to *Buck*, the supposed later form of Bovium. "Buck-kil" is evidently interpreted as meaning 'Cell of Bovium,' an explanation manifestly incorrect, the name probably meaning nothing more than 'Hill of the Buck,' and its proper form being Buckhill. It is, however, intimated that Bangor was in the thirteenth century still called by the Roman name Bovium, and that when in 1278 Margaret, widow of Prince Madoc Fychan ap Gruffydd, claimed *Bonwm*, among other places, as belonging to her, it was Bangor that she meant. But it is safer to believe that she meant what she said, and that it was *Bonwm*, a township in the parish of Corwen, which she claimed, and which had been part of the possessions of her husband's family. There are thus no reminiscences in local nomenclature of the Roman station, and we shall have for the present to be satisfied with the two facts that there runs through Bangor an indubitably ancient road, leading on the one hand to Deva, and on the other towards Uriconium, and that, taking the *Second Iter* for our guide as to the distances, Bangor is *approximately* the same number of miles from both these places as Bovium was.

Something must now be said as to a later phase of Bangor history. People talk of the Abbey of Bangor, but there never was, strictly speaking, any abbey in that place at all. There was a monastic settlement or monastery there, and a very important one, but the brethren lived, it is pretty certain, not in a single building or group of buildings, but apart from one another in wattled huts, or dwellings of rude

stone, which were scattered over the flat river-valley that had been chosen for their retreat. It is probable that in the whole valley there was not a single building of wrought stone, and that the very church was built of wattle and dab. The cross and the few figured stones dug up at Bangor are of mediæval date, nor has the soil there, *so far as can be ascertained*, yielded anything to the digger that could be referred to an earlier time.

I do not think it is generally recognized for how short a time the monastic settlement at Bangor lasted. It is said to have been founded by Dunawd Ffûr (now called Dinoth), son of Pabo Post Prydain, who was also its first abbot. But he had spent most of his days in fighting, and was called one of the *tri phost cād*, or 'three pillars of battle,' so that it was only towards the close of his life that the community at Bangor could have come into existence under his direction. Now, although Dunawd was dead in the year 607, he was living but a few years before, for he took part in the conference of the British ecclesiastics with St. Augustine of Canterbury, who did not come into this island until the year 597. We conclude from all this that Bangor monastery was not founded until the last half, or even perhaps the last quarter, of the sixth century.<sup>2</sup> But it was destroyed in the year 607, or at latest in the year 613. If the monastery had lasted even a couple of centuries, crosses and lettered stones would have accumulated, and the chances would have been greater of some of them being preserved for our eyes to look upon.

<sup>2</sup> We come to pretty much the same conclusion if we accept the statement that it was Cyngen Glodrydd, King of Powys, who in the first instance endowed the monastery with lands. For Cyngen appears to have reigned in the middle of the sixth century. He sheltered Pabo, Dunawd's father, and gave lands to him, when he was driven by the English from his dominions in North Britain.

But since it was of so brief continuance, its memorials were but few, and these, it is to be feared, have long ago perished.

It is quite clear that the stories as to the extent and magnificence of the monastic buildings are gross inventions. William of Malmesbury does indeed speak of "the half-destroyed walls of churches," and of "the masses of ruins" at Bangor, but he spoke from hearsay only, and later observers could not find such ruins as he described. Leland, who visited the place between 1536 and 1542, says only "that the compace of it was as of a waulled towne," and that "Foundations of Squaryd Stonys" were ploughed up within it as well as "Romayne money;" but he did not see the encompassing walls, and the squared stones may have been of any date. Mr. Robert Vaughan, of Hengwrt, who was born in 1592, says that there were in his time "no footsteps of the old city except the rubbish [whatever that may mean] of the two principal gates, Porth Kleis and Porth Hwgan."

The walls of Bangor were the high banks from which the river had receded, the Dee having at this point, at a remote date, gradually changed and rechanged its course, and so formed at last a long broad flat river-valley, narrowing at its two ends, hemmed in by high banks, surrounded by woods, an abode of ancient peace. Here were the monks planted. Along the top of the banks may have been set a wattled fence, giving the brethren additional security, and shutting them in the more from the outer world, but there is no reason to suppose that the banks were topped by a high wall.

The name "Bangor" is generally explained as meaning 'High Choir,' and that this *may be* the true explanation of it is not to be denied, but this very word *bangor* is used again and again in the Welsh Laws for 'wattling.' Thus, to give but one example, in the second chapter of the

thirteenth book of *Cyfreithiau Amryfal* we read<sup>3</sup> that there are three things necessary for a summer-shieling (*bud hafodwr*)—a roof-tree, forked uprights and wattling (*bangor*), and it is free to the *hafodwr* to cut these in any wild wood he pleases. A wattled fence was also called *bangor*, and then apparently the space which it enclosed. Thus the name “Bangor” may have had originally no ecclesiastical significance at all, though the fame of the monastery (whichever monastery it was) first so called subsequently gave it such a significance.

The gates into the monastic enclosure corresponded doubtless with the points at which the ancient trackways entered it. Two of these entrances were subsequently called “Porth Hwgan” and “Porth Clais.” “Porth Hwgan” is the name still given to the point at which the road from Wrexham to Bangor Bridge cuts its way through the ancient river-bank to the lower level of the river-side meadows. *Porth Hwgan* means ‘Hwgan’s Gate,’ Hwgan (or Wgan) being a personal name also perhaps met with in the older name of Bettws yn Rhôs (near Abergele), which was called “Bettws Wyrion Wgan” (*Bettws of the grandsons of Wgan*) to distinguish it from another Bettws called “Bettws Wyrion Iddon” (*Bettws of the grandsons of Iddon*). The compiler of the six-inch ordnance map has altered “Porth Hwgan” to “Porth y gân” or ‘Gate of the Song,’ and we think at once of the *dyfal gyffangan* or ‘un-ceasing choral song’ of the three Bangors mentioned in one of the Triads. But the alteration has been made without any authority. I have met with the name again and again in deeds and transcripts of various date, reaching to something like three centuries back, and have never found it otherwise spelled than “Porthhwgan,” “Porthwgan,” or

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (8vo edition) II., 562-3 (No. 237).

“Porthugan,” and it is by one or other of these names that it is still known to the people of the neighbourhood.

As to the second gate mentioned, “Porth Clais,” “Porth Cleis,” or “Porth Clays” (for in these several forms is its name spelled), Robert Vaughan and Leland agree that the river ran between the two gates. Leland says that “Porth Clays” was to the south, “Porth Hwgan” being to the north, and Vaughan says that it looked towards England, while Porth Hwgan looked towards Wales. It is clear then that it was in the southern part of the township of Bangor. Now the southern part of that township, like the adjoining portion of the parish of Overton, is still known as “Cloy” or “Clay,”<sup>4</sup> so that it looks as though “Porth Clays,” meaning ‘The Clays Gate,’ were the proper form of the name, and that the gate was situate somewhere in the district over which the various farms called “Cloy” or “Clay” are scattered. There does not appear to be any authority for “Porth Clas” as the true form of the name, nor can it be admitted that “Porth Clas” is equivalent to “Porta Ecclesiastica.” “Clâs,” in its ecclesiastical sense, meant at first *the religious community belonging to a mother-church or church-collegiate*, as is abundantly clear from a study of the several passages in the Welsh laws in which this word occurs.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Egerton Phillimore suggests the

<sup>4</sup> Now more commonly called “Cloy,” but always, or nearly always, called “Clay” in the older parish-registers of Bangor.

<sup>5</sup> See for example, Cod. Ven., Lib. I., Cap. XLIII., 20. Ib., Lib. II., Cap. II., 2. Ib., Lib. II., Cap. X., 6. Such being the meaning of *clas*, the head of the community might be called *Penclas*, and that the provost of the college of priests at Caergybi was actually called by this name, we know. *Clasdir* was not, I imagine, at first glebe-land in general, but only the land belonging to churches served by such religious communities as I have above hinted at, and as I have described very fully in the essay on “The Portionary Churches of Mediaeval North Wales,” suffixed to my *History of the Parish Church of Wrexham*.

orm "Porth Clais" where "Clais" would perhaps mean 'trench' or 'rivulet.'

With the exception, however, of *Cae Ffynnon Daniel*,<sup>6</sup> which, strange to say, no one has hitherto brought forward, we are able to find in the place-nomenclature of the parish no indubitable reminiscence of the monastery which, while it existed, made Bangor Monachorum so famous. There are, indeed, or were recently there many place-names that possess an ecclesiastical or religious significance,<sup>7</sup> but these probably belong to what I call "the *second* Welsh period in Bangor." It is generally forgotten that from about the year 800, for at least two centuries, the two Maelors<sup>8</sup> and much of the adjoining country were thoroughly settled by Englishmen.

<sup>6</sup> *Cae Ffynnon Daniel*—'Field of Daniel's Well'—is mentioned in Norden's Survey (A.D. 1620) as the name of a field in the manor of Pickhill and Sesswick. The Daniel commemorated in the name is almost certainly Daniel or Deiniol, son of Dunawd, the Abbot.

<sup>7</sup> It may be of interest to put these on record:—

*Croes Wladys*—'The Cross of Gwladys,' was the name of a cross that stood somewhere along the boundary of the Manor of Pickhill and Sesswick.

*Croesau Gwynion*—'White Crosses'—was the name of a spot in Bedwell which I have again and again found mentioned in early documents, though I have never yet been able precisely to localize it.

There are still two fields called *Maes y Groes*—'Field of the Cross,'—one in the township of Sesswick and the other in that of Bangor, and in the last-named township is another field called *Cae Croesau*—'Field of the Crosses.'

"The Saint's Well Meadow" is the name of a field in the township of Ryton, on the right-hand side of the road leading from Bangor Bridge to Ruabon, immediately opposite Ryton Hall; and on the hither side of it is another field, called *Y Berth Lwyd*—'The Hoar (or Holy) Bush.'

*Cae Coed y Person*—'Field of the Parson's Wood'—and *Tir y Deon*—'The Dean's Land,' were names formerly occurring in the Manor of Pickhill and Sesswick.

<sup>8</sup> The parish of Bangor, it will be remembered, lies partly or Maelor Saesneg and partly in Maelor Gymraeg.

This fact fully explains the extirpation at Bangor of nearly all the place-names given in the time of the monks, as well as the complete absence there at the present time of any real tradition of the monastery.

Four names taken from the tithe apportionment schedule of the parish (in the form given to them by a surveyor who did not understand Welsh) have been adduced as possibly containing reminiscences of Bangor Monastery. Let us examine, one by one, these four names: "Bryn Hylan," "Lletion," "Bryn Rogog," and "Erw Glossya." BRYN HYLAN is said to mean "Bank of the Holy Place," a meaning, I respectfully submit, exceedingly unlikely, if not wholly impossible: we have here, it appears to me, merely a corruption of "Bryn Heilyn," *Heilyn's Hill*, Heilyn being a personal name quite common in mediæval Wales, as common as Robert or George is now. LLETION is said to mean *lodgings*, and as a reference is made to Heb. xiii. 2, it is apparently suggested that we have here perhaps a memorial of the guest-house of the monastery, but *lletion* is not the plural of *lletty*, and I have no doubt that the field by Porth Hwgan, so named, is the same as that which the Bangor people, before they ceased to speak Welsh, called "Lletty Owen," that is 'Owen's Lodging,' or even 'Owen's *Tavern*.' BRYN ROGOG has been supposed to stand for "Bryn yr ogof," which is incorrectly translated "Hill of *the Cell*:" "Bryn Rogog" is evidently the same field the name of which is given in Norden's *Survey of Pickhill and Sesswick* as "Bryn Caregog" or "Stony Hill." As to ERW GLOSSYA in Pickhill, it is certain that this is a corrupt form of the true name: that it stands for "Erw y Clwys," *Acre of the Cloister*, is a mere guess. Norden, in 1620, gives the name of every field in Pickhill and Sesswick, and no such name appears in his list. Is not "Erw Glossya" much more

likely to be a corruption of "Erwau Gleision"—*Green Acres?*

Something must also be said as to "Bryn Bleddyn," *Bleddyn's Hill*, the name of a field in the township of Bangor. It has been stated that "Bleddyn" is the Welsh form of 'Lupus,' and that in "Bryn Bleddyn" we have commemorated the St. Lupus of Troyes who came over with St. Germanus from Gaul. But "Bleddyn" and "Lupus" do not in fact answer one to another,<sup>9</sup> and if they did, "Bleddyn" was aforesaid so common a name in Wales that the probabilities are immensely against the Bleddyn of "Bryn Bleddyn" being the Lupus of the hagiologies. It is clear to me that all these names are of comparatively late date.

Neither Lupus, Germanus, nor Pelagius could ever have been connected with Bangor. Nor is there any evidence for connecting Gildas or Nennius with it. I doubt, moreover, whether St. Cybi was ever a member of this monastery. The more, in fact, one looks into the evidence upon which the connection with our monastery of certain well-known saints rests, the more unsatisfactory does that evidence become. We meet with anachronisms, discrepancies, if not actual forgeries. And it would not be safe specifically to name any saint as belonging to the monastery of Bangor Is y Coed except Dunawd himself, and perhaps his son Deiuioel.

The Venerable Bede was born in the same century in which Bangor was destroyed, and had access to various authentic sources of information. We have no reason therefore to doubt the accuracy of his statements as to the

<sup>9</sup> "Bleiddian" is generally, though, as Mr. Phillimore assures me, incorrectly, understood to have been the Welsh name of Lupus; but "Blaidd" is, of course, the word that, strictly speaking, answers to "Lupus."

number of the monks there, or as to their arrangements in classes. Bede's description implies that no fewer than 2100 monks (seven divisions of 300 each) were necessary to make up the full rota of the establishment. And when we consider the fertility of the valley, stretching, let us say, from Overton Bridge to the mouth of the Clywedog, and take into account the way in which the monks were housed, the fewness of their wants, and the fact that they all laboured with their hands, there seems no reason to doubt the possibility of more than 2000 brethren being maintained there.

I have felt it incumbent on me to dissipate some of the myths that have gathered about the monastery of Bangor, but I am far from wishing to disguise such importance as it really had.

We have now to speak of the event, or events, which led to the obliteration of nearly all the older place-names of the district. In the year 607, Æthelfrith, king of Northumberland, having defeated the Welsh in the Battle of Chester, and massacred a company of monks<sup>1</sup> who were praying for the success of their countrymen, captured the city, and afterwards went on to Bangor and laid waste the monastic settlement there. The Welsh accounts add that when he had finished this bad business, Æthelfrith was attacked at Bangor by a new Welsh army and badly beaten there. This second battle,<sup>2</sup> which was called

<sup>1</sup> The monks slain numbered 1200 according to Bede and the Welsh accounts, but only 200 according to the Saxon Chronicle. They were in charge of a certain Brochfael, who fled. According to the Welsh and Irish accounts, the Battle of Chester was fought in 613.

<sup>2</sup> Selyf Saph Gadau (*Selyf, the Serpent of Battles*), the son of Cynau Garwyn, is said to have been present at the battle of Chester, and to have been slain there. Assuming this statement to be accurate, there is a remark made in one of the Triads which ought to be noted. Selyf is called one of the three "aerfeddigion" of the Isle of Britain, this being explained to mean one of

“Gwaith Perllan Bangor,” *The Action of Bangor Orchard*, is not mentioned in the English accounts, but it probably took place all the same. It is certain, at any rate, that Æthelfrith did not add to his kingdom the country which his victory at Chester laid open to him. And when the inevitable wave of Saxon colonization began to flow, which did not stay until it reached the line along which Offa’s Dyke was subsequently raised, Mercia rather than Northumbria was the centre from which it was propagated. It was, in fact, the “Wreocen-sætas,” as the settlers round the Wrekin were then called, who may be surmised to have seized and colonized the country of the Lower Dee, so that it is possible there is some truth in Mr. Grant Allen’s suggestion that there is in the name of Wrexham some reference to that famous hill.

The parish of Bangor was Anglicized so completely that every township in it except the township of Bangor itself acquired an English name.<sup>3</sup> In other parts of North Wales also, the country east of the Dyke which had hitherto been Welsh, and which afterwards became Welsh again, was now set out into townships bearing for the most part English names, most of which names lived through the

the three, who, from their graves, revenged the wrong done to them. If Selyf fell at the Battle of Chester, he may be surmised to have got his revenge at the Battle of Bangor. As to the latter, another of the Triads mentions the following as the three sustainers (*porthorion*) of “The Action of Bangor Orchard”:—Gwgawn Gleddyfrudd (“Gwgon, the red-sworded”), Madawg ap Rhun, and Gwiawn ap Cyndrwyn. The names of three others are mentioned as being at the same time engaged on the part of Æthelfrith, but they are so puzzling that I feel it impossible satisfactorily to deal with them.

<sup>3</sup> “Sesswick,” indeed, is said to carry in its second syllable the memory of a Roman “vicus,” but “wick” is one of the commonest terminations of Teutonic place-names, and “Sesswick” has on the whole a thoroughly English sound.

subsequent Welsh reconquest of the country, and still remain. The persistence of these names shows that the English occupation of the district was fairly complete and long continued.

As a result of the Danish invasion, the English power became much weakened, and the Welsh began to swarm across Offa's Dyke, driving the English inhabitants before them, or settling among them, and assimilating them. This process went on until the Welsh had occupied not merely the whole of the modern county of Denbigh, but had overflowed into the western portions of the modern counties of Chester and Salop. Edward the Confessor granted a portion of Maelor Gymraeg, including the greater part of the parish of Bangor, to Gruffydd ap Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, which we may be sure he could not have done if the district had not become already Welsh, and if he had not experienced some difficulty in retaining it. When, however, the English king felt himself firmly seated on the throne, and Gruffydd had proved troublesome, he took the district in question away from the latter, and gave it to the Bishop of Lichfield, who, we are told, had before enjoyed the same. It was in 1043, probably, that the Bishop first acquired this tract of land, for in that year Leofric, Earl of Mercia, granted Eyton, one of the townships of Bangor parish, to the minster of St. Chad, Lichfield. Why did the earl do this? Perhaps he thought that the possessions of the Church would be respected, and that he would be able to retain more easily the territory which lay behind the barrier formed by them. This policy of planting the Church as a buffer in the Welsh March seems to have been adopted at that time rather largely. In Sutton, a district on the west bank of the Dee, and a little north of Eyton, the chapter of St. Chad had also a hide of land. In the time of Edward the Confessor, the same chapter had another

hide of land, half in "Chespric," which I take to be Sesswick, between Sutton and Eyton, and half in "Radenoure," which I take to be Bangor,<sup>4</sup> the whole of which land by 1087 St. Chad had lost. In "Odeslei," which is probably Hoseley, in the parish of Gresford, another hide of land belonged to the church of St. Werburgh, Chester. A strip of territory in Maelor Gymraeg, containing the forenamed and other lands, was all that at the time of Domesday pertained to the Earl of Chester, all the rest of Maelor Gymraeg being abandoned to the Welsh, and, shortly after, the whole of both Maelors, as well as a great deal of territory to the north of Maelor Gymraeg, passed into the possession of Welsh lords.<sup>5</sup>

It is possible to give the name of the Welsh lord who about this time seized the greater part of the parish of Bangor. This was no other than Elidyr ap Rhÿs Sais. His father, Rhÿs Sais, a descendant of Lluddoccaf, one of the sons of Tudor Trefor, was already in possession of most of the country about Chirk and Whittington, and before the coming of the Normans had got possession of Erbistock also.<sup>6</sup> We may form some idea of the position and

<sup>4</sup> "Radenoure" cannot have been Radnor, for it is described in connection with the manor of Gresford, which appears to have at that time extended a long way up the Dee. St. Chad's possessions in Bettisfield were probably acquired at an earlier period and under different circumstances.

<sup>5</sup> It is very probable that it was at this time that the district of Maelor was distinguished into English and Welsh. That portion of it which had acquired the name of "Bromfield," having become absolutely Welsh, was now provided with all the social and political arrangements of a Welsh commote, and became *Maelor Gymraeg*. But in the rest of the district, which now came to be called *Maelor Saesneg*, many of the English inhabitants remained, and though this portion of Maelor was officially recognized as a commote, the internal arrangements of a Welsh commote were never, I believe, fully carried out in it.

<sup>6</sup> Rhÿs seems to have held Erbistock, and perhaps other of his

extent of the territory seized by Elidyr by noting the possessions of three of his sons. His son Meilir had a great part of Eyton, and was the ancestor of the Eyttons of Lower Eyton, as well as of the Eyttons of Wattstay, Belan, and Pentre Madoc. His son Madoc had a large part of Sutton, and was ancestor of the Suttons of Sutton and Gwersyllt. His son Matthew had lands in Ryton, and also, it is said, in Sesswick, Pickhill, and Bedwell, and was the ancestor of the Deccafs of Ryton and Parcau, and of other local families. It was the lands of St. Chad that Elidyr appears for the most part to have seized. But Elidyr was not the only spoiler. Cynwrig ap Rhiwallon, a descendant of Dingad, another son of Tudor Trefor, held about the time of the Norman Conquest a large portion of the western part of Maelor Gymraeg, and it was probably his son Niniaw or his grandson Ieuaf ap Niniaw who seized other portions of Eyton and Ryton. This at any rate is certain, that from Iorwerth ap Ieuaf ap Niniaw descended the Wynnes of Ryton, and from Einion ap Ieuaf, his brother, descended the Eyttons of Upper Eyton, and the Sontleys of Sontley. Into whose hands the township of Bangor fell, I do not know.

Pickhill, Sesswick, and Bedwell became now bond townships, and were apparently attached to the raglotry of Marford, while Eyton and Ryton became free townships, and were attached to the raglotry of Wrexham.

I have now introduced my readers to what I call "the *second* Welsh period in Bangor." And here an interesting question presents itself. The parish church is dedicated to

English possessions also, of the Earl of Mercia. The appellation, *Sais* ('Englishman'), attached to a Welshman's name, as in the case of Rhÿs Sais, is always explained as indicating a Welshman who could speak English, but it appears rather to have designated a Welshman who owed allegiance for all or part of his lands to an English lord.

St. Dinoth, that is, to Dunawd the Abbot. Worthenbury church also, formerly a chapel to Bangor, is dedicated to St. Deiniol, son of Dunawd. The church of the neighbouring parish of Marchwiell is moreover said to have been formerly under the invocation of this same St. Deiniol. The question now arises, Do these dedications belong to the first or to the second Welsh period? It is impossible to answer this question with confidence. For, in the first place, the Englishmen who first really settled in the Bangor district were perhaps already Christianized, and may therefore not merely have left untouched the churches they found existing, but even have allowed the ancient dedications of those churches to remain. But, on the other hand, it should be said that churches were not always founded by the saints whose name they bear, though it seems to be generally supposed that, as far as Celtic dedications are concerned, this was in fact always the case; and it is quite possible that the churches of St. Dunawd and St. Deiniol were founded in the second Welsh period *in memory of* the saints who were known to have been connected with the locality. One would like to believe that these dedications, at any rate, have come down to us from the time of the monks, but the breach of continuity represented by the first English period prevents absolute certainty as to this point.

In the beginning of the second Welsh period we see already developing those germs out of which the later history of the parish was to spring. But what seems needful to be said as to this later history, it is better to reserve for a subsequent paper. I present, in the form of a distinct paper supplementary to the present one, a formal proof of a statement, incidentally made in the latter, as to the colonization during the troublous times following the Danish and Norman invasions of the western parts of the

counties of Chester and Salop. The descendants of those Welshmen who at this time settled in the counties just named were compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Norman Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury (or of their dependent Barons), and ultimately became completely Anglicized, but how long it was before this Anglicizing of them was effected, few people, I believe, have any idea.

In conclusion, I wish to express my obligation to Mr. Egerton Phillimore for many valuable suggestions made by him during my revision of the foregoing paper.