

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION

Johannes dei gratia Rex Anglie. Uns Hydrne. Dux Normann et Aquitann. Comes Andeg. Archiepis.
 Epis. Abbatis. Comit. Baronib. Justic. Vicecomit. Pneposit. Militib. et omib. Ballis et fidelib. suis. salutem.
 Sciatis nos reddidisse et concessisse et prefati carta nostra confirmasse Philippo filio Wallelion totam terram
 que uocatur Dunswalleland quam Willmus de Braola dedit eidem Wallelion p homagio et seruicio suo
 in feodo et hereditate p seruicium feodi sui militis ad custodiam castri de Bengauen p omi seruicio. tenendam
 eidem Philippo et heredib. suis de nobis et heredib. nostris p idem seruicium ita bene. libere. et integre. sicut
 predict. Wallelio eam melius. liberi et integre tenuit de prefato Willmo de Braola. **Q**uare uolumus
 et firmis precipimus. qd predict. Philip et heredes sui habeant et teneant totam predictam terram cu omi
 bus pertinentiis suis de nob et heredib. nostris p predictam seruicium. bene et in pace. libere et quere. integre.
 plenarie. et honorifice. in bolco et plano. in uis et lenit. in prati et paleis. in aquis et molendinis. in hagnis
 et uicariis. in riuariis et piscariis. et in omib. aliis locis et reb. cum omib. libertatib. et liberis consuetudi
 nib. ad prenotatam terram pertinentib. sicut lupradem est. Test. Willmo Comite Arundell. Roberto
 de Curcha. Hugon de Heul. Thom de santod. Galfr de Luci. Henr filio Comit. Galfrido
 Lurell. Thom filio Ade. Pet de walay. Godetud de Craucumbe. Galfr de Calco. Radwallan filio
 Ioc. Data p manu Robt de veti ponte apd Sem Brauell. Quarto die Decembris. Anno regni nri. xi.

ms 1857

ISSN 1359-9062

© Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and Contributors, 2022

Email: monants@yahoo.com

Website: <http://www.monmouthshireantiquarianassociation.org>

Blog: <https://monmouthshire-antiquarian.blogspot.com/>

Designed and printed by 4word Ltd, Page and Press Production, Bath,
222 Whiteway Road, Bath, BA2 1PS. Tel. 01179 410500

Front cover: 1209 charter of King John, NLW Deed 1962

(By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales)

The National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth purchased the charter at auction in 2021; it dates from the eleventh regnal year of king John (1209-10) and concerns Gwent Uwch Coed and Abergavenny castle. It is written in Latin, on parchment ‘in a fine and professional English Romanesque secretarial hand, with long and tall ascenders that lean to the left’. The decorated capital ‘Q’ on line 7 is prominent. Although its seal is missing it is an attractive, well preserved, early English royal charter. Its significance for Abergavenny and the Welsh marches is explored by David Moore, ‘Abergavenny and *Dunwalleland*: A 1209 Charter of King John’ in this volume.

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

VOL. XXXVII

2022

CONTENTS

		<i>Page</i>
The Elms, Monmouth, a correction to vol XXXVI	Jeremy Knight	3
Abergavenny and <i>Dunwalleland</i> : a 1209 charter of King John	David Moore	5
The Schoolmaster and the Squire: Jauncey v. Perkins in the Court of Star Chamber	Roger Turvey	15
The Tomb of Gwladdus Ddu and William ap Thomas in the Priory Church of St Mary Abergavenny	Maddy Gray	35
The Place-name Llanfoist – Llanffwyst	Richard Coates	51
Thomas Wakeman, JP, FSA (1788–1868)	David H. Williams	55
Gentlemen and Players: John Edward Lee, Charles Roach Smith and Aspects of Mid-Victorian Archaeology	Jeremy Knight	75
A Community-led Excavation at ‘the Outpost’, near Llanmelin Wood Hillfort, Monmouthshire – an Interim Report	Peter Bonvoisin	83
Reviews	Reviewer	
Paul R. Davis, <i>Forgotten Castles of Wales and the Marches</i> Eardisley: Logaston Press, 2021.	Jeremy Knight	93
Paul R. Davis, <i>Towers of Defiance: The Castles and Fortifications of the Princes of Wales</i> . Tal-y-bont: Y Lolfa, 2021.	Ray Howell	93
Philip Hume, <i>The Welsh Marcher Lordships I: Central & North</i> . (Eardsley: Logaston Press, 2021).	Phillipp Schofield	95
Heather James and Toby Driver (eds.), <i>Illustrating the Past in Wales: A Celebration of 175 Years of Archaeologia Cambrensis</i> : Cambrian Archaeological Association, 2021.	Bill Manning	96
David Osmond, <i>The Chartist Rambler: William Edwards of Newport 1796–1849</i> . Cardiff: Six Points Publishing 2021.	Peter Strong	98
Sylvia Mason, <i>Mary Frost: Wife, Mother, Chartist</i> . Mamhilad: Saron Publishing, 2022.		
Richard C. Allen (ed.), <i>The Welsh Society of Philadelphia 1798–1839</i> . Swansea: The South Wales Record Society no. 34, 2021.	Ray Howell	99
Events	Jan Bailey and Christabel Hutchings	101

Notes on Contributors	103
Guidelines for Contributors to <i>The Monmouthshire Antiquary</i>	107
Patron, President, Officers and Committee	108

THE ELMS, MONMOUTH, A CORRECTION TO VOL XXXVI

Correction – Our last issue contained an illustration of The Elms, Monmouth, said to have been the house of the ironmaster David Tanner. (Monmouthshire Antiquary XXXVI (2021), p52. There are in fact two houses called The Elms in Monmouth. David Tanner’s house was not that shown, but was on The Parade, Monmouth and is now a boarding house for Monmouth School for Girls. We are very grateful to Steve Clark for the photograph of the correct building

Jeremy Knight

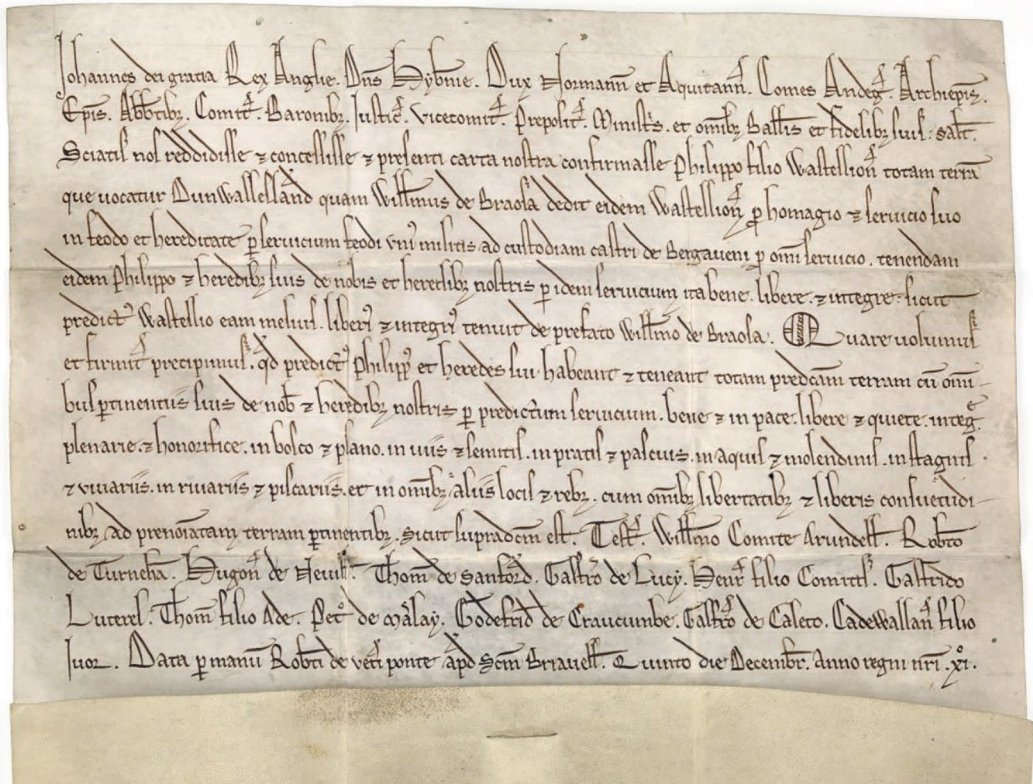


ABERGAVENNY AND *DUNWALLESLAND*: A 1209 CHARTER OF KING JOHN

By David Moore

The National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth has purchased a royal charter concerning Gwent Uwch Coed and Abergavenny castle from the eleventh regnal year of king John (1209–10). It was listed as Lot 39 in the Bloomsbury Auctions sale of the Schøyen Collection of London and Oslo in December 2021, and the sale catalogue gives the following physical description:

... in Latin, manuscript document on parchment ... Single-sheet document, on 15 long lines in a fine and professional English Romanesque secretarial hand, with long and tall ascenders that lean to the left, one penwork decorated capital 'Q' ... remnants of seal-tag (but seal wanting), folds and small stains, two small natural flaws in parchment, else in excellent condition, 210+41 by 230 mm. ... A visually attractive and remarkably early English royal charter ...¹



1209 charter of King John, NLW Deed 1962

(By permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales)

¹ Bloomsbury Auctions sale catalogue: 'The history of Western script: a further selection from the Schøyen Collection' (7 Dec. 2021) Lot 39 (<https://auctions.dreweatts.com/past-auctions/blooms1-10017/lot-details/09b3f6d8-d38a-44d6-b628-add000bd80d2> [viewed 24 Aug. 2022]).

The charter has now been catalogued at the Library as NLW Deed 1962.² At first sight, it represents a simple and unremarkable royal grant of land in the Welsh marches, but it is of considerably wider interest and significance, both historically and in the context of archival collections.

Items like this are highly prized by collectors, antiquarians, archivists and historians because of their scarcity, and very few more significant medieval documents relating to Wales have appeared at auction since this same charter was sold at Sotheby's in 1994. Manuscripts of Welsh interest – in particular those dating from the thirteenth century and earlier – are much rarer than comparable documents from England, and extant original charters issued by kings of England in this period are rare in any case, especially those which include a native Welsh ruler in the witness list. The appearance at auction of a manuscript such as NLW Deed 1962 is therefore a very uncommon occurrence. Furthermore, this charter is unique despite the fact that the copying of Crown records was becoming routine by the early years of the thirteenth century, and it sheds light on several important areas for which the historical record is sparse in this period, including the relationships between the English Crown, the marcher lords and the Welsh of Gwent and other parts of south Wales.

King John was at Gloucester in early December 1209, and from there he travelled to his castle at St Briavels in the Forest of Dean near the Welsh border.³ It was there on Friday 5 December 1209 that the charter was issued in the king's name confirming the grant of a nearby estate called *Dunwalleland* with all its woods, fields, paths, waters, mills, fishponds and so on to Philip, son of Wastellion, to be held of the king and his heirs on the same terms as Philip's father, Wastellion, had held it of the marcher lord William de Braose (or Briouze), including the service of one knight at Abergavenny castle (*'servicium feodi uni[us] militis ad custodiam castris de Bergauei'*). The charter was authorised on the king's behalf by Robert de Vieuxpont, one of John's closest and most loyal adherents and a man with a similar ruthless streak.⁴ The agreement was attested by twelve witnesses including several of John's other favourites, great barons and loyal administrators, notably William

² The Library's catalogue for NLW Deed 1962 is available on the NLW website: <https://archives.library.wales/index.php/abergavenny-charter-of-king-john>.

³ 'Itinerary of king John' in Hardy, T.D. (ed.) *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati* i I (London 1835) [Image #73 online, viewed 24 Aug. 2022 (<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510023291411&view=1up&seq=72&skin=2021>)].

⁴ John had rewarded Robert handsomely for his services in Normandy, giving him extensive lands in Westmorland and custody of the sees of York and Durham, as well as making him a royal justice and sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. In 1211 Robert would become John's lieutenant in Powys, and in 1212 he would hang the six-year-old Welsh hostage Rhys ap Maelgwn at Shrewsbury while John had other Welsh hostages executed at Nottingham. (Jones, T. [ed.] *Brut y Tywysogyon, 'Red Book of Hergest' version* [Cardiff 1955] s.a. 1211; *idem* [ed. and trans.] *Brut y Tywysogyon*, Peniarth MS 20 version [Cardiff 1952] s.a. 1211; Lloyd, J.E., *A history of Wales from the earliest times to the Edwardian conquest* [3rd edition, London 1939] ii 639) For a biography of Robert de Vieuxpont, see Summerson, H. Vieuxpont [Veteri Ponte, Vipont], Robert de (d. 1228), administrator and magnate. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Aug. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28276>.

d'Aubigny (the earl of Arundel), Robert de Thornham and Hugh de Neville,⁵ and the deed was recorded on a single sheet of vellum by a professional Chancery clerk⁶ with the king's great seal appended at the bottom; the seal has since been lost. John – using his full title 'by grace of god King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Count of Anjou' – was making a very clear and powerful statement, not only to the recipient of the charter but also to William de Braose and the Welsh population of Gwent.

The anglicised name *Dunwalleland* may be unfamiliar to us now, but it would have been meaningful to the people of Gwent in 1209. It appears to refer to the land of Dyfnwal ap Caradog, the native Welsh ruler of Gwent Uwch Coed in the middle of the twelfth century. In April 1175 his son, Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, set in train a momentous series of events by killing Henry fitz Miles, one of the sons of Miles of Gloucester, sometime earl of Hereford, whose family held the lordships of Brecon and Upper Gwent, including Abergavenny. Henry's brother, Mahel, had been killed in an accident at Bronllys castle in 1165, so the family's Welsh lands passed to their sister Bertha, the wife of William de Braose; William already held Radnor and Builth and had presented accounts as sheriff of Herefordshire between 1173 and 1175. Now established at Abergavenny, De Braose's son, also called William – the William de Braose of the 1209 charter – soon took a treacherous and brutal revenge for Henry's death.⁷ At Christmas 1175 he invited Seisyll and his eldest son Geoffrey to a feast at Abergavenny castle, where they and their followers were massacred. Although Gerald of Wales was keen to share the blame for this between William's uncle, Philip de Braose, and Ranulf de Poer, the sheriff of Herefordshire, and ultimately king Henry II, Welsh chroniclers explicitly blamed the 'lord of Brycheiniog', and it is clear that William himself played a central part in the slaughter at the castle and the events that followed. Not content with the deaths at the feast, 'the French' hunted down the rest of Seisyll's family, capturing his wife Gwladus before killing his seven-year-old younger son Cadwaladr and destroying his *llys*. This was almost certainly when William de

⁵ Neville was the king's chief forester under both Richard I and John. For biographies of these men, see: Turner, R. Aubigny, William d' [William de Albini], third earl of Arundel (c. 1174–1221), magnate. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Aug. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-283>; Summerson, H. Thornham [Turnham], Robert of (d. 1211), soldier and administrator. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Aug. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27884>; and Crook, D. Neville, Hugh de (d. 1234), royal forester. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Aug. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19942>.

⁶ Professor Nicholas Vincent of the University of East Anglia has advised the National Library of Wales that the individual scribe can be identified. (Email to NLW, 8 Nov. 2021).

⁷ It appears that the younger William succeeded his father in late 1175. (Rowlands, I.W., 'William de Braose and the lordship of Brecon', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 30 [1982] 125–6) As well as the death of Henry fitz Miles, the events at Abergavenny in 1175 should be seen in the context of the rise of Iorwerth ab Owain at Caerleon, especially the extension of his power into northern Gwent, and also Henry II's attempts to achieve a political settlement in Wales in the 1170s. (Crouch, D., 'The transformation of medieval Gwent' in Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, T. and Howell, R. [eds] *Gwent County History: ii The Age of the Marcher Lords c.1070–1536* [Cardiff 2008] 30–1).

Braose annexed the land of Seisyll ap Dyfnwal, or ‘Dyfnwal’s land’.⁸ Certainly, Dyfnwal’s family never recovered, and it was the De Braose family that benefitted.⁹ In granting *Dunwalleland* to Philip, whose father Wastellion had received it from the same William de Braose who had overseen the massacre, John’s charter was directly and explicitly confirming and condoning the ruthless dispossession of a Welsh dynasty.

In De Braose’s original grant, Wastellion had been required to provide one knight to keep guard at Abergavenny castle, and it is significant that this condition was repeated in every detail in the 1209 charter. That there was an immediate practical need for it during the early years of William’s lordship at Abergavenny was demonstrated in 1182 when Hywel ap Iorwerth of Caerleon attacked the castle and burned it in retaliation for the massacre,¹⁰ and the need remained in 1209. The Welsh dynasty of Caerleon still posed a threat, albeit diminished from their heyday in the twelfth century, and the fall of William de Braose at Abergavenny and William Marshal at Striguil in 1207–8 had weakened the Anglo-Norman position in Gwent. Moreover, it was John’s own difficulties with his barons that would lead to the capture of Abergavenny by Reginald de Braose, one of William’s sons, in 1215, and the castle would be seized again by Richard Marshal, earl of Pembroke, during his conflict with Henry III in 1233.¹¹ The clause insisting upon knight’s service at the castle was a wise military precaution rather than a mere matter of bureaucratic form.

The charter also shows king John bringing one of his greatest marcher lords to heel.¹² William de Braose had been successful in the service of both Richard I and John, not least in Wales, and by

⁸ For the Abergavenny massacre, see: Jones, T. (ed.) *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ‘RBH’ version 1175; *idem* (ed. and trans.) *Brut y Tywysogyon*, Pen. 20 version 1175; Ralph of Diss, *Opera historica* (ed. W. Stubbs [London 1876]) i 401; Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera* (ed. J.S. Brewer, J.F. Dimock and G.F. Warner [8 vols. London 1861-91]) vi 49–53; and Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales* ii 547–8. The family’s residence is not named or otherwise identified in contemporary sources, but it is often presumed to have been Castell Arnallt on the left bank of the river Usk near Penpergwm, mainly because this is where Henry fitz Miles is said to have been killed. (P. Courtney, ‘The marcher lordships’ in *Gwent county history* ii 56, 67 [n. 47]) The site has been surveyed and evidence of a large number of buildings and a possible multivallate enclosure found, but no excavations have been carried out that might strengthen the case for its being a 12th-cent. *llys*. (Phillips, N., ‘Castell Arnallt – a topographical study’, *Gwent Local History* 90 [2001] 8–11).

⁹ The efforts of Reginald de Braose, William’s son, to secure his family’s position in the march by allying with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth were ultimately unsuccessful. For this and the wider context of the Norman conquest of Gwent, see Crouch, D., ‘The transformation of medieval Gwent’ in *Gwent county history* ii 1–46. Much of the rest of this volume of the county history is also pertinent.

¹⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera* vi 50–3; Benedict of Peterborough *Gesta regis Henrici secundis*, ed. W. Stubbs (London 1867) i 288–9; Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales* ii 568. The dynasty of Caerleon appears to have exercised some degree of lordship over Seisyll ap Dyfnwal. (Crouch, D., ‘The transformation of medieval Gwent’ in *Gwent county history* ii 9–10).

¹¹ Crouch, D., ‘The transformation of medieval Gwent’ in *Gwent county history* ii 32–3; Hopkins, T., ‘The Towns’ in *ibid.* 122–3; Jones, T. (ed.) *Brut y Tywysogyon*, ‘RBH’ version 1215, 1233. The heirs of Philip, son of Wastellion, would find their position challenged once again in 1290, this time at law, when John de Hastings asserted his own right to ‘*Donewaldeslond*’ against them. (Bloomsbury Auctions sale catalogue: Schøyen Collection [2021]).

¹² The summary of relations between John and William de Braose given here is based on: Warren, W.L., *King John* (London 1960) 82–3, 184–8; Havard, D.G., ‘The lordship of the De Braose family in the march of Wales 1110–1326’ (Wales MA thesis 1984) 35–64; Mann, K.J., ‘King John, Wales and the march’ (Wales PhD thesis 1991) 301–19; Holden, B.W., ‘King John, the Braoses and the Celtic fringe, 1207–1216’, *Albion* 33 (2001) 1–23; Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales* ii 620; Turvey, R., *Llywelyn the Great* (Llandysul 2007) 53–4; Seel, G.E., *King John: an underrated king* (London 2012) 86–91; and Turner, R. ‘Briouze [Braose], William de (d. 1211), magnate’. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved 3 Aug. 2022, from <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3283>.

the early 1200s he was richly rewarded as one of John's closest allies and favourites, holding land in Abergavenny, Builth, Radnor, Brecon, Gower, Sussex, Devon, Herefordshire and Limerick. He suffered a spectacular fall from grace after 1207, however, and his English and Welsh lands were seized by the Crown. This was ostensibly because of his considerable financial debts to the king, but William was far from unique in this, and his downfall was too swift and complete for it to be the only reason. At Mirebeau in 1202 he had captured John's nephew and greatest surviving rival for the throne, Arthur of Brittany, and it was while in William's custody at Rouen that Arthur had mysteriously disappeared in the following year. It is likely that William was involved in this, or at least knew what had happened, and John himself was widely suspected, not least by William's wife, Matilda (or Maud), who, when her own son was required as a royal hostage, is said to have openly voiced the view that the king had murdered Arthur. The annalist at the Cistercian abbey of Margam gave a detailed account of Arthur's death at John's hands, and it is likely that in this he was drawing on information – or disinformation – supplied directly by the De Braoses, who were patrons of the abbey.¹³ Whatever the truth was, it seems that the king turned on the De Braoses because of this dirty secret.

John confiscated Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg (which lay between the Rhymney and the Usk) from William in 1207 and sent troops to seize the rest of the De Braose lands in England and Wales in 1208, charging him for the expense of doing so. In 1209, William surrendered his castles at Hay, Brecon and Radnor and then – according to John's later account – attempted unsuccessfully to recover the lost castles by force before burning part of the town of Leominster. He then fled to Ireland for refuge, firstly in Leinster with William Marshal, who had also fallen out with John, and then in Meath with the Lacy family, his relatives by marriage. At the time John's Abergavenny charter was issued in December 1209, William was with the Lacys in Ireland.

The charter throws some rare light on this crucial, complex and poorly documented period in the deteriorating relationship between John and the De Braose family. In particular, it confirms that both *Dunwalleland* and Abergavenny itself had been forfeited to the king by early December 1209, presumably at the same time as the rest of Upper Gwent east of the Usk. The charter recites the terms of the original grant by which Wastellion's service had been due to William de Braose, and notes that the son Philip would hold the land and its appurtenances on the same terms as his father had held them from William, suggesting that Philip might perhaps also hold them of William, but any ambiguity is removed by the clauses confirming the king's grant (from '*Quare uolumus*' onwards) where it is specified that Philip and his heirs would hold *Dunwalleland* of the king and his heirs ('*de nobis et heredibus nostris*'). De Braose is not mentioned here at all.¹⁴ The forfeiture of the De Braose lands undoubtedly played a part in the issue of this charter, and further research might reveal whether it was the primary stimulus or whether the grant was occasioned by some other circumstance, such as the death of Wastellion.

By the spring of 1210, John was preparing a military expedition to Ireland, not least to deal with De Braose's allies there, especially the Lacys. There were attempts to make amends, but they were unsuccessful. Deprived of his main sources of support, William found himself outlawed and dispossessed. He made contacts in Wales – possibly including some covert collusion with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of Gwynedd, although the evidence for this is no more than circumstantial – and eventually fled to the court of Philip II of France, at one point supposedly disguised as a beggar. John captured Matilda and the eldest De Braose son, also called William, and they were reportedly

¹³ *Annales de Margam* in Luard, H.R. (ed.) *Annales Monastici* (5 vols. London 1864–9) i 27.

¹⁴ NLW Deed 1962, lines 7–12.

starved to death at either Windsor or Corfe castle amid rumours of cannibalism. Once again, the deaths were shrouded in mystery which did nothing to ease the fears of John's barons who felt increasingly threatened by a king who was often ruled by suspicions and insecurities; indeed, the harsh and arbitrary treatment of the De Braose family would prove to be one of the most significant factors in turning John's barons against him at the end of his reign.¹⁵ In 1209, however, John was in the ascendancy, and this charter is direct evidence of how he stamped his royal authority on one of the De Braose lordships in the Welsh march. John emphasised the point by visiting the forfeited Abergavenny castle in person on 12 March 1211,¹⁶ some five months before William de Braose died in exile at Corbeil near Paris.

John's charter also provides a rare insight into the Crown's relations with one of the few native Welsh dynasties that had managed to survive more than a century of Norman colonisation in south Wales, because the last name in the witness list is Cadwallon (*'Cadewallanus filio luor'*), one of the sons of Ifor ap Meurig (Ifor Bach) of Senghennydd. Despite Ifor's efforts to resist the Anglo-Norman lords of Glamorgan, notably his audacious kidnapping of the earl of Gloucester after scaling the walls of Cardiff castle in 1158,¹⁷ expediency had long since forced the dynasty of Senghennydd into uneasy compliance with them. Cadwallon is known to have had his own castle in 1197 (*'castrum de Cadwalan'*),¹⁸ but the earls of Gloucester had already begun to confirm grants of land in Senghennydd, and had even taken parts of the *cwmwd* into their own demesne lands.¹⁹ Cadwallon and his younger brother Maredudd received payments for military service with Henry II in France in 1188, and Cadwallon later served John in Normandy in 1203.²⁰ Native Welsh rulers rarely appear as witnesses in charters issued by English kings, and Cadwallon's presence in the witness list of this charter underlines his role as a prominent adherent of the Angevin kings in south Wales, however unwilling. His alignment certainly did his dynasty no harm, because the descendants of his older brother, Gruffudd, retained their position in Senghennydd until 1267.²¹

This 1209 charter is also unique. It was becoming standard practice by this time for copies of English royal charters to be kept and enrolled by the king's clerks – every royal grant was enrolled in the Charter Rolls from 1199 onwards and in the Patent Rolls from 1201 onwards – so it is reasonable

¹⁵ Warren, W.L., *King John*, 187–8. John's reputation worsened considerably after his death, largely because of the influence of the chronicles of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, both of which were written at least ten years after the events of John's reign that they describe. Wendover included many sensational tales that had not been recorded by earlier writers, and Paris was exceptionally uncompromising in his moralistic condemnation. These, rather than any contemporary sources, have informed the popular image of John today. (*ibid.*, 9–16) For John's achievements and reputation, see also Turner, R.V., *King John: England's evil king?* (Stroud 2005) 8–20, 196–200.

¹⁶ Hardy, T.D. (ed.) 'Itinerary of king John' in *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati* i I (1201–16) (London 1835) [Image #79 online, viewed 24 Aug. 2022 (<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.319510023291411&view=1up&seq=79&skin=2021>)].

¹⁷ Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera* vi 63–4.

¹⁸ *Pipe Roll 9 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, London 1884–1970) 194.

¹⁹ Smith, J. Beverley, 'The kingdom of Morgannwg and the Norman conquest of Glamorgan' in Pugh, T.B. (ed.) *Glamorgan County History* iii *The middle ages* (Cardiff 1971) 35; Clark, G.T. (ed.) *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent* (Cardiff 1910) i 148–9, 159.

²⁰ *Pipe Roll 34 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Society, London 1884–1970) 8, 106; Giraldus Cambrensis *Opera* iii 303; Lloyd, J.E., *History of Wales* ii 637 [n. 124].

²¹ Pryce, H. (ed.) *The acts of Welsh rulers 1120–1283* (Cardiff 2005) 46–7; Cadwallon and Maredudd appear to have been subordinate to Gruffudd, since his two known charters (both to Margam abbey) were issued without reference to them and it was his son Rhys who succeeded to Senghennydd on his death in 1211. (*ibid.* 46, 813–15).

to expect there to be a copy in The National Archives. These copies are missing for some of John's reign, however, including the enrolments covering December 1209. It appears that the copies were probably made, because the extant records for 14 John begin at the very start of that regnal year after a three-year gap,²² but they have long since disappeared. Thomas Duffus Hardy noted the absence of enrolments for 11–13 John when he calendared the Patent Rolls and Charter Rolls for the nascent Public Record Office in the 1830s,²³ and it had also been noticed in the calendars produced by the Record Commission at the turn of the nineteenth century.²⁴

More research is needed into when the missing rolls were mislaid. It may have been due to bureaucratic inefficiency during the thirteenth century, or perhaps the political and administrative upheavals of later times, but there is also a possibility that they were lost by John himself when his baggage train sank into the Wash in Norfolk in October 1216. The growth in royal bureaucracy in the late twelfth century had meant that Crown records were no longer kept in a single fixed place as they had been previously (at Winchester) but routinely moved around the country, and it would have been particularly important to John to have his records with him in the autumn of 1216 because he was struggling to maintain control over his kingdom during a civil war and a French invasion. Contemporary commentators were enigmatic on the subject of where exactly the king's records were kept under the Angevins, but it is clear that the most useful and accessible records were the more recent ones, and that the royal archives were regarded as being very close to the king's heart. It is interesting, therefore, that although there is no specific mention of administrative documents in the confused accounts of what happened at the Wash, the items that were lost reportedly included John's treasure and 'all the other things which he cherished with special care'.²⁵ It is likely that the lost treasures included at least a few relatively recent records, and these may have included the missing enrolments. Speculation aside, it remains that there is no surviving Crown copy of the 1209 Abergavenny charter.

It is fortunate, therefore, that the original document has survived, especially since extant charters of lay grantees are rare. Survival of these usually depends on the careful preservation of estate records. Most medieval charters cease to be immediately useful to their owners as time passes, and once this happens they can become lost or find their way into unexpected places, especially if an estate is broken up or passes into new ownership, or if a charter is attractive to collectors. The archival history of such documents is therefore not always easy to trace. In the case of NLW Deed 1962, there is no clear provenance for the charter between the thirteenth century and the seventeenth

²² John's regnal year began on 3 May and the first enrolment in the Patent Roll for 14 John is 8 May 1212, while the earliest in the Charter Roll for the same regnal year is 4 May 1212. The latest surviving previous enrolments are 24 March 1209 in the Patent Rolls and 13 Sept. 1208 in the Charter Rolls, both during 10 John.

²³ '*Desunt rotuli Litterarum Patentium de annis regni Regis Johannis undecimo, duo decimo, et decimo tertio*' (Hardy, T.D. [ed.] *Rot. Litt. Pat.* i 192) and '*Desunt Rotuli Chartarum usque ad annum quartum decimum*' (*idem* [ed.] *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londonensi asservati 1199–1216* [London 1837] 185)

²⁴ The commissioners noted '*Desunt Rotuli usque ad Ann' 14*' in their unpaginated calendar of Charter Rolls (Caley, J., Lemon, R. and Owen, H. [eds] *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum* [London 1803]), and recorded nothing in between 10 John and 14 John in their similarly unpaginated calendar of the Patent Rolls, although in this case they did not comment on the gap. (*idem* [eds] *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium* [London 1802])

²⁵ Clanchy, M.T., *From memory to written record: England 1066–1307* (London 1993) 162–4, 169; Warren, W.L., *King John*, 246–54, 278, 284–5. Caution is needed here because the quoted detail is supplied by Roger of Wendover and only appears more obliquely as 'divers household effects' in the earlier, less sensational and generally more reliable account of Ralph of Coggeshall. The Angevin practice of transporting royal records around in chests also made it more likely that they would be lost in more mundane circumstances; this may well be the reason for the relative paucity of surviving material from the reign of Henry II.

century,²⁶ when a note saying ‘A tenure to the Castell of Aburgaueny xi Joh[annis]’ was endorsed. The first known owner of the charter after the medieval period was Richard Henry Wood (1820–1908), F.S.A., of Penrhos House in Rugby, an iron merchant, antiquarian and collector of charters and rare books who loaned it to the museum of the British Archaeological Association in 1876. A nineteenth-century endorsement on the charter giving its date as ‘Dec. 5. 1210 – 11^o Joh[ann]is’ echoes the list of items lent by Wood to the museum, which also misdates the charter to 1210 by miscalculating John’s eleventh regnal year. The next time the charter appeared in public was at auction at Sotheby’s on 21 June 1994, when it was purchased by the Schøyen Collection of London and Oslo. It subsequently bore the call number MS 1857, which has been written on the document in pencil and repeated on the dorse. As the underbidder at the Sotheby’s sale, the National Library of Wales received a photograph of the charter in 1994 which is now NLW Facs 743. The Library finally acquired the original when it came up for sale in 2021.

This charter’s greatest significance for the National Library and for Welsh historiography lies in the fact that it is unparalleled in the Library’s collections as an example of the early developments that eventually led to the situation today where every level of government and law in Wales derives its authority from the English Crown. This legal and political landscape would have been almost unimaginable in the period before 1063, when the overlordship of English kings was acknowledged in Wales but political and legal authority at lower levels was derived entirely from autogenous native Welsh institutions. When the Norman and Angevin kings took a greater interest in direct domination and lordship, both native Welsh rulers and Anglo-Norman marcher lords relied on these native institutions to try to keep the power of the king of England at arm’s length. Their efforts were often successful, but ultimately Edward I’s conquest of the principality of Wales and Henry VIII’s Acts of Union meant that they all failed. The headline dates of 1282 and 1536 were catalysts in a very long process during which the power of the Crown in Wales was imposed and extended incrementally, as much by legal instrument as by force or treachery. This process is well documented,²⁷ but nevertheless – and perhaps surprisingly – extant original charters from the English Crown to lay persons in Wales before 1282 are exceptionally rare. As a result, the survival of the 1209 Abergavenny charter is unusually important.

²⁶ The charter’s provenance is outlined in the Bloomsbury Auctions sale catalogue: Schøyen Collection (2021), and the endorsements and annotations discussed here are in NLW Deed 1962. The charter’s internal diplomatic evidence and the positive identification of the individual Chancery scribe (see footnote 6 above) are important in establishing this document’s authenticity. Forgery of charters was rife in the 12th cent., although the most expert and prolific practitioners in this field were monastic houses rather than lay grantees such as the recipient of this charter. (Clanchy, M.T., *From memory to written record* 170–1, 318–19).

²⁷ For discussion of developments in the exercise of political authority in Wales in this period, and especially the practical and theoretical relationship between the English Crown and the regal rights of marcher lords and native Welsh rulers, see for example: Davies, R.R., *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100–1300* (Cambridge 1990); *idem*, ‘Kings, lords and liberties in the march of Wales’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979) 41–61; *idem*, ‘The law of the march’, *Welsh History Review* 5 (1970–71) 1–30; *idem*, *Conquest, co-existence and change: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford 1987) especially 82–107, 271–388; Howell, M., ‘Regalian right in Wales and the march: the relation of theory to practice’, *Welsh History Review* 7 (1975) 269–88; Insley, C., ‘Kings, lords, charters and the political culture of twelfth century Wales’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (Woodbridge 2008) 133–53; Moore, D.J., ‘The external relations of native Welsh rulers 1063–1282’ (Wales PhD thesis 1991), especially 142–50, 302–8; and Williams, G., *Renewal and Reformation: Wales c.1415–1642* (Oxford 1987) 3–54, 253–78.

The National Library's collections include an original charter granted by Edward I to the borough of Rhuddlan on 8 September 1284²⁸ and another original grant by the same king to a layman in Aberconwy in 1300,²⁹ but all of the similar earlier material consists of copies³⁰ or gifts to ecclesiastical houses and clergy.³¹ John's 1209 Abergavenny charter is therefore an earlier, clearer and more immediate record of the English Crown's direct lordship over secular rulers in Wales before 1282 than anything else in the National Library,³² and it is also a superbly illustrative microcosm of the roles of force and legal instruments in the transfer of power from a Welsh dynasty to a marcher lord and ultimately to the king of England.

The fact that it was issued by John is also significant.³³ The idea that a king of England could dispose of land and claim lordship and overlordship in Wales was not new, and neither was the fact that this was often recorded in writing, but it was only from 1199 onwards – coinciding almost exactly with the start of John's reign – that copies were kept routinely and systematically;³⁴ it is ironic in this case that those copies are now lost. This process of defining and imposing the power of the Crown directly by written legal instruments was a feature of Norman and Angevin rule, and it accelerated in John's reign, especially after the loss of Normandy in 1204 forced the king to focus his attention more on England and Wales; indeed, the fall of the De Braose family was one of the first and most dramatic symptoms of this fundamental re-alignment in the politics of England and the British Isles, and the tightening of obligations was one of the greatest reasons for John's unpopularity,³⁵ while the severing of cross-channel connections would also encourage English national sentiment in the long term. These developments were crucial in the formalisation and intensification of the Crown's relations with native Welsh rulers and the marcher lords³⁶ – the process that led to 1282 and 1536 – and John's 1209 Abergavenny charter is a fine example of how they were implemented in practice.

NLW Deed 1962 is a remarkable document for a wide variety of reasons. Its acquisition fills a significant gap in the collections of the National Library of Wales, and it opens new avenues for the study of medieval Gwent, as well as the wider history of Wales and the Angevin world.

²⁸ Bodrhyddan Estate Papers 11 (National Library of Wales).

²⁹ Lleweni Estate Records 667 (National Library of Wales).

³⁰ For example, Slebech Estate Records 878 and 3181 (National Library of Wales) are exemplifications drawn up in 1614 of grants that John made to William Marshal in Pembroke on 16 Apr. 1200.

³¹ The Penrice and Margam Estate Records (National Library of Wales), for example, include a number of original charters granted by Henry II to Margam abbey.

³² Gwent Archives have confirmed that there is no comparable document in their collections, (email to NLW, 26 Aug. 2022) and I have also been unable to find anything of this kind in the catalogues of other archival repositories in Wales. Extant pre-1282 royal charters to recipients in Wales tend to have been granted to ecclesiastical institutions, and this is reflected in the published collections of Welsh charters during this period (for example Clark, G.T. [ed.] *Cart. Glam. i*).

³³ For the effect of John's reign on Wales, see: Rowlands, I.W., 'King John and Wales' in Church, S.D. (ed.), *King John: new interpretations* (Woodbridge 2003) 273–87, and Mann, K.J., 'King John, Wales and the march'.

³⁴ The most immediate evidence of this lies in the surviving enrolments of Crown records. For further context, see: Warren, W.L., *King John* 134–5; Clanchy, M.T., *From memory to written record* 69–70.

³⁵ This was especially clear in the De Braose case, where John adopted a novel legal approach in equating Exchequer law with customary law. (Holt, J.C., *The Northerners: a study in the reign of king John* [Oxford 1961] 185).

³⁶ The changing nature of agreements between English kings and native Welsh rulers from John's reign to Edward I is examined in Pryce, H., 'Anglo-Welsh agreements, 1201–77' in Griffiths, R.A. and Schofield, P.R. (eds), *Wales and the Welsh in the middle ages: essays presented to J. Beverley Smith* (Cardiff 2011) 1–19.

THE SCHOOLMASTER AND THE SQUIRE: JAUNCEY V. PERKINS IN THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER

By Roger Turvey

... this most noble and praise-worthy Court; the beames of whose bright Justice, equall in beautie with Hesperus and Lucifer (as Aristotle said in a like case) doe blaze and spread themselves as farre as this Realme is long, or wide.¹

William Lambarde (d. 1601) was clearly an advocate of the judicial powers of the Court of Star Chamber. Lambarde, barrister, Justice of the Peace and one-time Member of Parliament for Aldborough in Yorkshire, was the leading authority on the history and procedure of the English courts of law. That his legal opinion was valued by his Elizabethan contemporaries, may be gauged by the fact that he was regularly consulted by such luminaries as Lord Burghley, Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Chancellor Puckering and the attorney-general, Sir Thomas Egerton.² The Court of Star Chamber was mainly concerned with riots and breaches of the peace but its jurisdiction covered a far wider field. This powerful court was intended to act as 'a terror to the evil doers whose violence brought them within its sphere'.³ The court was generally well regarded because it was believed, perhaps naively by the early years of the seventeenth century, that it offered an antidote to tyranny, oppression and contempt for the weak.⁴ Indeed, although not without its flaws, when compared with the majority of local law courts and especially with the central courts of Chancery and Exchequer, the Star Chamber was reasonably swift and relatively cheap, and these factors did much to endear it to the kingdom's citizenry.⁵

One such citizen was Thomas Jauncey, a school teacher, who was in hope of the retributive justice that the Star Chamber promised in his suit against his adversary, the local squire, William Perkins of Pilston in Monmouthshire.⁶ Perkins, in league with three criminal confederates, was accused of assault and attempted murder, charges that the defendant, and his fellow conspirators, flatly denied. That Jauncey chose to pursue his case in a London court far from his Gloucestershire home, suggests that the Star Chamber's 'beames of ... bright justice' did indeed 'blaze and spread

¹ *Archeion, or, A discourse vpon the high courts of iustice in England. Composed by William Lambarde, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent* (London, 1635), pp. 223–4.

² For Lambarde's legal and political career, see Fuidge, N.M., <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/lambarde-william-1536-1601>

³ Moore, Susan T., *Tracing your Ancestors Through the Equity Courts: A Guide for Family and Local Historians* (Barnsley, 2017), pp. 21–2. See also, Scofield, Cora L., *A Study of the Court of Star Chamber* (Chicago, 1900).

⁴ The public's perception of the Star Chamber did change during the course of James I's reign and especially during that of his successor, Charles I. See, Barnes, T.G., 'Star Chamber Mythology', *American Journal of Legal History*, 5 (1961), 1–11; Erle, N.A., "'This Court Doth Keep All England in Quiet": Star Chamber and Public Expression in Pre-revolutionary England, 1625–1641' (2018). *All Theses*. 2950. https://tigerprints.clemson.edu/all_theses/2950. For a debate on the Court's perceived 'popularity', see Kesselring, K.J., 'Introduction: Star Chamber Matters', in Kesselring, K.J. & Mears, N. (eds.), *Star Chamber Matters. An Early Modern Court and its Records* (London, 2021), pp. 5–13.

⁵ In the opinion of Krista Kesselring, 'Star Chamber offered some people relatively fast, flexible solutions to problems that other courts could not address'. Kesselring, 'Introduction: Star Chamber Matters', in Kesselring & Mears (eds.), *Star Chamber Matters*, 1. See also, Barnes, T.G., 'Due Process and Slow Process in the Late Elizabethan-Early Stuart Star Chamber', *American Journal of Legal History*, 6 (1962), 221–249, 315–46.

⁶ Edwards, Ifan ab Owen, *A Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings Relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1929), p. 191.

themselves ... farre [and] wide'. However, the truth behind his choice of court may have been rather more prosaic and owed much to his adversary's position, power and purse. Although this may not be a case of David versus Goliath, there is no doubt that the schoolmaster was taking a risk in challenging a member of the privileged landholding elite. This case sheds much needed light on aspects of the daily life, education and travails of ordinary people, men like Jauncey who lived on the fringes of gentle society, and who would otherwise be anonymous in the annals of history. Indeed, given the nature of the surviving evidence, historians often have little choice but to focus on the lifestyles of the aristocracy and gentry of the early Stuart period with the obvious pitfall that they represent only a very small percentage of the population. Thus, when we do find documents describing other walks of life, these can reward us with equally fascinating and valuable insights. This case also adds to our knowledge of the processes involved in litigation and the transcription, and publication, of Star Chamber case documents will make a welcome addition to the canon of early modern English jurisprudence. Nevertheless, it is important to stress the limitations of the evidence on which this case is based because the account given is very much Thomas Jauncey's version of events.

In autumn 1609 Thomas Blake, attorney at law, submitted a bill of complaint to the Court of Star Chamber on behalf of his client, Thomas Jauncey, M.A., schoolmaster of the free school of Newland.⁷ The complainant, Jauncey, alleged that he had been 'vehemently Assalted' with a stick ['bastinado'] resulting in many 'Cruell blowes brekinge [his] head in Crewell manour'.⁸ The complainant continued, stating that 'beinge strucken Downe & past his senses', his assailant 'drew his sword and therewith' inflicted 'Dyvers other wondes uppon his head, handes & other partes of his body'. Jauncey believed that he would have been murdered had his assailant 'not espyed Companye which Caused him to Runne awaye' leaving the victim 'lyeing for dead'. The principal assailant was named as William Perkins of Trellech Grange who, in the unsparing opinion of Jauncey, was

a very desperat & dysordered persone and such a one that hath hearetofore Comytted dyvers Assaltes, affrayes, outrages, & dyvers misdemeanours uppon dyvers your hyghnes subjectes to the indayngeringe of theyre lyves, a very incontynent lyver, and very apt to all dysordes nothinge wayenge or regardinge your hyghnes lawes in anye Case whatsoever.

Perkins was assisted by Christopher Iorwerth [Yerroth], a near neighbour of Jauncey, and William Younge, described as the servant of William Perkins of Pilston. Although Iorwerth and Younge did not take part in the assault, they were guilty by association, active accomplices in setting in motion the train of events that led to the fateful beating. Tellingly, the chief culprit, William Perkins of Pilston, in whose name and by whose hand the conspiracy was devised and executed, was nowhere to be found on the day of the assault. Doubtless, he hoped to avoid implication in the assault by remaining at home and likely feigning ignorance of the distasteful episode. However, Perkins' attempt to distance himself from the crime failed for he was identified as the principal defendant in the victim's bill of complaint.

The cause of this potentially murderous episode is extraordinary in its banality: a parent's anger at the punishment meted out to his sons by their teacher. The exact nature of the wrongdoing is never made explicit, nor is the form of punishment inflicted. Jauncey's bill merely states that 'yt fortun'd that for some of theyr faltes or negligences your said subjecte gave unto them suche

⁷ For a general discussion, see Barnes, T.G., 'Star Chamber Litigants and their Counsel, 1596–1641', in J. H. Baker (ed.), *Legal Records and the Historian* (London, 1978), pp. 7–28.

⁸ For this and all subsequent quotations from the bill of complaint, see Appendix.

Correction as they deserved'. In a scenario familiar to teachers then as now, the parental reaction would be governed and shaped by the information relayed to them by their offspring. Jauncey certainly thought that his recalcitrant pupils had disparaged him and deliberately misrepresented his actions for 'the said william Perkyns eyther uppon some mysinformacion or other undue Consideracion therein, Conceaved very greate dyspleasure towards your said subjecte'. A clearly angry Perkins 'not only tooke his said Chylderen from your subjectes instruction & teaching but also sent a lettere unto your said subjecte that he woulde be revenged'. Would that this letter had survived but the threatening missive doubtless formed part of the evidence collected by Jauncey to support his case against Perkins' senior. To provoke such a violent reaction in a parent suggests that Jauncey had either overdone the punishment or had admonished the innocent. The majority of parents would bristle at the thought of their offspring being punished for something of which they were entirely innocent. On the other hand, few would write a threatening letter promising revenge which may suggest that the primary cause of Perkins' anger was not so much the misdemeanour itself as the stigma of having his children punished by a social inferior.

Thomas Jauncey's origins are obscure but that he belonged to one of the cadet branches of the Jaunceys of Herefordshire, is certain. The senior line, based at Whitwick manor in the parish of Stretton Grandison, was the only branch of the Jauncey family to be noticed and visited by heralds from the College of Arms in 1634.⁹ The other branches of the Jauncey family were based at nearby Much Cowarne and Westhide and, unlike their armorial cousins at Whitwick, they straddled the social divide between gentility and prosperous peasantry being described, variously, as gentlemen and yeomen. In the Oxford University matriculation record for Francis Jauncey, dated April 1603, he is described as the 'son and heir of Thomas, of Much Cowarne, co. Hereford, gent., deceased'.¹⁰ Yet, three years later in June 1606, his uncle, William Jauncey, referred to himself in his last will and testament as a yeoman of Much Cowarne.¹¹

Thomas the schoolmaster may tentatively be identified as the youngest son, of three, of Edward Jauncey of Westhide, a yeoman, who died prematurely in the late summer or autumn of 1580.¹² According to Thomas's matriculation record, he was aged 19 in October 1597 which suggests that he was born sometime in 1578 so he never knew his father.¹³ Interestingly, Thomas attended St. Mary Hall, Oxford, the same college as that of his cousin, Francis, of Much Cowarne. Although Francis was six years Thomas' junior, they crossed paths and were student colleagues for some fourteen months between April 1603 and June 1604. Like Francis, Thomas was identified in the college register as a plebeian which suggests that both had secured their university places either by means of scholarship or sponsorship. Whereas Francis pursued a career in the law, he entered the Middle Temple in 1605, Thomas was destined for the pulpit via the schoolroom. Thomas Jauncey was awarded his B.A. degree in May 1601 and graduated M.A. in June 1604. It is not known when he was appointed to the free school at Newland but his qualifications certainly fitted him for the role of a schoolmaster. In addition to being a Master of Arts, and having obtained the necessary licence to teach from the local bishop, a Royal Injunction of 1559 stipulated that a schoolmaster should be

⁹ Siddons, M.P. (ed.), *The Visitation of Herefordshire 1634* (London, 2002), p. 121.

¹⁰ Foster, Joseph (ed.), *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714* (Oxford, 1891), p. 803.

¹¹ The National Archives [TNA], PROB 11/107/549.

¹² Family History Library, microfiche no. 91654. [Records of the Hereford Consistory Court].

¹³ *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, p. 803.

‘found meet, as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God’s true religion’.¹⁴

The school which employed Thomas Jauncey had originally been a chantry school established in 1443 by a local landowner, Robert Greyndour,¹⁵ The school survived the Edwardian confiscation of chantry property in 1548 but, denied the funds necessary to maintain it, closed in 1554. It was re-founded, with almshouses, by Edward Bell who, in his will dated 20 November 1576, left money ‘to builde up and fynishe the schole and Almos Houses by me begonne at Newlande’.¹⁶ Jauncey’s service as master of Newland, which may have begun soon after his graduation in 1604, coincided with a period of uncertainty about the endowment of the school’s foundation which had given rise to legal proceedings in the Chancery court. Begun in 1603, the legal proceedings were not finally resolved until 1627 when the founder’s son and namesake, Edward, conveyed lands in Newland to trustees to ensure an annual income of £20.¹⁷ The trustees included Edward Bell’s sons, William and James, John, Baron Petre, the bishop of Llandaff, who held the advowson of Newland church, and the vicar of Newland, Robert Robotham;¹⁸ Bell senior, Bishop Godwin and vicar Robotham, were likely responsible for appointing Jauncey at an annual salary of £10.

We have no way of knowing how popular or effective a teacher Jauncey was or how many pupils he taught, but the size of the school suggests it could have accommodated around twenty scholars. According to D. K. Shearing, ‘The business of Elizabethan and Stuart schools was to season youth in learning and scripture’.¹⁹ At Newland that ‘learning’ encompassed English and Latin grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic up to the age of sixteen. It was likely a socially mixed school welcoming pupils from among the gentry, yeomanry and husbandry. It seems that entrants to the school, certainly from the 1640s but perhaps earlier, had to show that they could already read a chapter of the bible, but, after complaints that that qualification excluded many poor children, it was changed to the reading of a psalm.²⁰ At least two of Jauncey’s pupils could hardly be described as ‘poor’ being the second and third sons of William Perkins, squire of Pilston, near Llandogo.

¹⁴ Gee, H. and Hardy, W.J. (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London, 1914), p. 434.

¹⁵ TNA, C.139/115/34; C.143/450/19; Gloucestershire Archives, D2244/169. Maclean, J., ‘Notes on the Greyndour Chapel and Chantry in the Church of Newland, co Gloucester, and on certain Brasses’, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society [TBGAS]*, 7 (1882–3), 117–125. For Newland, see Fortescue-Brickdale, C., ‘Newland in the Middle Ages’, *TBGAS*, 55 (1933), 191–233; 56 (1934), 179–196.

¹⁶ Bell’s will was proved on 18 February 1577. TNA, PROB 11/60/125 (Curiously, there is another copy of Bell’s will PROB 11/59/104). Bell is described as of Writtle in Essex. This is due to his long service in the household of Sir William Petre of Ingatestone. See <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/petre-sir-william-15056-72>. See, Smith, B.S., ‘Edward Bell of Newland’, *TBGAS*, 85 (1966), 147–155.

¹⁷ Gloucestershire Archives, D34/1/1–4; 34/5/22.

¹⁸ *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, p. 1270. It might be a coincidence, but Robotham left Newland in 1611, amidst Jauncey’s legal difficulties. For Petre, see <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/petre-sir-john-1549-1613>. For Godwin, see Woolf, D.R., ‘Francis Godwin’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online edition, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10890?rskey=uhZ2Qi&result=2>.

¹⁹ Shearing, D.K., ‘Education in Rutland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’, *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, LV (1979–80), 39.

²⁰ See, *Victoria County History [VCH] – Gloucestershire, Volume 5, Bledisloe Hundred, St. Briavels Hundred, the Forest of Dean*. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol5>.



Fig. 1: The School house at Newland also known as Bell's Old Grammar School. *Historic England*
 © Mr John A. Wilson. Source: Historic England Archive IOE01_09681_28

William Perkins claimed descent from Einion ap Seisyll, the eleventh-century ruler of Meirionnydd, but, as Michael Siddons has observed, 'this does not agree with the pedigrees'.²¹ True or not, it certainly betrays the family's desire to establish their noble credentials by claiming an ancient origin and lineage. According to a pedigree drawn up in 1647, the first of the family to settle in the county, sometime in the early fifteenth century, was another William who married Jane, daughter and heiress of Madog ap Robert of Pilston.²² However, the heralds who visited the county of Monmouth in 1683 were unconvinced and they began the Perkins pedigree five generations later with William, the great grandfather of William the defendant in the Star Chamber case.²³ Thus, the Perkins family's link to Monmouthshire can only be dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century so that their claim to ancient gentility was likely founded on myth rather than reality. Nevertheless, the family rose from the ranks of early sixteenth-century parish gentry to take their place among the county's elite late in the seventeenth century.²⁴

²¹ Siddons, M.P. (ed.), *The Development of Welsh Heraldry* (3 vols., Aberystwyth, 1991–3), II, p. 441. For a passing reference to the family's origins, see Perkins, D.W., *The Perkins Family in Ye Olden Times* (New York, 1916), pp. 19, 22.

²² Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire: From the coming of the Normans into Wales down to the present time* (4 vols., 1904–1933), II, Part 2, *The Hundred of Trelech*, pp. 206–11.

²³ See, Siddons, M.P. (ed.), *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales* (London, 1996), p. 185.

²⁴ For the gentry of Monmouthshire, see Jones, J.G., 'Landownership and Power, 1530–1642', in Gray, M. & Morgan, P. (eds.), *The Gwent County History: The Making of Monmouthshire 1536–1780*, Vol. 3 (Cardiff, 2009), pp. 19–34.

William Perkins played an important role in the family's social transition, being well connected, by dint of significant marriages, to members of the local gentry both in Monmouthshire and across the border in Gloucestershire. His grandfather, Richard, had married the daughter of Thomas Catchmay of Mitchel Troy, a cadet of the main armorial line at Bigsweir.²⁵ More significantly, William's father, Christopher, married Jane, the daughter of Christopher Hall of High Meadow, Newland.²⁶ The Halls were an armigerous family with extensive estates in Newland and surrounding parishes, and they were also early industrial entrepreneurs boasting three ironworks in Newland and Staunton.²⁷ After the death of her first husband, Jane remarried, taking as her second husband, Moore Gwillim of Monmouth.²⁸ Gwillim was a wealthy merchant who served as Mayor of Monmouth in 1586 and represented the borough in Parliament in 1584 and 1586. It appears that Gwillim was largely responsible for the upbringing of his young stepsons, William and Edmund Perkins, upon whom he made a favourable impression. The fact that William named his youngest son Moore is a testament to the close relationship between the two men. It was likely Gwillim who arranged the marriage between William and Eleanor, the daughter of George Catchmay of Bigsweir.

Marriage brought economic advantage in the shape of land which added to the Perkins family's landholdings by way of dowry. The family's principal landholding, the manor of Pilston, was held of the lordship of Trellech Grange by a quarter of a knight's fee.²⁹ Thus, William Perkins was one of the chief tenants of the lordship which was held by the Herbert earls of Pembroke.³⁰ Besides marriage and landholding, William Perkins was also carving out a career for himself as an office-holder. He first appears as deputy-steward of the lordship of Trellech Grange in 1591, a post he held for nigh on sixty years, until his death in 1648.³¹ He was also collector of the earl's rents and, ironically given his involvement in the alleged assault on Jauncey, he presided, judge-like, over the manorial courts, the Court Baron and Court Leet in Usk and Trellech Grange.³² William Perkins made good use of these social, political and economic connections to further the family's status and wealth in the county. William Perkins' success in this regard can be judged by the grant of arms in 1634, which, in the opinion of J.F.R. Day, was 'the iconography of honour, the recognition (if not technically the creation) of gentility'.³³

Ever the pretentious armiger, Perkins was zealous in his defence of his and his family's gentility but, equally, was intolerant of those he considered 'base fellows'. Shortly before securing the grant of arms in 1634, Perkins was embroiled in a dispute with Henry Somerset of Trellech Grange who took him to court over comments made in the hearing of witnesses at Llandogo. Perkins is alleged to have called Somerset 'a base fellow, a shitten beggarly fellow not worth sixpence'.³⁴ Perkins

²⁵ Allen, W.T., 'The Family of Catchmay', *TBGAS*, 24 (1901), 142–55; Maclean, J. & Heane, W.C. (eds.), *The Visitation of the County of Gloucester, taken in the year 1623* (London, 1885), pp. 242–3.

²⁶ *Visitation of Gloucester*, pp. 73–4.

²⁷ *VCH – Gloucestershire*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/glos/vol5>. Newland.

²⁸ For Gwillim's political career, see Dodd, A.H., <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/gwillim-moore-1611>.

²⁹ For some useful information on Trellech Grange, see Williams, D.H., Burton, A. and Heath, D., *The Story of Trellech Grange* (Aberystwyth, 2001).

³⁰ Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, p. 207.

³¹ National Library of Wales [NLW], Badminton Estate Records, (Manorial) 1731, 1732, 1734, 1735, 1736.

³² NLW, Badminton Estate Records, (Manorial), 607; (Deeds and Documents), (Series I), 55, 804.

³³ Day, J.R.F., 'Primers of Honor: Heraldry, Heraldry Books, and English Renaissance Literature', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 21 (1990), 93.

³⁴ '605 Somerset v Perkins', in *The Court of Chivalry 1634–1640*, ed. Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper, *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/court-of-chivalry/605-somerset-perkins>.

denied this and counter-claimed that Somerset had referred to him and his family as ‘plebeian’. With his honour at stake, Perkins is alleged to have done all he could ‘to provoke Somerset to duel’ but, failing that, he sought to contest his adversary in a court of law. Perkins had taken great offence at being called plebeian and claimed in court that

... his father and grandfather and others his ancestors have byn resident at Pilston where Perkins now liveth ... And were they and their ancestors ever reputed, deemed and taken to be gent. of an antient family; and were they matched with families of eminent and auncient gentries, and ... by the generall report of the country reputed and esteemed to be honest gentlemen of good credit and reputation.³⁵

Perkins’ lawyer claimed that Somerset had deliberately tried ‘to provoke, move or stirre upp Perkins to wrath or anger’.³⁶ Hyperbole apart, it seems Perkins’ was sensitive about his status and standing in the community which may partly explain his adverse reaction to Jauncey’s alleged treatment of his sons. Apart from receiving a good education, Perkins was keen to ensure that his offspring were schooled in the art of gentility so that they may better ‘beare the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman’.³⁷ That Perkins had apparently decided against home tuition and had sent his sons, George and Moore, to the free school at Newland, is not necessarily a reflection of the institution or Jauncey’s reputation. Apart from the free school at Trellech, established in 1591 by John Owen, the celebrated epigrammatist and graduate of New College, Oxford, it was the only school in the area until at least 1614, when Monmouth Grammar School was established by a wealthy haberdasher, William Jones, who, ironically, hailed from Newland.³⁸ Perhaps Perkins agreed with his contemporary, the playwright and poet Ben Jonson, whose antipathy to home schooling was expressed thus ‘to breed [children] at home is to breed them in a shade, where in school they have the light and heat of the sun’.³⁹

Another contemporary, Richard Mulcaster, the renowned headmaster of Merchant Taylors’ School in London and author of the seminal *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children* (1581) and *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582), was, as one might expect, a proponent of the benefits of institutional schooling.⁴⁰ However, he was keen to emphasise the responsibilities incumbent on parents to ensure their children were ready for schooling.

Anyone who deserves to be a parent should be prepared to judge for himself as to his young son’s ripeness for school life, and surely no one is so destitute of friends that he has not some-one to consult if necessary.⁴¹

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*, ed. Alston, L. Preface by E W Maitland (Cambridge, 1906), p. 39.

³⁸ Jones, J.G., ‘Language, Literature and Education’, in Gray & Morgan (eds.), *The Gwent County History*, 3, p. 296. See, Warlow, W.M., *A History of the Charities of William Jones (founder of the “Golden Lectureship” in London), at Monmouth & Newland* (Bristol, 1899). Jones also founded almshouses in Newland and made a bequest to the poor of the parish.

³⁹ Donaldson, Ian, *Ben Jonson A Life* (Oxford, 2011), p. 72.

⁴⁰ Mimardière, A. M., <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558–1603/member/mulcaster-richard-1532–1611>. Mulcaster was headmaster of Merchant Taylors’ for twenty-five years (1561–86) and was MP for Carlisle in 1559.

⁴¹ Oliphant, James (ed.), *The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster (1532–1611)* (Glasgow, 1903), p. 14.

Indeed, Mulcaster went further stating that, in an ideal world, teachers and parents should work closely together:

Seeing that the schoolmaster, to whose judgment I commend the choice, is no absolute potentate in our commonwealth, to dispose of people's children as he pleases, but only a counsellor to act along with the parent, if the latter is willing to take advice, I should wish, that in order to have this duly accomplished, parents and teachers should be not only acquainted, but on friendly terms with each other.⁴²

Unfortunately, the relationship between Jauncey and Perkins, if they ever had one, had broken down, though the affair begs the question of how 'ripe' Perkins' children were for public school and how willing Perkins senior was to 'take advice'.

On the other hand, Mulcaster was ready to acknowledge the role and responsibility that rested on the shoulders of the teacher.

The best way to secure good progress, so that the intelligence may conceive clearly, memory may hold fast, and judgment may choose and discern the best, is so to ply them that all may proceed voluntarily, and not with violence, so that the will may be ready to do well, and loth to do ill, and all fear of correction may be entirely absent. Surely to beat for not learning a child that is willing enough to learn, but whose intelligence is defective, is worse than madness.⁴³

Of course, the key question is what had prompted Jauncey to give George and Moore Perkins 'suche Correction as they deserved', and did this involve beating the children. In the opinion of Karen Lyon, the effects of such a harsh introduction to learning could linger in a child's psyche, as it had clearly done for Ben Jonson who, when recalling his schooldays, wrote, 'A youth should not be made to hate study, before he know the causes to love it'.⁴⁴ Even a teacher as eminent as the poet, pamphleteer and historian, John Milton, was prone to thrashing his students if they were cheeky or not concentrating.⁴⁵ As far as some of Milton's pupils were concerned paradise had indeed been lost and was unlikely to be regained within the confines of his classroom. Milton had either not read Mulcaster's treatise on education or had failed to heed its sage advice. Mulcaster was not opposed to punishment, but the teacher must

make clear what punishments he will use, and how much, for every kind of fault that shall seem punishable by the rod. For the rod can no more be spared in schools than the sword in the hand of the Prince. By the rod I mean some form of correction, to inspire fear.⁴⁶

On the other hand, Mulcaster stated that

If that instrument be thought too severe for boys, ... I will not strive with any man in its defence, if he will leave us some means for compelling obedience where numbers have to be taught together. Even in private upbringing, if the birch is wholly banished from the home, parents cannot have their

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁴ Lyon, Karen, 'Elizabethan education and Ben Jonson's school days', <https://shakespeareandbeyond.folger.edu/2019/09/03/ben-jonson-school-elizabethan-education/>

⁴⁵ See Moshenska, J., *Making Darkness Light: The Lives and Times of John Milton* (New York, 2021).

⁴⁶ Oliphant (ed.), *Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 114.

will, whatever they may say. And if in men serious faults deserve and receive severe punishment, surely children cannot escape punishments ...⁴⁷

In a passage that might almost have been written with Perkins in mind, Mulcaster ruminates that ‘if parents were as careful to enquire into the reasons why their child has been beaten as they are ready to be unreasonably aggrieved, they might gain a great deal more for the child’s advantage’. That said, Mulcaster was at pains to emphasise that ‘Beating, however, must only be for ill-behaviour, not for failure in learning’.⁴⁸ It is not known what became of George and Moore’s education but their absence from the matriculation records of Oxford and Cambridge, and from the student lists for the London Inns of Court, suggests that they did not proceed to either university or law school.⁴⁹

Perkins was ‘aggrieved’ there is no doubt but, if Jauncey’s version of events is to be believed, the degree of aggravation is altogether on another level. According to Jauncey’s bill of complaint, Perkins ‘complotted’ and concocted an elaborate scheme to apprehend and punish the complainant. The plotters met ‘togyther at monmoth one satterdaye the iiiith daye of February [1609], and there plotted and devysed howe to worke the said Revenge’. It is alleged that in anticipation of the encounter Perkins of Trellech Grange ‘did grynd his sword & dagger’. Based on information supplied by Jauncey’s neighbour, Christopher Iorwerth, the plotters agreed to waylay the schoolmaster the next morning as he made his way to church. The church in question is never identified in the bill but it is certain that it was not Jauncey’s local parish church at Newland. The nearest churches were Staunton, some 2.6 miles to the north of Newland or St. Briavel’s, about 4.5 miles to the south. It is known that Jauncey would have had to walk through a thickly wooded forest which would have provided ample cover for the would-be assassins. Unfortunately for the plotters, Jauncey explains that he ‘did not goe accordinge to his wonted Custome forthe which he is amongst dyvers other graces muche bounde unto god for other wyse he had byn severly slayne’.

Thwarted on that occasion but undeterred, the plotters ‘havinge a vehement desyre to effecte theyr murderous intent’ met again during which they came up with a new plan to entice Jauncey ‘into the said wood throwe which he was accustomed to goe’. According to Jauncey Iorwerth and Perkins of Trellech came to the

Chamber in the saide Freeschoole of Newland, and fayned that the said Perkyns was a gentelmans sonne of lansoye [Llansoy] farr of from the said parishe of Newland, and Came of purpose to place two of his bretheren to scoole with your said subjecte and that he had used the said Christofer yerroth as a Chyfe meane to growe in acquayntance with your said subjecte.

However, given that Perkins was armed, Jauncey was suspicious and voiced his concern stating that Perkins of Pilston had informed him by letter that he would be revenged. Perkins, claiming to be William Powell of Llansoy, and Iorwerth, assured Jauncey, by ‘manye greet & vehement othes’ that they had nothing to do with Perkins of Pilston. Perkins, alias Powell, simply wished ‘to place two of his bretheren to scoole’ in Newland and there ‘to be taught and instructed in the said scoole’. Jauncey states that being ‘perswaded [and] doubtinge anye trechery to be wraught agaynst him by the said yerroth being his nere neyghboure ... rested sattysfyed in the same’ and thereby entered

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714*, p. 1147; *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln’s Inn*, Vol. I, Admissions (1896), p. 348. Moore’s grandson, Christopher of St. Hilary, Glamorgan, was the first of the family to attend university, Jesus College, Oxford (1696), and the Inns of Court, Lincoln’s Inn (1694–5).

into a ‘long Conferrens’ with Perkins alias Powell. Following the conclusion of their meeting, Jauncey was persuaded to walk with Perkins for a short distance as the latter made his way home. As they continued their discussion, Perkins ‘Dyd entreat’ Jauncey to go ‘a lyttell further’ which the unsuspecting schoolmaster was happy to do. Unfortunately for Jauncey, he soon found himself in a small clearing in the woods where, it is alleged, he was viciously assaulted.

Surviving the assault, Jauncey recovered and determined to bring his assailants to court where they would be compelled to answer for their crimes. It seems that Jauncey turned first to the local courts for justice and a warrant was issued for the arrest of Perkins of Trellech, Iorwerth and Younge. The arrest warrant was issued by Francis Godwin, ‘Lord Byshope of Landavy & other Justyces of the peace’. Unfortunately, the ‘other’ justices are not named but they may well have included the archdeacon of Llandaff and vicar of Newland, Robert Robotham and, given that his name had been purloined by Perkins, William Powell of Llansoy.⁵⁰ Much to Jauncey’s chagrin, his assailants ignored the warrant and were invited to stay at Pilston where they ‘dyned’ at the table of William Perkins. Thereafter ‘by the ayd & Councell of the other William Perkyns of Pylsone [they were] Rescued, & sent away, & cann not as yett be taken’. It seems Christopher Iorwerth, too, had disappeared but Jauncey was soon discomfited by the behaviour of his enemies, who had ‘geven forth thretheninges yf your subjecte will not be quiett he shall have more of the same’.

Given the reported threats and intimidation, combined with the apparent impotence of local justices to effect an arrest or a resolution in the case, Jauncey opted to seek justice elsewhere. If litigants wished to avoid the local courts, such as the quarter sessions or the courts of assize in either Monmouthshire or Gloucestershire, they might bring their case to the Council in Wales and the Marches at Ludlow. Unfortunately, the judicial records of the Council of Wales have been lost so we have no way of knowing if Jauncey submitted his case to this court. That said, it is evident from the numerous references to the Council of Wales in the records of the Star Chamber, that cases submitted to this regional court offered no guarantee of success. This helps explain why litigants, like Jauncey, often bypassed these lesser courts and sought redress of their grievances by going directly to Star Chamber in London.⁵¹

The Court of Star Chamber was a prerogative court that met in, and derived its name from the *Camera Stellata*, a brightly decorated room in the palace of Westminster. The Star Chamber was the judicial arm of the Privy Council, sitting in judgement, administering justice and supervising litigants who came before its distinguished bench of judges. The Jacobean judicial bench in Star Chamber consisted of members of the Privy Council sitting alongside a core of professional men at law that included justices from the courts of common law, the Crown’s attorney and solicitor general, and a select band of serjeants-at-law. In a departure with tradition, James I not only opted to attend and observe some Star Chamber proceedings, he sat in person as a judge on at least three occasions between 1616 and 1619.⁵² The court became popular in the reign of Henry VIII because it not only ‘offered remedies for grievances and complaints not catered for by the regular (common

⁵⁰ Phillips, J.R.S. (ed.), *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire 1541–1689* (Cardiff, 1975), p. 351. For Llansoy, see Burton, A., ‘With the Lord’s Assistance’: *A Brief History of the Parish and Church of Llansoy* (Llansoy Parochial Church Council, 1997).

⁵¹ Williams, P., ‘The Star Chamber and the Council in the Marches, 1558–1603’, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 16 (1956), 287–97.

⁵² Apparently, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Edward Coke, did not approve of the King’s conduct. Williams, I., ‘James VI and I, *rex et iudex*: One King as Judge in Two Kingdoms’, in Eves, W. et al., (eds), *Common Law, Civil Law and Colonial Law: Essays in Comparative Legal History from the Twelfth to the Twentieth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2021), pp. 86–119.

law) courts' it also 'brought to its decisions the weight of high authority',⁵³ men at the apex of political power who represented the Crown and who governed the kingdom. These men were more likely to be impartial because they could not easily be intimidated, threatened or bribed.

The cost of legal action, then as now, was prohibitive and only the wealthiest litigant could afford to sustain a cause at law. The Court of Star Chamber was, in part, intended to remedy this abuse of the legal system by providing a straightforward, cost effective and reasonably rapid hearing of cases which, in a number of instances, it did.⁵⁴ Flexible and adaptable, the Star Chamber became an essential cog in the state's judicial machine.⁵⁵ Indeed, according to John Guy the 'court's willingness to allow litigants to proceed with both civil and criminal process simultaneously was its greatest asset'.⁵⁶ A Star Chamber suit was begun by the submission of a bill or petition (known as a Bill of Complaint) in which the case was outlined by the complainant followed by the defendant's answer to the charges. In some cases, the arguments between the contending parties were developed to include the complainant's replication followed by the defendant's rejoinder (a further development could involve a rebuttal and surrejoinder) though, in truth, these seldom add much to the opening statements submitted by plaintiff and defendant. Should the case be deemed fit to proceed, both parties would then be required to supply interrogatories or sets of questions, to which answers were to be obtained from a list of witnesses submitted to the court. It was often on the basis of the information contained in these depositions that the court came to a decision and announced its verdict or decree.⁵⁷

Less than a third of the cases submitted to Star Chamber resulted in a public trial but, for those that did, both parties would be summoned, by writ of *subpoena*, to appear before the judges in London. As a rule, the court met to hear cases twice a week, on Wednesday and Friday mornings, sitting in judgement for some two hours between 9 and 11. In court, the counsels for the parties were required to verbally recite the evidence previously submitted in writing and to answer any question that might be asked of them by the judges. In some cases, the court delegated its functions to local commissioners who were empowered by writs of *dedimus potestatem* to take answers, depositions and, in exceptional circumstances, settle the dispute. The commissioners chosen to undertake the task were, almost without exception, selected from a list of the shire's justices of the peace. Of course, this became a problem if the defendants were members of the judicial elite since the misdemeanours, maladministration and corruption of officials was one of the recurring grievances of local litigants. As one frustrated litigant opined

bribes and promises of all sorts will be distributed with such profusion that the judges whosoever they may be, will fain declare that white is black, and doubt will be thrown on the truth of my word.⁵⁸

⁵³ Elton, G., *Star Chamber Stories* (London, 1958), p. 12.

⁵⁴ According to Richard Cust, in the early years of James I's reign, contemporaries were acutely conscious 'of the immediacy of Star Chamber jurisdiction'. Cust, R., 'Honour and Politics in Early Stuart England: The Case of Beaumont v Hastings', *Past & Present*, 149 (1995), 77–8.

⁵⁵ Turner, R.V., 'The Origins of Common Pleas and King's Bench', *American Journal of Legal History*, 21 (1977), 238. In Turner's opinion, 'monarchs created new courts that would be more closely controlled by them [such as Star Chamber] as older courts tended to become less flexible'.

⁵⁶ Guy, J., *The Court of Star Chamber and its records to the reign of Elizabeth* (London, 1985), p. 51.

⁵⁷ Edwards, *Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings*, pp. iii–v.

⁵⁸ 'Spain: July 1531, 26–31', in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 4 Part 2, 1531–1533*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (London, 1882), pp. 218–227. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol4/no2/pp218-227>.

The litigant in question was Katherine of Aragon bemoaning the bias of English courts as opposed to the perceived impartiality of the international court in Rome. Freedom from the bribery and corruption that blighted local courts was one of the reasons why Star Chamber, along with the Court of Requests, dubbed the Poor Man's Court, was created so as to enable the community at large to have the opportunity, and the right, to challenge the wrongdoing of the rich and powerful. Many petitions submitted to Star Chamber complain that the local courts were often too weak to prosecute landowners, many of whom controlled and monopolised municipal and county office. One who sought to exercise his right to bring a case against corrupt officials was Hugh Middleton, 'a poore man' from Shropshire, who complained that he could not obtain justice from 'your highness Counsaile in the marches of Wales nor in no shere thereunto adyoining' because of the strength, wealth and powerful connections of his enemies.⁵⁹ Thomas Jauncey may not have been as 'poore' as Myddleton, but his adversary, Perkins of Pilston, had the means and the will to do him harm.

The bringing of a Star Chamber suit was not taken lightly either by the plaintiff or his attorney for the latter had to sign the Bill of Complaint, and if the case should fail or be disproved, he might share in the punishment meted out to his client. The court did not have the power to impose the death penalty but it had a range of sanctions available to it that included imprisonment, crippling fines and mutilation. This did not deter the determined litigants who were intent on winning their case no matter what the cost. Indeed, some litigants, Jauncey was unlikely to be among them, became particularly adept at manipulating the legal system for it is evident that some plaintiffs filed several charges at once against their opponents. Some of these cases were abandoned, while others were pursued. Often, plaintiffs sued their opponents in more than one court, so that a case begun in the Courts of Exchequer and Chancery, might find itself being heard in Star Chamber. Equally often, defendants counter-sued their accusers in separate courts, or even in the same court, so that the line between plaintiff and defendant frequently blurred. It is reasonable to assume that the prospect of being counter-sued by Perkins may have weighed heavily on Jauncey's mind. A skillful litigant could keep a case moving from one court to another for years. Even when a judgement had been secured, it was not easily enforced and the successful plaintiffs often had to live with the consequences of their victories, living, in many cases, in the vicinity of their defeated adversaries. Defeated litigants, especially the rich and powerful, sometimes used force and oftentimes delay, to hinder the execution of court judgements and decrees. That said, the Star Chamber was, arguably, more successful than most courts in doling out its brand of justice to those who deserved it.⁶⁰

That Perkins was obliged to provide a written answer to Jauncey's bill of complaint suggests that the plaintiff's plea had been accepted by the court. This would have concerned Perkins and brought him to the realisation that the case against him might proceed. For a man as socially sensitive as Perkins, the prospect of being found guilty was unthinkable. Indeed, if the reaction of his contemporary, Sir Henry Winston of Standish, Gloucestershire, is anything to go by, the disgrace of a guilty verdict was considered a greater punishment than any fine imposed by the court. Having

⁵⁹ TNA, STAC 5/M12/15 (c. 1585). Contrary to the opinion of some historians, Myddleton's case, and there are many others like it, suggest that the Star Chamber should not be considered an almost exclusively 'gentleman's court' for much of this period. To take a single county as our sample, of the 115 cases from Monmouthshire submitted to Star Chamber in the reign of James I, at least 14 plaintiffs were yeomen, two were husbandmen and one was a 'poore' labourer. Edwards, *Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings*, pp. 187–98.

⁶⁰ The verdicts in a number of cases have survived in a later copy collated and edited by K.J. Kesselring (ed.), *Star Chamber Reports: BL Harley MS 2143* (London, 2018), 99, n. 951. It is interesting to note that in a similar case, dating to 1590, the defendant was, upon being found guilty, briefly imprisoned in the Fleet and fined 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) 'for his bastinadoing'.

been found guilty of assault – ‘I gave some blows to two bailiffs’ – in February 1602, Winston, imprisoned in the Fleet, wrote to Elizabeth’s Secretary of State, Sir Robert Cecil:

I was lately censured in the High Court of Star Chamber to pay a fine of 1000*l.*, and to come to the next assizes at Gloucester to publicly acknowledge the offence, being matters neither of oppression nor corruption. ... I acknowledge the censure to be just, but entreat your favour to have my punishment remitted. I desire rather to remain in prison than to receive open disgrace in my country.⁶¹

The thought of being summoned to the assizes at Monmouth ‘to publicly acknowledge the offence’ of having his children’s teacher beaten seemed not to deter Perkins from dismissing the charge against him. Although Perkins’ response was entirely in keeping with the legal conventions of the day, a common strategy to avoid becoming a hostage to fortune, one cannot easily dismiss the notion that the brevity of the defendant’s answer to Jauncey’s complaint betrays his utter disdain for his adversary. It is vague and avoids any specific mention of ‘the offences and mysdemours’ of which he was charged but the answer does hint that Perkins was ‘redye to Averde and prove’ his innocence. Unfortunately, this is where the case comes to an abrupt halt; there are no interrogatories or witness statements, the presence of which would have enhanced our knowledge of the events, and people, connected with the alleged crime. Unless the court records have been lost, it seems that the case did not proceed beyond the initial stage of bill and answer. There may be several explanations for this: Jauncey may have discontinued his case; the case may have been deemed unfit to proceed and was dismissed by the court; the protagonists may have come to an understanding and settled out of court.

Thus, we are left with the, admittedly, partisan allegation submitted by Jauncey without any corroboration or serious challenge. Curiously, Jauncey appears to be remarkably well informed of his assailant’s plans and movements, would that we were made privy to the source of his information. Nevertheless, although Star Chamber bills operated largely through rhetorical positioning and legal formulae in which violence (or even the threat of violence) was routinely rendered as potentially murderous, there is no compelling reason to disbelieve Jauncey’s version of events, it has the ring of truth, and it seems he was not a man given to barratry. Although barratry was a common practice at this time, the individuals who indulged in causeless litigation were often to be found among the propertied classes, people who could reasonably afford the cost of court actions. As William Willcox concluded in his study of lawyers and litigants in seventeenth-century Gloucestershire, ‘Litigation was a dangerous game for the poor’.⁶²

What became of the protagonists? William Perkins of Pilston enjoyed a long and prosperous life, surviving into his mid-eighties.⁶³ He continued to serve in the manorial administration of the earls of Pembroke, and he maintained good relations with his superiors, successive chief stewards,

⁶¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Salisbury ... preserved at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire* (London, 1883–1976), Vol. XII, 45–6. The £1000 fine imposed on Winston is equivalent to nearly £138,000 today.

⁶² Willcox, W.B., ‘Lawyers and Litigants in Stuart England. A County Sample’, *Cornell Law Review*, 24 (1939), 538. See also, Taylor, Hilary, ‘Labourers, legal aid and the limits of popular legalism in Star Chamber’, in Kesselring & Mears (eds.), *Star Chamber Matters*, pp. 115–134.

⁶³ TNA, PROB 11/204/241. Probate was granted in May 1648.

Hugh Sanford, Sir Roland Morgan, Sir Thomas Morgan and Sir James Palmer.⁶⁴ Between 1627 and 1636, William Perkins and his fellow deputy, William Jones, were entrusted with the administration of the lordships of Usk and Trellech in the absence of Thomas Morgan and Palmer, both of whom were frequently away on the earl's business.

Perkins not only laid the foundations of an armigerous family of rising gentry status, he successfully preserved and gradually enlarged their estate through advantageous marriages, property transactions and the occupation of minor public offices.⁶⁵ This enabled William's grandson, Christopher, to be the first of the family pricked sheriff of Monmouthshire in 1667 followed by his great-grandson, Edward, the first to be appointed to the commission of the peace in 1679.⁶⁶ Unfortunately, we do not know what happened to William's cousin, servant and acquaintance, William Perkins of Trellech Grange, William Younge and Christopher Iorwerth respectively; the records are silent.⁶⁷ On the other hand, Thomas Jauncey does re-appear, albeit briefly, in the ecclesiastical records. It is not known when Jauncey decided that the life of a schoolmaster was too perilous a profession and not for him, but in September 1621 he was ordained into the priesthood by Bishop Miles Smith at Gloucester Cathedral. Less than two years later, in 1623, he obtained his first clerical post as curate of St. Mary's Church, Milston in Wiltshire. In 1625 he moved to St. Peter's Church, Bramshaw in Hampshire but he left after three years when, in July 1628, he was appointed vicar of St. James's church, West Hanney in Oxfordshire. Here he remained until his death, aged 83, in April 1661.⁶⁸

This case is but one of over 43,000 extant Star Chamber litigations and is, of itself, unremarkable.⁶⁹ It is missing the most important and informative part of the court process, the interrogatories and depositions, both of which would have provided a contextualised understanding of the circumstances surrounding the case. Nevertheless, even given its limitations, the case has intrinsic value as a study of social attitudes and interaction, and the consequences when personal relationships break down. The most interesting aspect of this case is the lack of hyperbole. Unlike many litigants keen to attract the attention of the Star Chamber by citing the potential for riot and rebellion, Jauncey provides a sobering, almost pedestrian, account of his painful experience at the hands of conspirators, intent on doing him serious harm. It provides a snapshot of life at a given moment in time that illuminates the lives of men who otherwise would be lost in the shadows.

⁶⁴ For Sanford and Palmer, see <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/sanford-hugh-1607>; <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/palmer-james-1585-1658>. For the Morgans, see <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/morgan-thomas-1564-1645>; Morgan, W.T., 'Morgan family, of Tredegar Park, Monmouth', *Dictionary of Welsh Biography, Online Edition*.

⁶⁵ NLW, Coleman Collection of Deeds, D.D. 1.412; Badminton Estate Records, (Manorial) 731; East Sussex and Brighton and Hove Record Office, SAS/G24/13; William's father, Christopher, had held the post of deputy steward of Trellech Grange in 1581-2.

⁶⁶ *List of sheriffs for England and Wales, from the earliest times to A.D. 1831* (London, 1963), p. 83; Phillips, *Justices of the Peace*, p. 365.

⁶⁷ In his will, Perkins bequeathed 20s. to his servant John Younge. Was this the brother or son of William Younge? TNA, PROB 11/204/241.

⁶⁸ For all references to Jauncey's clerical career, see The Clergy of the Church of England Database 1540-1835 (CCed). There is a potential discrepancy in the exact date of Jauncey's death; the CCed has 1661 but the parish register has March 1651. That a new vicar was appointed in 1661 would suggest this is the correct date.

⁶⁹ Barnes, T.G., 'The Archives and Problems of the Elizabethan and Early Stuart Star Chamber', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 2 (1963), 345-60.

[The page contains dense, handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or letter. The text is written in dark ink on aged, slightly stained paper. The handwriting is consistent throughout, with some variations in line spacing and ink density. The text is arranged in a single column, filling most of the page area. There are some faint markings and a small circular stamp or mark near the bottom right corner of the text area. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but aged manuscript.]

Fig. 2: Thomas Jauncey's Bill of Complaint.
The National Archives, ref. STAC8/189/8

APPENDIX

Transcript of TNA STAC 8/189/8

Editorial Note

Abbreviations and contractions have been extended where they appear unequivocal, eg p[ro] p[er]. Place and personal names have been expanded where the common form is obvious. Original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are retained except that i/j and u/v are silently modernized. One or more illegible words is represented thus [...] and uncertain words are in square brackets with question marks, eg [?the?]. Inserted words [^the^] and deleted words [the].

Bill of complaint

To the kyng[es] most Excellent ma[jes]tie.⁷⁰

In most humble wyse sheweth unto yo[u]r Excellent ma[jes]tie yo[u]r true and faythfull subjecte Thomas Jauncye of Newland in the Countye of Glouc[ester] master of Artes and Scoolemaster of the freescoole of Newland aforesaid That whereas one william Perkyngs of Pylsone in the p[ar]ishe of landoggatt⁷¹ in the Countye of monmoth gent[leman], havinge put unto yo[u]r said subjecte two of his sonnes to be taught and instructed by yo[u]r said Subjecte in the//Freescoole and soe beinge under the tuishion and gov[ern]ment of yo[u]r said subjecte yt fortuneth that for some of theyr faltes or necligences yo[u]r said subjecte gave unto them suche Correction as they des[er]ved, and th[ere] uppon the said w[illia]m Perkyngs eyther uppon some mysinformac[i]on or other undue Considerac[i]on therein, Conceaved very greate dyspleasure toward[es] yo[u]r said subjecte for the same, And not only tooke his said Chylderen from yo[u]r subject[es] instruccion & techinge but [?also?] sent a l[ette]re unto yo[u]r said subjecte that he woulde be revenged therefore; And to worke the same his revenge Complotted and Combyned w[i]th one w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellicke Grange in the said Countye of monmoth beinge a very desp[er]at & dysordered p[er]sone and such a one that hath hearetofore Comytted dyvers Assaltes, affrayes, outrages, & dyvers misdemenors uppon dyvers yo[u]r hyghnes subject[es] to the indayngeringe of theyre lyves, a very incontynent lyver, and very apt to all dysordes nothings wayenge or regardinge yo[u]r hyghnes lawes in anye Case whatsoever p[ro]vided. And the better to bringe//the same to passe they the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Pylsone & the said william Perkyngs of Trellycke further Confederated and Complotted w[i]th one Christofer yerroth a nere neyghbour of yo[u]r subject[es], and one william yonge a servant unto the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Pylsone whoe meet togyther at monmoth one satterdaye the iiiith daye of February,⁷² and there plotted and devysed howe to worke the said Revenge, by beating yo[u]r said [?subjecte?] [...] [?he?] the said christofer Yerroth well knowinge yo[u]r subject[es] waye to a Churche nere where was a sermon for the moste p[ar]te ev[er]ie Saboth daye, and whyther yo[u]r subjecte did often resorte, well knowing that at Newland was noe fytt place to effecte the same theyr intent shewed and directed that the best waye to effecte theyre desyne therein was, that the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke, and the said [...] myght lye in awayte for yo[u]r subjecte, one the morrowe

⁷⁰ I should like to thank Dr. Gavin Robinson for his advice and assistance in the transcription of this document.

⁷¹ Llandogo.

⁷² 1609.

morninge beinge sundaye the vth daye of the same moneth, of February, and that he the said Christofer yerroth would be a speciall spye, to gyve notice of yo[u]r subject[es] Cominge forward toward[es] the said Church. And accordinge to the same plott, & dyrection soe sett downe at monmoth he the said william Perkyngs of Trellycke (fyrst the said satterdaye at monmoth [...] the said complott soe sett and appoynted did grynd his sword & dagger, And one the morrowe early he the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke placed him selfe in a wood throwe the w[hi]ch yo[u]r said Subjecte [...] to go toward[es] the said Churche, havinge upon him his said sword and daggar ground as aforesaid, and a good Crabtree bastynadoe, & the sayed w[illia]m yonge was settled and placed not [...] the said w[illia]m Perkyngs, and the said w[illia]m⁷³ yerroth nere yo[u]r subject[es] howse, as a spye to gyve war[n]inge of yo[u]r subject[es] Cominge forward[es]. But yt fell out soe that uppon that daye throwe extraordin[ar]ie [...] yo[u]r subjecte did not goe accordinge to his wonted Custome forthe w[hi]ch he is amongest dyvers other graces muche bounde unto god for other wyse he had byn severly slayne, And they myssyng of [?theyr?] purpose heerein havinge a vehement desyre to effecte theyr murderous intent, the said Christofer yerroth, and the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke meet togyther [^plottinge & devisinge^] howe to drawe yo[u]r said subject to goe to the said Churche of purpose to gett yo[u]r subjecte into the said wood throwe w[hi]ch he was accustomed to goe, they the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke & the said Christofer yerroth Came togyther unto yo[u]r subject[es] Chamber in the saide Freeschoole of Newland, and fayned that the said Perkyngs was a gentelmans sonne of lansoye farr of from the said p[ar]ishe of Newland, and Came of purpose to place two of his bretheren to scoole w[i]th yo[u]r said subjecte and that he had used the said Christofer yerroth as a Chyfe meane to growe in acquayntance w[i]th yo[u]r said subjecte. And yo[u]r subject seinge the said w[illia]m Perkyngs soe armed as afore is declared, grewe in suspyc[i] on of some plott in regard the said Perkyngs of Pylsone had by his [ette]res & otherwyse soe thretenned yo[u]r said subjecte [?as?] aforesaid, yo[u]r said subjecte related & declared [^to them^] his [^said^] suspyc[i]on in the same. whereupon they the said Christofer yerroth and the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke w[i]th manye greet & vehement othes (as the lord should Judge theyre soules & the lyke) that yt was noe suche matter but simply to have yo[u]r said subjecte have too brothers of his the said Perkyngs (whoe said his name was Powell of Lansoye)⁷⁴ to be taught and instructed in the said scoole by yo[u]r said subjecte uppon w[hi]ch p[ro]testac[i]ons and solemhe othes aforesaid made aswell by the said yerroth as the said Perkyngs yo[u]r subjecte was p[er]swaded [?not?] doubtinge anye trechery to be wraught agay[n]st him by the said yerroth being his nere neyghboure & of whom yo[u]r said subjecte nev[er] desyved ill, rested sattysfyed in the same, And after long Conferrens the said yerroth dep[ar]ted, after whose dep[ar]ture the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke earnestly entreated yo[u]r subjecte to bringe him some p[ar]te of his waye he was to goe homeward, And yo[u]r said subjecte beinge thus resolved put one his Clooke & went forward w[i]th the said Perkyngs in Conferrens, and as yo[u]r subjecte would offer to dep[ar]te from the said Perkyngs he the said Perkyngs w[i]th fayer word[es] Dyd entreat yo[u]r said subjecte [^to go^] a lyttell further. And in thend yo[u]r subjecte beinge this Cu[n]gingly betrayed by the said yerroth and ledd and drawn by the said Perkyngs into [^a^] place fytted for his the said Perkyngs desyne he the said w[illia]m Perkyngs of Trellycke vehemently Assalted yo[u]r said subjecte sayeing he had mysused his kynsemen namage the said sonnes of [^w[illia]m Perkyngs [...]^] Pylson, and that he would be revenged one yo[u]r said subjecte for the same, And yo[u]r subjecte beinge altogyther weaponles he the said Perkyngs fyrst w[i]th his Crabtree bastinado gave unto yo[u]r subjecte dyvers very [?foule?]

⁷³ This is a scribal error. It should be Christopher.

⁷⁴ Llansoy

& Cruell blowes brekinge yo[u]r subject[es] head in Crewell mano[u]r And yo[u]r subjecte beinge strucken Downe & past his senses he the said Perkyns drewe his sword and therew[*i*]th gave unto yo[u]r subjecte Dyvers other wondes uppon his head, hand[es] & other p[ar]tes of his body, and suerly had there murdered yo[u]r said subjecte had he not espyed Companye w[*h*]ch Caused him to Run[n]e away and lefte yo[u]r subjecte lyeinge for dead, And p[re]sently he the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of trellycke and the foresaid w[*i*llia]m yonge servant unto unto⁷⁵ the other w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Pylsone repayed to the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns howse of Pylsone, & there dyned whereupo[n] yo[u]r subject[es] Frynd[es] [*havinge*] obteyned p[re]cept[es] from the Lord Byshope of Landavy⁷⁶ & other Justyces of the peace adjoyninge uppon the fame of murderinge of yo[u]r said subjecte of purpose to have the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Trellycke apprehended But he the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Trellycke was by the ayd & Councell of the other w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Pylsone Rescued, & sent away, & cann not as yett be taken. Wherefore and, for that the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Trellycke cane not be taken, And for that suche Conspyrcyes Complott[es] and Combynac[i]ons to depryve anye of yo[u]r hyghnes subject[es] of theyr lyfe or lyves And all suche [*?Pryvye?*] awaytinge Assaltes beating[es] woundyng[es] & ill intreating[es] are Contrary to yo[u]r hyghnes lawes peace & statut[es] of this yo[u]r hyghnes Realme of England to the incurragment of dyvers other lyke ill dysposed p[er]sons to Comytt the lyke offences w[*h*]ch maye tend gretely to the dysturbance of yo[u]r ma[jes]t[ies] peace and quiett gov[er]nment of this yo[u]r hyghness said Realme of England yf Condygne punyshm[en]t be not ynflycted uppo[n] them, And for that the said Combynac[i]ons Complott[es] abetment[es] beating[es] & wounding[es] of yo[u]r subjecte were Complotted Contryved & Comytted sythens yo[u]r ma[jes]t[ies] last gen[er]all & Ffree p[ar]don And the rather for that the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Pylson & the said Perkyns of Trellycke have sythens yo[u]r subject[es] recoverie geven forth thretening[es] yf yo[u]r subjecte will not be quiett he shall have more of the same usage maye yt therefore please yo[u]r most excellent ma[jes]tie the p[re]misses Considered to graunte unto yo[u]r said Subjecte yo[u]r most [*?graciously?*] [...] and [...] Subpena⁷⁷ to be dyrected unto the said w[*i*llia]m Perkyns of Pylsone w[*i*llia]m yonge his servant w[*i*llia]m Perkins of Trellycke & Christofer yerroth Comandinge them [...] thereby at one or more certeyne dayes therein to be lymytted p[er]sonally to app[er]e before the lord[es] & others of yo[u]r ma[jes]t[ies] most honorable pryvye Councell in yo[u]r ma[jes]t[ies] most honorable [...] chamber at westm[inster] then & there to answeare heareunto and to receave suche fytt punyshement therefore as to theyre hono[ur]s shall seeme fytt. And yo[u]r said subject [*?according?*] to his bounden dutye will ev[er] praye for the p[re]servac[i]on of yo[u]r most graciouslye & Royall p[er]sone longe to Raigne ov[er] us.

Tho[mas] Blake⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Repeated.

⁷⁶ Francis Godwin, Bishop of Llandaff.

⁷⁷ Writ of *subpoena*.

⁷⁸ A Thomas Blake is listed as a scholar of New College, Oxford, in 1570, graduating as a Bachelor of Civil Law in April, 1578. *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, 136.

Answer

In [7] February Anno [7] James

The Annsweare of William Perkyngs of Pilston on of the deffendant
To the bill of complaynt of Thomas Jauncy Clark Complaynent

The said deffendant savinge to hym sealfe all advantages of excepc[i]on to the incertayntyes insufficiencies and other the imp[er]fect[i]ons of the said bille for Annsweare thereunto saieth that as to all and enye the unlawfull Acts in the bill menc[i]oned [...] all other the offences and mysdemenors by the said byll of complaynte laied to the charge of the deffendant this complaynte sett fforthe against this deffendant. All which this deffendant is redye to Averre and prove as this honorable courte shall Awarde. And prayeth to be dismyssed out of the same courte with his [...] and [...] by hym susteyned in this behalffe.

THE TOMB OF GWLADUS DDU AND WILLIAM AP THOMAS IN THE PRIORY CHURCH OF ST MARY, ABERGAVENNY

By Maddy Gray

The tomb of Sir William ap Thomas (d. 1445) and his wife Gwladus Ddu, ‘the Star of Gwent’ (d. 1454), is one of the glories of the priory church of St Mary in Abergavenny. The Abergavenny tombs have long been regarded as the best collection of funerary sculptures in Wales and are certainly the best studied. As well as Churchyard’s chorographical poem *The Worthines of Wales*, antiquarian descriptions include the diary of the Royalist soldier Richard Symonds and an anonymous manuscript of 1646 included in Richard Gough’s 1789 edition of Camden’s *Britannia*.¹ Recent studies have included, as well as Lindley’s work, Rhianydd Biebrach’s Ph D thesis ‘Monuments and Commemoration in the Diocese of Llandaff c. 1200-c. 1540’² and the same author’s ‘Commemoration and Culture: the monuments of Abergavenny Priory in context’.³ There is nevertheless scope for more to be done. This article will look at William and Gwladus’s tomb in detail and consider whether new light can be thrown on some of the debates about its design.

Existing studies usually describe the tomb as ‘the ap Thomas tomb’ or ‘the tomb of Sir William ap Thomas’, sometimes as ‘the tomb of William ap Thomas and his wife Gwladus’. This article will suggest that it may be more accurate to describe it as the tomb of Gwladus ferch Dafydd and her husband William. Gwladus outlived her husband by nine years, and it is in her elegy by Lewys Glyn Cothi that the tomb is described, suggesting that it may well have been her commission.⁴ She could have commissioned it in her lifetime: it would certainly have taken some time to produce. However, Lewys Glyn Cothi’s elegy also gives details of her funeral, suggesting it was composed not for the funeral feast but for performance some time afterwards: the tomb may not have been installed until after Gwladus’s death. The fact that she is depicted on William’s right side also suggests that she commissioned the tomb.⁵ (The effigies are on separate slabs of alabaster, but the fact that the graffiti are almost all on Gwladus’s right side and William’s left side suggests that they are in their original arrangement.)

Location and identification

Splendidly conserved by Michael Eastham and his colleagues, the tomb now stands in the centre of the south chapel, before the altar and between the tombs of their younger son Richard Herbert

¹ The antiquarian sources are all reprinted by Phillip Lindley in *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2007) 220–36.

² University of Swansea Ph D thesis, 2010, available online at <https://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cronfa42675>

³ In George Nash, ed., *An Anatomy of a Priory Church: The Archaeology, History and Conservation of St Mary’s Priory Church, Abergavenny* (Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015) 143–61.

⁴ Dafydd Johnston, ed., *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1995), no. 110, translated in David Hale, ‘Death and Commemoration in Late Medieval Wales’ (unpublished Ph D thesis, University of South Wales, 2018, available online at [https://pure.southwales.ac.uk/en/studentthesis/death-and-commemoration-in-late-medieval-wales\(7d14b42e-a69b-4968-9398-aad3b96748e0\).html](https://pure.southwales.ac.uk/en/studentthesis/death-and-commemoration-in-late-medieval-wales(7d14b42e-a69b-4968-9398-aad3b96748e0).html)) 89, 353–5. On women as commissioners of tombs and other commemorative strategies, see Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety* (Amsterdam University Press, 2018) esp 25–50. See also Sally Badham, ‘Women’s status, identity and possible self-identity as shown on medieval brasses’, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, forthcoming.

⁵ I am grateful to Ann Adams for this point.



Fig. 1. Tomb of Gwladus Ddu and William ap Thomas: general view from north-east

of Coldbrook (d. 1469) and their illegitimate grandson Richard Herbert of Ewyas (d. 1510).⁶ Archaeological investigation has suggested that this may not have been the exact original position. Excavation in 1994 found that the tomb chest was resting on what were described as ‘two decorated floor slabs’ and that the cavity contained disarticulated human remains, decorated wood fragments and dried plant remains.⁷ Lindley described the two stones as ‘late medieval grave slabs with incised crosses’ but agreed that they suggested post-medieval reconstruction.⁸ They may have been the two cross slabs now set into the floor east of the tomb. One is a cross-in-circle, unlikely to have been later than c.1300, but the other is more probably fifteenth century.

It seems unlikely, however, that the tomb was moved far. In his *Worthines of Wales*, first published in 1587, Thomas Churchyard described the tomb as ‘amid the Chappell’. It was for some time assumed that the worst damage to the Abergavenny tombs was the result of Reformation iconoclasm and that their reconstruction was part of the early nineteenth-century rebuilding of the church. Recently, however, Phillip Lindley has made a compelling case for iconoclastic damage towards the end of the Civil War, probably after the fall of Raglan Castle in 1646, and for reconstruction soon after the Restoration,⁹ though the find of a 1735 halfpenny and a clay pipe bowl of early eighteenth-century style might suggest a slightly later reconstruction.¹⁰ It was presumably at this point that the medieval grave slabs were placed under the tomb chest.

The identification of the tomb with Gwladus and William is based mainly on the heraldry (now lost, so we are dependent on antiquarian sources) and the detail of his armour. There is no surviving inscription: if there ever was one, it has been lost. Carved inscriptions on alabaster tombs are unusual before c 1500.¹¹ The tomb as reconstructed does have room for an inscription panel, on the chamfer of the top slab of the chest; it could have been painted but there is no confirmatory evidence. Another possibility is that a plaque setting out details of those memorialised could have been placed nearby.

However, Churchyard in his *Worthines of Wales* described shields behind the heads of the effigies:

His Armes three ramping Lyons white
Behind his head in shield:
A crowned Lyon blacke is hers
Set out in most rich field
Behind her head is likewise there¹²

⁶ On the conservation programme, see Michael Eastham, ‘St Mary’s Church, Abergavenny – The Monuments’ (conservation report with contributions from Anne Brodrick, Jerry Sampson and Robin Sanderson, 1993); Michael Eastham, ‘St Mary’s Priory Church, Abergavenny – Monument Conservation’ in Nash, *Anatomy of a Priory Church* 41–56.

⁷ N. A. Page, ‘Archaeological Excavation, St Mary’s Church, Abergavenny, March 1994’. Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Report 94/016. I am immensely grateful to the Archaeological Trust for providing me with a copy of this report. The human remains were mainly skulls and long bones from at least three adult and one juvenile burials, disarticulated and clearly moved from elsewhere. They were in any case unlikely to be those of William and Gwladus: while tomb chests look as though they contain bodies, this is rarely so. Bodies are usually buried beneath the chest, sometimes in a vault or shaft.

⁸ *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* 220 n. 91.

⁹ ‘A Restoration Restoration? The Herbert Monuments at Abergavenny’ in *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* 199–236.

¹⁰ Page, ‘Archaeological Excavation’ 5.

¹¹ Jon Bayliss, pers. comm.

¹² transcribed in Lindley, *Tomb Destruction* 222.

and Richard Symonds also described the shields:

At his head two angels support this shield [a rough sketch of the three lions rampant argent of Herbert, on a shield divided per pale, with the colours marked as g (for gules) and b (presumably for azure, to distinguish it from the A for argent of the lions)]
Behind her head this [a sketch of a shield blazoned Argent, a lion rampant sable, crowned or]¹³

Other antiquarian sources transcribed by Lindley mention the shields. Lewys Glyn Cothi also mentioned the *maes glas fal cledd Pandrasus* (the blue/green field like the sword of Pandrasus) and the *llew lir â'r lliw o lus* (the black lion the colour of bilberries). *Maes glas* would usually be translated 'green field', but in this context it seems more likely to be a reference to the blue field of William's arms. He and his Herbert descendants bore Per pale gules and azure, three lions rampant argent, though the azure and gules are sometimes reversed.¹⁴ There has been some debate about the black lion under the head of the female effigy. Gwladus's father Dafydd ap Llywelyn, 'Dafydd Gam', was entitled to and sometimes bore the arms attributed to his ancestor Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Sable, a chevron between three spear-heads Argent, embrued Gules, and these are the arms in the modern window commemorating him in the church at Llandeilo Gresynni. However, Siddons quotes numerous sources suggesting that he also bore the black lion, sometimes with red or silver tongue and claws but also sometimes with a gold crown.¹⁵ There were of course others entitled to the same arms, but the armour of the male figure at Abergavenny can be dated fairly securely to the late 1440s, and William and Gwladus are the only possible candidates.

William ap Thomas came from a gentry family in the north of what would become the county of Monmouthshire. According to tradition, he fought at Agincourt, though his presence there is not recorded. He may have been in the entourage of his future wife's father Dafydd Gam. Possibly as a result of this, he held a number of key positions on the Welsh estates of both the Crown and the Duke of York. He acquired Raglan Castle from his first wife Elizabeth Bluet. They had no children, but he went on living there after she died and eventually bought it from her heirs. William and his son William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke, extended the castle so that it became one of the most imposing buildings in south Wales. He died in 1445.

William's marriage to Gwladus added to his political position. Her father Dafydd Gam was one of the staunchest supporters of the English crown against Owain Glyndŵr.¹⁶ It was a second marriage for her as well, though unlike William she had children by her first marriage, to Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine. Gwladus was herself a considerable power behind the scenes in the politics of south-east Wales. In his elegy for her, Lewys Glyn Cothi described her as 'y seren o Efenni ... braich i Went a Brychandir', 'the star of Abergavenny, the strength of Gwent and Brecon's land'. William and Gwladus died before the political tensions in 15th century England broke out into civil war. It is tempting to interpret the roses on the canopies of their tomb as the red roses of

¹³ British Library Harley MS 944 f. 21v; C. E. Long and Ian Roy, eds, *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Cambridge University Press, 1997: reprint of the Camden society Old Series 74 edition, 1859) 236, transcribed in Lindley, *Tomb Destruction* 228. The Camden Society edition does not reproduce the sketches, which are very rough.

¹⁴ M. P. Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry* vol. 2 (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1993) 225–7, 592.

¹⁵ Siddons, *Welsh Heraldry* vol 2, 104–5.

¹⁶ Several Welsh elegies to his descendants describe him as *Sir Dafydd Gam*, but Adam Chapman has argued convincingly that this was a family embroidery for which there is no contemporary evidence: A. Chapman, 'The posthumous knighting of Dafydd Gam', *Journal of Medieval History* 43 (2017), 89–105.

Lancaster, but they are actually a common decorative motif: it was not until Henry VII came to the throne and reunited the two dynasties that the red rose was widely used as the Lancastrian symbol. Although William and Gwladus had supported the Lancastrian kings of England, their sons (and Gwladus's Vaughan children) supported the Yorkist side in the civil war. William Herbert and his younger brother Richard were both executed by the Lancastrians after the Yorkist defeat at the battle of Edgcote.

The effigies

The effigies themselves are carvings of very high quality. Gwladus's face is almost ethereally beautiful. She wears an elaborately embroidered horned head-dress and ceremonial dress, a full mantle with long tassels and a *surcote ouverte* (a fitted sideless surcoat) over a gown with tight sleeves. The embroidery on her head-dress is carved but this together with the mantle, surcoat and gown were probably originally painted. Her head rests on a tasselled cushion supported by angels and a small dog is biting the hem of her gown. William is in full armour, and his armour is well up to date: a short cuirass with long tassets below to combine mobility and protection. His helmet is the traditional great bascinet, complete with what may have been a jewelled orle and elaborate vervelle covers (these were purely decorative as the bascinet covered the whole head and neck). It rests on his tilting helm, which has a turbaned female head as its crest. His feet with their very up-to-date V-shaped sabaton lames rest on a lion.¹⁷ He wears a livery collar of interlinked SS, a royal gift and a symbol of his loyalty to the ruling house of Lancaster.¹⁸ While we do not know his date of birth,



Fig. 2. Gwladus Ddu and William ap Thomas: heads and supporting angels

¹⁷ Tobias Capwell discusses and illustrates aspects of the armour in *Armour of the English Knight, 1400–1450* (London, Thomas Del Mar, 2015) 209–13, 250, 252 and figs 2.68, 2.118, 2.150 and 2.196.

¹⁸ On livery collars, see Matthew Ward, *The Livery Collar in Late Medieval England and Wales: Politics, Identity and Affinity* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2016).

it may have been as early as 1380, meaning he would have been in his sixties when he died. One might have expected that his fighting years were well past. Nevertheless, there are other examples of men fighting even older than that: Sir Matthew Gurney was born in about 1310 and was in the Calais garrison in the 1380s. Being in a garrison was arguably a bit different from fighting in the field, but Guy, Lord Brian (d. 1390) must have been about 70 when he led a retinue in a naval expedition in 1378. If the armour on William's effigy was indeed modelled on his own, it may well have been that he kept his armour up to date in case he was needed again.¹⁹

The tomb chest

It is the panels of the tomb chest which make this monument so intriguing. The north and south sides have the twelve apostles interspersed with the twelve prophets, each one carrying a scroll, and the smaller panel at the east end depicts the Annunciation. The west panel is missing. These are not panels one expects to find on a tomb chest.

It is worth looking at the detail of the carving of the Annunciation panel. It is the design Cheetham lists as his category 4 in *English Medieval Alabasters*, and he lists numerous examples across Europe, but the ubiquity of the design does not detract from its significance. Mary is shown crowned (she is already proleptically Queen of Heaven) in a rather awkward posture, half kneeling, half standing at a solidly-constructed prayer desk with a book on it, and turning to her right. This is presumably intended to show her in the act of rising from her knees at the archangel's appearance. Behind her is a curtained bed: she is in a private room. The archangel Gabriel kneels at the left of the panel, holding a scroll which would have been painted with his salutation, *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*. In front of the scroll is a lily in a pot, the symbol of Mary's virginity. At the top left of the panel is God the Father, crowned and with his hands raised in blessing, leaning out from the balcony of Heaven. From his mouth issues a thread of breath which would have borne the dove of the Holy Spirit (this part of the panel has been damaged, possibly deliberately). The scene is set under a canopy with five decorated arches. Two narrower panels to either side have censuring angels under smaller canopies. In its original form, it would have been a sumptuous piece of work: there are extensive traces of gilding as well as orpiment, on the figures of God the Father and the archangel, and on Mary's hair.

The Annunciation is unusual on tombs, though there are some examples on brasses. These are mainly brasses of continental manufacture and commemorating ecclesiastics.²⁰ Lost depictions of the Annunciation have been identified in the indents of brasses to a late fourteenth-century lady of the Roos family at Gedney (Lincs.) and Sir William Thorpe (d. 1391) in Ely Cathedral. The one surviving secular example in England is the brass to Anthony Hansart and his wife Katherine Southwell (d. 1507) at March (Cams).²¹ None of the brasses, though, mirrors the design at Abergavenny; they feature Gabriel and Mary but not God, even represented as a hand. There are also a few surviving

¹⁹ I am grateful to Adam Chapman and Andrew Ayton for a discussion of the armour and for these references to elderly warriors.

²⁰ Norris, *The Memorials I* 68, 101, 128, 172. For the brass at Fovant (Wilts.) commemorating the rector George Rede, see <https://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/index-of-brasses/fovant-wiltshire> (accessed 26.08.21).

²¹ Robert Kinsey, 'Each According to their Degree: The Lost Brasses of the Thorpes of Northamptonshire', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 18(4) (2012) 311–33, online at <https://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/public/files/2012-transactions-volume-xviii-part-4-1949104421.pdf> (accessed 2.9.21); Malcolm Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Memorials I* (London, Phillips & Page, 1977) 190. I am grateful to Sally Badham for these references.



Fig. 3. The Annunciation panel from the east end of the tomb chest, showing orpiment and gilding on figures of God the Father and Gabriel

examples of alabaster carvings of the Annunciation on tombs, and it is of course possible that some of the decontextualised examples in Cheetham's catalogues came originally from tomb chests.

Apostles and prophets also appear on monumental brasses, mainly the lavish products of Flemish workshops and usually on the brasses of royalty and ecclesiastics in continental Europe, with a few in England. Sometimes they are in the side shafts of the more elaborate effigial brasses, sometimes in the orphreys of ecclesiastical vestments.²² Unusually, the apostles appear in the side shafts of a civilian, Walter Pescod (d. 1398) and his wife in Boston (Lincs.),²³ and some of the prophets were included on a brass possibly to a knight or civilian at Tattershall (Lincs.).²⁴ Alabaster panels of the prophets do survive, but as part of *Te Deum* altarpieces, and they usually show a smaller number of prophets, sometimes with additional figures such as Moses and John the Baptist,

²² Norris, *The Memorials I* 23, 28 (brass commemorating a king and queen of Denmark), 31, 37, 39, 101, 125, 128; see also Norris, *Monumental Brasses: The Craft* (London, Faber & Faber, 1978) 74–5.

²³ Norris, *The Memorials I* 68, illustration in Norris, *The Craft*, fig. 171.

²⁴ Sally Badham, 'Patterns of Patronage: Brasses to the Cromwell-Bourchier Kinship Group', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society* 17 (2003/08) 423–452, on p. 449.

arranged in two rows.²⁵ The Apostles as a full set are also unusual on tomb chests: they appear on the tomb of Sir Richard Vernon at Tong but Cheetham's lists suggest they are more usually part of Apostles' Creed altarpieces.²⁶ This nevertheless suggests that the alabaster carvers would have been accustomed to carving them. None of the examples in Cheetham is quite like the Abergavenny panels, but there seems to be a range of styles. The Tong apostles, for example, are interspersed with shield-bearing angels and carry books rather than scrolls. It is even possible that the Abergavenny chest was made up of panels which the workshop already had in stock. Each long side of the chest is made up of three sections, each with four figures. On five of the six sections the figures are arranged: prophet – apostle – prophet – apostle. However, on the easternmost section on the south side, the figures are the other way round. This could however have been a mistake by the workshop which was noticed too late to be corrected. Similarly, while on five of the six panels the apostles are bare-headed and the prophets wear hats, on the easternmost panel on the north side all the figures are bare-headed. However, they are still arranged in pairs, suggesting that they are still part of the sequence of alternating prophets and apostles.

In his pioneering study of the Abergavenny tombs in 1872, Octavius Morgan asserted that the restored tombs seemed to have been assembled out of fragments, not all of which may originally have belonged to them: he suggested that some may have come from a destroyed altar reredos.²⁷ This assumption was repeated in numerous subsequent studies, one as recently as 1995.²⁸ The argument rested mainly on the distinctive panel of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin Mary at the back of the tomb alcove of Richard Herbert of Ewyas (which Rock suggested was originally a triptych) but included the panels from Gwladus and William's tomb. The Assumption panel, Morgan suggested, was the centrepiece of an altar reredos also including the panels of the apostles and prophets and the Annunciation.

It has to be said that there is some substance to the argument about the alcove tomb. The central panel of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin does not fit the ledge on which it stands. Phillip Lindley has pointed out that the small praying figures of Richard Herbert and his wife are carved on the same block of alabaster as the Assumption and Coronation, but votive figures were not unknown on altarpieces. The Gylbert monument at Youlgreave (Derbs.) has an inscription commemorating Robert and Joan Gylbert, who died at the end of the fifteenth century. It shows them and their children kneeling before the figures of the Virgin and Child. In spite of the inscription, though, the layout of the carving suggests that it cannot have been part of a tomb, and that it was

²⁵ Francis Cheetham, *Alabaster Images of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2003) 13, 154. The Te Deum panel of the prophets in the Victoria and Albert Museum is illustrated in Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters: with a catalogue of the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1984, 2005) 132. There is a sketch of the St Stephen Norwich panel at (<https://www.ststephensnorwich.org/the-prophets-alabaster/>) (accessed 30.06.21).

²⁶ *English Medieval Alabasters* 69; *Alabaster Images* 164. For illustrations of the individual apostles in the V&A altarpiece, see Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters* 73 (Andrew), 82 (Bartholomew), 106 (James the Great), 112 (James the Less), 123 (John), 126 (Jude), 130 (Matthew), 131 (Matthias), 142 (Peter), 146 (Philip), 149 (Simon) and 152 (Thomas). A number of other individual panels of apostles in Cheetham's catalogue may well come from Apostles' Creed altarpieces and some are stylistically similar to the Abergavenny figures, though none is exactly the same.

²⁷ Octavius Morgan, *Some Account of the Ancient Monuments in the Priory Church, Abergavenny* (Newport, Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, 1872, available online at <https://ia902608.us.archive.org/9/items/someaccountofanc00morguoft/someaccountofanc00morguoft.pdf>, accessed 11.07.21)

²⁸ V. Rock, 'The medieval monuments at St Mary's Priory, Abergavenny', *Medieval Life* 3 (1995) 17–24, discussed by Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* 201–2.

most likely an altar retable.²⁹ However, the antiquarian evidence for the Herbert tomb and the stylistic similarity between the small carvings of Herbert and his wife and the figures of their children on the side panels suggest that they belong together and that they are all in their original location. The misfit between the alabaster panel and the stone corbel on which it rests might indicate the reuse of an earlier alcove, but this is only speculation. Once it has been established that the panel of the Assumption is in its original location, the argument that the other panels were once part of a reredos becomes less convincing. Lindley also points to Richard Symonds' description of the monument of Gwladus and William as 'a stately altar tombe; divers faire statues round about the sides'. There is another even more compelling piece of evidence for the integrity of the tomb which Lindley does not mention. In his *marwnad* or elegy for Gwladus, Lewys Glyn Cothi says 'Duw a oedd, ef a'r deuddeg', it was God and the twelve, presumably a reference to the twelve prophets and apostles and the figure of God the Father in the Annunciation scene.

Octavius Morgan also suggested that the various antiquarian references to shields were to something immediately under the heads of the effigies and held by the angels which can still be seen supporting the cushion under Gwladus's head, albeit in a damaged state. There is something similar under the heads of the effigies of Gronw ap Tudur Fychan (d. 1382) and his wife Myfanwy ferch Thomas ap Llywelyn at Penmynydd (Ang.) and William Bulkeley (d. c.1490) and Elin Gruffydd at Beaumaris (Ang.). However, while these are not unique, they are unusual.³⁰ Shields immediately above the heads of the effigies at Abergavenny would have been invisible as the canopies would have hidden them. Morgan's suggestion was that the angels and shields had been damaged and that the canopies were a later addition (presumably before Gough saw the tomb in the late eighteenth



Fig. 4. Paint on the canopy and under the angel supporting Gwladus's head

²⁹ Jennifer S. Alexander, B. W. Hodgkinson and Sue A. Hadcock, 'The Gylbert Monument in Youlgreave Church: memorial or liturgical furnishing?', *Church Monuments* 21 (2006) 94–111.

³⁰ I am immensely grateful to Jon Bayliss for a lengthy discussion of this in 2014, when I was working on the Bulkeley tomb in Beaumaris.

century, as he mentions the canopies and says the angels are supporting cushions.)³¹ The canopies are on separate pieces of alabaster and have clearly been damaged and truncated. However, the angels under Gwladus's head are supporting the cushion and they are aligned differently from those on the Penmynydd and Beaumaris tombs. Gwladus's cushion is placed diagonally, with tassels at the corners, and it is hard to see how a shield could have been fitted above it. There is no evidence for angels or shields under William's head: he rests on his tilting helm, and the drapery of the helm falls on the slab. Here again, too, the evidence of Lewys Glyn Cothi's poem is crucial. The elegy describes the tomb in some detail. References to *pinagls fal pen eglwys Fair*, pinnacles like those of St Marys church (ie the priory church) and the *seren ar ben y bedd*, the star at the head of the grave, must be references to the canopies over the heads of the effigies, with their painted stars.

So where were the shields? None of the antiquarian accounts says anything about the west panel. When Octavius Morgan saw the tomb in the 1870s, the west end had been patched with what he described as 'a portion of a gravestone, an incised slab with a cross of very late date'.³² (This was the post-Reformation cross slab which has now been repositioned to the west of the tomb chest.) However, if the shields were not actually adjacent to the effigies, the only possible conclusion is that it was they which were on the panel at the west end. The antiquarian descriptions are ambiguous. 'At his head', 'behind her head' do suggest shields immediately adjacent to the heads of the effigies, but careful inspection suggests that this is impossible. Angels bearing shields are of course a common feature of side panels on tomb chests (see, for example, the chest adjoining Gwladus and William's, that of their second son Richard Herbert of Coldbrook) and more elaborate angels with shields appear at the ends of (for example) the tomb of Sir William Mathew and Jenet ferch Henry in Llandaff Cathedral.

Apostles and prophets

Intriguing though the shields are, it is the panels with the apostles and prophets and the end panel of the Annunciation which are unusual and therefore of most interest. Where did the inspiration come from for this distinctive choice of imagery? The Biblical prophets are sometimes shown interspersed with the apostles on rood screens – at Bovey Tracy, Chudleigh, Ipplepen, Kenton, and Stoke Gabriel and possibly at Bridford in Devon, for example.³³ At Southwold in Suffolk they form two separate sequences. Thornham (Norfolk) has only the prophets, with their text scrolls but not in the usual order. Marston Moretaine (Beds.) has some of the prophets remaining, North Crawley (Bucks.) has the prophets on the screen and the apostles in the roof timbers.³⁴

The medieval belief was that the apostles had themselves written the basic statement of Christian belief still known as the Apostles' Creed, each of them contributing one clause. This idea dates back at least to the later fourth century and the work of St Ambrose. In his exposition of the creed in 404, Tyrannus Rufinus set out the list of apostles with the clauses they were believed to have contributed, before they separated after Pentecost.³⁵ In stained glass, and sometimes on rood screens,

³¹ Bodleian MS Gough General Topography 33, fols 172r-v, published in Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* 233–4.

³² Morgan, *Some Account* 43.

³³ Michael Aufrère Williams, 'Medieval English Roodscreens, with special reference to Devon' (University of Exeter Ph D thesis, 2008, available online at <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10036/89276/WilliamsM.pdf>, accessed 04.07.21) 205, 214, 216 and n. 45, 272–3, 283–4, 316–17, 348 and figs 54, 55.

³⁴ *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Buckinghamshire, Volume 2, North* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1913) 219–23, online at <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/bucks/vol2/pp219-223>.

³⁵ J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3rd ed. Oxford, Routledge, 2014) 1–3.

the apostles may be depicted with their respective clauses. The prophets are sometimes depicted with texts from their prophecies which link with and foretell the clauses of the Creed. There were therefore plenty of models for a devout woman to design a distinctive tomb.

There is potentially a coherence in the choice of imagery at Abergavenny, linking the apostles and prophets with the Annunciation and Gwladus's personal devotion. The prophets and apostles are all shown carrying scrolls, which would originally have been painted with the appropriate texts. Some of these have a particular relevance to a scheme including the Annunciation. Unfortunately, most of the apostles at Abergavenny have lost their identifying emblems, and the prophets did not have distinctive emblems. The order of the apostles and their appropriate clauses was established in theory by Rufinus at the beginning of the fifth century but there is some variation, especially on rood screens if they do not have their clauses of the Creed.³⁶ The choice of prophets and their texts is more variable.³⁷ The earlier ones in the sequence seem to be more consistent, and their texts are more clearly appropriate to the clauses of the Creed.

Only two of the apostles can be clearly identified at Abergavenny. St Matthew is in the middle of the north side with his money box over his right arm, though he also carries a halberd which is normally the emblem of St Matthias; St James the Great is in the middle of the south side and recognisable by the scallop shell in his hat. Apart from James, the apostles were normally depicted bareheaded; the prophets are distinguished from the apostles by the fact that most of them wear a range of different kinds of headgear – hoods, twisted capuchons, high hats. On most of the rood screens, only the apostles have haloes, but at Abergavenny the paint traces suggest that both prophets and apostles were haloed, though the paint has in some cases been lost. There are some other more conjectural identifications. Gough's notes, made in the late eighteenth century, mention a figure on the north side holding a long pole like an oar, another with a globe and another with an axe.³⁸ Writing in 1927, Philip Nelson claimed to be able to identify several more, though much of what he described is no longer visible and the photographs accompanying his article are not sufficiently clear to enable us to identify the details.³⁹

Nevertheless, if we can be sure about James and Matthew, we can extrapolate from them to the rest of the sequence. James is usually the third in line of the apostles, with his section of the Creed being *Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine* (Who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary), a clear link to the Annunciation panel. Assuming they read from left to right (this seems to work best, though the prophets at Thornham run from right to left), and counting back from James, we should have St Andrew, then the first in the sequence, St Peter. At Bovey Tracey and Chudleigh, the apostles come first, then the prophets, but at Ipplepen and Kenton the prophets are first. The pairs of prophets and apostles at Abergavenny lean slightly towards each

³⁶ see for example the apostles and prophets at Southwold, illustrated in detail on Simon Knott's wonderful Suffolk Churches site, <http://www.suffolkchurches.co.uk/Southwold.htm> (accessed 07.07.21), though it is possible that the panels at Southwold have come from another location and they may have been disarranged.

³⁷ For an overview, see Robert Milburn, *Saints and their Emblems in English Churches* (3rd edn, Malvern, Cresselles, 1991) 269–72; see also Christopher Woodforde, 'The Painted Glass in Withcote Church', *The Burlington Magazine* vol. 75 no. 436 (July 1939) 17–22 for the range of variability, and Charles Tracey, 'The 14th-Century Canons' Stalls in the Collegiate Church of St Mary, Astley, Warwickshire', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 162 (2009) 88–124.

³⁸ Lindley, *Tomb Destruction* 233.

³⁹ Philip Nelson, 'Some Undescribed English Alabaster Carvings', *Archaeological Journal* 84 (1927) 33–46, on pp 35–7.



Fig. 5. Prophets and Apostles: L-R, David, Andrew, Isaiah, James (with scallop shell in his hat), Zechariah, John.

other (a feature also found on some of the rood screens⁴⁰) and from this and from the breaks in the panels we can assume that at Abergavenny the prophets come first. The westernmost figure on the south side is therefore Peter's corresponding prophet, Jeremiah. Peter begins the Creed and the words *Credo in Deum patrem omnipotentem creatorem coeli et terrae* (I believe in God the Father almighty, maker of heaven and earth) would have been on his scroll. Jeremiah's scroll would have been an appropriate verse from his prophecy, *Patrem invocabitis qui fecit et condidit coelos* (You shall call him Father, who made and established the heavens). This is a clear pointer to the figure of God the Father in the Annunciation scene, leaning out from his heavenly balcony.

Peter is probably followed by David (here regarded as a prophet), though there is no trace of his usual harp in the carving, and he wears a hat rather than a crown. His scroll usually had a quote from Psalm ii, *Dominus dixit ad me, filius meus es tu; ego hodie genui te* (The Lord said to me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee). This again fits nicely with the Annunciation panel. David's corresponding apostle is Andrew (and there might be a faint trace of his saltire cross) with the Creed clause *Et in Jesum Christum filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum* (And in Jesus Christ his only son, our Lord). Next would be Isaiah, with perhaps the best-known text from his prophecy,

⁴⁰ at Chudleigh, for example: for archive photographs of the panels on the screen there, see <http://www.tara.tcd.ie/discover> and search for Chudleigh (accessed 10.07.21).

Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son. This is often the text that Mary is represented as reading in later medieval descriptions of the Annunciation.

After Isaiah and James, the prophecies and the Creed are less clearly linked to the subject matter of the Annunciation panel, and the prophets and their texts are more varied. Nelson identified several of the apostles on the north side of the tomb chest. As well as Matthew, the apostle to his right should be the other Simon, Simon Zelotes. His usual emblem is the saw with which he was martyred, but he is sometimes depicted with an oar or a boat, and with the eye of faith guided by Nelson one can identify what he has in his hand as a deep-hulled vessel, possibly a cog. To the right again should be Jude, who is the one usually depicted with a boat; Nelson suggests he is carrying an oar, though the object in his left hand could equally well be the club with which (according to some traditions) he was martyred. Finally, Nelson says that Matthias, the westernmost figure on the north side, is carrying an axe, but nothing can now be seen of this. After Bartholomew and Matthew ('I believe in the Holy Spirit' and 'the holy Catholic church, the communion of saints') the final apostles are definitely appropriate for a tomb. Simon's scroll would have read *Remissionem peccatorum*, the remission of sins; Jude's was *Carnis resurrectionem*, the resurrection of the body, and Matthias's *Et vitam eternam, Amen*, and the life everlasting, Amen. These were comforting thoughts to have on a tomb. Jude was usually accompanied by Daniel, though at Fairford and elsewhere Daniel is actually given a text from Ezekiel, *Educam vos de sepulcris vestris, popule meus*, I will lead you out of your sepulchres, O my people – again, comforting words in the face of death.

Annunciation imagery and female agency

It is the Annunciation, though, which is arguably the most telling choice of carvings for this tomb. If it was indeed Gwladus Ddu who commissioned the tomb and chose its distinctive iconography, her choice of the Annunciation is significant and intriguing. As Cheetham points out, the Annunciation was one of the most popular subjects for carving in alabaster. To judge from surviving examples, though, it was more commonly found in devotional use, as part of a private altar or as one of the panels of an altarpiece of the Joys of the Virgin. Its use on a tomb is unusual. Cheetham lists over 100 examples, most of them in the United Kingdom, of which only four are on tombs – at Burton Agnes, Wells Cathedral and Ross on Wye as well as Abergavenny.⁴¹ Nevertheless, there were plenty of examples that could have inspired the commissioner of this tomb. As well as the devotional plaques, it was usually one of the opening illuminations of illustrated Books of Hours and the opening meditation of the rosary, things Gwladus would almost certainly have possessed. It seems quite likely that what the alabaster workshop provided for Gwladus's tomb was a standard devotional plaque, but scaled up for the end of a tomb chest.

This, then, was a fairly familiar scene, but with considerable depth of meaning. In most depictions of the Annunciation in western Europe, Mary is shown reading (in the eastern tradition she is usually shown spinning). At its simplest, this is a powerful image of female literacy and learning. While Michael Clanchy argued that elite women were key in the development of lay literacy, their access to books was controversial and they had very little scope for formal learning.⁴² Depictions of

⁴¹ Cheetham and others have identified the carving on the Apethorpe (Northants.) monument as the Annunciation but it is in fact the Coronation of the Virgin. I am grateful to Sally Badham for correcting the identification.

⁴² *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2nd ed., 1993) 189–96, 217–18, 251–2.

the Virgin Mary with her book, like the depictions of her legendary mother St Anne teaching her to read, were an inspiration and a defence of intellectual life for women.

And what was Mary reading? Something may have been painted on the open book on the Abergavenny plaque, but in most depictions of this scene the writing is some way below the margin of legibility. In *The Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation*, Laura Saetveit Miles discusses the literary traditions which identified Mary's reading.⁴³ In the earlier medieval period, she was usually described as reading the Psalms, and assumed to be literate in Latin. This placed her in the monastic tradition, where the psalms were the basis of daily prayer, though descriptions of her reading alone make her more of an anchoress. By the time of the Abergavenny plaque, though, she was almost always described as reading the Old Testament prophecies of Christ's birth – if indeed she was described as reading at all. Some late medieval devotional literature was clearly uneasy about Latin learning for women and even more uneasy about translation of the Bible into the vernacular, and described Mary as praying or meditating. In virtually every visual depiction, though, she has a book. While the text is seldom legible, we might be able to guess at its identity. Earlier representations of the Annunciation in illuminated manuscripts show her with large two-column books, clearly the Psalms or prophecies. Many later illuminations, however, have smaller single-column books: Mary is reading her own Book of Hours.⁴⁴ In some of the more elaborate Books of Hours she is shown reading with the owner of the book: her devout reading guides and instructs the devotional approach of the reader.⁴⁵

Mary's reading of the prophets was also presented as a model for meditative reading. Spiritual advisers like Aelred of Rievaulx and Nicholas Love encouraged readers to meditate on the Scriptures by imagining themselves as witnesses to and even participants in the stories. Mary was then described as doing exactly that, reading the prophecies and longing to be a servant to the virgin who was to bear God's son (not knowing that the virgin was herself).⁴⁶ As Miles points out, the Annunciation was also important in different ways to some of the leading women mystics of the later medieval period – Elizabeth of Hungary, Birgitta of Sweden, Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe. They described themselves witnessing the Annunciation in their visions and in their turn becoming Mary's handmaid and modelling their devotional practices on hers.⁴⁷

We have of course no way of knowing whether Gwladus had encountered these writings, though we do know that the 'Fifteen Oes' traditionally attributed to Birgitta was well known in south Wales. Miles argues convincingly that the mystic Elizabeth of Hungary was not the married queen Elizabeth of Thuringia but a later Elizabeth who was a nun. Birgitta and Margery, however, were both married and mothers. While Mary was of course venerated as a virgin, her conception of Christ and the parallel conception (in the other sense of the word) of Christ by the mystic had a deeper resonance for women who had themselves experienced motherhood (as Gwladus had).

While the Annunciation was important for men, the devotional literature studied by Miles makes it clear that it had a particularly powerful resonance for women. Of the other alabaster panels depicting the Annunciation on tombs and listed by Cheetham, the Wells Cathedral example was on the tomb of an ecclesiastic. Walter Griffith of Burton Agnes seems to have died a widower (though it

⁴³ *The Virgin Mary's Book at the Annunciation* (Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2020).

⁴⁴ Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2006) 36.

⁴⁵ Miles, *The Virgin Mary's Book* 209–20.

⁴⁶ Miles, *The Virgin Mary's Book* 79–114.

⁴⁷ Miles, *The Virgin Mary's Book* 115–74.

is still possible that his wife had some input into the design of his tomb). As well as the Annunciation, the tomb chest has an assortment of saints – Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, Agnes, Martin, John the Baptist, an unidentifiable bishop and – possibly significantly – that other emblem of female literacy and learning, St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read. The Rudhall monument in Ross-on-Wye has a late panel of the Annunciation with William Rudhall and his family kneeling to one side and the infant Jesus floating in on a sunbeam – quite a common depiction but regarded as theologically dubious because it implied that Jesus did not take his fleshly form from Mary. William Rudhall, a lawyer who served Prince Arthur as attorney-general, died in 1530 but his wife Ann Milborne was still alive in 1555.⁴⁸ His will says nothing about a tomb and simply asks for burial ‘whersoever it shal fortune me to dye orelles where it shall please my frendes’.⁴⁹ While his wife was not named as executor, it is quite conceivable that she was responsible for commissioning their joint tomb. Among the saints on the north and south sides of the tomb, again, is St Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read. It is therefore possible to suggest that in some of these cases it was a woman who was responsible for commissioning tomb iconography including the Annunciation, but the evidence is far from conclusive. For the brasses, again, the evidence is not conclusive. The Annunciation seems to have been chosen by ecclesiastics, who would have shared these patterns of devotional reading. The inscription on the Hansart brass opens ‘Here lythe Katryn late wyfe to Antony Hansart....’ although it goes on to detail Antony’s career. It was therefore commissioned to commemorate her, and the choice of the Annunciation imagery may reflect her personal devotion.

We should not overstress the religious aspects of Gwladus’s commission (if it was indeed she who commissioned the tomb). As the heraldry makes clear, she was equally concerned to establish her social status and that of her second husband. The two priorities were not of course conflicting: as Barbara Harris makes clear throughout her *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety*, ‘aristocratic women saw their religious and secular impulses as compatible and mutually reinforcing, rather than dichotomous’.⁵⁰ Their choice of Abergavenny Priory as their burial place, her commissioning of such an elaborate alabaster tomb, also speak to a desire to establish their dominant position not just in the parish in which they lived but in the wider region. While burial in a monastic church was the norm for the earlier medieval aristocracy, by the fifteenth century, many of the aristocracy as well as the gentry were opting for parish churches.⁵¹ The decision that William made to be buried in the priory church was therefore significant. Here it may be relevant that neither Gwladus nor William ap Thomas came originally from the top rank of the local aristocracy. William had acquired Raglan Castle by marriage and kept possession of it by purchase. Their choice to be buried together, though not unusual, was not inevitable. Both had been married before; William’s title to the castle came originally from an earlier marriage, Gwladus had children by her first husband.

Abergavenny had been the mausoleum of the de Breos and Hastings families, earlier marcher lords of Abergavenny: Raglan did not become a marcher lordship until after William’s death but in opting for burial at Abergavenny he was positioning himself as the successor to the earlier lords. While it is impossible to say whether Gwladus or William planned to establish the priory as a mausoleum for their joint descendants, that was certainly the result. Their older son was not of course buried there, but it was what he wanted. This William took the surname Herbert and

⁴⁸ TNA C 43/2/22.

⁴⁹ TNA PROB 11/23/325.

⁵⁰ quote on p 24.

⁵¹ Nigel Saul, *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2017); see also Harris, *English Aristocratic Women* 27 for statistics.

became Earl of Pembroke. His will is a terrifying and poignant document, written after his capture at the battle of Edgcote and on the night before his execution.⁵² At times it is virtually incoherent: provisions for his widow and children, bequests of money and plate to friends and associates are jumbled together, and he twice begs his wife to take the vow of widowhood as she had promised (this would have prevented her from being forced to marry again and would have protected the interests of their children). The will begins, though, with a request that he be buried at Abergavenny ‘bytwene my faders toumbe and the chauncell’. He had apparently made an earlier will which was not of course proved and survives only in a copy in *Herbertorum Prosapia*, a history of the family probably written by Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern (d. 1681/2).⁵³ In this he made more specific and coherent provision for his tomb and other commemorative strategies, leaving instructions for the location and height of his tomb and the restoration of the south chapel and chancel of the priory church. He also planned a chantry (which Rhianydd Biebrach suggests was the one recorded in the Chantry Certificates in 1547) or possibly added to one founded by his parents.⁵⁴

In the event, William’s body only made it as far as Tintern, where his widow eventually joined him. It seems more than likely that it was she (or possibly even their son, another William) who commissioned the alabaster tomb recorded in the late seventeenth century in the *Herbertorum Prosapia*. William junior became Earl of Huntingdon and was buried at Tintern with his first wife Mary Wydeville.⁵⁵ William, earl of Pembroke’s brother Richard was also captured at the battle of Edgcote and executed, but his body made it back to Abergavenny. His tomb stands where his older brother’s should have been, between the south chapel and the chancel. William, earl of Pembroke’s illegitimate son Richard Herbert of Ewyas is also buried there. Their tombs continue the focus on the Virgin Mary and may have been commissioned by their wives.

According to Coxe, the chapel continued as the burial place of the Herberts of Coldbrook, but the only other monument he was able to identify was the ledgerstone of the last male member of the family, Sir James Herbert, who died in 1709. This had disappeared by the time Bradney surveyed the church at the beginning of the twentieth century. Also gone is the heraldic stained glass seen by Symonds and the anonymous author from 1646 included in Gough’s edition of *Britannia*.⁵⁶ Thanks to the energetic fund-raising and conservation strategies of the parish of Abergavenny, though, and to the skill of Michael Eastham and his team, we have these three splendid tombs which have given their name to the Herbert chapel and which tell us so much about the beliefs and ideas of the founders of the great Herbert dynasty.

⁵² TNA PROB 11/5/305.

⁵³ The *Herbertorum Prosapia* is now Cardiff Library MS 5.7.

⁵⁴ Biebrach, ‘Commemoration and Culture’ 152–3; M. Gray, ‘The Last Days of the Chantries and Shrines of Monmouthshire’, *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History* 8 (1991) 20–40 on p. 36, transcribing TNA E301/74 f. 21d.

⁵⁵ For a recent study of the family, see C. Steer, ‘A Royal Grave in a Fifteenth-Century London Parish Church’, in *The Fifteenth Century. XIII: Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. L. Clark (Woodbridge, 2014), 31–40. On the tombs see also M. Gray, ‘“Jesu Mercy, Lady Help”’: Medieval Tomb Carvings at Tintern Abbey’ in C. Steer, ed., *The Monuments Man: essays in honour of Jerome Bertram* (Donington, Shaun Tyas, 2020), 87–111.

⁵⁶ reprinted by Lindley in *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship* 220–36.

THE PLACE-NAME LLANFOIST – LLAN-FFWYST

By Richard Coates

Llanfoist is a small village about a mile to the south-west of the centre of Abergavenny, at NGR SO 286 132. Its name is of the characteristic Welsh type consisting of *llan* + a second element which is often a personal name. The original sense of *llan* in early Welsh was ‘enclosure, yard’, and because it was often applied to the enclosed space of a Christian burial ground, equipped with a building for devotions, it came to be interpreted as ‘church’, and later, by an obvious extension from location to function, ‘ecclesiastical parish’. Very often the personal name was that of a saint, as witness the frequent *Llanfair* (< *llan* + *Mair*) for the Virgin Mary, but it was also common for such place-names to embody the personal name of a local holy person or ‘Celtic saint’. Since the Welsh name of the village is *Llan-ffwyst*, it has long been suspected that *Ffwyst* must be a personal name, there being no word of this form in Welsh, except as a borrowing in early-modern period of the English maritime term *foist* ‘a light galley’. However, no person bearing such a name has ever been identified. I think it is possible nevertheless to proceed further towards an explanation.

In his *Place-names of Gwent*, Richard Morgan lists the following historic spellings of *Llanfoist* (Morgan, 2005: 125), to which are added those given in Owen and Morgan (2007: 251), supplemented, not comprehensively, by those marked with an *asterisk:

Lanfoist 1254 Valuation of Norwich

**Lanfost* 1291 Taxatio ecclesiastica

Lanfoist, Lanfoyst 1335 Patent Rolls

Lanfoyst 1348 Inquisitions post mortem

**Llanffoist* 1405, Glamorgan Archives, Fonmon Castle Estate records, grant of burgage [DF/D/1739]

ll. ffwyst about 1566 NLW, Peniarth MS. 147, in *Report on manuscripts in the Welsh language*, vol. I.ii, 920

llann ffwyst [**yingwent*] late 16thC Cardiff Free Library MS. 10, in *Report on MSS. In the Welsh language*, II.i, 136

glanfoist 1600–7 Book of Baglan, Cardiff Public Library MS. 2.278 [an erroneous form]

**llanfoyst* 1641 NLW, MS. LL1641-47, will of Howell ap Evan

**Lanfoist, *Lanfoyst* 1662–1732 NLW, Marquess of Abergavenny’s papers, many instances

**Llanfoyst* about 1673 Blome’s county map

**Lanfoyst* 1683 NLW, MS. LL 1683–61, will of Henry Lewis

**Llanfoyst* 1692–1700 NLW, Abergavenny and Kemeys-Tynte papers, multiple instances

**Lanfoyst* 1694 Glamorgan Archives, MS. DF/D/2396, Fonmon Castle Estate records, deed/declaration

**Lanffoist* 1752 NLW, MS. LL 1752–72, will of William David

Llanffoist 1757 Griffith Jones (1756–7) *Welch piety: or, a collection of the several accounts of the circulating charity schools, 1737–76*. London annual reports 1756–7, 51

**Llanfoyst* 1861 census [Chlorus Twinney]; otherwise *Llanfoist* in this census (via ancestry.com)

The current official English and Welsh spellings are those given in the title of this note.

Morgan glosses the name as ‘church of Ffwyst’, saying ‘[t]here seems to be no evidence of any saint with this n[ame];’ nor indeed of anyone else. The current dedication of the church is to St Faith, which seems to result from a modern casual association of the obscure original place-name, seeming to be of the general type [*llan* + saint’s name], with the slightly similar one of the universally venerated virgin martyr (known elsewhere as Santa Fe and Sainte(-)Foy; died about 300; feast day 6 October). She was from Agen but is now associated with Conques, both in southern France.

In fact, *Ffwyst* would be the regular development in Welsh of Latin *Festus*, which has a long /e:/; or rather we know that the adjective *fēstus* from which it derives had a long vowel, sharing an origin with that in *fēriae* ‘holidays’ (Walde-Hoffmann, 1982: 489). It has long been noted that British Celtic, in borrowing words from Latin, usually preserved the vowel quantities of the classical language (Jackson, 1953: 88, 270–1), and the effect of this is retained in its daughter language Welsh. Long /e:/ develops generally in Welsh into the diphthong now spelt <wy>: compare Latin *candēla*, *plēbe(m)*, *rēte* > Welsh *cannwyll* ‘candle’, *plwyf* ‘parish’, *rhwyd* ‘net, snare’. Medieval and early-modern manuscript spellings showing <oi>, <oy> for this sound in place-names are common though inconsistent; witness *Cloid* for the river Clwyd in 1191 and *Llangroyne* for Llangrwyne in Brecknockshire in 1559 (Owen and Morgan, 2007: 89, 166–167); and locally *lloin dee* and *Lloyne Dy* in the 16th century for Llwyn-du and *Avon Lloyd* in 1739 for Afon Lwyd (Morgan, 2005: 143, 202). Where not in manuscripts produced in England or under English influence, the spellings in <oi>, <oy> might in principle originate in lost early records in Old Welsh (before about 1100), during which period <oi> was used more frequently for the diphthong in question than during the Middle Welsh period (about 1100–1500).¹

The name *Festus* (e.g. that of the Latin grammarian Sextus Pompeius Festus, and of its modern bearers) is pronounced with a short vowel by English-speakers these days. This must be a spelling-pronunciation arising through early association with *festival* and *festive*, or due to a common tendency to shorten vowels before consonant clusters.

¹ *Ffwyst* is given as the name of a saint of Gwent, without more exact location and without pedigree, in the *Iolo MSS.*, 144/549. Iolo gives this name as the eponym of Llanfoist. We do not know his authority for this; he says the information is ‘mewn Llyfr arall fal hynn’, ‘in another Book like this/these’.

There are several pre-congregational Catholic saints (i.e. those whose sainthood was popularly declared before 1588) bearing this name, notably Festus of Nicaea (feast day 21 October), as well as the obscurer ones of Benevento, Pozzuoli, Rome, Tuscany and Valencia. But the Llanfoist dedicatee may have been a local saint with the same name. At all events, there is no objection to the derivation of the place-name from the given name *Festus* – or indeed *Festa*, if any local female saint bore this name. The village has a new local street named *Ffordd Sain Ffwyst*, which (re)incarnates him or her.



RIB 3107 (Reproduced by permission of the Administrators of the Haverfield Bequest)

An interesting sidelight on the matter is provided by undated inscription RIB 3107, found in 1984 in the garden of Bulmore House, Great Bulmore, just across the confluence of the Usk and the Afon Lwyd from Caerleon, and now in the Roman Legionary Museum there (Hassall and Tomlin, 1985). The broken ‘top’ line of this tombstone text has been interpreted, apparently without dissent, as FES... for the cognomen *Festus*. That being so, it is evidence that the name was current in the Roman period not so very far (about seventeen miles) from Llanfoist. The bearer was enrolled in the Galeria voting-tribe, which in legionaries’ epitaphs in Britain has most often been found associated with Lugdunum in Gaul (Lyon). There is, of course, no reason to equate this soldier with the saint.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to Richard Morgan for information and discussion.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

NLW = National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

RIB = *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*.

Editions and analogous

Evans, John Gwenogvryn
(ed.), 1898–9

Report on manuscripts in the Welsh language, vol. I.ii; (1902) vol. II.i (London: Historic Manuscripts Commission), both online via Hathi Trust, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009022743>.

- Roman Inscriptions of Britain* inscription 3107, online at <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/3107>.
- Williams, John
(ed. J. A. Bradney), 1910 *Llyfr Baglan: or The Book of Baglan. compiled between the years 1600 and 1607* (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke).
- Williams, Taliesin (ed.) *Iolo manuscripts. A selection of ancient Welsh manuscripts, etc.* (Abergavenny: Society for the Publication of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts), online, attestation of *Ffwyst* at <https://archive.org/details/iolomanuscriptss00willuoft/page/144/mode/2up>.

Widely known published medieval sources are not detailed.

Secondary literature

- Hassall, M. W. C. and Tomlin, R. S. O., 1985 'Roman Britain in 1984', *Britannia*, 16 (1985), 317–32, at 324 [item 6].
- Jackson, Kenneth H., 1953 *Language and history in early Britain* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Morgan, Richard, 2005 *Place-names of Gwent* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch).
- Owen, Hywel Wyn and Morgan, Richard, 2007, *Dictionary of the place-names of Wales* (Llandysul: Gomer).
- Walde, Alois (ed. J. B. Hoffmann), 1982 *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I (5th edn) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter).

THOMAS WAKEMAN, J.P., F.S.A. (1788–1868)

By David H Williams

Introduction

In 1997 we kept the 150th anniversary of the foundation of our Association by ‘three eminent antiquarians’, John Edward Lee, of the Priory, Caerleon, who set up there the initial meeting; Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A., F.R.S., of the Friars, Newport, and Thomas Wakeman, F.S.A., of the Graig, Cross Ash.¹ To mark our anniversary our late Secretary, Gwennllian V. Jones, published in our journal two articles (in 1997 and 2001) concerning John Edward Lee, and I contributed an article regarding Octavius Morgan, also in 1997. The purpose of this present paper is to draw attention to the third member, Thomas Wakeman, of a trio who did so much for the history of our county. As late as 1954 he was on record as ‘one of the ablest of Welsh antiquarians, whose wide knowledge was matched by his critical good sense’.²

It is not an easy task for half his life was lived before national censuses took place, and the registration of births, marriages and deaths were placed on a sure footing. There is no known photograph or portrait of Wakeman, nor do we even know the identity of his first wife. I am therefore all the more grateful to the staff of several institutions who have supplied information and photocopies. I must mention the Society of Antiquaries of London (archivist, Kat Petersen, who had a mammoth task in bringing up the Wakeman collection for me), the Gwent Archives (Gareth Thomas, who supplied relevant photocopies of Wakeman’s early work in Monmouthshire); the British Library (and especially Jason Murray who also arranged copies for me from several of Wakeman’s publications); Downside School (where Steven Parsons and Paige Owen were most helpful), and the National Library of Wales (for copies from a work of Wakeman’s now mislaid at two other institutions), as well as Clive Andrews of *discovermyfamily* for research undertaken in Gloucestershire Archives.

*The Wakeman Family*³

Thomas Wakeman could, and did, trace his family’s origins back to John le Wake or Wakeman living at Ripon soon after the Norman Conquest. As the centuries passed by the family enumerated John Wakeman, the last abbot of Tewkesbury and first bishop of Gloucester, amongst its members with, in the seventeenth century, barristers, a major in the royal army of Charles I and Charles II, and a physician to Queen Catharine of Braganza.⁴

Thomas’s parents were Charles Wakeman (*ob.* 1836), a linen draper of Bristol, and his wife Anne, née Davis (1760–*ob.* 1839, in Chepstow), an heiress and daughter of Thomas Davis, attorney of Chepstow, but a minor at the time of their marriage on February 24th, 1784, by Licence at St Mary’s Church, Chepstow.⁵ In 1783 and 1789 Charles was declared bankrupt,⁶ but later became agent for the Llanarth estate in Monmouthshire, and the records of the Catholic church at Llanarth

¹ *Western Mail*, 29 September 1937.

² *Western Mail*, 6 November 1954.

³ For the family in the United States, see Robert P. Wakeman, *Wakeman Genealogy, 1630–1899*, Meriden, Connecticut, 1900.

⁴ Society of Antiquaries (hereafter SA) 790/3.

⁵ National Library of Wales, Marriage Bond, Llandaff, L65/21; *Bath Chronicle*, 11 March 1784.

⁶ *Leeds Intelligencer*, 17 June 1783; *Chester Chronicle*, 1 January 1789; in 1784 he employed an apprentice, William Bosvile.

record Thomas as acting as godfather at the baptism there in 1808 of Joan Mary Croft, member of a local recusant family.⁷

Of Thomas Wakeman, the 1851 Census states that his birth-place was unknown, but 'in England'; the 1861 Census affirms that he was born in Bristol, but the parish was unknown. Thomas had two sisters, Ann and Teresa Ann, both of whom died in infancy, and he was an only son. In fact, Thomas was born on 20 May, 1788, and baptised five days later at St Joseph's Catholic Chapel, Trenchard Street in Bristol, with as godparents Thomas Porter and Apollonia Wakeman.⁸ Thomas's full name as given in baptism was Thomas Joseph Davis (Wakeman). The inclusion of Davis came from his mother's surname. He was always known simply as Thomas Wakeman, but he does in one notebook acknowledge his fuller name.⁹

His papers include an envelope addressed to their mother, Mrs Wakeman of Queen Street, Gloucester, in 1831,¹⁰ but her Christian name is not on record. They were to have three sons, Thomas Jones Wakeman (born 1821, baptised at St Mary de Lode); William Jones Wakeman (born 11 April 1827; baptised at St Mary de Lode); and John Jones Wakeman (born 4 Oct 1833; baptised at St Margaret Chapel, now cared for by the Gloucester Civic Trust). Their Anglican christening may well have been at the behest of their mother, and in later life their middle name of Jones was frequently not used.

The eldest son, Thomas, is listed in the 1851 and 1861 Censuses as residing in the household of his brother-in-law, George Gibson, firstly at 29 College Street, Gloucester, and then at 20 Westgate Street, where he died in 1867, "after many years suffering from epilepsy".¹¹ He was but forty-six and unmarried. George's wife, Jane, must have been Thomas's sister. Thomas's gravestone in a Gloucester cemetery (not specified) bore his name and those of three of the Gibson family. The stone was removed and destroyed in 1978.

William Wakeman, when aged 13, was a pupil at St Edmund's College, Ware, in 1841. He and his brother John commenced studies at Downside School in August 1841, which William left in August 1844 and John in December 1846. A letter exists in his father's papers from a noted monk, Fr Charles Davis, of Downside, dated 18 June, but no year given: 'My dear Sir, William will leave Downside on Thursday by the "Swiftsman Coach" I believe that this coach reaches Bath in time for the one o'clock train arriving at Paddington at 5.pm'.¹²

William, born in 1819 and noted in 1851 as an analytical chemist living with his father at his temporary second home, Hill House, Chalfont St Giles, Bucks., was in 1871 listed as a 'collector', residing with his wife and three children at, 130 East Surrey Grove, St Giles, Camberwell. He died in Lambeth in 1879.

As for John, the 1851 Census records him as living in the Pool Meadow extra-parochial area of Gloucester, aged nineteen, and in the household of James Murrell, a timber merchant and inn-keeper. Given, as we shall see, his father's interest in the timber industry, this was appropriate. He was listed as a 'pupil', presumably following some vocational course. Alas, three years later, in September 1854 and when only twenty-two, and seemingly employed by a construction company in a clerical position, John was killed by the buffer of a steam engine in the vicinity of Abercarn railway

⁷ *Catholic Registers of Llanarth*, p. 166, In: Catholic Record Soc. 3, Misc. III.

⁸ SA, 790/3.

⁹ SA, 790/3.

¹⁰ SA, 790/3.

¹¹ *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 14 December 1867.

¹² SA, 790/3.

station. At the time ‘he was writing in a book the labourers’ expenses’. His body was conveyed to Risca in a funeral procession.¹³

As for Wakeman himself, his second wife Sarah Frances died, aged but thirty-six, on 10 June 1840 at Havre de Grace in France, ‘where she had gone for the benefit of her health’.¹⁴ Herself a young widow, formerly Mrs Bendix, Wakeman had only married her in London on 12 September, 1839.¹⁵ After his mother’s death earlier that year the contents of 6 Queen Street, Gloucester, where she resided, were auctioned by Mr Causton over two days: 20 and 21 March, 1839. There was much on offer, including items no longer required by her son, for we read: ‘In the Library, will be found works on history, politics, religion, and science, with some volumes in Foreign literature; pair of duelling pistols by Spencer; drawing boards, theodolites and stands, spirit level and stand, and sundry mathematical instruments, reading lamps, maps, prints, &c, &c.’¹⁶ His father had died in 1836, but no details are forthcoming.

Land and Timber Agent and Surveyor

Later in life, at a dinner to mark the passing of the Coleford, Monmouth, Usk, and Pontypool Railway Bill in 1853, Wakeman remarked that “in his younger days engineering and surveying were his profession”, and in 1859 in a case regarding Drybridge Farm, he revealed that “in his youth he lived as clerk with Mr Croft the Duke’s agent at Troy”.¹⁷ This must be a reference to ‘James Croft of Llanarth, land surveyor’, who died in 1809, and to whose will Thomas Wakeman was a witness in 1807.¹⁸ As noted above, Wakeman had been a godparent to a daughter or granddaguhter of James Croft in 1808, but his mentor died after an illness of just a few days on 7 August the next year, and was buried in Llantilio Crossenny churchyard. It was said of Croft, now styled Steward to the Duke of Beaufort, that ‘he has left a widow and eleven children to lament the best of husbands and fathers’.¹⁹

The various issues of the *Gloucester Journal* tell, in 1808, of the firm of Messrs Wakeman and co., seemingly based in Monmouth, and holding auctions there at the Beaufort Arms, as well as two in Newport at the Westgate Inn (now long closed). The plurality of the title suggests father and son, Charles and Thomas, and they were to have the support of James Croft. On 22 March 1808 they were to sell 177 oak trees, 56 ash trees and 6 elm trees standing on a farm in Llangattock-vibon-Avel. For further particulars those interested were to apply to Mr Croft at Llanarth.²⁰

Amongst several commissions as auctioneers in 1808 were others reflecting Thomas Wakeman’s interest in the timber industry. Their firm was commissioned to sell on 9 April, ‘144 Maiden Oaks, 30 Elms’ and other trees at Manson Farm, near Monmouth,²¹ and, again by James Croft, on 7 May, 100 oaks fit for the navy, and 1 wych tree, at a farm in Llanfihangel Ystern Llewern.²² On 3 December 1808, the firm was entrusted with the sale of the great and small tithes of the parish of Rockfield,

¹³ *Star of Gwent*, 26 August 1854.

¹⁴ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 27 June 1840; *Gloucester Journal*, 20 June 1840.

¹⁵ *Hereford Journal*, 25 September 1839.

¹⁶ *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 9 March 1839.

¹⁷ *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 10 September 1853; 9 April 1859.

¹⁸ TNA PROB 11/1508/137

¹⁹ *The Cambrian*, 12th August 1809.

²⁰ *Gloucester Journal*, 21 March, 1808.

²¹ *Ibid.* 4 April 1808.

²² *Ibid.* 2 May 1808.

together with the right of presentation to the living.²³ In Newport one commission had been to sell ‘lands well disposed for trade’;²⁴ at the Hanbury Arms in Caerleon, on 28 March, 420 oaks and some other trees.²⁵

At Chepstow

After December 1808 Thomas Wakeman finds no mention in the local press until 1813, when he had set up his practice in Chepstow, his mother’s native town. During those four years it is possible that he was in training to gain necessary experience and qualifications. Might this have been with a kinsman, Henry Wakeman of 43 Upper Baker Street, London, ‘an eminent land agent and surveyor’, who died in 1814?²⁶

At Chepstow Wakeman was described as being a Land and Timber Surveyor or as a Surveyor and Land Agent, and his services were utilised by the auctioneers, Michael and George Davies, then working from the Greyhound Inn, Abergavenny. At his office further particulars could be obtained and plans inspected, as for the great and small tithes of Welsh Newton,²⁷ the Green Farmhouse in Raglan,²⁸ and lands in Clytha.²⁹ When, in July 1813, Cwmvagur Farm, on the borders of Wolvesnewton and Kilgwrrwg was for sale, Wakeman was authorised to treat the matter with any applicants himself.³⁰ By 1839 it was his own property.³¹ Apart from all else, Wakeman became in 1814 the local agent of the Commercial Hall Wine Company.³²

At Gloucester

Wakeman was still based in Chepstow in February 1815³³ but, perhaps seeking a more stable income, had removed to Gloucester by late October that year.³⁴ There he threw himself into the life of the city, and became a keen supporter of railway development. By 1836 he was a director of the Gloucester and Bristol Railway Company,³⁵ and a petitioner that year for a railway link between Gloucester and Oxford.³⁶ The following year he appears as a shareholder and member of the provisional committee of the Severn Improvement Company.³⁷

Wakeman also became a director of the Gloucestershire Fire Life Assurance Company,³⁸ and of the Gloucester Union Friendly Society;³⁹ a member of the Court of Governors and Guardian of the Poor of the City of Gloucester (a cause dear to his heart); a petitioner for the ‘rebuilding, altering

²³ Ibid. 11 November 1808.

²⁴ Ibid. 18 April 1808.

²⁵ Ibid. 28 March 1808.

²⁶ *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 17 September 1814.

²⁷ *Hereford Journal*, 5 May 1813.

²⁸ *Gloucester Journal*, 30 May 1814.

²⁹ *Bristol Times and Mercury*, 9 July 1814.

³⁰ *Gloucester Journal*, 19 July 1813.

³¹ TNA, IR 29/22/128 (*Genealogist* online).

³² *Bristol Times and Mercury*, 9 April 1814.

³³ *Hereford Journal*, 1 February 1815.

³⁴ *Gloucester Journal*, 23 October 1815.

³⁵ *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 23 April 1836.

³⁶ *Oxford Journal*, 12 December 1836.

³⁷ *Gloucester Journal*, 4 February 1837.

³⁸ *Hereford Journal*, 30 March 1825.

³⁹ *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 8 October 1836.

or enlarging' of the city prison,⁴⁰ and a committee member of the Gloucester Commercial Rooms and Permanent Library.⁴¹ He also entered into politics, taking in 1836 the chair at a meeting at the Fountain Inn, Gloucester, to support the successful candidacy of John Philpotts to be a Member of Parliament for a third term.⁴² (Philpotts, who varied his allegiance between the Tories and the Whigs, had once been Land Agent to the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester).

Little is known of Wakeman's work as a land surveyor over his almost a quarter of a century at Gloucester but, giving evidence in a case at the Summer Assizes there in 1829, he asserted that 'he had frequently surveyed open fields and meadow lands in the county'.⁴³ By 1820 his offices were on College Green, but from 1830 in Queen Street, perhaps at No 6, and he was listed as being 'an estate, parish, railway and road surveyor'.⁴⁴

Wakeman had two known assistants. First, Robert Jackman, with whom he surveyed the manor of Rudford on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester in 1829, leading to the tithe map of that parish in 1837,⁴⁵ and who auctioned the farming and household goods of William Wakeman in February 1836.⁴⁶ Secondly, Arthur Causton, who conducted the sale of Wakeman's mother's effects in 1839, and whom Wakeman was to praise in 1842 for risking his life as the Severn bore approached whilst he was surveying for a railway bridge across the Severn at Newham.⁴⁷

Gwent Archives preserves two volumes of his plans of individual holdings along the coastline of Monmouthshire, required by the Commission of Sewers and surveyed in 1823; one for the Hundred of Caldicot (see below), the other for the Hundred of Wentloog: the latter was stated to be a survey of 'the sea walls and banks from Rumney bridge to Newport'.⁴⁸ The National Library of Wales holds like material Wakeman presented to Octavius Morgan, who gave it to Lord Tredegar in 1866.⁴⁹

The Wentloog volume tells that by 'Bounty land' pertaining to the vicar of Coedkernew, the sea walls were 'sometimes made of stone, more often a bank, and occasionally of boards'.

A letter to Octavius Morgan in 1851 allowed Wakeman to tell of coastal erosion, and also of his own former work: 'A great extent of wharf has disappeared within these few years all along the coast, and I was told by an old man at Magor that he had heard his grandfather say that he remembered the wharf there extending so far out beyond the sea walls.'⁵⁰

This plan reminds us that by 1467 when Goldcliff Priory was suppressed, Eton College received its Monmouthshire lands. This field, belonging to Hill Farm further south was pasture and 2 acres 1 rood 20 perches in extent. It lies at ST 371829. (Gwent Archives, D695/100).

This plan, pasture and house (named Mill Ditch; NGR: ST 285816) was 3 acres 3 roods 10 perches in extent and had a tenant by the name of Llewelin. It lay on the eastern boundary of the parish of Peterstone. (Gwent Archives, D695/99).

⁴⁰ SA, MS 790/3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 790/2.

⁴² *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 29 October 1836.

⁴³ *Hereford Times*, 25 September 1829.

⁴⁴ *Dictionary of Land Surveyors and Mapmakers of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. S. Bendall, British Library, 2nd edn., 1997, p. 530.

⁴⁵ Gloucestershire Archives, D1740/E85; The National Archives, IR30/13/169.

⁴⁶ *Worcester Herald*, 6 February 1836.

⁴⁷ *Gloucester Journal*, 21 December 1842.

⁴⁸ Gwent Archives, D695/99–100.

⁴⁹ National Library of Wales, Tredegar Estate MS AM1/4.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* File 1218.

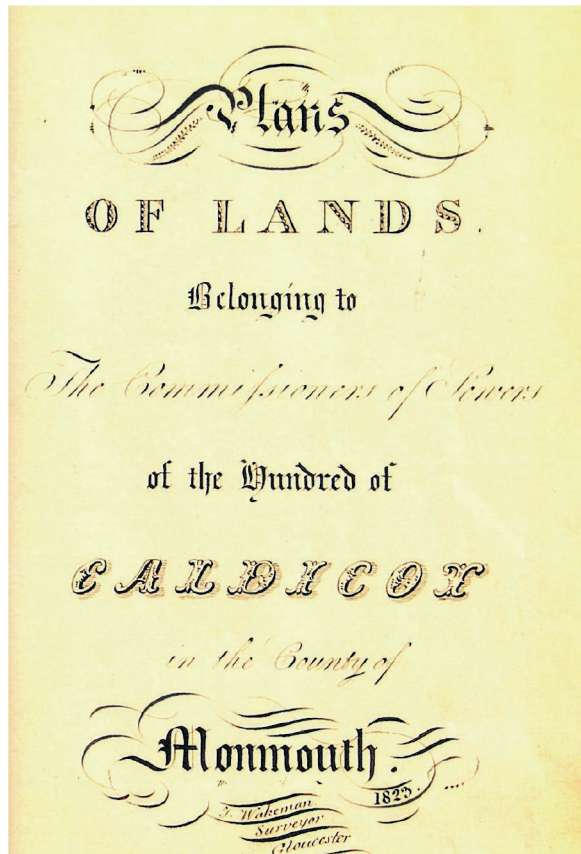


Fig. 1: Gwent Archives: D695/100 (by permission Natural Resources Wales)

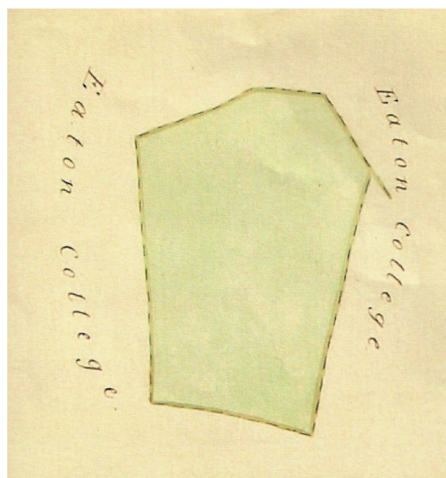


Fig. 2: Eton College ?

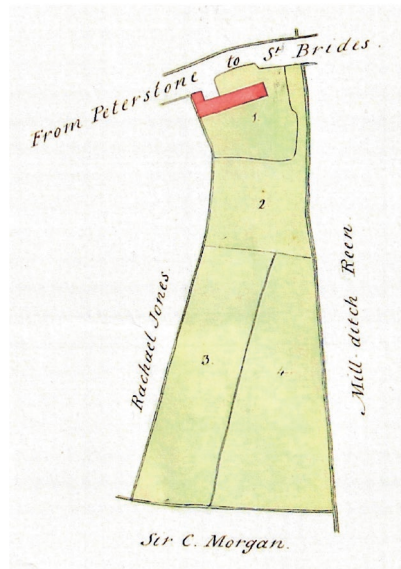


Fig. 3: Mill Ditch ?

Interestingly the Wentlog volume depicts a lighthouse at ST 311829, later confirmed by the Ordnance Survey; and a watch tower on the river Usk at ST 326876, where later a jetty was recorded on the twenty-five inch ordnance survey map of Newport revised in 1920.

This plan showed the coastline east of Goldcliff, bordered by a strip of stones, and extending from ST 374821 to 383823. The two fields were 'bare ground', but the western was listed as arable (5a. 3r. 36 p) and the eastern as pasture (1 acre, 0 roods, 35 perches). The tenant was James Mathias. (Gwent Archives, D695/100).

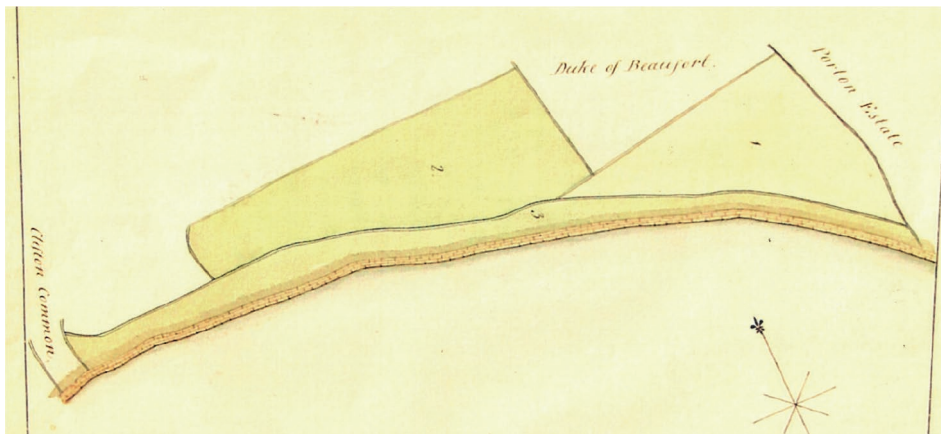


Fig. 4: Coastline east of Goldcliff ?

This plan shows the strip farming by the coast in Peterstone stretching eastwards from Blue House (ST 270801). Fields 2, 3 and 4 were noted as meadow and pasture; 6, 7 and 8 as arable. The tenant was George Edwards, and his lands amounted to 22 acres, 3 roods, 20 perches. (Gwent Archives, D695/99).

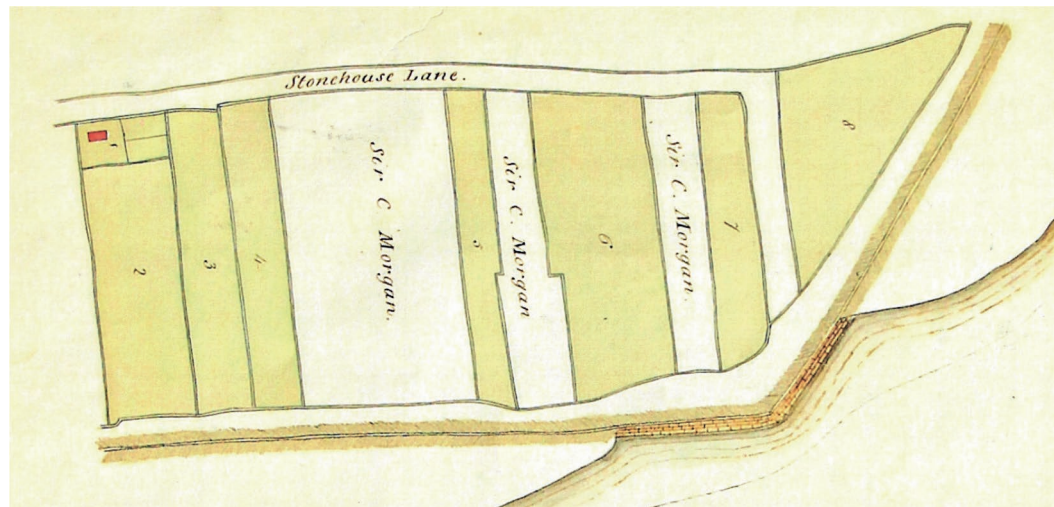


Fig. 5: Strip farming by the coast in Peterstone

At the Graig (NGR: SO 406202)

When, on 16 February 1836, the will of William Wakeman, uncle of Thomas was proved, he had made provision for his sisters, but left to Thomas 'the profits of his messuages, lands, hereditaments and real estate'.⁵¹ By July that year, Thomas was styled 'lord of the manor of Beckford',⁵² and had already threatened with prosecution, 'any cutting down or damaging trees on the Beckford estate'.⁵³ This new source of income must have enabled Thomas to buy the Graig Estate, close to Cross Ash in Monmouthshire, and three years later to move there on a permanent basis. Graig House had been remodelled in the early nineteenth century by William Prichard. He still had his practice in Gloucester in February 1839, but by late September that year he was 'late of this city'.⁵⁴

It was perhaps in 1838 that Wakeman sold the Beckford Estate to one Thomas Longbourne, though a Walter Wakeman was resident there much later.⁵⁵ In Monmouthshire Wakeman soon became an established figure. Mayor of Grosmont in 1847,⁵⁶ he later headed the list of nominees to be the Sheriff of the county in 1851.⁵⁷ This position was not taken up probably because of absence from the county, as for a time he had a home, and the 1851 Census reveals him as then living as a tenant at Hill House, Chalfont St Giles, Buckinghamshire. The *Monmouthshire Merlin* that year referred to him

⁵¹ The National Archives, PROB11/1858/294.

⁵² Gloucestershire Archives, Q/AO/14.

⁵³ *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 21 May 1836.

⁵⁴ *Gloucester Journal*, 2 February 1839; 28 September 1839.

⁵⁵ *Cheltenham Examiner*, 1 October 1862.

⁵⁶ *Hereford Times*, 5 June 1847.

⁵⁷ *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 23 November 1851.

as being of ‘the Graig and Chalfont St Giles’,⁵⁸ a village where a kinsman, John Wakeman, had died in 1849. The volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for 1851 tells of him being a Local Secretary for Monmouthshire but gives his Hill House address. For Thomas, residence there may have facilitated study in London, as he did at the Public Record Office (now The National Archives).⁵⁹ He did belong to a London club, although we do not know which. In a letter dated 9 January 1846 he wrote that ‘he hoped to return to London soon and stay for about two months.’⁶⁰

A member of the Loyal Monmouth Masonic Lodge,⁶¹ Wakeman was from 1842 a justice of the peace frequently numbered amongst the grand jurors when Assizes were held in the county, and as a magistrate was also present at the Epiphany, Lent, mid-Summer and Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, held at Usk Town Hall. At the Lent Assizes in 1854 he spoke of the difficulties of access to polling stations during heavy snow.⁶² He chaired the petty sessions at the Wellington Arms, Skenfrith, when in 1855 changes of licensee took place at the Cupid’s Hill and Duke of York public houses in Grosmont.⁶³ Amongst those whom he sent for trial at the Quarter Sessions were a lady who at Trellech stole half-a-sovereign, and a man there who stole two sovereigns.⁶⁴ After Wakeman died it was said that ‘he was held in high esteem, for his urbanity and uprightness in the dispensation of justice’.⁶⁵

Amongst the several positions Wakeman held whilst at the Graig were membership of the Royal Agricultural Society (by 1845),⁶⁶ presidency of the Llantillio Crossenny ploughing match (1845),⁶⁷ vice-presidency of the Monmouth Athenaeum and Literary Institute (1856; it met in the Jury Room at Monmouth),⁶⁸ and the vice-presidency of the Monmouth Farmers Club, Cattle and Poultry Shows (perhaps by 1845 and certainly by 1857–1865).⁶⁹ Amongst meetings he attended were a gathering at the Angel Inn, Grosmont (1838), to consider the commutation of tithes in the parish;⁷⁰ for the purpose of forming an Anti-Corn Law League (at Raglan in 1844),⁷¹ and, at the Bell Inn, Skenfrith (1865), of those opposing a bill ‘for continuing the term and extending the provisions of the Grosmont Turnpike Roads’. He promised £100 to fight that bill.⁷²

Wakeman was not a poor man and, apart from his Gloucestershire interests, he had by the 1850s shares in the Braich Goch Slate and Slab Quarry,⁷³ the Coleford, Monmouth, Usk and Pontypool Railway,⁷⁴ and the Rhymney Iron Company.⁷⁵ When in September 1853 a celebratory dinner was held at the Beaufort Arms in Monmouth, to mark the passing of the relevant Act for the Coleford

⁵⁸ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 20 July 1850.

⁵⁹ National Library of Wales, Tredegar Estate File 1101 (Letter to Octavius Morgan 15 July, 1861).

⁶⁰ Society of Antiquaries, MS 790/41.

⁶¹ *Hereford Times*, 30 August 1845; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 3 July 1847.

⁶² *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 23 March 1854.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 12 May 1855.

⁶⁴ *Usk Observer*, 12 May 1855.

⁶⁵ *Morning Herald (London)*, 28 April 1868.

⁶⁶ *The Welshman*, 11 April 1845.

⁶⁷ *Hereford Times* 22 November 1845.

⁶⁸ *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 12 July and 22 November 1856.

⁶⁹ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11 October 1845; *Monmouthshire Beacon*, passim.

⁷⁰ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 10 November 1838.

⁷¹ *Hereford Journal*, 6 March 1844.

⁷² *Usk Observer*, 28 January 1865.

⁷³ *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette*, 22 August 1851.

⁷⁴ Society of Antiquaries, 790/35.

⁷⁵ *Merthyr Telegraph*, 3 March 1859.

railway, Wakeman was present, and representing the magistrates, was praised for ‘having had much experience on railways’. In response, Wakeman acknowledged his experience as an engineer, and also told how glad he was that a railway was coming to Monmouth.⁷⁶

He was frequently a generous donor to local and other appeals, often subscribing £2 or £5 to good causes: in today’s values equivalent to £160 and £400 respectively. Amongst a number of other known donations, he gave five guineas towards prizes at the Abergavenny Cymreigyddion of October 1842, and a like sum to William Jones of Machen, as his prize at for the best Awdl (Welsh Ode) on the Ladies of Gwent and Morgannwg at the same Eisteddfod in 1853.⁷⁷

Other subscriptions of £5 included those to the cost of widening the top of Monnow Street in Monmouth (1854);⁷⁸ to the Patriotic Fund ‘for the relief of widows and orphans of gallant country men killed in action’; to the India Relief Fund (1857); to Monmouth Volunteer Rifle Corps (1860),⁷⁹ and, in 1858, towards an annuity for Isaac Chilcott, late waiter at the King’s Head, Monmouth, the appeal referring to him as ‘John the waiter, and his winning peculiarities’.⁸⁰ Gifts of two guineas went to a relief fund following a destructive storm in the neighbourhood of Ross-on-Wye (1845), and to ‘the May Fund’ (1857),⁸¹ and of £2 for the Kymin Hill Summer House (1855).⁸²

As Landowner

There is no knowledge of the amount Wakeman paid in order to purchase the Graig, but it has been suggested that he sold the timber of larches planted on a local hill by the previous owner, James Jones, to assist in his purchase, but this seems highly unlikely.⁸³ What is known for certain, from the evidence of the tithe apportionment returns between 1838 and 1843, is that by the latter year Wakeman was the owner of close upon one thousand acres of land. One-third of this centred on Cross Ash (328 acres), and one-quarter of the total was woodland, including a fifty-acre plantation on Graig Hill, and a 104-acre fir plantation in Grosmont; both reflecting Wakeman’s interests.

Other lands were held in Grosmont (250 acres, including the wood), Skenfrith (205 acres), Llantilio Crossenny (fifty acres), and Wolvesnewton (83 acres, at Cwm Fagor: SO 471989). Further afield, Wakeman owned ten acres at Llandogo and seventeen at Wilcrick (including the Whitfield Land, SO 415883). In 1841 Wakeman bought for £100 a property in Llangattock-vibon-Avel for £100. Close to Llidiart-y-fran (SO 423184) it included sheds and a pigsty, and the ‘Upper and Lower Gardens’.⁸⁴ He owned the blacksmith’s shop in Skenfrith.⁸⁵

He was displeased in 1856 when a trespasser went in pursuit of conies on his lands in Grosmont.⁸⁶ The next year he, and others, gave notice that ‘no one should sport on their lands without permission’. He cared for his animals: in 1843 he received, and paid, a bill for £3–5–9 from Thomas Jenkins, for eighteen visits to treat ‘a mare with a quitter’; roughly £200 in to-day’s values.

⁷⁶ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 9 September 1853.

⁷⁷ *South Wales General Advertiser*, 10 September 1842; 15 October 1853.

⁷⁸ *Star of Gwent*, 15 April 1854.

⁷⁹ *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 18 November 1854; 31 October 1857; 7 January 1860, respectively.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 19 June 1858.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 2 August 1845; 5 September 1857, respectively.

⁸² SA, 790/35.

⁸³ J. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*: Vol 1, Part 3, *Hundred of Skenfrith*, London, 1907, pp. 110–111.

⁸⁴ Gwent Archives, D586/5–6.

⁸⁵ *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 7 July 1860.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 10 March 1856.

The available evidence suggests that Wakeman was popular with his neighbours, considerate of his tenants and as one of his obituaries was later to point out, he had especial regard for the poor. In March 1839 the Monmouthshire Hounds met at the Graig, ‘thanks to the liberality of Mr Wakeman, though not a follower of the chase himself’. On 21 December 1858, St Thomas’s Day, and in preparation for Christmas, and like other local gentry, Wakeman presented a carcass of mutton to his tradesmen, and ‘alleviated the needs of the poorer families of Grosmont, Llantilio, and Skenfrith, by a timely distribution of bread’.

To mark the nuptials of the Prince of Wales and Alexandra of Denmark on the 10 May in 1863, he gave for his tenants and friends a ‘rich and sumptuous dinner at the New Inn’, followed by bowls of punch. He forwarded their dinners to those who could not attend, and ‘a large quantity of meat, tea, sugar, etc., were distributed amongst the poor’. In proposing a vote of thanks to Wakeman, Mr Lake, vice-chairman for the evening, quoted from *The Fine Old English Gentleman* the words: ‘Whilst he feasted all the rich, he ne’er forgot the poor’.⁸⁷

Fig. 6: The signature of Thomas Wakeman 25 Nov 1847 (Gwent Archives D30/29)

Difficult Years?

In a complex matter, the background of which is not clear, John Wakeman Long, a lawyer of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, a kinsman close to Thomas Wakeman, (perhaps a cousin), purchased on his behalf the right to a debt of over £3,000 owed by the late James Jones, owner of the Cross Ash Estate, and due from one Maria Canning. In the end, he settled for a payment of £200 which he had received by 25 November 1847 (Wakeman’s signature appears on the receipt which is reproduced above).⁸⁸

A surprising notice appeared in April in 1848 that Graig House was to let, and the farming stock and household contents were to be auctioned.⁸⁹ This is hard to believe, and it is by no means certain that it happened, for Wakeman continued, as we have seen, to have over the next few years both addresses of the Graig and Chalfont St Giles. He was at the Graig in the autumn of 1848, and in August 1849 attended the Cardiff meeting of the Cambrians.⁹⁰ He clearly returned to the county intermittently, as a grand juror at the Summer Assizes in August 1850,⁹¹ and for a masonic dinner in Monmouth in October that year.⁹² His stay at Chalfont was short-lived, for in March 1852 he put

⁸⁷ He substituted ‘rich’ for the ‘great’ of the original.

⁸⁸ Gwent Archives, D30/29.

⁸⁹ *Hereford Times*, 29 April 1848; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 24 April 1848.

⁹⁰ *Birmingham Gazette*, 15 November 1848; *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, 8 September 1849.

⁹¹ *The Principality*, 9 August 1850.

⁹² *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 12 October 1850.

up for auction all his possessions there, including a ‘headed phaeton and harness’.⁹³ He returned permanently to his life and duties in Monmouthshire, including in the magistracy.

An interesting account of these times was given by ‘The Pedestrian’ in the *Monmouthshire Merlin* in March 1851. He told that: ‘I lived one year at the Graig with Squire Wakeman. He is a great scholar’. Asked, ‘Does he still live at the Graig?’, the response was, ‘No, I think he lives in London’.⁹⁴ His household at the Graig in 1861 included a cook, a servant, and a housemaid.

Publications Regarding Monmouthshire

Thomas Wakeman was a supporter of the formation of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, a member from its inception and, for a time, a local secretary for Monmouthshire.⁹⁵ He was lauded in the first volume the Association’s journal, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* for not only recognising the significance of the cromlech at Gaer-Ilwyd, Newchurch, in Monmouthshire, but also for preventing its destruction when threatened with being used as stone for road construction.⁹⁶ When the first meeting of the Association took place in July 1847 at the Free School Caerleon, he read a paper ‘On the History of Caerleon’, published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* the following year,⁹⁷ to be followed in 1849 by a fulsome note on ‘The Seal of the Corporation of Caerleon’.⁹⁸



Fig. 7: The Cromlech
(*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1846).

Wakeman, in 1847, described the lease made in the time of Edward I by Sir John Bluet demising the manor of Langstone to William Martell. In 1849 he contributed to the journal an article ‘On the Age of Some of the Inscribed Stones’, including Samson’s Cross at Llantwit, as well as drawing attention to documents regarding Bardsey Abbey, and writing a letter concerning the Lords Marcher. In 1850 Wakeman drew attention to ‘the Stone of St Cadvan at Towyn’; in 1852 to a ‘Monumental Cross at Llangattock-iuxta-Usk’.⁹⁹

⁹³ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 13 March 1852.

⁹⁴ *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 22 March 1851.

⁹⁵ *Arch. Camb.* 1846, p. 465; 1847, p. 89; 1849, 221.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 1846, pp. 278–279.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 1848, pp. 323–344.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 1849, p. 62. This was at the Cardiff meeting which he attended: *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 8 September 1849.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 1847, pp. 143–145; 1849, 18–21; 1849, p. 124; 1850, pp. 202–212; 1852, pp. 291–293, respectively.

In 1855 Wakeman wrote two articles for *Arch. Camb.*: ‘Prehistoric Remains in Momouthshire’, and ‘Pencoed Castle’.¹⁰⁰ He played a full part in the 1857 meeting of the Association held in Monmouth, giving a lecture on the history of the town, noting that a church dedicated to St Cadog had preceded St Mary’s Priory church, and taking part in an evening discussion regarding the ‘Three Stones of Trellech’.¹⁰¹ His contributions to the meeting’s museum included a kitchener’s roll for 1386–1387 of Tewkesbury Abbey (where the last abbot had been a forebear of Wakeman’s); a 1610 manuscript map of Pembrokeshire, and the matrix of the seal of the Chancery of Monmouth which had been found in the bed of the river Wye.¹⁰²

Alas! ‘some differences of opinion’ at the Monmouth meeting led to Wakeman leaving the Association, but on his death eleven years later, the journal noting ‘this ‘unfortunate result’, wrote of him as having been ‘one of the best and most accurate antiquaries in our ranks ... well known for the care with which he examined all points of doubt or difficulty, and from the lucid manner in which he made his knowledge known’.¹⁰³ In 1876, some years after Wakeman’s death, he was referred to at the Abergavenny meeting of the Cambrians as ‘the late excellent antiquary’.¹⁰⁴

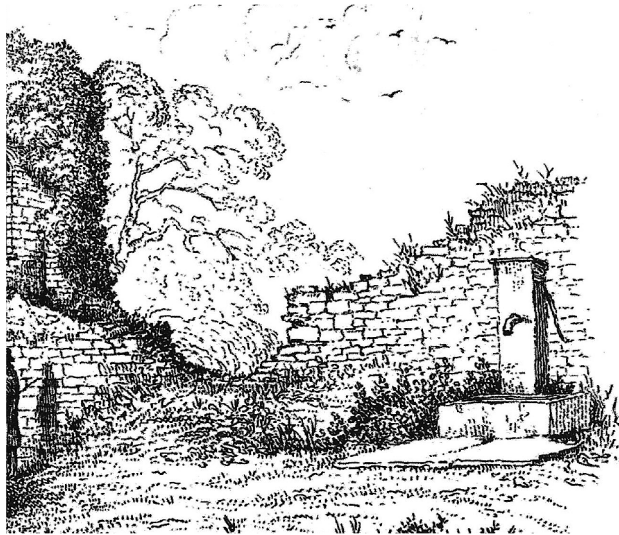


Fig. 8: Pencoed Castle (Wakeman, 1855)

One of the most interesting of Wakeman’s works is the twenty-page *Supplementary Notes to the Liber Landavensis* attached to the *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, edited by the Revd. William Jenkins Rees, and published in Llandovery in 1853. Concentrating mostly on Monmouthshire and the Welsh Border, Wakeman mentions, inter alia, burials in the eighteenth century at Abbey Dore’s former grange at Llanfair Cilgoed, ‘where remains of the chapel are still standing’; of the public house at Catsash as bearing ‘a sign of a cat in an ash tree; and of the former Cistercian grange chapel

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 1855, pp. 14–17, 118–119, respectively.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 1857, pp. 413–416.

¹⁰² Ibid. 1857, pp. 426–428.

¹⁰³ Ibid. 1868, p. 340.

¹⁰⁴ *Abergavenny Chronicle*, 26 August 1876.



Fig. 9: Seal of the Corporation of Caerleon (Wakeman 1849)

formerly a property of Llantarnam abbey, at Trefcarn (west of Abercarn), where ‘the chapel is now converted into a small farm and barn’. He also mentions the then active wire works at Tintern, and much else.

Wakeman also contributed much to the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. The journal tells that he joined the Association in 1848, ‘and was at one time a frequent exhibitor at our evening meetings’, and it goes on to relate that ‘he had formed a good collection of ancient documents and charters, and various objects and remains’.¹⁰⁵ His exhibits included a pack of geographical cards, an amulet of St Benedict, a glass reliquary, and a coin of Carausius.¹⁰⁶ In its journal, Wakeman was noted as being present at annual meetings of the Association, amongst others, at the Beaufort Arms, Chepstow in 1854 when he delivered a paper on ‘The History and Architecture of Chepstow Priory’;¹⁰⁷ at Salisbury in 1858¹⁰⁸ at Newbury in 1859,¹⁰⁹ and at Leicester in 1862.¹¹⁰ The journal in 1864 spoke of Wakeman as ‘our most respected associate, ever active in pursuit of archaeology, and ever accurate in his reasoning’.¹¹¹

Earlier, in 1836, he was commended for ‘the highly important fund of information copied during so many years’ and based upon this it was hoped he might produce a two-volume work entitled a *General History of the County of Monmouth*, edited by C.E. Adderley. It was never published though photographs taken for it are amongst his papers.¹¹² In 1880 the work of ‘that late distinguished antiquary, Thomas Wakeman’, was to be drawn upon for a book entitled *Lays & Legends of Gwent & Morgannwg*, but I have yet to trace a copy.¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 25, p.315.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 9, p.196; 14, p.72; 15, p.337; 18, p.285.

¹⁰⁷ *Star of Gwent*, 26 August 1854. When in 1877 the Cotswold Naturalist Field Club visited Chepstow Castle, it was said that Wakeman’s account as published in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (Vol. 10) was the best.

¹⁰⁸ *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 7 August 1858.

¹⁰⁹ *Berkshire Chronicle*, 17 September 1859.

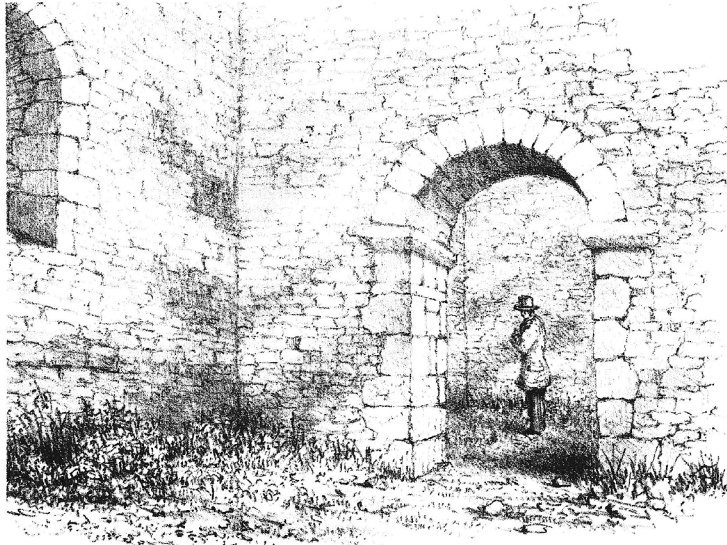
¹¹⁰ *Leicester Chronicle*, 9 August 1862.

¹¹¹ *Jnl. British Archaeological Assn.*, 20, 1864, pp. 99–100; in May 1858 he received notification of a meeting at Quimper in Brittany that October; SA 790/3.

¹¹² *Hereford Times*, 23 July 1836; SA 790/24..

¹¹³ *Pontypool Free Press*, 23 August 1880.

A great deal of Wakeman's work was published by our Association, learned and significant contributions to the history of our county, many written jointly with his close associate Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A.



C H A N C E L A R C H - R U N S T O N C H U R C H

Fig. 10: Runstone Church 1858 (Courtesy the British Library)

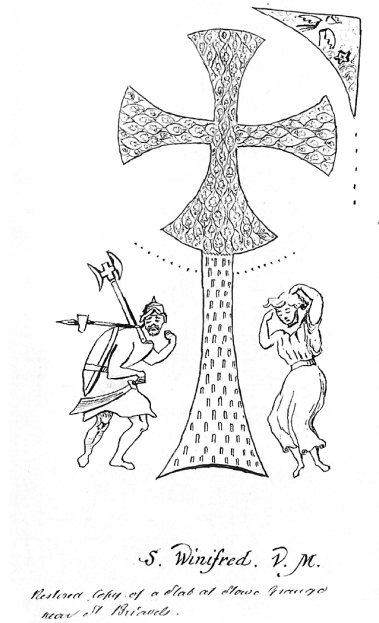
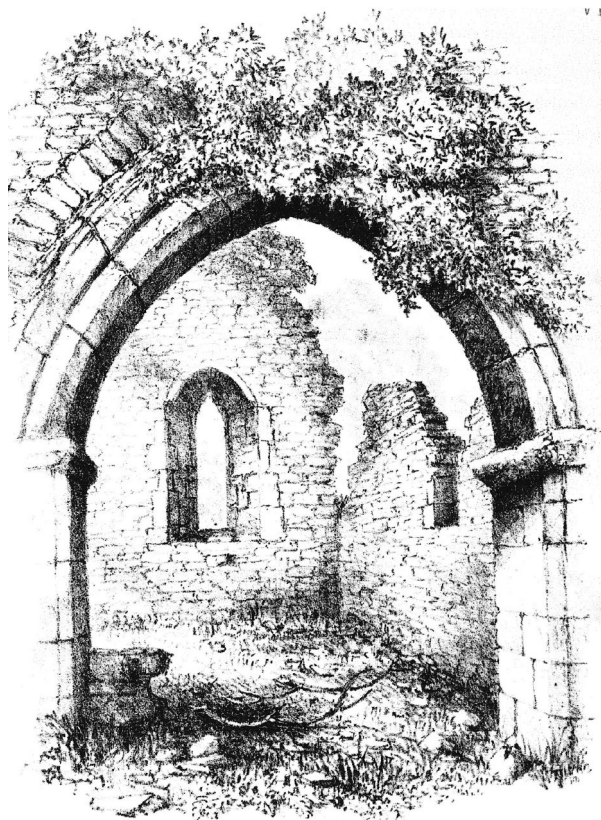


Fig. 11: Stowe Grange: Imagery of St Margaret (See below)



CHANCEL ARCH - SUDBROOK CHAPEL

Fig. 12: Sudbrook Church, 1858 (courtesy, the British Library)

Wakeman and Morgan were referred to as ‘the heart and soul’ of our Association, in a paper read to the Newport Cymmrodorion Society in 1895.¹¹⁴ The drawings illustrating their work were mostly sketched and lithographed by members of the Mitchell family of Llanfrehfa Grange. Occasionally, as in their publication regarding Penhow Castle, Wakeman wrote the section regarding the history of a site, whilst Morgan described the structural remains. One of Wakeman’s works which deserves especial attention is his *Antiquarian Excursions in the Neighbourhood of Monmouth*, published in London in 1860, and now a rarity. Failing health in his final years meant that he could not complete his proposed seven-volume *Histories of the Seven Hundreds of Monmouthshire*, the basis for which now reposes at the Society of Antiquaries,¹¹⁵ and perhaps were made use of by Joseph Bradney in his monumental history of the county (published 1904–1933). The Wakeman papers include the drawing given above of a stone slab at Stowe Grange, St Briavel’s.¹¹⁶ The imagery, ascribed to St Winifred, must relate to the martyrdom of St Margaret, patron saint of the grange chapel.

¹¹⁴ *South Wales Weekly Argus*, 28 December 1895.

¹¹⁵ SA, 790/26–32.

¹¹⁶ David H Williams, ‘Grace Dieu Revisited’, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, vol XXXVI (2021), pp. 13–16 for Stowe Grange.

The Wakeman Papers

Thomas Wakeman's work was admired long after his death. The *Western Mail* in 1954 alluded to 'his wide knowledge matched by his critical good sense', and in 1955 saw him as 'an acute antiquarian'.¹¹⁷ His vast collection 'relating mainly to Monmouthshire, including transcripts from public and private records, historical notes, pedigrees, correspondence and some original charters and other documents, with additions by Octavius Morgan', passed to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1891, where they form the Wakeman Collection listed under SA 790/1 to 790/50.¹¹⁸ The entire collection is an extremely valuable source of information for any author or student of the history of Monmouthshire. Its importance cannot be gainsaid. Had he lived, all the material, especially the volumes on the hundreds of the county already prepared, would have formed the basis of his proposed history of Monmouthshire. In the event, that task fell to Sir Joseph Bradney.

There are in fact some 150 original deeds and charters, mostly medieval and ranging from the Middle Ages down to the seventeenth century, as well as many more transcripts. There is an emphasis on ancestry, led by Wakeman's own work on the Monmouthshire Pedigrees.¹¹⁹ As well as loose documents, there are thirty-two notebooks full of information. Deeds of interest include a 1662 muster roll of the garrison of Chepstow castle, a Monmouth to Chepstow stagecoach timetable of 1857, and mention of the former church of St Lawrence in Newport.¹²⁰ There are notes regarding Welsh saints, church dedications and patrons, holy wells, the druids and Roman roads, drawings of armorial bearings, and sketches like that of the Skirrid mountain, and much else. The sigillographer will find seals worthy of study, and the county historian can take delight in the histories of the seven hundreds of Monmouthshire. Not least there are numerous letters, mostly of correspondence with other antiquarians, but hardly any relating to family affairs.

At the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, are to be found copies of practically all his publications, including the rare 1860 *Antiquarian Excursions in the Neighbourhood of Monmouth*, referred to above, as well as some fifty letters to and from Wakeman, chiefly concerning antiquarian matters.

The Closing Years

Less is heard of Wakeman once in his seventies, but he remained active to the end of his life. In October 1861 he was in one of the mourning coaches at the funeral at Pontypool of the Lord-Lieutenant, Capel Hanbury Leigh. The procession was headed 'by two mutes'.¹²¹ In 1863 he served on the grand jury at the spring assizes held at Usk;¹²² in 1865 he addressed the meeting in Skenfrith regarding the Grosmont Turnpike Roads proposed Act,¹²³ but by 1867 ill health meant that a paper written by him had to be read for him at the summer meeting of our Association at Trellech.¹²⁴

He was president of the Newcastle Friendly Benefit Society, and when on Whit-Monday 1865 the members celebrated their anniversary at the New Inn, Graig, as they processed to Llanfair

¹¹⁷ *Western Mail*, 6 November 1954; 7 May 1955.

¹¹⁸ I am indebted to Kat Petersen, archivist of the Society, for her helpfulness.

¹¹⁹ SA, 790/10–12, cf. 790/18–20, 43.

¹²⁰ SA, 790/1 (2, 4); 790/48(1) in No. 4.

¹²¹ *Hereford Times*, 9 October 1861.

¹²² *Usk Observer*, 4 April 1863.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 28 January 1865.

¹²⁴ *County Observer*, 2 May 1868.

Cilgoed Church, they called on Wakeman at his home where the band played ‘some select pieces to the satisfaction and delight of all present’.¹²⁵

Wakeman continued as a magistrate, hearing a case for the Skenfrith Petty Sessions on July 13th, 1867, in his own home, the Graig House.¹²⁶ He heard a further case on January 15th, 1868.¹²⁷ It sheds a valuable light on Wakeman, and is worth recounting in full:

A young lady was brought up in custody, charged with stealing articles of clothing from a poor old couple living at the Graig Hill summer house. The old man, who is quite a cripple, having to go daily to the Graig House, to clean knives, where he is kindly treated by the worthy squire [i.e. Wakeman], has to leave his wife at home, who is blind and bedridden. He had engaged the girl to look after her, but after some three weeks she absconded, robbing the old people of several articles.

She was remanded in custody.

Wakeman, was ‘in a delicate state of health for some time’,¹²⁸ and, writing to Octavius Morgan in September 1864, said that ‘I am really unable to stick to work as I was used to, and very soon get tired and obliged to throw away my pen’.¹²⁹ He died suddenly from heart disease at his home on 23 April 1868 aged seventy-nine. An inquest was held the following day, and he was buried at Llantilio Crossenny on the 29th, the vicar, the Revd. David Davies, signing the burial register. His executors were John Wakeman Long and James Gilbert George, solicitor, both of Monmouth, but his will is not traceable at The National Archives. Georgina Long, of Ivy Bank, Monmouth, wrote on the 28 November to Octavius Morgan, to arrange a date for him ‘to collect the books and papers relating to Monmouthshire bequeathed to you in his will. I will have fires lit, and the rooms made comfortable.’¹³⁰

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Images from the Commissioners of Sewers maps held by Gwent Archives (D695) are reproduced by permission of Natural Resources Wales.

MAJOR PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS WAKEMAN

Written in conjunction with Octavius Morgan, M.P., F.S.A., mostly published with the support of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, and printed by Henry Mullock, Newport

Notes on the architecture and history of Caldicot Castle, 1854.

Notes on the ecclesiastical remains at Runston, Sudbrook, Dinham, and Llan-bedr, 1858.

Notes on the ancient domestic residences of Pentre-Bach, Crick, Ty-Mawr, The Garn, Crindau, and St Julian’s, 1860.

Notes on the ancient domestic residences of Tre-Owen, Killwch, and the Waen, 1861.

Notes on Wentwood, Castle Troggy and Llanvair Castle, 1863.

Notes on Pencoyd Castle and Langstone, 1864.

¹²⁵ *Usk Observer*, 17 June 1865.

¹²⁶ *County Observer*, 13 July 1867.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 25 January 1868.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* 2 May, 1868.

¹²⁹ National Library of Wales, Tredegar Estate MSS, File 1187.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* MS 71/651.

Notes on Penhow Castle, Newport, 1867.

Written by Thomas Wakeman, J.P., F.S.A

Report of a Speech by James the First in the Star Chamber, 1661, taken down at the time by Edward Wakeman, and now edited by Thomas Wakeman, London: privately printed 1848.

Supplementary Notes to the Liber Landavensis attached to the *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, edited by the Revd. William Jenkins Rees; Llandoverly, 1853.

Antiquarian Excursions in the Neighbourhood of Monmouth in 1857, Cambrian Archaeological Association; London: Simpkins Marshall, Monmouth: Thomas Farror, 1860.

The Monastery of Austin Friars at Newport: with Notes on the house of Black Friars, and other minor ecclesiastical establishments, Newport: Monmouthshire & Caerleon Antiquarian Association, 1859.

On the Priory of Monmouth: In *Collectanea Archaeologica*, 1862, pp. 285–294.

Sheriffs of Monmouthshire, Tenby: R. Mason, ?1864, reprinted from *The Cambrian Journal*.

On the Chancery of Monmouth (arms and seals).

At the Society of Antiquaries of London (major unpublished works)

790/10–12: Monmouthshire Pedigrees (3 volumes).

790/18–20. Pedigrees of Monmouthshire Families.

790/26–32: Histories of the Seven Hundreds of Monmouthshire.

In *Archaeologia Cambrensis*

1847, pp. 143–145: *Agreement between Sir John Bluett and William Martell*; 1849, pp. 134–138: *Bardsey Abbey*; 1848, pp. 328–344, 370; and 1849, p. 62: *Caerleon*; 1849, pp. 18–21: *On the Age of Inscribed Stones*; 1850, pp. 205–212: *St Cadvan's stone*; 1852, pp. 291–293: *Llangattock cross*; 1855, pp. 14–17, 120–123: *pre-historic remains in Monmouthshire*; 1855, pp. 118–119: *Pencoyd Castle*.

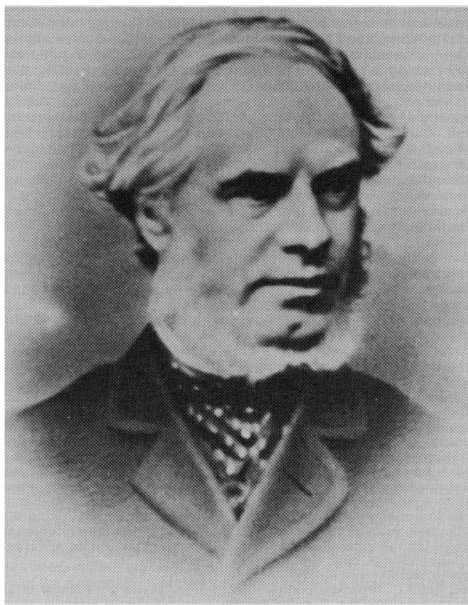
In the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

9, p.80: *on a monumental cross*; **9**, p. 183: *on an inscription in a Quaker's burial ground*; **9**, p. 196: *presents a pack of geographical cards*; **10**, pp. 249–257: *on the town and castle of Chepstow*; **10**, pp. 257–265: *on the town, castle, and priory of Usk*; **10**, pp. 362–367: *on the Sudbrook camp and the Via Julia*; **10**, p. 386: *notice of a supposed Roman coffin*; **11**, pp. 128–134: *on the antiquities of Trellech*; **11**, pp. 134–142: *on the chronicle of Tysilio, and territories of Vortigern*; **12**, pp. 165–166: *on the red rose of Lancaster*; **13**, pp. 225–226: *presents tokens to the Association*; **14**, pp. 56–60: *on the chancery of Monmouth*; **14**, pp. 272, 279–280: *on an amulet of St Benedict*; **15**, pp. 158–204: *on a lease relating to the Hospitallers*; **15**, pp. 153–159: *on Pembridge Castle*; **15**, pp. 285–318: *on a kitchener's account relating to Tewkesbury abbey*; **18**, p. 271: *on the priory of Monmouth*; **18**, pp. 372–374: *on Bogo de Clare*.

GENTLEMEN AND PLAYERS: JOHN EDWARD LEE, CHARLES ROACH SMITH AND ASPECTS OF MID-VICTORIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

By Jeremy Knight

In the summer of 1848 the founder of our Association, John Edward Lee, received a visitor at his house, The Priory, at Caerleon. Charles Roach Smith (1807–1890) had been attending the Worcester conference of the British Archaeological Association, of which he was co-founder and secretary and took the opportunity to visit Caerleon and Caerwent before returning to London. The two men probably already knew each other, since Lee was a member of the British Archaeological Association, and they had a great deal in common. Both were much concerned by the destruction of ancient sites and the loss without record of important archaeological finds. The previous October, Lee had called a meeting at the Priory of ‘Friends to the foundation of a museum of Antiquities at Caerleon’ leading to the establishment both of our Association and of the Museum of Antiquities, later the Roman Legionary Museum.



John Edward Lee from a portrait in possession of Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association (Courtesy Caerleon Legionary Museum)



Charles Roach Smith: signed portrait by unknown artist (Wikimedia Commons)

The story of Lee’s foundation of our Association and of the Roman Legionary Museum at Caerleon has been told several times. In 1971 E.I.P (Isca) Bowen made excellent use of our archives in his Presidential address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association,¹ whilst in 1997 our late secretary Gwenllian Jones wrote a definitive account of Lee’s life and work in the volume of this

¹ Bowen, E.I.P., 1971. ‘The Monmouthshire and Caerleon Archaeological Association’, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 120, 1–10.

journal celebrating our 150th Anniversary. She also discovered Lee's portrait, a copy of which now hangs in the museum he founded.² This article only attempts to set the careers of Lee and Roach Smith and their archaeological work against the background of mid-Victorian antiquarian studies and controversies.

Like Lee, Roach Smith never attended University, but at the age of 14 started work in a solicitor's office on the Isle of Wight, much as Lee at the age of 16 entered his uncle's family business. He soon abandoned this and established himself as a wholesale chemist in London. His scientific interests and business background have much in common with Lee. Both men were also pioneers in what is now known as rescue archaeology, Smith in London, and Lee in Caerleon. When Smith moved to London in 1834, he found that redevelopments in the city and the dredging of the river Thames were uncovering large amounts of archaeological material which was being destroyed or lost without record. By 1854 he had assembled a large collection. He established a private museum and published *A Catalogue of the Museum of London Antiquities*, followed by *Illustrations of Roman London* in 1859. In 1856 he sold his collections to the British Museum, where they formed the nucleus of the Romano-British collections. In 1883 he was awarded the first medal of the London Numismatic Society for his work on Roman coinage in Britain and one obituary described him as 'almost the founder of the new school of Romano-British archaeology.'³

'A Classic Victorian Row'- Nineteenth century antiquarian societies

In 1843 Charles Roach Smith, Thomas Wright (1807–1871) and Thomas Pettigrew (1791–1865) founded the British Archaeological Association. This was based on two existing societies in France, the Imperial Institute of France, of which Wright, whose wife was French, was a corresponding member, and the Société Française pour la Conservation des Monuments Historiques. Wright was a prolific publisher of medieval texts, and author of a number of popular works on archaeology and folklore. Born near Ludlow, he carried out pioneer excavations at the Roman town of Wroxeter. His account of the excavations is reminiscent of Lee's *Isca Silurum* though unlike Lee's book, it carries at the back advertisements for a range of products. Though a Cambridge graduate, Wright was not a wealthy man, being dependent for most of his career, on the support of rich patrons, and largely supported himself by his writings.⁴ Thomas Pettigrew, known as 'Mummy' Pettigrew, was Professor of Anatomy at Charing Cross Hospital in London. Son of a naval surgeon who had served on H.M.S. Victory, he was famous for his public unwrappings of Egyptian Mummies. Though the British Archaeological Association had little to do with Egypt, Pettigrew's experience as member and officer of numerous medical and scientific societies would have been useful to Roach Smith and Wright in their new venture, of which he became Treasurer.

Joint secretary with Roach Smith was Albert Way (1805–1874), a more establishment figure. Only son of a Sussex landowner, he was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was a friend of Charles Darwin. Director of the Society of Antiquaries of London, he produced

² Jones, Gwenllian V., 2001, 'John Edward Lee and antiquarianism in nineteenth century Caerleon', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 17, 3–8. A *Carte de visite* by Camille Silvy of London shows Lee with his son, Edward Arthur Lee (1851–1921): The Library of Nineteenth Century Photographs – <http://www.19thcenturyphotos.com/John-Edward-Lee>.

³ Rhodes, Michael, 1992, 'Some aspects of the contribution to British archaeology of Charles Roach Smith (1806–1890)'. PhD thesis, University of London, UCL Discovery, accessed 12.6.2022. Sarah Scott 2017, 'Gratefully dedicated to subscribers: The archaeological publishing projects and achievements of Charles Roach Smith', *Internet Archaeology* 45 (<https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.45.6>) accessed 14.6.2022

⁴ Thomas Wright, *The Ruins of the Roman City of Uriconium near Shrewsbury* (1863).

the first catalogue of their possessions, and on his death the Society inherited his major collection of casts of medieval seals. Way did much to persuade the long-established Society of Antiquaries to accept the newcomer. The Society of Antiquaries was seen at the time as in the doldrums, with a largely inactive Council and an absentee nobleman and politician as President. Roach Smith and Wright were active Fellows however, and John Edward Lee was elected a Fellow in 1861. Roach Smith was elected in 1836, despite one objection that he was ‘in trade’ and presented a paper the same year. Much later, in 1890 the President of the now revitalized Society of Antiquaries, Sir John Evans, had a medallion struck in honour of Roach Smith, bearing his portrait bust.

Soon after the establishment of the British Archaeological Association, what began as a dispute over publication of the inaugural Canterbury Summer Meeting developed into ‘a prime example of a classic Victorian row’. By 1845 the two rival factions, the one led by Roach Smith and Wright, the other by Albert Way, were holding rival conferences in Winchester. This led to an eventual split and to the foundation of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, now the Royal Archaeological Institute, with Albert Way as secretary, as a rival to the British Archaeological Association.⁵

Though several factors were at work, not least clashes of personality, the whole episode had something of the onetime cricket fixture of Gentlemen versus Players. One supporter of the Institute claimed that the British Archaeological Association before the split ‘consisted of two distinct classes of persons, the one gentlemen of property and amateurs of archaeology... the other party consisting of professional archaeologists’.⁶ Another thought that learned societies should be in the hands of ‘men of rank or property’ with private means and without the necessity of earning a living. The term ‘professional archaeologist’ does not carry its modern meaning, for there were virtually no salaried posts at this time, save for a few in the British Museum. What the writer may have been referring to was the fact that both Wright and Roach Smith, neither of whom were wealthy, published much material aimed at the growing taste for archaeology and antiquities among the middle classes of Victorian Britain and drew an income from this, whereas Albert Way and others were men of private means. Between 1848 and 1880 Roach Smith published seven illustrated volumes, *Collectanea Antiqua*, dealing with Roman and other sites in Britain and northern France ‘to encourage and promote appreciation of national monuments, antiquities and archaeology’. They proved popular and are still a very useful archaeological source, particularly in relation to sites in France. Many of Roach Smith’s works were published by private subscription rather than through normal commercial publishing.

The rise of an educated and leisured middle class in 1840s Britain after the ‘famine years’ at the beginning of the decade created an interest in science, natural history and archaeology reflected in the foundation of a range of local societies and field clubs, often county based. Bob Sylvester has listed a number of these. Sussex and Norfolk both acquired county archaeological societies in 1846. The Cambrian Archaeological Association was founded in 1847, a month before us, in order to create a journal – *Archaeologia Cambrensis* – much as we were founded to create a museum. Somerset acquired a county archaeological society in 1849. In 1851 a group of geologists who had met fossil hunting in quarries on the Woolhope Dome established the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club, of which John Edward Lee became a member in 1864. This became the county society for

⁵ Wetherall, David, ‘From Canterbury to Winchester: the foundation of the Institute’, in Blaise Vyner ed., *Building on the Past: Papers Celebrating 150 years of the Royal Archaeological Institute* (1994), 8–21. Rhodes 1992, 190–195.

⁶ J.H. Parker, *The Antiquary* 4, (1884), 32–33, quoted in Wetherall, 17.

Herefordshire, with its headquarters, library and museum opposite the cathedral and its own journal. Field Clubs were a slightly later development than the county archaeology societies specializing initially in geology and natural history.⁷

John Edward Lee – Rescue Archaeology, Railways and Caerleon

Neither Roach Smith nor Lee were university men and though Lee was certainly a ‘man of property’, with a fine new house in the Gothic style in extensive grounds (Tennyson assumed he was a ‘landed proprietor’) and his son was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, he might still be thought of however as being ‘in trade’. John Edward Lee was born in Hull in 1808 to a wealthy family with shipping and whaling interests, including the import of Baltic tar and American Turpentine. Brought up by two uncles after the early death of his father, Lee entered their shipping office at the age of sixteen. As a young man, Lee was involved in the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society and its museum, spending much time cataloguing and arranging its collections. He was a regular attender at the conferences of the British Association for the Advancement of Science from their foundation in 1831 onwards.⁸

After extensive travels, partly for health reasons, in western Europe and in Norway, Sweden and Russia, where his family had business interests, in June 1841 he moved to Caerleon. He was partner with the American James Jamieson Cordes and Henry Ewbank in the Newport firm of J.J. Cordes, nail, spike, and rivet makers at the Dos Works, known in Newport as the ‘nail factory’ and as a hotbed of Chartism. (The present writer’s great great grandfather, George Knight was a workman there). Gwenllian Jones suggested that Lee’s input was financial rather than technical, the actual running of the works being in the hands of James Cordes and his son Thomas Cordes. However, Lee’s considerable business and financial experience must have been a substantial asset.

Lee was a talented artist and draughtsman, fluent in French, German and other languages, and in active touch with leading scholars in those countries. An expert geologist and Fellow of the Geological Society, in his later years he published a series of papers in scientific journals on geological discoveries, particularly from Devonian levels in Devon and Monmouthshire. In 1881 he published *Notebook of an Amateur Geologist* and four years later donated 21,000 geological specimens to the British Museum (now in the Natural History Museum). He was also a translator of foreign archaeological works into English. In 1866 he published an edition and translation of Ferdinand Keller’s *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland*, with nearly a hundred full page plates, all drawn and engraved by Lee. A second two volume edition followed in 1878 with over two hundred plates.⁹ In 1867 his business partner James Cordes died and the following year concerns for the health of his wife Anne, a Torquay lady whom he had married in 1846, led Lee to leave Caerleon and move to the Villa Syracuse in Torquay, though he frequently returned to Monmouthshire, where his son, Edward Arthur Lee of the Coldra outside Newport was later a J.P.

Like Roach Smith in London, Lee, on arrival in Caerleon, found that Roman finds were constantly being made and lost or dispersed without record. Roach Smith recorded Lee’s efforts in characteristically forthright style:

⁷ R.J. Silvester, ‘Welsh Antiquarian Societies and Field Clubs in the nineteenth century’, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 13 (1997), 30–35.

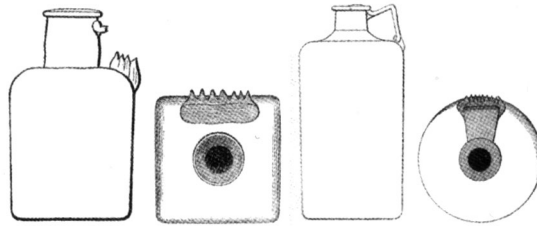
⁸ Obituary, ‘John Edward Lee’, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 20 (1888), 34–36.

⁹ Ferdinand Keller, *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other Parts of Europe*, translated and arranged by John Edward Lee (Longmans, Green & Co. London, 1866). 2nd edition (2 vols, 1878). For a bibliography of Lee’s publications see Gwenllian Jones op. cit., 11–12.

For a long time, there has been an outcry against the neglect with which the people of Caerleon have regarded their antiquities. Donovan, half a century ago..... (attacked).... the manner in which these ancient remains were trafficked and carried away.¹⁰ Williams, the author of a *History of Monmouthshire* in 1796 also exclaims against the abstraction of the antiquities and suggests that a museum might be formed at Caerleon ‘The foundation of such a museum had been left to a gentleman who is not a native of the county’.¹¹

The formation of the new national archaeological societies of the 1840s owed much to the railway boom of that decade and the many infrastructure projects which were transforming the British landscape. Many of these threatened or destroyed archaeological sites and ancient buildings. At Newcastle, the new railway cut through the area of the medieval castle, leaving Henry II’s great keep isolated in an industrial complex. The new societies made it possible for their ‘corresponding members’ to alert the Association and other bodies to these threats and so enable representations to be made to the authorities.¹² Page 1 of the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* in March 1844 described the Association’s purpose as ‘the encouragement of ... researches into British antiquities and vigilant care for their protection’.

The groundworks for the new railways also brought to light large numbers of antiquities and finds of all periods. At Caerleon, in the very year of Roach Smith’s visit, a cutting for an abortive South Wales Railway at Pont Sadwrn, north of the town, encountered a Roman cemetery. Both cremation burials, including an intact glass cremation vessel and later Roman inhumation burials in coffins, some with glass and pottery vessels, were found. There was also the inscribed tombstone of Aurelius Herculanus, a legionary *Eques*. The Assistant Engineer to the railway, Francis Fox, contributed a paper to *Archaeologia Cambrensis* with drawings of three intact glass vessels, one containing cremated human remains. As an engineer, Fox may well have had training as a draughtsman. The finds were exhibited at our first Annual General Meeting in Caerleon School in July 1848, along with two newly discovered Roman inscriptions.¹³



Roman glass vessels from the Pont Sadwrn cemetery, Caerleon (drawing by Francis Fox, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3 (1848), 188)

¹⁰ E. Donovan, *Descriptive Excursion through South Wales and Monmouthshire* (London, 2 vols 1805).

¹¹ Roach Smith, Charles, 1849, ‘Notes on Caerwent and Caerleon’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 4, 246–264 (at p.264). Roach Smith presented five Tudor knives from London to the new museum. Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, *Catalogue of Exhibits at Caerleon Museum* (Mullock, Newport 1909), p.1.

¹² Naomi Speakman. Lecture to the British Archaeological Association, 2 February 2022.

¹³ Francis Fox, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3 (1848), 187–190. J.E. Lee, *Isca Silurum: An Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon* (London, 1862), 49–51, plate XXVII. Collingwood, R.G., Wright, R.P., and Tomlin, R.S.O., *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol I, Inscriptions on Stone* (new edition, Alan Sutton, Stroud), no. 356. See <http://romaninscriptionsof Britain.org/inscriptions/356>.

rescue excavation of an extra mural Roman bath building which had been found in the landscaping of the Mynde by John Jenkins, owner of the Ponthir tinplate works. Several Roman inscriptions had recently been found and Lee was to describe these to ‘The Caerleon Antiquarian Association, an institution recently founded by Mr Lee and his friends’.¹⁶



John Edward Lee’s rescue excavation of extra mural bath building at Caerleon, visited by Roach Smith in 1848. The twin towered gatehouse at the foot of the motte of Caerleon Castle to right (Lee, *Isca Silurum: or an illustrated catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities of Caerleon* (1862), Plate XI)

Antiquarianism and Conflict in Victorian Society

The quarrels which led to the foundation of the rival British Archaeological Association and Archaeological Institute reflected wider conflicts in mid-Victorian society. There was that between the established landed interest and the rising new industrialists, whose new money was seen as a challenge to the former’s social status. One reaction to this was a new interest in the medieval past. The Archaeological Institute contained many clergymen and architects more concerned with ecclesiastical architecture than with archaeological matters in the modern sense. The High Church Tractarian (or Oxford) Movement had published its *Tracts for the Times* between 1833 and 1841, whilst in 1836 A.W.N. Pugin published *Contrasts*, with a series of paired drawings showing the contrast between an unappealing modern industrial Britain with its factories and protestant meeting houses and an imagined romantic feudal and catholic past.¹⁷ The resultant search for a ‘correct’ Gothic style by architects and clergy encouraged the study of medieval ecclesiastical architecture. Early numbers of the *Archaeological Journal* contain numerous drawings and architectural details of medieval churches and other buildings.

In addition, there was the conflict between the claims of revealed religion and those of science, represented particularly by Charles Darwin. Though *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection* was

¹⁶ Roach Smith 1849.

¹⁷ A.W.N. Pugin, *Contrasts: or the parallels between the Noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries and similar buildings of the Present Day. Showing the Present decay of style* (1836).

not published until 1859, debate on similar topics had been current in educated circles long before this. Roach Smith was politically a Liberal, whose religious and theological views were said to be 'very advanced'.¹⁸ Though a conventional Anglican, as a geologist, John Edward Lee, who had assisted his friend William Pengelly in his excavation of the prehistoric levels of Kent's Cavern at Torquay, may well have had difficulties with the conventional Biblical date for the foundation of the world in 4004 B.C. In social terms however, he was able to bridge the cultural divide between the propertied landed classes and the new industrial and professional middle class.

In Monmouthshire, where industrialists and landowners were often intermarried and frequently with interests in both fields, and where there were few well-to-do persons 'in trade', problems like those of the London-based societies were not important. Our annual subscription of five shillings (unmarried ladies were half a crown – two shillings and sixpence) though not insubstantial by Victorian standards, was low enough to ensure a reasonably inclusive membership, including many Anglican clergy. Our first President was Sir Digby Mackworth, a soldier and landowner, who fought at Waterloo,¹⁹ whilst the Bishop of Llandaff was Patron. The British Archaeological Association and the Royal Archaeological Institute, with their respective journals, also both still flourish. Long may they continue to do so!

I am very grateful to Mark Lewis for his comments on a draft of this paper and for drawing my attention to the 1752 estate map of Caerwent.

¹⁸ Rhodes 1992, 80.

¹⁹ On Mackworth see Ian Burge, 'Glen Usk and the Mackworths', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 13, (1997), 18–22.

A COMMUNITY-LED EXCAVATION AT 'THE OUTPOST', NEAR LLANMELIN WOOD HILLFORT, MONMOUTHSHIRE – AN INTERIM REPORT

By Peter Bonvoisin

During April and May 2022 the Caerwent and Shirenewton local history societies carried out a community archaeology dig at the so-called 'Outpost' near Llanmelin Wood hillfort. The objectives were to engage younger local people in our prehistory and archaeology, and to get a reliable date for a defended enclosure last examined ninety years ago by V.E. Nash-Williams.

I have been involved with the Caerwent Historic Trust since it was formed by the late John Nettleship in November 2000. I initiated and managed this project on behalf of the Caerwent Historic Trust, with support from members of the two societies and other local residents. Where I refer to 'we' in this article I generally mean the Caerwent Historic Trust. Once I had obtained the various permissions and funding (of which more later), we were very fortunate to engage Dr Iestyn Jones as professional project archaeologist.

The dig report should be available in late 2022 but in the meantime, I have written this interim account for the *Monmouthshire Antiquary*. I emphasise that I have no formal archaeological training or qualifications, and very little archaeological experience, so this article does not pretend to be a specialist report: you will have to wait for that.

This story begins a decade ago, when I was lucky enough to take part in a Cadw-led community dig at Llanmelin Wood hillfort. As I had just retired, it was suggested to me (by Dr Caroline Pudney I recall) that I might like to do some research into the history of the hillfort from the departure of the Romans to the present day. For several years I visited archives across Wales and Gloucestershire and got to know the wider site.

Musings on the wider site

Llanmelin Iron Age hillfort is situated on a ridge 100m above sea level overlooking farmland around Caerwent. It sits on a promontory where the Castrogi brook descends from the higher plateau behind the fort to the flatlands below. The topsoil is thin, covering limestone. The land drops steeply for about 60m to the north-west, west and south, but is approached across fairly level ground from the east. Today, most of the hillfort lies in the parish of Caerwent with a small portion, and the 'Outpost', lying in the parish of Shirenewton. I have included as an appendix to this article a LiDAR image of the area annotated with some locations I mention in the text.

The hillfort has been described as of medium size and dated to the mid/late Iron Age. Nash-Williams' excavations identified two medieval stone buildings in the hillfort 'Annexe', containing several fragments of 12th or 13th century AD pottery, and one building in the 'Outpost' (which produced two fragments of 12th century date). No certain evidence of their purpose was discovered. The unusual 'Outpost', assuming an Iron Age date, might perhaps have provided an early warning of and defence against anyone approaching from the east.

Professor Wendy Davies in her work on the Llandaff Charters suggests that an early reference in c.AD 980 to Lann Mihacgel Lichrit may relate to Llanmelin.¹ However, other commentators place this about three miles further north at Wentwood mill on the Castrogi brook (also identified as Llandegelly). I have found no other documentary references until the 1500s.

¹ Wendy Davies, *Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), p.125 ref 244.

Whilst the low-lying land, around Caerwent and up to the foot of the hillfort, was undoubtedly cleared by Roman times, it is not known how extensively the land to the north and east was cleared. After the Conquest the area formed part of the Lordship of Striguil (Chepstow), with the Lordship of Caldicot and Newton (Shirenewton) carved out from that c.AD 1200. At that time vast quantities of timber were being extracted in the area for building castles, locally and further afield. Woodland was also being cleared for agriculture and in some places for security from ambush.

The curious zigzag parish boundary to the east of the hillfort may possibly originate in the heads of earlier fields. Perhaps the medieval identified by Nash-Williams in the ‘Outpost’ (and those in the ‘Annexe’) are contemporaneous with clearances (assarts).

By the 1500s we find references to two properties called Llanmelin, being substantial farms to the west of the fort (now Great Llanmelin Farm) and to the south (Lower Llanmelin Farm – now subsumed in the Royal Naval Propellant Factory (RNPF) and demolished). Bradney sets out partial histories of these farms; they changed hands many times. It appears probable that ownership of most of the hillfort was with Lower Llanmelin Farm.

The hillfort sits in what has been known for many years as Llanmelin Wood (of c. 44 acres). This is parcel 300 on the Caerwent tithe map.² What is now called the Poor Wood (and previously Sharkey, Sharbey or Shabby Common) covers the northern slope up to the hillfort and contains at least two cottages built for the poor of Caerwent parish in 1830–1840 and mentioned in the parish church Vestry Minutes.³ The Poor Wood is broadly parcels 302, 327–329 on the Caerwent tithe map.⁴

The Poor Wood seems in Victorian times to have been owned by the Reverend Freke Lewis of St Pierre. Freke seems to have acquired the wood in 1807 from Colonel Mark Wood (the then owner of Piercefield), and Colonel Wood or his father probably acquired it from the owners of the now demolished Lower Llanmelin Farm, about 1750, either the Blethin family or the Van family of Llanwern. Buying and selling land was a popular pastime among Georgian gentry. The Lewis family sold it in 1908 and it eventually ended up in the hands of the MoD (and now Cadw).

The Bengough family of Gloucestershire owned Lower Llanmelin farm by 1818, and it may be that the hillfort was part of the farm for several hundred years prior to that. The Bengoughs certainly owned the hillfort and land to the east by 1841. They sold it in 1918 and, again, this found its way into the hands of the MoD in 1937.

The name Llanmelin has been the subject of speculation, and further speculation by the writer may not be very useful. Professor Rees was sure it meant ‘church of the mill’, but there doesn’t seem to be a church nearby. It has been spelt several ways in the last 500 years. Others have suggested the name started life as Nant Melin (‘valley of the mill’) or as Glanmelin (loosely ‘mill bank’), derived from the several mills up the stream flowing out of the Cwm: from below the steep bank is impressive. Alternatively, lan or llan might conceivably mean eminence or enclosure, and thus Mill Knoll or Mill Fort is possible. Similarly, melyn/melen can mean yellow.⁵ Perhaps the name does not stem from the hillfort. It seems possible that originally the name attached to the two farms and thence to the wood (in which the hillfort stands), and that only recently has it become attached to

² Caerwent tithe map, Available on the Places of Wales website hosted by the National Library of Wales, <https://places.library.wales/>

³ EA Marston ed., *Caerwent Scrapbook* (1956), p.35.

⁴ Caerwent tithe map, Places of Wales, <https://places.library.wales/>

⁵ R. Morgan, *The Place-names of Gwent* (Llanrwst, 2005), pp. 136, 145 and G. Osborne and G. Hobbs, *The Place-names of Eastern Gwent* (Abertillery, 1998), pp. 53–54 for further discussion of the name.

the hillfort. Perhaps Great Llanmelin farm had an as yet unidentified role as ‘church of the mill’, or indeed as the ‘yellow church’. Most stone used for building in the locality is a grey limestone, but something using the yellower stone sometimes seen nearby would stand out and might be described as yellow. One last thought, given that the hillfort ditches are cut into creamy yellow limestone bedrock perhaps long ago the name Llanmelin simply meant ‘yellow enclosure’.

On a map from 1830 the site is described as ‘The Fortifications ...Ancient British Camp’.⁶ It seems ‘The Fortifications’ was the local name rather than a description. In surveys of the Shirenewton boundary from 1613 and 1697 there is reference to William Blethin of Lower Llanmellin Farm.⁷ The 1613 survey mentions the stretch from Dinham to ‘the Garrett’ then to the bridge and up the Cwm. The Garrett seems to be the hillfort, not a family or field name. A later survey mentions the same stretch and talks about crossing the lands owned by Lower Llanmellin. Bearing in mind the date it is feasible that the Garrett is an anglicised version of Gaer/Caer something, or possibly (Norman) French for watchtower.

The whole hillfort was acquired by the Admiralty (now MoD) in 1937, when they procured land at Caerwent to build the RNPF. Many have wondered what role the hillfort played in WW2. The answer seems to be none. Anti-aircraft gun sites to protect the RNPF were situated in fields around the factory but not on the fort. The MoD acquired the land shortly after Nash-Williams finished his excavations, and it seems no coincidence that the RNPF fence respects the hillfort and leaves it outside its boundary. After WW2 the hillfort was seen to be covered in trees and scrub for some years.

In summary, more work is needed to establish the history and likely functions of the so-called ‘Annexe’, the ‘Outpost’ and the medieval buildings, but in answer to the question of what happened to Llanmelin Wood hillfort after the Romans left, it seems that the answer is ‘not much’. It sits hidden in a wood on a piece of land difficult to cultivate, surrounded by good agricultural land. It is telling that some visitors to Caerwent in later centuries didn’t even notice it was there.⁸

The ‘Outpost’

My meanderings had led me to the conclusion that what was needed was more evidence rather than more hypotheses. I felt the ‘Annexe’ was too difficult for me to tackle so I focused on the ‘Outpost’ (so named, it would appear, by the Ordnance Survey mapmakers, who were often military men, at some time between 1830 and 1880). The ‘Outpost’ is a small enclosure of approximately 60m diameter, situated at National Grid reference ST464928 about 250m north-east from the main hillfort. The standing remains are in the eastern end of Cwm Wood (parcel 309 on the Shirenewton tithe map).⁹ The outpost is partially surrounded by a substantial ditch and bank with one section apparently extending into the adjoining field and ploughed out. Its function, whether original or in re-use, is unclear. The whole is a Scheduled Ancient Monument.

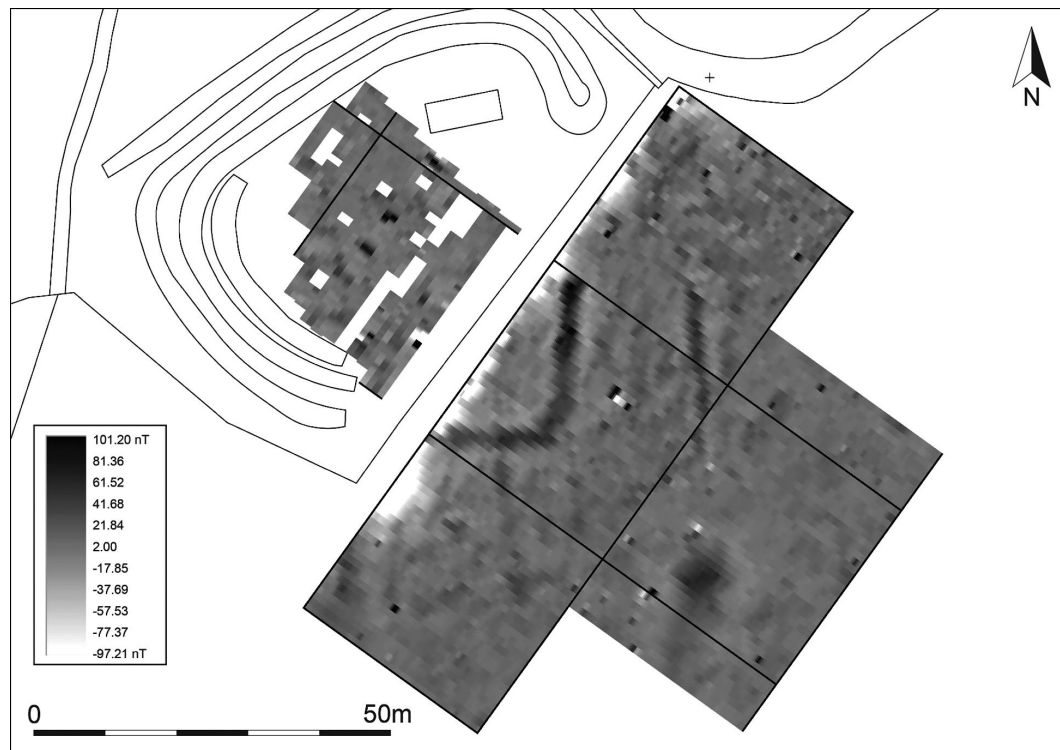
With the agreement of Cadw and the farmer, Caerwent Historic Trust carried out a small magnetometer survey in March 2019. This discovered in the adjoining field what looked like a ditch with a 90-degree corner which lined up such that it appeared neatly to complete the circuit of the standing remains in the wood.

⁶ OS 1-inch Old Series.

⁷ NLW Tredegar Estate, Vol XI p.12 Box 147/31 (1613 survey) and Gwent Archives, D668/13 (1697).

⁸ For example, Archdeacon Coxe., ‘I could not trace ... the slightest vestiges of a British encampment’, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801), p.27.

⁹ Shirenewton tithe map, Places of Wales, <https://places.library.wales/>



Magnetometer survey of Outpost carried out in March 2019. Copyright Caerwent Historic Trust

Nash-Williams had, in 1931/32, put a couple of trenches into the standing remains in the wood and found one piece of Iron Age pottery (and two of medieval pottery). I wanted to see if we could get a secure date for the bank/ditch, to prove whether the ‘Outpost’ is indeed Iron Age, and eventually to consider what later re-use of the site might have been.

So, as if by accident, I fell into organising a community-based dig myself, without previous experience of such a task. I found that I needed permissions from Cadw for Scheduled Monument Consent (SMC), from the MoD as landowner, and from the farmer who tenants the land. The SMC required us to hire a professional archaeologist (as did my own lack of expertise) and we were very fortunate to engage Dr Iestyn Jones for the work. Although we raised some funding from other sources, the bulk had to be sought from the National Lottery Heritage Fund (to whom I am very grateful). For those professionals with experience in such matters, the paperwork involved would not have been that onerous, but if you’ve never done it before, it is tough. I was fortunate indeed to experience a very supportive stance from both Cadw and the MoD, and as I worked on the Heritage Fund application, I was able to improve my plans for community engagement.

The practical aspects of organising the dig seemed more straightforward, but I learnt several lessons from mistakes which I would endeavour not to repeat were I ever foolish enough to volunteer to organise another dig!

Thanks to a very co-operative farmer we were able to start the excavation in late April. Our funds allowed us to dig for three weeks, and we were very lucky to have only one day of rain. Excavation was carried out by thirty local volunteers under the supervision of Dr Jones and me.

We had several visitors to the site during the dig, including a group of local Explorer Scouts, but the biggest group by far was nearly eighty children from Shirenewton Primary School who undertook activities with us over three days. Every child experienced digging on the site for



Local volunteers at work

themselves: some even found small fragments of Iron Age pottery! They also got to handle finds from other sites, and two classes were introduced to Iron Age and Roman material culture and its legacies for us by Dr Mark Lewis of the National Roman Legionary Museum in Caerleon, with his teaching collection of Roman artefacts, whilst waiting for their turn to dig. The work with the children was extremely rewarding (and exhausting), and I am hopeful we will have engendered a lifelong interest with some.

Excavation soon revealed, under about 30cm of topsoil, that we had indeed located the ditch, and that it was cut into the bedrock, 3.7m wide at the top and sloping down to perhaps 0.5m at the base, and nearly 2m deep. This matches the dimensions of the ditch excavated by Nash-Williams in the wood. We found little evidence remaining of the bank, which is likely to have been used to infill the ditch and eroded by ploughing. We had chosen to position our trench over what appeared to be very rocky infill and were surprised to find that the upper half of the infill was almost entirely stone with very little soil. Furthermore, mixed in with this stone infill was a significant amount not only



The start of a career?

of animal bone but also nearly 500 sherds of pottery which we believe will be confirmed as late Iron Age. The size of this discovery in a single trench was frankly a huge stroke of luck.

The nature of one very stony section of the infill has also led to speculation as to how and why that infill was deposited: this may be an area for hypotheses rather than conclusions! However, whereas the ditch in our area had been backfilled, seemingly with the upcast material from it that had once formed the inner bank or rampart, Nash-Williams' sections show that his ditches and banks mostly retained their profiles. Could the enclosure defences have been 'slighted' or otherwise deliberately levelled at the dig location but not elsewhere around the perimeter of the 'Outpost' enclosure, possibly long ago through military or agricultural action?

Whilst the pottery finds were the 'star of the show', the bone finds were also excellent and included a good haul from the very base of the ditch. We also took several soil samples from various strata. A final very late find in the ditch infill was half a quernstone made, it appears, of the local conglomerate. With all this evidence and carbon dating we hope to be able to establish with some certainty the age of the site.

Further investigation suggested that the ditch may originally have been excavated along a natural fault in the limestone bedrock. My personal view is that the 'Outpost' was not constructed as a circle or a rectangle but rather as a sort of blunt triangle using the natural topography of a very



The rock-cut ditch with stone infill



A typical pottery find

slight elevation or knoll, taking advantage of softer rock where they found it. There is the possibility that the entrance of the enclosure was to the east with an association with the existing Shirenewton road as a significant communication route on this side of the enclosure.

A more detailed examination of the evidence will have to await the formal report by Dr Jones. The richness of the evidence will take some time to process, so I will have to bide my time, as will any reader of this article.

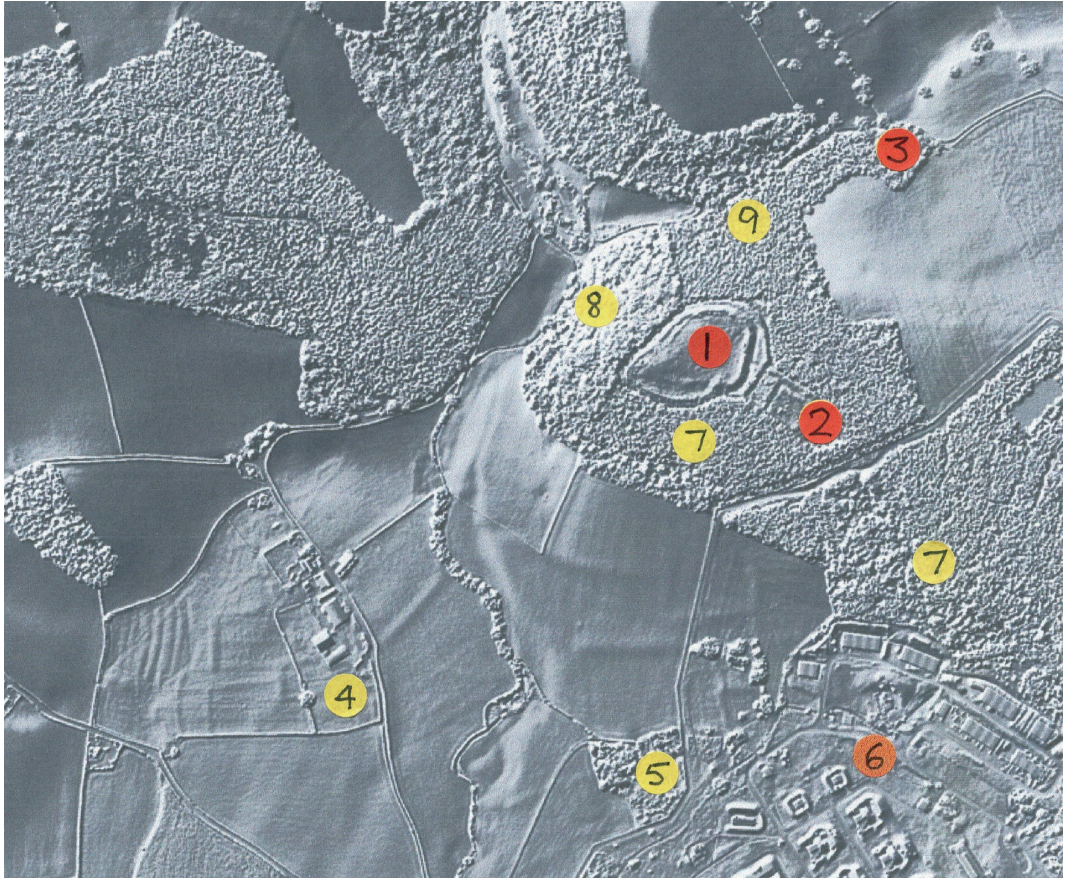
I hope that my experience will encourage other amateurs to 'have a go'. I believe I have demonstrated that, notwithstanding the increasing complexity of such a task, with the involvement of local volunteers and expert support it is possible to make a worthwhile contribution to our knowledge of the past. The engagement of younger people is frankly critical to the survival of local history societies.

THANKS AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank in particular the National Lottery Heritage Fund for providing the major part of the finance and Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association for stepping in to help with the cost of the post-excavation work when it became apparent that the finds were far beyond our expectations. I have already mentioned the very constructive responses and assistance I received from staff at Cadw, the MoD, and the farmer Mr David Adams. I'd like very much to thank here Drs Caroline Pudney, Amelia Pannett, Iestyn Jones and Mark Lewis for inspiring, encouraging, enabling and contributing to this very successful investigation and excavation. Mark was also generous with ideas for this article: of course, any errors are mine alone. I also wish to thank Dorothy Brabon of Shirenewton Local History Society and our joint team of local volunteer diggers. Finally, a thank you is due to my namesake and nephew, who carried out the magnetometer survey to locate the ditch and thus initiate this excavation: that now seems long ago.

Editorial Note: The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association has agreed to assist with the cost of the post-excavation work.

APPENDIX



LiDAR Map of area.

1. Hillfort 2. Annexe 3. Outpost 4. Great Llanmelin Farm 5. Lower Llanmelin Farm 6. RNPF
7. Llanmelin Wood 8. Poor Wood 9. Cwm Wood

Contains public sector information under the Open Government Licence v2.0. Copyright Natural Resources Wales

REVIEWS

Paul R. Davis *Forgotten Castles of Wales and the Marches*. Logaston Press, Eardisley 2021. ISBN 978-1-910839-52-2. pbk. Pp vi+ 282 £15.99

Wales is truly a Land of Castles, but for every castle in state, local authority or private care conserved and open to the public, there are many, often equally significant, known only to local people or to castle specialists. They are often neglected, difficult of access and in urgent need of conservation. It is these which this book charts. Paul R. Davis, late of the Dyfed Archaeological Trust, is the author of a number of books on castles, particularly those of the Welsh Princes, including *Towers of Defiance : Castles and Fortifications of the Welsh Princes* (Y Lolfa 2021). This is a substantially revised version of his *Forgotten Castles of Wales* (2011). Davis is a surveyor and a qualified and CAA certified commercial drone operator, as in his earlier books he makes admirable use of these skills in a prolific series of plans, reconstruction drawings and aerial photographs, in colour and black and white, all of high quality.

After an historical and architectural introduction, Davis lists over sixty castles, many in urgent need of conservation. They are divided geographically into six areas, including Monmouthshire, Glamorgan and the southern Marches. Each area is introduced by a full page colour plate, in the case of Monmouthshire Llanvair Discoed Castle. It is invaluable to have concise well researched accounts of such sites as Castell Taliorum at Llanhilleth or Castell Morgraig above Caerffili. His suggestion that the cruciform tower at the former was a fourteenth century hunting lodge of the lords of Abergavenny is an interesting one, but the site cries out for fresh research and excavation. One partial parallel (on an infinitely grander scale) is Warkworth in Northumberland. Morgraig's origins are disputed, but it may have been the work of Gruffud ap Rhys, lord of Senghennyd, copying early thirteenth century castles like Usk or Grosmont, much as Llywelyn the Great used similar models for Criccieth or Dolbadarn. The inventory drawn up on the fall of his son Llywelyn Bren shows wealth and sophistication, including books in Latin and French.

Davis draws particular attention to neglected sites in urgent need of care. The story of repeated failed efforts to conserve Pencoed Castle and to find a use for it makes melancholy reading. Llanybi gets extended treatment, as it deserves, but a number of castles excluded as open to the public and undergoing conservation are included in an appendix as 'Lesser Sites', though it is surprising to see Usk. Hawarden and Hay-on-Wye so described. The book closes with a useful bibliography and a comprehensive index.

Logaston Press uphold their reputation for high standards of book production with this attractive book, with many illustrations of excellent quality and its distinctive and colourful cover. For anyone whose interest in Welsh castles extends beyond their premier league, this book is essential reading. It also makes a powerful plea for those neglected castles at risk.

Jeremy Knight

Paul R. Davis, *Towers of Defiance: The Castles & Fortifications of the Princes of Wales* (Y Lolfa, 2021); ISBN: 978 1 912631 30 8) (pbk); 378 pp., with illustrations: £19.99

This is an interesting and well-illustrated study of Welsh-built and Welsh occupied castles which puts paid to the notion that medieval castles in Wales were exclusively Norman/English structures.

This fact is emphasised by better interpretation of existing evidence and by recent archaeological investigation. The text, for example, begins with Dolforwyn, one of the larger Welsh constructions, which ‘re-emerged’ from excavations which began in 1981.

Some MAA readers may feel a slight sense of *déjà vu* if they have already read *The Castles of the Welsh Princes* by the same author published in 1988 and subsequently in an ‘enlarged’ edition in 2007. If so, don’t be put off. This book brings both new approaches and new insights.

Paul Davis begins with a lengthy (104 + pages) historical introduction which is justified as he employs sources like *Brut y Tywysogion* in an effort to explain the complex marcher machinations which so often bedevilled Welsh medieval history. Within this narrative, he considers issues like the nature of the *llysoedd*, the now sadly scarce pre-Norman court sites which pre-dated the castles.

An important early site is Llys Rhosyr on Anglesey which was excavated in the 1990s giving hugely valuable insights into the seats of the ruling native dynasties. Information gleaned in the excavation has informed the new ‘medieval hall’ construction recently opened at St. Fagans.

There is a useful discussion of the often difficult issue of who built which castles, never mind complications like capture bringing changes of those in charge, the duration of their occupation and other questions which frequently make it difficult to know whether castles, particularly smaller ones, were native or Norman in the first place.

Not surprisingly there is considerable attention given to the wars of the Llywelyns; well-known Welsh sites like Dolbadarn and Dolwyddelan are described in detail. Thought is also given to the motivation for Welsh castle construction which differed from that of the invaders. As Davis notes, ‘apart from Deganwy, they [Llywelyn’s castles] are not sited at traditional *llysoedd* but at new locations aimed at controlling access through the mountain passes into the heartland of his realm’.

The introductory historical section provides a useful overview which, happily for MAA readers, has a remit beyond the north. Deheubarth is discussed with consideration given to matters such as constructions which may, or may not, have been associated with the Lord Rhys. As the author notes, the lack of documentary evidence ‘makes it very difficult to prove whether the numerous castles that can be identified today in Rhys’ dominions (and there are approximately 80) are of Welsh or Norman origin’.

Particularly welcome is that discussion is not confined to Gwynedd and Deheubarth but also includes Powys as well as the south eastern dynasties which brings characters like Morgan ap Maredudd and local castles like Castell Meredydd, Twyn Tudur and Castell Arnallt into the discussion.

There is an informative section of the book which explores aspects of castle architecture covering not only larger masonry constructions but also earth and timber designs like the ringworks and motte and bailey castles, the latter being far the more numerous of the two.

Consideration is also given to more unusual sites such as those described by the author as ‘hermit crab castles’ which nestle in earlier earthworks such as Iron Age hillforts and Roman forts. Not surprisingly, many of these are even more difficult to establish as sites of the invaders or of the Welsh defenders.

What may prove to have special appeal to many readers is the Gazetteer provided, often replete with useful plans and illustrations. This section lists sites of the Princes of Gwynedd, Deheubarth, Powys and of the ‘lesser dynasties’, a category which brings us into the ‘heartland’ of this journal’s readership.

Particularly helpful in the Gazetteer is information on more obscure sites regarding ownership and access. Readers are even told when no access is possible, but a site can be seen from the road.

One surprise is that Raglan doesn't merit a mention. Constructed by William ap Thomas and a noted centre for the bards of its day, it may be late, but it might still be included in a discussion of 'Welsh castles'!

Nevertheless, this is a useful and informative, well-illustrated volume which can be read with interest, kept to hand as a source of reference, or taken out as a guide to be used 'in the field'. It is certainly one which lays to rest the outdated idea that castle equates with Norman – they often didn't!

Ray Howell

Philip Hume, *The Welsh Marcher Lordships. I. Central and North* (Logaston Press, Eardisley, 2021), xix + 300 pages. £15.99 pbk.

This is the first of three volumes on the lordships of the Welsh Marches; this particular volume, published with the support of the Mortimer History Society, covers the central and northern March, located within the traditional Welsh counties of Denbighshire, Flintshire, Montgomeryshire and Radnorshire as well as parts of the English counties of Shropshire and Herefordshire. As the author explains, the volume, which is composed of ten chapters, is divided between an introductory section, with additional contributions on the law of the March, by Sara Rees Roberts, and on castles by John Kenyon. There then follows a chronological survey of the political and internecine to-and-fro of the Marcher lords as well as the conflicts and rapprochements with the Welsh princes of *Pura Wallia*. This is followed by surveys of the histories of the actual lordships.

The introductory chapter provides a useful reflection on the nature of the March as well as, in the separate pieces by Sara Elin Roberts and John Kenyon, brief and effective discussions of, respectively, the law of the March and of castle building, both with some reflection on the particular reference of both to the central and northern March. Roberts, for instance, draws attention to the unusually detailed and all but unique court records surviving from the marcher lordship of Dyffryn Clwyd. Kenyon also identifies this part of the March as 'particularly rich in castles' in a region which, through a combination of endemic conflict and a free hand in castle building, ranks as 'one of the most heavily castled...in medieval Europe' (p. 17).

The chronology of the history of the central and northern March, from the period before the Norman Conquest until the Edwardian Conquest, is explored in a series of chronological chapters, which tend to a narrative of key events, alliances, inheritances, and the like. There is analysis of these developments, notably in the conclusion to each chapter. A further chapter (chapter 7), on the development of the March from the Statute of Wales (1284) until the Laws in Wales Acts of 1536 and 1542 reflects broadly on the changing nature of lordship in the centuries after the Edwardian Conquest, notably in the tendency for lordships to concentrate in the hands of single families, not the least of whom were the Mortimers. The end of a distinct Marcher lordship came with the sixteenth-century Acts which, in effecting a union with English law, ended the legal and political distinction of the Welsh Marches.

The chapters in which the author discusses particular lordships, in the second half of the volume, offer useful summaries and provide a valuable guide to the histories of each lordship as well as their principal centres of power. As such, these chapters are amongst the strongest and most accessible sections in the volume. Here, castles for each lordship are listed and this also is helpful in locating lordships with their physical relics; that said, the details for each stronghold, briefly

summarized in text boxes at the end of relevant sections, do not contain the range of summary information that might be expected. While the reader is told that a particular castle is now on private land or currently under the care of Cadw, etc., there is no detail in terms of location. The short text box entry might have been supplemented with an Ordnance Survey reference, a helpful inclusion here and one consistent with the guidebook-like tone of these brief entries. This is, on first contact, an attractive volume; it is supported throughout by an extensive range of illustrations. The illustrations, unnumbered and located only loosely with their relevant topic, tend to be as much decorative as they are closely integrated with the text; as such they offer a welcome and often engaging supplement to the text but their proximity and purpose in developing or bolstering the argument is less evident. This perhaps reflects the fact that the volume occupies a grey area between a formal history of the Marcher lordships and a more general and accessible guide. The earlier observations regarding partial guidance to lordships' castles are redolent of the same ambiguity, for this reviewer, regarding the volume's principal purpose, a feature also evident in the construction of the volume's end notes, which are mostly offered as a more general guide to further reading. These references to secondary literature might have been supported more fully by an historiographical reflection in the introductory chapter, as well as a rather more extensive use of notation throughout; while the reader who is turning to this volume as their only or main foray into the history of the March may well not be frustrated by the extent of guidance to additional reading, other readers will sometimes be left wondering where a particular point raised by the author comes from and to whose work the reader might turn for further insight. Despite this, this volume, along with the two volumes to be published, will provide a useful guide to the medieval history of Marcher Wales.

Phillipp Schofield

Illustrating the Past in Wales: A Celebration of 175 Years of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1846-2021
edited by Heather James and Toby Driver (2021)

Founded in 1846 the Cambrian Archaeological Association was intended to be, and is, the national archaeological society of Wales. It was the last of the three such societies of mainland Britain. The Society of Antiquaries of London had been founded in 1707 and rapidly became accepted as the national society for antiquarian studies, followed by The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780. Both were undoubtedly helped by their being centred in a capital city with a long tradition of antiquarian studies where regular meetings could be held. No such centre existed in Wales before the nineteenth century, and the 'Cambrians' have always differed from its sister societies in not having regular evening lectures, but an annual meeting held in different parts of Wales or elsewhere in Britain, or, on relatively rare occasions, abroad. As a result for many of its members the most important aspect of membership is the annual volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. For that reason, it is fitting that the society's 175 years of existence should be commemorated by a slim volume (rather unkindly described by its editors as a 'Booklet' (p5)) devoted to one important aspect of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, namely the illustrations which have appeared in its pages over the past 175 years.

Antiquarian and archaeological studies almost always require illustrations. Artefacts need to be seen to be understood and a good drawing or photograph is worth a multitude of words. Even today artefacts are usually illustrated with drawings which enable the salient points of the object to be made clear and damage and corrosion to be minimised, as this book makes clear, particularly

in Frances Lynch's discussion of 'Artefact Drawing'. Where photography comes into its own is in recording structures, although it was not until 1886 that *Archaeologia Cambrensis* included its first photograph, a fine view of the ivy clad ruins of Tintern Abbey.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a series of twenty-eight short studies of how *Archaeologia Cambrensis* has covered various aspects of Welsh archaeology and history, preceded by five essays on more general topics. Each study occupies two facing pages and is illustrated by four or five illustrations taken from *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. Inevitably they vary in their approach to the subject and in what they cover. Some are general studies, such as Peter Webster's discussion of Roman Finds, or Robert Silvester's on 'Illustrating church furniture and fittings'. Others are more specific and are limited to a single site or even a single building such as Jeffrey Davies on Segontium Roman fort or J. Wyn Evans on St David's Cathedral.

The five opening essays include discussions by Heather James of the drawn image exemplified by the work of Worthington George Smith, who was not only an active 'Cambrian' (despite living in London and then Dunstable in Bedfordshire) but a superb professional draughtsman and engraver, and the early use of photographic illustrations. However, as Frances Lynch's essay on Artefact Drawing makes clear, drawing remains the best way of illustrating many, probably most, artefacts. As she says, 'Photography, though often attractive and informative, is not analytical and does not provide the information for close comparisons that lie at the heart of typological work.' (p. 25)

An excellent example of this problem is provided in Peter Webster's essay in 'Roman Finds' where he includes colour photographs of two large fragments of a decorated samian bowl in which the details are obscured by reflection and shadow, alongside the drawing of a similar fragment where all the detail is immediately visible.

The advantages of modern technology are shown in a discussion of the monastery on Priestholm which used a wide range of digital techniques and laser scanning to produce a far more complete survey than would have been possible with 'conventional' techniques, although this is essentially a study of survey techniques rather than one of illustration. Other papers concentrate on a discussion of the subject as it has been covered over the years in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* with only a passing glance at the question of illustration. This applies particularly to studies of field survey and excavation. Thus, Jeffrey Davies' essay on Segontium Roman Fort provides an excellent summary of work on the site with a colour aerial photograph and a splendid reconstruction, but no illustration predating 1960. Other writers take the opposite approach. John Kenyon limits his contribution on castle studies to 'early illustrated papers on castle studies', in passing showing how good such illustrations could be, with a splendid elevation and section of Kidwelly Castle published in 1852 which has a clarity which no photograph could surpass. The various papers make the Victorian interest in ecclesiastical monuments very clear. Of the eight discussions in the section on the Middle Ages, five are concerned with religious buildings and their fittings, while, rather surprisingly given the number of major castles which still survive in Wales, only one (by John Kenyon) is devoted to that aspect of medieval Wales. One wonders if the ecclesiastical bias seen in the papers in *Arch. Camb.* in the nineteenth century did not, at least in part, reflect the number of clergymen in the society at that time.

The final section of the volume, 'Into Modern Times', is concerned with the domestic architecture both of country houses and the vernacular, together with folk life and industrial archaeology. Although these subjects were discussed in the earlier volumes of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* such discussions were rare, and they only really achieved academic respectability in the twentieth century.

For anyone interested in how the study of the archaeology and material culture of Wales has developed over the past 175 years *Illustrating the Past in Wales* will provide an interesting summary of one aspect of the contribution made to such studies by *Archaeologia Cambrensis*.

William Manning

David Osmond. *The Chartist Rambler: William Edwards of Newport 1796–1849*. Six Points Publishing, 2022. Softback ISBN 978-1-9196448-0-6, 110 pages, 10 illustrations, all black and white, 1 map, £10.00.

Sylvia Mason. *Mary Frost: Wife, Mother, Chartist*. Saron Publishing, 2022. Softback, ISBN 978-1-913297-27-5, 162 pages, 14 illustrations, all black and white, 1 map, £9.99. An ebook version of this title is available (ISBN 978-1-913297-28-2).

Over a decade ago one of the curmudgeonly characters occasionally to be found amongst local historians observed that he didn't see the point of continuing the annual Newport Chartist Convention because 'there's nothing new to say about Chartism'. He has been proved wrong. Not only is the annual Newport Chartist Convention still going strong and continuing to raise new ideas and information, but it has also inspired a new publishing venture. Six Points Publishing – a reference to the six points of the People's Charter – was launched in 2021 by a group of historians closely associated with the Convention: Les James, David Osmond, Ray Stroud, David Mayer, Sarah Richards and Dr Joan Allen. The project aims to 'produce and promote high quality books that explore nineteenth century Radicalism, the ideas of Chartism and their historical antecedents, the movement's context and development into modern times.'

Their first offering, authored by David Osmond, deals with William Edwards, a significant but (until now) poorly understood Newport Chartist. Although characterised as 'Mad Edwards the baker' by the *Monmouthshire Merlin*, Osmond demonstrates that he was far from mad and was only briefly a baker. Drawing upon a wide range of sources, including reports from newspapers (pro- and anti-Chartist), court records, petitions, contemporary pamphlets, and private correspondence to expand upon his research for his seminal article on 'Newport After the Chartists' in *Gwent Local History* (issue 98, spring 2005), Osmond gives a 'womb to tomb' account of this remarkable life. He shows that Edwards, variously a book and periodical seller and preacher of the gospel, to be a dedicated, energetic, self-sacrificing, and talented orator who, in spite of his reputation and the charges against him, often preached the doctrine of peaceful protest rather than use of violence.

It is, however, ultimately a tragic story. Although Edwards escaped the fate of Frost, Williams and Jones because he was already in custody at the time of the Newport Rising, his period of imprisonment in Monmouth and Oakham gaols left him defiant but financially ruined, while a botched attempt by a divided Chartist Movement to put up a candidate for the general election of 1841 led to him being denounced as a traitor by many former colleagues and having 'the mob' ransack his premises. In spite of this he struggled on, advocating and adapting the Chartist cause in Newport until his death in 1849.

All in all this is a most encouraging start from Six Points Publishing. Future studies will be eagerly anticipated.

Inevitably, Edwards's wife and family suffered heavily as a result of William's activities. This was also the case with the wife of John Frost, Mary, the subject of Sylvia Mason's second foray

into women's history. While David Osmond's task was assisted by the fact that Edwards frequently appeared in the public record (he was rarely out of the pages of the *Monmouthshire Merlin* for long) Sylvia Mason faced much greater obstacles. The clue to her difficulties lies in the subtitle: 'Wife, Mother, Chartist'. Given that Mary's time and energy was given over far more to being a wife and a mother and that her activity as a Chartist seems to have largely consisted of providing domestic and moral support for her husband, her voice is rarely heard in the historical record. As the author says, 'If exploring the lives of women of the past, like Mary, were only attempted when the historical record is full, so many interesting women would be ignored.' She gets around this problem by providing lots of context and relying heavily on deductions, speculation and pointing out the gaps in our knowledge. This means the text has more 'Mary would have/could have/might have...' and more rhetorical questions ('Did Mary ...', 'Would Mary ...') than the author or the reader would like.

Nevertheless, enough has been gleaned and deduced to provide a useful portrait of Mary and to give the reader a clear impression of the trials and tribulations that resulted not just from her unwavering commitment to John, but from the loss of her first husband, the illegal activities of William Foster Geach, her son from her first marriage, and from the early deaths of several of her children from her marriage to John. We also learn something of the Newport Female Patriotic Society and of other 'Chartist wives and daughters', notably Jane Dickenson, daughter of Chartist prisoner, John Dickenson, and of the women's wing of the local Chartist movement.

Not one for the purist perhaps, but a brave attempt to rescue Mary from obscurity and to raise the profile of women in the Chartist movement.

Both volumes are well but inexpensively produced, making each good value at £10.00 and £9.99. A pleasing feature of the format of both is that end notes are numbered consecutively throughout the whole volume, rather than chapter by chapter, making it much easier to locate them.

Peter Strong

Richard C. Allen, ed. *The Welsh Society of Philadelphia 1798–1839*. South Wales Record Society No. 34. 2021. ISBN 978-1-9998326-6-7. Pbk. £35.50.

This book represents an interesting and important new departure with a trans-Atlantic partnership between the South Wales Record Society and the Welsh Society of Philadelphia. Early records of the Society are housed in Haverford College in Pennsylvania where the editor held a Gest Fellowship which enabled his research leading to the present volume.

The study provides insights not only into aspects of the early colonial development of the United States but also into a desire to preserve and promote Welsh heritage and culture in America. Interesting parallels with similar efforts in London will be of particular interest to some MAA readers.

Thanks to William Penn and fellow Quakers, there was 'identifiable' Welsh settlement in Pennsylvania from the 1680s. Penn and twelve Welsh Quakers were instrumental in buying large tracts of land in the colony where seven Welsh Companies acquired 40,000 acres, 62 ½ square miles.

Land holdings increased further as, in 1697–8, an additional 7,820 acres were purchased by Welsh Quakers, William ap John and Thomas ap Evan. By 1700 there were hundreds of Welsh settlers in places like Bryn Mawr, Radnor, Gwynedd and Tredyffrin in the colony.

Not surprisingly, Welsh language and culture were, in the early years of settlement, important factors in the colony with the first Welsh tract to be published in America, *Annerch I'r Cymru*, appearing in 1729.

However, hopes of an autonomous Welsh polity were never realised and, perhaps as a consequence, a society dedicated to maintaining Welsh heritage, as well as providing support to Welsh emigrants, the Society of the Sons of Ancient Britons, was established on St. David's Day in 1729. Meeting in Philadelphia at an establishment called the Queen's Head, the inaugural meeting promised 'sermon, songs and ale'.

A particularly interesting aspect of this far-flung colonial undertaking is how it resonates with developments in London where 'the most Honourable and Loyal Society of Ancient Britons' was launched in 1715, leading to the still highly active and influential Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion in 1751. The Ancient Britons established a charity school for 80 boys and 25 girls in Grays Inn in 1718. The London Welsh Centre is located in Grays Inn Road today.

Following the American revolution, St. David's Day 1798 saw the launch of a successor organisation, The Welsh Society of Philadelphia with a renewed emphasis on both culture and philanthropic activities. Coincidentally, other new societies emerged in London at about the same time with groups like the Gwyneddigion who are still important in London Welsh activities.

Of particular interest in the area of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion y Fenni was established in 1833, unusually, as is noted by Dr. Allen, including women members, Elizabeth Coffin Greenly and Augusta Hall, subsequently Lady Llanover.

In Philadelphia, philanthropic interests of the Welsh Society included significant assistance for Welsh emigrants to America as is well demonstrated in the text.

The carefully edited and detailed record of the Society begins with 'governance' including the constitutions and byelaws, followed by minutes of the meetings held during the study period and useful select biographies of early members. This material provides a solid basis for additional in-depth research into the society, Welsh emigration and the early development of post-colonial America.

Of particular interest to members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association is the co-operative approach established by this book between American academics, in particular members of the Philadelphia Welsh Society, and the South Wales Record Society. This volume is a welcome and important innovative new direction for both. Hopefully, new collaborations will follow.

Ray Howell

EVENTS

Visit to y Gaer, Brecon, 21 April 2022

Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association members were guests of the Brecknock Society and Museum Friends at the recently refurbished facility at y Gaer, Brecon. The visit began with a tour around parts of the Museum and Art Gallery led by members of the BSMF Executive Council. The group was welcomed in the Atrium by the Assistant Curator and Mr John Gibbs, Chairman. The first stop was the Court Room which has been restored, and parts of it uncovered during the extensive work that was undertaken by Powys County Council with help and support from the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Brecknock Society. We also visited the art collection which is supported by the local Art Fund. The permanent display contains works from local artists and includes some nationally important works. The gallery also hosts temporary collections. We then went on to the museum galleries where we experienced the interpretation project that had been sponsored by the host organisation. Many hundreds of objects had been researched and digital entries made that can be viewed on Black Box displays. This allows the viewer to see more information than a traditional paper label can contain.

We retired a short distance to The Muse, which was the original museum in Brecon, started by the Brecknock Society, for a buffet lunch. During the afternoon we were joined by members of the Brecknock Society and enjoyed talks from Ken Jones who shared his boyhood memories of The Muse when it was a museum, William Gibbs who spoke about the discovery of art works with local relevance and the use of these in the interpretation of the collections at y Gaer, and John Gibbs and Meryn Bramley who explained the Brecknock Society's role in the refurbishment of y Gaer, the interpretation project and the involvement of the Society in restoration of objects in the collection.

By way of explaining the parallel relationship between Monmouthshire Antiquarians and the National Roman Legionary Museum at Caerleon, Janet Bailey gave a short presentation provided by Dr Mark Lewis on how the collections of the National Museum of Wales have been made digitally available through the closures due to the pandemic, and specifically how the Museum at Caerleon had been transformed by producing a virtual museum experience. This is especially useful as a teaching resource and allows children from all over Wales to experience the collection at Caerleon without having to travel.

The day ended with members taking the opportunity to revisit y Gaer at their own pace or going on to the nearby cathedral of St John's. Although numbers were small it was a very enjoyable day. This was the first opportunity for members to meet face to face after a long season of talks via computer and it was a good start to getting back to 'normal', whatever that looks like these days. JB

Annual General Meeting, Caerleon Amphitheatre, 28 May

This was a very well attended meeting. Prior to the business meeting Dr Mark Lewis lead a tour around the amphitheatre. There were around 70 members in attendance and the crowd attracted more people to it to enjoy the talk. Mark made comparisons with the Colosseum in Rome and wove local myths and legends into the story. He included details of the excavation and later works at the site and explained how we use this evidence to understand and interpret the site today. We are indebted to him for a lively and informative experience.

The business meeting was presided over by Jeremy Knight, our President, who ably brought us through the business for another year. It was good to meet together in the sunshine after holding postal-only business meetings for the preceding year. JB

Canal Walk, Pontymoile basin northward, 11 June

Eleven members gathered for a short talk explaining the chronology of the canal, prepared by Christabel Hutchings and Jan Bailey. The group then walked along the tow path in the direction of Abergavenny stopping to look at architectural and industrial relics on the way. The tow path is a peaceful haven for wildlife and opens out to give views across the local countryside; it retains an 'other worldly' quality that made the walk all the more enjoyable. On our chosen day we were competing for space on the towpath with a charity bicycle ride, but we managed to negotiate our way for several miles before turning back to Pontymoile basin for light refreshments. It was agreed by all present that next summer we should walk in the opposite direction in search of more industrial relics. It was good to have the company of members of the Pontypool Local History Society, most of whom had local knowledge and memories to share. All of us admitted that we learnt something new on the walk, including what a winding hole is, and it was a lovely opportunity to share memories and childhood experiences with each other. JB

Risca Study Day, 2 July

It was the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association (MAA)'s turn to organise the Annual Study Day but members of the Gwent County History Association (GCHA) and members of Oxford House Industrial History Society also helped. This society manages the museum at Risca. These annual events enable the MAA and the GCHA to visit local Gwent societies and highlight their valuable historical roles. This year we chose Risca because of its interesting past and because of the museum's artefacts which highlight its history. Also, the close proximity of Oxford House provided a suitable venue. For many people it was the first time they had visited the museum. People from the three societies worked to make the event a success, but special mention must go to David Hale a member of the Oxford House society and GCHA for organising the venue and arranging lunch. He also worked with Christabel Hutchings and Peter Strong to organise the speakers. On the day Jan Bailey dealt with registration and Adrian Smith organised tea and coffee and washed up, an often forgotten but important task.

Professor Ray Howell chaired the meeting and began the event with a fascinating talk on archaeology in the area. This was followed by Malcolm Johnson who talked about industrial Risca. Then Christabel Hutchings followed with a talk on transport in the Ebbw Valley. After lunch there was an opportunity to visit the museum. In the afternoon Canon Arthur Edwards led a walk to the Church of St Mary the Virgin where he gave a talk on the established church and non-conformity in the area. He regularly talks about religious aspects at these events, and we are very grateful. Then John Venn kindly read the presentation provided by Will Simms about Vernon Hartshorn, the Welsh Trade Union politician. Lastly Christabel Hutchings discussed the Two Widows illustration which had been used to memorialise those who had lost their lives in the numerous mining disasters in the area and revealed that a copy of this illustration from *The Graphic* newspaper was also owned by the renowned artist Vincent Van Gogh. Dave Hale ended the day with a walk to the Canal and the Greenmeadow Cemetery where miners were buried who had died in the 1860 mining disaster. CLH

Jan Bailey

Honorary Secretary and Events Co-ordinator

Christabel Hutchings

Hon Trustee, social media co-ordinator and archives and library officer

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Janet Bailey is secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. She was born at St Woolos Hospital in Newport and spent her early years in Rogiet. Having moved to Newport she continued her education at Eveswell Junior School and St Julian's High School. She started her working life as an industrial chemist at Coates Brothers, Machen (known locally as the paint works) and moved on to The Radiochemical Centre at Whitchurch, Cardiff. After leaving South Wales for Lincolnshire Jan trained as a teacher, becoming Head of Science in a specialist science academy. After 20 years away from the Principality she returned to live in Wales and retrained as an archaeologist at UWTSO Lampeter. She has since worked for two of the Welsh Archaeological Trusts and at Cynon Valley Museum, Aberdare. Jan's interests are in industrial archaeology and textiles, local history and genealogy. She is currently helping Brecon Beacons National Park create an Historic Environment Action Plan and is a core member of the group revising the Archaeological Research Framework for Wales.

Peter Bonvoisin graduated from Cambridge with a degree in engineering in 1978. He is now retired after a career with PwC as a chartered accountant working in London, Bristol and South Wales. Since retirement he has pursued interests including local history, old buildings and old cars.

Richard Coates is professor emeritus of onomastics at the University of the West of England, Bristol. His research interests are in names of all kinds (especially place-names and family names in Britain), onomastic theory, and anything in the intersection of linguistics, history and geography.

Madeleine Gray is Professor Emerita of Ecclesiastical History at the University of South Wales. She has close links with a number of heritage and community organisations, including the Church Monuments Society. She has published extensively on late medieval and early modern history with a particular focus on visual and material evidence for the history of religious belief and practice. She appears regularly on television and radio and is currently working on a survey of medieval tomb carvings in Wales.

Professor Ray Howell is Chairman of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust and the Torfaen Museum Trust. He is President of Chepstow Archaeological Society and of the Friends of Newport Museum. Professor Howell was volume editor for the first two volumes of the Gwent County History. He has written several books and numerous articles and has made regular television appearances including contributions to Time Team and to a range of historical and archaeological programmes on Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C).

Christabel Hutchings has researched the history of education in the nineteenth century, for which she was awarded an M.Ed. by Cardiff University. Furthermore, she completed an MA in Celtic-Roman studies at the University of Wales, Newport; her dissertation was entitled 'Slavery and Status in Roman Britain'. In 2010, she was elected Honorary Secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. In addition, she is also a member of the following committees: the South Wales Record Society; the Gwent County History Association; the Friends of Newport Museum and Art Gallery and the Friends of National Museum Wales. She has published articles in both *The Monmouthshire*

Antiquary and *Morgannwg* and edited two volumes for the South Wales Record Society. She has recently been created a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Jeremy Knight who was born in Caerleon, read archaeology at University College, Cardiff. For over thirty years, he was inspector of ancient monuments, whose wide area of responsibility included Monmouthshire. He has undertaken a major excavation at Montgomery Castle; written many guidebooks to monuments; and has published numerous articles. A major work, *The End of Antiquity*, was published in 2000 (2nd revised edit., 2007). He published *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire* in 2005 and his book *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans – Christianity, Literacy and Lordship* was published in 2013. His most recent book, *Blaenavon: Iron Town to World Heritage Site*, was published by Logaston Press in 2016.

William Manning is Emeritus Professor of Archaeology at Cardiff University where he taught from 1964 to 2000. Between 1965 and 1976 he directed a series of extensive excavations at Usk which revealed the remains of the first legionary fortress built in South Wales, and other later Roman and medieval structures. As well as writing and editing a series of volumes devoted to the results of these excavations, he has published extensively on Roman Wales and other aspects of Roman archaeology, most notably on iron artefacts, including *A Catalogue of the Romano-British artefacts in the British Museum* (1985).

David Moore Dr David Moore is an archivist at the National Library of Wales. He has recently catalogued the king John/Abergavenny charter and was involved in securing it for NLW. He subsequently contributed a piece about the charter for the Library's Blog. His current responsibilities at NLW include work on estate records, the Court of Great Sessions and a variety of other archives from the medieval period to the present day. He was awarded a PhD from Bangor University in 1991, on 'The external relations of native Welsh rulers 1063–1282' and his book, *The Welsh wars of independence c.410–c.1415*, was published in 2005; he has given public talks on various aspects of medieval Wales among them several at NLW including one focusing on the use of dynastic mutilation by the native Welsh rulers of Caerleon in Gwent in the late 12th cent. He comes originally from Bristol but has strong family links with Gwent.

Phillipp Schofield is Professor of Medieval History and Head of Department at Aberystwyth University. He has worked and published extensively on the medieval English and, to a lesser degree, Marcher Welsh rural economy, with a particular focus on the medieval peasantry, especially in terms of the peasant response to crisis, notably famine. He has also researched the use of litigation, especially over debt, amongst the medieval peasantry. In contrast to the above, his latest publication, with Wendy Childs, is on the reign of Edward II (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2022). He is presently President of the Economic History Society.

Peter Strong is currently secretary of the Gwent County History Association and its former chair; he is also chair of the Gwent branch of the Western Front Association. He is former head of history at Caldicot Comprehensive and since his retirement has lectured widely on aspects of the history of Gwent. He wrote chapters on the First and Second World Wars in vol 5 of the Gwent County History and has published several articles in *Gwent Local History*.

Roger Turvey is a graduate of Swansea University where he also obtained his Ph.D. in Medieval Welsh History and his PGCE. He was Head of History at Amman Valley School and is currently a Senior Principal Examiner for an examination Board. He was formerly editor of the *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society* (1989–2010). He has published widely on medieval and early Modern Welsh and English History with a particular interest in the native Princes and Welsh Gentry. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Fellow of the Chartered Institute of Educational Assessors.

David Williams was born in Newport and educated at Bassaleg School and Trinity College, Cambridge. He has two main research interests, the study of seals and Cistercian studies. He is acknowledged as one of the foremost scholars in the latter field. David Williams accomplished this whilst serving as an Anglican priest in Wales (including in the diocese of Monmouth), Libya and Poland, from which he returned in 1997 to settle near Aberystwyth. He was honorary editor of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* from 1990 to 2000, after which for several years he was honorary assistant editor; as acting editor, he took volumes XXV–XXVI (2009–10) and vol. XXVII (2011) through the press. His book, *The Tudor Cistercians*, was published in 2014.

MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION

Guidelines for Contributors to *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*

Current guidelines for contributors of articles for *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* may be viewed on the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association's website under the Publications tab.

Visit
Monmouthshireantiquarianassociation.org

Papers and notes may be submitted for consideration by the Editorial Committee by sending them to the Chairman of the Editorial Committee or to the Honorary Secretary of the Association. Current information may be viewed at the Association's website (above).

MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION

Patron: Professor Chris Williams, Head of the College of Arts, Celtic Studies and Social Sciences, University College Cork

President: Mr Jeremy K. Knight, BA, FSA

*Honorary Librarian: Miss Kristine Chapman, MA, MSc.,
The Library, National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, CF10 3NP*

COMMITTEE

<i>Chairman:</i>	<i>Prof. Ray Howell FSA</i>
<i>Honorary Secretary:</i>	<i>Mrs J. Bailey</i>
<i>Honorary Treasurer:</i>	<i>Mr P. G. Horleston</i>
<i>Minutes Secretary:</i>	<i>Dr Gill Wakley</i>
<i>Events Co-ordinator</i>	<i>Mrs. J. Bailey</i>
<i>Membership/Recruitment Secretary</i>	<i>Revd Canon Dr A.J. Edwards</i>
<i>Editorial Committee:</i>	<i>Mr A.D.G. Hopkins, Mrs C.L. Hutchings, Prof. R.C. Howell FSA, Dr M.R.T. Lewis FSA, Miss Anne Dunton, Mr P.G. Horleston, Revd Canon Dr A.J. Edwards and Miss F. Younson</i>
<i>Archives and Library Committee:</i>	<i>Dr M.R.T. Lewis, Mrs C.L. Hutchings and Ms A. Dunton</i>
<i>Website:</i>	<i>Mr A. Smith and Mrs J. Bailey</i>
<i>Social Media:</i>	<i>Mrs C.L. Hutchings</i>
<i>In addition, the following are members of the Committee:</i>	<i>Revd Canon Dr A. J. Edwards, Mr R. Frame, Mr C.J.G. Hill, Dr M.R.T. Lewis FSA, Mr D. Price, Mr P.G. Strong, Mr A. Smith, Dr G. Wakley and Mr A. Aberg FSA</i>