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ARCHAEOLOGICALLY-DATED HORIZONS IN OLWAY VALLEY FLOODPLAIN ALLUVIUM AT USK (GWENT, UK)

By Simon K. Haslett

Summary

Two sites are described from the Olway valley at Usk, Gwent, where discrete horizons containing archaeological material occur within floodplain alluvium. Modern horizons, one dating to AD 1920 and another more loosely dated as late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century, occur within the upper part of the alluvial sequence at both sites. Also, a deeper horizon, characterized by a stone layer containing rounded and angular stone clasts, and Medieval and abraded Roman pottery occurs at one of the sites only. It is suggested that this lower stone layer may represent a stone platform constructed to broaden the historic resource use of the pre-drained floodplain. These horizons provide dates that may be used to construct sedimentation rates for floodplain alluvium.

Introduction

The Quaternary evolution of the Olway valley is the subject of an ongoing research programme in the Quaternary Research Centre at Bath Spa University. The aim of the programme is to better understand the landscape development of an area transitional between upland and coastal lowland around the Severn Estuary, so that the nature of the response to Holocene (*i.e.* post-glacial) sea-level change may be ascertained, and the contribution of these valleys to the coastal sediment budget estimated. Two valleys have been selected as case studies 1) the Olway valley in South Wales, and 2) the Lox Yeo valley in Somerset.

An important objective of the programme is to calculate the rate of floodplain sedimentation in response to Holocene sea-level rise, which began approaching present levels approximately 6000 years BP (before present). Establishing the rate of sedimentation in the Lox Yeo valley is being achieved through radiocarbon dating of organic peat horizons that occur frequently within the Holocene sedimentary record of Somerset (Kidson and Heyworth, 1976). However, in the Olway valley peat occurs only as occasional thin seams/lenses of Mesolithic-Neolithic age (Haslett, 2003). Obtaining dated horizons within the minerogenic floodplain alluvium that overlies the peat in the Olway valley, has not been possible through the radiocarbon method, due to the absence of suitable organic material.

Haslett (2005) adopted an approach to overcome this difficulty by identifying horizons within the Olway valley floodplain alluvial sequence that may be dated using stratified archaeological artefacts. He undertook an excavation in Llangeview parish, near Gwernesney, approximately 2.5km east of Usk, where he was able to identify discrete horizons of Roman, Medieval, and Modern age, as well as finding unstratified Neolithic flint tools nearby. The success of this excavation has encouraged the widening of this approach to elsewhere within the Olway valley.

This paper briefly describes archaeological horizons from two new sites discovered in agricultural fields immediately adjacent to the eastern boundary of Usk town, north and south of Chepstow road (B4235). The first site comprises a section exposed in an eroded bank of the Olway brook with archaeological material associated with the restoration of a nearby cattle bridge; and the second site lies along the length of a temporary trench (now backfilled) mechanically excavated for the laying of a new field drain.

These new sites are located at the confluence of the Olway and Usk valleys (Fig.1). South of this the Olway brook and river Usk occupy the same valley until their confluence near Llanllowell, some 3km south of Usk. The new sites make, therefore, an important addition to the alluvial horizons already dated in the Olway valley, as the floodplain here is likely to be more sensitive to flooding in the Usk Valley compared with sites further up the Olway valley where the influence of the river Usk will be less. Furthermore, a wider distribution of dated sites will provide a better spatial understanding of floodplain deposition rates throughout the Olway valley.

Although the physical setting of the Olway valley is described by Haslett (2003), who also reviewed relevant literature, it is worth re-stating that the general geology of the Olway catchment is Siluro-Devonian Old Red Sandstone (Welch and Trotter, 1961) that gives the alluvium its reddish colour. This alluvium is assigned to the Tywi Formation of Bowen (1999) that supports a reddish clayey alluvial gley soil referred to the Compton Soil Association (Findlay *et al.*, 1984), which suffers severe water-logging under undrained conditions.

Cattle Bridge Site

The dated horizon at this site is exposed in the eroded east bank of the Olway brook 2–3m downstream of a cattle bridge located at National Grid Reference (NGR) SO38260078 (Figs 1 and 2), approximately 200m south of Chepstow road (B4235). At this point, the Olway brook marks the parish boundary between Usk and Llangeview, so the section falls within Llangeview parish. The erosion of the bank here is very likely due to turbulence and eddies created by the through-flow of water under the cattle bridge.

Red-brown clayey silt alluvium overlies a layer of debris containing brick, mortar, charcoal and stone (Fig. 2e and f). The debris layer can be traced in the bank to the adjacent cattle bridge that, due to the similarity of materials within the debris layer and the bridge, clearly relates to its construction history. Indeed, inscriptions in cement on the west end of the bridge (Fig. 2c and d) states that the bridge was restored in 1920, and there is no field-based reason to doubt that the debris layer was emplaced during this restoration phase.

If this interpretation is correct, as seems likely, the debris layer may be used to calculate the rate of alluvial deposition at this site. The thickness of the alluvium overlying the debris layer to the vegetated surface of the present floodplain was measured in August 2004 and found to vary from 0.28m (e.g. Fig. 2e) to 0.45m (e.g. Fig. 2f), as it seems the debris was not deposited horizontally. This provides a rate of alluvial deposition of 4.35±1.02mm per year for the site since 1920.

Field Drain Site

The mechanical excavation of a trench for laying a new field drain occurred in the first week of October 2004 in a field lying between the south-east boundary of Usk Church in Wales Primary School and the Olway brook (Fig. 1). Unfortunately, the author did not observe the excavation, so the dimensions of the trench are not known; however, the mechanical digger used suggests the trench was sunk to more than 1m. The trench extended approximately 200m in a north-west to south-east orientation across the field from NGR SO38210110 to SO38400100 (Fig. 3a). Its north-west end abuts the valley side with the ground rising to the north and west (close to the route of the old Monmouth road from Usk, which used to connect Black Barn lane with Factory lane), whilst the south-east end terminates at the Olway brook. Therefore, it traverses the half-width of the floodplain. Also, it is unlikely that the field has been ploughed in modern times.

Following a few weeks of rain, but before vegetation grow-back, the line of the backfilled trench was field-walked as a transect on 31 October and 1 November 2004. Surface scatters of artefacts were collected and recorded in 10m sections starting (0m) from the north-west end of the

transect. Also, hand augering using a 1m Eijkelkamp gouge was undertaken at 5m intervals along the transect from 5–65m. Archaeological artefacts recovered from the field-walking are summarised in Table 1.

A large mound of spoil was left by the excavators at 0–10m along the transect, which yielded pebble, cobble and small boulder-sized rounded and angular clasts (Fig. 3b), suggesting a mixed origin for this stone material. Modern machine manufactured red tile was recovered here, as well as a Medieval green-glazed jug handle fragment, and a piece of charcoal. Two more sherds of Medieval (probably thirteenth-century) green-glazed pottery were recovered from 10–20m, and also a sherd apparently of Roman black burnished ware. Two further sherds of this black burnished ware were collected from 20–30 and 30–40m along the transect, all of which display signs of abrasion, with some rounding evident. A sherd of modern glazed kitchenware (a late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century clay pot rim)) occurred in section 20–30m.

Sections between 20–50m are generally characterised by eleven pieces of unglazed pottery including 1) red/orange sandy fabric coarseware with white quartz grains evident, 2) finer-grained red clay sherds that lack quartz grains, and 3) a single sherd of a grey sandy fabric coarseware. It is likely that these artefacts are Medieval in age as they appear similar to Medieval wares described from near Chepstow (Leach, 2003); however, the possibility that some are Roman in age should not be discounted at this stage.

The rounded and angular clasts noted in the spoil at 0m also littered the surface along the transect to approximately 60m (e.g. Fig. 3c). Augering was undertaken along these sections to determine whether the stone material brought to the surface originated as discrete stone layers within the alluvium. Fig. 3d shows the results of augering and indicates two discrete stone layers. A thin upper layer, which could be penetrated by the hand auger, occurred between 0.4–0.2m depth at 5–35m along the transect. A thicker lower layer, which could not be penetrated at 5, 25 and 35m along the transect, occurred between 0.95–0.6m depth at 5–55m along the transect. No stone layers were encountered in the alluvium at 65m, coincident with the distribution of stone litter on the surface. The alluvium itself appears to change in character with depth, from a lower reddish-orange silty clay to an upper reddish-brown clayey silt, with the transition generally occurring between 0.7–0.5m depth.

The distribution of archaeological finds and the occurrence of the two stone layers appear to be linked. Firstly, the modern artefacts appear to be distributed coincident with the upper stone layer (i.e. 0–30m along the transect), which if correct would appear to have been deposited approximately in 1900 (±30 years). Secondly, the occurrence of the Medieval and abraded Roman material is scattered along the surface transect above most of the extent of the lower stone layer. The better preserved Medieval artefacts most likely date the stone layer and that the abraded Roman material is reworked from older deposits, either by human or natural agency. However, given that the Medieval green-glazed material is restricted to 0–30m, and with the uncertainty of the age of the unglazed ware, it is also possible that the upper stone layer is Medieval, and the lower Roman, with the modern artefacts originating from the very top of the alluvium.

It is possible to test these alternative interpretations, without further excavation, by comparing sedimentation rates from other sites with more certain chronological control. For example, the 1920 debris layer at the Cattle Bridge Site occurred at a similar depth in the alluvium and provided a sedimentation rate of 4.35±1.02mm per year post-1920. The sedimentation rate since the deposition of the upper stone layer at the Field Drain Site is 3.45±1.96mm per year and, therefore, similar to the Cattle Bridge Site. The slightly lower rate at the Field Drain Site might be explained by it being further from the Olway brook on the edge of the floodplain. Also, Haslett (2005) noted that modern artefacts in his excavation near Gwernesney were restricted to the plough

layer (<0.38m depth from the surface). Furthermore, a Medieval age for the lower stone layer spanning 0.95–0.6m depth at the Field Drain Site agrees well with a Medieval stone layer proved between 0.8–0.7m depth in alluvium by Haslett (2005). Given the close agreement between studies it is very likely that at this site the upper stone layer is of a modern (AD 1900±30) age and that the lower stone layer is Medieval.

Discussion

The significance of the sedimentation rates that may be calculated from these new archaeologically-dated horizons will be explored in a subsequent paper. However, of particular interest here are the stone layers encountered at the Field Drain Site, and especially the more substantial Medieval stone layer. That it contains broken Medieval and abraded Roman pottery, with a mix of rounded and angular clasts, and its location close to the side of the valley immediately adjacent to Usk town, tends to indicate a human rather than natural origin for the layer.

Haslett (2005) interpreted the Medieval stone layer he excavated near Gwernesney as being derived from a collapsed or destroyed thirteenth-century building, as it contained roof and ridge tiles of this date. Its deposition however, appeared to be later, possibly in the fifteenth century and may relate to rural depopulation around Usk due to either plague and/or civil unrest in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. He speculated that the stone layer might represent a local attempt to broaden the resource use of the pre-drained Olway valley floodplain, stabilising the ground surface so allowing animals to access the marshy floodplain during drier months. Elsewhere in the region, stone platforms and moated enclosures on wetland sites appear to serve such purposes (Aberg, 1978; Locock, 1998, 2000; Locock and Lawler, 2000).

In the Medieval stone layer at the Field Drain Site, the rounded large pebbles, cobbles, and small boulders (Figs 3b and c) are much more likely to have been quarried from deposits of the river Usk (either contemporary and/or older gravel deposits) rather than the Olway brook, then transported to the site. The abraded Roman artefacts, originating from the fortress at Usk (Manning, 1981), may have been incorporated at this stage. This material might then have been mixed with Medieval domestic/building waste upon deposition to produce the varied assemblage recovered. The Field Drain Site probably represents the second Medieval stone platform to be found in the Olway valley, adding to our knowledge of the use and spatial distribution of such structures in wetlands around the Bristol Channel.

Conclusions

1. This study has identified two further sites in the Olway valley that yield archaeologically-dated horizons within floodplain alluvium.
2. A debris layer dated to AD 1920 is identified at one site, whilst a late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century stone layer is also inferred at a second site.
3. Also at this second site, augering results indicate the presence of a lower stone layer that is likely to be the source of Medieval and abraded Roman artefacts found on the ground surface following a temporary excavation to lay a field drain.
4. Rounded and angular clasts are associated with these artefacts suggesting that the lower stone layer represents a platform constructed to broaden the resource use of the floodplain.
5. These data will be used subsequently to construct records of post-glacial floodplain sedimentation.

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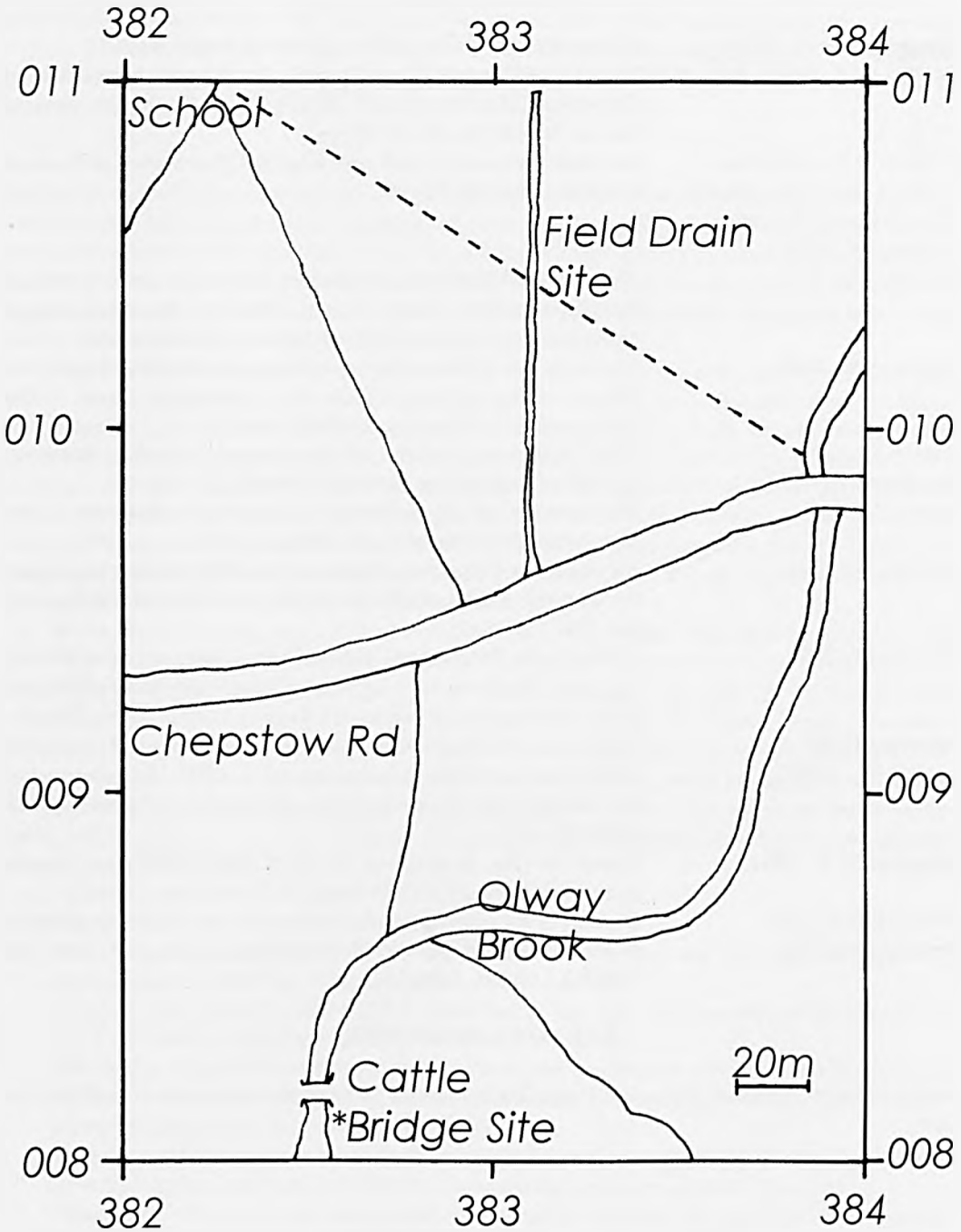

Fig. 1: Location of the sites and some of the places mentioned in the text.
National Grid references are prefixed SO.

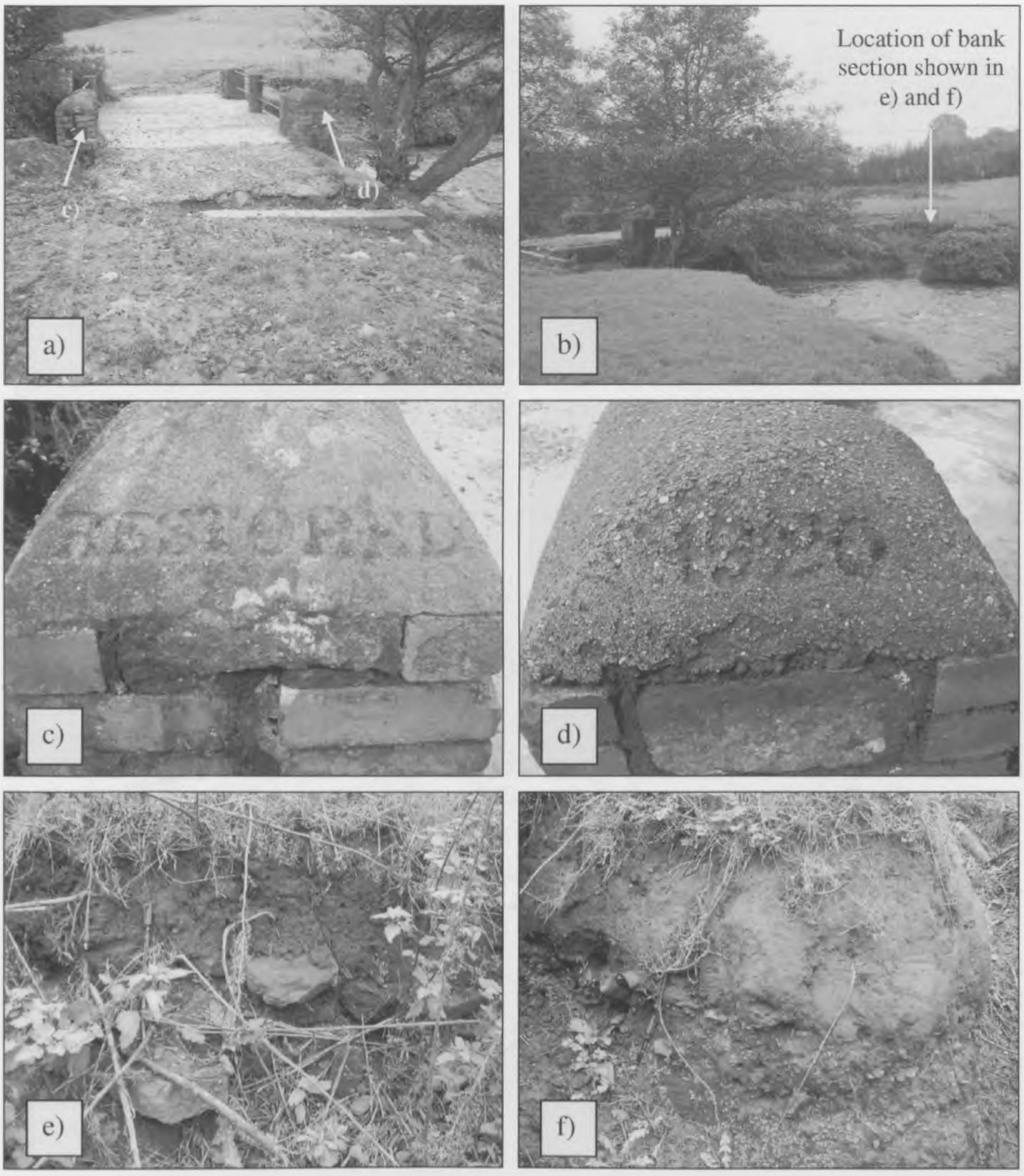

Fig. 2: Cattle Bridge Site: (a) cattle bridge, (b) location of bank section in relation to the cattle bridge and Olway brook, (c) 'RESTORED' inscription on the north-west end of the cattle bridge, (d) '1920' inscription on the south-west end of the cattle bridge (see Fig. 2a for location), (e) debris layer overlain by shallow alluvium in the bank section and (f) debris layer overlain by deeper alluvium in the bank section.

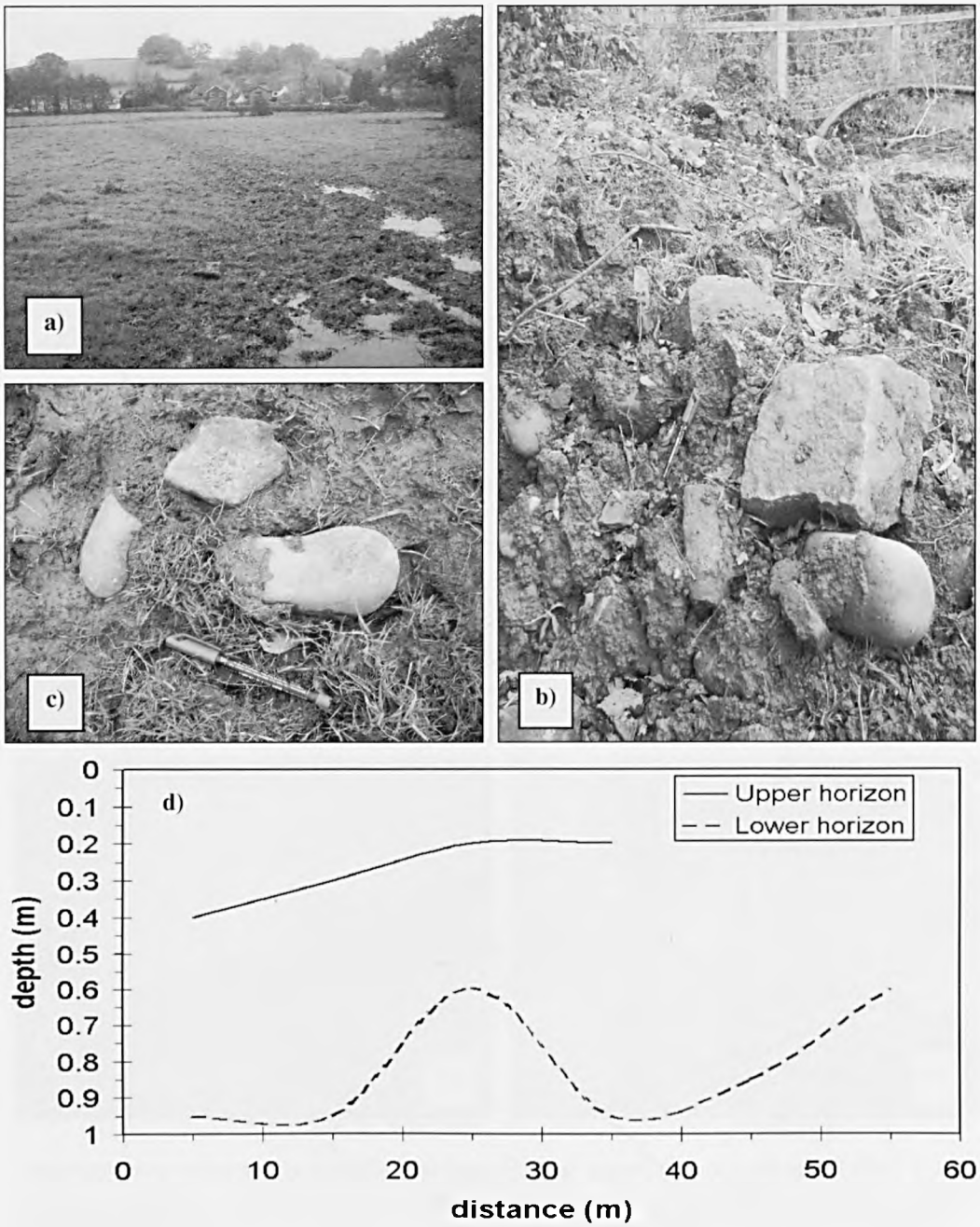

Fig. 3: Field Drain Site: (a) view of the line of the backfilled temporary excavation looking south-east from the Usk Church in Wales Primary School to the Olway brook in the distance, (b) spoil heap at the north-west end of the excavation (the school fence is visible in the far top right of the photograph), (c) angular and rounded clasts lying on the surface along the line of the excavation and (d) depth to stone layers as determined along the transect by hand augering (north-west is left and south-east right).

section (m)	Modern	Medieval (green-glazed)	Medieval–Roman (?) unglazed ware	Roman (black-burnished)	dressed stone	charcoal
0–10	5 red tile fragments	1 jug handle	0	0	0	1
10–20	1 red tile fragment	1 plate rim fragment 1 pot sherd	0	1 plate rim fragment	1	1
20–30	1 glazed kitchenware	1 pot sherd	2 red coarseware sherds	1 pot sherd	0	6
30–40	0	0	3 red coarseware sherds 3 red fine-grained sherds	1 vessel rim fragment	0	0
40–50	0	0	1 red coarseware sherd 1 red fine-grained sherd 1 grey rim fragment	0	0	1
50–120	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTALS	**7**	**4**	**11**	**3**	**1**	**9**

Table 1: Archaeological material collected from the ground surface in measured sections along the excavation at the Field Drain Site.

'SUCH A DOLEFUL PRESIDENT OF MISERY AND CALAMITY'[1]: PROTESTANT FEARS OF CATHOLICS IN MONMOUTHSHIRE DURING THE FIRST CIVIL WAR, 1642–46

By Robert Matthews

On 17 May 1642, a petition was sent to the House of Commons in the name of the 'Knights, Justices of the Peace, and other Gentlemen, Ministers and Free-holders of the County of Monmouth' expressing concern about the 'dangers and distempers appearing and increasing even in our owne Kingdome ...'.[2] In itself, there was nothing unusual about this. As the political crisis gathered and England and Wales slid towards war over the first half of 1642, thirty-eight of the forty English counties sent petitions to Parliament, and the remaining two – Gloucestershire and Cumberland – addressed their concerns to the king.[3] These petitions gave vent to local anxieties at the disintegration of the relationship between the king and his Parliament, and to this extent had much in common; but the Monmouthshire petition urged that 'we in Wales of all others, and in Monmouthshire above the rest, cannot but be most sensible and suspicious of our owne imminent destruction, as being compassed about with Papists ...'.[4]

In this respect, too, there was nothing unique about the Monmouthshire petition. Fear of popery was by far the most prominent theme running through the county petitions to the summer of 1642, Catholicism being seen as an imminent threat both to true Christianity and to the security of the state.[5] This was generated by several Protestant perceptions. The first was an identification of the Catholic church with the Antichrist, a belief which by the mid-seventeenth century had become a significant element in the Protestant cultural tradition, widely held across the spectrum of confessions from Laudian high Anglicanism to radical Puritanism.[6] Second, there was a widespread Puritan perception that the Laudian religious developments within the Church of England undertaken during the personal rule of Charles since 1629 formed part of a popish plot to restore the Catholic church in England and Wales.[7] Thirdly, the outbreak in Ireland in October 1641, of a Catholic rebellion against English and Scottish Protestant settlement and its political apparatus was

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1 *A true copy of the petition of the knights ... of the County of Monmouth ...* (London, 1642), British Library (hereafter BL) E.669, f.6 [20].

2 *Loc.cit.*

3 Fletcher, A., *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (Edward Arnold, London, 1985) 192; Carlin, N., *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1999) 37–8.

4 BL E.669, f.6 [20].

5 Russell, C., *The Causes of the English Civil War* (London, 1990) 74–5; Clifton, R., 'Fear of Popery' in Russell, C., (ed.), *The Origins of the English Civil War* (Macmillan, London, 1973) 157–8, 161–3; Lake, P., 'Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice' in Cust, R. and Hughes, A. (eds.), *The English Civil War* (Arnold, London, 1997) 183–91; Lamont, W., 'Fear and Polemic in Seventeenth-Century England: Richard Baxter and Antinomianism', *English Historical Review*, 117 (2002) 186–7; Morrill, J., 'The Religious Context of the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984) 164, 167.

6 Hill, C., *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (Verso, London, 1990) 9–40; Cressy, D., *England on Edge: Crisis and Revolution, 1640–1642* (Oxford University, 2006) 29; Lake, P., 'The significance of the Elizabethan identification of the Pope as Antichrist', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980) 162–4.

7 Sharpe, K., *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (Yale University, New Haven, 1992) 301; Cust, R., *Charles I: a political life* (Longman, London, 2005) 145–7; Carlin, *Causes*, 70–2.

perceived by mainland Protestants of all shades in apocalyptic terms, as a rising tide of murder and mayhem set to engulf all good Protestants.[8]

The Irish rebellion crystallised the Protestant nightmare, drawing together the three above perceptions. Accompanied by a large quantity of commonly graphic atrocity propaganda which presented the rebellion as the unleashing of the Antichrist, and by a steady stream of Protestant refugees to England and Wales bearing tales of horror, the uprising sowed seeds of panic that were germinated by the collapse of English central government as the realm slid towards civil war over the first half of 1642.[9]

In Monmouthshire, the fear was especially acute. The petitioners asserted that they were 'compassed about with Papists, more in number, and stronger in power, Armes, Horse, and Ammunition, than any other County ... in the Kingdome ...'.[10] This belief that Monmouthshire was the focus of a particular threat was due to two main circumstances. First, it seems indeed to have been the case that there were relatively more Catholics in Monmouthshire than any other county of Wales or England.[11] Second, the greatest landowner in the county, Henry, fifth earl of Worcester, who exerted considerable economic and political influence from his home at Raglan castle, was a Roman Catholic.

In November 1641, Sir Simonds D'Ewes had written in his journal that Monmouthshire was one of nine counties 'most stored with papists'.[12] It is, however, impossible to calculate with any precision the number of Catholics in Monmouthshire on the eve of the first civil war: this was an age much less interested in statistics than our own, and even those censuses rarely carried out had purposes other than a simple counting of heads and were conducted with a stark lack of uniformity and rigour. It is possible to construct a demography of seventeenth-century Catholicism, but this must be derived mainly from the records arising out of the legal processes of recusancy prosecution: conclusions must necessarily be conjectural and – due to a considerable variance of prosecution intensity and efficiency – involve complex issues of interpretation.[13]

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[8] Tyacke, N., *Aspects of English Protestantism c. 1530–1700* (Manchester University, Manchester, 2001) 267–8; Spurr, J., *English Puritanism 1603–1689* (Macmillan, London, 1998) 98.

[9] Wheeler, J.S., *The Irish and British Wars 1637–1654* (Routledge, London, 2002) 46–9; Barnard, T., *The Kingdom of Ireland, 1641–1760* (Palgrave, London, 2004) 16–19; Scott, D., *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637–49* (Palgrave, London, 2004) 33–4; Shagan, E.H., 'Constructing Discord: Ideology, Propaganda and the English Response to the Irish Rebellion of 1641', *Journal of British Studies*, 36 (1997) 9–11, 17–23; Lamont, W., 'Richard Baxter, Popery, and the Origins of the English Civil War', *History*, 87 (2002) 348; Walsham, A., 'The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and "Parish Anglicans" in Early Stuart England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49 (1998) 639–40.

[10] BL E.669. f.6 [20].

[11] Bossy, J., *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London, 1975) 97; Miller, J., *Popery and Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge University, Cambridge, 1973) 13; Jenkins, P., ' "A Welsh Lancashire"? Monmouthshire Catholics in the Eighteenth Century', *Recusant History*, 15 (1980) 176.

[12] Coates, W.H. (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (Yale University, New Haven, 1942) 172.

[13] 'Recusancy' was the criminal offence of refusing to attend services of the Church of England as required by the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, 1559.

A comparative and contextual analysis of the available sources suggests that the total number of adult Catholics in Monmouthshire in 1642 was in the order of 1,100, which would have been about 8% – 9% of the population of the county at this time.[14] In itself, this number of Catholics would not seem to justify the tone of the Monmouthshire petition of May 1642; but it is highly significant that the geographical distribution of Monmouthshire Catholicism was uneven. An analysis of the recusancy prosecution and other statistics shows a clear pattern that changed little through the seventeenth century. There were two areas of significant concentration of Catholic numbers: the north-eastern quarter of the county, between the rivers Usk and Mynwy (Monnow), north of a notional line from the parish of Usk to that of Dixton on the English border; and in the south-west of the county, in a cluster of eight parishes bounded by the rivers Usk and Llwyd, south of Llanbadog. These two distinct areas accounted between them for three-quarters of all recusants convicted in Monmouthshire in the seventeenth century, although spatially they comprise less than half of the county and – apart from Abergavenny – did not include the most heavily populated parishes.[15] Within these two areas at least seven parishes – possibly as many as eleven – had an adult Catholic population amounting to at least 20% of the general adult population in 1676, and the available statistics indicate a similar percentage in 1642.[16]

In this religious demography lay the reason for the request made in the Monmouthshire petition that the county arsenal held partly at Monmouth, and partly at Caerleon – in the northern and southern areas, respectively, of relatively concentrated Catholic recusancy – be moved to Newport, in the south-east, where Catholics were sparse.[17] The House of Commons took the request seriously, the speaker reporting that the members found '... many Particulars in it of great Consequence' and ordered the removal of the county arsenal to Newport as requested.[18] The concentration of significant numbers of Catholics in certain parts of Monmouthshire therefore tended to highlight for Protestants the apparent potency of Catholicism in the county.

The second factor serving to emphasise Protestant perceptions of the strength and danger of Catholicism in Monmouthshire on the eve of the first civil war – namely, the influence of the Catholic Henry, fifth earl of Worcester, at Raglan castle – can more readily be apprehended. On 15 November 1641, the House of Commons had been informed of 'a horrible and Bloody treason and Conspiracie' by 'cruell and mercilesse Papists' who planned 'the murther of many protestant Lords, with many other Gentlemen' and

> the Papists in Wales intended to seaze into their hands all the strong holds of Chepstowe and Lancashire with the adjacent parts, and in that hurly burly and Combustion the ploy was so layd and constriued, that by the Papists at the same Instant, the Cittie of London should have been surprised, and all the Protestants throats cut.[19]

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[14] This analysis, drawing upon the records of recusancy prosecution and other sources between 1603 and 1706, and allowing both for under-prosecution and the interpretative problems of attempting to calculate population totals in general in this period, is given in Matthews, R.P., 'Roman Catholic Recusancy in Monmouthshire, 1603–1698: a demographic and morphological analysis' (University of Wales, Cardiff, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1996) 90–175.

[15] *Ibid.*, 247–303.

[16] *Ibid.*, 170–1.

[17] BL E.669.f.6 [20].

[18] *Journal of the House of Commons* (hereafter *CJ*), 2, 575.

[19] *A discovery of a horrible and bloody treason and conspiracie: against the Protestants of this Kingdome in generall ...* (London: printed for Iohn Thomas, 1641), BL E.176 [12], 4.

The supposed plot implicated the earl of Worcester: the young man who claimed to have discovered it had heard 'whisper about some great plots or treacheries in Wales now intended against England', and identified Raglan castle as the centre of the intrigue.[20] Here was a clear resonance of the panic that rapidly took root in London in response to the outbreak of the Catholic rebellion in Ireland that had broken out the previous month, and in consequence the allegations of a Welsh Catholic plot were taken seriously. The Commons responded immediately, ordering the setting of 'a good Guard upon the House of the Earl of Worcester, and a search for Persons suspected of High Treason' and the appointment of a committee 'to prepare a Draught of an Ordinance of Parliament, for the Putting of the Trained Bands [the town and county militias] into a Readiness and Posture of Defence' and 'for securing the Persons of the prime Papists ...'.[21]

Simultaneously, allegations emerged of military preparations being made at Raglan castle. A 'plein Country-fellow ... the servant of Mistris Lewis [who] keepes an Inne at the towne of Rosse, in Herefordshire', claimed to have shown some gentlemen the way to the castle, and on arrival to have been invited in. There, he was shown 'into a Vault under the ground, which went round about the Castle, where was made an obscure stable', which contained 'furniture for about five or sevenscore of horse ... also, for about two thousand men, with great store of match and powder, and other Ammunition belonging to war, in abundance'.[22] This raised the question: 'whether wee have not as just cause to feare the Papists in England, as they had in Ireland'.[23]

On the eve of civil war in England and Wales there were, therefore, notably raw tensions amongst Monmouthshire Protestants concerning the strength and aggressive intent of local Catholics, and these were thrown into sharp relief by the status of the earl of Worcester. This was to have an important political consequence as the state disintegrated into war over the summer of 1642, as Worcester was a strong supporter of the king – resulting in his creation as first marquess of Worcester in November 1642.[24] As the likelihood of armed conflict increased, the concern of each side became the raising of troops. In March 1642, the Parliament passed a militia ordinance, ordering the raising of the county militias for the defence of Parliament.[25] The king responded by issuing commissions of array, charging prominent individuals in the localities to raise troops for his service.[26]

The allegiance of the localities to either side in the coming war, and the extent of their commitment, consequently depended primarily upon the response of the local gentry to the competing claims upon their loyalty.[27] The Catholicism of the earl of Worcester disabled him from holding military command, and so the royal commission for raising troops in the region was given to the marquess of Hertford, who was also responsible for recruitment in the south-west of

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20 *Ibid.*, 3.

21 *CJ*, 2, 316, 317.

22 *A true relation of a damnable gun-powder plot, found out at Rugland Castle, Monmouthshire in Wales ...*, BL E.176 [13], 2–4.

23 *Ibid.*, 5.

24 Jenkins, P., *The Making of a Ruling Class: the Glamorgan Gentry 1640–1790* (University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 1983) 104; Hutton, R., *The Royalist War Effort* (Routledge, London, 1999) 15; Newman, P.R., 'The Royalist Party in Arms: the Peerage and Army Command, 1642–1646' in Jones, C., Newitt, M. and Roberts, S. (eds.), *Politics and People in Revolutionary England* (University of Oxford, Oxford, 1986) 81, 85.

25 Firth, C.H. and Rait, R.S. (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660*, Vol. 3 (London, 1911) 1–9; *CJ*, 2, 465.

26 Bennett, M., *The Civil Wars in Britain and Ireland 1638–1651* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1997) 121–4; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 22–3, 86–7.

27 Morrill, J., *Revolt in the Provinces* (Longman, London, 1999), 54–5; Fletcher, A., 'The Coming of War' in Morrill, J. (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642–1649* (Macmillan, London, 1982) 29–36.

England.[28] Worcester's eldest son, Edward (generally called Lord Herbert) was, however, active in the royal cause from the outset of hostilities. In late September 1642, he seized control of the arsenal still at Caerleon and, with the aid of royalist troops lately recruited in Glamorgan, disarmed the more prominent pro-parliamentarian Monmouthshire gentry.[29] As a result, the House of Commons ordered the impeachment of Lord Herbert 'for Raising an actual Rebellion'.[30]

In April 1643, the king moved Hertford's command specifically to the English West Country, and Lord Herbert – his Catholicism notwithstanding – was given command in south-east Wales.[31] Herbert was not a success, and following Waller's invasion of the region that spring was effectively replaced as commander by Richard Cave, then William Vavasour – both men of greater military experience – and, finally, by Prince Rupert.[32]

The question arises, however: given the enthusiastic support of Worcester and Lord Herbert for the king, to what extent were their co-religionists committed to the royal cause?[33] If Worcester was indeed, as the popish plot allegations had maintained, at the heart of a numerous and potent Catholic body ready to rise and visit mayhem and destruction upon their Protestant neighbours, then surely this would have been the moment for Catholics to take up arms, seeking to use Worcester's loyalty to the king to their own advantage.

It has commonly been assumed that Catholics in general were supportive of Charles I in the first civil war. J.R. Phillips maintained that Catholics in Wales were 'to a man for the King', whilst S.R. Gardiner and Christopher Hill have asserted, respectively, that Catholics were 'ardent royalists' and 'solidly royalist'. More recently, Gareth E. Jones has written of 'Charles' alliance with the Catholics'.[34] These views have not, however, been based upon any statistical analysis of Catholic allegiance during the first civil war.

In fact, there are several sources that may be used to this purpose. A major impact of the war for royalists and Catholics alike was the sequestration of their property that occurred from 1643 onwards, when such property fell under the control of Parliament. By a parliamentary ordinance on 27 March 1643, those who aided the king in any way were regarded as 'delinquents', and all of their real property and two-thirds of their personal property was subject to sequestration, whilst Catholics (regardless of whether or not they played any part in the conflict) were to suffer the loss of two-thirds of their real estate only.[35]

Further, in August 1643, another ordinance aimed at identifying and prosecuting Catholics, introduced a wide and searching oath – the oath of abjuration – which involved condemning papal supremacy; belief in transubstantiation, purgatory and the merit of good works; and the 'worship' of crucifixes and images.[36] This oath was to be tendered to all suspected Catholics over the age of twenty-one, and anyone refusing it was rendered automatically liable to the penalties of recusancy conviction.

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28 *A Copy of the Commission of Array granted to the Marquis of Hertford*, BL E.113 [20], 4.

29 *CJ*, 2, 785.

30 *Ibid.*, 849.

31 Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 50–2.

32 *Ibid.*, 135.

33 Despite Herbert's lack of able military contribution, he and his father gave the king considerable financial support: Jones, J.G., *Early Modern Wales* (Macmillan, London, 1994) 204; Hutton, *Royalist War Effort*, 15; Newman, P.R., 'The Royalist Party in Arms: the Peerage and Army Command, 1642–1646', 81, 85.

34 Phillips, J.R., *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the Marches 1642–1649, Vol. 1* (London, 1874) 146; Gardiner, S.R., *History of the Great Civil War 1642–1649, Vol. 1* (London, 1894) 35; Hill, C., *The Century of Revolution* (London, 1961) 61; Jones, G.E., *Modern Wales* (University of Cambridge, Cambridge, 1995) 89.

35 Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1, 106–17.

36 *Ibid.*, 254 – 69.

These provisions generated legal proceedings and the consequential confiscation of property. In theory, sequestered property was to be leased, thereby providing a long-term income for the Parliament; but in the context of an increasingly flooded market, such property could not produce very lucrative levels of rent. From 1644, therefore, the committee of sequestrations established by Parliament to handle the work of sequestration began to allow, and then to encourage, the practice of 'compounding' for estates: that is, of paying a fine in order to be allowed continuing use of the property.[37] In October 1645, the committee for compounding with delinquents' estates was established, and by an Act of Parliament in January 1650, all Papists' and delinquents' estates were to be managed by this committee.[38]

The records of these compositions comprise a valuable source of information on royalist and Catholic adherence during the civil wars, as the procedure established involved a degree of investigation into the circumstances of the original sequestration which enables conclusions to be drawn as to whether particular sequestrations were on account of delinquency (that is, royalism), Catholicism, or both.

Moreover, five other sources arising from legal and administrative issues during the 1650s serve to corroborate the evidence from the processes of sequestration and compounding. First, in 1651, a national list of papists and delinquents was prepared which was divided into three categories: delinquents, papists and papist-delinquents.[39] This list contains the names of fifty-four people in Monmouthshire. Secondly, three Treason Acts were passed by Parliament between July 1651 and November 1652, which ordered the confiscation of the estates of alleged delinquents who had so far refused to recognise the right of the Commonwealth to deal with them, or who had failed to pay fines imposed upon them.[40] Between them, these Acts provide the names of nineteen Monmouthshire delinquents. Thirdly, the recusant roll, 1655, provides detail on 320 Monmouthshire Catholics who had failed to take the oath of abjuration established in August 1643.[41] Fourthly, in 1656, in response to an order from the Treasury commissioners, the Monmouthshire county committee prepared a list of fifty-one Monmouthshire Catholics still under sequestration at that time. These were described as having been sequestered for recusancy only, not for delinquency.[42] Finally, under an Act of Parliament in 1662, pensions were awarded to royalist ex-combatant officers. This generated a list of claimants, which contains the names of six Monmouthshire officers.[43]

Taken together, these sources provide a means of corroborative analysis enabling the identification, as far as the evidence allows, of Catholic royalists in Monmouthshire during the first civil war. These sources are comparable in that they deal principally with those of property worth sequestering: that is, more or less, of the local gentry. This does not undermine the present enquiry, because it is precisely amongst this group that royalism might be anticipated: it seems clear that there was a greater preponderance of Catholics amongst the higher ranks in the royal armies than

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37 *CJ*, 3, 627.

38 Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1, 329–35; Green, M.A.E., *Calendar of the Proceedings of the Committee for Compounding 1643–1660 Vol. 1*(London, 1889) vii.

39 Committee for compounding with delinquents, March 1651, The National Archives, formerly Public Record Office (hereafter TNA/PRO) SP 23/254, f.101.

40 Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2, 520–1, 591, 629–30.

41 Exchequer, recusant rolls, 1655, TNA (PRO) E 377/61.

42 TNA (PRO) SP 23/261, ff.118–122.

43 14 Car. II, c. 9; TNA (PRO) SP 29/168.

amongst the lower ranks.[44] Moreover, with the exception of the Restoration pension list of royalist officers, they cover a span of years sufficiently narrow to enable a clear identification of individuals.

Between them, these sources provide a total of eighty male Catholic gentry in the period 1642–46. Of these, forty-three suffered sequestration of their landed property in the aftermath of the civil wars, and of this number sequestration seems to have been for recusancy only in twenty-one cases, and for delinquency in twenty-two cases.[45]

At first sight, therefore, it appears that twenty-two out of the eighty Catholic gentry in Monmouthshire during the first civil war were to some extent actively supportive of the king. However, six of these appealed against their sequestration for delinquency. Appeals were brought before the committee for compounding with delinquents' estates, and these are valuable because they required referral to the local county committees and a detailed local examination of the evidence. The six Monmouthshire appeals all raise circumstances that call into question the apparent commitment to the royal cause of the appellants.[46]

Two of the appeals were successful. One was that of Sir Edward Morgan of Llanfihangel Llantarnam, who had been present at the royalist garrison town of Hereford when it was taken by Parliament in December 1645. However, despite his prominence amongst the Catholic gentry of Monmouthshire, and indeed his relationship with the house of Raglan,[47] Morgan was not included in the Treason Acts of 1651–52, and it was not until 1652 that the commissioners of sequestration alleged that he was a delinquent papist, who had been 'in arms and actual service for the late King'.[48] Very shortly after this allegation, Morgan, who had been in ill health for some time, died, and it was his son – another Edward Morgan, the second baronet – who lodged the appeal, on the basis that his father had been 'not liable to any sequestration but for his recusancy only'.[49] After deliberation, the committee for compounding accepted that the sequestration should have been 'for his said father's recusancy', not for delinquency.[50]

Also successful in an appeal against a charge of delinquency was Nathaniel Prichard of Abergavenny. Under the Treason Act, 18 November 1652, his estate was to be sequestered for 'treason against the Parliament and people of England', although the nature of his supposed delinquency was not specified.[51] Indeed, in the *List of Papists and Delinquents*, 1651, which distinguished between delinquent papists and mere papists, Prichard is included amongst the latter; and in September 1649, he had been sequestered for recusancy without any suggestion of delinquency.[52] In January 1653, Prichard appealed against his inclusion in the Treason Act, and in

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[44] Newman, P.R., 'The Royalist Officer Corps 1642–1660: Army Command as a Reflexion of the Social Structure', *The Historical Journal*, 26 (1983) 949–50, 953–4; *idem*, 'Catholic Royalists of Northern England 1642–1645', *Northern History*, 15 (1979) 88; Lindley, K., 'The Part Played by the Catholics' in Manning, B. (ed.), *Politics, Religion and the English Civil War* (London, 1973) 140–2.

[45] Matthews, 'Roman Catholic Recusancy', 339–48.

[46] *Ibid.*, 349.

[47] Edward Morgan's mother was Lady Frances, one of the sisters of Henry, 5th earl of Worcester: Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 2 Part 1 The Hundred of Raglan* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1914, reprinted by Academy Books, 1992) 26; *idem, Volume 3 Part 2 The Hundred of Usk (Part 2)* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1923, reprinted by Merton Priory Press, 1993) 231.

[48] Committee for the advance of money, 1651–55, TNA (PRO) SP 19/23, f.43.

[49] TNA (PRO) SP 23/103, f.285.

[50] TNA (PRO) SP 23/27, f.407.

[51] Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2, 629, 635.

[52] TNA (PRO) SP 23/254, f.101.

confirmation from the county committee that he had never been a delinquent, the appeal was allowed with the certification that he was to be sequestered for recusancy only.[53]

The remaining four appeals did not succeed; but in the context of the final parliamentarian invasion of Herefordshire and Monmouthshire in December 1645 – August 1646, the issues do not appear conclusive. Like Edward Morgan, William Floyer of Llandeilo Bertholau (Llantilio Pertholey) was at Hereford when it was captured by Parliament in December 1645. He maintained, however, that he had been in the town merely 'on business to his father-in-law, and to take physic for his health', and that he had not borne arms.[54] Indeed, he thought initially that his sequestration was on account of recusancy, and only later discovered it to have been for delinquency.[55] His argument was rejected, although the committee for compounding did not contest his claim not to have borne arms.[56]

The other three unsuccessful appellants were all at Raglan castle when it was captured in August 1646. John Jones of Dingestow claimed to have gone there in order to avoid the violence of parliamentarian soldiers, which was 'great against recusants', and because his home was only two miles from the castle: like Floyer, he claimed never to have been in arms.[57] There is a good deal of evidence of anti-Catholic violence being shown by parliamentarian troops during the first civil war, and Jones's explanation of having gone to Raglan castle for safety is not unreasonable.[58] His appeal was, nevertheless, dismissed.

William Jones of Hardwick also explained his presence at Raglan in terms of seeking safety from parliamentarian soldiers, 'by reason the said soldiers had killed one of his neighbours, pursued others, and threatened him'.[59] He, too, claimed that he 'never bare arms nor acted as a soldier', and called several witnesses to the fact. Most of these were, however, themselves Catholics, and Jones's appeal was rejected.[60]

Finally, Anthony Morgan of Marshfield accepted that he was at Raglan castle because he had entered the service of the earl of Worcester in 1642, at the age of fifteen. He maintained, however, never to have 'intermeddled in the wars', nor to have carried arms. No evidence was ever presented that he had in fact been in arms; but his appeal was all the same turned down.[61]

It appears, therefore, that the number of Catholic gentry in Monmouthshire who were actively royalist did not exceed twenty, and may have been as few as sixteen: that is, at most, a quarter of the Catholic gentry identifiable at this time. This is not a very impressive statistic upon which to base an argument for strong Catholic royalism in the county during the first civil war.

Moreover, three of the certain Catholic delinquents were members of the same family: Henry, fifth earl of Worcester, and his sons Edward, Lord Herbert, and Charles Somerset.[62] It is also notable that whilst it would seem likely that the prominence in the county of the earl of Worcester

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53 TNA (PRO) SP 23/261, f.121.
54 TNA (PRO) SP 23/86, f.532.
55 *Ibid.*, f.520.
56 TNA (PRO) SP 23/163, f.47.
57 TNA (PRO) SP 23/95, f.178.
58 Porter, S., *Destruction in the English Civil Wars* (Stroud, England, 1994) 130–1; Carlton, C., *Going to the Wars: the experience of the British Civil Wars 1638–1651* (Routledge, London, 1992) 276–81; *idem*, 'Civilians' in Kenyon, J. and Ohlmeyer, J. (eds.), *The Civil Wars: a military history of England, Scotland and Ireland 1638–1660* (Oxford University, Oxford, 1998) 297.
59 TNA (PRO) SP 23/95, f.291.
60 *Loc. cit.*
61 TNA (PRO) SP 23/103, f.533.
62 Matthews, 'Roman Catholic Recusancy', 356–7.

would ensure support for the royal cause from the other Monmouthshire Catholic gentry, and that social and geographical proximity would increase this likelihood, the record bears out neither of these assumptions.

The Monmouthshire Catholic gentry who gave actual support to the king were, in the main, not men of significant wealth or status. On the other hand, those of the county's Catholic gentry who were not active royalists included most of the more prominent recusants: Sir Edward Morgan of Llanfihangel Llantarnam; Richard Vaughan of Courtfield; John Powell of Rockfield; George Morgan of Wilcrick; George Morgan of Llandeilo Gresynni (Llantilio Crossenny); Thomas Gunter of Abergavenny; and William and Benedict Bisley of Grosmont. Indeed, those avoiding commitment to the royal cause included four members of the gentry in Raglan itself: Sir Charles Somerset, Sir Philip Morgan, Edmund Shaw and Philip Powell.[63]

There is, therefore, a lack of evidence that Catholics in Monmouthshire were disposed by reason of their religious interests to support Charles I in the first civil war. Those Catholics – notably the earl of Worcester and Lord Herbert – who were strongly supportive of the king were drawn to be so by virtue of personal and political loyalty, rather than because they were Catholics.

On the other hand, it is reasonable to suggest that Catholics who refrained from actively supporting the king did so precisely **because** they were Catholics. Although Charles I may have had a personal inclination towards a relaxation of the legal prosecution of Catholics, the financial imperatives of his personal rule effectively dictated the context of his response to recusancy and led him to seek greater efficiency in extracting fines from them.[64] In the 1620s, prior to the personal rule, the Exchequer collected an average of £6,000 a year in recusancy fines; by the mid-1630s, the yield had risen to an average of £20,000 a year.[65] Catholics were, therefore, squeezed harder during the personal rule of Charles I than they had been over any comparable period of time earlier in the century, and consequently they had little reason to be enthusiastic for his military victory. Neither, however, was there reason for Catholics to be keen on the triumph of a Parliament which embodied much anti-Catholic rhetoric in its war propaganda. Neutralism during the civil war of 1642–46 must, therefore, have been an understandable option for Catholics who felt that they had little to gain from either side.

Certainly Monmouthshire had a relatively high Catholic population in the mid-seventeenth century, and the concentration of recusants in particular parts of the county, combined with the social status of the earl of Worcester, evidently presented an impression of Catholic numerical strength and political potency. The fears expressed by local Protestant gentry on the eve of the first civil war were not, however, borne out by Catholic activism during a conflict that presented an opportunity precisely for the 'doleful misery and calamity' forecast by them. These fears may instead be seen primarily as an expression of a Protestant tradition of anti-popery and belief in popish-plotting vivified in response to the rebellion in Ireland and magnified by the local context.

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63 *Ibid.*, 357–64. .

64 Havran, M.J., *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford University, Stanford, 1962) 91–2; Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces*, 40; Underdown, D., *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford University, Oxford, 1985) 4; *idem*, 'The Problem of Popular Allegiance in the English Civil War', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 31 (1981) 74.

65 Sharpe, *Personal Rule*, 303.

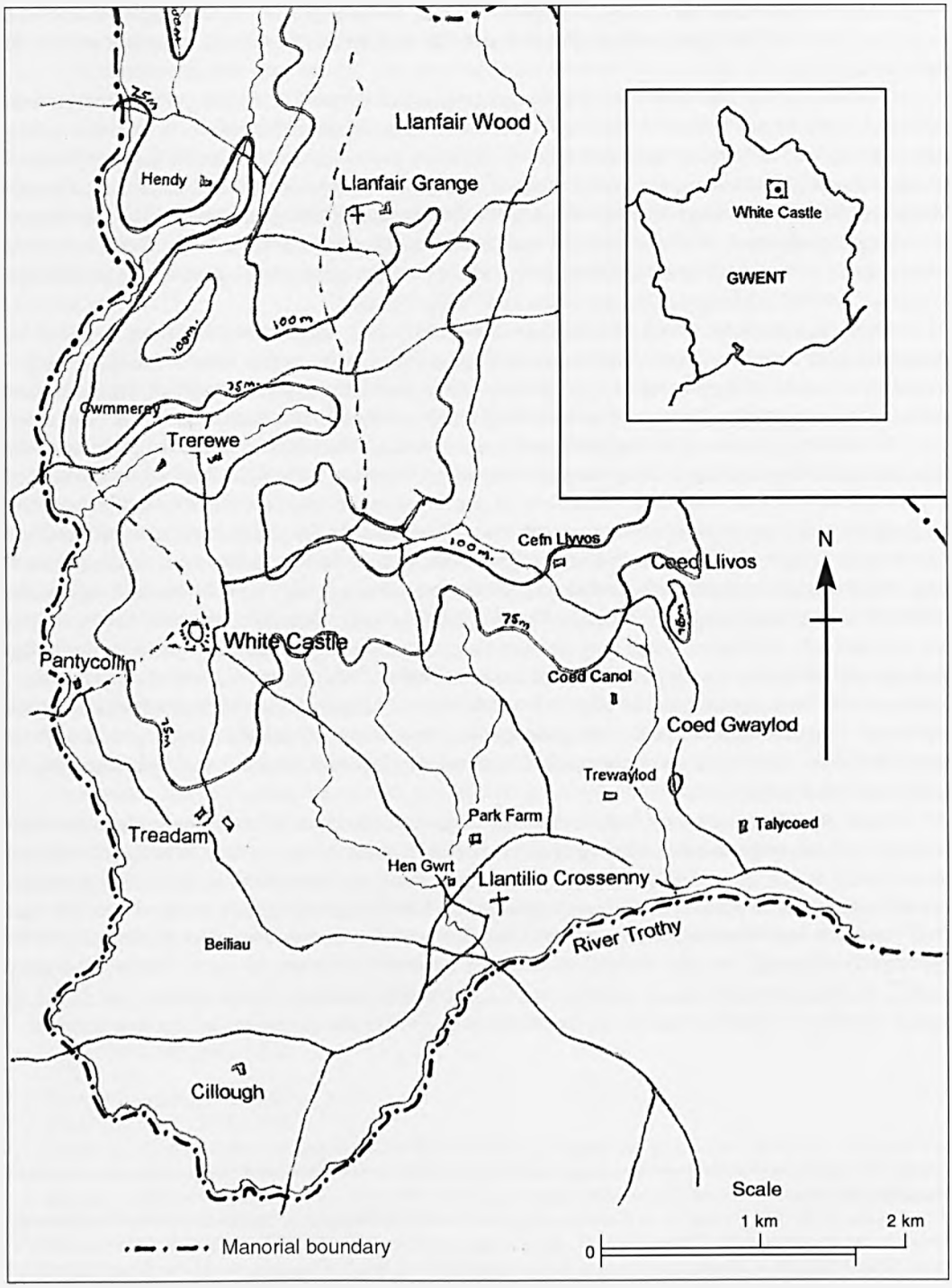

Fig. 1: Map of White Castle showing manorial boundary.
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

FROM OPEN FIELD TO ENCLOSURE: LANDSCAPE EVOLUTION IN THE LORDSHIP OF WHITE CASTLE

By Anne Dunton

Introduction

North-east Gwent is typical ancient countryside, with a network of irregular hedged fields, small areas of woodland and scattered settlement. This conceals a complex picture of landscape evolution created by historical and cultural overlap on the fringes of Wales and England. Llantilio Crossenny (Llandeilo Gresynni)[1] and White Castle[2] provide a relatively well-documented area to investigate the development of enclosure and field systems from the late medieval to the early modern period (Fig. 1).

Some open fields survived in the Gwent coastal plain until relatively recent times, but in north Gwent they barely survived the medieval period,[3] although demesne field systems at White Castle are apparently depicted on two late-sixteenth-century maps in the National Archives, and medieval field names are found in early modern documents (Figs 2a and 2b).[4]

Historically there was a predominantly Welsh population here, mostly freemen, owing customary services but having small mixed holdings.[5] Following the fourteenth-century collapse of direct demesne farming there was some engrossment of holdings and new assarts from the waste. Some new burgages were also created. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, population growth and the development of a gentry class put pressure on former common woodland, since other available land had been used. There was much friction over enclosure, and larger farms generally seem to have assumed their present form by the eighteenth century.

Increased enclosure indicates a shift to pastoral and mixed farming, and to individual holdings. Hedges separate animals from growing plants, e.g. cereals, legumes, young orchard or coppice trees. Deer-parks or forests were also defined by some sort of enclosure, often a bank surmounted by oak pales. Such a paled park at Llantilio is depicted on a map dating from 1571,[6] although no traces of banks have been found. Evidence of medieval and later enclosures may persist as live hedges, banks or rows of isolated trees crossing fields. Aerial photography may show traces of land use not otherwise visible. Hedge dating by species counting proved inconclusive here. The presence of woodland relic indicators, or physical boundaries such as hedge banks, appear to be of

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1 For a history of the parish of Llantilio Crossenny (in the Middle Ages a manor of the see of Llandaff), see Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1907, reprinted by Academy Books, 1991) 93–125.

2 *Ibid.*, 99–102. For a history of the duchy of Lancaster lordships in Wales, including the lordships of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle, 'commonly termed the Three Castles', see Rees, W., *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales 1609–1613* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1953) ix–xx.

3 No early modern enclosure awards or maps for Llantilio Crossenny are listed in Chapman, J., *A Guide to Parliamentary Enclosures in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1992) or in
Kain, R.J.P., Chapman, J. and Oliver, R.R. (eds.), *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales, 1595–1918* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004).

4 Map of area between Grosmont, White and Skenfrith castles, undated [*temp. Eliz. I*], the National Archives (Public Record Office), hereafter TNA (PRO) MPC 1/36; map showing area around Llantilio Crossenny, undated [1571], MPC 1/93. The latter refers to a case in 1571 of disputed ownership of demesne land called 'Kilvaghe y gove divided into three meades' (Duchy of Lancaster records, TNA (PRO) DL 4/15/27).

5 Davies, R.R., 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships in Wales in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford, 1965) 13.

6 TNA (PRO) MPC 1/93.

greater significance.[7] Ridge and furrow, commonly seen in the former open fields of the English Midlands, is rare in Wales, where such fields, where they existed, were on a much smaller scale. In a very few areas in the study area, faint ridges could be discerned. However, they were well dispersed (south-east of White Castle, and north of the Llanvapley to Llantilio road within the Cillough[8] demesne land). While these may be relics of arable farming of indeterminate date, they could be ridges associated with orchards.[9] Orchards are mentioned in the medieval period (there are forty-six in a list of freehold property dated 1610),[10] and found on eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps.

Field names and morphology

Fourteenth and fifteenth-century grants and ministers' accounts provide evidence for new enclosure.[11] Field names are given in English or Welsh, including 'tyre' (modern Welsh *tir*, the general term for land, although also used for a ridge or selion), 'mays' (*maes*, field, often used today for a large open area), 'wyrelod/gworlod' (*gweirglodd*, meadow or pasture), and 'enys' (*ynys*, river meadow or marshy land). The Latin term *clausura* finds its Welsh equivalent in 'kay' (*cae*, an enclosed field). This occurs only once in the 1463–64 Badminton accounts as 'Kay Newith'. In 1463–64, only five closes are listed, described as parts taken out of larger fields. These include 'Tyre Blaen Dege' and 'Tyre Cutta'. A century later eleven out of thirty-one fields are described as 'close', and nine named 'cae'. An increase in enclosure can be seen by the early-sixteenth century.

Some field names can be traced from 1463–64 until at least the seventeenth century, although if a name survives unchanged its original meaning may be fossilised or lost. Names such as 'Gwerne vawre' ('great meadow'), 'gworlod newyth' ('new meadow') or 'cae mawre' ('great field'), are associated with various farms, others are distinctive, e.g. 'Wyrelod Lippa', 'Maes Kevencroys', 'Wyrelod Sanan'. All of these occur in accounts of 1463–64. Where distinctive names are found in later surveys it is sometimes possible to identify their approximate location. For example, 'Wyrlod Lippa' (1463–64) is almost certainly identical with or near 'Caer Lyppa' (1700).[12] (This is near the Carvan stream, and perhaps is a debased form of *[g]wlypa*, meaning wettest. A nearby field is 'Enys ffrwynog' or 'rushy meadow').

Some names describe the type of land or situation. Various river meadows are called 'enys', and the English equivalent is found as 'Ilonde' in Watkyn David William of Treadam's will (1554–58).[13] 'Gwern', or 'wet meadow', is also used for alder woods. 'Pennykeven' (*Pen-y-cefn*), (1699)[14] occupies the top of the ridge near Cillough. Borlan, (*pori llan* or 'pasture'), may be the

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7 This conclusion is also reached by S. Cousins in 'Why hedge dating doesn't work', *Landscape History*, 26 (2004) 77–85.

8 The spelling 'Killough' also appears in this article, which is the spelling used in the 1699 survey (see footnote 14) and in most older documents. 'Cillough' is the spelling used on ordnance survey maps and in most modern texts. The latter spelling has therefore been used when the article is not specifically referring to the earlier period.

9 Such ridges on the Gwent Levels resemble both arable farming ridges and those of drainage systems.

10 Rees, *Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales*, *op. cit.*, 111–32.

11 Ministers' accounts for White Castle, TNA (PRO) DL 29/594/9506; DL 29/595/9526; and DL 29/597/9571. Lordship accounts for Llantilio Crossenny, National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW) Badminton manorial records, 1585, m.1 (1463–64) and 1587, m.1 (1468–69).

12 Mortgage, 6 Sept. 1700, Gwent Record Office (hereafter GRO) D.30. 6.

13 Hunt, J.E., 'Monmouthshire wills proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, 1404–1560' (unpublished dissertation for the diploma in Extra-Mural Studies (Local History), University College, Cardiff, 1985) 119, will no. 122.

same as Vorland (to the west of Hengwrt, over the Carvan stream, and perhaps at Treadam and elsewhere). Galchen or Golchen (1699) could refer to limey soil.

Field names commonly describe their use. In 1651, Walter Powell rented the field called 'Plock' or 'Plocken'.[15] This is the Welsh *lloc* (sheepfold or pen) borrowed from Middle English. This field is named in a manorial survey of 1610, having a combined acreage of four acres with 'Gworlod y Perbren'.[16] When Powell leased 'Plocken' it seems to have become a separate one-acre field. There must have been at least one fishpond on the demesne land, from the name 'Pasture Piscoydlen' (1433–34).[17] Perhaps the 'Wyrelod poolthe' (1463–64) is identical.

There are two instances of a 'Kiln field' in the tithe apportionment for Llantilio Crossenny. These are at Great Llivos and in the White Castle demesne, next to the duke's barn, and may refer to field kilns used for drying barley. A 'Cae Chimney', described in 1565 as a parcel of arable, may refer to such a kiln.[18]

Other particular uses for small areas of land include the 'Cokshot' (an enclosure within woodland for driving woodcock into nets). This is described as new rent in 1433–34, although the lease to William ap Thomas had already run for fifteen years. It is described as 'apud Warnevawr' (later included in the park); no rent was paid in 1486.[19] It occurs in a survey of 1569 as 'Cae cockshutt' pasture, with 'Gwerne vawre' as the following item in the list.[20] In the intervening years, there was apparently woodland clearance. In the same area is the pasture called 'Conygar' (warren), also mentioned in 1433–34 and 1463–64. As the lord's prerogative, warrens were often found within his park. Other field names indicating ownership, whether common or individual, include 'Conmenemede' (1433–34) and 'Wyrelord Stewards' (1463–64). In the sixteenth century, the names of individuals attached to fields became more frequent, as with 'Cae G'llm Meyrick' and 'Gworlod Adam John'.

The tithe map of Llantilio Crossenny (1843) and the first series of Ordnance survey six-inch maps (1886), have formed the basis for study of the fields described here.[21] Most fields are small with irregular outlines. There are some sequences of continuous boundaries forming the edge of several enclosures. Such sequences appear to be of three main types. The first seems to be the result of following wood edges or streams (some subsequently straightened), to create field boundaries. Natural boundaries must have been an early way of defining land ownership or function, and show the importance of considering terrain in a man-made landscape. (Meyrick ap Adam secured a piece of waste to straighten the course of a ditch in 1353, perhaps to create such a boundary).[22] Both natural stream-courses and straightened ditches can be found as boundaries in the area between White Castle and Llantilio.

The second was linked to former woodland clearance, where successive intakes had been made. These may form concentric or roughly circular features. Cleared woodland may also leave rather sinuous field boundaries. Some fragmentary, but perhaps formerly continuous boundaries,

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14 'A Survey of the demesne land of Killough ... belonging to the Hon. John Gerard', [January] 1698/99, GRO Medlycott family documents, D. 760.66.

15 NLW Badminton manorial, 1627/14.

16 Rees, *Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales*, *op. cit.*, 120.

17 TNA (PRO) DL 29/595/9526.

18 Final concord, 3 June 1565, NLW Badminton manorial records, 2476.

19 TNA (PRO) DL 29/597/9571.

20 NLW Badminton manorial records, 835 ff. 3–6.

21 Llantilio Crossenny tithe map, 1843, GRO D/ Pa.33.35; Ordnance Survey map (hereafter OS), sheet VII, 6 inches to one statute mile (1/10560), 1st edit., 1886.

22 Davies, 'The Bohun and Lancaster Lordships in Wales', *op. cit.*, 214.

extend over larger areas below White Castle. This may also be seen just south of Llanfair grange, perhaps associated with thirteenth-century monastic clearances, but other clearances here are described as new rents from the waste in accounts of 1369–70.[23]

The third type may indicate the limits of early open fields. One such example appears to follow the contours to the north and west of White Castle, and may represent the edge of former demesne lands. Continuous hedges often also run parallel to, and slightly up the hill from the river Trothy. These separated meadow from arable and pasture, and excluded animals when the land was waterlogged to prevent damage to crops and to keep animals free from fluke.

Straight edges and rectangular fields might be expected from eighteenth-century or later enclosure. Some fields within the White Castle demesne land appear to follow this pattern. Comparing seventeenth-century surveys and the size of the same fields on the tithe apportionment, it is clear that some boundaries have been redrawn here.

Funnel-shaped features, found in upland areas where animals are pastured on hill commons, are shown in 1608 at Llanfair, Coed Llivos and Coed Gwaylod where tracks cross common land.[24] Sometimes small triangular fields remain at these points, where modern roads occupy a narrower strip of land.

Several of the older farms are surrounded by small fields, some of which form a wider concentric pattern. This can be seen at Trewaylod, Little Pant and, to a lesser extent, at Hendy and Berthglyd. The fields here are noticeably smaller than in the former demesne lands, possibly pre-Norman Welsh settlement, or, as near Llanfair, beginning as fourteenth-century woodland assarts. East of White Castle are several concentric features along the ridge, which may represent early phases of organized woodland clearance, although not part of the common manorial woodland. Elsewhere assarts at the woodland fringe may appear as concave features.

Case Studies

Six case studies focus on the distinctive history, and field and enclosure patterns, of certain areas: Llantilio Crossenny (Llantilio Episcopis); White Castle demesne; Cillough; Llanfair Cilgoed grange and Llanfair wood; other woodland areas; and some dispersed farmsteads.

Farm buildings which date from the sixteenth century, may well be on older sites with a pattern of enclosure dating from medieval Welsh settlement pattern. Despite the partial imposition of the manorial system, an essentially Welsh mixed farming structure persisted, with free tenants also working on the demesne as required.

White Castle

The demesne contained the open manorial arable fields. Although late sixteenth-century maps[25] show demesne land to the south and east of the castle, it seems to have been much more extensive. Aerial photography appears to show cultivation terraces to the north and west of White Castle (Plate 1).[26] A Commonwealth survey of 1651 seems to confirm that former demesne fields extended here.[27]

In 1433–34, William ap Thomas paid £9 for a forty-year lease of all the demesne in White Castle. In 1610, the earl of Worcester continued to hold parcels of demesne land for the same rent.

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[23] TNA (PRO) DL 29/594/9506.

[24] 'A Surveigh of H.M. Wooddes within the County of Monmouth', 1608, TNA (PRO) MPC 1/108.

[25] TNA (PRO) MPC 1/36; MPC 1/93.

[26] Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales (hereafter RCAHMW), Central Register of Air photography for Wales, ref. no. 945075–59 (Cardiff, 1966 OS 66 178; WO Lib. no. 662).

[27] NLW, Badminton manorial, 1627/14.

The manor then apparently also contained 200 acres of arable and fifty acres of meadow and pasture worth £40.[28] In 1458–59, Courtney refers to what may be the last use of the phrase *in campo* for the demesne open arable field of White Castle.[29] By this date, the demesne arable land had been farmed out for a century, and many of the pasture fields sold. The manorial accounts for 1463–64, include a 'Mays Castell', possibly the same land. In 1651, 'Cayer Castell' is mentioned as being twenty-eight and a half acres of pasture. This is still a relatively large field compared with tithe map acreages.[30] There are references to enclosures in 1463–64, but none specifically within White Castle demesne. A payment was made that year to William ap Irwyth for hedging 'Cayo gweyriyn' (probably a common field, perhaps 'Conmenesmede'). Many of the nineteen rents are pasture or meadow. Parts of the demesne were allocated for the use of the estate reeve.

Following the civil war, a survey was made of the lands formerly belonging to the earl of Worcester.[31] It records the names of under-tenants, field names, acreages and land use, and describes the relative positions of the holdings. At this date, White Castle demesne was reckoned to be about 130 acres of arable, 115 acres of pasture, and eighty-two acres of meadow. As the records of a preliminary investigation carried out in the previous month also exist, it is a useful exercise to compare the two documents. There are several inconsistencies in the documents, which should warn of possible errors elsewhere.

It is this document which suggests that demesne fields lay north and west of the castle, in the area where 'cultivation terraces' are visible. The pictorial representation of demesne on the sixteenth-century maps is thus seen to be misleading. From some field names the approximate positions of medieval fields can be found. Some 1463–64 field names re-occur in 1651, although we cannot presuppose an identical location. These include 'Mays Castell' ('Cayer Castell' in 1651, 'Wyrelod Stewards' ('Gwerlod Steward', part of the holding of Thomas Stubbes in 1651) and 'Wyrelod Sanan' ('Gwirlod Sanna' and 'Kay Sanna'). Enclosure was apparently not complete here in the seventeenth century, as there are references to large fields containing several parcels. Charles Goddard held thirty-four acres in four parcels. Two of these parcels were in 'Cayer Castel' (twenty-eight and a half acres of pasture). Another large field was 'Kay Park', described as a parcel of arable of thirty-three acres, 'now devided into three p'tes'. Another arable field of three acres was in three parts. The date of the dividing is not specified, nor is it obvious whether these parts are enclosed, but the memory of one original field remains. Smaller fields were also divided into parcels, as in 'three parcels of arable, called Mace y Pervos, containing 13 acres'. Nine tenants are mentioned, their lands generally being in a consolidated block.

Although the size of the fields listed here are estimates, they seem large compared with the average size of tithe apportionment fields in the same area. They may be unenclosed, or perhaps the measurements are non-standard. In 1843, however, only a tiny proportion of all the fields in the whole parish are larger than twenty acres. In 1651, in White Castle demesne alone, seven of the twenty-four listed are this size or greater, excluding parcels contained within a larger field. This seems to indicate that at least some unenclosed fields remained.

The inclusion of at least two separate blocks of land called 'Park' in the survey is interesting. In the fifteenth century, the enlargement of the park by William ap Thomas certainly took in part of the

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28 Rees, *Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales*, *op. cit.*, 111.

29 Courtney, P., 'The rural landscape of east and lower Gwent, *c.* AD 1070–1750' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Wales, 1983) 286.

30 Non-statute measure, or Welsh measure, may be in use. A Welsh acre (*cyfar*) gives the field name 'cover'. 3 Welsh acres = 2 English acres.

31 NLW Badminton manorial, 1627/14.

demesne lands near Llantilio. It was enlarged again by the earl of Worcester in 1617, using the Welsh custom of the 'commorth'.[32] It may have taken in land of lesser value, allowing better land to be leased.

There are also thirty-three acres of arable called 'Kay Park' to the west of the castle in 1651. An adjacent holding of three parcels of arable (eleven acres) and fifteen acres of pasture is also known as 'ye Parke'. Thomas Stubbs leased 'ye Parke' for twenty-one years from the earl in 1636.[33] In the Commonwealth surveys, park lands are listed under both White Castle and Llantilio demesnes. Sometime after 1661, there is a reference to both 'the great meadow belonging to the Park of Llantilio' and to the park of White Castle demesne.[34] It may be that there were several areas of medieval park, one associated with the castle, and Llantilio park, developed for the prestige of the Herberts of Raglan.

A conjectural sequence may be produced for the demesne lands. Firstly, there were several areas of long open cultivation terraces, Welsh rather than English in form. These fell out of use in the fourteenth century, when the beginning of individual leases affected land use. As the demesne was sub-let by the Herberts to various tenants near the castle, these blocks of land acquired boundaries. The fields were gradually re-divided over the next three centuries, especially in the eighteenth century. The Beaufort lands in the tithe apportionment (the Somersets, earls and marquesses of Worcester, then dukes of Beaufort, were the Herberts' successors) seem to preserve much of the original demesne boundaries. Examination of their Badminton estate records of early rents and leases, could perhaps further clarify the early history of the demesne land.

Llantilio

Llantilio was a manor of the see of Llandaff. Early fields have been overlain by emparkment at two separate periods, although there may be relics of early enclosure outside the park to the east and west. The area around the church may be the oldest continuously inhabited part of the parish. The church has an early Celtic dedication to Teilo, and according to the *Book of Llandaf*, three *modii* of land (about 120 acres), had been granted here by King Idon. This claim to ownership may have been made as a counter-weight to the power of the Normans at White Castle.

Early accounts include mesne manors at Cillough and Kevencroys in addition to those of Llantilio Episcopis and Llantilio Regis. The boundary between the latter manors is given as the Carvan brook and 'Segh nant' (presumably 'Sych nant' or 'dry valley'), whose position is unclear. The Carvan (now the White Castle brook), is only 300 metres west of the church. This is under the eighteenth-century park (formerly the grounds of Llantilio court now demolished), which is bounded by the B4233 to the north, with the river Trothy to the south. The western boundary follows a small road, perhaps replacing the hollow-way from the church to the Hen Gwrt about a hundred yards to the east. The church, although close to Llantilio court, lay outside the park. The boundary then follows the Carvan to its junction with the Trothy. Llantilio mill is slightly west of this point. Recent settlement in Llantilio village is concentrated in the latter area.

Medieval fields and settlement must have been swept away by eighteenth-century landscaping around the house. Nevertheless, the outer areas of this park appear always to have been used for agriculture.

Some evidence for enclosures in the medieval mesne manor of Llantilio Episcopis is found in Badminton deeds. A grant was made on 28 March 1317, to the chaplain, Henry, of four burgages

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[32] Bradney, J.A. (ed.), *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny in the County of Monmouth, Gentleman. 1603–1654* (John Wright, Bristol, 1907) 8.

[33] NLW Badminton manorial, 1627/14.

[34] NLW Badminton manorial records, 2469, ff. 2d–3r.

'newly made of his meadow called Wyrlod Escop, and a *placea* of the same meadow, which lies between the said burgages and the dwelling of Henry'.[35] This may imply speculative creation of burgages in favour of the incumbent, perhaps as a response to the disastrous years of 1315–17. These burgages could have made a profit from trading rather than farming. The burgages and field are apparently a block taken out of a large meadow. Other Badminton deeds mention a grant of two crofts in the vill of Llantilio 'Gresenny' in 1323,[36] and the surrender of three crofts, with a piece of ground and a messuage, to Wenllian Gethin, verch David, in 1381.[37] The said Wenllian made a grant of three pieces of land within the manor in 1391.[38] One is 'Erow Gweyth' ('Weaver's Acre'), between the lands of three named men and the highway leading from Llantilio to White Castle; the second between named lands, the croft called 'Tyre Hopkins' and the highway from Llantilio to Coed Waylod; the third is Trewaylod, lying between the lands of four other people.

Evidently, by the end of the fourteenth century, there was an active land market; tenants still held dispersed holdings, but may have been consolidating them into larger parcels. We may also note that women were holding and administering property.[39] The pale of the park of Sir William Thomas forms the boundary of a parcel of land in a grant of 1430. This land, 'Croft Yweyn', 'formerly called Hendre colward', lies between the land of the chaplain of Llantilio Crossenny and other tenements.[40] Other fifteenth-century grants mention 'park konyng' (probably a rabbit warren) and 'wernvawre', apparently also parts of fields in Llantilio. Bradney refers to a rent roll of 1459, which describes the tenement called 'le Hostre' being in the northern part of 'Lantelyo', opposite the church.[41] Other tenements were south of the church, where there are now farm buildings, part of Llantilio court's estate.

To the north-west, over the Carvan, was 'Mays Kevencroys', reputedly the site of a battle and marked at some time with a now-vanished cross. Mentioned as part of three manors, it may have pre-dated them and been part of the Welsh lands of Llantilio (Fig. 3).

'Kevencroys' in 1463–64 extended towards Treadam, to include a close called 'Baillya Mawre' (possibly enclosed stockyards). 'Kevencroys' and another named meadow, 'Newemede', were in the lord's hands and producing no rent. In this account roll, the term *una clausura* indicates enclosure here and in Llantilio Regis. Thus, 'Mays Kevencroys' includes 'Kay Newithe' (new enclosure) in its eastern part. Six closes are mentioned, all south of White Castle. The date of enclosure in unclear; the description of 'new' may be a fossilised term. An apparently enclosed area lies to the north of this, and south-east of Treadam. The northern edge seems originally to have been a stream, now partly channelled elsewhere. The southern edge could be the continuation of an extensive area of former woodland. Some fields such as 'Tyre Lippa', mentioned in the fifteenth century and also in Treadam mortgages, seem to have been in this area.

Walter Powell leased Canons' Close (*Clos y Canonwyr*) in Llantilio Episcopis in 1638.[42] In 1711, it contained one and a quarter acres and was bounded by the churchyard, the highway and certain freehold lands, being chantry lands. This may be the enclosure first known from 1317.[43]

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35 NLW Badminton deeds, group 1, 581.
36 *Ibid.*, group 2, 14861 (of ?1323).
37 *Ibid.*, group 1, 582.
38 *Ibid.*, 492.
39 *Ibid.*, 492, 582.
40 *Ibid.*, 1741.
41 Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire The Hundred of Skenfrith*, *op. cit.*, 94.
42 Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny*, *op. cit.*, 22.
43 NLW Badminton deeds, group 1, 581.

Much land was enclosed by the seventeenth century. The survey of 1651[44] listed the demesne lands in Llantilio Crosseny separately from those of White Castle. Land here was largely pasture (121 acres as opposed to fifty-five acres of arable). One large pasture field of thirty-six acres was divided into five parcels. Two un-named arable fields of seventeen and eighteen acres respectively, are in five and three parcels. As was the case at White Castle, these were almost all unified holdings, described as 'lying together'. Some farmers held more than one block of land. Further sub-division is implied in 'that 3 parcels of meadow-ground now divided into four pieces called the Wett Moores' (on the Trothy, west of Beiliau).

Hen Gwrt moated site lies 300 yards north of the church, alongside the road to White Castle. The remains of buildings of two periods were revealed in excavations carried out in 1963. The first was probably the timber-built manor house associated with the bishop of Llandaff's manor of Llantilio Episcopis. This manor was acquired by the Herbert family of Raglan who created a deer park here. The timber house was replaced by a stone hunting lodge in the late medieval period, possibly the 'ruinous decayed castle to the south side of Llantilio Park' for which £10 was charged 'in taking the said down' in 1651.[45]

The precise boundaries of this medieval park are unclear. Land was acquired by purchase, lease and exchange, and taken from the manor of Llantilio Episcopis, the demesne lands of Llantilio Regis and the demesne lands of White Castle. There is reference to both 'Parke' and to the 'parke newithe' in 1463–64 (although the latter falls within the White Castle section of the accounts). The 'Parke' is part of Llantilio Regis, and includes land and wood, 'Werne Vawre' and 'parke konynge'. The accounts for 1468–69, list expenses for harvesting and mowing within the lord's park, which suggests both arable and meadow use. Four tenants here exchanged parcels of land for their previous holdings within, or in the case of 'Tyre Croys', near the park. These include four parcels of meadow and four of arable.

In 1531, the accounts of Henry, earl of Worcester, include the sum of twenty shillings paid for repairing the paled fence of Llantilio park, and in 1534, the decay of rent of certain lands previously included within the park was worth four shillings. Were the 'forest bylles' costing ten shillings used for the clearance of trees and scrub?[46] The park must have been partly wooded pasture in 1596 when Robert Whiteacres of Raglan bequeathed 'To the Lady Lucie Harbert ... my sorrel nag which is in Llantillie park'.[47] It was enlarged in 1617, but when surveyed in 1651, it contained 208 acres, 'being now unpaled and open'. The bounds were the village of Llantilio Crossenny, the highway to White Castle, and the highway from Lloyvos to Llantilio Crossenny. It contained 820 timber trees, with 1,050 decayed. Land known as 'Park' was described in the same document as arable land, perhaps taken into cultivation since the park had been unpaled. Thus, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, the park boundaries and use changed.

The present land known as the park, lying to the south of the B4233, is a creation of the late-eighteenth century, when Llantilio court was built in 1775. This house, demolished in 1922,[48] occupied the site of Great House, leased in 1611 by Walter Powell from William Sterrell, secretary

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[44] NLW Badminton manorial, 1627/14.

[45] Craster, O.E. and Lewis, J.M., 'Hen Gwrt moated site, Llantilio Crossenny, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 112 (1965) 159–83.

[46] Robinson, W.R.B., 'The lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s. Part 3: Central Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 25(4) (1974) 454–70.

[47] Jones, Judith (ed.), *Monmouthshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1560–1601* (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff, 1997) 180–2, will no. 123.

[48] Newman, J., *The Buildings of Wales. Gwent/Monmouthshire* (Penguin, London/University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 352.

to the earl of Worcester. This may have replaced a 'Great House' listed in the 1459 rental.[49] It must have fallen into some decay, as the rental of 1534 referred to above, describes the roof of the house being repaired with 'tylestones & crestis'.[50]

The construction of a new turnpike road from Monmouth to Abergavenny in the early-nineteenth century, diverted existing roads away from the house, at the request of John Lewis, the then owner. These roads are shown on a plan of 1817, which accompanied proposals for the turnpike road.[51] This plan, apparently showing the route of the present B4233, joins older roads at the junction by the *Hostry* inn (now closed). The road was actually constructed on a wider sweep to the west. A map of 1675 by John Ogilby covers the same area (Fig. 12).[52] Both show the road as a linear feature, but bridges, road junctions, hills and churches are depicted on Ogilby's route maps, whilst the turnpike plan shows settlement, field boundaries where they touch the road, and, in the accompanying document, the names of landowners. The older road seems to have had two sharp bends within half a mile inside the park, only one of which is seen on the 1817 plan. In order to accommodate two such bends around the church, it may indicate a slightly different route, perhaps closer to the nineteenth-century carriage drive, which ran from the eastern lodge. This would have avoided low-lying meadows along the river, by using the high ground south of the church and raising it elsewhere on a causeway, and perhaps also skirting open arable fields. It would have come close to a hollow way from the church to the Trothy (recently filled in).

Ogilby shows intermittent settlement stretching for some three quarters of a mile between the Carvan brook in the west to a point further east within the park. Aerial photographs of the 1940s show some field boundaries, and also relic tree lines of 1886 and tithe fields, which may preserve the lines of earlier roads. Seventeenth-century and medieval settlement may occupy the same sites near the church, perhaps the homes of those tenants who paid £4 2s. 4d. in the account roll of 1463–64. The parkland has continued to be farmed in the same way until the present, although the land of the modern Park farm now extends much further north. This was created out of the earlier Herbert deer park.

Trewaylod farm is on the fringe of the park, on the road to Coed Gwaylod. There was arable land here in 1391.[53] The 1886 ordnance survey map shows a semi-circular feature north of the old track. This may be part of an open field, subsequently forming the nucleus for the farm. John James Powell acquired Trewaylod farm in 1613, and a field called 'Cae Trewaelod' in 1617.[54] The buildings are dated to the later-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It seems probable that this field continued as far as the line of the Ogilby road (i.e. possibly to the curve of the drive near the east lodge). A series of fields runs east along the old track to Coed Gwaylod, between remnants of woodland. These fields adjoin small encroachments known from 1609,[55] and so are possibly earlier. Later enclosure fields, with more regular straight edges, have been truncated by the turnpike road.

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[49] Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire The Hundred of Skenfrith*, *op. cit.*, 94.

[50] Robinson, 'The lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s', *op. cit.*, 454–70.

[51] 'Plan of the intended line of turnpike road from the village of Rockfield … to Llantilio Crosseny', 1817, GRO P. and BR. 25.

[52] Cleeve, R., *Ogilby's Road Maps of England and Wales from Ogilby's 'Britannia', 1675* (Osprey Publications Ltd., Reading, 1971), part of Plate 71, 'The road from MONMOUTH to LLANBEDER …'.

[53] NLW Badminton deeds, group 1, 492.

[54] Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny*, *op. cit.*, 8.

[55] TNA (PRO) MPC 1/108.

Killough

The most complete survey of part of Llantilio is that of the 'demesne of Killough', made in 1699 (Fig. 5).[56] This allows a greater degree of conjectural reconstruction of the estate. The mesne manor was rented for twenty shillings in 1433–34. Two other tenements were rented in the fifteenth century. One paid an increased rent of 8s. 3d. in 1463–64, which suggests new clearances here, although the rent was in decay in 1469. Although the estate had acquired additional land in adjoining parishes at the time of the 1699 survey, it still appeared as a largely self-contained unit, occupying the south-west corner of the parish, and bounded by the Trothy. In the east it reached to the Carvan, another natural boundary, the western edge of the bishop's manor. The survey also lists fields to the north of the road from Llantilio church to Llanfapley, towards an area of woodland known as Cillwch wood, and several fields in two separate parcels near Treadam and Pont Warren. Part of the manor was in the hands of the duke of Beaufort, including 'Killough Vach', and the land around 'Blackmeadows'. These separate areas were surrounded by the rest of Killough land.

Retrogressive analysis allows comparison between the fields as they appear on the 1886 ordnance survey map and the tithe map. The 1699 survey gives field names, acreages and land use, from which a probable contemporary pattern of the area can be reconstructed. Acreages from 1699 and the 1843 tithe survey do not produce exact correlation in any of the fields, but some are sufficiently close to allow almost certain identification. Some movement of boundaries may have taken place in the intervening century and a half. Slight changes can also be seen in a comparison of the maps of 1843 and 1886.

In 1699, this part of the estate contained demesne lands of 419 acres, two other farms of under 100 acres, and a small tenement in Treadam of about seven acres. The demesne lands were divided into the farm of Killough in the possession of the Hon. Thomas Gerard (221 acres) and the lands of Mrs Mary Powell (138 acres). The smaller farms were 'Penny-too-en' (now Pentwyn) eighty-three acres, and 'Lantilio Gressenny tenement' (now White House farm) ninety-seven acres. The part of the estate which apparently seems least changed from the late-seventeenth century is that part of Pentwyn which falls within the bounds of the Trothy, the lane to Rhydmonythog ford and the highway from Llantilio church to Llanfapley. Field names and acreages largely correspond with the tithe descriptions.

Apart from the enlargement of four fields in the course of the nineteenth century by the removal of hedges, this is basically the 1699 layout. There are generally regular and almost straight boundaries, with a narrow strip of meadow, as may be expected, along the river. Where the land rises towards the lane (the fields called the 'Penny Kevens') was then, and still is, arable land. Despite the lack of evidence of ridge and furrow here, a small area of the field called 'the Golchen' on the opposite side of the highway, may show such ridges. Within the same block of land, abutting the church land further east and belonging to White House farm, were three closes mentioned in 1600, two arable and one meadow.[57] These are described as formerly being one close called 'Teare Calling Uffham'. This appears to be sixteenth-century enclosure.

Another block of arable lay to the north-west of White House farm between the highway to Abergavenny and the road to Treadam. The adjacent higher land was pasture rising up to woodland.

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56 GRO Medlycott, D. 760.66

57 GRO Francillon & Willot, D.100. 175 and 176.

North of the Treadam road are the fields called 'Vorland' or 'Vorlanny Suite' in 1699. In 1569, 'Vorland y groes' and 'Cae Newyth' were closes belonging to Thomas Watkins.[58] From the position and the name, they may be the same fields as 'Maes keven croys' listed in 1463–64. In 1699, the use of one name for all three, suggests one original field. West of the lane at Rhydmonythog were a series of predominantly meadow closes. The 1843 outlines of these fields can be seen to be more irregular, with rather wavy edges, compared with those of the arable fields to the east. This is typical of small pasture fields taken out of woodland.

The building at Cillough dates from the fifteenth century, although the estate may be of an earlier date. Originally a substantial hall-house, with a central hearth, it was considerably extended to include a stone fireplace and chimney, then an upper floor. The quality of the early timber roof, the later mullioned windows which include stained glass, and the late Renaissance stairway, demonstrate the relative wealth of the owners over several centuries.[59]

The field pattern revealed by the tithe map seems to develop in concentric curves around the farm, perhaps showing successive clearances at a very early date. From the house, the innermost and second boundaries contain several short and apparently random zig-zags, where there is a discontinuity between closes. These resemble the pattern sometimes found at the ends of field strips between blocks of selion. Although no overall pattern is discernible, further investigation could be useful. Most of the altered fields are on the Little Killough estate. One of this farm's fields almost touches the house and yard of Great Cillough. The unusual interlocking pattern formed between the two farms may show an early division of good arable land. These fields on the tithe map contain a number of ponds, indicating pastoral use. They also show some reorganization between 1843 and 1886.

The ridge to the north of the highway still contains two blocks of woodland, Pen-y-Coed and Cillough wood, which could have once been continuous. The curve of a footpath running from Cillough to Beiliau, to the west of Cillough wood, perhaps shows the original wood edge. The irregular outlines of three adjacent fields to the west seem to continue the feature. A third wooded area seems to have once existed south of the road and west of Cillough (Fig. 6).

Llanfair Wood and Grange

Llanfair wood and grange are at the northern edge of the parish, on the border with the lordship of Grosmont. This was part of the lord's waste, shown in a 1608 map, part of a survey of Crown woodland and the earliest accurate map of the area (Fig.10).[60] The grange, on the site of an earlier hermitage, was granted to the Cistercians of Abbey Dore by Hubert de Burgh, lord of the Three Castles, in the first half of the thirteenth century. By a series of purchases and exchanges of property during that century the grange lands seem to have been consolidated into a compact entity. The original grant provided for six bovates of land and appurtenances in the forest of Grosmont, indicating arable and pastoral use. Earthworks of the former fishponds, terraces for cultivation, perhaps vineyards, and long low mounds can be seen in the field surrounding the original chapel site.

The site was not completely isolated, as it was claimed in 1258 that the grange court had obstructed a former right of way,[61] a track called the 'Holeway'. (Such a hollow way appears to run alongside a stream towards the grange site from the south, turning west along the southern

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58 'A survey of Llantilio and Mayndiff manors', 1569, NLW Badminton manorial, 835/3–6.

59 Smith, P., *Houses of the Welsh Countryside. A study in historical geography* (HMSO, London, 1975, for RCAHMW) 38.

60 TNA (PRO) MPC 1/108.

61 Williams, David H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976) 35.

boundary. On the map of 1608, a road going east from the common follows the line of a modern footpath crossing the field towards the B4521).

Abbey Dore was dissolved in 1536, but the site was leased earlier in 1529 to Walter ap Pye, John ap Richard ap Philip and Thomas Baskerville for 33s. 4d. per annum.[62] Shortly after the dissolution, together with Llanfair wood and Llanfair grove, it came into the possession of Sir Richard Morgan, as sub-tenant.[63]

Wills show that at least two substantial farms existed at Llanfair in the late-sixteenth century. These are of Philip Morgan[64] at Llanfair grange (whose descendants held 260 acres in 1610) and of John Morice at 'Keven Llitha'.[65] The latter may have been created from assarts in the north of the woodland. As four of the ten increased rents from the lord's waste in 1369–71[66] are at 'Lanveyr' wood, we should find evidence of assarts from at least 230 years before the 1608 map. Two of these are burgage rents and two half burgages. Hendy, discussed in a later section, may be an early assart.

Comparison of field-sizes in the tithe-free area in 1843 gives an average of slightly over seven acres for the grange, but of less than three acres in three small farms in the former Coedcae woodland. Hendy, just outside the wood, produced an average of five acres for its twenty-nine closes. (Cillough, where the larger land holding suffered little fragmentation from the medieval period, had an average of almost nine acres).

Llanfair grange lies in a typical concave woodland clearing, with boundaries continuing along field edges to the north-east, and over the road to the south. This is a new road from Skenfrith to Abergavenny. (The old road from Trerhiw to Pant continued after Plas Ifor towards Lettravane farm). To the south-west of this point a tongue of land showing continuous boundaries can be seen. There is still a block of woodland at the southern end today. Fields have apparently been cleared from the road edge up to the fringe of the wood both here and to the west (Fig. 11). There are several phases of clearance here.

A recent geophysical survey of the grange site by the University of Wales Newport (2004), will no doubt add to the detailed findings made by Dr David Williams.[67]

Woodland areas

Early assarts

On higher land both systematic and piecemeal clearance of woodland has taken place. Late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century encroachments are well documented, and some form the basis for small farms. Although no longer wooded, the area from White Castle to Brynderi contains a relatively large number of over-road hedge connections. These are often found where the underlying feature predates the road. The most complete area is that near Trellwyfan farm. (The earliest reference found calls it 'Tyre llwyfen' or 'Elm land'). Other possible concentric sequences farther west hint at a series of organised clearances of land near to the castle. The earliest of these could date from the building of the castle in the twelfth century, or perhaps were earlier Welsh

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62 *Ibid.*, 34–6.

63 Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire The Hundred of Skenfrith*, 122.

64 Hunt, J.E., 'Monmouthshire wills proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury, 1404–1560' (unpublished dissertation for the Diploma in Extra-Mural Studies (Local History), University College, Cardiff, 1985) 96, will no. 91.

65 Jones, J. (ed.), *Monmouthshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1560–1601*, *op. cit.*, 175–6, will no. 118.

66 TNA (PRO) DL 29/594/9506.

67 Unpublished at the time of going to press [Feb. 2007].

assarts. A survey found many plants associated with ancient woodland, including primrose, wood anemone, bluebells, wild strawberry and dog's mercury. Similar concentrations were found on the steep bank of the road below White Castle and in other small areas of existing woodland. (These species were also found at Coed Gwraig, now owned by the Woodland Trust).

Common woodland

The woodland area to the east of Llantilio is well-documented from the late-sixteenth century onwards, and represented pictorially in the 1608 map (Figs 7 and 9). This shows the Crown woods of Coed Lloyvos, Coed Canol and Coed Gwaylod, with houses, roads and boundaries, some of which are still identifiable. Encroachment into the woodland is shown by pecked lines, with earlier intakes discernible from similar shapes, often associated with cottages, on the wood edge.

The west and south-west boundary of Coyd Lloyvos in 1608 is partly a track, now the modern road to White Castle. Cefn Llyvos farm is shown in a rectangular enclosure, corresponding to modern fields. Continuous boundaries apparently continuing the wood edge to the north-east may be the relic of medieval clearance. In 1608, a concave encroachment is evident where the curving wood edge sweeps to the north-east corner. If this had once been a farm, the house had vanished by the nineteenth century. The northern boundary is on the line of a footpath towards another vanished house, Kellyn (or Cwm Stink).

Fields within the woodland are likely to date in part from the seventeenth century, although the small separate area labelled 'part of White Castle' in 1608, may be earlier (Fig. 9). Tracks crossing the wood from White Castle and Cefn Llyvos to Great Lloyvos and Plas Ivor can be traced in 1886, and trees shown lining the paths may be relics of the original woodland.

At Coed Gwaylod the 1608 boundary is even more clearly distinguishable. The west edge is defined by a footpath from Coed Canol farm and some of its field boundaries, and to the south by a stream flowing east of Trewaylod. Here there is still a remnant of ancient woodland (Coed Gwraig), containing large stands of yew and small leaved lime, along with other more common trees. The land falls steeply to the stream. Although this probably precluded its use for pasture, it was still a valuable resource, and there is evidence of woodland management in several wood-banks, and stools of hazel and lime. Some are of great size, indicating repeated coppicing over a long period. The eastern wood edge follows a series of fields running north above waterside meadows near Tal-y-coed farm, possibly assarts to enlarge the farm. Several of their east-west edges are formed by small tributary streamlets, natural boundaries in land clearance. The up-hill field boundaries curve into the original woodland in 1608, where the map also shows two small strips of enclosure. These seem to be the western portion of modern fields which were orchard in 1886 (Fig. 8).

Sixteenth-century population increase and the gradual engrossment of farms and enclosure of common lands by richer farmers put pressure on land here as elsewhere. There was an increase in the number of landless labourers (found as squatters on former common woodland). A number of small encroachments are known from the early-seventeenth century. In 1610, there were nineteen encroachments at Lloyvos (eleven cottages) and thirty-two at Gwaylod (twenty cottages).[68] Five Lloyvos encroachments mention a small plot or garden, and seven were less than half an acre. Thirty-four out of the total of fifty-one are valued at four pence or less (four pence being the value of a cottage or one acre). In 1610, six of these encroachments dated back ten years or more. (An inquiry of 1597 into damage done 'within her majesties woods' stated that 'great waste and spoil hath been lately committed by divers disordered and unlawful persons without

[68] TNA (PRO) DL 44/913.

licence').[69] The numbers seemed to have peaked in about 1606–07. Only two of those named in an inquiry of 1612 are described as gentlemen, the majority of the remainder being identifiable from wills and other documents as 'the poor of the parish'. Courtney points out, however, that as juries of tenants carried out the surveys, they might have omitted certain of their own encroachments.[70]

By the seventeenth century, former commons and woodland had almost all been leased and brought into cultivation, resulting in tension and in some cases litigation. Walter Powell's diary describes new, and often disputed, enclosures. A series of protracted feuds with his neighbours in the 1630s produces comments such as: 'Charles Goddard did cutt my rayles at lloyvos', 'Tho. Watk. Powell brake my ditch at lloyvos', and 'Wm. Jo. D'd Prytherghe broke my hedge beyond Wm. Evan'.[71] (Ditches would create the new boundary, with the excavated earth being thrown up inside to form a bank, and a hedge then planted). In 1635, Charles Jones and others violently attempted to resist enclosures at Lloyvos by breaking ditches and fences, spoiling crops, threatening to damage plough-oxen, and 'did ... turne in their cattle to depasture the same unles they might enjoy what parte of the prem[is]es they pleased to their owne uses'.[72] Other witnesses speak of the 'throwing downe ... of the poore mens gardens, fruit trees, herbes', and that the improvement of the land tended 'to the utter overthrow of the poor inhabitants'.

Isolated wells shown on the 1886 six-inch Ordnance survey map may give the position of now-vanished cottages (Fig. 10). Elsewhere squatters may have survived and acquired lands to create slightly larger holdings. A group of smallholdings adjacent to Coed Llivos is seen in 1843. At least one, Sunny Bank, is on, or close to, a site shown in 1608. One tiny roadside holding can be found on the fringes of these fields (now a ruin). This area formed a compact group of small farms in 1843 compared with the pattern of larger farms elsewhere. The largest acreage was around twenty acres, compared with the 125 acres of Cefn Llivos farm (Fig. 9).

Sunny Bank is shown on a small eighteenth-century map.[73] The basic framework in the 1760s is of eight fields, one of which is still woodland. By 1843, there had been some subdivision to create twelve fields. The subdivided fields show different land use within the original field. As the terrain here is quite steeply sloping, and possibly less fertile than the flatter land further south and east, this may suggest the need to rotate land use within a restricted area.

Elsewhere the tithe map shows some linear squatter settlement along former road commons. Such concentrations of linear encroachments were at Trerhiw, Llanfair grange, and along the road to Llanfapley. Some of these cottages exist today. This type of settlement seems to date from the seventeenth century or later. Rents for 'cottages on the highway' appear in a White Castle rental of 1723.[74]

Peripheral Farms

Scattered farms are a typical feature of Wales and other areas of ancient countryside. Several of the farms here date at least to the late medieval or Tudor period, and may be older. Field patterns show features in common with farms of known antiquity elsewhere, notably circular or partly circular boundaries.

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69 'A commission to inquire of spoile of woods ... in her majesties woods' [including Grosmont and other woods in the area], 22 Apr., 39 Eliz. I [1597], TNA (PRO) DL 42/98 (276).

70 Courtney, 'The rural landscape of east and lower Gwent', *op. cit.*, 326.

71 Bradney, *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny*, *op. cit.*, 19–20, 22.

72 TNA (PRO) DL 4/89/27.

73 NLW Tredegar, vol. 8, 116–7.

74 TNA (PRO) DL 43/23/18.

Of the houses Fox and Raglan described dating to the medieval period (i.e. *c.* 1450 to *c.* 1560), three are to the north of the area, away from the demesne.[75] This may be a pre-Conquest survival of land of Welsh free tenants. Three other houses are just north of the castle. Hendy, west of Llanfair wood, was described by Fox and Raglan as a small medieval hall-house of 1450, with Elizabethan additions. The solar was enlarged in about 1500. This was possibly the earliest example of a substantial house in the area, and confirms that a wealthy group of farmers was emerging at this date. Called Hendy (old house) in 1519–20, it was evidently considered old even then.[76] (It was demolished in 1960). The farm buildings are on a slope, slightly above stream-edge meadows, with access to wood-pasture (Coed-cae) just over the stream on the wood-edge. Smallish fields and orchards surround the farm, with larger fields higher up to the south and west. These may originally have been part of an infield-outfield system. There are concentric features here in the field layout, although the pattern is rather more one of snail-like segments. The farm is on a track running almost directly north-south towards Llantilio, *via* White Castle.

Reference has been made to curved field edges surrounding some of these old farms. The shape of the rounded enclosure and the small size of the fields at Little Pant and at Berthglyd are particularly striking. Berthglyd farmhouse (of cruck construction, from 1450–1560) lies within a very small semi-circular feature. The remainder of the farm fields are in the gap created by the boundaries of two large circular enclosures, possibly boundaries of former woodland. The junction of one of these hedge and wood-bank features and the farm hedges is halfway down the drive to the farm. The two hedges are different in nature, that of the farm lane having no bank, and containing six woody species, whereas the higher is on a distinct bank and has eight species. This suggests a different origin (Fig. 6).

Earlier settlement is found at Trerhiw, where the fourteenth-century hamlet included the mill and several tenements, as well as burgage holdings. There are no concentric fields here, although Little Trerhiw is just to the north of one of the circular woodland features. This hamlet may have developed around the mill on the fringe of the White Castle arable fields where land had already been cleared. There were a number of increased rents here in 1369–70. The breakdown of direct demesne farming, and reduction in the population after the Black Death seem to have provided new opportunities for the survivors. (Ten new rents are for land taken from 'waste' in woods, at Trerhiw and at Llantilio Cressenny, eight for burgages and waste). These burgages are so widely dispersed that at this date they are obviously a legal device granting certain rights for the appropriate payment, but unrelated to an actual borough. As the size of the two larger farms increased, so the small cottages may have disappeared in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

Treadam is similarly situated on the fringe of the demesne fields, but to the south. This may have been a long-house at some date, according to the 1988 Royal Commission survey, and there are references to Treadam pasture in 1433–34 and 1486. The present hamlet is at the south-western corner of a possible large early enclosure, which may have been arable, or the pasture field mentioned above. The two small cottages still surviving here faced long narrow strips, probably their original gardens, on the fringes of the fields. A couple of houses on the tithe map have now disappeared. There is no evidence, however, of the substantial settlement shown on the map of 1571

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[75] Fox, Sir Cyril and Raglan, Lord, with a new introduction by Smith, P., *Monmouthshire Houses. A Study of Building Techniques and Smaller House-Plans in the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries. Part I. Medieval Houses* (2nd edit., Merton Priory Press/National Museum of Wales, 1994) frontispiece, 84–5 (Hendy); 58–60 (Upper Trerhiw barn and ox house); 62–5 (Great Trerhiw barn).

[76] GRO Mon. B. 137. 1.

showing the area around Llantilio Crossenny.[77] A large barn of the early-seventeenth century may have re-used timbers, perhaps from crucks of an earlier house.

Although there is no supporting pre-Norman evidence, perhaps Welsh *trefi* held by freemen existed at Treadam, Trewaylod and Trerhiw. All would be close to good arable land, and with other resources nearby.

Fox and Raglan point out that the houses described are all below 600 feet in altitude, in arable farming areas. That arable farming continued to be important after the disappearance of demesne farming, is seen in cruck-framed barns of the late-fifteenth to early-sixteenth centuries. (The increase in the price of corn brought inflation, which benefited proprietors and those living on fixed tenures). There are two such barns at Great and Upper Trerhiw respectively. The latter is seventy-six feet long, with a threshing floor. (A stone ox house was added about a century later). The barn at Great Trerhiw is about forty-two feet by twenty-one feet.

Conclusion

A complex picture of landscape evolution in the lordship of White Castle emerges. The terrain here does not lend itself to large areas of open arable fields, and pastoral farming has always been important in the Welsh economy. Small areas of scattered pre-Norman arable fields (tir gwelyog), may have formed the basis for the manorial demesne. Pasture and meadow may have occupied the same fields throughout the medieval period.

Although the castle still imposes itself on the landscape, little remains of Anglo-Norman demesne field systems, except perhaps the outer boundaries. However, much of the woodland must have been cleared, both systematically and piece-meal, probably in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Both religious and secular owners were responsible for large-scale clearance. The English manorial system seems to have been superimposed on Welsh practices and on a basically Welsh landscape. As demesne farming ceased, so the pattern of small, scattered farms developed. A patchwork of small enclosures developed further, sometimes within larger existing fields, elsewhere by systematic clearance of woodland, or on common land. There is evidence for the existence of some enclosed, but still large fields from the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, most field boundaries had assumed their modern form.

The development of this essentially pastoral landscape is multifaceted. While the shape of fields is a useful indicator of origin and function it cannot be assumed that similar forms invariably result from the same process. At the same date fields may be expanding, but elsewhere being divided. The number/type of hedgerow species may provide some evidence about hedge origins, but should be used with caution as a reliable indicator of age. Documentation is necessarily biased towards large estates, which excludes parts of the parish. Many of the conclusions are therefore conjectural. The reduction of the demesne fields to a simple pattern on the maps from the sixteenth century suggests that already at that date the landscape had an irregular and complicated pattern that defied the artist. Nevertheless, patterns of enclosure can be found. In less well-documented areas in Gwent it may be possible to apply a similar approach in order to interpret field shapes, and construct a history for their evolution.

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[77] (PRO) MPC 1/93.

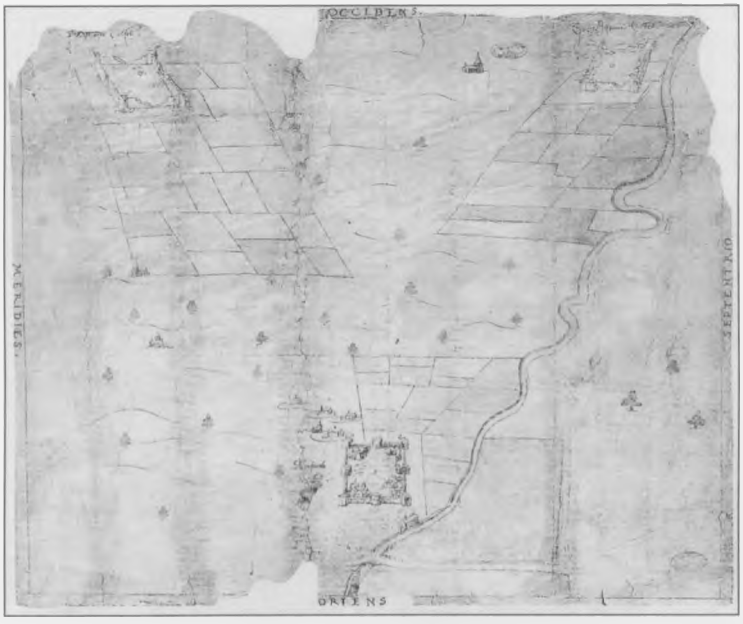

Fig. 2a: Part of an undated map [*temp. Eliz. I*] of the Three Castles – Grosmont, White Castle and Skenfrith; the square is a representation of Skenfrith castle (TNA (PRO) MPC 1/36).
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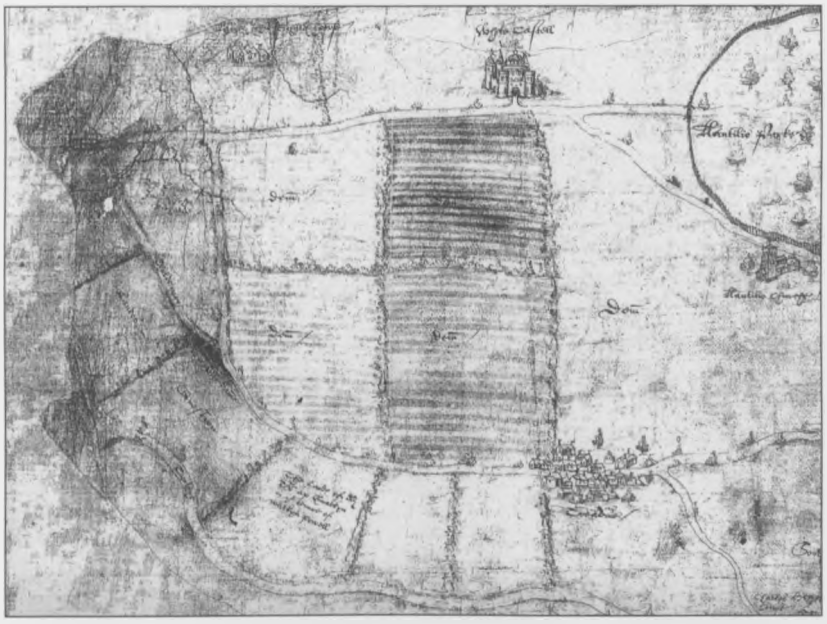

Fig. 2b: Section of map showing White Castle demesne and disputed land in 1571 (TNA (PRO) MPC 1/93).
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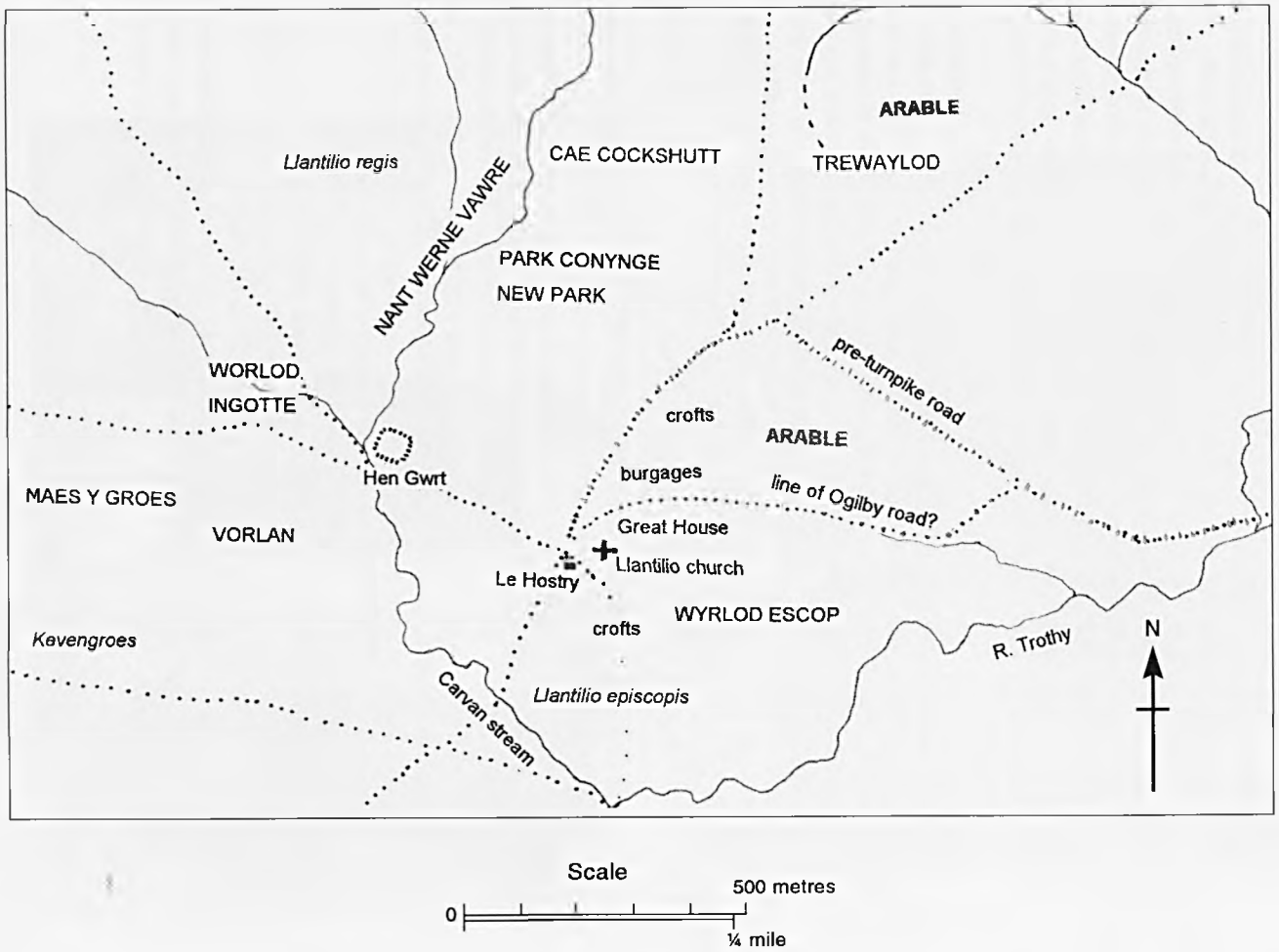

Fig. 3: Conjectural map of Llantilio in the late medieval period.
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

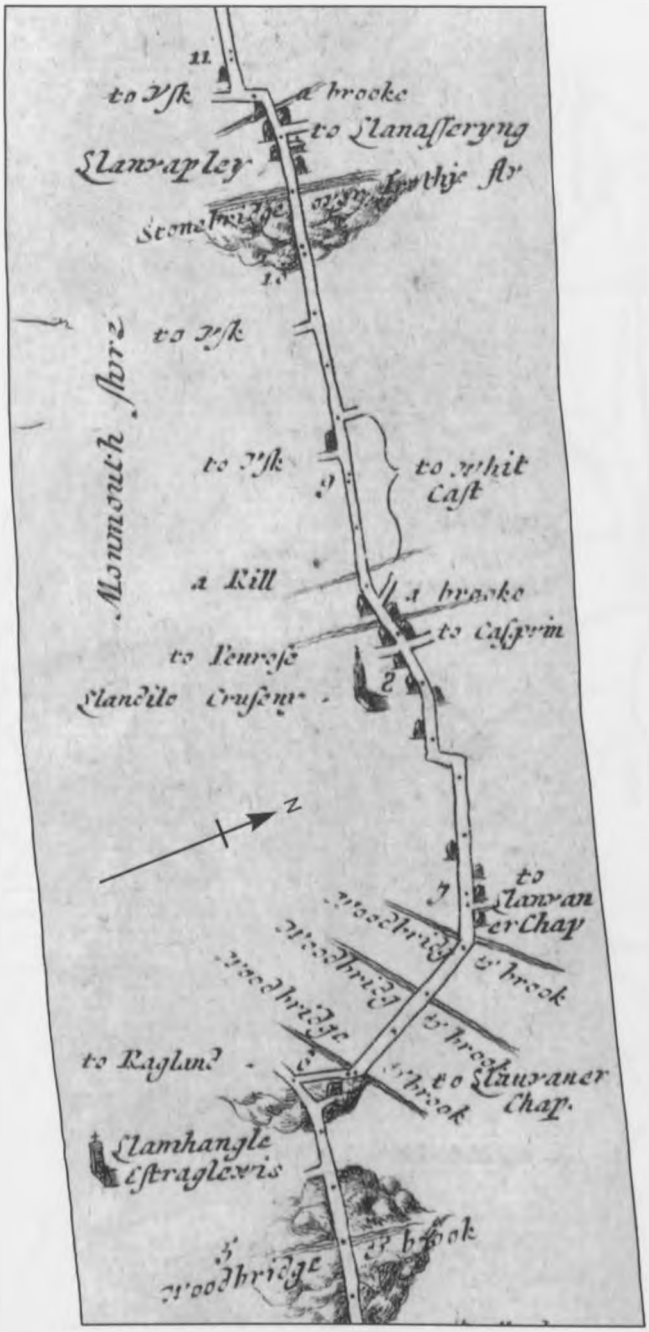

Fig. 4: Part of 'The road from MONMOUTH to LLANBEDER ...' (Ogilby, *Britannia*, 1675).
Original in the collection of Dr Derek Bissell.
Reproduced by kind permission of Dr Derek Bissell.

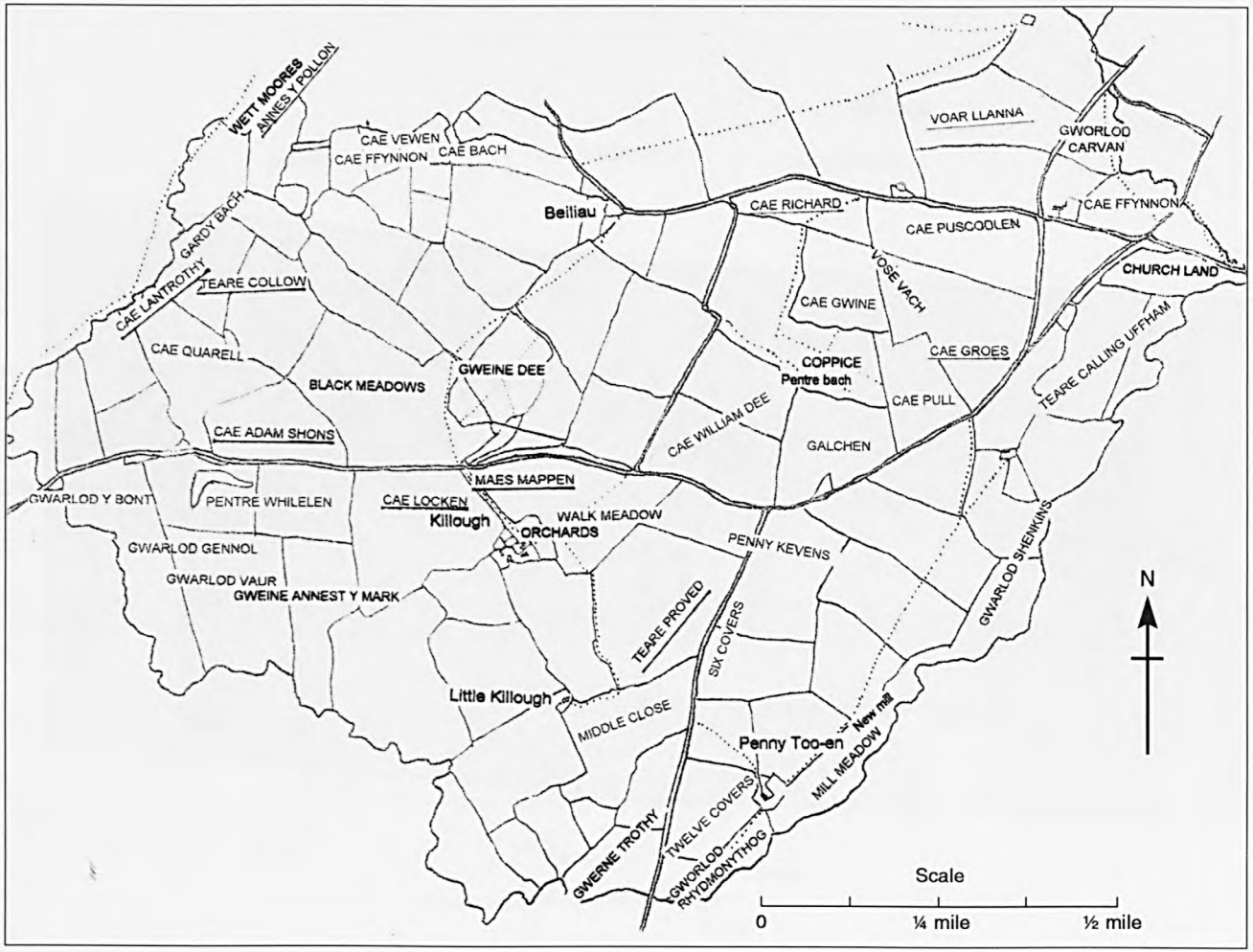

Fig. 5: Plan based upon 'A Survey of the demesne land of Killough … belonging to the Hon. John Gerard', [January] 1698/99 (GRO D. 760.66).
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

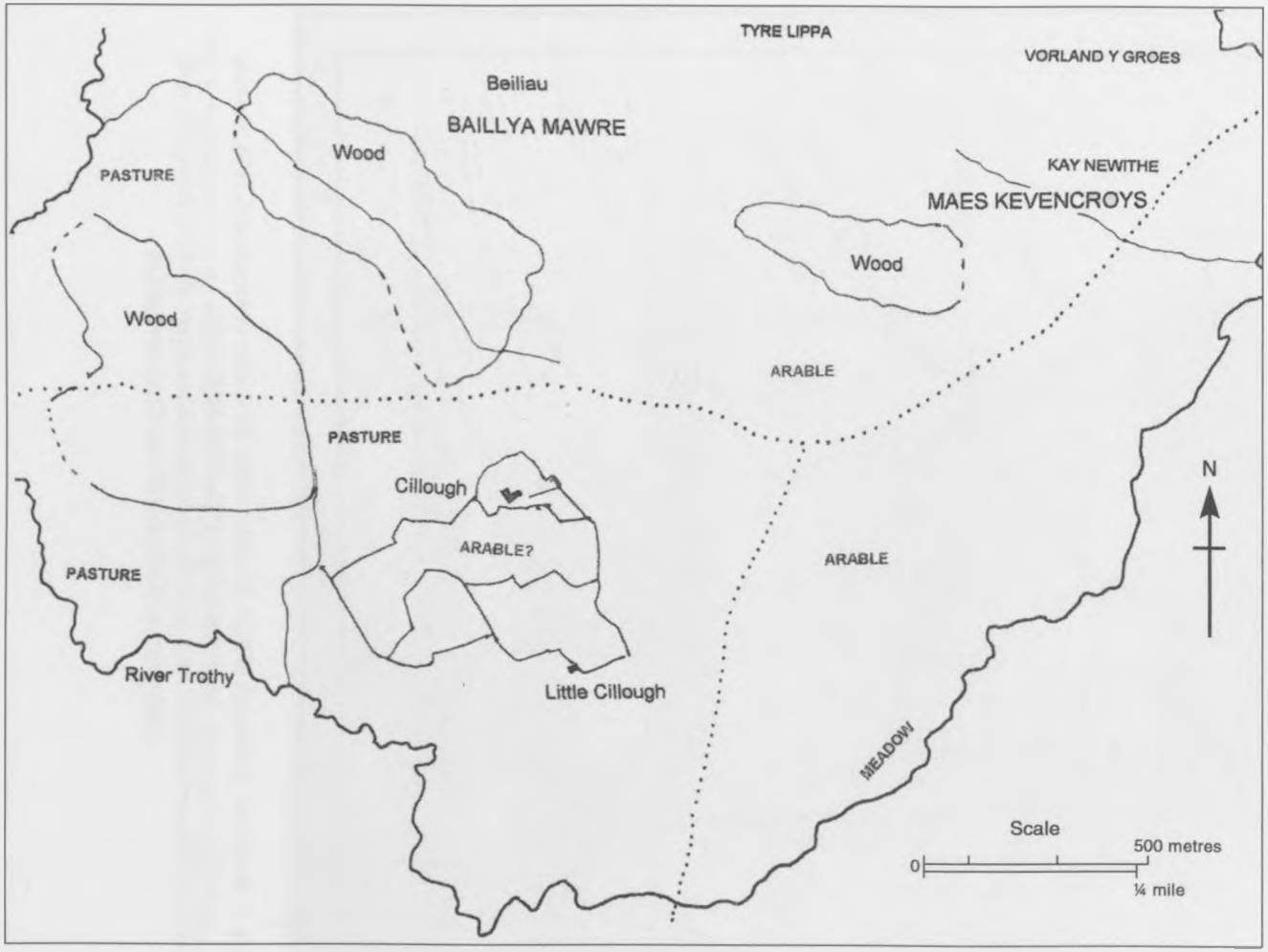

Fig. 6: Conjectural map of medieval Killough.
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

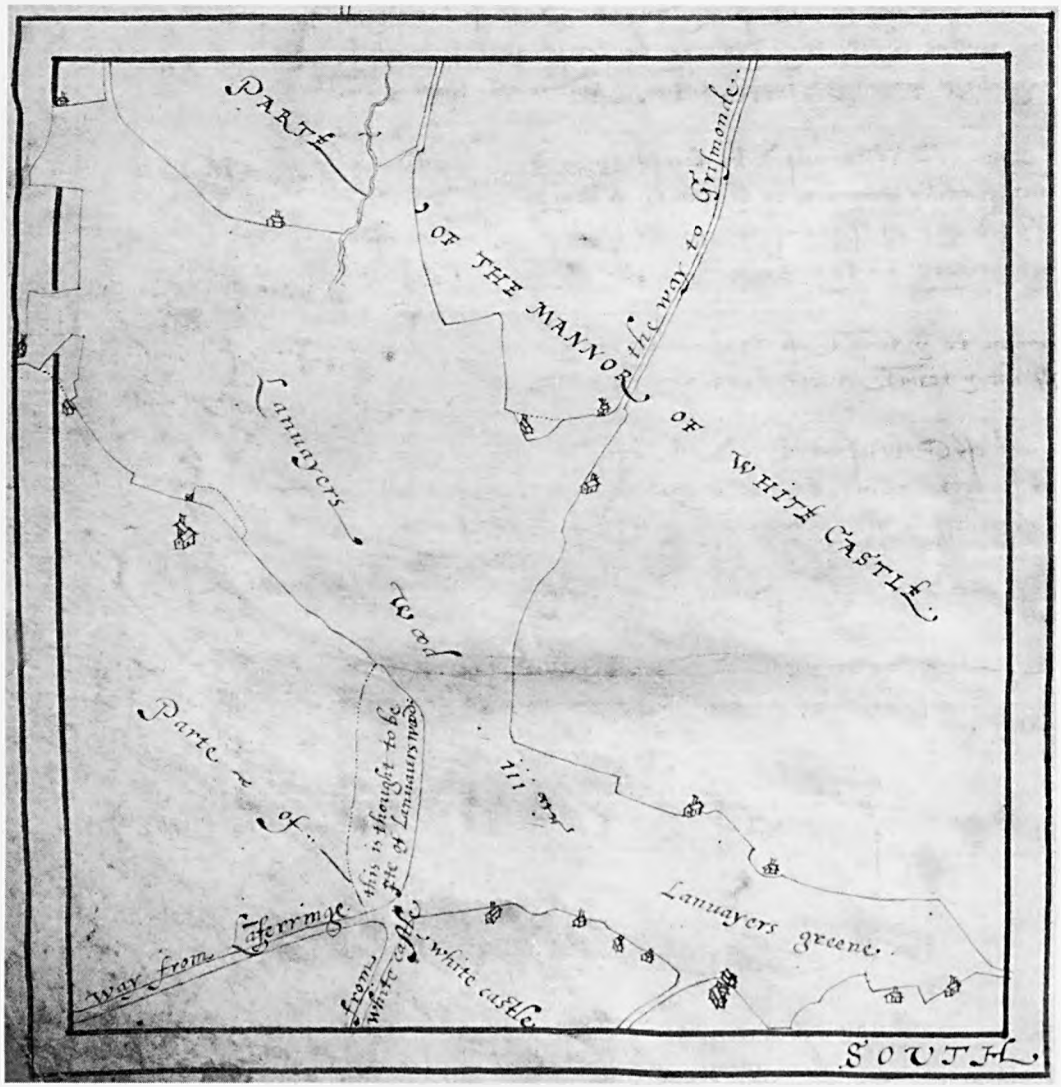

Fig. 7: Section of 'A Surveigh of H.M. Wooddes within the County of Monmouth', 1608, showing 'Lanvayers wood' (TNA (PRO) MPC 1/108).

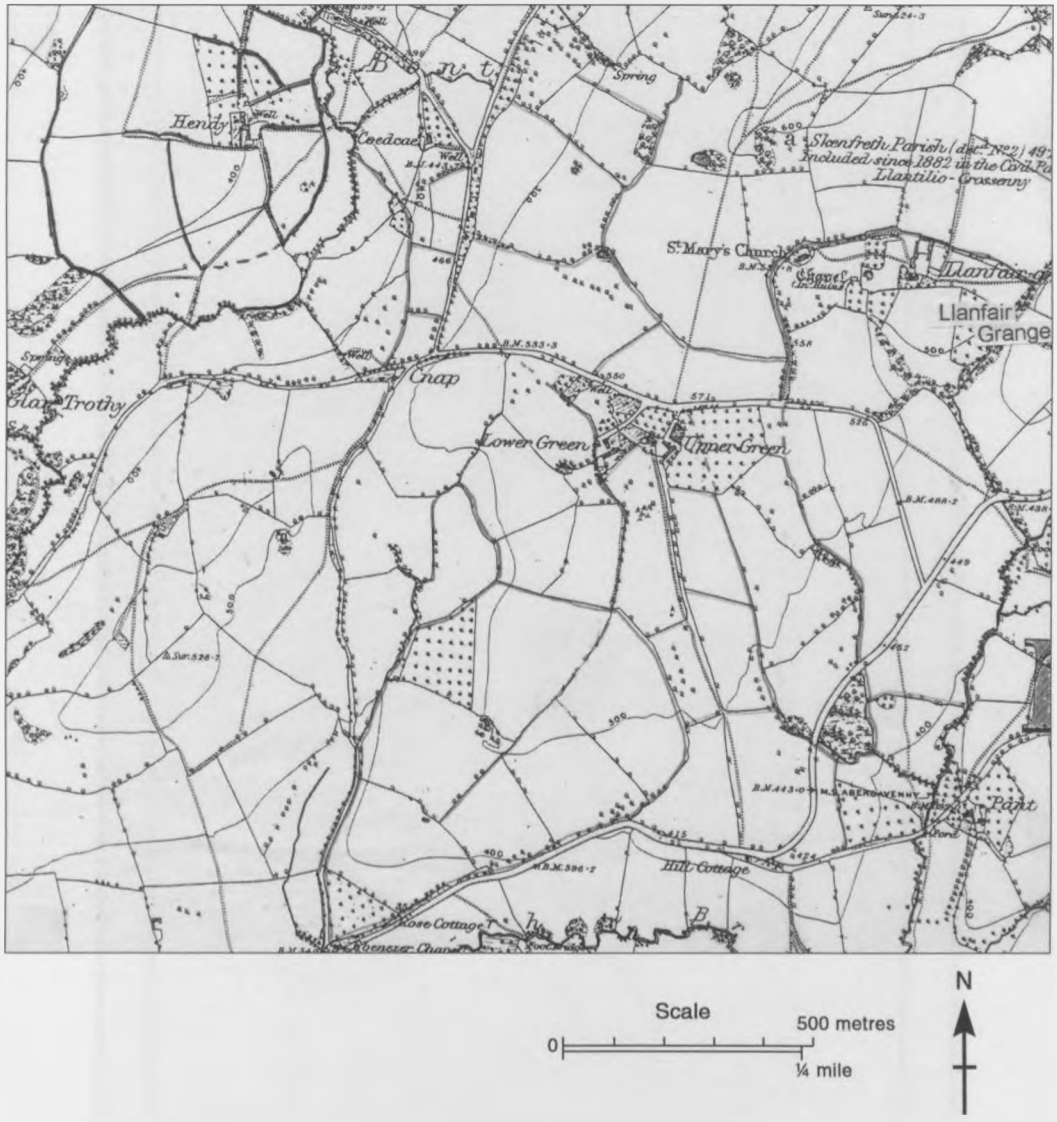

Fig. 8: Reproduced from the 6-inch Ordnance Survey map, 1st edit., 1886, showing 'Llanfair Grange'.
Newport Reference Library collections.
Reproduced with thanks to Newport Reference Library.

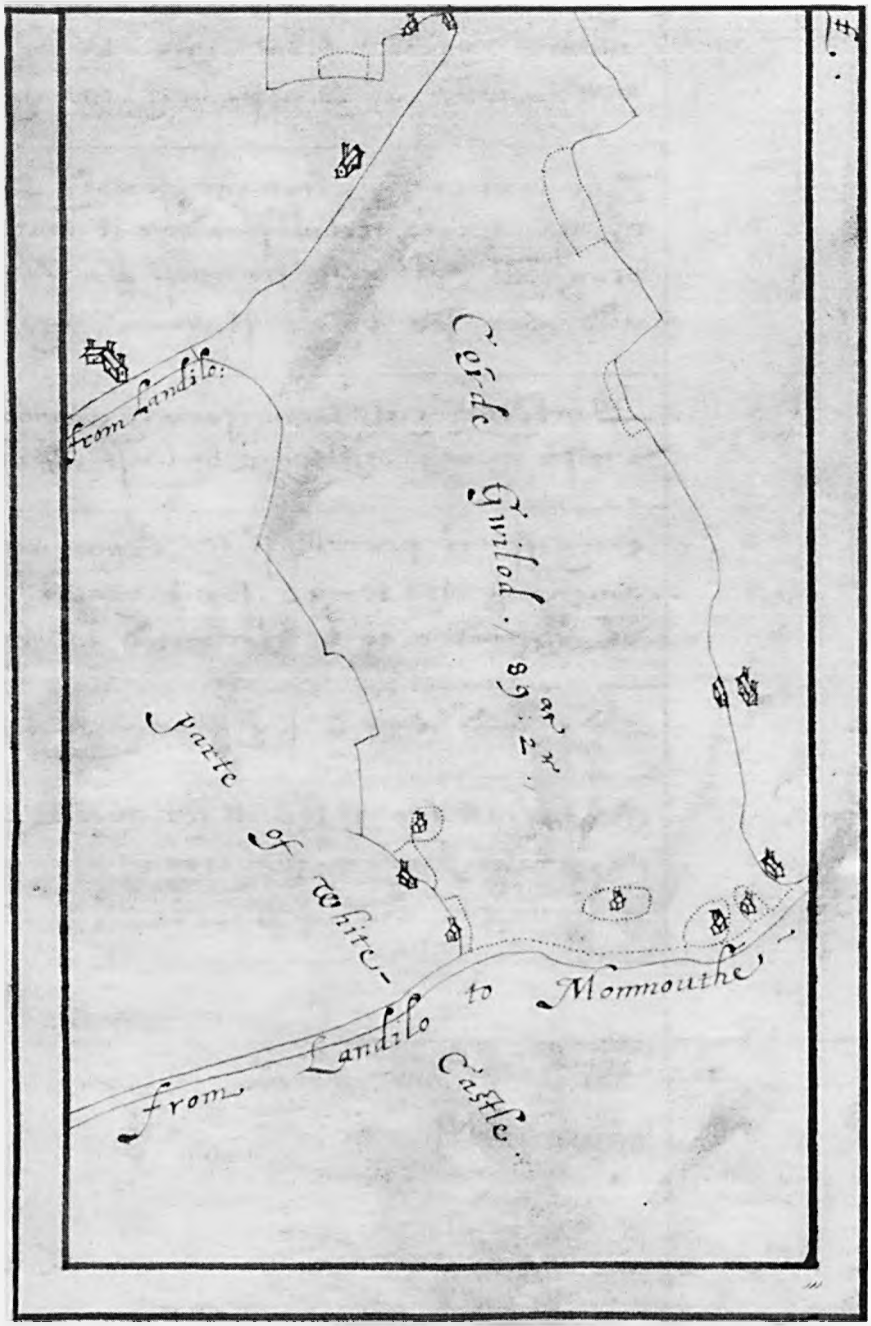

Fig. 9: Section of 'A Surveigh of H.M. Wooddes within the County of Monmouth', 1608, showing early-seventeenth-century wood and common (TNA (PRO) MPC 1/108).

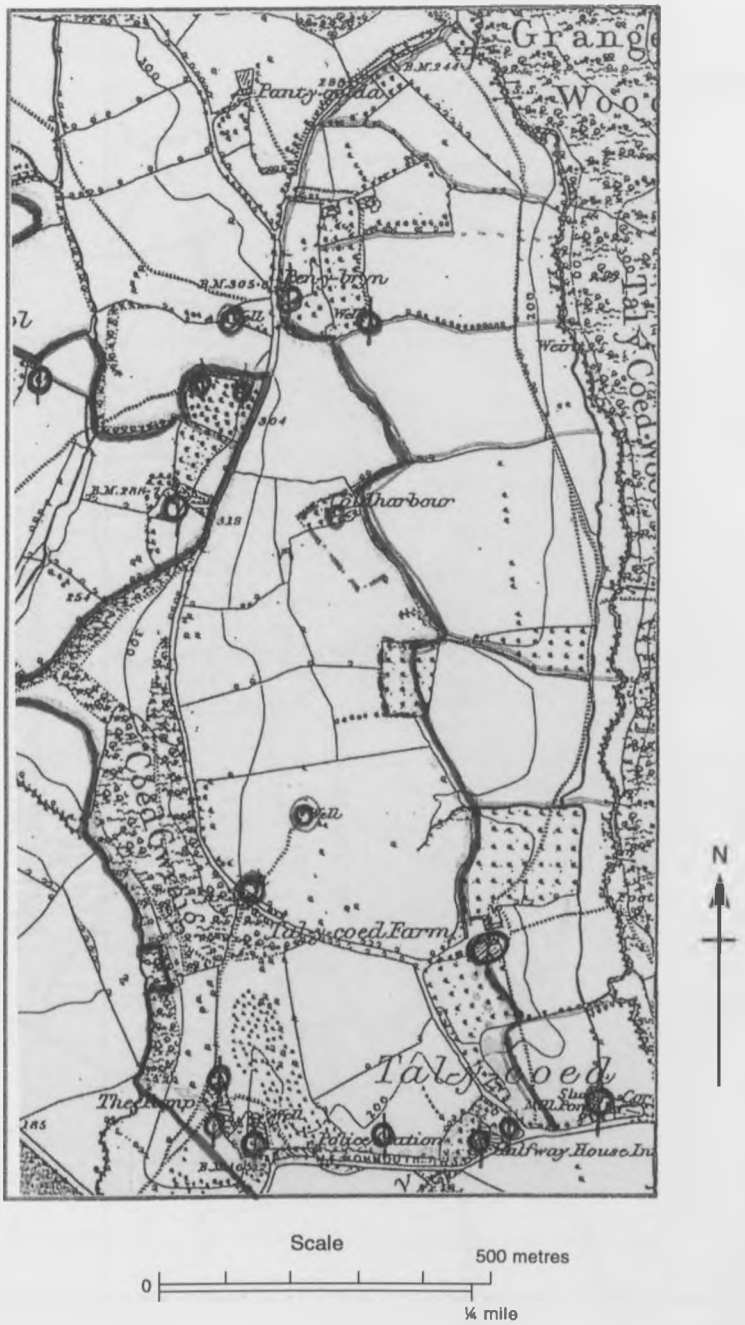

Fig. 10: Coed Gwaylod. 1608 boundaries and earlier enclosures denoted by heavy black lines. Wells and cottage sites are also marked.
Reproduced from the 1886 Ordnance Survey map.

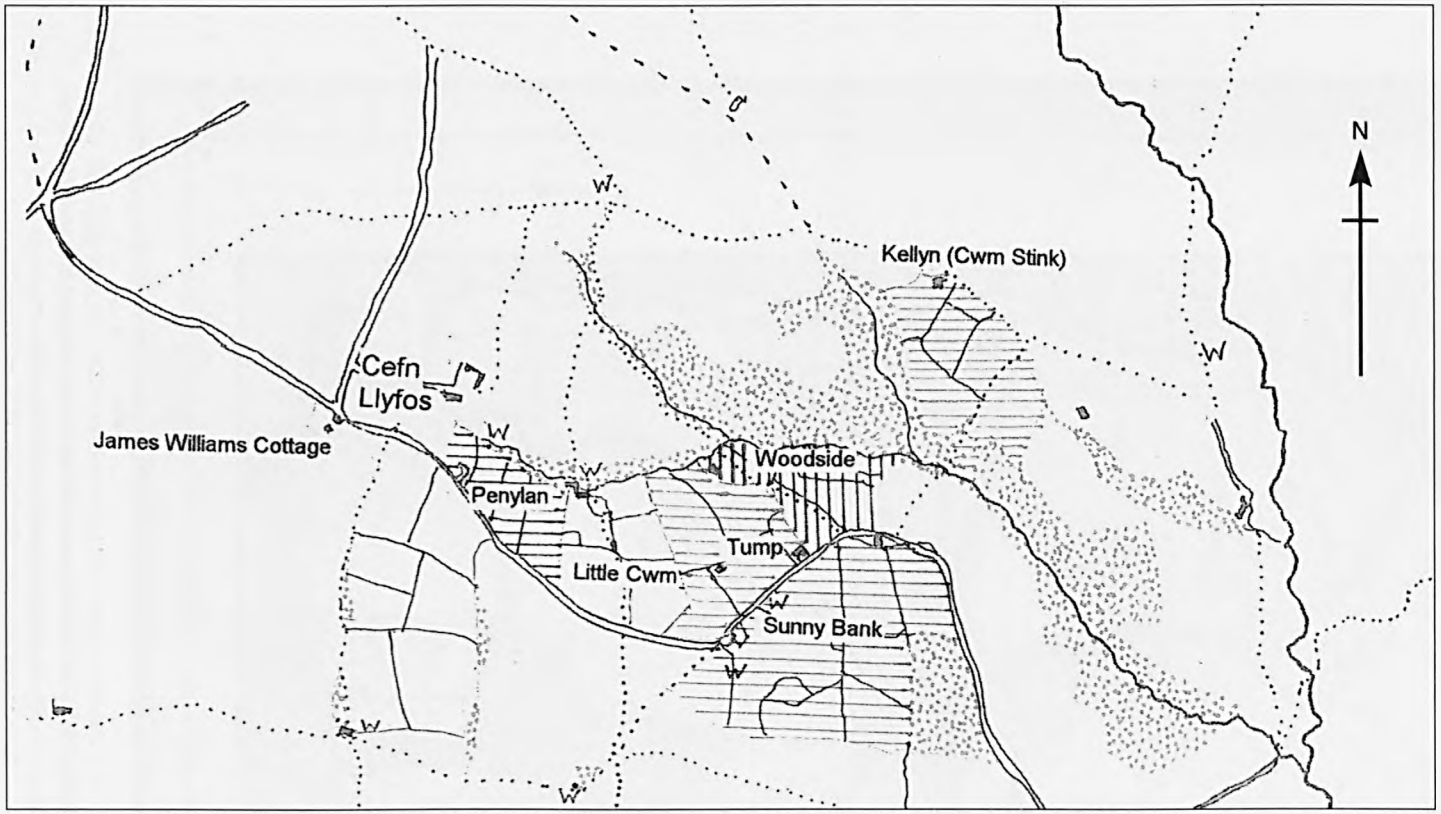

Fig. 11: Coed Lloyvos. Small farms in 1843.
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

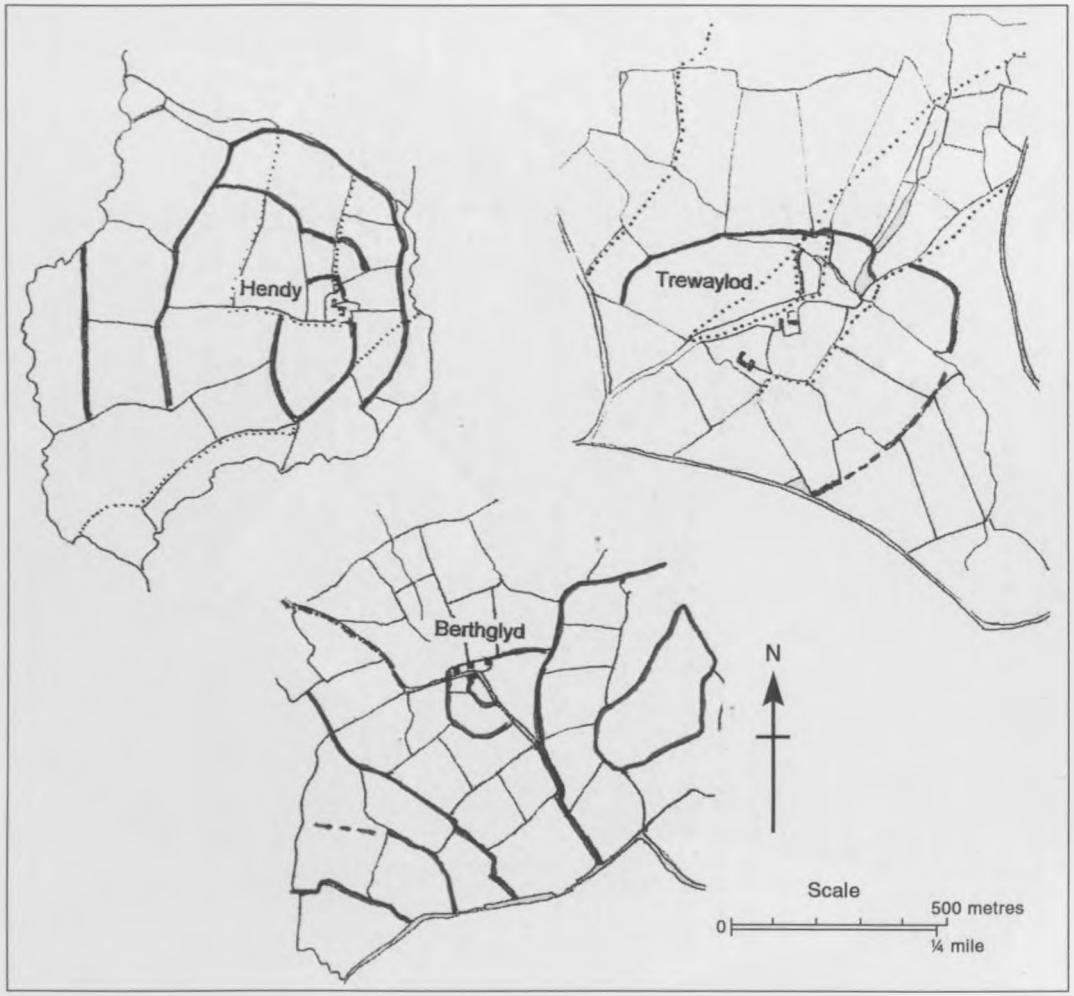

Fig. 12: Circular features and their relationship to farms.
Drawn by Anne Dunton.

Plate 1: White Castle and part of the demesne land from the air (OS 66/78/391).
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'A LEASE OF THE HILLS': HILL, HOPKINS AND PRATT AT BLAENAVON, 1789–1837

By Jeremy K. Knight

The inscription of Blaenavon as a UNESCO world heritage site has brought great satisfaction to the many people who had worked for the recognition of the town's importance in Welsh industrial and social history, and the conservation of its industrial remains.[1] Most histories of Blaenavon begin with the bald statement that the ironworks were founded by three businessmen from the English West Midlands – Thomas Hill, Thomas Hopkins and Benjamin Pratt. What has not been explored is what led these three men to this remote location, to (as a lawyer put it, with some hyperbole, in an 1816 court case) 'build a most magnificent works, people a barren mountain, found and endow a church [and] erect in short a city'.[2]

The initial success in smelting iron with coke at Coalbrookdale in 1709 was the culmination of plans and experiments by various people from the time of the civil war onwards, including the former royalists Sir John Wintour of Lydney and James Prodger of Wernddu near Abergavenny.[3] However, the process was not widespread until the 1750s due to metallurgical and other technical problems and the need for an improved steam engine to drive the blast.[4] The first Welsh coke-fired furnaces were at Hirwaun (1757) and Dowlais (1759), but the main expansion only began after the outbreak of the American war of independence in 1775. The demand for armaments and a partial blockade of British imports drove up the price of iron, whilst heavy government borrowing forced interest rates above the legal ceiling fixed by the Usury Act. This made the investment of merchant capital in ironworks or canals more attractive than re-investment in the money market. The first coke-fired furnace in Monmouthshire, at Sirhowy (1778), was funded with merchant capital by a Monmouth man, three city of London tea dealers and a former South Carolina merchant. Later partners included a clergyman and two Clapham builders.[5] These early Monmouthshire furnaces at Sirhowy and Beaufort were built singly, for though coke-fired they still depended on water power for their blast, not on a steam engine. The charcoal iron industry, dependant on water power in furnace and forge, had been forced to place its units of production singly, wherever water power could be found. Though it was sometimes possible to drive multiple furnaces by water power,

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[1] It should be remembered that all which followed was made possible by the vision of two men, Michael Apted, inspector of ancient monuments, Welsh Office, and David Morgan Rees, keeper of industry in the National Museum of Wales. This partnership led ultimately to Blaenavon ironworks being placed in the care of what is now Cadw, and Big Pit, Blaenavon, becoming a branch of the National Museum of Wales.

[2] *Powell and Yeats v. Hill and Hopkins: Monmouthshire Assizes August 19, 1816*, Newport Public Library, Haines collection, M.250 (672). See also correspondence re. estate business of Lord Abergavenny, 1816–19, Gwent Record Office (hereafter GRO) D.7. 148; and an account by James Jenkins, curate of Blaenavon, in his register of baptisms and burials, 1804–19, GRO D/Pa. 74.1.

[3] Newman, P.R., *Royalist Officers in England and Wales 1642–1660: a biographical dictionary* (New York, 1981) no. 1596, 419–20; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1660–70. Addenda*, 55; Knight, J.K., *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire* (Logaston Press, Herefordshire, 2005) 142.

[4] On the reasons for the slow take up of coke-fired furnaces before 1750, see Hyde, C.K., 'The adoption of coke smelting by the British iron industry, 1709–1790', *Explorations in Economic History*, 10, no. 4 (1973) 397–418 and Buxton, N. K., *The Economic Development of the British Coal Industry from the Industrial Revolution to the Present Day* (Batsford, London, 1978) 16–19.

[5] Lloyd, J., *Early History of the Old South Wales Ironworks*, 145–50.

Sirhowy and Beaufort were transitional to the batteries of multiple, coke-fired, steam-blown blast furnaces of which Blaenavon represents the first generation.

The charcoal iron industry in the county was now fading under the competition of new coke furnaces. Of the three remaining charcoal furnaces, Abercarn went out of use sometime between 1766 and 1794. The Trosnant furnace in Pontypol was 'old' in 1794 and may have already been blown out. Only the Angidy furnace at Tintern struggled on into the new century, certainly until 1806 and possibly as late as the 1820s.[6]

The Hanbury ironmasters of Pontypool had been digging ironstone, limestone and coal from the upland wastes of what had been the medieval lordship of Abergavenny since Tudor times, under a series of twenty-one year leases from the marquess of Abergavenny. The latest of these leases was due to expire in 1786, a fact which would have been of great interest to ironmasters or potential ironmasters. Two West Midlands businessmen, Thomas Hill I of Stourbridge and Benjamin Pratt began negotiations with Lord Abergavenny for the lease of 12,000 acres of land in 'Lord Abergavenny's Hills'. The size of the lease suggested the possibility of an ambitious project. They took into partnership Thomas Hill's brother-in-law, Thomas Hopkins of Rugeley, and ultimately Blaenavon became the first purpose-built multi-furnace ironworks in Wales, one of the first in Britain and therefore the world.

Benjamin Pratt

Benjamin Pratt's family had a long association with the Monmouthshire iron industry. His grandfather, James Pratt (1662–1747), was for over thirty years clerk and chief agent to the Tredegar estates, associated with the 'Tredegar ironworks' – the Caerphilly charcoal blast furnace and its associated forges at Machen and elsewhere.[7] Until the mid-eighteenth century, the iron industry depended on access to water power and to supplies of coppiced wood for charcoal. This one ironmaster described as 'The tyranny of wood and water'. Ironworks were often an integrated part of a landed estate, as with the Hanburys of Pontypool or the Morgans of Tredegar house. However the actual working of the furnace was now usually leased to a specialist ironmaster. Direct involvement of landowners in ironworks on their estates was disappearing by 1750–60, in face of the increasing complexity and capitalization of the industry and the beginnings of the spread of coke-fired furnaces. The landowners were being replaced by new mercantile capitalists, usually from the city of London, as at Sirhowy, or at Penydarren in 1784, where the first furnace established by the Homfray ironmasters of Broseley was largely financed by London merchants.[8] In 1732, James Pratt and his son Samuel Pratt became partners in the Machen forges, contributing £1,500 to the capital. A new partnership was set up in 1747 after the death of James Pratt, but when Samuel

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[6] Riden, P., *A Gazeteer of Charcoal-fired Blast Furnaces in Great Britain in use since 1660* (Merton Priory Press, Cardiff, 1993) 11–12, 30–1, 48–51. In 1799, Archdeacon Coxe listed three charcoal furnaces at Pontypool, Tintern and Abercarn, the latter 'not used', and nine pit coal furnaces. See Coxe, W., with a new introduction by Knight, J.K., *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (Merton Priory Press, Cardiff, 1995) vol. 1, 3.

[7] Agreement, 4 May 1732, of James Pratt of Newport, Samuel Pratt of the city of London and Richard Davies of 'Gellywasted' to carry on the manufacture of iron at forges in Tredegar [park] and Machen, and the furnace at Eglwysilan, which they had acquired from William Morgan of Tredegar, National Library of Wales (hereafter NLW) Tredegar MSS 755. Copy of an inscription on monument of James Pratt, who was for thirty-three years, clerk and chief agent to the Tredegar estates, NLW Tredegar MSS 1038.

[8] Birch, A., *The Economic History of the British Iron and Steel Industry, 1784–1879*, (Frank Cass, London, 1967) 282–3.

died late in 1749, this was repaid to his executors, and his family, including his seven year-old son Benjamin, moved to Stourbridge in Worcestershire.[9] Fifty years later, Benjamin Pratt's memorial in St Gwynllwy's church at Newport (now the cathedral church of St Woolos) recorded that he was 'a native of this Country [county] though removed from it in early life'.[10]

The success of the new venture at Blaenavon would depend on the ability to transport the iron to the wharfs at Newport. A probable kinsman, Isaac Pratt, (the choice of Old Testament names – Isaac, Benjamin, Samuel – seems a family characteristic), was a leading promoter of canals in the West Midlands. In 1787, he was involved in the Dudley and Stourbridge canals and until 1790, directly responsible for work on the former. From 1783, he was chairman of a sub-committee of the Stourbridge canal for the sale of coal and when this was wound up in 1792, the boats and other assets were sold to Pratt. In 1791, he became one of the largest shareholders of the Worcester and Birmingham canal, linking Birmingham to the Severn at Worcester, and resigned from the committees of the two other canals on joining its board.[11] It is no coincidence that Benjamin Pratt's memorial in St Woolos describes him not only as 'principally concerned in establishing the Iron works at Blaenafon and its vicinity', but also as 'a warm promoter of the Monmouthshire Canal'.

The Pratt family were firmly rooted in Oldswinford, the older southern part of Stourbridge, around the church and the Bluecoat school founded by the ironmaster Thomas Foley, and in the village of Chaddesley Corbett to the south. James Pratt of Chaddesley Corbett was a subscriber to J. Carpenter's *A Treatise on Agriculture* (Stourbridge, 1803). Ten years later, he married Anna Wright in Oldswinford church and in 1817, presented an organ to Chaddesley Corbett church. When he died in 1828, he left £678 towards a school and almshouses there. In 1836, Elizabeth Pratt left £700 to the same church. The same interest in the established church and in Anglican education, was to be reflected at Blaenavon.[12]

After the initial lease from Lord Abergavenny in 1789, work on the new ironworks began, the final cost of its construction being £40,000.[13] The success of this investment would depend upon the building of a canal from Newport and a tramway from the canal head to the works. Late in 1791, the Monmouthshire canal project got underway. Pratt's partner at Blaenavon, Thomas Hill, was one of the principal subscribers, at £4,500. His business partner, William Esdaile, a banker, subscribed another £3,600.[14] Blaenavon was unusual at this date in being funded from West Midlands sources, not by London merchant capital. Meanwhile, the extent of land under the 1789 lease was proving larger than the Blaenavon partners required. In 1792, Thomas Hill wrote to the Bristol Quaker ironmaster James Harford, who had interests in charcoal forges in the county, proposing a partnership for the building of two furnaces. Benjamin Pratt and Harford's partner, John Partridge,

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9 Rees, W., *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1968) 315. Samuel Pratt married Elizabeth Price in Oldswinford church on 15 Oct. 1752.

10 Memorial on the north wall of Crindau chapel in St Woolos cathedral. See Bradney, Sir J.A. (Gray, Madeleine, ed.), *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 5 The Hundred of Newport* (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff/National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1993) 61.

11 Hadfield, E.C.R., *The Canals of the West Midlands* (David & Charles, Newton Abbott, 1966) 77–9, 100, 138. British Waterways Board Archives, London: Waldron Hill was a commissioner of the Staffordshire and Worcestershire canal (6 George III, c. 97, 1766); Thomas Hill and Benjamin and Isaac Pratt were proprietors of the Stourbridge canal and Thomas Hill and James Pratt commissioners (*Stourbridge Canal Act*, 1776, 22 George III, c. 14); Isaac, James, Thomas and Henry Pratt were proprietors or commissioners of the Worcester and Birmingham canal (*Worcester and Birmingham Canal Act*, 1791, 31 George III, c. 59).

12 *Victoria County History of Worcestershire Volume III*, 43.

13 Coxe, *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, vol. 2, 229.

14 *British Chronicle* (Hereford), 21 Dec. 1791; *Monmouthshire Canal Act*, 32 George III, c. 102.

met to agree their siting. By 1795, Nantyglo was completed but quarrels between the partners led to its closure. When Coxe visited, the works were derelict.[15]

Benjamin Pratt's involvement in Blaenavon was to be brief however. On 24 May 1794, whilst travelling to Blaenavon from Stourbridge he stopped for dinner at the *Angel* hotel in Abergavenny. What followed was described by the *Gentleman's Magazine*:

> Died suddenly at the Angel Inn, Abergavenny on his road to Blaenavon, Samuel Pratt Esq, of Astley near Stourbridge Co. Worcs. and one of the proprietors of the Ironworks at Blaenavon, Co. Monmouth. He had just dined in company with a friend at the above inn, and rose from his chair to ring for the waiter, when, on sitting down again, he found himself giddy and exclaimed 'I am going to die – but I die an honest man' and instantly expired.[16]

If the *Gentleman's Magazine* got his name wrong, perhaps by confusion with his late father, or with his business partner, Samuel Hopkins, his cenotaph in St Gwynllyw's adds to the muddle. It describes him as of 'Great Whitty' (Great Witley) in Worcestershire and adds that he was buried at 'Chadley'(either Cradley on the outskirts of Stourbridge, an iron-making centre also known for the manufacture of Stourbridge enamels, or Chaddesley Corbet). By his will he left Thomas Hill all capital and interest in Blaenavon, in trust for his widow, Jane Pratt, and their son.[17]

Thomas Hill I

Thomas Hill, of Dennis house, Oldswinford, banker and ironmaster, was the grandson of a scythe maker, John Hill of Oldnall, Staffordshire (1670–1724).[18] The West Midlands had a long tradition of varied craft industries very different to the heavy industrial mono-culture of South Wales. A near neighbour of the Pratts, Thomas Hill was involved with Isaac Pratt in a Worcester fine lustre ware factory whilst his brother John Hill was partner in a glass bottle factory at Coalbournbrooke and in a nail and scythe manufactory in Amblecote.[19] Because of its fireclay and coal, Stourbridge was famous for its glass industry, founded by Huguenot glassmakers who had settled in Oldswinford parish in Elizabethan times. The best seams of fireclay were limited in extent and the Waldrons, related to the Hills by marriage and after 1760 their business partners, were amongst the main families controlling the fireclay pits.[20] Involvement in the glass industry did not preclude other industrial enterprises. Court has remarked how 'out of marriages occasionally arose that combination of glass making with other businesses which was one of the interesting traits of the industry'. The Stourbridge area also had a long tradition of iron-making.[21]

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15 Lloyd, *History of the Old South Wales Ironworks*, 165–77; Coxe, *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, vol. 2, 250–1.

16 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 31 May 1794, 578.

17 Newport Public Library, Npt 1800 (M.350 – Gabb file), 24 Oct. 1788.

18 For the Hill pedigree, see Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume I Part 2b The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 2)* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1906, reprinted by Academy Books, London, 1992) 401. For 'Dennis Park and House, Coalborne Valley, the seat of the late Thomas Hill Esq, now the residence of S. Wheeley Esq' see Scott, W., *Stourbridge and its Vicinity* (Stourbridge, 1832) 107.

19 *Gloucester Journal*, 29 March 1790; *Holden's Directory*, 1809.

20 Court, W.H.B., *The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600–1838* (Oxford University Press, 1938) 115–31, 217–24; Scott, *Stourbridge and its Vicinity*, 477: 'Fire clay mines, Hill, Waldron and Co, Hill, Hampton and Harrison'.

21 Court, *op.cit.*, 220–1.

Thomas Hill's capital provided the financial basis for the new ironworks at Blaenavon. His Stourbridge bank (Hill, Waldron and company) existed by 1788.[22] He was also a partner in Hill, Bate and Robins, which provided much of the capital for Blaenavon, on the security of Hill's Staffordshire estates, and which survived until taken over by the Birmingham and Midland banking company in 1851. His son, Thomas Hill II, and grandson, Thomas Hill III, were successively ironmasters at Blaenavon and proprietors of the Abergavenny old bank (Hill and Hopkins, later Hill, Wheeley and Morgan).[23] Thomas Hill I died in September 1824 at the age of eighty-seven. Like the other Blaenavon partners he was a supporter of the Anglican church and of education. In 1813, he founded a church and parsonage at Lye Waste 'a rude irregular village with a population of a very peculiar description' and in his will left £130 to its school. The church was said to be an 'exact counterpart' of that at Blaenavon.[24]

Thomas Hopkins

Thomas Hopkins was the third partner in the Blaenavon enterprise. The family were from Rugeley in Staffordshire, though their surname suggests a Welsh background. If Benjamin Pratt provided the technical expertise, and Thomas Hill I the financial capital, Thomas Hopkins had practical experience of the iron industry. In the 1770s, Thomas Hopkins of Cankwood forge, Rugeley, and John Hopkins of Rugeley, had been in partnership with the Kendal family of ironmasters in an industrial complex of ironworks and tinworks including iron forges in Staffordshire, Shropshire and Cheshire, and a tinworks with stamp mill and walk mill at Llanfihangel Genau'r-glyn in Cardiganshire.[25] Thomas Hopkins died in October 1793. In his will, he expressed the wish, if he died at Cankwood, to be carried to his grave by his workmen, a hint of the differing personal relationships in the craft-based West Midlands industries and the South Wales industrial monculture.[26]

He left his capital to his son, Samuel, with £3,000 to Samuel's sister, Sarah, plus an annuity of £100 a year whilst she was single, with arrangements for her marriage settlement. She also inherited the pianoforte, part of the family library and any furniture she wanted at valuation. There were mourning rings for Thomas Hill and for his sister, Sarah Bissel, who had moved to Blaenavon to live with her nephew, Samuel Hopkins. When she died there in November 1809 at the age of eighty-four, she was buried in traditional West Midlands style, under a cast iron grave cover made in the works.[27]

After the death of Benjamin Pratt in 1794, Samuel Hopkins became the resident managing partner at Blaenavaon. In 1799, Archdeacon William Coxe 'received great ... hospitality ... from Mr Hopkins, one of the proprietors, who is constructing a comfortable and elegant mansion at the northern extremity of this beautiful vale'. This was the still extant Blaenavon ironmaster's house, later a hospital and currently a retirement home.[28]

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22 *Gloucester Journal*, 25 Aug. 1788.

23 *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 14 Nov. 1829, 21 June 1834; Rattenbury, G., *Tramroads of the Brecknock and Abergavenny Canal* (Railway and Canal Historical Society, Oakham, 1980) 33.

24 Scott, *Stourbridge and its Vicinity*, 89, 114.

25 NLW, Maybery MS 255, 25 March 1771; Castell Gorfodd MS 61, 2 April 1776.

26 Copy will of Samuel Hopkins of Rugeley, 30 May 1791, GRO 7. 232.

27 Blaenavon register of baptisms and burials, 1804–19, GRO D/Pa. 74.1, records her as the widow of Isaac Bissel of Cradley, Worcestershire, and as 'a Lady well known for her Piety and Suavity of manners'.

28 Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, vol. 2, 232.

In February 1796, the Monmouthshire canal at last opened from Pontnewynydd to Newport. The railroad from the canal head to Blaenavon had opened earlier and others were in course of construction. During the year the French revolutionary wars and an accompanying 30% rise in the price of foreign iron led to a boom in domestic iron production which continued for the rest of the century. Though only a few works benefited directly from the armaments industry, heavy government demand for military supplies and problems with the supply of Swedish iron imports drove up the price of iron.[29] However, this did not last. The first decade of the new century saw fluctuating periods of poor harvests, high food prices, unemployment and unrest, accompanied by phases of economic slump. Samuel Hopkins died in June 1815, almost exactly a week before the battle of Waterloo ended the Napoleonic wars. By his will, he left Thomas Hill II a quarter of his land at Blaenavon and his share in the partnership, subject to an annuity to Sarah Hopkins of £2,000 a year. He also left the Abergavenny surgeon, William Steel, whose family were to have a long connection with Blaenavon, £200 and houses in Abergavenny. His funeral was remembered for many years. As late as 1832, the report on an Oddfellow's funeral noted that it was the finest at Blaenavon since that of Samuel Hopkins.[30]

Sarah Hopkins commemorated her brother by building a school at Blaenavon 'for the education of children in the principles of the Established Church upon the plan adopted by the National School Society'. There had been a works school at Blaenavon for some years, initially housed in the Calvinistic Methodist Capel Y Graig. The new school carried a Latin inscription recording:

> That she might elicit the perpetual praise of God from the mouths of children and that she might in some measure, even when he is dead, carry into effect the benevolent intentions of her deeply lamented and most deserving brother towards his Blaenavonites (*Glenarvonenses suis*). Sarah Hopkins at her own expense caused this school to be erected and founded in the year of our lord 1816.[31]

Her interests in the Anglican church and in education, particularly the education of girls, can also be seen at Rugeley, thanks to her annuity from her brother and her shares of her father's and grandfather's estates. In 1808, she moved from a house known as The Forge (later Fair Oak house) to a Jacobean residence with mullioned windows, Stone house, in the hamlet of Slitting Mill, where she lived until her death in 1844. The old medieval church in Rugeley had been replaced in 1822–23 by a new building on a fresh site. In 1826, Sarah Hopkins gave land to endow a Sunday afternoon sermon in the new church, built almshouses for four poor widows behind it and provided a residence for the headmistress of the National school for girls (now Rugeley Church of England Primary School for Junior Girls). The Hopkins almshouses were moved to Church street in 1938, an inscribed tablet from them being re-set in the new building. In her will, Sarah gave £1,000 for the enlargement of Rugeley church and £600 for the salary of a schoolmistress of an infants' school for the children of Cannock Chase. As late as 1906, the east end of Rugeley church was rebuilt from the accumulated funds of her will.[32]

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29 Ashton, T.S., *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution* (Longmans, London, 1924) 100–1.

30 Probate copy of will of Samuel Hopkins, records of Blaenavon iron company, GRO D. 751. 297; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 10 March 1832, *idem*, D.751. 309.

31 Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 2b The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 2)*, 405.

32 Midgley, M., (ed.)., *The Victoria History of the County of Stafford. Volume V* (Oxford University Press, 1959) 158–72; Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England. Staffordshire* (Penguin, 1974) 228.

Thomas Hill II

On the death of Samuel Hopkins in 1815, Thomas Hill II moved to Blaenavon, where his father was now sole owner, save for his son's quarter share left him by Samuel Hopkins. Thomas Hill II's daughter, Ellen, wrote from her new home to her friend Emma Hodgetts of Kinver in Staffordshire:

> The house is surrounded with mountains, with a great number of white cottages upon them. The women wear little black beaver caps, exactly like men's caps with mob caps under them, which I admire, though it gives them rather a singular appearance .... The little geraniums which you gave me are looking very well at present, and I hope they will take root. There are a great many more plants here than I expected to have seen ... better than what we have in the Greenhouse at Prestwood.[33]

Thomas Hill I, on his death in 1824, left the works (and its remaining debt of £121,000) equally between his sons Thomas Hill II and Waldron Hill.[34] The former had already been working for some years on his ambitious plans for Blaenavon, which were to leave indelible traces on the landscape of north Monmouthshire. The Monmouthshire canal had a reputation for being expensive and slow. The cheaper Brecon and Abergavenny canal joined it at Pontymoil and under the Brecon and Abergavenny Canal Act, goods shipped on it could travel to Newport at the cheaper rate. Blaenavon was precluded from using this cheaper mode of transport by the intervening Blorenge mountain. Hill proposed building a tramway over the Blorenge, via the Pwll Du tunnel, and new forges and puddling furances at Garnddyrys, down a series of incline planes to the Brecon and Abergavenny canal at Llanfoist. In addition, he proposed extending the Llanvihangel and Grosmont tramroad of 1810–18 to Hereford to give Blaenavon access to the lucrative Hereford coal market. The remains of 'Hills Tramroad' and its incline planes, together with the canal warehouse at Llanfoist are still a striking feature of the industrial landscape complex on the Blorenge. Hill's tramroad was completed late in 1821, though a year later he was still acquiring land for the series of incline planes.[35]

Thomas Hill II's unexpected death in November 1827, at the age of fifty-nine, prevented his ambitious plans from being brought to their full fruition. The Hereford tramroad (whose earthworks can be seen alongside the present Abergavenny – Hereford railway of 1851–54) was not finished until September 1829, when coal from Blaenavon and Pontypool began arriving in Hereford for the first time.[36]

Thomas Hill III

On the death of his father, Thomas Hill III took over the running of Blaenavon with his uncle, Waldron Hill. The two set up a new partnership with the Abergavenny iron and steel merchants and

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[33] Two letters, 1816, Ellen Hill to Emma Hodgetts, in possession of Miss K.C. Hodgson of Malvern, 1975, printed in Davies, E.J., *The Blaenavon Story* (Torfaen Borough Council, Pontypool, 1975) 28–9. One also describes the celebrations at Blaenavon following Hill's victory in the 1816 lawsuit.

[34] Will cited in a mortgage of 6, 7 Dec. 1830, GRO D.751. 213–4; Rattenbury, *Tramroads*, 33.

[35] Rattenbury, *Tramroads*, 33–45; purchase of land, Dec. 1822, for incline plane from Blaenavon to Brecon and Abergavenny canal, GRO D.7. 35.

[36] Hadfield, E.C.R., *The Canals of South Wales and the Border* (David & Charles, Newton Abbott, 1967) 174–8. Inscription in Blaenavon church: 'Thomas Hill, died 29 November 1827, aged 59'.

brewers Charles Wheeley and William Morgan. The same partners also ran the Abergavenny old bank, which two years later issued its own pound notes jointly with the ironworks.[37]

Thomas Hill III was an example of that phenomenon of Victorian (and later) business history, the 'third generation businessman'. The first generation is the founder. The second, brought up in the business, builds on the foundations laid by his father. The problems arise with the third generation, usually educated at public school and Oxbridge, who does not wish to be considered 'in trade', or worse still in industry, by his friends and is content to leave the running of the business in the hands of managers. Thomas Hill III, educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, was remembered by Dyne Steel as 'a typical country squire, complete with a pack of hounds'.[38] It was unfortunate that the ownership of Blaenavon by this country squire coincided with a period of economic crisis and social unrest. From 1828, there was chronic depression in the iron and coal markets. Furnaces were blown out, and wages cut. By 1830, the 'Scotch Cattle' had made their appearance and the following year saw the Merthyr riots, and riots in the forest of Dean and at Varteg.[39] Relations between masters and men were becoming harsher. Between 1835 and 1839, a succession of workmen from Blaenavon and Garnddyrys were sentenced to between fourteen days and a month's hard labour at Quarter Sessions for 'neglecting and leaving' the work of their employer, Hill and company.[40]

By now, Thomas Hill hoped to retire from business to his country estate near Ross on Wye. He had made one unsuccessful attempt to sell the company in 1833, but this was now a good time for selling up. The years 1832–36 saw a speculative railway boom, with much investment in railways and joint stock companies, creating a greater demand for iron. In 1834, it became no longer necessary to obtain a private Act of Parliament to set up a joint stock company, letters patent now being sufficient. Blaenavon's neighbour, Varteg ironworks, also became a joint stock company in 1836.[41] That May, the *Monmouthshire Merlin* noted, with a back-handed compliment to Thomas Hill, that 'Great changes are to occur at Blaenavon' and the Hill family were 'making way for new blood and ... perhaps for more go ahead and expert leaders, though Thomas Hill is still on the board of directors'.[42] The new joint stock company, with capital of £400,000, held its first meeting at the *City of London* tavern on 9 March 1837. The following year, Thomas Hill retired to Pen Craig near Ross on Wye and by 1859, to Rudhall nearby, where he died in 1868.[43]

The new company started with high hopes. Its chairman, William Unwin Sims, was a London businessman, a partner in Jacobs, Sims and company, West India merchants. He was chairman of the Great Western Railway, present at the meeting at which the historic name was coined, and conducted the duke of Wellington around the newly opened Paddington station (though the duke was notably sceptical about the social value of railways, which he thought might encourage the

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37 *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 14 Nov. 1829. By 1833, Waldron Hill had retired to Jersey (*Monmouthshire Merlin*, 23 Dec. 1833).

38 Dyne Steel, T., 'Blaenavon Works' [written *c.* 1893] in *Presenting Monmouthshire. The Journal of Monmouthshire Local History Council*, no. 28 (vol. 2, no. 8) (Autumn 1969) 42–6.

39 *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11 and 18 June, 2 July 1831; see Jones, D.J.V., *Before Rebecca: Popular Protests in Wales 1793–1835* (Allen Lane, London, 1973) 86–113 for 'The Scotch Cattle and their Black Domain'.

40 *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 19 Dec. 1835; 30 Jan., 24 Sept., 26 Nov. 1836; 14 Jan. 1837.

41 Todd, G., 'Some aspects of Joint Stock Companies, 1844–1900', *Economic History Review* (1932) 46–71.

42 *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 30 July 1836.

43 Conveyance by lease and release, 14 June 1838, between Thomas Hill 'late of Blaenavon, ironmaster, now of Pen Craig' and Waldron Hill, now of St Hellier, Jersey, to John Masterman, a London banker, William Unwin Sims, and Francis Warden, 14 June 1838, GRO D.751. 132–3.

lower orders to travel).[44] The managing director was a go-ahead young engineer, James Ashwell, one of the founders of the institution of civil engineers.[45] The new company faced problems however, particularly of under capitalization in an industry where it needed urgent expansion and capital investment if it was to keep its market share. Sims committed suicide in November 1839, due to depression and overwork. His lengthy *Times* obituary, unusual for an early Victorian businessman, reflected both Sim's status in the city of London and a desire to assure investors that the reasons for his suicide were personal, not financial. His death deprived the company of its financial guiding hand and of much of its contacts in the London money market. Ashwell began a programme of expansion, including new housing for the workforce.[46] By May 1840, he had spent £32,000, much to the alarm of many of the smaller shareholders. He survived a stormy annual general meeting, but in 1841 resigned as managing director, ostensibly on receipt of a legacy. His attempts at creating an efficient modern ironworks in an expanding and changing industry had failed due to under-capitalization, the desire of small shareholders for a steady return on their capital rather than for capital investment, and the shortcomings of Blaenavon's transport links with the docks at Newport. Sims might have been able to raise capital for expansion in the city of London, but his sudden death was a severe blow for the new company. Not for the first time, Blaenavon's hopes of profitable expansion had been dashed.[47]

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[44] Obituary of William Unwin Sims, *The Times*, 18 Nov. 1839, p.6; *Annual Register 1839*, 373.

[45] Obituary of James Ashwell (1799–1881), *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, 66 (1880–81).

[46] Lowe, J., *Welsh Industrial Workers' Housing 1775–1875* (Cardiff, 1997).

[47] Minute book of the Blaenavon iron and coal company, 1837–64, GRO D.751. 356; Knight, J.K., 'The Blaenavon Iron and Coal Company 1836–1864. A Victorian Joint Stock venture', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28, pt. 4 (1980) 631–44.

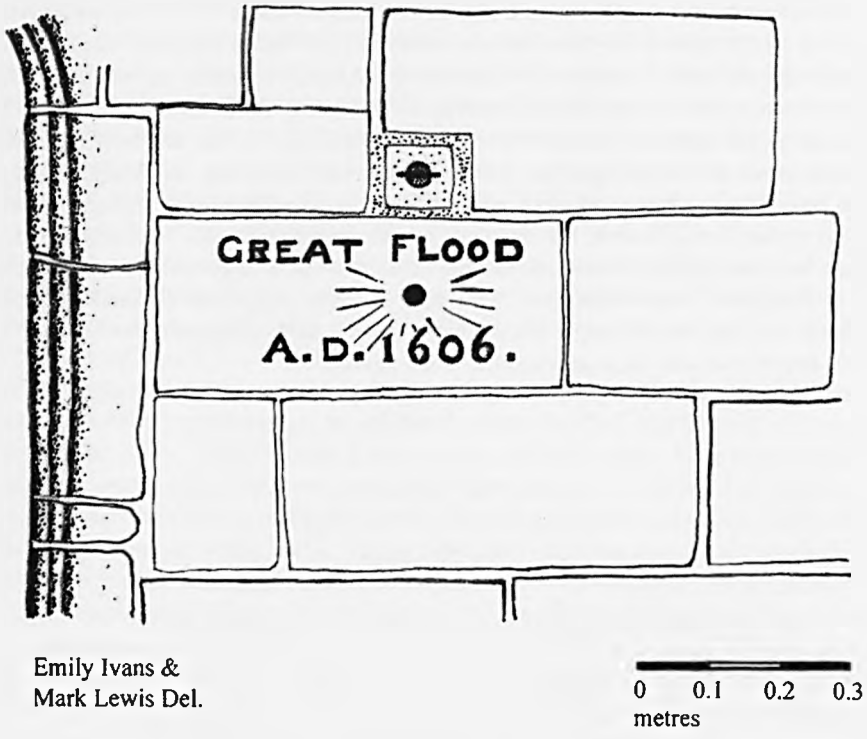

Fig. 1: The south-facing elevation of part of the outer face of the southern wall of the porch of the parish church of St Thomas the Apostle, Redwick, Gwent, showing the flood mark, inscription and scratch dial.

A SECOND FLOOD MARK AT REDWICK, GWENT?

By Mark Lewis and the
Young Archaeologists' Club South-East Wales

30 January 2007 marks the four-hundredth anniversary of the 'Great Flood',[1] a 'great overflowing of waters'[2] from the Severn Estuary that adversely affected many low-lying parishes, the majority of which lay on the Levels of Monmouthshire and Somerset. Contemporary accounts and flood markers at a number of churches[3] bear witness to the magnitude of the event. These markers have inspired renewed interest and research in recent years. It has been established that the event coincided with particularly high spring tides, but the exact causes of such large scale devastation are the subject of ongoing study.[4] Current theories include a possible storm surge or a tidal wave (or tsunami).[5]

The parish church of St Thomas the Apostle, Redwick, has long been famed for its flood mark (Fig. 1) set in the outer face of the south wall of the porch above a medieval scratch dial.[6] During a 2005 field trip of the Young Archaeologists' Club South-East Wales a record was made of the well-publicized porch flood marker and a second, forgotten and unrecorded, flood marker situated at the south-east corner of the chancel (Fig. 2).[7] A photographic record and scale drawings were created for the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales.[8]

The results of the survey are of interest for the two flood marks at Redwick are at different heights! The bench mark on the south-east buttress of the church tower is recorded as 7.31m ODN.[9] Surveying from this bench mark, the flood mark on the porch is at 8.30m ODN, but the flood mark set into the chancel quoin is lower, at 8.12m ODN. Interestingly, the medieval scratch dial on the porch is at the same level as the chancel mark, at 8.12m ODN.

This inconsistency is difficult to resolve conclusively, but some of the following observations can be addressed. It should be noted that none of the primary Ordnance Datums have been checked since 1989 and the bench mark network has not been maintained since the 1970s.[10] The datum at Redwick is clearly aged and is not a primary datum. Redwick is located on a deep sequence of

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1 See the inscription accompanying the flood mark on Redwick parish church (Fig. 1).

2 *1607. Lamentable newes out of Monmouthshire in Wales* ('printed for W.W. and are to be solde in Paules Church yarde at the sign of the Grey-hound', London, 1607). Reprinted in Nichols, R. (ed.), *Monmouthshire Medley, Volume Two* (The Starling Press Ltd., Risca, Gwent, 1977) 90–6. Transcripts are also held by the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and Glamorgan Record Office.

3 Redwick, Nash, Goldcliff, Whitson, St Brides and Peterstone Wentloog in Monmouthshire; Kingston Seymour in Somerset.

4 Horsburgh, K. and Horritt, M., 'The Bristol Channel Floods of 1607 – Reconstruction and Analysis', *Weather*, 61, No. 10 (The Royal Meteorological Society, London, 2006) 272–7.

5 Bryant, E.A. and Haslett, S.K., 'Was the AD 1607 flooding event in the Severn Estuary and Bristol Channel (UK) caused by a Tsunami?', *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary*, 13 (2002) 163–7.

6 See footnotes 15–21 below.

7 The chancel mark is not recorded in the Cadw (Welsh Historic Monuments) listing: *Buildings of Special Architectural or Historical Interest* (1996), Record No. 2940, Church of St Thomas, Redwick.

8 No record of the flood mark(s) at Redwick was previously held by RCAHMW.

9 Ordnance Survey 1:2500 National Survey, 1943–55, BM 23.99 ft, equivalent to 7.31m. Ordnance Survey levels re-levelled 1961, BM 7.31m.

10 Ordnance Survey, *A Guide to Coordinate Systems in Great Britain* (Ordnance Survey, Southampton, 2002).

alluvial and peat deposits.[11] Subsidence or settlement is clearly evidenced by the buttressed, leaning east wall of the chancel, the eastward leaning tower and the ashlar of the porch. The two flood marks are quite different in form. The marker on the chancel is a highly patinated copper rod set in lead directly into a weathered medieval Triassic sandstone quoin that appears to have never been reset. It has the appearance of some antiquity. The marker on the porch is an unpatinated brass plate set in lead so as to appear like a Plimsoll line. It is apparently set in a block of Portland cement and has an appearance of no great age. The church has undergone extensive restorations since the time of the flood with the ashlar of the porch restored in 1874–75.[12]

Ignoring the medieval scratch dial and assuming the two flood marks were once set at the same level, subsidence post-AD 1607 could explain their present misalignment. There is a possibility that the more ancient flood mark, set in the chancel wall, predates the well-known mark set in the wall of the porch and that the porch marker was added at a later date, perhaps during a restoration. The inscription accompanying the flood mark on the ashlar of the porch is certainly not pre-nineteenth century, and a disposition for commemoratively inscribing the masonry at Redwick can be seen in the inscription commemorating the restoration of 1875 above the outer entrance.

Fortunately the first geodetic survey of England and Wales[13] (as part of which a Redwick bench mark was levelled between 1840 and 1843) makes reference to a 'mark' on the corner of the chancel with respect to the description of the bench mark, at that time set in the outer wall of the tower:

> *No. 85. Bolt in Redwick Church tower; 0'02ft. below mark on south-east corner of chancel, and 4'74 ft. above surface*

The Redwick bench mark, No. 85, was levelled as 27.159 feet ODL. Usefully the survey also included Goldcliff and Nash and compared their bench marks with 'marks' there.

> *No. 86. Bolt in South face of Goldcliff Church tower; 1'96 ft. above surface, and 1'89 ft. below mark*
>
> *No. 87. Bolt in Nash Church tower; 1'49 ft. below mark, and 2'25 ft. above surface*[14]

It should be noted that the 'bolt' bench mark of the first geodetic survey was later replaced at Redwick by the current bench mark, on a different part of the tower and at a different height. This has, however, been taken into account. The old 'bolt' bench mark was removed to avoid confusion. This was common practice following later resurveys (*c.f.* Caldicot parish church where the original, but defaced, bench mark is to be found on the south-east tower buttress, with that which replaced it on the north-east buttress of the chancel). Correcting for the change of Ordnance Datum from Liverpool (ODL) to Newlyn (ODN) from 1921, it is possible to confirm that the 'mark' on the

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[11] Rippon, S., *Gwent Levels: The Evolution of a Wetland Landscape. CBA Research Report 105* (Council for British Archaeology, York, 1996).

[12] Newman, J., *The Buildings of Wales. Gwent/Monmouthshire* (Penguin, London/University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 511–2.

[13] James, Sir H., *Abstracts of the Principal Lines of Spirit Levelling in England and Wales* (Ordnance Survey, London, 1861). 0'02 ft. would be written as 0.02 feet today, being equivalent to 6.1mm and $^1/_4$ inch.

[14] At 3ft 9ins from the surface, this agrees reasonably well with Bradney's description of the flood mark at Nash as being a 'mark on the tower three feet from the ground', probably an estimate with some error due to the length of the grass. See Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 4 Part 2 The Hundred of Caldicot (Part 2)* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1932, reprinted by Merton Priory Press, 1994) 284.

chancel at Redwick, levelled between 1840 and 1843, corresponds with the level of 8.13m ODN. The Redwick chancel flood mark was surveyed by the Young Archaeologists' Club in 2005 as 8.12m ODN (see above). This confirmed that the 'mark' on the south-east corner of the chancel at Redwick, levelled between 1840 and 1843, was the same height and location as the bolt there today within the error of the technique (±0.01m), the error of the bench marks themselves, the width of the marks and conversion from imperial to metric. Therefore there has been no subsidence of the chancel with respect to the tower since 1840–43, but the ground level has risen 0.10m in that time (~160 years). The 'marks' at Goldcliff and Nash, corrected to Newlyn (ODN), are given as 7.39m ODN and 7.88m ODN respectively, as levelled between 1840 and 1843.

The much-weathered flood mark on the south-east corner of the chancel would appear to have been largely forgotten, or ignored, some time after 1843. A literature search is informative. No reference to the chancel flood mark has been found after the above (1861) Ordnance Survey reference to a 'mark', but this reference does not link the 'mark' with the flood. It was noted above that the inscription commemorating the height of the flood on the porch probably dates to the 1875 restoration or later. Perhaps the memory of the aged chancel mark was gradually lost as reference was increasingly made to the inscription on the ashlar of the porch. But what of the actual flood mark and its height on the porch? Bradney[15] offers a clue. In his description of Redwick parish church he gives the following passage and record of the flood mark:

> *On the south side is the porch, in which, at 5ft. from the ground, is a hole indicating the height of the flood in 1606.*

GREAT FLOOD
○
AD 1606

There is no mention of the brass plate set in lead in the cement block above the porch inscription (Fig. 1) and, from its position, the hole indicated clearly relates to the medieval scratch dial. Hando[16] gives 'A hole in the porch five feet from the ground shows the height reached by the devastating flood of 1606'. Hando does not depict a mark on the porch in his line drawing, only the inscription as recorded by Bradney (above).[17] Similarly in 1951, Mee[18] states 'On the right of the entrance are two mass-dials, the uppermost, four feet ten inches from the ground, having been used to show the level of the great flood …' and in 1954, Evans[19] gives 'A tablet on the exterior wall of the south porch commemorates the height of the Great Flood and a small scratch dial appears on the opposite buttress with a few other attempts', again with no mention of the brass plate in lead. Given that the exact height of the flood as marked on the corner of the chancel coincides with the height of

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15 *Ibid.*, 244.

16 Hando, F.J., *Monmouthshire Sketch Book* (R.H. Johns, Ltd., Newport, Mon., 1954) 12. See also Barber, C. (ed.), *Hando's Gwent. A Centenary Tribute to Fred Hando, Artist/Historian of Gwent* (Blorenge Books, Abergavenny, 1987) 149.

17 Hando, F.J., *Journeys in Gwent* (R.H. Johns, Ltd., Newport, Mon., 1951, paperback edit., 1978) 67.

18 Mee, A., *The King's England. Monmouthshire A Green and Smiling Land* (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1951) 142.

19 Evans, C.J.O., *Monmouthshire Its History and Topography* (William Lewis (printers) Ltd., Cardiff, 1954) 462.

the medieval scratch dial cut into wall of the porch, the possibility that the scratch dial was at some time mistaken as a flood marker cannot be discounted. Only in 1979 (Guy and Smith),[20] and in 1984 (Barber),[21] do we find our first records of the brass plate porch marker with photographs showing it. Interestingly the brass, lead and cement appear remarkably unweathered in these photographs when compared with images taken in 2005. No significance can be attached to the old, customary, use of the year 1606 for January–March 1607 to validate the Redwick porch flood mark. It could merely demonstrate knowledge of the neighbouring Goldcliff flood plate and, perhaps, a desire to emulate it.[22] Unfortunately Octavius Morgan, writing in 1882,[23] and an anonymous member of the Caerleon and Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association (thought to have been W.N. Johns of Newport) writing in 1898,[24] could have mentioned a flood mark at Redwick, but did not.

Noting the data set out above, neither of the flood levels commemorated at Redwick closely agree with the range of flood levels cited elsewhere for this event.[25] However, the funnel shape of the estuary means that they need not. A planned study of the Goldcliff and Nash 'marks', and a re-survey of them all, will probably be informative.

The evidence presented here would support a number of models. In any case, the well-known brass plate (Fig. 1), set in lead cemented in a gap between the ashlar blocks of Redwick porch, would appear to be, at best, doubtful as a 1607 flood marker and should probably be discounted as evidence. The resemblance of this mark to the Plimsoll line may not be a coincidence and it was probably made with it in mind. If a correct assumption, this would mean a relatively recent date for this mark as suggested. The first model, retaining the brass plate set in lead in the porch, is that the two flood markers record the heights of two different flood events. There have been numerous serious inundations of the Levels since the church was erected e.g. those of 1703 and 1883.[26] This model is offered for the sake of completeness, but it seems highly unlikely when all the evidence is taken into account.

In a second model, it is possible that the medieval scratch dial became associated with the level of the 1607 flood and the marker on the chancel wall was subsequently transcribed from it. This association may have preserved some genuine local memory or tradition of the true height of the flood here.

A third model is that the true flood mark at Redwick is that on the chancel and the fact that it coincides with the level of the medieval scratch dial is indeed a coincidence. On the other hand, perhaps the copper alloy chancel bolt does not mark the height of the flood. It is also worth considering that the inscription 'FLOOD' above the copper alloy bolt was the marker itself. Redwick may have no true flood mark at all, the notion being a local post-medieval interpretation of the medieval scratch dial perhaps influenced by familiarity with the commemorative marks at

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20 Guy, John R. and Smith, Ewart B., *Ancient Gwent Churches* (The Starling Press, Risca, Newport, 1979) plates between pp. 48–9.

21 Barber, C., *Exploring Gwent* (Regional Publications (Bristol) Ltd., 1984) 98 and 109.

22 Morgan, O., *Goldcliff and the Roman Inscribed Stone Found There* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, Newport, 1882).

23 *Ibid.*, 3–4.

24 Anon., *Historical Traditions and Facts. Part Five* (1898). Reprinted in Nichols, R. (ed.), *Monmouthshire Medley, Volume Four* (1985) 41.

25 Boon, G.C., 'Caerleon and the Gwent Levels in Early Historic Times' in Thompson, F.H. (ed.), *Archaeology and Coastal Change. Society of Antiquaries Occasional Papers*, New Series 1 (London, Society of Antiquaries, 1980).

26 Waters, I., 'High Tides and Floods' in Waters, I. (ed.), *Severn and Wye Review: A Journal for the Lower Wye Valley and Severnside*, Winter, 1973/4 (Phillimore, Chichester, 1974) 56–60.

Goldcliff and elsewhere. Fortunately this theory may be discounted on account of the apparent antiquity of the chancel bolt and its inscription.

If the uppermost porch mark is discounted (as proposed), there is no evidence of recent subsidence or settling of the fabric of the church. This will be a relief to Redwick parish church council. There has been no movement of the chancel relative to the tower since 1843. Even the four German high explosive bombs dropped in close proximity in 1942 failed to move the church which had long ago settled in the alluvium. The movement of the chancel and leaning of the tower almost certainly occurred as they settled, during, or soon after their construction. Further evidence to support this may be seen in the south-western chancel window dating to the 1875 restoration which is set level, and the construction and mouldings of the external south-eastern chancel buttress which are late medieval in form.

The author proposes that the copper alloy chancel bolt at Redwick is the only correct commemoration of the 'Great Flood' of 1607 there (Fig. 2). It is proposed that the inscription commemorating this event on the wall of the porch was added during, or soon after, the restoration of 1875 and that this was accurately identified with the height of the existing medieval mass dial by precise levelling from the chancel bolt. It is proposed that the brass plate, set in lead cemented between the ashlar blocks of the porch, was added between 1954 and 1979, probably by local resident Hubert Jones, whose legacy is to be found throughout the parish of Redwick today.[27] To his memory, and to the memory of all those who died tragically on the Levels, this paper is respectfully dedicated.

Postscript

Since writing, the author has been shown a photograph printed by W. Jones, Hereford, which shows the scratch dial and inscription on the wall of Redwick porch with no brass, lead or any other flood mark above it. The space today occupied by this mark is visible in the photograph as a void containing a very weathered block of stone apparently not mortared in place. This corresponds with the square void on the opposite side of the porch still visible today. The high definition silver halide photograph is typical of photographs produced in the 1950s and 60s.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank the members of the Young Archaeologists' Club South-East Wales branch and their leaders Dorothy Astbury, Siobhan McGurk and Cari Jones for their help in creating this record. The enthusiasm and help of Redwick churchwarden John Evans has been invaluable. The author is most grateful to Lynette Jones of Redwick for providing access to the photograph within her archive relating to Redwick and its history.

27 Newman, *The Buildings of Wales. Gwent/Monmouthshire* (2000) 512.

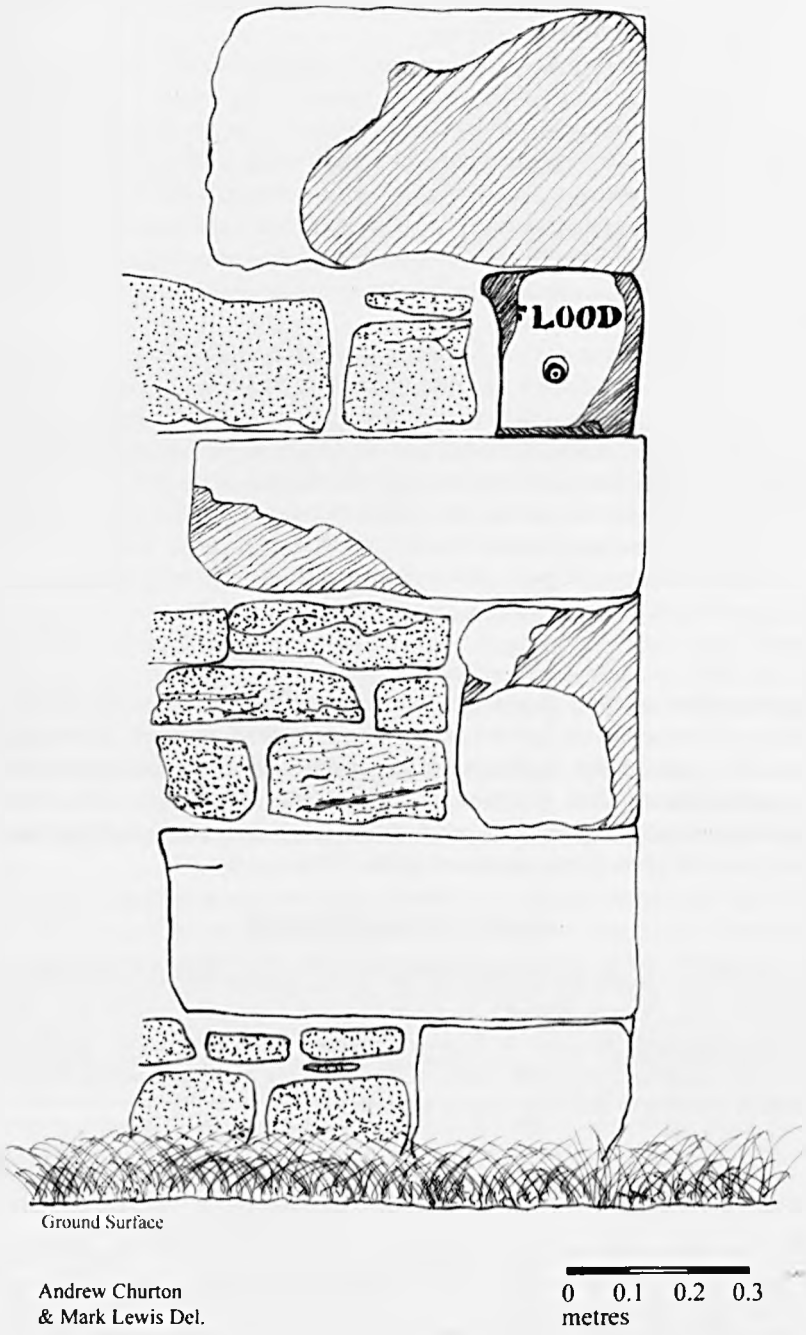

Fig. 2: The south-facing elevation of the lowermost quoins comprising the outside face of the south-eastern angle of the chancel of the parish church of St Thomas the Apostle, Redwick, Gwent, showing the copper alloy flood mark and inscription.

THE LAST ABBOT OF TINTERN: RICHARD WYCHE, B.Th. (Oxon.)

By David H. Williams

The Fate of the Last Monks of Tintern

So far as we can tell, in the last days of Tintern Abbey, the community numbered thirteen, the abbot and twelve monks, not an insubstantial number and indeed forming just over one-fifth of all the remaining Cistercian monks in Wales. Moreover, this was the precise number of monks which in the early years of the order, mother-abbeys sent out to form a daughter-house: thirteen representing Christ and the twelve apostles. At the closure of the abbey, they received the sum of eight guineas, shared between them.[1] This was not very much, and it is not certain whether it represented arrears of their pocket money, or whether it was meant to help them on their way – such a small gratuity had indeed been envisaged.

In 1536, the closure of many monasteries was not intended to mean the extinction of monastic life. It was envisaged that a number of religious would join some of the larger communities spared suppression. For this reason, only the religious superiors, abbots and the like, were awarded pensions, to avoid their having to take a lower position in another community.[2] Richard Wyche, the last abbot of Tintern, received a pension of £23 yearly until his death some sixteen years later,[3] equivalent to about £7,250 today.[4] Two monks of Tintern, Nicholas Acton and John Gethin, moved to its daughter-abbey at Kingswood, Wootton-under-Edge, and stayed there as cellarer of the abbey and curate of the parish respectively, until Kingswood's closure on 1 January 1538.[5] They were fortunate, for by the time of Kingswood's closure, dispossessed monks did receive small pensions, and they were each awarded £4 13s. 4d.[6]

Apart from Acton and Gethin, and possibly Robert Thomas mentioned below, there is no evidence available to suggest that the remaining monks of Tintern tried to continue in the religious life, unlike perhaps the monks of Llantarnam Abbey for whom there is the evidence of tradition that for some years after its dissolution they maintained a conventual presence at their former shrine of Penrhys in the Rhondda.[7] Nor did any of the former monks of Tintern form part, as did the last abbot of Dore, John Redborne, of the resurrected Benedictine community at Westminster Abbey in Queen Mary's reign.[8]

Those monks who did not wish to continue in the religious life were dispensed from wearing their monastic habit, and allowed to seek benefices – vicarages, curacies, chaplaincies and the like. In November 1533, the Dispensation Act removed from the Roman Curia and passed to the archbishop of Canterbury the granting of dispensations in this country, though to the king if the dispensations cost over four pounds. That same month, the necessary faculty office was established.[9] To this department, between November 1536 and May 1538, all the former monks of

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1 The National Archives (formerly Public Record Office), hereafter TNA (PRO) LR 6/52/1 m. 9d.

2 Woodward, C.W.O., *Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966) 59.

3 Thomas, L., *The Reformation in the Old Diocese of Llandaff* (Cardiff, 1930) 22.

4 Bank of England, *Equivalent Contemporary Values of the Pound: A Historical Series 1270 to 2004.*

5 Baskerville, G., 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire, *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 49 (1927) 88.

6 TNA (PRO) E 315/232 (ii) f. 14v.

7 The late Sister Thérèse Alphonse gave a good account of this in her cyclostyled book, *Llantarnam Abbey: 800 Years of History* (Llantarnam, 1979) 146–7.

8 Williams, D.H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976) 28, cites the sources for this.

9 Chambers, D.S., *Faculty Office Registers, 1534–1549* (Oxford, 1966) xi, xx.

Tintern applied for the necessary permissions, commencing with the abbot and finishing, in 1538, with John Gethin and Nicholas Acton, now monks of Kingswood.[10] One monk who applied in the first batch was Robert Thomas; despite this, when Thame Abbey in Oxfordshire was closed in 1539, a Robert Thomas was numbered amongst its monks. Could he have been the same person?

Of some of the monks of Tintern we have as yet no certain knowledge of what became of them – Richard Wade, William Gloucester, William Hopkins, Thomas Piell, Thomas Robyns and Thomas Tintern, who had been made deacon in 1524.[11] It is possible that Richard Wade was the priest of that name who was rector of Burton in West Somerset in 1545.[12] The complete absence of the registers of the bishops of Llandaff for these post-suppression years makes it unlikely that the fate of all the former monks of Tintern will ever be determined.

Fortunately of a few of the former monks there is more known. William Machyn served as a chantry priest at Henbury, Gloucestershire.[13] John Gethin – who may have sprung from a Brockweir family of that name – was a curate in Newnham in 1544, whilst Nicholas Acton, who had been made a sub-deacon in 1525, was a stipendiary priest in Wickwar in 1540, and it is suggested, with the *alias* of Page, was later perpetual curate of Hewelsfield, until indeed 1576.[14] (All these places are in Gloucestershire). Maurice Burnell must be the cleric of that name, who perhaps having adopted a more protestant stance, was presented by the dean and chapter of Gloucester in September 1549, to the perpetual curacy of Wootton-under-Edge, very close to the site of Tintern's former daughter-house of Kingswood Abbey. He was however deprived shortly after Queen Mary's accession, and replaced by mid-October 1554, by one Philip ap Gruffydd.[15] Thomas Elliotts could well have been the like-named curate of Caudle near Gloucester in 1545, but vicar of Caldicot in 1551.[16]

The Last Abbot

The last abbot of Tintern, Richard Wyche (sometimes spelt Wiche, Whyche or Woche) was originally a monk of the Cistercian abbey of Whalley in Lancashire, obtaining the B. Th. degree at Oxford in May 1521 after, it was said, seven years of study in logic, philosophy and theology.[17] It is possible that he was appointed rather than elected. Those years saw in the Cistercian province of Wales the reforming hand of Lleision ap Thomas, the abbot of Neath, who had been given within the order in Wales a supervisory role. It was also a period when a conscious effort was made to promote to Cistercian abbacies those with university degrees. Richard Wyche was abbot of Tintern and in residence by 12 February that year.[18]

His period of abbacy was not, however, an easy time. Tintern had a domineering neighbour and personality, Henry Somerset, earl of Worcester. Somewhere around 1530, the abbot listed several grievances against the earl and his officers in the court of Star Chamber. The abbot alleged that he had been 'vexed and wronged' in four particular respects. First, that about eight years

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10 Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers*, 80, 91–2, 131.

11 Bannister, A.T. (ed.), *Register of Charles Bothe, Bishop of Hereford* (Canterbury and York Society, Hereford, 1921) 317, 319.

12 Bristol Diocesan Registry, Index 1.

13 TNA (PRO) LR 6/149/1–5 (by kind information of Dr Madeleine Gray).

14 Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', 88.

15 Gloucestershire Archives, GDR 2a, ff. 44, 107.

16 Bristol Diocesan Registry, Index 1; *Cal. Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, vol. 3, 237.

17 Stevenson, W.H. and Salter, H.E., *The Early History of St John's College, Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society, no. 1, 1939) 49; Emden, A.B., *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, 1501–1540* (Oxford, 1974) 642.

18 TNA (PRO) E 315/92 f. 97d.

previously, the earl had borrowed abbey plate worth some 100 marks, but had never returned it; second, that he had received no recompense from the earl for an annuity he paid on his behalf; third, that the earl interfered with his lawful liberties in the manor of Woolaston in Gloucestershire, and fourth, that the earl's steward had occupied part of a weir in the river Wye belonging to the abbey. The suit had partial effect; Worcester excused the abbey payment of an annual rent of 52s. for a weir on the Wye, on account of his debt to the house, estimated at £20.[19]

Richard Wyche appears to have been a spiritual man, as evidenced in a letter he wrote to Thomas Cromwell early in September 1534. Cromwell had summoned the abbot to court, but Richard Wyche replied, rather bravely:

> Pleasing your good worship to understand that I have received your letter this Saturday, at nine of the clock before noon, by one Robert Helyatte, servant to John Wynter of Bristol, at which time your worship willed me to repair to the court to attend your pleasure. Had your letter come to my hands on Friday, I would not have failed to come with all celerity to wait your pleasure. Praying your goodness and benignity for the honour of this high feast of Our Lady [the Nativity, 8 September, presumably] to respite me till Monday, at what day I shall repair to your good worship to know your further pleasure. Thus Jesu have you all way in his keeping. Given at Tintern this Saturday at nine of the clock.
>
> Your continual bedesman,
> Rycharde, Abbot of Tynterne.[20]

Cromwell was the king's chief minister, but the abbot preferred to put first the proper observance of a great feast day. He was also concerned for the goods of his abbey. Before the suppression, he took a cope, valued at 3s. 4d. (equivalent to over £50 today) and handed it to the abbey's steward, Charles Herbert of Troy, presumably for safe-keeping.[21] Did he before the suppression secrete anything else away? He ceased to be abbot of Tintern four hundred and seventy years ago, on 3 September 1536; he was granted his pension of £23 yearly, but this was subject to a 2s. in the pound clerical subsidy, and to at least a 4d. in the pound fee for the area's receiver who paid it out.[22]

After the Suppression

Abbot Richard Wyche's enforced retirement was not without its problems. The first, which can be dated to between mid-1538 and late-1539, lay in the claims of John Gethin, his former monk. Gethin claimed in the court of Chancery that in 1522, the abbot and community had granted him an annuity of £5 out of the proceeds of the monastery's Trellech Grange (in Monmouthshire), in return for 'the manifold labours, charges and expenses' that he had occasioned on monastery business. He was paid for some nine or ten years, and then payment ceased. Earlier arbitration involving the London abbot of St Mary Graces had seen the pension reduced to £4, but it had been unpaid for the whole year prior to the closure of the abbey and since, and he, Gethin, was 'now in great necessity'. Richard Wyche in turn complained to the court of Augmentations, whose responsibility such payments now were, that Gethin and another annuitant did 'daily sue and vex him in the Court of Chancery'.[23]

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19 TNA (PRO) STAC 2/29/61; Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (1976) 110.
20 TNA (PRO) SP 1/85/1133; Williams (1976) 111.
21 TNA (PRO) LR 6/152/1; SC 6/7337 f. 7d.
22 Woodward, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1966) 145–6.
23 Williams (1976) 112; TNA (PRO) C 1/799/12.

The outcome is not known. At that time Gethin, although he had a pension awarded him when Kingswood Abbey closed, had probably not taken up his post at Newnham church, and was finding it difficult to make ends meet. How much more was the plight of his former colleagues who had no pension at all! At this same time, another claimant (Edmund Turner, formerly the abbey's auditor for its Norfolk manor of Acle) complained about non-payment of an annuity by the former abbot to the court of Common Pleas, alleging that 'the late abbot, dwelling in the Marches, not dreading the laws of this realm, was outlawed'. His claim too was transferred to and met by the court of Augmentations.[24]

The earl of Worcester was later to allege that the abbey's former Modesgate Grange (the present Madgett farm lying across the Wye in the parish of Tidenham), had been leased years before by the abbey to the Madocke family. Their old lease, he said, had at the suppression almost expired, and by now the farm should have reverted to the earl to whom the king had granted the abbey's Border lands. The earl was aggrieved because Henry and John Madocke had a new lease, arranged to start for a term of a great number of years, immediately from the expiry of the old lease, thus denying the earl his rightful possession. The earl further claimed that Abbot Wyche had issued this new lease within a month before the closure of the abbey, and that he did so without the consent of his community. No leases, of course, were permitted in that period, but the former abbot, while not expressly denying granting the new lease, refuted the earl's allegations that he had used 'any crafty means'.[25]

Despite the fact that the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* noted a tailor amongst the abbey's employees, it also recorded an expenditure of no less than £28 on clothes for the monks.[26] This explains the last known piece of litigation in which the former abbot was involved. A merchant, David Atkyns, complained that some twenty years previously – the date is unknown – he had sent to Tintern by the hands of the abbot's emissaries, William Robyns and John Abowen. 'as much cloth, linen and woollen, with other wares', as amounted to the sum of over £10, and he was still owed over £7. The abbot agreed that not all the money had been paid, but said that the merchant should sue the king; in other words, take the matter to the court of Augmentations whose debts the monastery's now were, and not trouble him at 'the court of common law'.[27]

The Last Abbot's Will

The will of Richard Wyche was dated 5 January 1553, and proved later that year at the consistory court of the new diocese of Gloucester which had been established in 1541.[28] It seems that Richard Wyche died shortly after making his will, and that on 7 January 1553, an inventory of his goods was compiled. Creditors were summoned to present their claims in Woolaston church not later than 23 January. The witnesses to the will included one John Coke, priest, who must have been the John Coke – of presumably catholic sympathies – appointed priest of the chantry of the Cross, Lydney, not far distant, in 1540,[29] and may well have been the John Coke who later was vicar of Magor (1558–60) in Queen Mary's reign.[30]

The will is significant, not least because it established where Richard Wyche now lived. It has been a tradition that the last abbot lived in a Tudor-style old house in the village of Tintern Parva,

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24 Williams (1976) 112–3; TNA (PRO) E 315/100/353, 321/3/73; LR 6/152/4.
25 TNA (PRO) C 1/1188/39–40.
26 *Valor Ecclesiasticus, temp. Henry VIII,* 4 (London, 1821) 371.
27 TNA (PRO) C 1/1188/57–8.
28 Gloucestershire Record Office, Wills, Wiche/1553/63.
29 Bannister, A.T., *Diocese of Hereford, Institutions* (Hereford, 1923) 18.
30 Evans, J. Daryll, *Clergy of the Ancient Parishes of Gwent* (Pontypool, 1991) 78.

which in a series of drawings of Monmouthshire buildings in the early 1840s, is depicted as 'The Abbot's House'.[31] It may well be that that tradition is wishful thinking, for certainly when he died he resided in the parish of Woolaston, much of which of course had belonged to his monastery and was now in the hands of his old adversary, the earl of Worcester.

We don't know precisely where he lived in the parish of Woolaston, and he made only three very small bequests, each of 4d. to Amice Clements, Joan Tovys and Mother Gibbons – presumably three ladies who cared for him in his last years. The residue of his small estate was placed in the hands of his executors, William Robyns, presumably still in service, and John Browne – perhaps the John Abowen also of years before. Both men, faithful to their former lord and master, now received their reward – though it may not have been very great.

The former abbot described himself as 'priest in the parish of Woolaston' and he bequeathed his soul 'to Almighty God, my Maker and Saviour'. It was in the closing months of the reign of Edward VI, and in the time of the ultra-protestant-minded Bishop Hooper of Gloucester, otherwise he who eighteen years before had stood up for the honour of Our Lady's feast, would certainly have also commended his soul to the prayers of Blessed Mary and all the saints. That his churchmanship was little changed is perhaps indicated by the use of the word 'priest' rather than 'clerk', which would have been the more usual medieval form.

The will lists the debts owed to him (adding up to £15 10s.) and those which he owed to others (totalling £12 10s.). His largest debt, of £4, was owing to one William French of Woolaston. He owed 5s. for two kine at 'Holy Rode Day' [Holy Cross Day, 14 September], and unspecified amounts for eleven bushels of wheat and one of rye. The mention of cows (and in the inventory) of pigs and poultry suggest that Richard Wyche had some form of small-holding. The cereals purchased perhaps imply bread-making. The vat and casks may imply home brewing. What the will does not reveal is how much ready cash, or monies stored away, the late abbot may have had.

Shortly after Richard Wyche's death (which took place perhaps around 6 January 1553), Philip Machyns, William Taylor, Wiiliam ap Willym and John Burges, drew up an inventory of the last abbot's possessions; their estimated value totalled £7 3s. 0d. - equivalent to about £1,350 today. The goods listed included items such as pewter crockery, chopping knives, salting tubs, candlesticks, and feather beds with blankets and sheets. A silver spoon was valued at 2s.; a 'little brazen work' (perhaps a crucifix) at 1s. There is no mention of ecclesiastical vestments – though they might be subsumed under the item 'all manner of raiment'. Could the phrase, 'two bottles of tin', conceal chalices? It was a time for political correctness. No books are noted – had he given them away?

The will makes no allusion whatsoever to Wyche's former monastic life and abbatial position. He might well have hoped to have been buried in the old monastic cemetery, but he simply says 'My body to be buried where it shall please God'. That this was the will of the last abbot of Tintern is evidenced by the debts owing him: 'The king's majesty for my half year's pension due at Michaelmas last, £11 10s'. Double that and one gets the sum of £23, precisely the annual pension awarded Richard Wyche after the closure of his abbey. It is noteworthy, and there were many such cases, that the pensions were not always paid on time.

Another debt due to the late abbot was owing by 'Master Roger Wynter for my half-a-year's wage upon a reckoning betwixt us'. Roger Wynter was the vicar of Woolaston from 1537 to 1557, though non-resident and living at Staunton (near Coleford in the forest of Dean).[32] He needed

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[31] The four volume collection, entitled *Gwentia*, is held by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The house is also illustrated in Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 2 Part 2 The Hundred of Trelech* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1913, reprinted by Academy Books, 1992) 249.

[32] *The Victoria History of the Counties of Gloucester Volume X* (Oxford University Press, 1972) 116.

curates in the parish and priests who helped out. Clearly, the former abbot was one of them, and he received, the will tells us, £4 13s 4d. for his pains – a very usual sum for chaplains and curates in those years, which supplemented his pension as a retired abbot. Wynter was of catholic sympathies; in 1551, he was forbidden to preach the doctrine of trans-substantiation, whilst his churchwardens were ordered to destroy the images in the church.[33] Clearly, when a little later Richard Wyche made his will, he needed to be politically correct, very probably against his own better judgement.

One is left wondering how Richard Wyche felt in his last years – living perhaps as a tenant or owner of a small-holding, in the manor of which he had once been the lord; assisting as a curate in a parish of which once his monastery had been the patron! Did he hanker after his former monastic life, did he miss the splendid liturgy in his abbey church, did he regret no longer having his substantial abbot's quarters – the complex in the ruins which can still be seen today. What did he think of the religious and political changes of the times? We shall perhaps never know.

THE WILL OF ABBOT RICHARD WYCHE
(Gloucestershire Record Office, Wills, Wiche/1553/63; transliterated into modern English)

In the Name of God. Amen.

The fifth day of January in the year of our Lord God, 1552 [=1553], and in the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, and of the Church of England in earth Supreme Head, the sixth year. That I, Richard Wyche, priest in the parish of Woolaston, whole and steadfast of mind, nevertheless sick in body, make my testament, in this manner wise. First I bequeath my soul to Almighty God my maker and Saviour, and my body to be buried where it shall please God. Item, I bequeath to Amice Clements 4d. to Joan Tovys 4d. to Mother Gibbons 4d., the residue of my goods moveable and immoveable, my debts paid, I give and bequeath to William Robyns and John Browne, and them I make my sole executors to dispose it for me and for all Christians. Witness hereof, John Coke, priest, Roger Hollester and John Idwyn, with other more.

Debts owing to me, Richard Wyche, priest.

In primis, William French of Woolaston	6s. 8d.
Item, William Ollarne of Sheperdine	26s. 8d.
Item, Master Roger Wynter for half a year's wages upon a reckoning between us	46s. 8d.
Item, the king's majesty for my half year's pension due at Michaelmas last	£11 10s. 0d.

Debts which I Richard Wyche, priest, do owe.

In primis, to Richard Gough of Woolaston	£4 0s. 0d.
Item, to Joan Hempsted, widow	£3 6s. 8d.
Item, to Elizabeth Burges	£2 8s. 0d.
Item, to Roger Hollister	3s. 4d.
Item, to William Taylor	£1 14s. 8d.
Item, to Amice Blunt	8d.
Item, to John White for 2 kine here at Holy Rood Day [14 September]	5s. 0d.

33 *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 60, 123,133,213.

Item, to Roger Hollister, for a cow here	[blank]
Item, to Master John Conway[34] for 7 bushels of wheat	[blank]
Item, to Thomas Smythe for 3 bushels of wheat and 1 of rye	[blank]
Item, to Walter Taylor of Dursley	2s. 4d.
Item, to William Morris	3s. 0d.
Item, to Robert Kyngett	7s. 6d.
Item, to Thomas Williams	[blank]

An Inventory of the goods of Richard Wyche, late deceased, in the parish of Woolaston, priced by Philip Watkins, John White, William Taylor, William ap William and John Burgys, the 7th day of January1552[=1553], that is in the sixth year of the reign of Edward [the]Sixth.

In primis, 7 plates, 6 pottingers, 7 saucers, a basin, a salt cellar and a water pot, all of pewter, priced at	18s. 8d.
Item, 2 bottles of tin	2s. 0d.
Item, 2 crocks	8s. 0d.
Item, 2 pans and a little peppe pan and a frying pan	8s. 0d.
Item, 2 chopping knives	6d.
Item, 2 brackets [*alt.* spits] and 2 andirons	5s. 0d.
Item, ire [iron] [be]longing to a malt mill	1s. 8d.
Item, a brandiron, a chain, 3 crocks and an axe ['nax']	2s. 0d.
Item, 4 pails, a vat, 3 'stonys' and 2 salting tubs	2s. 6d.
Item, 2 hogsheads, 2 barrels and a kilderkin	3s. 0d.
Item, a table board, 2 trestles to the same, a form and a round tableboard	8s. 0d.
Item, 2 cupboards	4s. 0d.
Item, 2 chairs	8d.
Item, a coffer	1s. 0d.
Item, 2 candlesticks	1s. 4d.
Item, 2 feather beds and 2 bolsters, 2 coverlets and a pair of blankets	£2 3s. 4d.
Item, 2 pair of sheets	6s. 8d.
Item, 3 window cloths	6d.
Item, all manner of raiment	13s. 4d.
Item, 2 pigs and poultry	10s. 0d.
Item, a table cloth and a towel	1s. 0d.
Item, a silver spoon	2s. 0d.
Item, a little brazen work	1s. 0d.

Note on separate page

As beholden you must make a proclaim[s] for the goods of Sir Richard Wyche, clerk, late of Woolaston, that the creditors come to the said church to one John Browne before the 23rd day of January or the said day – also you must come to Mr Chancellor and bring with you the book of the [?] caveat.

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[34] The term 'Master' suggests a cleric, perhaps the John Conway who resigned as rector of Stowell, Somerset in 1551. See Gloucestershire Archives, GDR 2a f.58.

Note on the cover

Richard Wyche, clerk, late of Woolaston, deceased, concerning proclaims and receipts of the aforesaid deceased 9 January 1553.

GLOSSARY

Andirons	Fenders
Brandiron	Gridiron or cooking stand
Chancellor	Chancellor of the consistory court of the diocese of Gloucester
Crocks	Earthenware pots or jars; hooks
Hogshead	A large cask of varying capacity
Kilderkin	A small cask or half-barrel (often used to contain ale)
Pottingers	Bowls (as for soup)
Proclaim	A public notice
'Stonys'	Perhaps vessels of stoneware
Vat	A large cask, sometimes used for fermenting

NOTE ON DATING

Until 1 January 1752, Great Britain and Ireland used the Julian calendar ('Old Style') in which the year began on 25 March after Christmas. In the Gregorian calendar, which replaced it in 1752, the year begins, as now, on 1 January ('New Style'). Thus, Richard Wyche's will and inventory dated 1552 [=1553] indicates that the year date on the documents is 'Old Style', and because January comes after Christmas, according to the Gregorian calendar, the year would be 1553. 'New Style' is used in the main body of the article.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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THE ROLLS FAMILY AND GEORGE DELAMOTTE

By Julian Mitchell

The Rolls family of the Hendre near Monmouth originated in Bermondsey, leaving for 50 Harley street, London, in 1811. They were already buying property in Monmouthshire, but they did not live there, using the Hendre simply as a shooting box (Plate 1). From 1815 to 1820, they lived at Briton Ferry, renting Vernon house from the earl of Jersey, and The Burrows, Swansea. They then spent six years in France before returning to London, this time to Bryanston square. Although John Rolls II built a small new house at the Hendre in the early 1830s (Plate 14), it was not till his son John Etherington Welch Rolls (1807–70) inherited in 1837 that the great building programme, completed by John Rolls II's grandson, the first Lord Llangattock, was begun.[1]

Briton Ferry in the early-nineteenth century was a much praised beauty spot at the mouth of the river Neath, and John Rolls II was known there as a patron of the arts. In 1820, Thomas Hornor offered him one of his collections of views of the Neath valley and neighbourhood.[2] If Rolls acquired it, it is no longer among the family papers, but we do know he encouraged another artist, the little-known George Orleans Delamotte (*c.*1788–1861) who made a pencil sketch of him asleep in his chair there (Plate 2).[3]

George was the brother of the better known William Delamotte (1775–1863) who showed for many years at the Royal Academy and whose local subjects included Tintern (1800), Llanthony (1801) and Goodrich (1822). George only exhibited at the Royal Academy once, a picture of Carswell house, near Faringdon, in 1809. His address then was given as Great Marlow, where the Royal Military Academy was based before its move to Sandhurst, and where William, after a time in Oxford, had become second drawing master in 1803.[4] It is possible that George too taught there as early as this, though he may simply have been living with his brother. He was certainly teaching there in 1828.

By 1818, he was known to the gentry of South Wales; he visited the Williams family at Aberpergwm that year, for instance.[5] His first connection with the Rolls family was slightly earlier, for also in 1818, John Rolls II arranged for 1,000 copies of his lithographic *Impressions of Scenery in Wales* to be printed by Moser and Harris. Some of the initial drawings for these were done in 1816,[6] and Delamotte's passport to go from Corfu to England in the summer of 1817 is among the Rolls papers, which suggests he was already connected with the family.[7] The bills for the prints survive, with the prices of German and English stone, steel pens, paper, ink, etc. There is also an

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1 *The Preliminary List of Documents relating to the Family of Rolls* (Historical Manuscripts Commission, July 1963) 43, and Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1907, reprinted by Academy Books, 1991) 48. Bradney says John Rolls II made the Hendre his principal seat after building the new small house. The drawing of the original Hendre by George Delamotte is in Gwent Record Office (hereafter GRO) D. 361 F/P Misc 1; the lithograph of the first new Hendre is in GRO D. 361 F/P 29.

2 GRO D. 361 E/4 B. 63.

3 National Library of Wales (NLW) Drawings, vol. 271.

4 Williams, Iolo A., *Early English Watercolours*, (reprinted Kingsmead, Bath, 1970) 63; and Hardie, Martin, *Water-Colour Painting in Britain, Vol II, The Romantic Period* (Batsford, London, 1967, third impression 1979) 132, footnote 5.

5 Joyner, Paul, *Artists in Wales, c.1740–c.1851* (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1997) 23–5.

6 GRO D. 361 F/P Misc 1. One is dated Tenby, 3 May 1816.

7 GRO D. 361 F/P 3.41.

undated 'Etching Account' which suggests there were two 'numbers' of prints, but that not many were sold. A letter from Rolls's agent of 29 June 1819, queries the bill and bemoans the fact that an art dealer who had some 'is gone from St James's Street – and all his things with him a la diable'. All this seems to have led to a coolness, as in January 1820, Delamotte (who signed his name as 'De La Motte' – it is 'de la Motte' on the passport) wrote Rolls a cringing letter of thanks for his 'liberality and goodness' and apologising for 'unfortunate circumstances' which had led to 'unfavourable impressions given'.[8]

Whatever his offence, he seems to have been forgiven for in October 1826, he accompanied the nineteen-year-old J.E.W. Rolls on an expedition along the Wye. Both men's sketchbooks survive.[9] Other sketchbooks by Delamotte are in the Gwent Record Office in Cwmbran, and the West Glamorgan Archives Service in Swansea.[10] In addition to these, the National Library of Wales has a volume of charming water-colour studies of Welsh characters, two of which have Monmouthshire subjects: John Pritchard, the blacksmith at Llanvapley, and an unnamed Monmouth man with patched trousers and a coracle on his back, with Tibbs bridge in the background.[11] The Gwent Record Office also has several other sketchbooks of the Rolls family.[12]

J.E.W. Rolls was, like his father, passionate about the drama. He had his own theatre at the Hendre, where he once appeared in drag as a lady of rank to sing Parry's *Dejeuner a la fourchette*, and he gave two-hour readings of plays at the Athenaeum in Monmouth, taking all the parts himself. He showed his wide general interests by supporting lectures on electrical psychology and taking a leading role in the local Masons.[13] But he was no scholar. His tutor at Christ Church, Oxford, Charles Thomas Longley (1794–1868), combining respect for the very rich with academic sternness in a manner which helped him to the archbishoprics first of York, then of Canterbury, wrote to John Rolls II on 28 June 1827:

> Sir,
>
> I write to you at the request of your son to explain to you the reasons which induce me to think that it is scarcely desirable that he should continue his residence at College any longer. He is already arrived at that standing when he ought to pass his first examination – but when he was transferred from his former Tutor's hands to mine, I found that he was by no means prepared in such a way as to induce me to hope that he would be likely to stand an examination for a Degree. However I would beg leave to observe, that there are many of your son's order in the College, who pass thro' it without attempting their Degree: nor need there [their] time therefore be considered as entirely misspent in consequence of this – as the forming of acquaintances – & the associating with many young men of your own age and standing in the world, forms of itself a species of education which is often

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8 The letters and bills are in GRO D. 361 E/4 B.63.

9 GRO D. 361, F/P Misc 1, inscribed 'Sketches made by Delamotte in Oct. 1826', and F/P 3.24.

10 GRO D. 361 F/P Misc 3, and West Glamorgan Archives Service (hereafter WGAS) PIC 13. For the latter, see Morris, Bernard, *George Delamotte's South Wales Sketchbook, c. 1815–1835* (West Glamorgan Archives Service, 2007, forthcoming).

11 NLW 271. Several sketches in GRO D. 361 F/P Misc 3 were used as backgrounds for these studies; that for the Monmouth coracle man is in WGAS PIC 13. Another version, dated 1831, is in Monmouth Museum, M 2416. A reduced lithographic version of a Glamorgan peasant woman is in GRO D. 361 F/P Misc 8.

12 GRO D. 361 F/P 3.25, 3.26, 3.27, 3.28, 3.30, 3.31 and 3.31a. F/P 3.25 and 3.30 were used in France: F/P 3.31 is inscribed on the flyleaf 'John Rolls Esq, Rue de la Fayette, Versailles', but contains later drawings, some by J.E.W. Rolls. F/P 3.26 and 3.27 are those of Martha Rolls, J.E.W. Rolls's mother.

13 GRO D. 361 F/P 4 has much about the Rolls's involvement with the theatre and even more with the Masons. See also Kissack, Keith, *Victorian Monmouth* (The Monmouth Historical and Educational Trust, n.d.) 73 and 152–4.

> productive of considerable advantage. That opportunity however your son has now enjoyed sufficiently long – and it is, perhaps, but fair that he should now make room for others who would be glad to avail themselves of it.[14]

Young Rolls may have not been a good examinee, but he was, like his father, interested in art. To the 1840 exhibition of 'Pictures by Ancient and Modern Masters' in aid of the Monmouth dispensary, he lent ten pictures including three Watteaus, a Morland, a Metsu and an Etty, though it is not known whether he personally acquired them.[15] Of his own drawing, however, little has been known till now beyond the doodles he made on his court calendar when he was one of the grand jury that tried John Frost and other Chartists at Monmouth the previous winter. These include a sketch of one of the prisoners, and a crude scrawl of three men hanging from a gallows on the roof of the gatehouse of Monmouth gaol.[16] He was however quite a prolific draughtsman.

The 1826 trip with Delamotte along the Wye must have been considered a success, as master and pupil can be seen sketching together in August the following year (Plate 3) on 'the Banks of the Avon'.[17] Rolls has spectacles and a small moustache, and both men wear a hat and under it, presumably against flies rather than the sun, a handkerchief – what in the Foreign Legion was known as a *couvre-nuque*. Horses wait patiently for the two to finish whatever incomprehensible thing it is they are doing. As well as a certain charm, this double portrait has a pedagogical interest. Though the drawing is in Rolls's sketchbook, the background of hills and fields is identical to that in an earlier drawing by Delamotte inscribed 'In the vale of Aberavon',[18] suggesting that Delamotte probably sketched in the background for his pupil. No doubt he also corrected his drawing: Rolls's face has been worked on quite heavily.

Earlier in the year of the Wye trip, the young Rolls had been sketching busily in and around Malvern, where he did a careful drawing of a magnificent old barn.[19] Once Delamotte arrived we can see from their two sketchbooks how the men were often standing or sitting side by side as they drew, and by comparing their versions of Wilton and Goodrich castles and the Trellech stones it is all too apparent which is the master and which the pupil (Plates 4 and 5).[20] (Like modern orthographers they do not agree on how Trellech should be spelt). On this part of the trip Rolls also drew Welsh Bicknor church and the tomb inside it, then believed to be that of the countess of Salisbury, nurse to Henry V, though Bradney says it was really Lady Montacute's.[21]

If Rolls was never more than a young gentleman sharpening his pencil for his own pleasure, and on this occasion Delamotte was usually sketching scenes that had often been sketched before, many of their drawings are nonetheless of great historical interest. There is the sketch, later lithographed, of the original Hendre of October 1826 (Plate 1), with a small shooting party in the foreground and a large barn behind. What may be the remains of this farmhouse, much altered and now partly roofless, can be found in the middle of the modern golf course where it is known as

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14 GRO D. 361 F/P 4.122.

15 *Ibid.*, 123.

16 His court calendar is reproduced in Kissack, *op.cit.*, 130.

17 GRO D. 361 F/P 3.31.

18 *Ibid.*, F/P Misc. 3.

19 GRO D. 361 F/P 3.24. In WGAS PIC 13 is another drawing of this barn at Malvern, inscribed 'from a sketch by J.E.W. Rolls July 1826'. It is there stated that Delamotte made a print from it which was published in *Archaeologia*, 30 (1844) plate 20, though there the accompanying article by Edward Blore says he drew the barn himself shortly before its destruction in 1837, and the 'sc[ulpsit]' is J. Basmire.

20 GRO D. 361 F/P 3.24 and F/P Misc 1.

21 Bradney, *op.cit.*, 144.

Avenue cottage (previously Peregrine cottage). Other Delamotte drawings of local interest include Castle School, Monmouth (Plate 6), an as yet unidentified church interior with royal arms (Plate 7),[22] the interior of St Thomas's church, Overmonnow before restoration (Plate 8) and Rockfield church, uniquely dated 1833 and with some green colour (Plate 9).[23] The date suggests that Delamotte paid a return visit to Monmouthshire. The drawing shows a buttressed chancel with door and windows quite different from those in the *Gwentia* drawing of fifteen or so years later. There must have been a rebuilding in the 1830s or 1840s unknown to architectural historians.[24]

Both men drew panoramic views of Abergavenny and Monmouth, but not from the same spots. Rolls drew Abergavenny twice, from the Clytha road and from the Blorenge side of the bridge; Delamotte's view is from the east. Rolls drew Monmouth from the Mill meadow, Delamotte from the Kymin, with the tower on the extreme left of his sketch.

Rolls's sketches, without Delamotte to help him, are often very clumsy but still of interest. He did local churches: Llanfihangel-Ystern-Llewern, Skenfrith, and St Maughans. There are also secular subjects: Wonastow court, Duffryn farm, Usk castle, and what is now Agincourt square, Monmouth, with shop fronts and signs (Plate 10).[25] This is so much more accomplished than Rolls's usual work, and in some ways so much more like Delamotte's, that we may be seeing here the master drawing in his pupil's sketchbook; or at least guiding his hand more forcefully than elsewhere. There is a fascinating drawing of the church at Cwm Ddu, with the old box pews piled up in readiness for the church's restoration (Plate 11),[26] and there are a number of views of Pontypool park, where it is likely that Rolls was staying with the Hanburys. Plate 12 is taken from about halfway up the park, looking north over the village of Abersychan; plate 13 is taken from the highest point of the park, looking south to the Bristol Channel and the Somerset coast, with Penypark cottage in the middle distance, and a bridge and canal house on the Monmouthshire and Brecon canal.[27] There is also a drawing of girls in what looks like a makeshift tent; they may be gypsies, but perhaps only local girls playing. This is another picture drawn with much more assurance than Rolls usually shows, and with water-colour; if Delamotte was not there to lend a hand, perhaps someone else was.

Rolls does not seem to have done much sketching after Delamotte's departure, though he did contribute a drawing of the birthplace of William the Conqueror to a 'family magazine' of lithographs dated 20 April 1835.[28] The booklet was 'drawn and printed at Preshaw House' in Hampshire, the childhood home of his wife, née Elizabeth Mary Long, a grand-daughter of the earl

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[22] It is tempting to imagine that this is Penallt old church which was on Delamotte and Rolls's route in 1826. It has a similar south aisle and Queen Anne coat of arms, which used to hang above the chancel arch. The church's arms bear the date 1709, not 1704, but the original could perhaps have been obscured by time. The roof in the drawing looks makeshift and could be concealing a barrel-vault above; the church was so dilapidated in 1865 that the curate, William Bagnall-Oakeley, considered it unsafe. There may have been a preliminary restoration then, before the major one completed in 1886, but the chancel arch is still implausibly narrow for Penallt (compare Mrs Bagnall-Oakeley's water-colour in *Monmouth Museum catalogue*, 1983, no. 52). The pillars do not look right, though, and there is no sign of the north gallery also then removed. The temptation should therefore be treated as such. See *Penallt, A Village Miscellany* (The Parochial Church Council of Penallt, n.d.)12–13, *Parish of Penallt* (Janice Baldwin, Penallt, 2001) 2, and Newman, J., *The Buildings of Wales. Gwent/Monmouthshire* (Penguin, London/University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 461–2.

[23] The first four drawings are all in GRO D. 361 F/P Misc 1, that of Rockfield in WGAS PIC 13 A6.

[24] See *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 18 (2002) 63, plate 28, and Newman, J., *op.cit.*, 515.

[25] GRO D. 361 F/P 3.28.

[26] *Ibid.*, F/P 3.31a.

[27] There are five drawings of Pontypool park in GRO D.361 F/P 3.31.

[28] GRO D. 361 F/P 3.29, which is Rolls's own copy.

of Northesk. Either she herself or her mother-in-law contributed a picture of the new Hendre, built by John Rolls II in the early 1830s, a smallish house in Anglo-Norman style (Plate 14). T.H. Wyatt used it as the centre from which to develop the present sprawling brick palace.[29] The 'magazine' is of great interest as a family album but Monmouthshire is otherwise only represented by rather dull views of Tintern Abbey. After that nothing survives till the scribbles at the Chartist trials. There is then a gap till 1849 and the 1850s when Rolls took his sketchbooks with him on cruises on his yachts in the English Channel.[30] Delamotte does not seem to have been invited back again. Perhaps he had given another unfortunate impression; more likely Rolls, with his immense wealth and towering social position, felt no need for further instruction.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls for permission to reproduce drawings and letters from the Rolls Papers now in Gwent Record Office, and to the Gwent Record Office itself for providing copies of the drawings. The staff have been, as ever, extremely helpful. I am also grateful to the West Glamorgan Archives Service and the National Library of Wales for permission to reproduce one drawing each. Sir Richard Hanbury-Tenison very kindly identified the sites of the Pontypool views for me, and Mrs Barbara Shelton the putative site of the old Hendre. Bernard Morris, who was working on Delamotte at the same as I, has been unwontedly generous in allowing me the benefit of his researches. I am very grateful, as always, to the honorary editor for her encouragement and help.

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29 Newman, *op.cit.*, 248–9.

30 GRO D. 361 F/P 4.70 and 72. These may be by other members of the family.

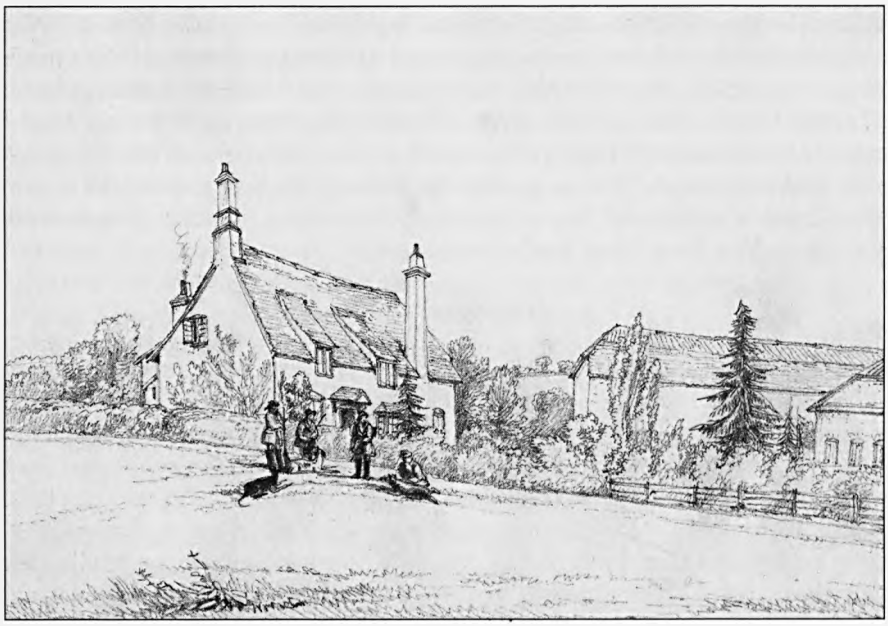

Plate 1: 'The Hendre' by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
Copyright: Gwent Record Office.

Plate 2: 'John Rolls/Britton Ferry by Delamotte'.
Reproduced by kind permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru/The National Library of Wales.

Plate 3: 'Banks of the Avon. Augt 1827/George Delamotte John Rolls'.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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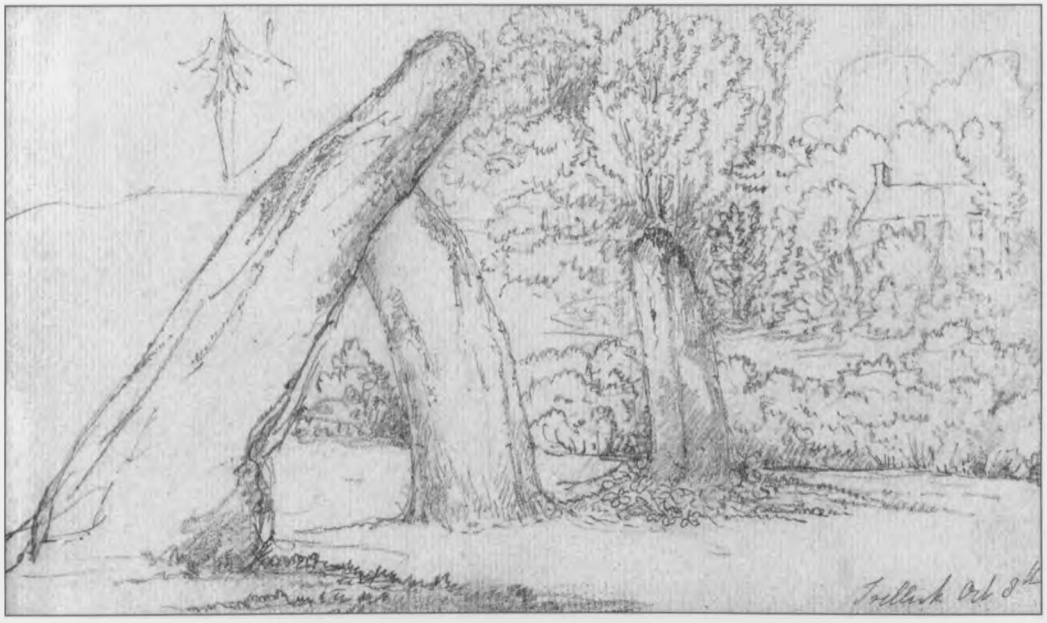

Plate 4: 'Trelleck Oct 8th' by J.E.W. Rolls.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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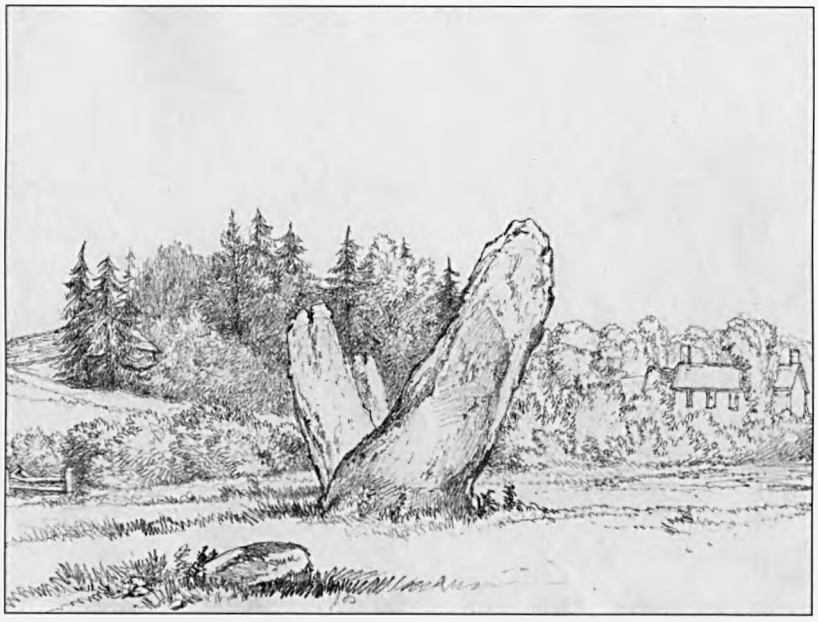

Plate 5: 'Trellec' by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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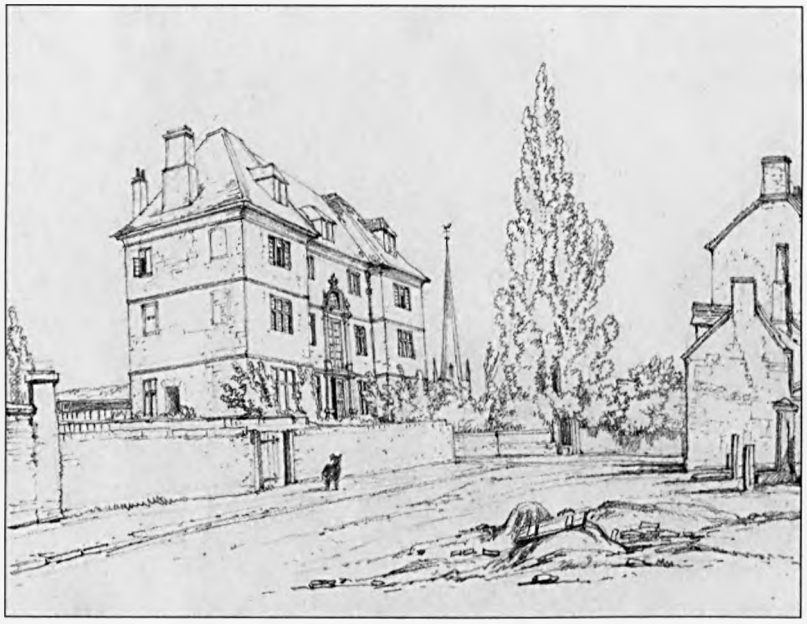

Plate 6: 'Castle School Monmouth' by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
Copyright: Gwent Record Office.

Plate 7: unidentified church interior by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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Plate 8: 'Overmonnow/Monmouth' by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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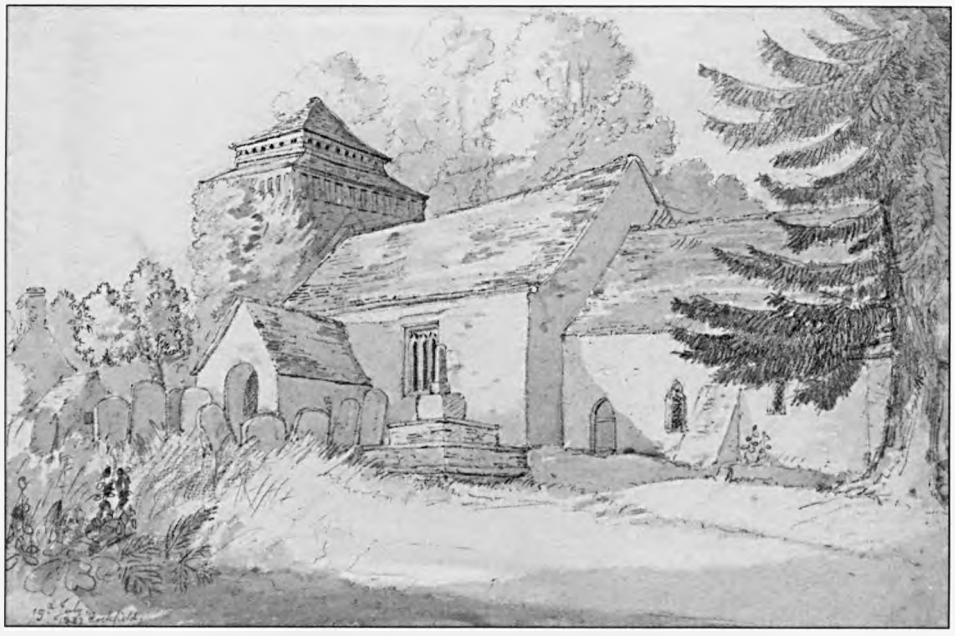

Plate 9: '19th July 1833 Rockfield' by George Delamotte.
Reproduced by kind permission of West Glamorgan Archives Service.

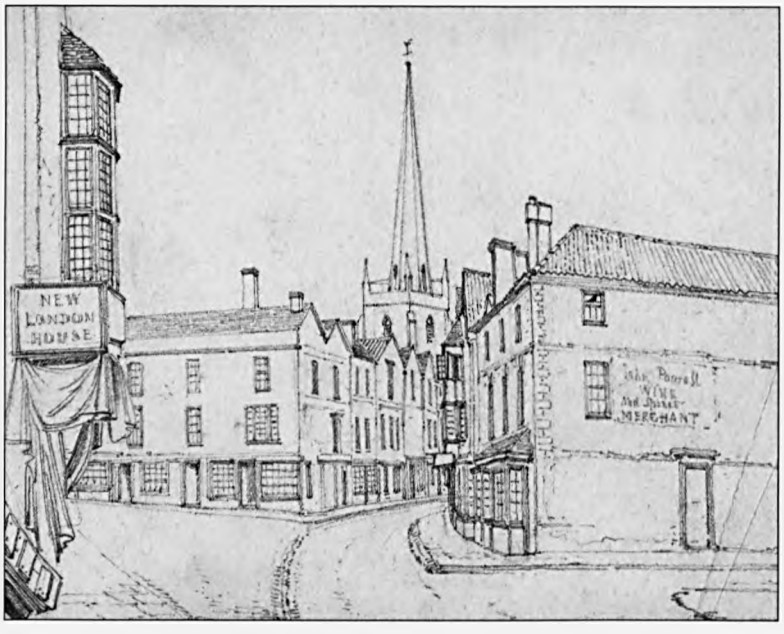

Plate 10: Agincourt square, with St Mary street and church, Monmouth, (?) by J.E.W. Rolls.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
Copyright: Gwent Record Office.

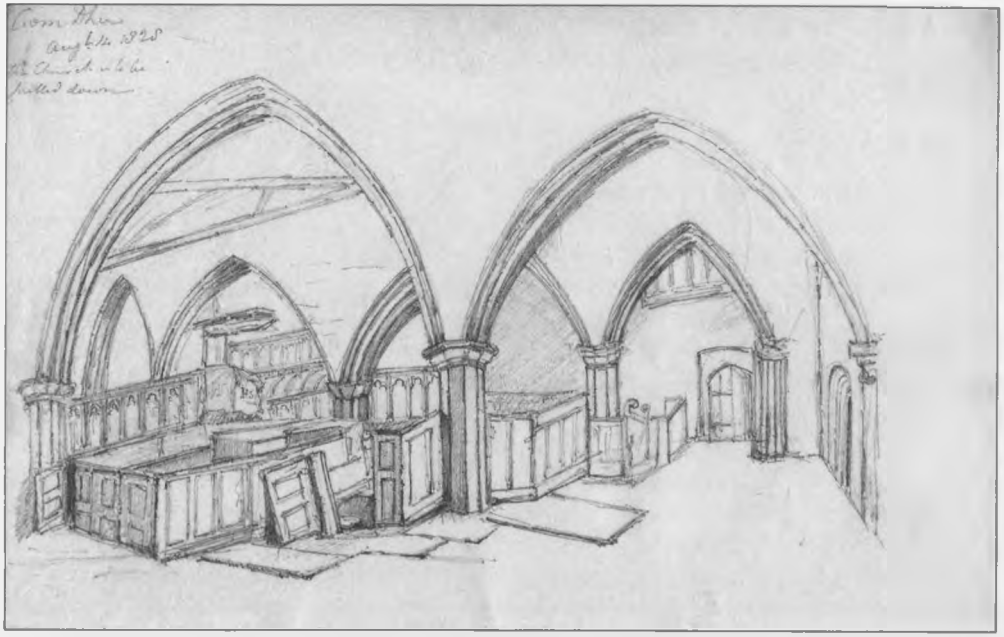

Plate 11: 'Cwm Ddu Augt 14 1828 The Church is to be pulled down' by J.E.W. Rolls.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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Plate 12: 'Part of Pontypool from the Park' by J.E.W. Rolls.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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Plate 13: 'Pontypool Park; Steep Holme in the distance & Somerset Coast' by J.E.W. Rolls.
Reproduced by kind permission of Mrs J.E. Harding-Rolls.
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Plate 14: 'THE HENDRE Monmouthshire/Seat of J.E.W. Rolls Esqre./from a sketch by Mrs J. Rolls'.
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'MEN OF MONMOUTHSHIRE': LETTERS FROM ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE (1823–1913) TO THOMAS HENRY THOMAS (1839–1915)

By Christabel Hutchings

In May 2006, a plaque, mounted on a stone, was unveiled outside Llanbadoc churchyard to the memory of Alfred Russel Wallace, born in the parish in 1823 (Fig. 1).[1] Over a hundred years earlier, in 1905, Monmouthshire-born Thomas Henry Thomas[2] had delivered a paper to the biological and geological section of Cardiff Naturalists' Society, entitled 'Dr Alfred Russel Wallace and his connection with South Wales'.[3] As president of this section of the society, Thomas's choice of Alfred Russel Wallace was apt, as Wallace was a renowned naturalist having collected natural history specimens in the Amazon basin and in the Malay archipelago.[4] Wallace's researches led him to formulate ideas concerning the origin of new species and in 1858, he sent a paper expounding his views on natural selection to Charles Darwin who presented it, together with a paper of his own, to the Linnean Society for publication. Darwin published his *Origin of the Species* in 1859 and Wallace published *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* in 1870.[5] Thus Darwin rather than Wallace has been generally credited with the theory of natural selection, but in reality they developed their ideas simultaneously. However, they remained on good terms and Darwin wrote to Wallace of his satisfaction that they had '... never felt any jealousy towards each other, though in some sense rivals'.[6] Wallace was also a geographer who was particularly interested in glaciology, an interest stimulated by his knowledge of the Welsh landscape.[7] Wallace was a prolific author on many subjects, and his autobiography included chapters on his opposition to vaccination, his advocacy of land nationalisation and socialism, and his belief in spiritualism.[8]

Thomas's interest in Wallace (and the reason why his extensive archive contains letters from and about Wallace[9]) must have been stimulated by his own work as a scientific artist,[10] but he was primarily interested in Wallace because he was born at Llanbadoc near Usk. In the period before the

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1 The memorial was 'Erected by Usk Civic Society with a grant from the A. R. Wallace Memorial Fund 2006'.

2 For a brief account of T.H. Thomas's life and work, see Hutchings, C., 'Thomas Henry Thomas, R.C.A. (1839–1915), and a silver medal designed for the Royal National Eisteddfod at Newport, 1897', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 20 (2004) 168–70.

3 Glamorgan Record Office, D/D CNSB 1/3, minutes of the biological and geological section of Cardiff Naturalists' Society, 16 Nov. 1905.

4 Wallace, A. R., *Travels on the Amazon and the Rio Negro* ... (London, 1853) and *The Malay Archipelago* ... (Macmillan, London, 1869).

5 *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *DNB*) *1912–1921* (Oxford University Press, 1927) 547.

6 Wallace valued Darwin's sentiments and quoted them in *My Life: A Record of Events and Opinions* (Chapman & Hall, London, 1905) vol. 2, 16 (hereafter *My Life*).

7 *DNB 1912–1921*, 548; letter to Thomas from Wallace, 24 July 1904, Cardiff Central Library (hereafter CCL) 4.430/14f.

8 *My Life,* vol. 2, chap. 38 on the anti-vaccination crusade; chap. 34 on land nationalisation and socialism; and chaps. 35–7 on spiritualism. See also *DNB 1912–1921*, 548.

9 Thomas's archive is divided between three institutions: National Museum Wales; Cardiff Central Library; and the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

10 Thomas had worked in Dublin with Prof. W.R. Sollas, as scientific artist on vol. 25 of the *Report on the Tetractinellida collected by H.M.S. Challenger during the years 1873–1876* (1888).

First World War, 'Wales was undergoing a massive revival in its cultural expression'.[11] Thomas had achieved recognition for his role as chairman of the 'Provisional Committee of the Emblems of Wales' which was attempting to gain Welsh representation on the Royal Standard and was interested in many aspects of Welsh culture.[12] As a welshman, concerned to raise the profile of Wales, Thomas was interested in a man like Wallace with an eminent career and Welsh connections. Thomas was the son of Dr Thomas Thomas, the president of the Baptist College at Pontypool, and the fact that Wallace and Thomas were both 'Men of Monmouthshire'[13] probably heightened his interest.

Thomas wrote to Wallace for information about his Welsh connections and he replied on 15 February 1902.[14] Wallace stated that he only had time to provide a list of facts and dates due to his involvement in writing a book and the demands of his regular correspondence. However, it was his preparations for building his new house, 'Old Orchard' at Broadstone in Dorset, and in particular the construction of the garden, which was taking up much of his time. Wallace had also lost his family scrap book which meant he had no documents relating to his early life. Wallace informed Thomas that he was born at Kensington cottage at Llanbadoc near Usk (Fig. 2) on 8 January 1823, and that the family had left Usk in 1827. He referred to his return visit to Usk in 1883 and commented that he had recognised the house 'as being almost wholly unchanged since I had last seen it when 4 years old'.[15]

Wallace also provided information about his connections with other parts of Wales when Wallace and his brother, William, were involved in land surveying in connection with the enclosure of commons and the commutation of tithes. Between 1839 and 1844 they surveyed various parishes in South Wales and in 1846, when William died, Wallace returned to the Neath area to take over his brother's business, leaving in 1848 for the Amazon basin with the naturalist, Henry Walter Bates.[16] Thomas presumably heard no more from Wallace until 1904, but in the meantime he attempted to gain more information from James Henry Clark (1818–1913) founder of the *County Observer,* who lived at Woodbank house, Usk. Clark wrote two letters to Thomas and confirmed Wallace's place and date of birth.[17] His informants were James Paine (born *c.* 1829) a retired shoemaker, who had remembered his father James Paine (1797–1844) speaking about the family, and Miss Shephard, whose father had been a solicitor in Usk and whose brother, Alexander John Shephard, was a surgeon in the town. Miss Shephard recalled that her elder sister, Caroline, had visited the Wallace family.[18]

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[11] Morgan, K.O., *The Rebirth of a Nation: A History of Modern Wales* (Oxford, 1981) 98.

[12] The committee never gained Welsh representation on the Royal Standard, but on 10 Dec. 1901, King Edward VII decided that the prince of Wales's badge should display the red dragon (personal communication, College of Arms, 12 Aug. 2005).

[13] Davies, L. Twiston, *Men of Monmouthshire* (*Western Mail*, Cardiff, 1933, 2 vols.) features Wallace (vol. 2, 141–53) but not Thomas.

[14] Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 15 Feb. 1902, CCL 4.430/14a.

[15] *Ibid.* See also *My Life* (1905) vol. 1, 26, which gives his age at departure from Usk as '5 or less'. The letter refers to his return to Usk 'about 18 years ago', but *My Life* gives an exact date of 1883.

[16] Henry Walter Bates (1825–92) a naturalist, travelled to the Amazon with Wallace. They split up in 1850 and Wallace returned to Britain in 1852. On the return voyage, the ship caught fire and sank. Wallace was rescued after ten days at sea, but he had lost his natural history collection. See *DNB 1912–1921*, 546.

[17] Letter to Thomas from Clark, 9 Nov. 1903, CCL 4.430/22a.

[18] Letter to Thomas from Clark, 12 Jan. 1904, CCL 4.430/22b. Clark provided similar information about Wallace in his book *Reminiscences of Monmouthshire* (*County Observer* printing works, Usk, 1908) 177–9. He gained some of his information from 'an autograph letter shown me a couple of years ago' which is likely

Thomas's enquiries about Wallace's life may well have spurred Wallace into writing what he referred to as 'a kind of Autobiography or Recollections of my early life', because on 28 January 1904, he wrote to Thomas requesting help with illustrations.[19] He supposed Thomas would know of photographers or art dealers with collections and he particularly wanted illustrations of his birth place, Kensington cottage, and of Usk castle. In his autobiography, Wallace was to provide a more detailed description of his early memories of Llanbadoc and Usk. He remembered the house with a French window onto the garden with a large wooded bank behind. He referred to the nearby stone quarries where he had witnessed explosions from a safe distance, and the river Usk where he had watched men fishing in coracles and where he had scooped up lampreys from the safety of large flat stones. He described walking to Usk over the arched bridge with views of the Sugar Loaf and Skirrid in the distance and he remembered being invited to tea at Usk castle by the family in residence and walking up the spiral staircase of Usk keep and circling the ramparts. Interestingly he was called 'little Saxon' by the people of Usk who, despite his birth at Usk, still regarded him as essentially English.[20] He also requested illustrations of other parts of Wales where he had lived while engaged in land surveying. He wanted illustrations of Llandrindod Wells in Radnorshire, Trallong and Devynock in Breconshire and illustrations of houses in which he had lodged in the Neath area.[21] His interest in waterfalls meant that he wanted illustrations of those he had seen whilst living in Wales. He requested a photograph of 'Water-break-its-Neck' cascade in Radnorshire which he had seen whilst living over the border in Kington, Herefordshire. He also wanted photographs of 'some of the waterfalls up the Vale of Neath', and of Porth yr Ogof where the river Mellte disappears underground and a view of the 'waterfall at Capel Coelbren'.[22]

Thomas's vast correspondence is full of people thanking him for his various kindnesses and Wallace was no exception. Thomas provided a photograph of the Gwladus waterfall at Ytradfellte in the Neath valley which Wallace stated was the lower fall and the only one he had visited and Thomas's photograph is most probably the one which Wallace produced in his autobiography.[23] Thomas also put Wallace in contact with the Usk photographer who took the photograph of Kensington cottage.[24] Thomas sent sketches that he had drawn of the two cottages in which Wallace and his brother had lodged in the Neath area, but the letter emphasized Wallace's preference for landscapes because he stated that neither of them were picturesque enough 'to look well close, but coming in as part of a landscape they will do very well' and so Wallace arranged for photographs to

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to have been Thomas's first letter from Wallace dated 1902. See also Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 3 Part 1 The Hundred of Usk (Part 1)* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1923, reprinted by Academy Books, 1993) 22–3, which lists John Shepard, attorney, Alexander John Shepard, surgeon, and James Henry Clark, printer and publisher, amongst the portreeves of Usk.

19 Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 28 Jan. 1904, CCL 4.430/14b. Wallace refers to his proposed autobiography *My Life* (1905).

20 *My Life* (1905) vol. 1, 21–5.

21 Trallong is situated in the upper Usk valley to the west of Brecon. Devynock is situated close to Sennybridge. See letters to Thomas from Wallace, 28 Jan. 1904 and 17 April 1904, CCL 4.430/14b and CCL 4.430/14d. Thomas had reminded Wallace that Bryn Coch was the actual name of a farm he had previously called Bryn Mawr.

22 CCL 4.430/14b. The waterfall at 'Capel Coelbren' was probably Henrhyd waterfall near Ystradgynlais.

23 Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 3 Feb. 1904, CCL 4.430/14c. See also *My Life* (1905) vol. 1, photograph opposite p. 249.

24 Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 17 April 1904, CCL 4.430/14d. Wallace had written to the photographer at Usk.

be taken instead. Wallace also spurned Thomas's offer of help in providing an illustration of the farm at Bryn Coch, terming it 'as only a common-Welsh farm & would probably be quite unattractive'.[25] Thomas had put Wallace in touch with his friend Joshua John Neale of Penarth who also had a residence at 'Castell Mellte' above Ystradfellte and so it was Neale's children who took photographs of the Neath area which were included in *My Life*. Florence Neale took photographs of Maen Llia standing stone near the source of the river Llia and one of Porth yr Ogof on the river Mellte, while her brother Joshua Symmonds Neale produced a photograph of the Brecon Beacons.[26]

Like many of Thomas's correspondents, Wallace was beginning to appreciate how useful he could be and began to write in a less formal manner. In his letter dated 28 January 1904, Wallace invited Thomas to visit him if in the area.[27] By 17 April 1904, Thomas had made arrangements to visit Parkstone (Dorset) and Wallace wrote to offer Thomas the opportunity of creating 'a picture of some of the views from our house'.[28] Presumably the visit took place on 7 June, as in his letter of 8 June 1904, he wrote that he had forgotten to ask him 'yesterday' whether he had ever heard of an artist named Ince who had been a friend of his brother, William.[29] Further proof of this meeting is to be found in C. W. Dymond's letter to Thomas dated 5 October 1904, in which he stated that he envied Thomas his interview with Wallace at Broadstone and that he was a man he would have liked to have met 'more than any other living man.'[30] Possibly it was while visiting the area that Thomas commissioned a 'portrait' of Wallace from Florence Chant of Art Reproductions Limited at Parkstone. Wallace's autobiography of 1905 has a photograph of Wallace taken by Miss Chant in 1902. It is impossible to know if Thomas's 'portrait' of Wallace was a copy of this photograph, as her undated letter to Thomas merely states that the 'portrait' was completed.[31]

On 24 July 1904, Wallace wrote to Thomas concerning his visit with his family to Neale's house 'Castell Mellte' in the vale of Neath. Wallace loved the geography of the area and Symmonds Neale took Wallace on excursions 'in the Motor-Car', which he 'greatly enjoyed'.[32] Wallace was pleased that Thomas had sent him a copy of the *Transactions* of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society, because two articles dealt with glacial action in South Wales and included information about the vale of Neath. Glaciation was one of Wallace's 'favourite subjects' and he listed 'examples of moraines and glacial gravel' which he had identified in the Neath area.[33] Thomas had sent him a copy of his paper entitled *Some Folk Lore of South Wales* (1903) and Wallace criticised Thomas for

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25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.* For Florence and Symmonds Neale's photographs see *My Life*, 165. The 1901 census returns show that Florence and Symmonds were the children of Joshua John Neale of Penarth, but Symmonds appears under the name Joshua, Symmonds being his second name. Neale was a partner in the trawler company, Neale and West, and was a member of Cardiff Naturalists' Society and a close friend of Thomas.

27 CCL 4.430/14b.

28 CCL 4.430/14d. It is possible that Wallace was referring to one of Thomas's visits to his close friend Octavia Gregory who also lived at Parkstone.

29 Joseph Murray Ince (1806–59) was a landscape artist, educated in Hereford and later at Presteigne and London.

30 St Fagans National History Museum, Thomas Archive 2435/174. C. W. Dymond was an archaeologist and friend of Thomas, who had himself written an article on spiritualism.

31 Letter to Thomas from Florence Chant, 1 July [1902], CCL 4.430/14g. See also *My Life* (1905) inside cover, 'Photo by Miss Chant, Parkstone, 1902'. As Chant's letter is undated the original photograph might have been commissioned by Thomas or a copy of the original requested for his lecture to the biological section.

32 Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 24 July 1904, CCL 4.430/14f.

33 *Ibid.*

not including information about the 'Corpse Candle'.[34] Wallace revealed that his belief in spiritualism had affected his view of the many eye-witness accounts he had heard about the 'Corpse Candle' and he stated that 'though at the time I could not accept them as facts, I can now.' He also asked for a copy of Thomas's drawing of the inscription on Maen Madoc stone, situated near Ystradfellte, and wanted an assessment of its age. Thomas's drawing of the inscription was included in the autobiography, but unlike Florence and Symmonds Neale, he received no acknowledgement in the book.[35]

The last item of correspondence in Thomas's archive is a letter from Wallace dated 15 August 1905.[36] Wallace still needed two more photographs of waterfalls and appealed to Thomas once more for help. It is uncertain if the correspondence ended with this letter, but perhaps Thomas's usefulness declined following Wallace's publication of his autobiography in 1905, and Wallace's correspondence was of less importance to Thomas after he read his paper to the biological and geological section of Cardiff Naturalists' Society on 16 November 1905. For a paper to be published in the *Transactions* it had to be recommended by a section of the society to the 'parent' committee, and the minutes reveal that no recommendation was made.[37] Perhaps the members of the biological and geological section thought the subject lacked appeal, but Welsh interest in Wallace has grown in recent times. He is included in the Welsh 'achievers' display at the new National Waterfront Museum at Swansea, and a garden has been named after him at the National Botanic Garden of Wales, and now, as stated above, a plaque commemorates his birth place at Llanbadoc. However, these forgotten letters reveal that Thomas had already recognised the importance of this man and his relevance to Wales at a time when Wales felt the need to reassess its links with the past and to value the contribution of such people as Wallace, whose birth at Llanbadoc and love of the Welsh landscape, allow him to be termed Welsh.

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34 Sight of a corpse candle was supposed to be a warning of an imminent death.

35 Letter to Thomas from Wallace, 14 July 1904, CCL 4.430/14f. The Maen Madoc stone inscription was reproduced in *My Life*, vol. 1, facing p. 251.

36 St Fagan's National History Museum, Thomas Archive 2435/186, 15 Aug. 1905.

37 The author has been unable to trace a MS copy of Thomas's paper entitled 'Dr. Russel Wallace and his connection with South Wales'.

Fig. 1: Monument outside Llanbadoc churchyard to Alfred Russel Wallace, erected in 2006.
Photographer: Christabel Hutchings.

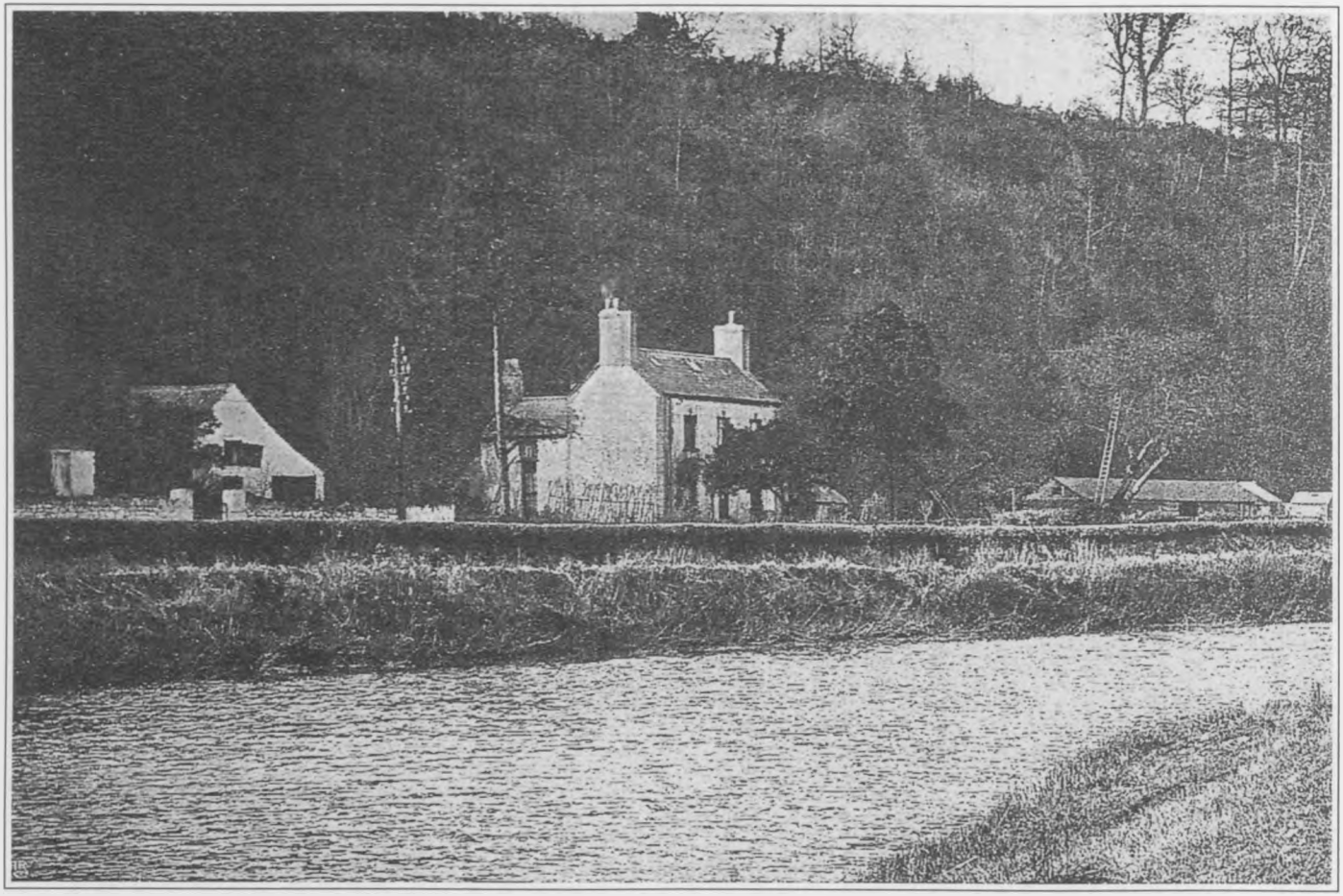

Fig. 2: 'MY BIRTH-PLACE. KENSINGTON COTTAGE, USK'.
From Wallace's autobiography, My Life (1905) vol. 1, facing p. 20.

REVIEWS

Knight, Jeremy, *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire* (Logaston Press, Little Logaston, Herefordshire, 2005); ISBN: 1 904396 41 0; 156mm x 235mm; ix +224 pp.; 60 b. & w. illus. and maps; £12–95.

Thirty years ago, the 'Great Civil War' was one of the most heavily researched areas of British history, and the standard unit by which it was investigated was the study of a single county. The expectation was that the story of the war, and its causes, would be reconstructed like a jigsaw, shire by shire, in a succession of books by different scholars that would build on each other to create a progressive deepening of sophistication and understanding. When the last was in place, then our nation's greatest ever internal upheaval, and its context, would be fully understood. It was not to be: by 1980, the scheme was already becoming unfashionable, and it petered out altogether by the mid-1990s. This was partly because experience had shown the limitations of county studies, but also because academic history has become such a crowded, dynamic and competitive world that novelty of approach has greater selling power than the repetition of even a successful familiar pattern. County studies of the war have returned to their Victorian roots in the hands of local historians, and ceased to make much impact on mainstream scholarship. As a retired professional archaeologist, Jeremy Knight spans both worlds: so does his study of the war in Monmouthshire buck the trend?

He brings to it both breadth of vision and depth of research. What he provides is essentially a history of the county between 1630 and 1690, allowing full opportunity to consider the consequences as well as the causes of the war. Within this period he has probably uncovered and utilized all the extant sources, with meticulous and patient care. The course of events is told in a detail that makes it seem definitive. Jeremy Knight's greatest talent is for what is technically known as prosopography, the identification of the individuals concerned in any given situation and the collection of information about their backgrounds, beliefs and relationships; in that sense the book is a mass of miniature biographies. In the same manner, however, local data is piled up to illustrate the county dimension of every feature of the political, military and religious history of the period. The critical question is, whether all this patient identification of trees gives us any better sense of the overall shape of the wood. At times the answer is affirmative: only a local historian as unwearying as Knight could have pointed to the number of new church bells bought in the interregnum as (undoubtedly) good evidence for the continuing vitality of parish religion in the county. In general, however, it is less clear what this impressive accumulation of material is actually achieving.

Let us take the question of how far regional social and economic characteristics determined allegiance in the civil war. The book does a great job in mapping those regions within Monmouthshire, and finds that the county reversed the model found in the West Country, and made famous by David Underdown, whereby arable regions tended to be more royalist and pastoral regions more parliamentarian. Does this mean that the model is itself fallacious? Knight does not say, and a large part of the reason is that the kind of records that Underdown used, and which would go far to answer the question, do not survive for his county. When dealing with the overt pattern of allegiance, he finds a clear division between the Catholic and determinedly royalist Somerset family of Raglan castle and a *bloc* of Protestant gentry from western and central Monmouthshire who rapidly drifted into neutrality or defected in the course of the war. This pattern of opposed *blocs* of county leaders, who took different courses during the conflict, is one familiar from most regions: what is unusual about this case in English terms, but normal in Welsh terms, is that both groups backed the king, more or less resolutely, at the opening of the war. Why the English and Welsh

patterns should have been so different is a major and interesting question, but too big to be noticed, let alone attempted, in this book. A final example of difficulty lies in the assessment of individuals. One of the most important in this story is Edward, Lord Herbert, heir to the family of Raglan castle. Knight justifiably takes great pride in reassessing the significance of a particular letter in 1643, that fixes the location of Herbert at a particular moment, and using it to argue that his military conduct at that time was less incompetent than had hitherto been thought by historians. This is not extended, however, to any overall evaluation of Herbert as general and politician; at other points in the book the usual criticisms of him are implicitly accepted. This is largely because such an evaluation would have had to take into account his actions outside Monmouthshire.

In sum, this is a work that does credit to the local patriotism that inspired it, and is a landmark in Monmouthshire studies. To historians of the nation, it provides a useful collection of data, but may serve to reinforce a sense of the inherent limitations of its *genre*.

Ronald Hutton

Olding, Frank, *Abergavenny Pubs* (Tempus, Stroud, 2005); ISBN: 0 7524 3576 0; 235mm x 165mm; 128 pp.; b. & w. illus.; £12–99.

Pubs have been an integral part of society for generations and in this interesting overview of the public houses of Abergavenny, Frank Olding provides a useful as well as entertaining commentary.

Through the years, Abergavenny has not been short of pubs, a point made by the superintendent of police in the town in 1897. With fifty-one alehouses and 'beerhouses on premises' as well as four 'beer off premises', the town of 7,640 had a public house for each 121 residents!

Concentrating the minds of the authorities has been a long-standing aspect of pub culture. Presumably, however, we are unlikely to return to the late-eighteenth century attempt to encourage 'piety and virtue' by requiring pubs to produce annual certificates of good order and behaviour signed by the vicar and churchwardens of the parish. As Frank Olding points out, in the 1780s, thirty-one Abergavenny pubs gained the blessing of the vicar and wardens.

Before the nineteenth century, most beer was produced in the brewhouse of each individual pub. By the 1820s, however, local breweries were developing and the advantage of buying up pubs to increase sales led to changes in ownership and approach. Nevertheless, well into the nineteenth century and beyond, keeping pubs was very much a family tradition. The introductory section of this book, explains this 'tribal tradition' very well.

The main body of the book provides thumbnail accounts of individual pubs, including surviving premises as well as those which closed many years ago. Among the latter was the *Old Duke* inn in Castle street which was demolished in 1962. Among the interesting photos which support the text is a shot of regulars at the *Old Duke* shortly before it closed. One of the men pictured is Duggan Thacker, the first curator of Abergavenny Museum, a post later held by the author.

Among the grandest venues in the town is the *Angel* hotel which hosted among other groups the Abergavenny *Cymreigyddion* who were in the vanguard of the early-nineteenth century eisteddfod movement. The *Angel* may have been grand but it did not always gain the full approval of guests. In 1793, Sir Richard Colt Hoare took exception to the service writing, 'I found a good inn at the Angel, Abergavenny, but bad attendance'.

One of the oldest surviving pubs is the *King's Arms* in Nevill street which dates from the sixteenth or early-seventeenth century. Among one-time residents here was a troop of the King's and 15th Hussars who were billeted at the pub in 1817 in response to rioting at Nantyglo and Tredegar in the previous year.

Another interesting pub is the *Hen and Chickens* in Flannel street. This seventeenth-century inn was near the town's poultry market which was held in Chicken street and St. John's street, consequently the name *Hen and Chickens*.

Such insights are interesting and enjoyable to read. The book should become required reading before any Abergavenny pub crawl. It is, however, more than that as it provides fascinating insights into the development of the town. It is a useful source which can be recommended to anyone interested in the history of Abergavenny.

Ray Howell

Robinson, David M., *The Cistercians in Wales, Architecture and Archaeology, 1130–1540* (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. 73, 2006); ISBN: 0 85431 285 4; ISSN: 0953–7163; hardback, 265mm x 210mm; 388pp., 193 illus.; £55–00.

It is a pleasure to review a *magnum opus* written by a member of this Association. Dr David Robinson needs little introduction, given his long service with Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, and the publications which ensued from that, notably his fine guidebook to Tintern Abbey. Although his earliest studies related to medieval Augustinian settlement, Dr Robinson has long turned his attention to Cistercian architecture both in Britain and on the Continent, as this volume bears witness. He reminds us that 'the fourteen abbeys examined were to incorporate Wales fully into the mainstream of European monasticism'. Referring to recent works by Fergusson and Harrison dealing with Rievaulx Abbey, and Coomans describing Villers-en-Brabant, Dr Robinson writes that they 'set particularly high standards for the comprehensive study of individual Cistercian sites'. What he does not note is that in this magnificent volume relating to the Welsh Cistercians, he achieves the same very high standards himself.

In Part I, 'Setting the Scene', Dr Robinson commences by describing the origins of the order (noting the part played in its formative years by the third abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen Harding, an Englishman), and by reviewing the ideals of the order (not least that of 'simplicity' in church building and the liturgy). The author then recounts the settlement of the White Monks in Wales, drawing attention to Whitland Abbey as being 'the most prolific abbey' in the establishment of daughter-houses, and to the literary impact on Wales of abbeys like Strata Florida. In dealing with 'Church Building in Wales before the Cistercians', Dr Robinson points out that 'stone churches were all but unknown in Wales before the arrival of the Norman invaders'. That being said, he refers in detail to the history and architecture of the ancient Welsh cathedrals.

The final chapter in this section tells of 'The abbey sites and temporary buildings', mentioning the importance of timber as a building material (as at the transient monastery of Trawscoed in Breconshire), and of the red-green sandstone quarried on nearby Barbadoes Hill for the construction of Tintern Abbey. Dr Robinson mentions the probable first site of Strata Florida at *yr hen fynachlog*, 2.4km from the final foundation, and on page 270 refers again to this location. The topography of that site is not typically Cistercian, but it was known as *hen monachlog* even

before the dissolution. Might it have been a Celtic cell which the Cistercians inherited? This would have been in accord with their absorption of other such sites throughout Europe.

Part II of Dr Robinson's book deals with the Abbey churches, commencing with the earliest stone churches (for which most evidence survives at Tintern), passing on to consider the arrival of the 'Bernardine' plan (with a detailed consideration of the nave at Margam), and then to describe the transition to regional gothic forms. Attention is drawn to the architectural history of Continental abbeys like Pontigny, of English abbeys such as Buildwas and Dore, as well as the 'undeniably complex' constructional history of the late twelfth-century church of Strata Florida. Not the least feature described here is 'the striking west door'. Mention is made of the difficulty in determining the plan of Llantarnam Abbey church, save for the evidence provided by A.G. Mein's limited but valuable excavation some years ago.

The last chapter in this section is entitled, 'The Welsh Cistercian Church Transformed' and, after considering the new presbytery at Dore and the thirteenth-century eastern arm at Margam, leads on to a full consideration of the new churches built later that century (and into the fourteenth) at both Tintern and Neath. This gives the author opportunity to describe the *pulpitum* at Tintern, perhaps the design of the West Country master mason, William Joy. Dr Robinson reminds us that a break in the construction programme at Tintern is indicated by differences in architectural detail in the windows of the south aisle of the nave and the south clerestory. Your reviewer remembers the late Mr Frank Kelley, such a fine custodian of the abbey, pointing these out to him years ago. Dr Robinson describes the triple *sedilia* at Cymer; your reviewer wonders whether the face-like features portrayed on the Buck print illustrating it actually existed.

Part III examines the claustral buildings. Dr Robinson first describes the east range at Tintern, mentioning stylistic differences between the sacristry and adjacent book-room and telling of the fifty metres long monks' dormitory above the length of this range, comparing it with continental examples. After considering the north range (actually the south range in most Cistercian plans) with its warming-house or *calefactory*, the author tells of the west range – where lay the offices, refectory and dormitory of the *conversi* (lay-brothers). Dr Robinson then deals with the wider abbey precinct which would normally be bounded by a precinct wall broken only by a gatehouse. The evidence for gatehouses in Wales is reviewed, and mention made of Tintern's outer and inner gate. He tells that 'stone walls are [also] to be suspected at Neath and Margam'; in the former case it may have been 'ye sanctuary wall' there, referred to by Edward Lhuyd (*c.*1700).

The ensuing chapters deal in considerable detail with the cloisters and cloister arcades (both in England and Wales), the chapter house (referring to the polygonal structures at Dore and Margam, and the extension of chapter houses at Strata Florida and Tintern), the monks' refectory (the present north-south orientated edifice at Tintern having been so constructed that the monks could occupy their old east-west dining hall as long as possible), infirmary provision (that at Tintern measured by William Worcestre as far back as 1478), and the abbot's accommodation (extensive at Tintern, and involving dormitory conversion at Valle Crucis). Your reviewer once saw the plain tiled floor beneath the turf of Tintern's chapter house

Part IV consists of a most useful catalogue of Cistercian sites in Wales and the Border. There is a general and architectural history of each of the fourteen abbeys, together with a summary bibliography for each house. Of necessity, there is a certain amount of repetition of earlier material in the book. As for the first site of Llantarnam Abbey, Dr Robinson says that 'David Williams favours the possibility of a site in the vicinity of Pentre-bach'. No longer! If there was a site change at all, and given the abbot's title as 'lord of the old abbey', your reviewer now feels that the former Celtic foundation at Llandderfel on Mynydd Maen, and a property of the later Cistercian monastery, may have temporarily housed its first monks.

Dr Robinson would be the first to acknowledge how much his splendid book owes to the striking illustrations it contains, including architectural reconstructions afforded by Terry Ball and Stuart Harrison, the many drawings by Pete Lawrence, Terry Ball and Christopher Jones-Jenkins, and the numerous fine photographs. The one your reviewer likes best is the aerial view of Strata Florida by Skyscan, emphasising that church's cruciform plan. Throughout the book, at every stage, are numerous relevant ground-plans. There is no account of the Cistercian nunnery church at Llanllugan, but Dr Robinson's book is a classic work, which will withstand the test of time for many generations to come.

David H. Williams

Wakelin, Peter, *Blaenavon Ironworks and World Heritage Landscapes*; ISBN: 1 85760 123 8; 64pp.; Brewer, Richard J., *Caerwent Roman Town*; ISBN: 1 85760 216 1; 57pp.; Turner, Rick, *Chepstow Castle*; ISBN: 1 85760 229 3; 56pp.
(Cadw, Cardiff, 2006); 210mm x 250mm; colour illus. and maps; £3–50.

For three decades, the highly detailed Cadw guidebook series has introduced a wide audience to the range of sites within its care. In this latest series of publications, revised editions of *Chepstow Castle* and *Caerwent Roman Town* are joined by *Blaenavon Ironworks*. Each of the publications follow a now familiar and highly effective three-part pattern. Detailed historical accounts are developed, illustrating the socio-political circumstances that influenced the respective site's creation and development, which are followed by a suggested tour route around each site. The final element is an introduction to the wider impacts made by the sites on the surrounding regions.

Blaenavon Ironworks most effectively explores the importance of a wider landscape, recognizing the recent importance placed on cultural landscapes by the World Heritage body UNESCO. First established in 1787, Blaenavon proved to be an attractive area for the development of a burgeoning iron industry. Yet, as impressive as the well-conserved remains of Blaenavon are, it is the extensive range of structures throughout the surrounding landscape that illustrates the wider impact of the ironworks on people's lives and the surrounding hillsides.

The tour of the wider industrial landscape begins with the lives of the workers. This considers domestic accommodation, through to the development of social buildings including schools, chapels and the workmen's institute. The tour then follows the 'Iron Mountain Trail', revealing the integrated industrial landscape, including the scarred hilltop of Pen-ffordd-goch, to abandoned sites such as Garnddyrys forge, ending the tour at Big Pit colliery.

Prior to this landscape tour, are a history and tour of the ironworks. The discussion of historical developments provides a concise summary of the respective owners and phased developments of industry, which both played roles in the introduction of new site features. This history takes Blaenavon through to the present day, recognizing the impacts had on the site through the decline of the British iron industry and the important current period of conservation.

The site tour follows a practical circular route. Useful phased illustrations of the site's development are included toward the centre of the book, which helps to establish the site sequences. The discussion of the functionality of each major site feature is well-complemented by contemporary accounts which provide, in the case of the discussion of the 'Row' buildings, a particular insight into everyday life, whilst the death certificate of Thomas Waters provides a touching human side and a reminder of the treacherous nature of the working environment.

As a general introduction to the Blaenavon World Heritage site, this publication more than serves its purpose. Practical routes through the landscape are suggested, with a detailed history of the area, which is supported with useful illustrations and a range of colour plates, amongst which are an extensive selection of nineteenth-century photographs, further revealing the site's evolution.

The second publication considered here is the third edition of the *Caerwent Roman Town* guide. Although little has changed in terms of content since the previous edition (1997) the guide benefits greatly from being 'upgraded' to the larger format of publication. The layout of pages appears greatly improved whilst retained and newly included images have a greater impact in this larger form.

Among the major updates is a more logical approach to the site tour. Visitors are now encouraged to walk the perimeter of the walled defences before entering the civilian complex. This new route provides an improved idea of the scale of the site, whilst also illustrating the site phasings. There is also a notably expanded emphasis placed on the Silures. Although discussed in previous editions, defended Silure positions throughout Gwent are discussed more fully. This is most effectively achieved to the rear of the guide, with a detailed introduction to the Llanmelin Wood hillfort. Such wider contextual considerations are essential to our understanding of the influence and impact of *Venta Silurum* on the wider region.

The *Chepstow Castle* guide receives its first new edition since its introduction in 2002 and integrates recent research undertaken at the site. As a result, a number of details have been revised, including recognition of the larger than previously thought scale of William fitz Osbern's castle, and a slightly later date for the beginning of the construction of Martin's Tower. A much greater emphasis is also now placed on the later structural alterations, focused on sixteenth-century domestic and seventeenth-century defensive improvements, including the re-modelling of existing features to accommodate cannon and muskets.

Another area of expansion involves a greater discussion of architectural features, in particular in relation to the phases of the Great Tower. Although in many cases these features are well-illustrated, there may be the risk that novice readers (and quite possibly a number of professionals as well!) may be somewhat lost by the broad range of architectural terminologies employed. Possibly the introduction of a 'feature' such as is employed for expanding upon the range of building stone found in the castle, could be introduced in the future to better illustrate the terminologies used.

For those coming to this publication for the first time, they will find a concise discussion of the key individuals who resided at Chepstow and the impact they had on the appearance and character of the site. The suggested tour is particularly worth following as it leads visitors along a chronological route, which should allow them to gain an appreciation of the way in which the site developed. The book also introduces the town of Chepstow and wider associated features, though the discussion of the Bulwarks Iron Age camp feels somewhat disjointed from the general medieval theme.

All three publications are welcome additions or updates to the now extensive range of Cadw guidebooks. Although the larger format with its foldout maps is somewhat cumbersome for use on site (personal experience suggests that opening the rear map whilst standing on a windswept south wall at Caerwent is ill-advised!), these publications remain an excellent introduction and should be a first point of reference for anyone visiting these sites.

David Howell

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES, 2006

Day Outing: 24 June, to Swansea

We arrived at Oystermouth castle on a perfect June morning. The far-reaching views over Swansea Bay and beyond made it clear why William de Londres chose the site for the building of his castle in the early-twelfth century. Our chairman, Jeremy Knight, spoke on the history of the castle and showed us around, while leaving us plenty of time to explore on our own.

In the afternoon, we visited the National Waterfront Museum, the magnificent new addition to the National Museum Wales, which tells the story of innovation and industry in Wales over the last three hundred years through traditional presentations and many interactive displays (some of which, unfortunately, were out of action). With the original Swansea Museum and the Maritime Cultural Quarter nearby, there was plenty to see.

Day Outing: 16 September, to Portsmouth

Inspired by the excellent lecture delivered by Mr Alan Aberg at the AGM in April on 'HMS Victory and Nelson', we spent a packed day at the Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, again in perfect weather. The only fixed point of the day was a special tour of *HMS Victory* in the afternoon, with her captain, Lieutenant Commander Scivier. Otherwise, we were free to explore the many other attractions on site with our bargain all-inclusive ticket – the *Mary Rose* and the wonderful exhibition of the artefacts found on board, *HMS Warrior* of 1860, the Royal Naval Museum, where some of us shook Admiral Lord Nelson by the hand, the Trafalgar Sail exhibition and the new exhibition on Dreadnoughts, to name but a few. We are most grateful to Mrs Anna Tribe, who paved the way for our visit and without whose help we would not have had such special treatment on *HMS Victory*. Our only grumble – one day was not long enough to do it all justice!

Evening Visits

We started the season, as usual, in May, with a hillfort visit, ably led by Allan Probert. This time, we were at Coed y Bwnydd, a small, well-defended site overlooking the Usk valley, where a hardy group of members, undeterred by the rain, assembled to hear its history, while enjoying the wonderful sweep of bluebells on the ramparts and a sudden, beautiful rainbow. Coed y Bwnydd was excavated in 1969–70 by Adrian Babbidge, a member of the Association, while still a student. To end the evening, we visited with Maddy Gray the small church at nearby Bettws Newydd, with its spectacular medieval rood screen, loft and tympanum.

We travelled further afield in June, on a glorious evening, to the two spectacular Neolithic chambered tombs at St Lythans and Tinkinswood, in the Vale of Glamorgan, dating from the fourth to the third millenium BC. Our guide was Dr Steve Burrow, curator of Neolithic Archaeology at National Museum Wales. At St Lythans, we were outnumbered by the large herd of very gentle cows who gathered round to listen! Some of us, on a later occasion, visited the exhibition curated by Dr Burrow at the National Museum, entitled 'Death in Wales: 4000–3000BC', where we saw some of the finds from the two sites.

In July, at Nash, on the Gwent Levels, a large group of members visited Nash church, of which the fifteenth-century steeple is unique in South-East Wales. Inside, Sue Waters, the churchwarden, ably assisted by Mark Lewis, revealed the history of this surprising church, with its complete Georgian ensemble of box pews, three-decker pulpit and west gallery. Some brave souls tackled the narrow stairs to the top of the tower to enjoy the view over the Levels.

In August, we visited an excavation in progress at the medieval town of Trellech, conducted by Stuart Wilson and the Monmouth Archaeological Society, where substantial remains of medieval buildings were coming to light, as well as a large amount of pottery. Stuart, having bought the field concerned, plans many more seasons of excavation.

Our final visit of the season was to Shirenewton hall in September, by kind invitation of Mr and Mrs Paul Bailey, to see the Japanese garden, which they have lovingly restored to its former glory, complete with tea house, streams and ponds. Laid out in 1880–1900, the gardens show a strong Far Eastern influence and contain several Chinese structures as well as the Japanese garden. After an introductory talk by Elisabeth Whittle, we wandered the Japanese garden in our own time, ending up at the tea house, where Mrs Bailey entertained us with a welcome glass of wine. In the balmy evening air, we enjoyed the garden and its trees and shrubs, gently lit by well-placed lanterns, with the streams burbling happily in the background.

Annual General Meeting: 29 April 2006

After the business meeting, an illustrated lecture on 'HMS Victory and Nelson' was delivered by Mr Alan Aberg, F.S.A., vice-president of the Royal Naval Museum.

Day School: 7 October 2006

The day school, entitled 'Roman Caerleon: Research 1850–2050', and held at the University of Wales Newport, Caerleon campus, was arranged by the Association in conjunction with the Caerleon Research Committee, who provided an impressive list of speakers. The committee was formed to foster future research on the legionary fortress and its environs. The day school reviewed past and present work and highlighted areas for future study.

Gwenllian V. Jones

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Anne Dunton studied at Royal Holloway College, University of London, and then trained as a French teacher at the University of Bristol. After she retired, she obtained an M.A. in Historical Landscape Studies from the University of Wales Newport. Miss Dunton's research for that degree formed the basis for her article published in this journal.

Simon Haslett, born in Caerleon and brought up in Usk, was educated at the universities of Keele and Southampton, obtaining his doctorate from the University of Glamorgan. He is professor of Physical Geography and head of the department of Geography, Bath Spa University, and specializes in Quaternary environmental reconstruction. He has published many articles and two textbooks – *Coastal Systems* (2000) and *Quaternary Environmental Micropalaeontology* (2002), and has recently attracted much media attention surrounding his research into the 1607 Bristol Channel flood. Professor Haslett is an elected fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and the Geological Society.

David Howell has recently completed an M.A. in Archaeology and Heritage at the University of Leicester, having previously studied at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. He has been involved with a range of excavations in South Wales and Avebury. Having taught archaeology at Coleg Gwent, Usk, in 2005–6, he is now a visiting lecturer at University of Wales Newport.

Raymond Howell is reader in history and medieval archaeology at the University of Wales Newport. His latest book, *Searching for the Silures, an Iron Age Tribe in Southeast Wales*, was published by Tempus in 2006. Also published in 2006 was *Lodge Hill Camp, Caerleon and the Hillforts of Gwent*, written with Josh Pollard, Adrian Chadwick and Anne Leaver. His other publications include *A History of Gwent* (1988) and with Professor Miranda Aldhouse-Green as co-author, *Celtic Wales* (2000). They were also the editors of *The Gwent County History. Volume 1. Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*, published in 2004. Now, with Mr Tony Hopkins of the Gwent Record Office, Dr Howell is co-editing *The Gwent County History. Volume 2.*

Christabel Hutchings has researched the history of education in the nineteenth century, for which she was awarded an M.Ed. by Cardiff University. More recently, she has completed an M.A. in Celtic-Roman studies at the University of Wales Newport; her dissertation was entitled 'Slavery and Status in Roman Britain'. She has done extensive research into the archive of Thomas Henry Thomas (1839–1915), a catalogue of which she is currently preparing for publication.

Ronald Hutton took three degrees at Cambridge and Oxford, and was elected to an Oxford fellowship, before moving to the Bristol University to become professor of History. He is a leading authority on the history of the British Isles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on ancient and medieval paganism and magic, and on the global context of witchcraft beliefs. Professor Hutton's many publications include *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646* (1982, 2nd edit., 1999), *The British Republic, 1649–1660* (1990, 2nd edit., 2000) and *Debates in Stuart History* (2004). He is also well-known because of his appearances on television.

Gwenllian Jones read modern languages at Manchester University and trained as a teacher at Liverpool University. Later, she graduated in archaeology at Cardiff University, where she also gained an M.A. in local history. She has been honorary secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association since 1986, and is also honorary secretary of the Gwent County History Association.

Jeremy Knight, who was born in Caerleon, read archaeology at University College, Cardiff. For over thirty years, he was an 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), whilst his book, *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire*, was published in 2005.

Mark Lewis was born and raised in Monmouthshire. His interest in archaeology began at the age of twelve at Trostrey, near Usk. Three years later, he began to dig at Caerwent, working on the Temple, *Forum* and *Basilica* sites. He studied for his B.Sc. in Archaeological Conservation and his M.Sc. in Conservation, at Cardiff University. He is currently writing up his Ph.D. on aspects of iron corrosion, studied for the preservation strategy of the *SS Great Britain*, a work cited when the 2006 Gulbenkian prize was awarded to the *SS Great Britain* Trust. Since 2000, Mark Lewis has been a curatorial officer at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon.

Robert Matthews lectures in Early Modern British and French History for the Open University in Wales. He specializes in the military and religious history of this period, especially in South Wales. Dr Matthews is the author of *'This Storme in Wales': The Second Civil War in South Wales, 1648* and the chapter 'The Civil War and Interregnum: Monmouthshire, 1642–1660' to be published in Morgan, P. and Gray, M. (eds.), *The Gwent County History. Volume 3.*

Julian Mitchell read history at Oxford and lives at Llansoy. He is a playwright, novelist, and film and television scriptwriter. His best-known stage play is *Another Country* and his films include *August* (Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* re-set in North Wales) and *Wilde*. He also wrote ten episodes of *Inspector Morse*. Julian Mitchell's historical research has been published in the *Welsh History Review* and *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*. He is also a contributor to *The Gwent County History* with chapters on late-seventeenth century Monmouthshire politics and the Wye Tour.

David Williams was born in Newport, and educated at Bassaleg School and Trinity College, Cambridge. Throughout his adult life, he has had two main research interests: the study of seals, but especially Cistercian studies on which he has published numerous works, which have rightly led him to be acknowledged as one of the foremost scholars in this field. David Williams accomplished this whilst serving as an Anglican priest in Wales, Libya, and Poland, from which he returned in 1997 to settle near the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth.