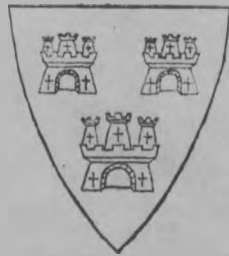


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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MONMOUTHSHIRE & CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION



Edited by CEFNI BARNETT

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VOLUME III, PART II, 1972-73

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

VOL. III PART II

1972-73

EXCAVATIONS AT ABERGAVENNY, 1962 - 1969

II. MEDIEVAL AND LATER

By FABIAN RADCLIFFE, O.P. and JEREMY KNIGHT

With contributions by MICHAEL DOLLEY, M.R.I.A. and D. M. D. THACKER

Introduction

This is the second part of a report on excavations carried out in Abergavenny since 1962, mostly by members of the Abergavenny Archaeological Group. The first report, dealing with the late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age occupation on the Flannel Street site and with evidence for Roman *Gobannium* appeared in an earlier number of this journal (*Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. II part IV (1968-9)). The present report deals with the medieval town of Abergavenny and with certain aspects of the town's sixteenth and seventeenth century material culture.¹

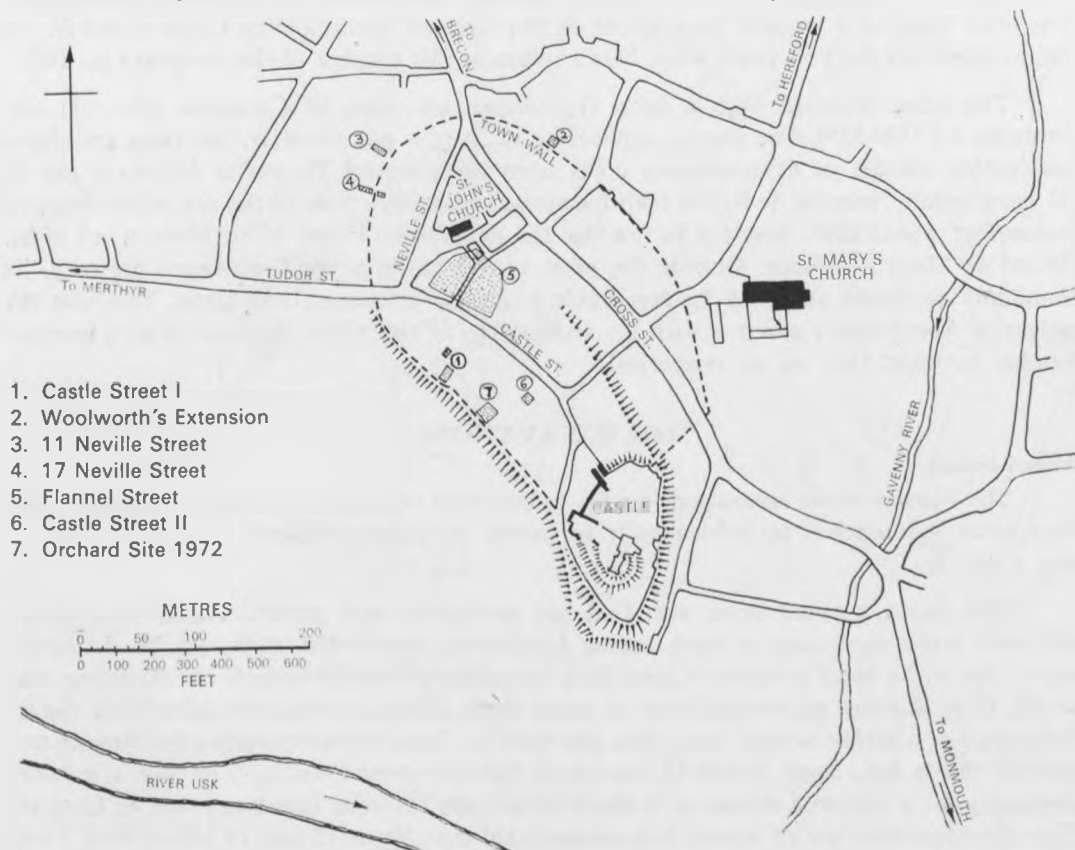


FIG. 1. Plan of Abergavenny, showing position of sites.

The excavations were initiated by the Rev. Fabian Radcliffe, O.P., in 1962 (see Fig. 1). From 1962 to 1964 work was concentrated on the town defences. At *Castle Street I* (1962) the supposed town wall was found to be of 18th century date, but two phases of medieval earth bank were found beneath it. In the same year, Mr. D. M. Thacker recovered much pottery from building operations at a site in High Street (*Woolworth's Extension*), much of it from the filling of the town ditch. At *11 and 17 Neville Street* in 1963-4 Fr. Radcliffe and J. K. Knight examined the line of the town wall and sectioned the ditch at two points, recovering useful groups of dateable pottery.

In 1964-5 a large area inside the town, at *Flannel Street*, was excavated by Fr. Radcliffe, Eric Talbot and Jeffrey Davies, prior to the building of the new Post Office and Telephone Exchange. The results of this excavation form the major part of both this report and its predecessor. As a result of this work attention was turned to the Roman fort of *Gobannium*. In 1967-8 members of the group cut mechanically-dug trenches along the northern edge of Tudor Street in advance of re-development. Among the results was another section of the town ditch. Since 1968 Mr. Kenneth Key has been excavating a series of Roman and medieval layers at Castle Street (*Castle Street II*). In 1972 the newly formed Abergavenny Archaeological Research Committee initiated a series of excavations on the Orchard site adjoining *Castle Street II*. An interim report on the first year's work here appears in this number of the *Antiquary* (p. 104).

The latest recorded objects from *Gobannium* are coins of Carausius (286-293) and Constantine I (330-335). The precise significance of these is not yet clear, but there are also a considerable number of Constantinian coins from Monmouth.² Thereafter follows a gap of 800 years, before Hamelin de Ballon built his motte and bailey castle on the site of the deserted Roman fort³ about 1090. Beside it he founded the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary, a cell of St. Vincent de Mans in France. Outside the gates of this castle a small settlement grew up, its inhabitants no doubt attracted by favourable terms for settlement and trade. This was the nucleus of Abergavenny and it is with the archaeology of this town, the head of an important Marcher lordship, that we are concerned.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Flannel Street

The Flannel Street excavation (see fig. 2) consisted originally of Areas A, B and C. The other areas were opened up subsequently to pursue particular problems.
Area A (fig. 3)

This was a trial cut in an area that had previously been garden. The earliest feature discovered was a depression or ditch sloping downwards towards the south-east. To the north-west of this was a black occupation level lying immediately over the natural red sandstone clay subsoil. Over this was an accumulation of sandy earth (layer 13) which continued over the lip of the ditch as a darker damper stone-free silty material (layer 12), containing a few Roman and medieval sherds. Into layers 12 and 13 was cut the light dry-stone foundation of Wall 4, possibly the footing for a timbered structure. A depth of red clay make-up (the lower part of layer 10, below the horizontal line of stones) had accumulated over layers 12 and 13 before Wall 3 was built, resting on the top of layer 13. This was a substantial well-built structure of irregularly



shaped coursed rubble in slabs of unmortared local sandstone. The footings still stood about 9 courses high, and the top course was about 8 feet below the present ground level. When Wall 3 was demolished, a flat-topped bank of red clay and stone was thrown up over it, extending also over the silting of the ditch or depression. This material, layer 10, was roughly revetted in stone rubble at the top of its slope; and it contained lumps of mortar, medieval pottery of 14th-15th century date and fragments of glazed medieval ridge tile. The demolition of Wall 3 and the building of the bank therefore probably date to the 15th or 16th century; and the bank was probably intended to counteract the considerable difference in contemporary ground levels to east and west of the area (see below). The silt from the bank (layer 11), contained four sherds of post-medieval pottery.

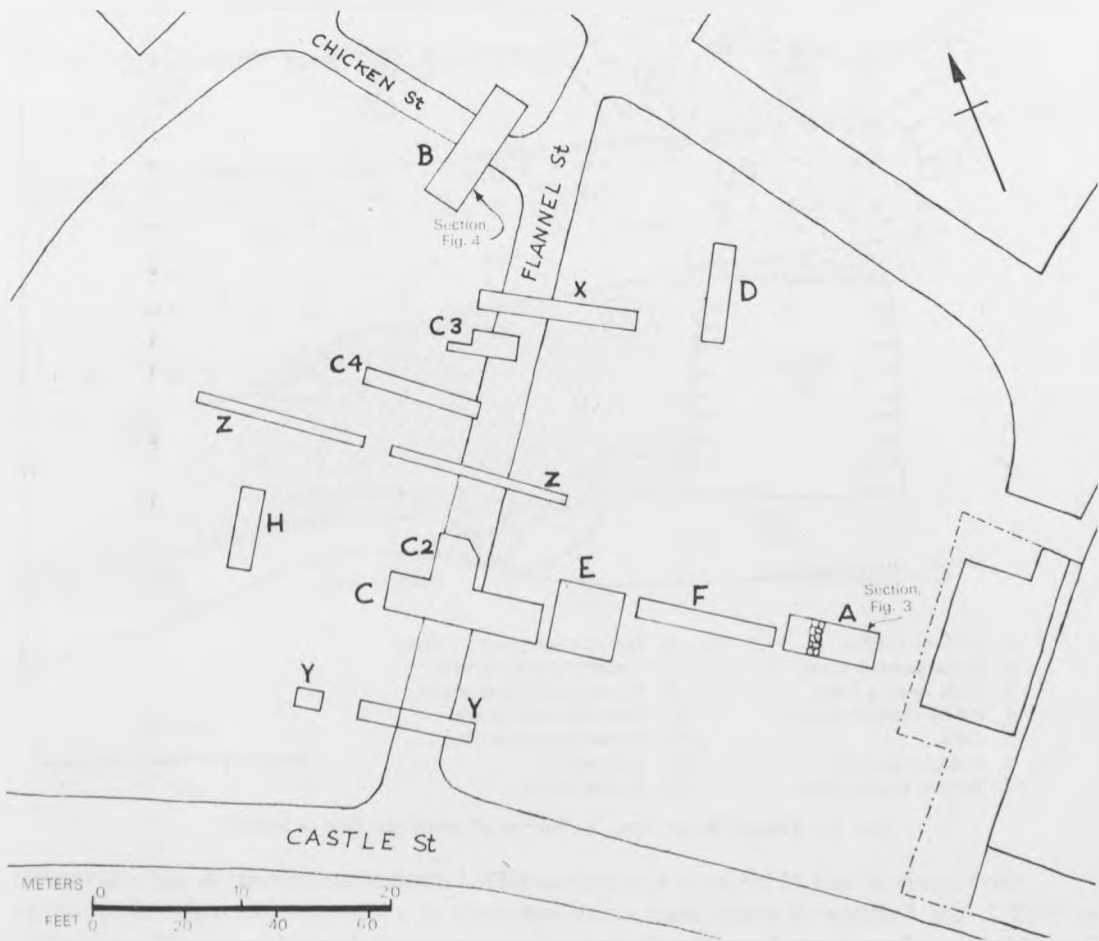


FIG. 2. Plan of Flannel Street site, showing excavated areas.

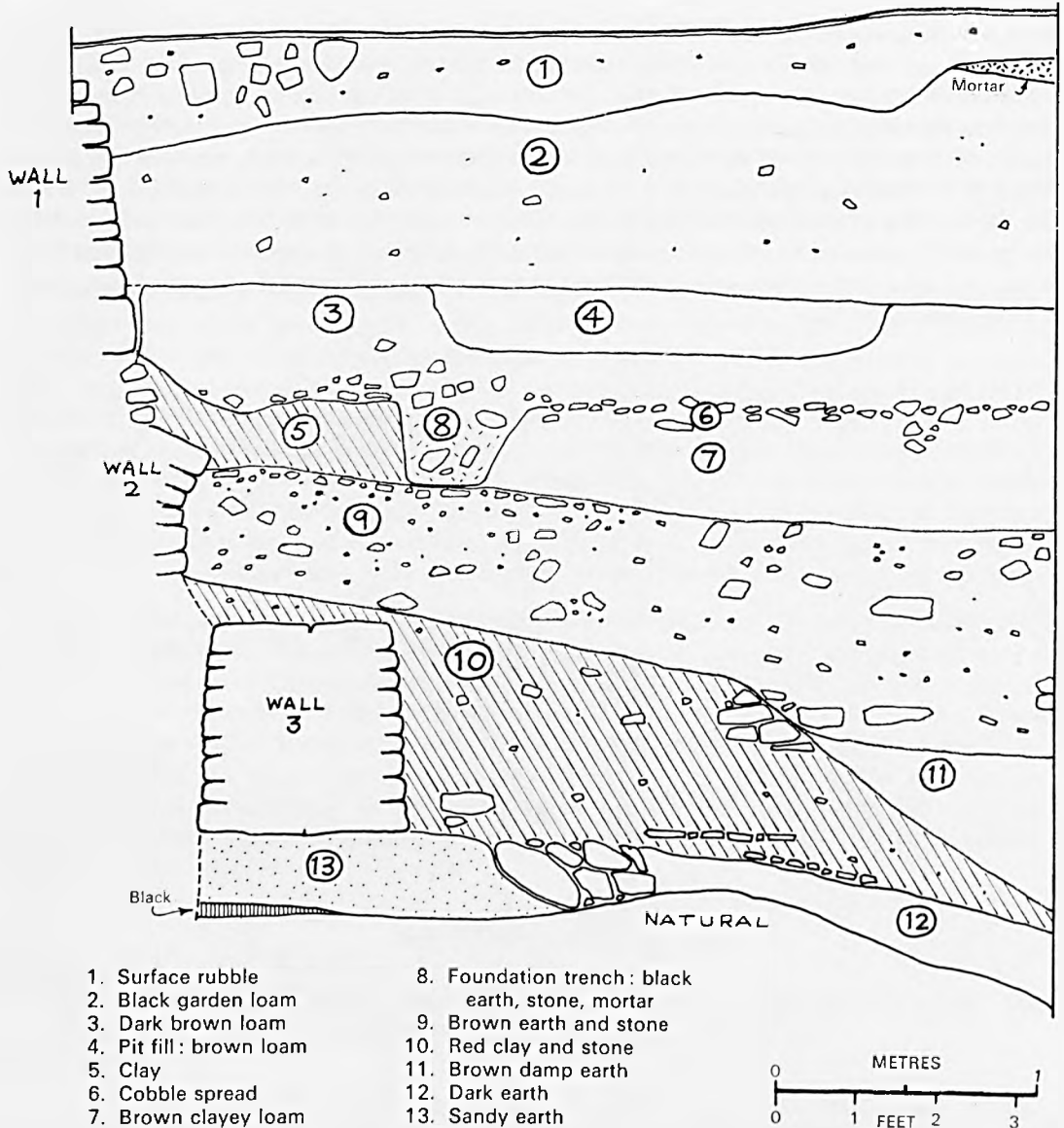
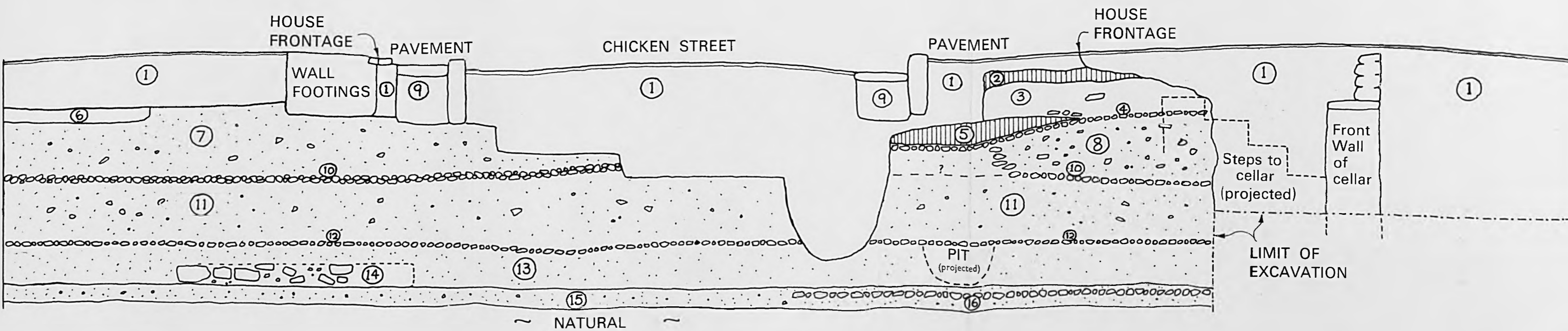


FIG. 3. Flannel Street, Area A. Section of north-east face of trench.

Over layers 10 and 11 lay layer 9, which contained much stone associated with the tumble of Wall 2, the footings of which leant south-eastwards at a considerable angle. The pottery from this layer, though mainly medieval, also included one small sherd of post-medieval German stoneware; the layer also produced a small and finely made silver and niello brooch (see p. 82 below, and fig. 9.2). Over this again were two further layers of build-up, layers 7 and 3, separated by cobbling, layer 6. These were being laid down in the 17th century; the pottery from them



- 1. Modern disturbance.
- 2. Clinker beneath pavement.
- 3. Red sand and stones.
- 4. Cobbles beneath 3.
- 5. Burnt material and clinker.
- 6. Compact earth, brick dust, red clay and stones.
- 7. Red brown sandy and stony.
- 8. Red brown sandy and stony.

- 9. Black stony fill beneath pavement and street.
- 10. Cobbles below 7 and 8
- 11. Red brown sandy and stony.
- 12. Cobbles below 11
- 13. Red brown sandy.
- 14. Possible Roman wall-footing.
- 15. Red sand and small stones.
- 16. Large cobbles — probably Roman.

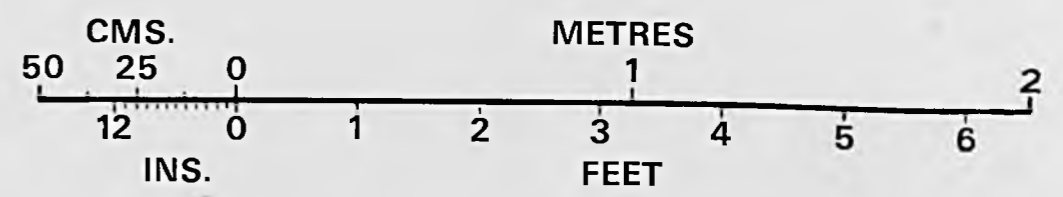


Figure 4 — Flannel Street Area B
Section of south-east face of trench



included two sherds of slipware of late 16th or 17th century date. Layer 3 contained two pipe bowls of the first half of the 17th century, and a Broseley pipe stamped by the maker Joseph Hughes, showing that the layer was not sealed until after 1680. This layer was cut by the foundation trench of Wall 1, part of a building whose garden soil (layer 2) contained much 18th century pottery.

The depth of this area contrasts remarkably with that of the others in the Flannel Street excavations. In Area E, for example, undisturbed natural was reached at a depth of 4ft. 3ins. In Area A, only 50ft. to the east, it lay at 11ft. 6ins., though the present ground level between the two points varied by only a few inches. This fact, and the way in which the lower layers and the natural surface in Area A sloped downwards towards the south-east, suggests that there had been a ditch or natural depression running approximately north-east/south-west just to the south-east of Area A. Such a feature would have run across the middle of the Roman fort, and so substantial a dip in such a position would hardly have been left unfilled. It is probably therefore a man-made feature and not a natural depression. There remain two possible explanations. First, it may be the ditch of a reduced Roman fort. There is however no other evidence to suggest that Gobannium was so reduced; and the small quantity of Roman pottery derived from layers 11 and 12 makes this hypothesis unlikely. On the other hand the depression must be earlier than layer 12, for which however the dating evidence was scanty. There is a firmer dating for Wall 3, which must have been destroyed in the 15th or 16th century, on the evidence of the pottery in layer 10. If the nucleus of the Norman town lay just outside the Castle gates, this depression in Area A may be a ditch marking the western boundary of the settlement. In that case Walls 3 and 4 represent the expansion of the town outside its original bounds, building on the edge of the partly infilled ditch. Further filling took place in the 16th and early 17th centuries, when Wall 2 collapsed; and final levelling up took place later in the 17th century when the ditch disappeared under the cobbling (layer 6) which was laid across it. This make-up material may have been derived from excavations for cellars in the Flannel Street area. The north-western end of Area A itself cut into a cellar, and was left unexplored.

Areas B and C (Figs. 2 and 4)

These areas were opened in an attempt to find dateable street levels and house frontages, and in the hope of being able to uncover entire house plans. The area was however found to have been much disturbed by post-medieval buildings, cellars and pipe trenches; and it was soon evident that no medieval street levels or house plans could be recovered. Attention was therefore concentrated on obtaining sections that would show the sequence of medieval occupation.

In Area B the sequence was as follows. Immediately above the natural soil was a Roman occupation level (fig. 4; layer 15), associated with an area of substantial rounded cobbles (layer 16; = Area C4 layer 12) with a well demarcated straight edge to the east, and cut away to the south by a later cellar (see *Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. II part IV, fig. 2, p. 167). Above the Roman occupation layer was a make-up of red brown sandy material (layer 13; — Area C4 layer 9) containing Roman sherds, including *amphorae*, together with a few small fragments of early medieval cooking pot. This layer represents the natural build up between Roman and

medieval times. A cobbled footing near the north-eastern end of the section (layer 14), and partly destroyed by later disturbance, was sealed by a thin layer of small cobbles and stones (layer 12) representing an occupation surface. Through this was cut a small hemispherical pit filled with brown clayey soil containing charcoal and ironslag and an early medieval cooking pot sherd. The pit may be connected with the medieval ironsmelting, of which other traces were found, for example a furnace bottom in Area H. The pit and the cobbled footing represent the earlier phases of medieval occupation in the area, but there was little evidence for them other than the cooking pot sherd.

Above layer 12 was a thick layer of red-brown sandy make-up with some stone (layer 11; — Area C4 layer 9), sealed by a second more substantial cobbled layer (layer 10), which extended over the whole of Area B except where it had been cut through by house frontages and cellars on the south-west side of Chicken Street, and which was also present in Areas C4 and H. The pottery from layer 11 included sherds of decorated jugs of late 13th to 14th century character, and three sherds of jugs with “complex rouletted” decoration. At the south-west end of the section this layer was considerably thicker and divided into two (layers 8 and 11) by an intermediate cobbled layer (10), though recent disturbance of the layers under Chicken Street prevented any precise correlation with the stratification in the other half of the area. From layer 8 came a broken half of a long cross penny of Henry III, struck at Oxford by the moneyer Gefrei in 1249-50. Mr. Michael Dolley would date its loss to c.1260-80. (see below, p. 81). The associated sherds of decorated jugs and cooking pot are dealt with in detail below, page 87.

The layer of make-up above the upper cobbling (layer 7; = Area C4 layer 7) contained a further group of pottery, probably of 14th century date, including sherds of decorated jugs of “White Castle” style, others in green glazed white ware imitating French imports, one sherd from a jug with white painted underglaze decoration, together with associated cooking pots (see page 87 below). The levels above layer 7 were recent, associated with the houses which stood on either side of Chicken Street, with the clearance of the site and with excavations for service pipes etc. under the street.

Area C4 contained the foundations of two successive buildings, both lying parallel to Flannel Street. The earlier was represented by a simple wall footing set back 9ft. from the street frontage. It was of light construction suggesting a timbered superstructure; and it was cut into layer 7, which indicates a date no earlier than the 14th century. The later wall, of more massive character, represented a structure 12ft. wide internally. Modern disturbance had removed any associated levels but its character indicated a post-medieval date.

Areas D, E, F and H (Fig. 2)

Area D was opened to examine the plan of an upper cruck building known to have stood there, and the layers below it. But large scale modern disturbance and heavy destruction rubble made worth-while excavation impossibl.

In Area E the earliest levels were a series of layers of sand and clay producing Roman material, including much Samian ware, glass and a bronze cuirass fragment, and worked flints. This was sealed by a cobbled area with small medieval cooking pot sherds. Above this again

was a hard packed layer of cobbles and chocolate brown soil, bounded on the west by an irregular line of stake holes, 2.5 - 3 inches in diameter, presumably representing a fence. This surface was sealed by a substantial spread of medieval stone roofing tiles, mixed with fragments of crested pottery ridge tiles, lying immediately under modern superficial deposits. The southern part of the area was partly taken up by the cellar and wall of a post-medieval building.

The spread of roofing tiles, which presumably represented the levelling of material from a demolished (or re-roofed) late medieval building was again encountered in F, immediately to the east, where it sealed a group of pottery of late thirteenth-fourteenth century character, but this area was much disturbed by a sewer trench. Associated with this pottery group was a second long cross penny of Henry III, in this case struck in London by the moneyer Renaud, in the late 1260s, and lost in the early 1270s.

In Area H the earliest levels produced only Roman sherds, but above this was further evidence for the iron working found in Area B in a 13th century context. As in Area B this iron working phase overlay a layer of light cobbling and stones sealing the Roman levels. It consisted of a layer of black soil and ironslag, sealed by heavier cobbling (equivalent to layer 10 in Area B) in which was incorporated a furnace bottom.

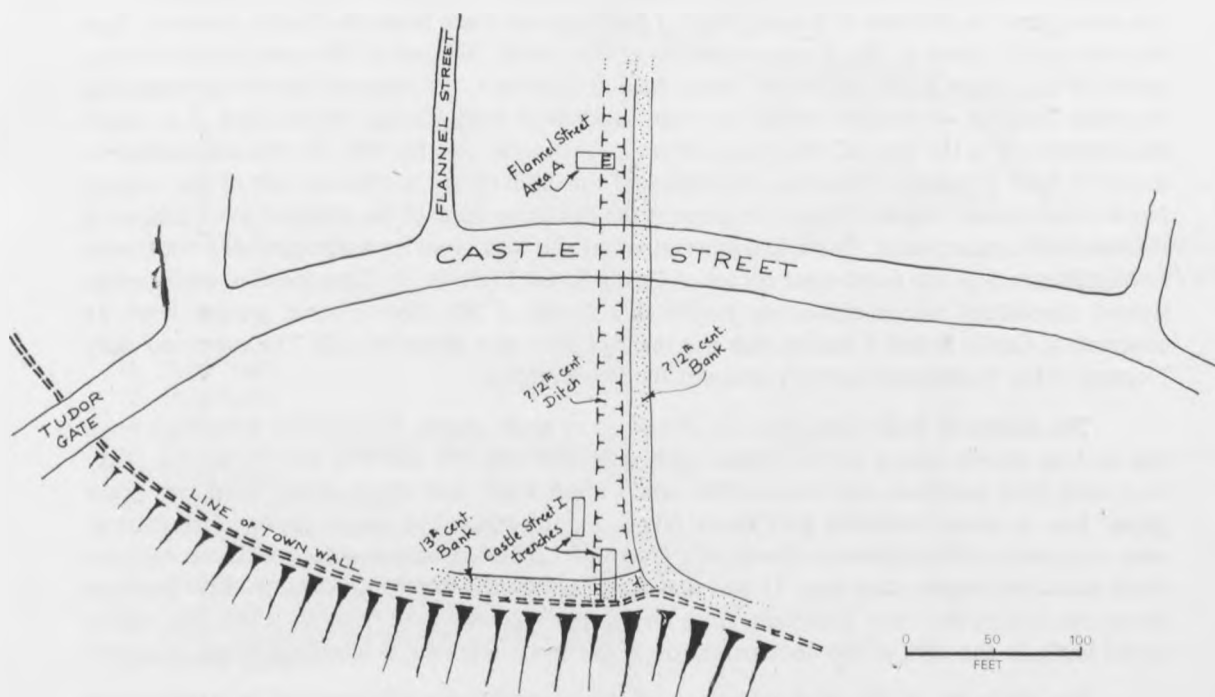


FIG. 5b. Line of possible ditch, Flannel Street — Castle Street and junction with town defences

Castle Street I (Figs. 1 and 5a and b)

This area was excavated in the summer of 1962, before it was turned into a car park. The purpose was to date the wall that ran along the line of the Town Wall and to find out as much as possible about the town defences in that area.

The wall runs along the crest of the slope which falls steeply to the River Usk, some 340 metres away. This particular garden was chosen because the ground levels were lower than in the others. Nevertheless, the ground banked up against the wall some 2ft. 6ins. higher than the rest of the garden.

The earliest feature excavated was layer II, light grey sticky loam with some small stones and charcoal specks. Shortage of time prevented the full examination of this layer down to natural, so that its precise character remains uncertain. The interpretation offered here is a hypothesis based on the evidence available but going beyond what is strictly demonstrable. The material of this layer 11 had every appearance of being ditch silt. It contained Roman pottery and medieval sherds of 12th and 13th century date, and it was overlaid by the tail of a bank, layers 10 and 12. It is unlikely that there would have been an early Norman ditch on the crest of the slope behind a defensive bank; or that such a ditch, had it existed, would have been allowed to silt up. It is also unlikely that a Roman defensive ditch would be found in the same position. In any case the evidence from the 1972 excavations on the Orchard Site suggests that the escarpment in the area of *Castle Street I* has been cut back from its Roman position, thus destroying any traces of the Roman defences at this point. If however the interpretation given above of the lowest levels in Flannel Street Area A is correct, the supposed ditch encompassing the early Norman settlement would have run south-west from Flannel Street Area A to reach the escarpment in the area of the *Castle Street I* excavation, (see fig. 5b). On this interpretation therefore layer 11 may be the silting or infilling of the ditch on the north-west side of the original Norman settlement; layers 10 and 12 represent the defensive bank of the enlarged town following the line of the escarpment. Possible confirmation of this was given by a mechanically cut trench some 12ft. north of the north-west corner of *Castle Street I* (see fig. 1). This revealed undisturbed natural (sandstone lumps and stony earth) at a depth of 5ft. from present ground level. In contrast, in *Castle Street I* natural was not reached even at a depth of 13ft. The supposed early Norman ditch would satisfactorily account for this evidence.

The medieval finds from layer 11 consisted of body sherds from about 6 cooking pots, one in liver-brown calcite gritted fabric with grey core (fig. 11, no. 27), four in brown gritty ware with grey exteriors, and one in thin sandy black ware; and three sherds from two green glazed jugs in orange surfaced grey sandy fabric, one of which had simple diamond rouletting, such as occurs at Montgomery Castle in a group of 1223-30. These sherds, which are not precisely dateable, suggest that layer 11 was sealed not before the early 13th century. This however leaves the date of the bank uncertain, since no pottery was recovered from its levels. The dating of the bank, in the light of the documentation of the town defences, is discussed below, page 79.

The make-up of the bank consisted of stony sand (layer 12) overlaid by a clay layer (layer 10). Layer 12 contained no finds; in layer 10 there were charcoal specks, a lump of iron slag, one fragment of stone tile and some scraps of bone. Layer 10 varied in thickness from

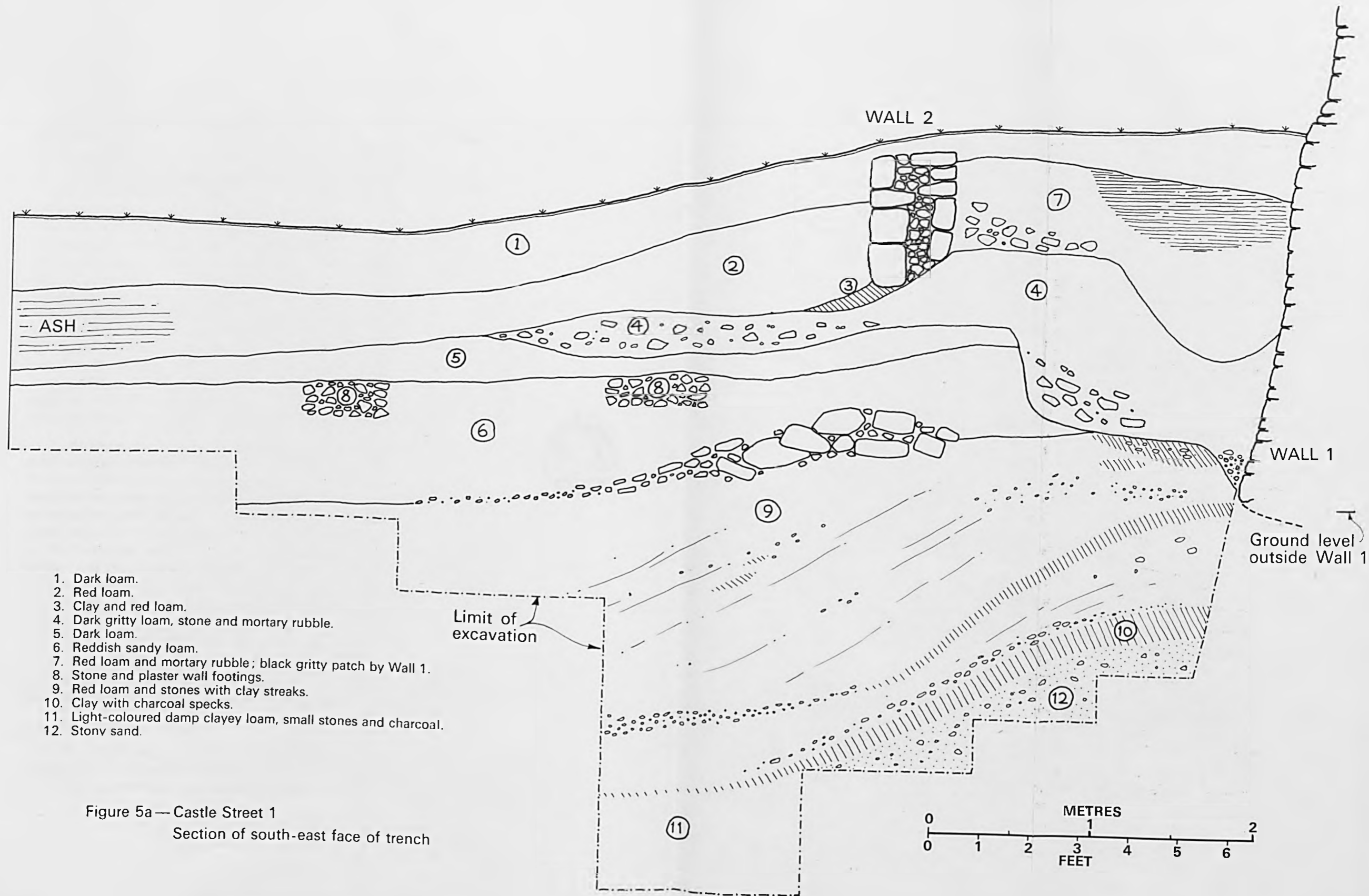


Figure 5a — Castle Street 1
Section of south-east face of trench

3ins. to 12ins.; and though it was thin and patchy where it covered layer 11, it certainly sealed that layer from the accumulation of red earth and stones above it, layer 9. This layer 9 with its sloping streaks of clay and stones consists of the material of the heightened bank, and an accumulation of earth and stones which built up behind it. It was not possible to distinguish a clear demarcation between the two. But the clay levels indicate where the crest of the bank would have been. The layer of heavy stone lying at the junction of layers 9 and 6 suggests that at some stage the bank was capped by a wall, which subsequently fell or was destroyed. The medieval finds from layer 9 give a rough terminus for this. They consist of a basal sherd from a 13th century pitcher, ten other glazed body sherds, and one fragment of glazed roof tile, all of 13th-14th century date; and eight sherds of cooking pot, including three rims. This evidence indicates a date early in the 14th century as the earliest point at which the wall could have fallen; but documentation makes it clear that the walls were maintained for a hundred years longer than this, (see below, page 78). Layer 6, likewise a level of red sandy earth but with much less stone than layer 9, contained both medieval and post-medieval pottery, including several sherds of brown glazed red fabric (fig. 12). In this layer the pottery was associated with an Irish 3d of Henry VIII, posthumous issue, 1547-50, which to judge from its ware may have been deposited by 1550-60. So the sealing of the heavy stone tumble by layer 6 may not have taken place till some time in the second half of the 16th century. The absence of 15th and early 16th century pottery in layer 9, which might appear surprising if it were not sealed till c.1560, may be due either to a decline in the habit of using pottery at this time, or to our inability at present to recognise pottery of this date, owing to chronological uncertainty.

At this stage therefore we can envisage the town defences in a derelict condition at this point; and they must have remained so long enough for a small house or hovel to be built and destroyed and a further accumulation, layer 5, to have gathered. This small building was indicated by robbed foundation trenches, layer 8, which contained mortary rubble and some pottery of medieval and 16th to 17th century date. Layer 5 was of dark garden loam, and contained only a few sherds of 17th to 18th century pottery. This and layer 6 had been cut through by the foundation trench of Wall 1. The fill of this trench, layer 4, contained 18th century pottery; and this, combined with the evidence from layers 5 and 6 indicated that Wall 1 was built in the mid-18th century. This date is too late for the wall to have served any defensive purpose; and its construction is probably related to the terracing of the garden below. In contrast to 11 and 17 Neville Street and to the Orchard Site, there is no evidence, at this point, for a refurbishing of the town defences during the Civil War.

The last phase of the structures was the construction of Wall 2, parallel to Wall 1. The rubble and mortary fill, layer 7, which is associated with this wall, contained pottery of the later 18th and early 19th century. There was no indication of the purpose of Wall 2.

11 Neville Street (Figs. 1 and 6)

In 1963 a section was cut across the line of the town ditch at the rear of 11 Neville Street. The ditch was broad and fairly shallow, almost 35ft. wide and 8ft. deep. The outer slope was gentle and led down to a flat bottom, but the inner slope was much steeper, with a vertical step

2ft. high at its base, increasing the width of the ditch bottom to about 12ft. It is possible that this step was the only surviving trace of an earlier ditch otherwise removed by re-cutting, but at 17 Neville Street it was shown that above the step the ditch was cut into re-deposited material containing pottery and charcoal.

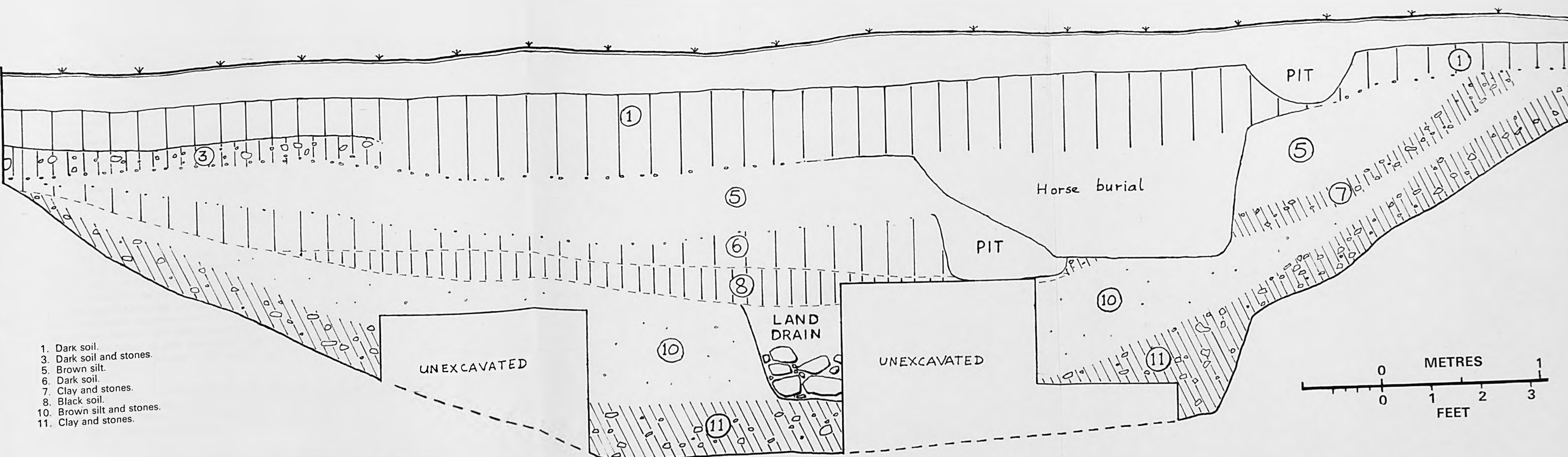
The primary silt of the ditch, a brown sandy clay, contained a scrap of pipe stem and a sherd of Bellarmine stoneware jug, showing that the final cutting of the ditch had taken place no earlier than the early 17th century. Taking into account also the evidence from 17 Neville Street it is probable that this final cleaning out took place at the time of the Civil War. The silting, above this, a brown earthy clay (layer 10), contained small scraps of coal and suggested by its character that the ditch was at this time boggy. After some 3 feet of this silt had accumulated the ditch may have been causing periodic flooding, for a land drain was cut through its filling. Thereafter the ditch seems to have been officially "written off," for subsequent layers contain so much pottery and debris as to suggest that it was now used as a rubbish tip. These accumulated quickly enough for the pottery content to be quite uniform, though there was time for someone to cut a pit through the filling half way through its accumulation (in layer 6). The area of the ditch was by now fairly level ground, and a build-up of rich black soil suggests that it was now used as a garden. The area was also used to bury a horse, whose grave appears in section.

The chronology of the layers of rubbish filling (layers 5-8) is useful not only for the later history of the town, but for the dating of the pottery contained in them. The lowest, layer 8, was of grey ashy soil with coal ash, and with plaster from some demolished building. In it was a large sherd of German Westerwald stoneware with "baroque" decoration in blue and purple, no earlier than 1680-1700. The layers above contained more Westerwald ware of similar character, Herefordshire and Broseley type 5 pipes of c.1688-1720, part of a "Bellarmine" mask of Holmes class VIII, dated examples of which cover the period 1661-1699, and many sherds of Staffordshire capacity mugs, which often carry the revenue stamps of William III (1688-1702) and Queen Anne (1702-14) (see fig. 14) and a date of c.1690-1710 for the filling of the ditch seems indicated. Also in layer 5 was a tradesman's token of * MICHAELL BOHEWNE / * MERCER IN MONMOTH, of the later 17th century.

One final pit deserves mention, if only for its close dating. Cut into the black garden soil, layer 1, it contained, along with pieces of cylindrical nineteenth century glass medicine phials and an object of woven straw — a hat or basket — a wad of still legible newspaper, a copy of the *Chemist and Druggist* for March 1894.

17 Neville Street (Figs. 1, 7 and 8)

The excavation behind 17 Neville Street was carried out between June 1963 and April 1964 to examine the town defences at this point where a wall at the end of the garden follows the supposed line of the town wall.



- 1. Dark soil.
- 3. Dark soil and stones.
- 5. Brown silt.
- 6. Dark soil.
- 7. Clay and stones.
- 8. Black soil.
- 10. Brown silt and stones.
- 11. Clay and stones.

Figure 6—11 Neville Street
Ditch section, north face of trench



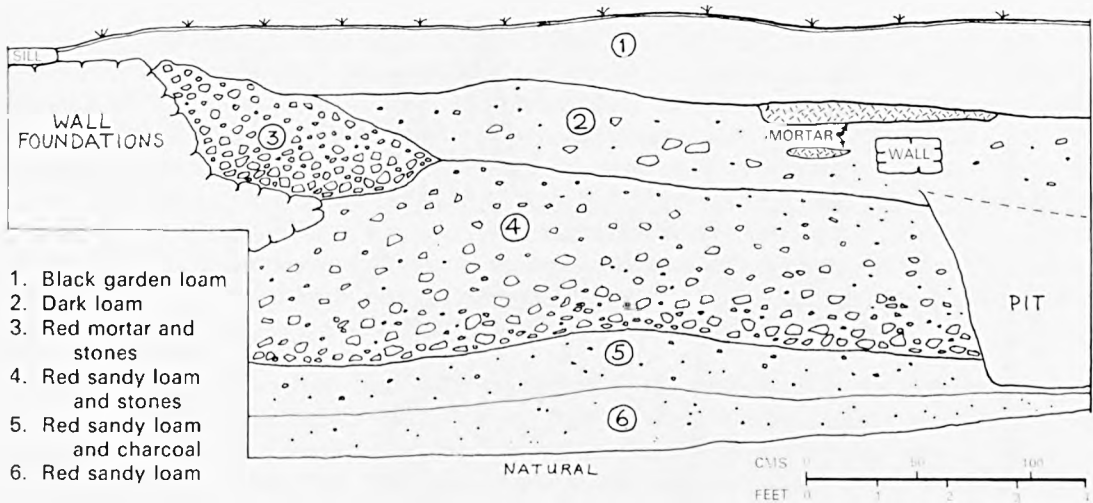


FIG. 7. 17 Neville Street. Wall section, north face of trench.

The Wall section (fig. 7). Here medieval occupation was represented by only one sherd from layer 5. This was a layer of red earth and charcoal specks, which differed from layer 6 only in that layer 6 lacked the charcoal. Layer 4, of red earth with some stones, contained pottery of the 17th and early 18th centuries. Over this had been laid a broad spread of roughly mortared sandstone lumps, evidently a wide shallow wall foundation. The mortar at the top of these foundations was white, whilst lower down it was pink. This may indicate two phases of construction, but the relationship between the foundations and layer 4 shows that they cannot have been laid before the early 18th century. The mortar of the foundations spread onto the larger stones of layer 4 over an area c. 2 ft. wide, emphasising that this layer predated the laying of the foundations.

Layer 3 was a packing of red mortar and stones, distinct from the foundations, loose for the top 2ins.-6ins. and then becoming firmer; but the purpose of this feature remains uncertain. The upper layers, 1 and 2, black garden soil and red loam respectively, represent the accumulation of the last two centuries. Layer 2 contained a Bristol chamber pot of c. 1740 (fig. 15, no. 73).

At the east end of the trench was a pit and a fragmentary wall footing which overlay its edge. The pit, cut from about half way up layer 2, contained a few sherds of probable 18th century date.

There was therefore no trace of a medieval bank at this point, but the probable date of the wall foundations corresponds closely to that of Wall I in Castle Street I (see above, page 73).

The Ditch section (fig. 8). During the winter and spring of 1963-4 a further trench was dug across part of the town ditch behind the end of the garden of 17 Neville Street. The profile of the ditch and the finds from it were similar to those found at 11 Neville Street. In this case

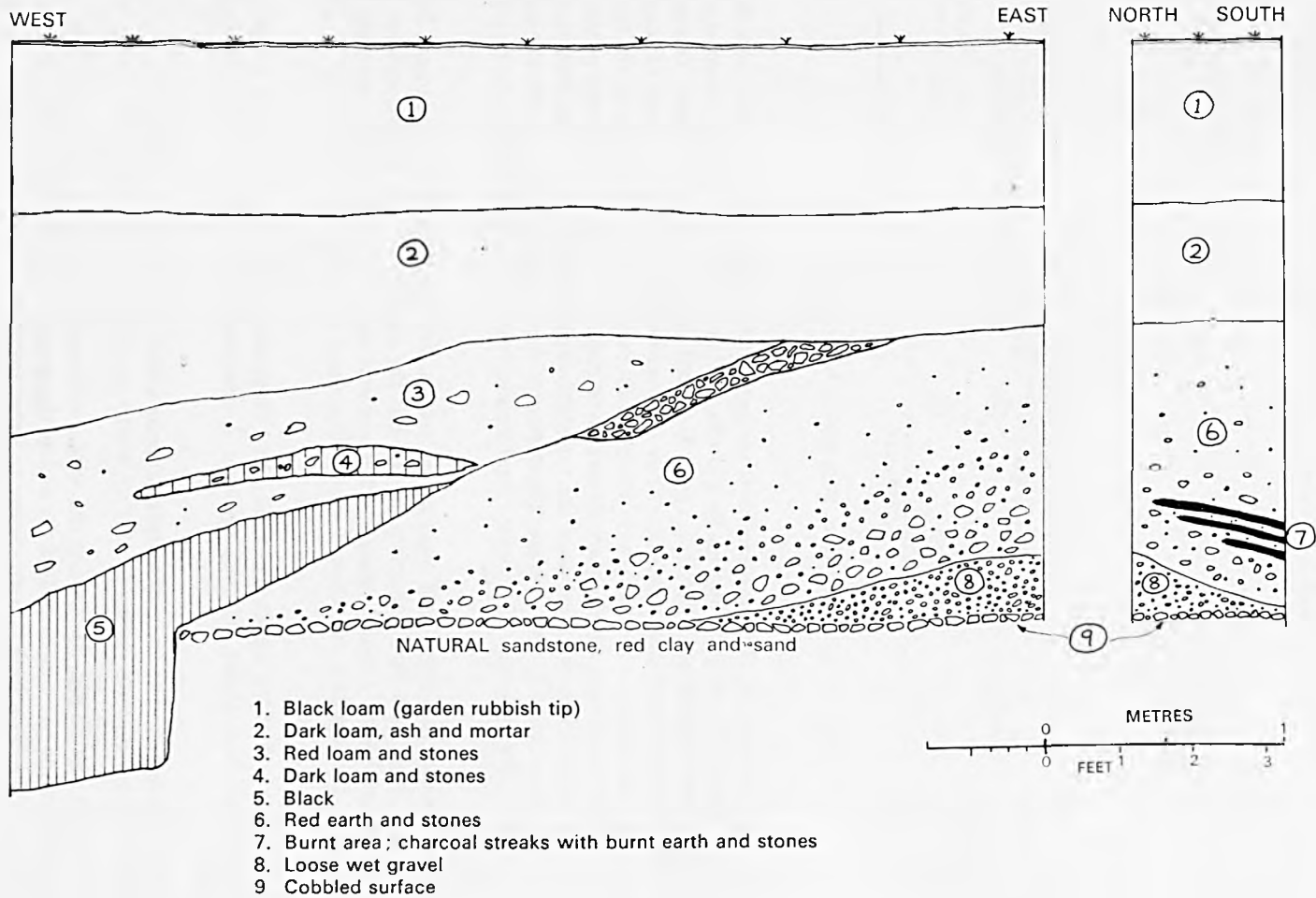


FIG. 8. 17 Neville Street. Ditch section, north face of trench.

however it was observed that the layer into which the ditch had been cut (layer 6) was not natural. It was a build-up of red sandy earth and stones, reminiscent of layer 9 at Castle Street I, and it contained a few sherds of abraded Roman coarse ware of uncertain date, charcoal specks and one struck flint flake. Within this build-up was a hearth indicated by burnt red earth and stones and much charcoal (layer 7). Beneath this was an accumulation of loose wet gravel. Under this again, covering the entire area excavated except where it had been cut through by the ditch, was a laid surface of firmly set sandstone cobbles up to 4ins. across. This even surface demarcated the layers above it from the natural sandstone and red clay beneath. The former appear to be an artificial bank, perhaps belonging to the medieval town defences, but undateable on present evidence; the cobbling may be the base or foundation for the bank.

The black earth which formed the primary fill of the ditch (layer 5), contained a group of pottery together with a number of clay pipes, three of them stamped, which serve to date the group to c. 1640-50 (see below, page 101). This implies that the ditch was finally recut at this date, further evidence for the Civil War refurbishing of the defences already found elsewhere. The layer above this, layer 3, contained a 6d of James I, much worn and bent.

Discussion: Abergavenny and its defences

When Morrice produced his map of Abergavenny for Coxe's *Historical Tour through Monmouthshire* (1800), the line of the town walls could be followed throughout almost their entire length, save in the stretch between the Priory and the Castle, where they had already disappeared. Today the remains are much more fragmentary and fugitive, and though the line can still be followed on the ground what masonry remains is so rebuilt that it is impossible to point with certainty to any medieval work. The area enclosed is pear-shaped, with the Castle at its southern apex (see fig. 1). On the west it follows the crest of the steep scarp above the river meadows, as did its Roman predecessor, though the two follow different alignments. At first it runs in a straight line, but some 160m from the castle there is a kink in the line. After this the wall curves round past the sites of the Tudor Street Gate and the Frogmore Street Gate, the latter marking the most northerly point of the circuit. In this sector the wall, though much rebuilt, can be followed along a lane behind the 18th century houses of Neville Street. The north-eastern sector, as far as Monk Gate which led to St. Mary's Priory, is gone, though property boundaries mark its line. From Monk Gate the line curved round to rejoin the castle, crossing Cross Street near the Sun Inn where stood the gate to Usk and Monmouth.

Hamelin de Ballon's foundation charter to St. Mary's Priory dates from the reign of William II, and Abergavenny, like Brycheiniog to the north (which passed into Norman hands in 1091-3), must have fallen to the Normans in the reign of Rufus (1087-1100). Both the Priory and the Castle date from these years, and between them a small settlement probably grew up, though we are ignorant of what defences, if any, it possessed.

Twelfth century town defences are elusive in Wales. Cardiff was already surrounded by a palisade in 1185,⁴ but at Chepstow recent excavations by Mr. Trevor Miles have shown that the Edwardian walls, which curve across the neck of the promontory on which the town stands, do not follow the line of any predecessor. The very similar defences of William FitzOsbern's other

foundation at Monmouth are also Edwardian, and until excavation is carried out little that is useful can be said of any earlier line, though the defended suburb of Overmonow, with its surrounding ditch (Clawdd Ddu) contains a Norman Church.⁵ Brecon has a substantial earth bank, suggesting pre-Edwardian defences, but there has been no excavation and the documents are silent. Only at Rhuddlan can a Norman town defence on the Welsh March be studied. Here Mrs. Henrietta Miles has found a wide V-shaped ditch enclosing a squarish area of some 20 acres, its western edge resting on the steep scarp above the River Clwyd, and with the 11th century motte and bailey at its southern angle. This early borough, which possessed a mint, was abandoned when the Edwardian town was built. There was no trace of bank or timbering in the loose natural sand of the early defence line.⁶

In the early 13th century documentation increases, though the number of towns involved is still small. Henry III's Montgomery, founded in 1223, has a substantial bank and ditch enclosing an irregular sub-rectangular area of some 40 acres, not including the castle, which also lies inside it.⁷ The extent to which this was a practicable defence has been disputed, since most of the western side lies along a steep uphill slope. Carmarthen received a grant in 1233 and New Radnor, which has a large bank and ditch enclosing a rectangular area, received a murage grant in 1251.⁸ Abergavenny was given murage grants in 1241-6 and again in 1259-64.⁹ These towns are all key points on the border threatened by the aggressive policy of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, and the second Abergavenny grant coincides with his increasing pressure on Brycheiniog before his capture of it in 1262.

Two later murage grants probably refer to the building of the town wall. These cover the years 1295-1301 and 1314-19 respectively.¹⁰ These were the years when, under the influence of Edward I's new towns in North Wales, a number of towns on the southern March were being walled in stone. The walls of Chepstow belong to this period,¹¹ and Monmouth received murage grants in 1297-1302 and in 1315-18.¹² Although there is no confirmatory architectural or archaeological evidence, the murage grants imply a date of 1295-1320 for the walls of Abergavenny. The visible line of the town wall must belong to this period, the earth bank antedating the stone wall at Castle Street I and the Orchard Site presumably going with the earlier grants of 1241-6 and 1259-64.

The final murage grant in 1368-75¹³ probably reflects national rather than local conditions, but it shows that the defences of Abergavenny were being kept in repair at this date and that the town was prosperous enough to take advantage of such a grant, for, like the equivalent today, it would not cover the whole of the cost. Governmental concern with the defences of Abergavenny is seen again in 1403, at the time of the Glyndwr rising, when a series of royal writs ordered the owners of 22 Welsh castles to look to the provisioning and safeguard of their castles.¹⁴ Abergavenny is included, along with Crickhowell and Usk, and though the document refers to castle, not town defences, any work done in response to this writ (we know that Usk Castle was patched up as a result of it¹⁵) may have included an overhaul of the town wall.

We know little as yet of the state of the defences in the 15th century, and until we understand the pottery of the period better it will be difficult to obtain firm information from excavation; but Castle Street I shows that the walls were already in decay by about 1550. Thomas Churchyard gives a long and eloquent account of the state of ruin of Abergavenny Castle in

1587,¹⁶ and Tudor tourists and topographers from Leland onwards record that the majority of local castles were already long in ruin.¹⁷ The final phase was still ahead, for the Neville Street excavations show that the defences were refurbished and the ditch recut at the time of the Civil War; and the Orchard Site excavations have produced important new evidence for this phase (see below, page 104). But after this the walls remained only as garden walls and property boundaries and the ditch as a convenient place for tipping rubbish.

The precise area of the Roman fort of *Gobannium* is still not certain; but on the south-west its defences followed the scarp above the river meadows, and on the north-west probably the line of the ditch under Flannel Street. On the north-east the defences probably lay somewhere on the slope leading down from the Castle Street area to Cross Street. The 'playing card' shape and proportions of a normal Roman auxiliary fort suggest that the south-eastern side may have lain near the line of the north-west curtain wall of the castle. It seems probable that little of this was still visible or useable in the late 11th century; for though at Caerleon and Caerwent the Normans placed the settlements associated with their castles within the previous Roman defences, apparently without altering or refurbishing them, at Abergavenny even the earliest defences of the settlement seem to ignore the line of the Roman fort. There are however at least five other Norman castles in Wales where the associated settlement was enclosed within a rectangular bank and ditch defence. At Rhuddlan the castle existed in 1075, and the settlement found mention in the Domesday Survey (1086-7). At Trellech there is little trace of an earth bank, and the defence probably comprised a ditch and a light bank carrying a timber palisade. On the other hand Longtown (with a keep of c.1210-20 on an earlier motte), Montgomery (1223) and New Radnor (murage grant of 1251) all have substantial earth banks.

If the ditch encountered in Flannel Street Area A and in Castle Street I is correctly interpreted as a fairly early medieval defence forming the north-western side of an *enceinte* preceding the known (i.e. Edwardian) defences, this suggests that the Norman defences enclosed a rectangular area centreing on the present Castle Street and extending north-east to somewhere near the present Cross Street, and comparable in form to the pre-Edwardian defences at Rhuddlan and New Radnor. This is no more than an hypothesis to be tested by future excavation, but it would satisfactorily account for a number of observed phenomena:

(1) the rectilinear form of the southern half of the town defences, compared with the curving rounded northern sector.

(2) the Flannel Street Area A/Castle Street I ditch aligning onto the kink in the south-eastern defences, which marks the change from a straight to a curving line. (The ditch was encountered just beyond the kink since the kink presumably marks the position of the corresponding bank).

(3) that the earth bank found at the Orchard Site and at Castle Street I has not yet been proved beyond Castle Street I. (Edwardian town defences normally consist of a wall without a bank).

(4) the absence of recognisable pottery earlier than about 1250 at Flannel Street.

The broken, open pattern of streets around St. John's church, and the extensive area of cobbling on the north-west side of Flannel Street (see Fig. 2; cobbling in Areas B, C4 and H), strongly suggests the former presence of a market square in this area, later encroached on by buildings in a manner very normal in medieval towns. Pottery evidence indicates that this could not have occurred before the mid-14th century (pottery from Area B, layer 7; see above, page 70). This can be paralleled at Brecon where the market square and the church of St. Mary's stand in the centre of the present town. Castle, church and market form three essential and indeed interdependent elements in the Anglo-Norman town plantations of the Welsh March, but the differing disposition of these in individual towns is of interest. In the earlier towns the church is an alien Benedictine Priory, the daughter house of a Norman monastery, whereas in later foundations the church is simply a parish church (e.g. Montgomery, St. Nicholas, created out of the parish of Chirbury in or soon after 1223).

Abergavenny and Brecon are the two Welsh town plantations which can be attributed to the time of William Rufus (1087-1100). They differ from the foundations of William Fitz-Osbern (1067-1071) at Chepstow and Monmouth in two interrelated ways which are probably more than coincidence. Chepstow and Monmouth both lie within river loops. The town centres in each case on a market square (the Saxon name Chepstow means 'Market Settlement'), and close outside the buildings surrounding the square is the Priory Church, which appears to have served both monks and townfolk. At Monmouth the pre-existing chapel of St. Cadoc seems to have been appropriated as the castle chapel.

At Abergavenny and Brecon, on the other hand, the Priory church stands outside the town, and seems originally to have served only the monastic community, though at Abergavenny documentary evidence makes it clear that in the later Middle Ages the townsfolk used the Priory church. This circumstance must have been a major factor in the disuse of St. John's, whose surviving parts are today used as a Masonic Hall. At both towns a separate parish church was created inside the town, within the area of the market square, though at Abergavenny, if the hypothesis of an early defensive *enceinte* is correct, the market and church lay outside the early defences, presumably because of limited space within them.

Perhaps this situation grew up over a period of time and does not reflect the exact topography of the Norman settlement. On the other hand it is known that William FitzOsbern's Chepstow was a planned new town, the burgesses being attracted by a promise of a grant of the rights and customs of William's own Breteuil in Normandy; and the integration of town, market and Priory church into one single whole agrees with the evidence of a planned settlement. At Brecon and Abergavenny, in contrast, we seem to see a looser, less carefully planned arrangement, with the Priory standing aloof and apart from the town, and, at Abergavenny, with the market and church growing up on the fringe of a settlement where no planned provision for them may have originally been made.

Finally, one might add that if this discussion proves nothing else, it at least has the merit of showing the urgent need for more excavation and research on the early medieval towns of Wales, at Abergavenny and elsewhere.

THE FINDS

Two 13th century Coins from Flannel Street

by MICHAEL DOLLEY, M.R.I.A.

Two silver coins from the Flannel Street site have proved both to be English pennies from the latter part of the reign of Henry III. The earlier (no. 1) gives the appearance of being a cut halfpenny — at this period it was normal to divide up pennies to make halfpence and farthings — but the straight edge evidences fracture rather than shearing, and the greater likelihood is that the coin was still a penny when lost. In this connection it could be relevant that there seems to have been an increasing reluctance in the 1260s and 1270s to divide whole pennies, this reluctance culminating in the abortive introduction of pewter tokens¹⁸ for the halfpenny and farthing, which in turn occasioned the regal silver farthing of 1279. The metal of the Abergavenny specimen is in fact very brittle, and even the portion recovered has subsequently fallen apart into two irregular parts. The combined weight is .48g. (=7.39gr.) which is in no way remarkable for a fragment of this kind. The coin is a penny of the so-called *Long Cross* issue current in England between 1247 and 1279. The variety is one distinguished by numismatists as Lawrence IIIc, and striking of this is fairly closely dated to the end of 1249 and the early part of 1250. The moneyer was one Gefrei, and the mint Oxford. A certain amount of wear is evident, and loss late rather than early within the bracket c.1250 – c.1280 seems indicated. Certainly the possibility that it was lost on the same occasion as the coin about to be described is one that the numismatist would not be justified in seeking to exclude.

The second coin (no. 2) is of the variety known as Lawrence Vg. The moneyer is a certain Renaud, and the mint London. The date of striking is thereby fixed towards the end of the 1260s. Relatively little ware is evidenced — the weight is 1.55g. (=23.87gr.) — and the loss may be presumed to have occurred somewhere in the early 1270s. A date later than c.1275 seems very unlikely, and one as late as 1280 virtually impossible.

What may not be generally appreciated is how few *Long Cross* pennies occur in Welsh contexts. The *Inventory* records only one Welsh hoard of the period, a small find of two dozen pence from Beddgelert in Caernarvonshire¹⁹, turned up by the spade of a sexton in 1853. Abergavenny, of course, was in Marcher territory, and the two coins are of interest as evidence that by c.1270 the whole ethos of the place was English, the use of coin being in Wales as in Ireland a mark of Englishness.

No. 1 is from Area B, layer 8, the red brown sandy and stony make-up under the upper cobbling (see fig. 4).

No. 2 is from Area F, layer 5.

Other Coins

3. *Venetian Soldo*. Late 16th century, Doge uncertain. We are very grateful to Mr. J. P. C. Kent for the identification of this coin. From Flannel Street, Area A, layer 2.

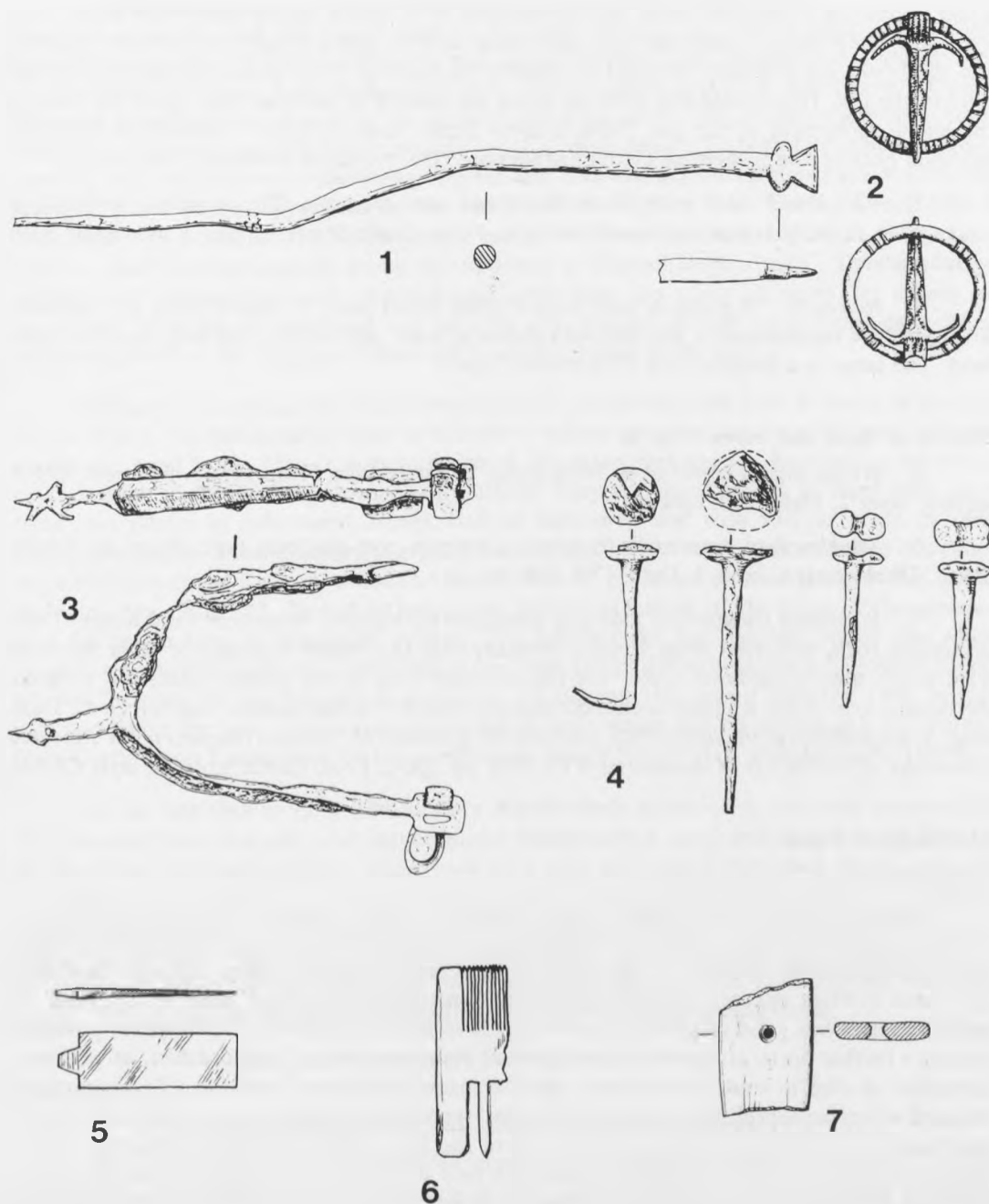


FIG. 9. Objects of metal, bone and stone (pages 82-4). 1. Bronze stylus. 2. Silver and niello annular brooch. 3. Iron rowel spur. 4. Iron nails. 5. Bone wedge. 6. Bone comb fragment. 7. Whetstone fragment. Scale: 1 and 2, $\frac{1}{4}$; 3-7 $\frac{1}{2}$.

a pair of hooked projections below. It is ornamented with chased zig-zag decoration below. This small and finely-made brooch can only have been used to secure a light and delicate material and the hooks are probably intended to prevent the material from becoming entangled in the head of the pin. They would also serve to secure the brooch in position when worn, by limiting the lateral movement of the pin. From Flannel Street Area A, layer 9, associated with late medieval pottery and a sherd of German stoneware. The brooch is probably 15th century.

3. *Iron Rowel Spur* with short shank and straight arms. The surviving terminal is rectangular. A fairly typical post-medieval type. From Castle Street I, layer 2, associated with recent pottery.

4. *Iron nails.* A group of nails from Flannel Street Area A, layer 9 (with no. 2 above). Two types are represented: a 3in. nail with discoidal head; and a 1¾in. nail with figure of eight head. The latter is a familiar 12th-13th century type.²⁴

Objects of Bone and Stone (Fig. 9)

5. *Wedge-shaped object* of polished bone. Use uncertain. From 17 Neville Street, Ditch section, layer 2. Date, 18th century.

6. *Double-edged bone comb* fragment. Common post-medieval type. From 17 Neville Street, Ditch section, layer 4. Date, 17th century.

7. *Whetstone* fragment of pale grey granulitic mica-schist. Whetstones and hones of this distinctive rock, imported from France (Brittany and the Massif Central) or from Scotland were widely used in medieval times. The flat sectioned form of the present example is unusual, the normal type being a square sectioned tapering rod. For a distribution map see G. C. Dunning, in *Excavations at the Jewry Wall, Leicester* by Kathleen M. Kenyon (*Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries XV*), 1948, pp. 230-2. From Castle Street II, layer C3/8A.

The Medieval Pottery

*Introduction.*²⁵

Although late Saxon pottery is now known in some quantity from both Bristol and Hereford, these distinctive wares are absent from the Welsh March, confirming the traditional view that pre-Norman Wales was aceramic. In the Central March pottery seems to have been little used until as late as c.1150,²⁶ but in the Monmouthshire coastal plain at Caerwent the earliest pottery has good parallels at Bristol Castle in layers of c.1070-1150. Other early pottery is known further north at Skenfrith Castle and at Hampton Wafer, Herefordshire, as well as at a number of sites in south Glamorgan, but the spread of pottery from the adjacent parts of England where an established tradition of pottery making existed into the Border areas is still an obscure and ill-dated process. The evidence of the Skenfrith group suggests that the earliest glazed wares in the area were spouted tripod pitchers, of which several types are known locally. Both the Skenfrith type and a second kind in a shell filled fabric are found at Abergavenny, though the characteristic cooking pots which accompany the former at Skenfrith have not so far been recognised at Abergavenny.

By the early 13th century the characteristic cooking pot of the Marches, with an infolded rim, had appeared, and the tripod pitchers had been replaced by simple green glazed jugs, sometimes decorated with horizontal grooving or with simple forms of rouletting. Good groups of this phase are known from Richard's Castle, Herefordshire, and from Montgomery Castle, the latter in a firmly dated context of 1223-32; but these early 13th century wares are absent from Flannel Street, and what little material of this phase has so far been recognised at Abergavenny adds nothing to our knowledge. By the late 13th century the elaborate relief-decorated jugs of 'White Castle' type were current locally. A small group from Flannel Street Area B associated with a coin lost c.1260-80 gives a useful fixed point in the development of this type, whilst a small but characteristic group also appeared at Flannel Street Area C. The tradition of infolded rim cooking pots and 'White Castle' style jugs and other jug types (for details see nos. 8 and 13-16 below) continued well into the 14th century, though no terminal date can as yet be suggested in the absence of dated 14th century groups in the area.

Fifteenth century pottery is at present difficult to identify and date in South Wales and on the March. At Abergavenny there is however a related group of fabrics which can be linked on the one hand to the 14th century tradition of decorated jugs and on the other to the vernacular element in the earlier post-medieval pottery. They are characterised by hard fired finely micaceous fabrics in pale toned orange, buff or light grey and with various green or olive glazes. Decoration, when it occurs, is a crude copy of the 14th century style, executed in applied strips and in stamped decoration. Flannel Street, Area E, produced a closed group of this phase, including nos. 16-20, 23, 28 and 30 below. An important feature of the group is the presence of a distinctive type of associated cooking pot with everted and beaded tipped rim which looks like a simplified version of the infolded rim type. Direct dating evidence is at present almost nil, but there are strong typological arguments for placing this group after the 14th century jugs and before the post-medieval tradition whose early stages can be studied in a small group from Castle Street I, associated with a posthumous coin of Henry VIII, probably lost c.1550-60.

By the late 16th to early 17th century Abergavenny possessed at least one pottery kiln. The material from it is now lost, but from the descriptions a small but complete tyg from 17 Neville Street is probably from it. Other local kilns were also contributing their quota, including the Gwehelog kiln near Usk, the north Herefordshire kilns and their more southerly off-shoots (which reached as far south as Monmouth). The progress of the post-medieval pottery of the town can be traced in dated groups from 17 Neville Street, of c.1650, and from 11 Neville Street, of c.1700. At this point imported mass produced wares, mainly from Staffordshire, were well on the way to pushing the vernacular tradition of potting into the background.

The Pottery

A. *Tripod pitcher sherds from Castle Street II and Flannel Street (Fig. 10)*

Tripod pitchers — broad bag shaped spouted vessels resting on three small feet — usually decorated with combing, rouletting and/or applied vertical strips, occur in a variety of fabrics in parts of southern and western England from the 11th century to the early 13th century. One type, in a pale grey calcite filled ware with pale green glaze, decorated with rouletting or cross

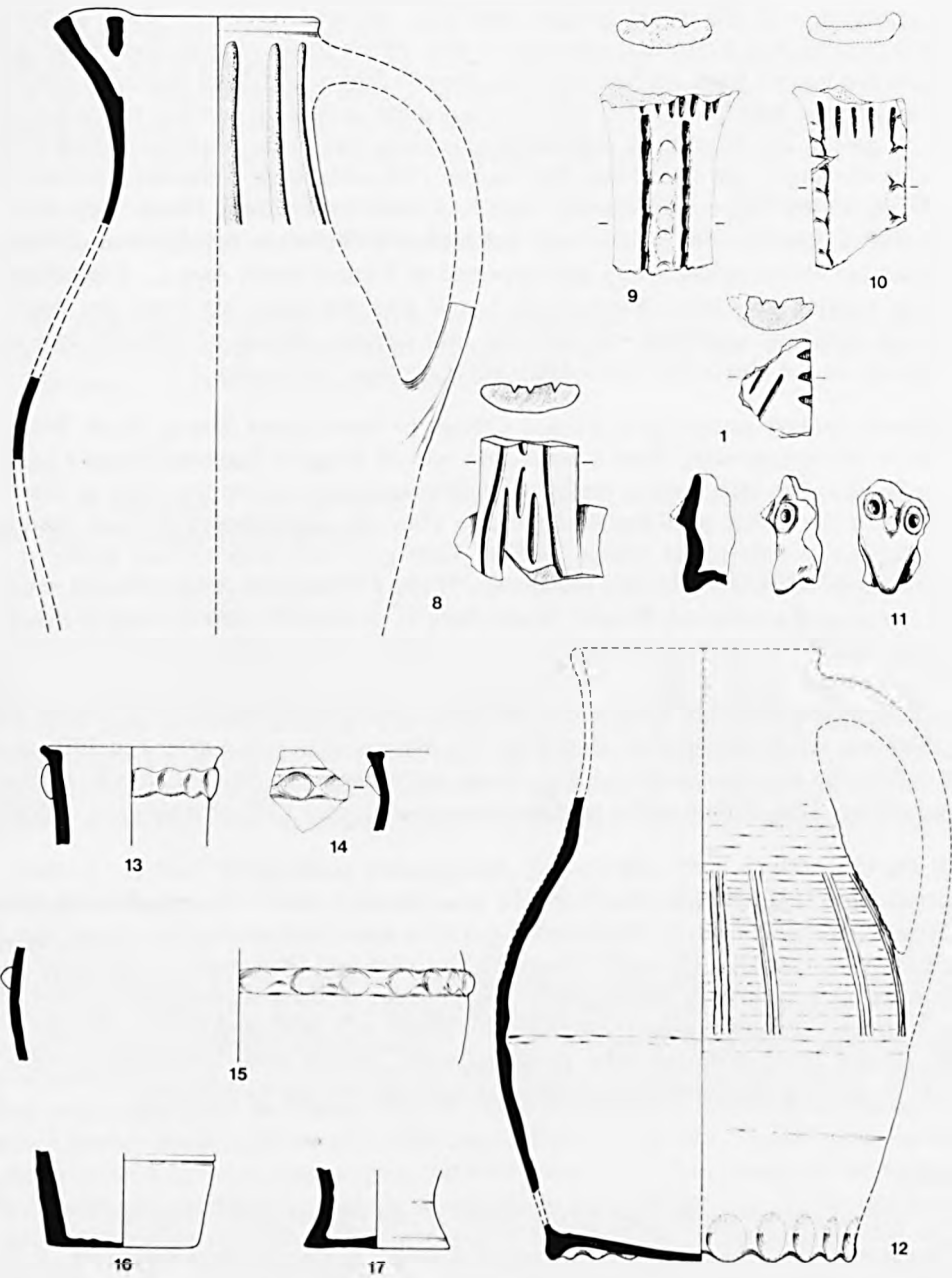


FIG. 10. Pottery: pages 87-9. 1: Tripod pitcher sherd. 8-15: Other glazed wares of 13th and 14th century date. 16-17: 15th century baluster jug sherds. Scale: }

combing, is now known locally from Tintern Abbey, Caerleon, Monmouth and Abergavenny (*Caerleon*, Fortress Baths, fig. 2, 2-5). In form and decoration it resembles the tripod pitchers of the Oxford area, but these do not occur in calcite filled fabric and the source of origin is probably further west, perhaps in Gloucestershire. The Abergavenny sherds are, so Mr. Kenneth Key informs me, from the earliest post-Roman levels on his site. We are very grateful to him for kindly allowing us to include them here. A second type, in a grey sandy fabric with a poor matt pale brownish glaze, occurs in a large 12th century group from Skenfrith Castle as the only glazed ware present. A tripod foot in this fabric occurred at Flannel Street associated with 13th-14th century pottery, presumably as a rubbish survival.

1. (a) Handle in pale grey ware with traces of calcite (? shell) filling, fired orange, and with dull yellowish glaze. Rouletted ornament on edges in form of oval ribbed impressions; diagonal slashing in concave centre. From Castle Street II.

Another sherd of this type, also from Castle Street II, but not illustrated here, is in whitish grey ware, with the interior surface pitted where inclusions have leached out. Pale green glaze; external decoration of diagonal wavy cross combing.

2. Foot of tripod pitcher in hard sandy grey ware, exterior surface fired light buff and partly covered with thin pale greenish-yellow matt glaze (not illustrated). From Flannel Street, Area C4, layer 7.

B. *Group associated with coin of Henry III, lost c.1260-80, Flannel Street, Area B, layer 8.*

3. Two joining sherds of decorated jug in hard smooth orange-red fabric with glossy chestnut brown glaze. Vertical strip of overlapping scales in applied white slip, flanked by two plain applied strips in black slip.

4. Cooking pot rim. Pale grey ware, with much coarse sand, giving a gritty texture.

5. Cooking pot rim in grey ware, surfaces fired pinkish-buff. Gritty textured fabric containing brown inclusions and grains of white quartz up to 2mm across.

6. Cooking pot rim in pale grey ware, surfaces fired orange, containing much sand.

This group also included ten cooking pot sherds in similar light toned sand tempered fabric and three in thin hard grey-black ware, plus sherds of plain olive glazed jugs in smooth grey ware. The latter, together with the 'flower pot' fabric of no. 3 can be broadly matched in the 1223-32 group from Montgomery, whilst the decorative style of no. 3 (but not its fabric, small neat decoration or fine glaze) is similar to that of the 'White Castle' style jugs of the late 13th - 14th century. No. 3 may represent an early variant of the style, which in this case probably began c.1260-75. The cooking pot rims are similar to the normal infolded rim type.

C. *'White Castle' style decorated jugs and associated group. Flannel Street, Area C4, layer 7. (Figs. 10-11).*

7. Joining sherds of decorated jug in hard fired grey ware. Applied arcaded strips of dark clay and pellets and rosette in white slip, all under deep olive glaze. A more elaborate example of *White Castle*, 6 and 7. From the layer of make-up associated with the building of the stone-based medieval house.

This layer also included a number of other sherds of 'White Castle' style jugs in hard grey smooth ware, fired orange internally and with slip decoration in white and dark clay: fern patterns, rosettes, diagonal panels; and one sherd with decoration identical to no. 3. All were too small for meaningful illustration. There were also fragments of slit-rod handles (see *White Castle*, 6 and 8, etc.); bridge spouts; a rim in fine white ware with green glaze and applied frilled band, like nos. 13, 14; a sherd in hard pale grey ware with vertical white slip painted bands under a dark green glaze; and several sherds of hard fired jugs with horizontal grooved decoration. The whole group is probably 14th century. There were only two small cooking pot rim sherds, one as 23 in fabric and form but with a more pronounced internal hook; the other as 28, but fired buff internally. Cooking pots 24-26 were from the layer immediately below.

D. *Other glazed wares* (Fig. 10)

Complex Rouletted Ware. Three sherds of this distinctive ware, with its bands of rouletted scroll decoration, were sealed under the upper medieval cobbling at Flannel Street Area B (layer 11). Two others were above the cobbling, in layer 7. The associated pottery was late 13th to 14th century in character. Complex rouletted ware is already present (in a differing fabric) in the Montgomery group of 1223-32, and continues to the end of the century and probably beyond. The centre of production is unknown, but the ware is so common at Monmouth and at Skenfrith that it must surely have been made in the Monnow Valley. The style of decoration occurs locally in a number of minor arts of the early to mid 13th century, for example in manuscript painting and seal cutting.

8. *Glazed jug in fine cream ware with applied strip decoration.* Hard smooth cream ware with pale grey core. Light green glaze and applied decoration of vertical strips in dark iron-brown. A series of related globular jugs in identical fabric, decorated with arcaded strips and with anthropomorphic face masks are also known, the distribution covering Monmouthshire and south-west Glamorgan (See *Caerleon*, Fortress Baths, p.108, with references, to which add two examples from Usk). Sherds at Newport Castle show that the type lasted into the second half of the 14th century.

9-10. *Decorated jug handles.* Hard sandy grey ware, surfaces fired orange. Olive green glaze. 9: from Flannel Street, Area B, layer 11 (with complex rouletted ware, etc.). 10: from Flannel Street, Area B, layer 7 (i.e. above the cobbling sealing layer 11). Late 13th to early 14th century.

11. *Anthropomorphic face mask.* Abraded mask from bridge spout. A cruder version than the attractive masks of the globular jugs associated with 8. Pinkish-cream ware with whitish-grey core; pale green glaze. The eyes consist of inserted hollow cones of dark clay. 14th century. From 11 Neville Street, layer 5, with pottery group of c.1700 (see below, nos. 57-70); an obvious rubbish survival. The fabric is very similar to nos. 13-15 below, and all may be from the same source.

12. *Jug. from Abergavenny Castle, 1967.* Globular jug in grey sandy ware with cream interior surface. Decorated on upper part of dark green glazed exterior with shallow furrows giving a horizontally corrugated finish, divided into panels by groups of similar vertical lines. Found in 1967 by workmen repairing the foundations of the modern tower on top of the motte of Abergavenny Castle.

13-15. *Jugs with horizontal frilled bands below rim or on girth.* Fine sandy off-white ware, pale grey in core, surface orange toned in places. Pale green glaze, usually mottled. Fabric has similarities to 11 above. Frill-necked jugs are characteristic of the Bristol Channel area, from Kidwelly to Wiltshire,²⁷ and were exported from there to Western Ireland, where they are dated to the late 13th-early 14th century at several sites. This dating is confirmed by an example at Caerphilly Castle (*post* 1268), and by the fabric of the present examples, which copies French green glazed ware of this date. Frilled girth bands are also fairly common in South Wales: e.g. *Cardiff*, 6; *Caerphilly* (D.O.E. Collection, unpublished); Eglwys Cymin (Carms.) in *Med. Arch.* XII (1968) 147-9.

E. *Fifteenth Century Group from Flannel Street, Area E.* (Figs. 10, 11)

16-17. *Baluster Jugs.* 16. Hard pale grey ware, mottled leaf green glaze on exterior. Flannel Street Site E, layer 3 (equivalent to B, layer 7) 17. Grey-black ware, surfaces fired buff. Olive green external glaze. Find spot as 16. For form, see e.g. *Worcester*, 78.

18. *Jug in 'Sparse Glazed' Ware.* Hard fired orange ware, finely micaceous. A few spots and patches of light brown glaze on exterior of handle. Crudely incised furrow-like wavy line down centre of handle. This ware is one of those characteristic of the uppermost medieval levels at Flannel Street which are probably transitional between the 14th century types and the earlier post-medieval wares. Presumably 15th century. (see Introduction, above, page 28-9). From Flannel Street, Area E, layer 3. The type is also known from Pound Land, Caerwent.

19. *Jug Sherd with dot and circle stamped decoration.* Sandy grey ware, interior surface fired light buff. Dull green glaze. A widespread 13th-14th century style of decoration on the Southern March, its distribution stretching from Shrewsbury to Caerleon (See *Caerleon*, Fortress Baths, 17; *Hen Domen* (Mont.), *Shrewsbury & Smethcott* (Salop.) in Barker, *Shropshire*, HD 120, SD 14, SM 13, 17; *Worcester*, 21, 43).

20. *Arcade-decorated Jug with stamped decoration.* Group of sherds of upper part and handle of jug in thick hard fired smooth orange ware, finely micaceous. Honey coloured to light green external glaze with dark green blotches, giving a 'leopardskin' finish. Decorated with applied strip arcading and a series of applied pellets with wheel pattern stamps. The decoration is a devolved version of the 'White Castle' type of arcade and pellet decoration, seen for example on no. 7 above. The ware falls within the light toned, fairly thick, finely micaceous fabrics characteristic of the uppermost medieval levels at Flannel Street. Probably 15th century. From Flannel Street, Area E, layer 4, associated with large numbers of stone roof tiles and glazed ridge tiles. Layer 3 (see nos. 16-19 above) is probably contemporary.

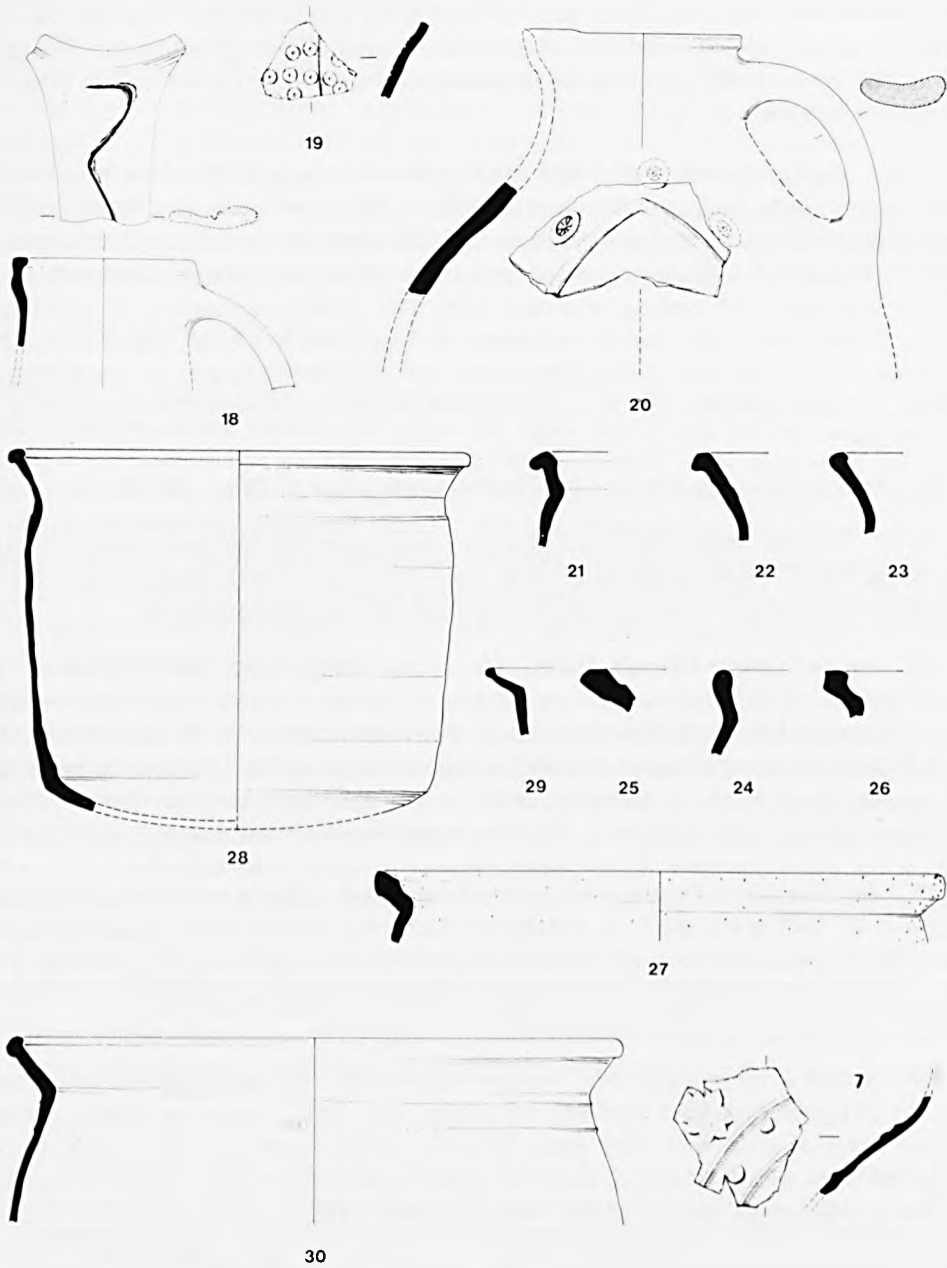


FIG. 11. Pottery: pages 89-91. 7: 'White Castle' style jug sherd. 3: 13th century decorated jug sherd, from Flannel Street, Area B. 18-20: 15th century decorated sherds. 21-30: 13th to 15th century cooking pots. Scale: 1/2.

Other occurrences of this late group include the following:

(a) Two jug rims and upper handles. Fabric as no. 20, with sparse blotchy green to light brown glaze. Forms as no. 18, but plain. From Flannel Street, Area A, layer 9 (with silver pennanular brooch, see p.82 above). These two pieces together with nos. 18 and 20 may perhaps all be from a common source.

(b) Sherds in hard smooth light grey ware, slightly micaceous. Dark olive glaze. Decoration of vertical rows of annulets between vertical dividing strips, all in dark iron-brown slip (see *Cardiff*, 14). From Flannel Street, Area C, layer 15).

F. *Cooking pot*. (Fig. 11)

(a) *Inturned rims*

24. Gritty grey ware, light surfaces; slightly micaceous; brownish sand inclusions.

25. Gritty grey ware, fairly smooth surfaces, but with quartz grains of up to 4mm across.

26. Fabric as no. 25.

These three pieces are all from Flannel Street, Area C4, layer 8, associated with a group of 'White Castle' style jug sherds of late 13th to 14th century date. Generally similar rims (nos. 4-6 above) occurred with the coin of Henry III lost c.1260-80, in Area B, layer 8.

(b) *Shell Filled Fabric*

27. Soapy liver-brown fabric, pale grey core. Speckled with plentiful white fragments (? chalk) up to 3mm across. From Castle Street I, layer 11. Shell or limestone filled wares are common in Gloucestershire, where a number of types exist. The present piece, unique locally in the writer's experience, must be an import from that area. There is a good parallel from *Selsey Common*, near Stroud (Fig. 3, 12), a site which has produced a coin of Henry III of 1248-50. See also the broadly similar wares from *Seacourt* (Oxon.) (pp.148-9), there dated 13th to early 14th century. Compare also (*T.B.G.A.S.* (1949) 30-44) wares described as "pitted," i.e. presumably with leached out calcite gritting.

(c) *Miscellaneous forms*

21. Gritty grey ware, finely sandy. Blackish external surface. From Flannel Street, Area C, in a secondary context with post-medieval pottery.

22. Hard fired gritty grey ware, dark surfaces. From Flannel Street, Area A, in 17th century levels. See *White Castle* 28-9 (from Grosmont).

29. Hard sandy lightish grey ware.

(d) *Bead-tipped rims*

23. Hard sandy grey ware, finely micaceous; dark surfaces. *White Castle* 30 (from Grosmont).

28. Thin hard sandy dark grey ware; black surfaces.

30. Ware as no. 28.

These three pieces were all from Flannel Street, Area E, layer 3, with nos. 16-20 above. 15th century, though the type probably begins in the later 14th century. See the comments on the cooking pot associated with 'White Castle' style jugs, nos. 24-6 above.

The Post-Medieval Pottery

A. Group of c. 1550-60 from Castle Street I (Fig. 12)

This group was stratified with an Irish 3d of Henry VIII, posthumous issue struck c. 1547-50, and probably lost c. 1550-60.

31-2. Conical bowls with flanged rims in hard fired red ware with glossy internal brown glaze. This form, a characteristic one of the post-medieval period, is already current in the Oxford area by the 15th century. There is a good local series from *Hen Gwrt*, near White Castle, some of which (e.g. nos. 7, 8 and 12) are quite close to the Oxford bowls. *Hen Gwrt* has produced two 15th century jettons; but the *Hen Gwrt* bowls (which seem to be St. James's House, Monmouth, kiln, or from one closely related to it) are probably 16th century. The differing fabric of the Abergavenny bowls is presumably due to a difference of source rather than of date.

33. (not illustrated) Sherd from shoulder of jug or pitcher. Fabric as nos. 31-2.

34. (not illustrated) Round sectioned slit rod handle. Fabric as nos. 31-2. Slit rod handles occur elsewhere in 16th and 17th century contexts (e.g. *St. Nicholas Almshouses*, 89). Here, where there is such a strong tradition of such handles, going back into medieval times, they probably represent a continuation of medieval potting techniques. The brown glazed red wares which first appear here were to become one of the standard post-medieval coarse wares down to the present day.

35-6. Rim sherds of bowls or jugs in thin hard orange brown sandy ware. No. 36 is micaceous, with a smooth (? slipped or burnished) surface.

37-9. Three sherds (39 not illustrated) of 'fish dishes,' i.e. flat rectangular or oval pottery trays, designed for baking fish or meat with its juices. Hard orange brown ware with internal yellowish green glaze.

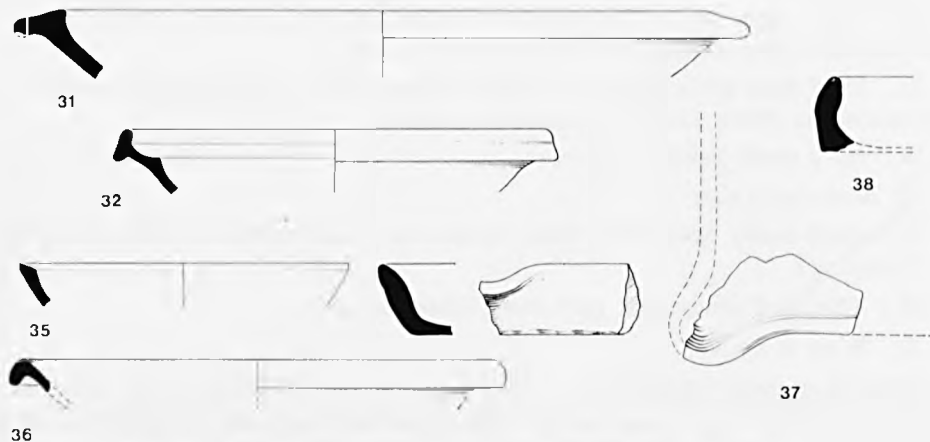


FIG. 12. 16th century pottery from Castle Street I. Page 92 Scale: 1/2.

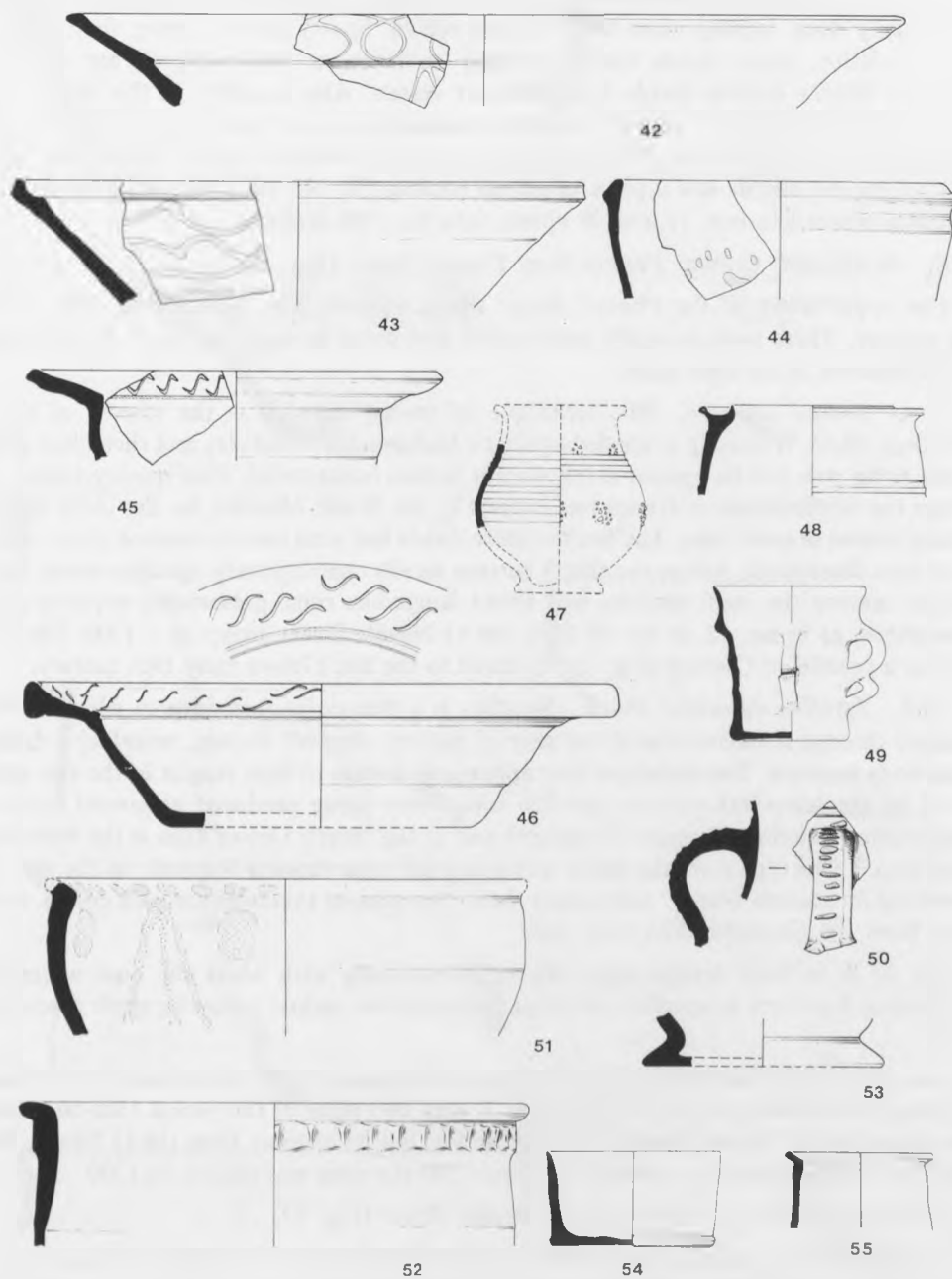


FIG. 13. Post-Medieval pottery: pages 94-96. 42-46: from Flannel Street. 47-55: from 17 Neville Street. Scale: 1/2.

40. (not illustrated) Two sherds of jugs with lightly thumbled bases in hard fired micaceous pale grey ware, surfaces fired fawn to light brown. Spotty external glaze, light yellow to green. In isolation, these sherds would probably be taken as late medieval, but the group contains two freshly broken sherds from different vessels. Also included in this layer were a number of certain medieval rubbish survivals, including a worn scrap of complex rouletted ware, and another of decorated floor tile (15th century, probably from the Malvern kilns), several cooking pot sherds and a piece of glazed roofing tile. No. 40 shows the survival of the late medieval wares like nos. 18 and 20 above, into the 16th century.

B. *Seventeenth Century Pottery from Flannel Street* (Fig. 13)

The upper levels of the Flannel Street site contained large amounts of 16th to 18th century pottery. There were no really good sealed and dated groups, but some of the material merits publication in its own right.

41-4. *Trailed Slipware*. The technique of trailed slipware is the reverse of that of sgraffito (nos. 45-6). White slip is applied against a background of red clay and then clear glazed, the result firing pale yellow against a translucent brown background. Fine quality trailed slipware from the Staffordshire potteries was current in the Welsh Marches by the 1640s and was soon being copied in local kilns. The Staffordshire dishes had neat narrow concave rims, retained in no. 41 (not illustrated), whose running S pattern recalls contemporary sgraffito wares. By the end of the century the local versions had broad flange-like rims, presumably copying pewter or brass dishes, as in no. 42, or no. 59 from the 11 Neville Street group of c. 1700. The bowl, no. 43, has a parallel at *Conway* (Fig. 7, 17), dated to the late 17th or early 18th century.

45-6. *Sgraffito decorated dishes*. Sgraffito is a decorative technique in which a design is scratched through a painted (or in the case of pottery, slipped) surface, revealing a different coloured body beneath. The technique first appears in Britain in East Anglia in the late middle ages, and by the later 16th century sgraffito wares were being produced at several centres in western Britain, including Donyatt (Somerset) and at the North Devon kilns in the Barnstaple-Bideford area.²⁸ One type from the latter was decorated with running S spirals on the rim. This was imported into South Wales²⁹ and copied there. The present examples are such copies, almost certainly from the Gwehelog kiln near Usk.

No. 45 is in brick orange ware, decorated internally with white slip coat under clear glaze. Running S pattern in sgraffito on flange, firing brown against yellow to apple green background.

No. 46 is similar but harder fired. Design dark brown on pale yellow field. From Flannel Street, Area A: 45 from layer 2; 46 from layer 3, with two pipes of the period 1620-50. There is another from the 1650 group from 17 Neville Street, but its absence from the 11 Neville Street group of c. 1700 confirms the American evidence that the ware was extinct by 1700.

C. *Post-Medieval Pottery from 17 Neville Street* (Fig. 13)

47. Hard fired smooth grey brown ware. Overall dark olive glaze. Decorated with patches of white quartz chips. This form and decoration are characteristic of the North Herefordshire kilns and the dark fabric agrees with this, though similarly decorated cups are fairly widespread in western England. Wall section, layer 4. 17th century.

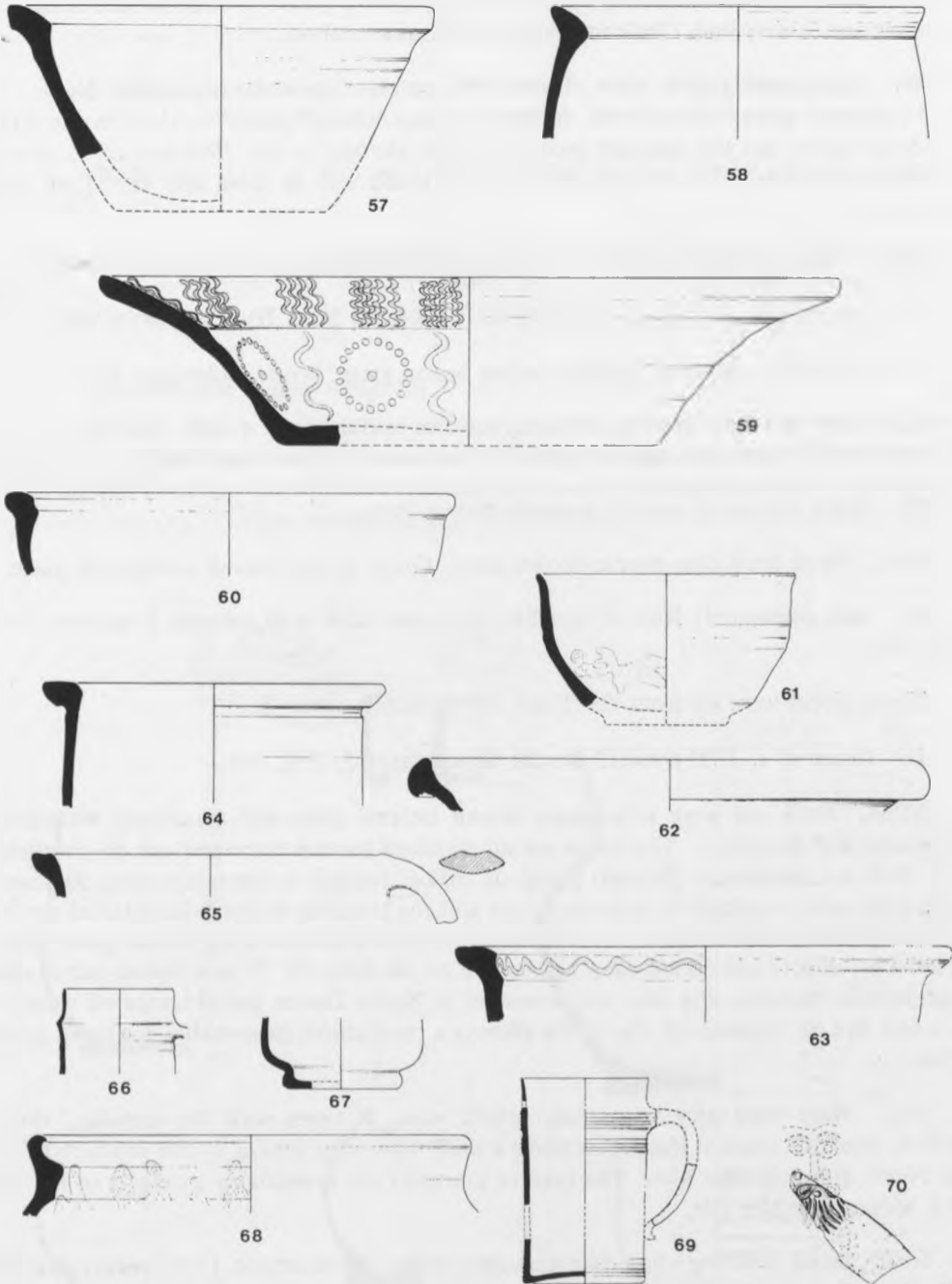


FIG. 14. Pottery of c.1700, from 11 Neville Street: pages 96-7. Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$.

48. Lid seated jar in hard grey ware, external olive glaze, interior surface fired cream. A common and widespread 17th century form in various fabrics.

49. Manganese glazed ware. Hard fired purple brown fabric, glossy black overall glaze. Manganese glazed vessels with multiple handles were produced at the Derwen Cottage kiln, Abergavenny, but the material recovered from the site in the 19th century is now lost. From the descriptions surviving, the present piece could well be from this kiln. Late 16th or 17th century.

50-6. *Group of c. 1650 from the lower fill of the Town Ditch, 17 Neville Street. (Fig. 13)*

50. Hard brick red ware with dark brown overall glaze. Decoration in White slip.

51. Soft brick red ware. Internal yellow brown glaze. White underglaze slip decoration.

52. Hard but flaky red brown ware, exterior surface fired a matt black-grey. Internal deep brown glaze. Somewhat similar types were produced at *Gwehelog* (11-13).

53. Brick red ware, overall greenish brown glaze.

54-5. Hard fired thin purple-brown ware. Good glossy overall manganese glaze.

56. (not illustrated) Rim of sgraffito decorated dish with running S pattern; similar to nos. 45-6.

These pieces were all from the Town Ditch section, layer 5.

D. Group of c. 1700 from 11 Neville Street, layer 5. (Fig. 14)

57-63. Brick red ware with glossy brown internal glaze and sometimes with internal white trailed slip decoration. The forms are all standard for this ware and can be paralleled in the *St. Nicholas Almshouses* (Bristol) group of 1652-6, though in the intervening 50 years the rims have become simplified to club-like forms and the tendency towards an internal groove at the base of the rim has become more marked. 57 (with black blotches in the glaze, giving a 'leopardskin' effect) and 60 are deep bowls, like *St. Nicholas* 78. 58 is a typical barrel shaped storage jar (*St. Nicholas*, 86), also very common in North Devon gravel tempered ware. 62 is from a dish like *St. Nicholas* 63. On 61 the glaze is a matt khaki, presumably due to an accident of firing.

64-5. Hard fired grey to reddish brown ware, at times with the metallic 'ring' of stoneware. Blackish internal glaze. A common local type, very similar to the products of some of the North Herefordshire kilns. The present examples are presumably products of the latter, or of a Monmouthshire kiln.

66-7. Small drinking cups, late versions of the characteristic 17th century *tyg*. 66 is in a hard red brown fabric with purple black glaze — a typical *tyg*. 67 is in thin orange fabric with glossy black overall glaze.

68. Rim of barrel shaped storage jar in North Devon gravel tempered ware. A small amount of this was included in the group, but no sgarffito ware.

69. Staffordshire capacity mug, a characteristic early 18th century type, sometimes found with revenue stamps of Queen Anne or George I. Sherds of this were plentiful.

70. Bellarmine mask of Holmes type VIII (1660-1700).³⁰ Dated examples range from 1661 to 1699.

Also in this group, but not illustrated, were two sherds of Spanish oil jars in hard fired sandy ware, buff or pinkish buff. For a complete example probably from Caerleon, see *Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. II, part II, (1966), 118-19.

E. Miscellaneous Pieces (Fig. 15)

71. Pottery object in red brown earthenware with patchy dark brown iron glaze on outside. The top is punctured with a number of small holes, which are the only apertures. There does not appear to be any parallel to this piece, and its use remains uncertain. The difficulty of filling it with any dry or coarse substance (e.g. salt) makes it unlikely to have been a salt cellar.

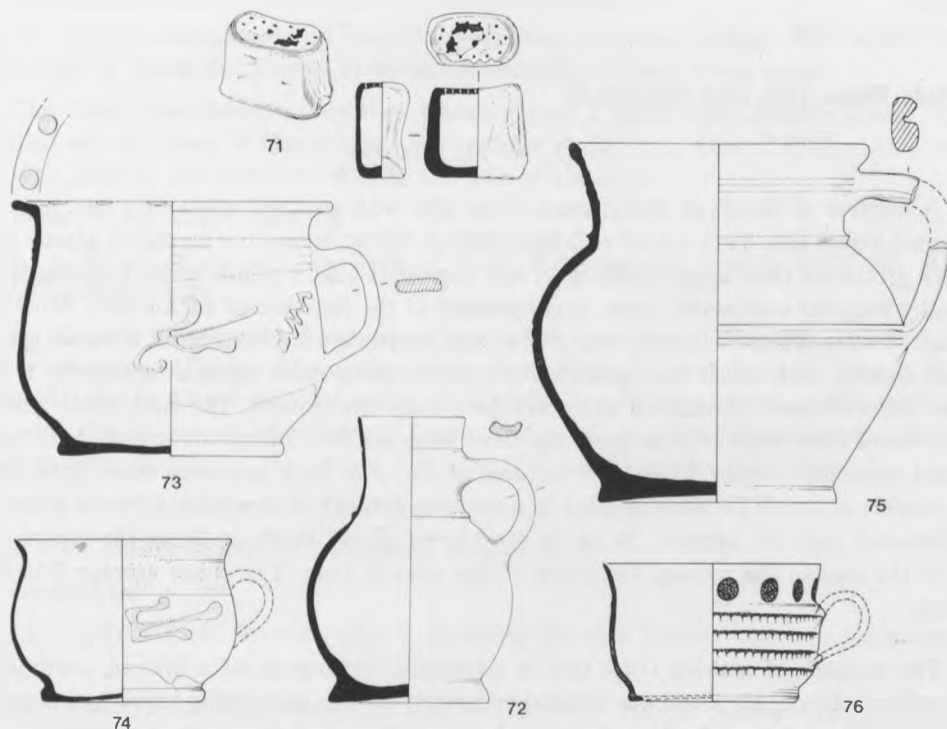


FIG. 15. Miscellaneous pottery: pages 97-8. Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$.

It might perhaps have been used for sprinkling fine sand on documents as a 17th century equivalent of blotting paper; or, in a more domestic setting, for sprinkling water on dry clothes when ironing. From 17 Neville Street, ditch section, layer 4. Probably 17th century.³¹

72. Thin finely sandy red brown ware with overall glossy black glaze. Similar wares are known from the 11 Neville Street group of c. 1700 and from 18th century contexts from Tintern Abbey. From the Woolworth's Extension site.

73. Chamber pot in thin hard buff fabric, partly covered with manganese slip and white trailed slip decoration. Clear overglaze, giving amber and chocolate finish. From 17 Neville Street, wall section, layer 2. Bristol, c. 1740.

74. Thin hard buff ware; decoration as no. 73. Early 18th century.

75. Sandy greyish ware, greyish green surfaces, in part covered with a brownish green glaze. From the Woolworth's Extension site. Almost certainly a product of the *Gwehelog* kiln (type series no. 6).

76. Fine hard off-white ware, clear glazed, giving a translucent yellow finish with iron-brown underglaze combed slip decoration. Staffordshire; early 18th century.

(NOTE: *A report on Delft pottery from Abergavenny will appear in a later issue of this journal —Editor.*)

Kiln-Made Ridge Tiles (not illustrated)

by D. M. D. THACKER

A number of sherds of earthenware ridge tiles with serrated crests were recovered from the Flannel Street site. They are of well-fired pinkish fabric, somewhat carelessly glazed in light and dark greens on their upper surfaces. A few fragments bear a yellow glaze. Cresting is of the knife-cut triangular cockscomb type, finger-pressed at the juncture of each comb. Most of the tiles have deeply stabbed combs, but a few unstabbed combs were found. Stabbed examples have six combs, each comb having from three to six stabs made three at a time by a treble-pronged pointed tool. Unstabbed examples have only five combs. The best made tiles have slightly curved sides from crest to base, but some sides are flat. Firing or careless handling has produced some unevenness. The upper surfaces of the sides have scratched wavy lines showing single, double or treble parallels applied in a random manner. A few sides have no scratchings. Reconstructed tiles are approx. 38 cm in length, by about 16.05 cm from the centre of the soffits of the crests. The average thickness of the sides is 1 cm. The crests average 7-10 mm in thickness.

The manner of making these tiles is uncertain. Fragments of a broken comb indicate that, in this instance, the crest was applied separately to one side, being keyed by indentations to the curved top of the side. No other tiles however show that this method was used.

Clay Pipes (Fig. 16)

From Flannel Street, Area A, layer 2:

1-2. R.E. bowl of Oswald type 6a (1650-90). *Grace Dieu* 1-2.

3. R.H. bowl of Oswald type 5b (1640-70).

4. W.S. incomplete. Cf. *Montgomery* (1968) 12, plus another one from recent excavations, both pre-1649. *Shropshire Pipes*, 297.

5. Rose and Crown and initials R.O. Bowl Oswald type 6a (1650-90). Common in material from *North Herefordshire* kiln sites (collection of Mr. J. W. B. Griffiths of Birtley). Others from Flannel Street (unstratified), 11 Neville Street (group of c. 1700), and *Grace Dieu Abbey* (group of 1690-1720). All stamped on foot and side of bowl.

10. GEO(rge)/HVG/HES. Pipe of Broseley type 5 (1670-1760).

11. JOS(eph)/HVG/HES. Pipe of Broseley type 5. There are six other examples, including some from Areas B and F, in the top levels. A distinctive type of pipe with a flat pear-shaped base and a square stamp, with the name of the maker in three lines. The makers can be identified and their products identified from entries in the Broseley church registers. For a dated catalogue of makers, see *Oswald* (1960). Neither of the Hughes occur in the registers and their stamps are confined to south-east Wales, where they are very common. They were presumably local pipe makers who learnt their craft at Broseley.

12. Two superimposed and blurred impressions, probably reading THO/MAS E/VENS. Broseley type 5. Name not known at Broseley; probably another local maker.

The layer also contained another Broseley type 5 pipe, with illegible stamp, and 19 unstamped spurred pipes of Oswald type 9d. In Area A, layer 1, were 5 fragmentary spurred pipes, 19th century, one stamped WS on the side of the spur.

From Flannel Street, Area D:

6. Grid stamp on side and foot of bowl. Bowl Oswald type 6a (1650-90). Another *North Herefordshire* type.

7. Rosette stamp on foot and side of bowl. A *North Herefordshire* type, occurring in the Griffiths collection at Birtley. There were others from Flannel Street Area A, layer 2; Area F; and from 11 Neville Street with the group of c. 1700: Oswald type 6a. An earlier type of pipe occurs with this stamp at *Montgomery Castle*, destroyed in 1649 (*Montgomery*, 1968, 4-5). There is another example of the present type from Brecon (in private possession).

8. I.B. Oswald type 4c (1630-70).

9. is a similar stamp on a fragment from Area F.

Unstratified:

13. .../TAY/LER. Broseley type 5. Probably Thomas Taylor, who married at Broseley in 1670.

14. WILL/HAR/PER. Broseley type 5. William Harper senior (1696-1736). Also recorded from *Grace Dieu*.

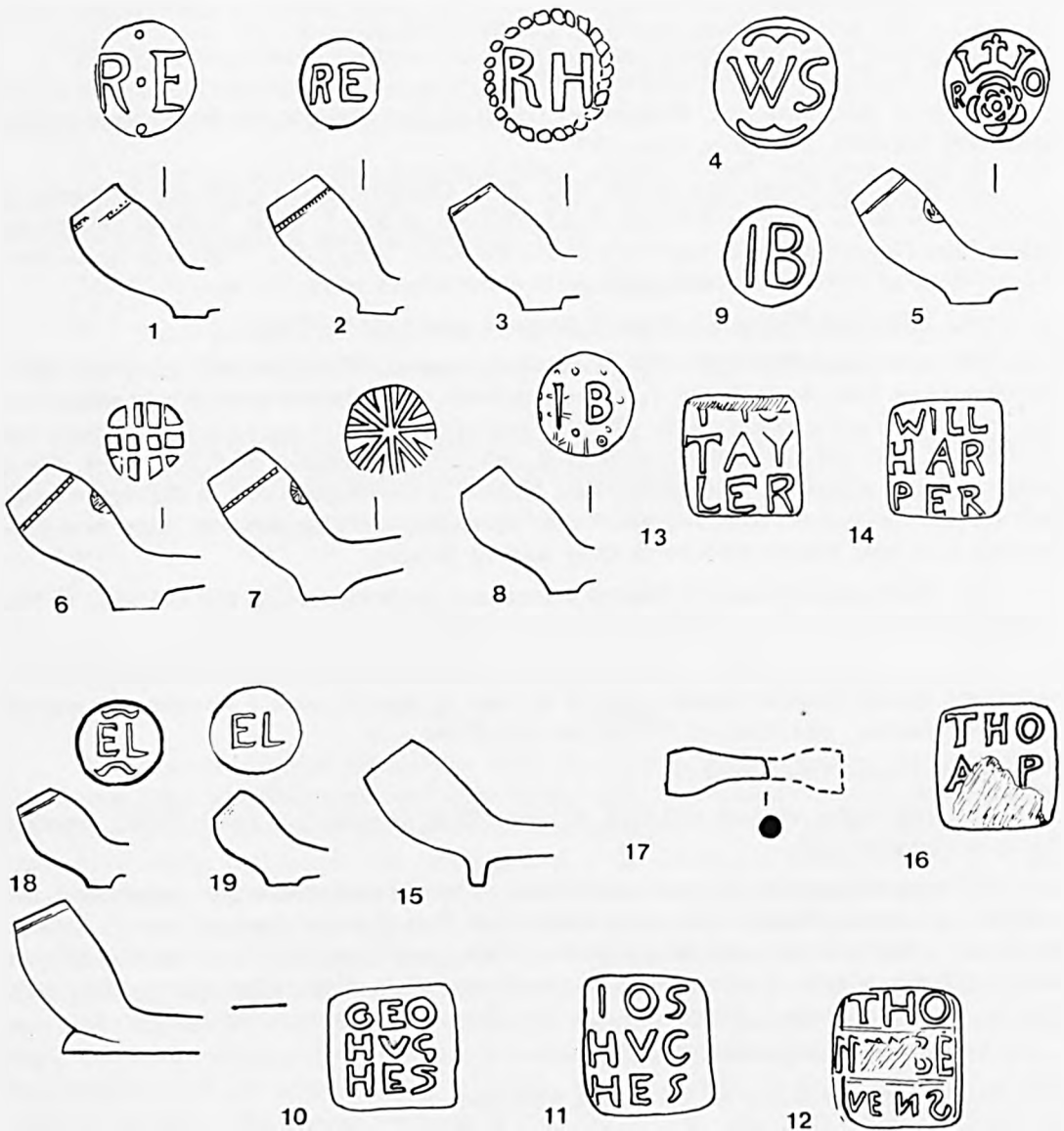


FIG. 16. Clay Pipes: pages 99-101. Scale: pipes $\frac{1}{2}$, stamps ?.

From 11 Neville Street, layers 5-8 (upper silting of town ditch)

15. Spurred pipes, Oswald type 9d. Seven examples, one stamped with IH on the side.

16. Broseley type 5: six examples, one stamped THO/A P/. (1670-1760).

17. Pipeclay wig curlers. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries Abergavenny was an important centre for the manufacture and bleaching of periwigs. Several of these small dumbbell shaped objects occurred in this group. Since they were made to serve a local industry they are perhaps evidence (like the George and Joseph Hughes pipes) of a local pipe making industry.

Also in this group:

Rosette stamps, as no. 7 above. Oswald type 6a. Two examples. (1650-90).

Rose and Crown stamp, as no. 5 above. Oswald type 6a. (1650-90).

Oswald type 6a, unstamped. (1650-90).

Oswald type 5b, unstamped; two examples. (1640-70).

From 17 Neville Street, layer 5 (lower silting of town ditch)

18. E.L. with swags. ?Edward Lewis of Bristol (1631-50). An identical stamp from *St. Nicholas Almshouses*, Bristol (100, 4) in a group of 1652-6.

19. E.L. plain. Cf. *St. Nicholas Almshouses*, as above. Also in this group: rosette stamp, an early example of Oswald type 6a with waisting of inner lip. Close parallel at *Montgomery Castle*, pre-1649.

These three pipes, with three unstamped examples of similar date, serve to date the final recutting of the town ditch to c. 1640-50, and also to date the associated pottery. Another example of no. 18 occurred redeposited in a 19th century pit.

From 17 Neville Street, layer 2 (18th century garden soil)

Two examples of Broseley type 5, one of Thomas Evens, one of Joseph Hughes.

From Castle Street I (unstratified)

E.L. with swags.

W.C. on Oswald type 6a.

POTTERY — ABBREVIATIONS AND REFERENCES

Bristol: St. Nicholas Almshouses K. J. Barton "The Excavation of a Medieval Bastion at St. Nicholas Almshouses, King Street, Bristol" *Medieval Archaeology* VIII (1964), 184-212.

Bristol Castle Material from recent excavations by Mr. M. Ponsford. I am very grateful to Mr. Ponsford for allowing me to examine this material.

Caerleon J. M. Lewis "Post Roman Finds from the Caerleon Fortress Baths Excavations" *Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. II, part II (1966) 105-17.

Caerwent Material from the Pound Lane site excavations. Publication forthcoming.

Cardiff J. M. Lewis "Some Medieval Pottery from Cardiff" *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists Society* XCIII (1964-6) 40-5.

Conway L. A. S. Butler "An Excavation in the Vicarage Garden, Conway" *Archaeologia Cambrensis* CXIII (1964), 97-128.

- Grace Dieu Monmouthshire Antiquary* Vol. III, part I (1970-1) 57-8.
- Gwehelog* Kiln site, Gwehelog, Monmouthshire. Publication by Mr. Richard Hughes, forthcoming.
- Hampton Wafer* S. C. Stanford "The Deserted Village of Hampton Wafer, Herefordshire" *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* XXXIX (1967) 71-92.
- Hen Gwrt* O. E. Craster and J. M. Lewis "Hen Gwrt Moated Site, Llantilio Crossenny, Monmouthshire. *Arch. Camb.* CXII (1963), 159-183.
- Littledean* C. Scott-Garrett "Littledean Camp" *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* LXXVII (1958), 48-60.
- Montgomery Castle, 1968* J. M. Lewis "The Excavation of the "New Building" at Montgomery Castle" *Arch. Camb.* CXVII (1968) 127-156.
- Montgomery Castle, 1965-72* Material from excavations by J. K. Knight. In course of publication.
- Monmouth* E. J. Talbot "Medieval Pottery from Monmouth School" *Monmouth. Antiquary* II, i (1965) 56-61. Also unpublished material from excavations by Mr. Stephen Clark.
- Oswald (1960)* "The Archaeology and Economic History of English Clay Tobacco Pipes" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd series XXIII (1960) 40-102.
- Prestbury* Helen O'Neil "Prestbury Moat" *T.B.G.A.S.* LXXV (1956), 5-34.
- Richard's Castle* P. E. Curnow and M. W. Thompson "Excavations at Richard's Castle Herefordshire, 1962-1964" *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 3rd series XXXII (1969) 105-127. See also Barker, *Shropshire* (below) pp. 66-70 and Fig. 24.
- Seacourt* M. Biddle "The Deserted Medieval Village of Seacourt, Berkshire" *Oxoniensia* XXVI-XXVII (1961-2), 70-210.
- Selsey Common* G. C. Dunning "Medieval Pottery from Selsey Common, near Stroud" *T.B.G.A.S.* LXVIII (1951) 30-44.
- Shropshire* P. A. Barker *The Medieval Pottery of Shropshire from the Conquest to 1400* (Shrewsbury, 1970).
- Shropshire Pipes* List in *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* Series III, Vol. VII (1907), 160-5.
- Skenfrith Castle* Material from current excavations by J. K. Knight.
- Swansea Castle* J. K. Knight "A Seventeenth Century pottery group from Swansea Castle" *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XXIII (1970), 403-11.
- Tintern Abbey* Department of the Environment Collection, Gabalfa, Cardiff.
- White Castle* B. O'Neil *Antiquaries Journal* XV, (1935), 330-3.
- Worcester* K. J. Barton "The Medieval Pottery of the City of Worcester" *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society* 3rd series, Vol. I (1965-7).

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¹ The Abergavenny Archaeology Group and the authors would like to thank:- Mr. George Boon and Mr. Allan Probert for their help and encouragement during the excavations and continuously since; Mr. D. M. Thacker, curator of Abergavenny Museum; Mr. Patrick Ashmore for allowing them to correlate the results of the excavations recorded here with his more recent work; Mr. Eric Talbot, who jointly supervised the Flannel Street excavations and has helped in the preparation of the present report; the owners of the various sites excavated — the Abergavenny Borough Council, the Postmaster General and the Department of the Environment (Flannel Street and Castle Street I), Mr. and the late Mrs. Beverley Burton (11, Neville Street), J. Lloyd and Co. and Mr. Charles Price (17, Neville Street) and Messrs. Woolworths (Woolworth's Extension). We would also like to express our thanks to those who have commented on finds or groups of finds or have contributed specialist reports and to Mr. Peter Humphries, who has drawn the pottery and small finds for us.

² Since this was written, the Orchard site excavations have extended the coin list from Gobannium to the time of Gratian (375-383) (information from Mr. Patrick Ashmore). For Monmouth see A. L. Sockett *The Monmouth District In Antiquity: An Archaeological Survey* (Memorials of Monmouth No. 10), 2nd edition (1960) p. 10-14.

³ The evidence for Hamelin de Ballon's settlement at Abergavenny is his foundation charter to St. Mary's Priory, which is dateable to between 1087 and 1100. The Priory was a dependency of the Abbey of St. Vincent at Le Mans and such grants were often the first fruits of newly conquered territory. For the charter, see J. H. Round *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France* (London, 1899), 367-8.

⁴ *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* Vol. XXXIV (1913), 6- "portas et policum villa de Cardiff."

⁵ Excavations on Clawdd Ddu by Mr. Stephen Clark are in course of publication.

⁶ *Current Archaeology* No. 32 (May, 1972) 245-8.

⁷ *A History of the King's Works* (ed. H. M. Colvin, London, 1963) Vol. II, 739-42. B. H. St. J. O'Neil and A. H. Foster Smith "Montgomery Town Wall" *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1940, 217-28. A. J. Taylor "Montgomery Town Wall" *Arch. Camb.* 1947, 281-3. J. D. K. Lloyd and J. K. Knight *Montgomery Castle: Official Guide*.

⁸ *Arch. Camb.* 1967, 116, *Hilary Turner Town Defences In England, an Architectural and Documentary Study* (London, 1971), p. 208 gives the date as 1257.

- ⁹ Turner, op. cit. pp. 201, 242-3.
- ¹⁰ Turner, pp. 242-3.
- ¹¹ J. Clifford Perks *Chepstow Castle: Official Guide*, though the dating of 1272-8 is based only on negative evidence and could be slightly on the early side.
- ¹² Turner, pp. 207, 242-3.
- ¹³ Turner, p. 40-1, with discussion of the context of the grants.
- ¹⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls 4 Henry IV*, p. 111 (September 8, 1403).
- ¹⁵ *Chronichon Adae de Usk* ed. Thompson, 2nd ed. London, 1904, p. 103.
- ¹⁶ T. Churchyard *The Worthines of Wales* (1587, reprinted 1776), p. 54.
- “ The shell of this, I mean the walles without,
The worthie worke, that is so finely wrought,
The sellers deepe and buildings round about,
The firme freestone that was so derely bought
Makes men lament the losse of such a thing,
That was of late, a house for any king
Yea who so wayes the worth of castle yet
With heavie mynd in muse and dump shall sit
.....
A number more in Monmouthshire I finde,
That can not well abyde a blast of winde ”
- ¹⁷ L. T. Smith *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland* (London, 1906), p. 44. Churchyard, op. cit., passim.
- ¹⁸ M. Dolley and W. A. Seaby *A Find of Thirteenth Century Pewter Tokens from the National Museum Excavations at Winetavern Street, Dublin* Spink's Numismatic Circular 1971, 446-8.
- ¹⁹ J. D. A. Thompson *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (London, 1956). The Beddgelert find figures as no. 39, (p. 14) and the date of concealment is unlikely to be earlier than 1251 and could be as late as the 1270's.
- ²⁰ R. E. M. Wheeler *Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London IX, London, 1932) p. 85 and fig. 19, 88.
- ²¹ C. R. Peers and C. A. Raleigh Radford “ The Saxon Monastery of Whitby ” *Archaeologia* LXXXIV (1943).
- ²² We are very grateful to Mr. Leslie Alcock and to Mr. Gerald Dunning for their comments on this piece.
- ²³ *Caerleon* — Coin of Burgred of Mercia (852-873) *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th series 1958, 87; Tenth Century cross slab from churchyard V. E. Nash-Williams *Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1951) No. 291. *Caerwent* — Coins of Eadmund (939-946), Aethelraed II (978-1016) and Harthacnut (1040-42). M. Dolley and J. K. Knight “ Some Single Finds of Tenth and Eleventh Century English Coins from Wales ” *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1970, 75-82; Pin with heart shaped double spiral head, of seventh century date — *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology* (ed. V. E. Nash-Williams, Gloucester, 1946), Fig. 12, p. 108 (Aileen Fox). Other unpublished material in Newport Museum includes a one piece bronze buckle with triangular plate of fifth century type, a pin with polyhedral head with English Middle-Saxon parallels and a tenth — early eleventh century iron axehead first recognised by Sir Cyril Fox. It is hoped to consider this material in more detail elsewhere. *Monmouth* — The alleged sherd of 5th-7th century import ware (*Medieval Archaeology* III, p. 110) is from a cylindrical necked vessel (? jug or store jar) in a hard orange fabric. It is clearly post medieval. I am very grateful to Mr. Stephen Clark for allowing me to study this piece at leisure and draw it. The Cadoc churches at Monmouth and Caerleon are however undoubtedly early foundations.
- ²⁴ e.g. Ascott Doilly, *Oxon Antiquaries Journal* XXXIX (1959), Clough, Seafin and Castleskreen II, C. Down *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 1954, 141; 1955, 94; 1959, fig. 7, 18. The Irish sites are *post* 1177.
- ²⁵ For references for individual sites see the list of *Pottery Abbreviations and References*.
- ²⁶ P. A. Barker “ Hen Domen, Montgomery: Excavations 1960-7 *Chateau Gaillard III* (*Conference at Battle, Sussex, 1966*) ed. A. J. Taylor (London, 1969), pp. 20-21.
- ²⁷ For distribution map see *Medieval Archaeology* III, (1959) 160. This map could now be considerably revised (e.g., locally, finds at Abergavenny, Skenfrith, Monmouth, Chepstow, Cardiff and Caerphilly), but its overall pattern remains true.
- ²⁸ C. Malcolm Watkins *North Devon Pottery and its Export to America in the 17th Century* (United States National Museum Bulletin 225) Smithsonian Institution, Washington 1960. Mr. Trevor Miles tells me that he has recently recovered large quantities of sgraffito ware wasters from one of the Barnstaple kilns. It is not yet certain whether all known types were produced at Barnstaple-Bideford and kiln evidence is badly needed.
- ²⁹ See the *Swansea Castle* report.
- ³⁰ M. R. Holmes “ The So-Called ‘ Bellarmine ’ Mask On Imported Rhenish Stoneware ” *Antiquaries Journal* XXXI, (1951) 173-9.
- ³¹ On seventeenth century watering pots (of a different pattern) see George Gwilt in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* V, (1850), 343-6.

EXCAVATIONS AT ABERGAVENNY ORCHARD SITE, 1972

By P. J. ASHMORE AND F. M. ASHMORE

SUMMARY

An area of 234 sq. m. behind the bluff edging the Usk valley was excavated. A 17th century modification of the defences overlay the much-robbed medieval town wall. A late 15th century courtyard, with platforms underlying the North edge of the site, sealed pits and medieval burgage plots behind the defences. These cut pits and a large stone-based house behind the town wall: the wall sat on a stone and earth slight bank sealing a turf-and-timber Roman rampart. Two phases of activity were investigated on these defences. The earlier phase, and a granary on the area behind, were dated to before A.D. 70.

During the summer of 1972 excavations were undertaken on behalf of the Abergavenny Archaeological Research Committee on the site of the orchard behind 31 to 39 Castle Street, Abergavenny (N.G.R. SO 298141). The authors are most grateful to the Department of the Environment for providing a major part of the finance, and to the Board of Celtic Studies, the Cambrian Archaeological Association, the Haverfield Trust and the Welsh Church Act Fund for additional grants. Great help towards accommodation and in the running of the excavation was given by Monmouthshire County Council and Abergavenny Town Council. We are particularly grateful to Mr. L. A. Probert and the other members of the Abergavenny Archaeological Research Committee, to Mr. G. Nemes, the Deputy Borough Engineer, for arranging site clearance and for other help, and to Miss Jenny Price and Miss Sue Claxton who acted as Finds Assistants.

Half of the Orchard Site was excavated, an area of 324 square metres. The aim of the excavation was to investigate the nature of remains of the post-medieval, medieval, Roman and earlier periods; results provide a basis for planning further excavation in advance of redevelopment of an area of about 4000 sq. m. Excavation of the whole area available for redevelopment is not envisaged, but it is hoped that the nature and disposition of structures of all periods will be determined.

The recent history of the site was supplied by the Rev. D. Williams, and by Miss Davies from whom the orchard was recently bought by Abergavenny Town Council. Within the last forty years it had been under cultivation for garden products; the amount of disturbance on the site may be judged from the burial of a cinder path laid down thirty years ago, which is now covered by twenty-five centimetres of topsoil. Over the rest of the site there was extensive disturbance to a maximum depth of eighty centimetres. The topsoil produced a large range of material, including a high proportion of clay pipes and eighteenth century beer mugs. It is supposed that the area may have been used for dumping refuse from the numerous local public houses. More recent features on the site include a refuse pit of mid-Victorian date with fine early Victorian pottery, and an Anderson Air Raid Shelter.

During the 17th century, activity is only evident along the edge of the bluff above the river valley. Here a rubble bank backed by a large soakaway lay behind the line of the almost completely robbed medieval town wall. At the same time as this rubble was laid, a structure,

possibly a gun emplacement, was set into it; half or more of this structure lies in the part of the orchard to be excavated in 1973, and its final identification awaits this further investigation. As a group, the finds associated with this structure seem best dated to the late 17th century; but the most likely date for the construction of a gun emplacement is 1645, when the town was held for brief periods by the King and, subsequently, Parliament.

On the rest of the site the topsoil became gradually redder with increasing depth; this colour change is ascribed to subsoil formation of which the approximate timescale can be estimated from the date of the first coherent layer beneath. This was characterised by an expanse of broken stone roof tiles, and by animal bones; it is dated provisionally to the later 15th century. Immediately above this layer the outline of a wooden building was determined, but only by plotting all nails found: there was no trace of timber settings in the subsoil immediately above the rubble, nor in the rubble itself, and the nails probably represent fallen roof or wall beams. Over the northern half of the site the rubble layer had an average thickness of ten centimetres and sealed the underlying strata, but towards the south it thinned out and was much disturbed.

Beneath the rubble was a thin layer of pebble cobbling. To the south this had a distinct but irregular boundary with what is interpreted as a road; this road was so patchy and disturbed as not to seal the underlying strata. The other side of the road was defined by the northern wall of a large stone-based building (Plate 1, Fig. 1). It is plain that building and road were not contemporary, for the burgage plots underlying the road ran over and in places destroyed the wall bounding the road. Going with the cobbles, but lying almost completely under the unexcavated area to the north of the site, were two platforms with tumbled edges which may well

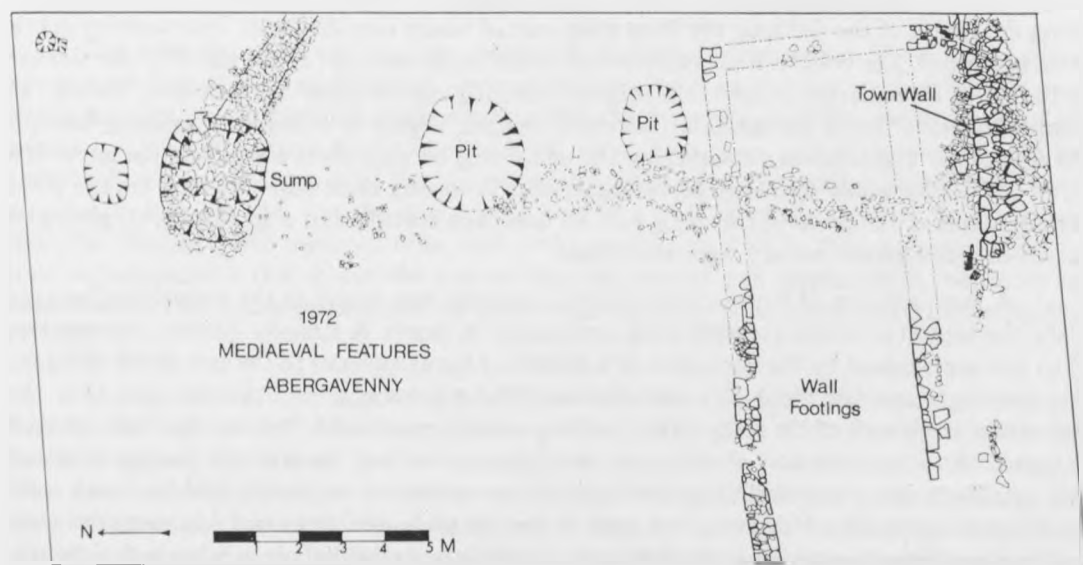


FIG. 1. Abergavenny Orchard Site.



PLATE 1. Abergavenny Orchard Site: medieval stone based building.

prove to be house platforms. The other major features in this level included gullies running along the length of the site near the West edge, one of which was filled with iron-working debris at its north end. The cobbles had been patched in the north-east part of the site after the sinkage of the fill of an underlying sump; the original cobbling curved under the patching, sealing the sump adequately. From the sump, a rock-filled channel sloped up to the east, running beneath the east baulk. The sump and channel cut the underlying burgage plots which held the latest of a series of securely sealed medieval assemblages; notable among finds were two iron keys in good condition and a well preserved cooking pot, an unbroken crucible and a spindlewhorl; glass and sherds of green glazed pottery were also found.

A large amount of Roman and medieval material was found in the underlying burgage plots, the topsoil of which averaged sixty centimetres in depth. A straggly division between two plots was accentuated by the truncation of a pit full of burnt material to the east of the division; the resulting spread of burnt clay and charcoal, and the burgage plot division, ran over the line of the north wall of the stone-based building already mentioned. Because the wall survived in part both to east and west of this point, and because south of the wall the burgage plot soil was extremely thin, it seems likely the agricultural operations extended this far south only briefly and superficially. However, over most of the site such operations had destroyed the early medieval and later Roman levels; the finds were a jumble from the first century to the fourteenth, with a gap from the fifth to the twelfth inclusive.



PLATE 2. Abergavenny Orchard Site: Remains of medieval town wall.

The medieval town wall survived only to the east (Pl. 2); five metres of the lowest course of the inner face of the wall remained, and a slightly greater length of the mortared rubble core. The outer face had completely disappeared, where the foundations of the predecessors of the present garden wall had cut deeply into the bank. Over the western part of its line, the wall was completely absent. On the same line, in the west baulk and not extending more than twenty centimetres into the site, was the unmortared base of a wall or small platform. This was later than the robbing of the medieval town wall, and unconnected with it; the only explanation for it so far advanced is that it was the core of the 17th century gun emplacement, but there are difficulties in this interpretation and its nature and function must await further investigation in 1973.

Murage grants for Abergavenny are first recorded in A.D. 1241, and extend sporadically into the last half of the 14th century (Turner, H. L., 1970, 201). It is possible that the first medieval defence was a bank, marked by a slight earth and stone feature beneath the wall; but there was no evidence that this formed part of a free-standing defence and postholes found in it were later than the robbing of the wall, for one of them contained debris from the wall in both post pipe and packing. So, while it is not safe to say that the wall was the first defence, nor that it is to be dated immediately after 1241, it cannot be demonstrated to be later. Material obtained

from the underlying slight bank does not help to refine dating of the wall. It seems best to assign the wall to the second half of the 13th century until more dating evidence is obtained, but to recognise that it may be later.

The stone-based building already mentioned lay behind the town wall; it was represented by two wall-bases parallel to the town wall, and fragments of a wall at right angles to these. The latter ran from the northern wall-base to the town wall, but both it and the intervening wall were robbed away at the calculated point of intersection. It butted against a herring-bone arrangement of stones which in turn butted against the extreme bottom of the inner face of the town wall, thus showing, as might be expected, that the building was later than the town wall. The shallow herring-bone arrangement of stones forms part of the building rather than part of the town wall, although robbed away at the same point as the town wall.

Part of the floor of the building survived to the west; its junction with the northern wall-base had been removed by the 17th century soakaway. Made of small fragments of stone tile, it sloped from the internal wall of the building at an angle of about five degrees. Part of this slope may have been produced by sinkage over the intervening centuries, but from the level of the front (north) wall and in particular from the level of a door in the front wall, it seems that the original slope of the floor must have been similar. The door, which had its jamb in place, was not the original entrance to the building; it replaced a wider opening. The original entrance was 3.7 m. wide, and at a slightly higher level than the bottom of the wall base. The masonry used to narrow it was different from that of the wall base, and slightly less wide. Incorporated in it were two stone slabs, each with a half moon taken from one corner; it is possible that these were terminals to the original entrance. If this was so the original entrance would have been slightly narrower than 3.7 m.; but even so, its width and the slope of the floor may imply that the building was a stable. There was no evidence for drainage; the 17th century soakaway lay along the line where gullies might have been expected to occur. In its second phase the building was presumably a dwelling house. This phase was not dateable; there was no levelling up to provide a base for the narrowing wall, and therefore no pottery could be assigned to the later rather than the earlier phase of the building. The only secure date for abandonment of the building is provided by the 15th century sealing of the burgage plots.

Finds sealed by the walls and floors of the structure include fine green-glazed pottery similar to 13th century import wares, and fragments of coarse cooking pots. A terminus post quem for the building is also provided by the material from the underlying slight bank. A large pit sealed by the north wall contained one medieval sherd near its top; all the other finds from this pit were Roman, and the medieval sherd was probably derived from overlying bank material; the top of the pit was so disturbed that its relationship to the bank could not be determined.

The Roman structures on the site (fig. 2) were investigated by an area excavation behind the rampart, and a two metre wide cut through the rampart. The latter will be supplemented in 1973 by an area excavation because the turf-and-timber work of the rampart was well preserved.

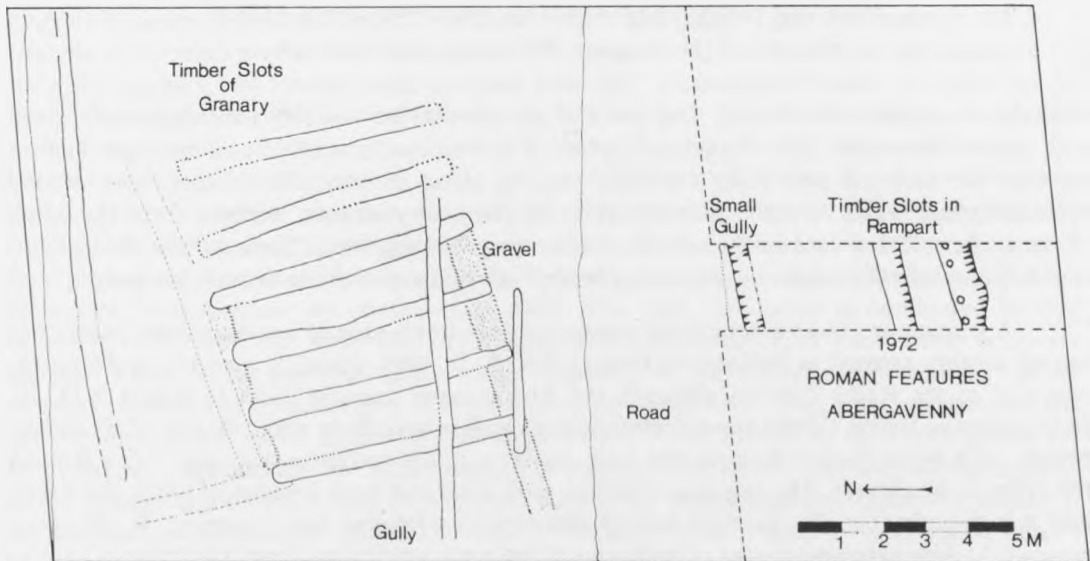


FIG. 2. Abergavenny Orchard Site.

With the exception of a road behind the rampart and some gullies, all the Roman features were aligned at an angle of about ten degrees to the present line of the bluff. In this respect they contrast with the medieval features. It is clear that between Roman and medieval times a loop of the River Usk eroded the bluff to the west of the Orchard Site; and the projected line of the rear of the rampart now runs over the bluff near its junction with the east wall of the school compound.

The ditch discovered in rescue excavations at Flannel Street (Davies, J. L., 1971, 166-9) lies at right angles to the rampart on the orchard site; its recorded profile makes it unlikely that it was the ditch of the early fort. It was, however, excavated and recorded under difficult conditions, and it is possible that the ditch of the early fort ran along the same line; a preliminary study of the Samian and coarse pottery from levelling behind the rampart on the Orchard site produced nothing later than the suggested date of c. A.D. 150 for the filling of the Flannel Street ditch.

The road behind the rampart overlay the levelling referred to above. It sealed no dating material related to its construction or use, and is thus not closely dateable. At its northern edge it was bounded by a clay wedge; this feature is perhaps to be explained by reference to one found on Watling Street (West) where a clay filled trench served for kerbing, (Margery, I. D., 1957, 50-51) in which case the clay wedge may be regarded as the truncated remnant of such a clay filled trench. The only evidence for a terminal date for the road is provided by a pit dug through it containing medieval pottery and by construction of the large stone-based building; strictly speaking, it could be either Roman or medieval in date. Its alignment suggests a medieval date, but the lack of soil between it and the underlying levelling suggests that it was constructed in the later second century.

The rampart was turf fronted, and timber laced at its base. The lowest course of timbers was perpendicular to the line of the rampart. The second and fourth were detected in section; they lay along the line of the rampart. The space between these timbers was sufficient for a set of timbers parallel to the lowest. The body of the rampart was of clay irregularly interleaved with gravel. The top of the rampart was removed in medieval times, but sufficient remained to preserve the bases of two timber settings running along its line. These represent a second defensive phase which is not closely dateable; on the scanty ceramic evidence from the filling of the timber slots a date in the second century may be suggested. There is little evidence to elucidate the relative dates of the levelling behind the rampart and the two timber slots.

A granary on the area behind the rampart seems closely akin to one discovered in an early second century context at Valkenburg (van Giffen, A. E. 1965, plate 34, plan 16) at the north-west end of the Rhine frontier, although the Abergavenny example dates to before A.D. 70. Both examples have a sleeper beam foundation; at Valkenburg there were two sets of six sleeper beams, each beam twenty Roman feet long and at a centre-to-centre distance of five Roman feet from its neighbour. The two sets of beams were separated by a distance of ten Roman feet, and it is thought that the space so formed was used as a loading bay (Manning, W. H., pers. comm.). At Abergavenny, one set of six beams of the same spacing and length as those at Valkenburg was found. If, as seems to be the case, the Abergavenny example was closely similar to the Valkenburg example, then the ten Roman foot gap between the two sets implies that the other set at Abergavenny may well be under the unexcavated part of the orchard.

This granary can be associated with the first defences because the finds from the sleeper beam trenches were uniformly pre-Flavian. It seems most likely that the finds entered the trenches when the beams were removed, for there is a strong suggestion that there was a clearance of the site after its first phase. The evidence consists of material from the Dump Site (Probert, L. A., 1971, 165; Boon, G. C., 1971, 174; 177-95 *passim*.) which lies halfway down the bluff on which the fort stands. The complete lack of finds from the first phase of the rampart is only to be expected, the finds from the granary being related to its demolition rather than its construction.

The authors are grateful to Mr. G. C. Boon and Mr. K. T. Green for reading and suggesting improvements in the first draft of this report.

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ROMAN GLASSWARE FROM CAERWENT, 1855-1925

By GEORGE C. BOON, B.A., F.S.A., F.R.N.S.

The fragments described are all that survive — apart from some unassignable scraps — from excavations at *Venta Silurum* in 1855, 1899-1912 and 1923-5¹. The material from the first and last of these campaigns is in the National Museum of Wales; that from 1899-1912, when about two-thirds of the town was explored, is in Newport Museum where I studied it in 1961 and 1973 by courtesy of Mr. Cefni Barnett. The 1855 finds, which include two of the only three pieces ever illustrated before, are probably a selection; those from 1923-5, omitted from the report on that work, are more nearly total. The 1899-1912 series is dominated by fine colourless tablewares, the often coarser blue-green or natural-coloured glass² being relatively deficient. There is, for example, not a single fragment of the ubiquitous ribbed or 'pillar-moulded' bowl found on early sites, of which Caerwent was certainly one; and even shards of the very common mould-blown square or cylindrical bottles of the Flavian to Hadrianic period are somewhat few, and include no basal pieces. The bases of the square (occasionally hexagonal) bottles usually carried some simple geometric pattern or 'trade-mark,' occasionally letters: a lost example is mentioned in one of the reports³. Window-glass is scarcely represented either⁴. The conditions under which the Caerwent collection was kept on the site until 1916-17, when it belatedly reached Newport and safety, can hardly have been ideal, and much glass probably disappeared⁵. The present list omits beads; but cf. nos. 49-50, which are of kindred interest.

A good many of the fragments have been strongly affected by soil-conditions and are to a greater or lesser degree iridescent and flaky. There is a contrast in this respect with the glass from the legionary fortress of Caerleon; and since both series come from sites which have had a similar history and are situated not many miles apart in similar geological conditions, the reason for this difference is obscure, and is being studied.

Beyond doubt, glass was the most brilliant achievement of the ancient industrial arts: one can see it even in these poor fragments. If we may judge by diversity of form, of manufacturing technique, and of mode of ornament, Roman glass may still stand un eclipsed among vessels intended for daily use rather than the cabinet⁶.

REFERENCES

¹ *Archaeologia* XXXVI, LVII-LXIV, and LXXX, *passim*.

² Roman glass is a silica-lime-soda mixture. The sand providing the silica normally contained iron, which imparted a blue-green tint of varying intensity. Colourless glass was obtained by masking this colour by the addition of a small amount of manganese (which produced a balancing pink tint) or antimony (see no. 22).

³ *Archaeologia* LXII, 423, 'a piece of glass with the letters /AVD/ in relief.' The mode of printing this inscription suggests a continuous sequence of letters rather than letters spaced out in the corners of a bottle-base. Probably we had here some version of the name Claudius; cf. A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume* (1908) III, 929, no. 34, CLAVDI ONESIM+ retrograde in a circle, or 996, no. 304, CLAVDIA ITALIA in groups of three letters Cf. also *O. R. L. Cannstatt*, Taf. V, ?]Clav[, with two circles in the middle of the base.

⁴ The fragments present are mainly of the cast type, glossy on top and with the grain of the wooden slabs used as moulds on the bottom in some cases: cf. my article with H. Cole, *Journ. Glass Studies* VIII (1966), 41-7. There is evidence from Silchester that scrap glass was collected and melted down, probably to make window-panes which would be heavy and somewhat fragile to transport in quantity, and scarcely worth the trouble bestowed on the packing of fine glassware. Probably the manufacture of window-panes was carried on very generally. One or two of the Caerwent pieces are of the blown type which came into fashion in late Roman times. Such panes were glossy on both sides and were generally thinner than the cast type. They were made by opening out a blown

cylinder in a special (muff-) kiln. The process was in use until recent times. Panes made by it can also be distinguished by the elongation and parallel alignment of included air-bubbles. Bubbles in the cast type are globular or sub-globular and of random distribution.

5 John Ward, *The Roman Fort at Gellygaer* (1903), 84, note, mentions a fragment in the site-museum at Caerwent 'classed as modern' which came from a typical Roman all-over facet-cut beaker (as *ibid.* fig. 16 or *Masterpieces of Glass* no. 102). This fragment is not to be found at Newport.

6 The interested reader may care to read more about Roman glass than can be offered in a mere list and basic commentary here. There is a very fine brief account by the leading British specialist on the subject, Dr. D. B. Harden, in *Archaeological Journal* CXXVI (1970), pp.44-77.

CATALOGUE

(The line-drawings are reproduced at the scale of 1:2.

Items marked with an asterisk are also illustrated in half-tone at 1:1 scale.)

Bottles

1. Necks and handles of common mould-blown square bottles, natural-coloured glass a-b (1899-1912, Houses VS and XIIS). One drawing shows only the back of the handle with the characteristic 'celery' combing. 1st-earlier 2nd century. Some body-fragments exist, but no base (see footnote 3 above). Complete examples of such bottles can be seen in Newport Museum from burials at Caerleon. The capacity of the bottles is irregular even when allowance is made for different 'sizes.' See Dorothy Charlesworth, *Journ. Glass Studies* VIII (1966), 26-40, who points out differences even between bottles from the same mould. Most of the bottles found in Britain probably came from the Seine-Rhine region and contained superior wine (a measured minimum?). They would have been sealed with corks or wooden bungs secured with string around the rim and coated with pitch or resin.
2. *Not illus.* A few pieces from examples of a larger, cylindrical bottle (usually holding rather more than a *congius* of 3.282 litres). Similar dating. A Caerleon specimen, re-used for a cremation-burial, is illustrated with comment in my article, *Annales du 4e Congrès des Journées internationales du Verre* (Ravenna and Venice, 1967), 95. These bottles have plain bases. The reason for this difference is quite unknown.
3. Basal, wall and rim fragments from examples (1899-1912) of a common type of mould-blown bottle, with one handle or two, in colourless glass, often with wheel-cut lines a-c possibly decorative entirely, or possibly indicative of the quantity of liquid (as far as I know, no complete example has been tested). Remains of about 8 such bottles occurred in extramural excavations at Caerleon. For a fine complete example from Hauxton, see J. Liversidge, *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* LI, 13, fig. 6, pl. 3B. 2nd-3rd century.
4. Natural-coloured (greyish-green) handle (1923-5) and two mould-blown colourless bases a-c (1899-1912). The first, possibly the others also, from a type of almost cylindrical mould-blown bottle with flat shoulder and thick neck; the little handles, often quite thin as here, sometimes show rather more of a 'dolphin' shape and are so-called. About 3rd century. Usually in colourless glass, but a natural-coloured example is shown by F. Fremersdorf, *Römisches geformtes Glas in Köln* (1961), Taf. 121.
5. Greenish to colourless small, circular mould-blown bottle-base, with relief design as shown. Presumed Roman, though rather a puzzle; perhaps compare the small hexagonal bottle shown by M. Calvi, *I Vetri romani del Museo di Aquileia* (1968), tav. E6, tav. 13, 3, no. 226 (1899-1912).
6. Small corrugated wall-fragment from a mould-blown natural-coloured bottle. Beyond much doubt from a small Frontinian barrel-bottle, the corrugations imitating the bands

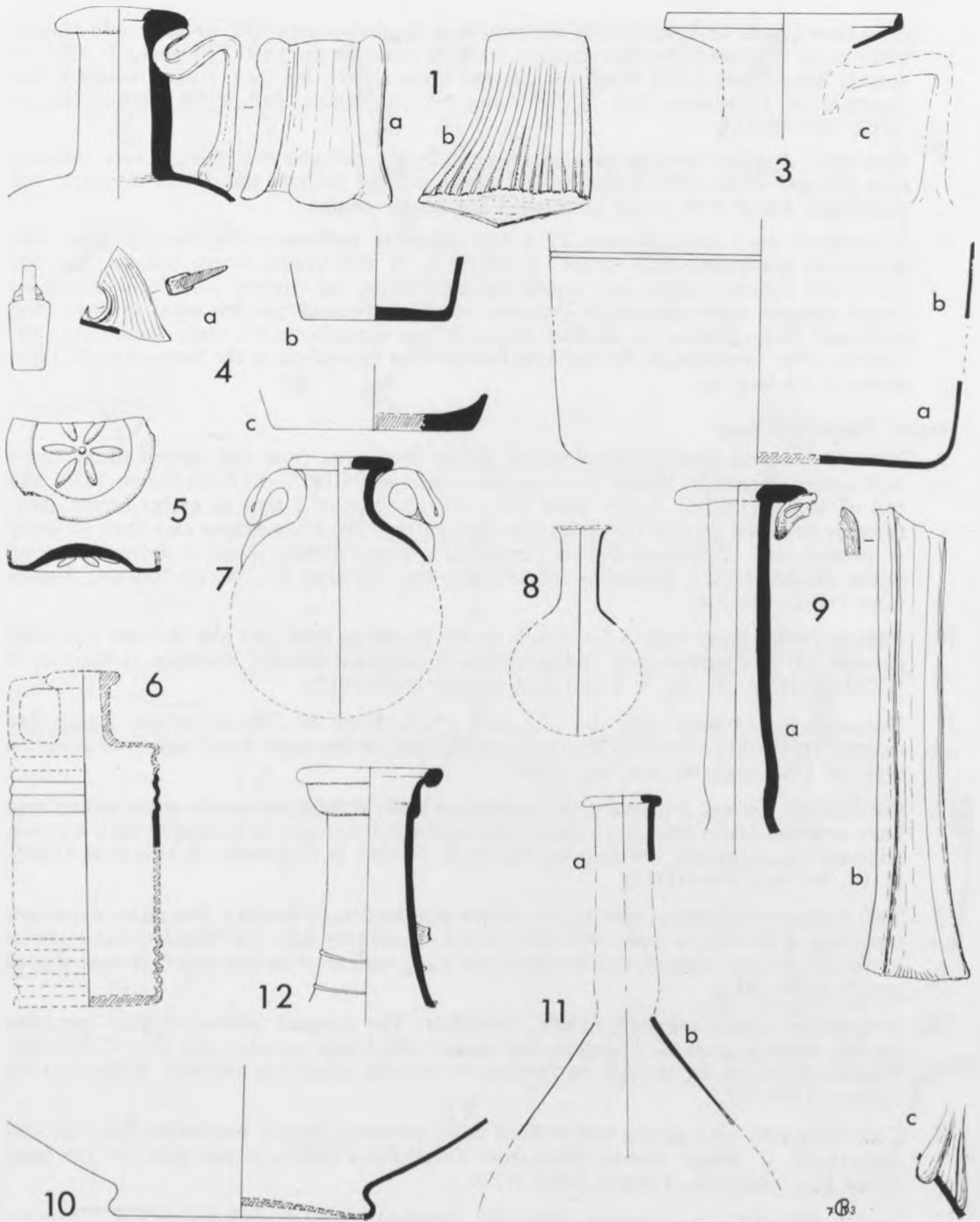


FIG. 1. Glass from Caerwent.

of a barrel, and so named from the northern Gaulish glassworks whose products very often carry the name *Frontinus* in some form or other on the base. Frontinian bottles are usually bigger, but cf. F. Neuburg, *Ancient Glass* (1962), fig. 94 (11 cm., Amiens), and Fremersdorf, *Geformtes*, Taf. 116 (8.5 and 9.0 cm., Köln). 3rd or 4th century (House XIIS, 1899-1912).

7. Rim with 'dolphin' handle, natural-coloured, from a globular bath-flask of very common type (House XXN, 1899-1912). 1st-2nd century. Used to hold the oil for massage, and sometimes found with metal suspension-handles or chains.
8. Thin-blown neck and shoulder of a tiny globular perfume-bottle, bubbly glass with prominent manganese-pink streaks (1899-1912). A well-known north Italian type. See Calvi, tav. 4, lower right, very nearly the same thing. 1st century. This form in various bright colours, some opaque, is common in the Rhineland but few seem to have been published from Britain. In modern terms, it was manufacturer's fancy packaging, and various other shapes exist, for example face-powder containers in the form of birds, heat-sealed at the factory.

Flasks, Phials and Jugs

9. Natural-coloured (blue-green to mossy green) fragments from tall-necked flasks: neck with traces of handle; handle from another vessel (1899-1912, (b) from House VIS); and end of handle (1923-5). A few other pieces include part of a neck in amber-brown glass, the only coloured glass in the series. 1st-2nd century. The body-shapes vary from globular to conical, and often have a faint vertical or oblique ribbing which is derived from an initial mould-blowing operation followed by free inflation. Cf. W. A. Thorpe, *English Glass* (1935), pls. 3-4.
10. Base in similar glass, typical for vessels of the foregoing type, but also for jars with wide mouths. Cf. D. Charlesworth, 'Roman Glass in northern Britain,' *Archaeol. Aeliana* ser. 4 XXXVII (1959), 51, fig. 8, 1 and comparisons (1899-1912).
11. Natural-coloured neck with rim and part of the body of different phials. About 2nd century (1899-1912; 1923-5). There is another rim of the same kind, larger. A common type, cf. Charlesworth, *ibid.* fig. 10, 6.
12. Poor bubbly natural-coloured neck, probably a flask, though the handle seems not to have been attached firmly enough to leave any trace; the lower part is decorated with scarcely-adherent spiral threads. 4th century. Cf. D. B. Harden in *Eburacum: Roman York* (1962), pl. 67, no. H12 (1899-1912).
13. Two colourless fragments showing the upper attachments of handles. The rather exuberant recurving of the first is commonly seen on 3rd-4th century jugs. The flared rim in evidence in the second case suggests that it came from a jug with more or less trefoil or boat-shaped mouth (1899-1912).
- *14. Grey-green natural-coloured handle, imperfect. The crimped ribbon of glass overlying the flat strap is unusual. Compare one or two small jugs, notably one from Colchester, Thorpe, *op.cit.*, pl. 8c, though the form of the present vessel was different. About 2nd-3rd century (1899-1912).
15. Colourless rim, with strong well-bonded coils, probably from a bottle-like flask. 2nd-3rd century (cf. C. Isings, *Roman Glass from Dated Finds* (1957), Form 102). Cf. the bases noted here under no. 4 above (1899-1912).
16. Blown phial-neck in colourless glass now opacified; spiral trailed decoration. There are various possibilities as to the lower form of the vessel. 2nd-3rd century (1899-1912).

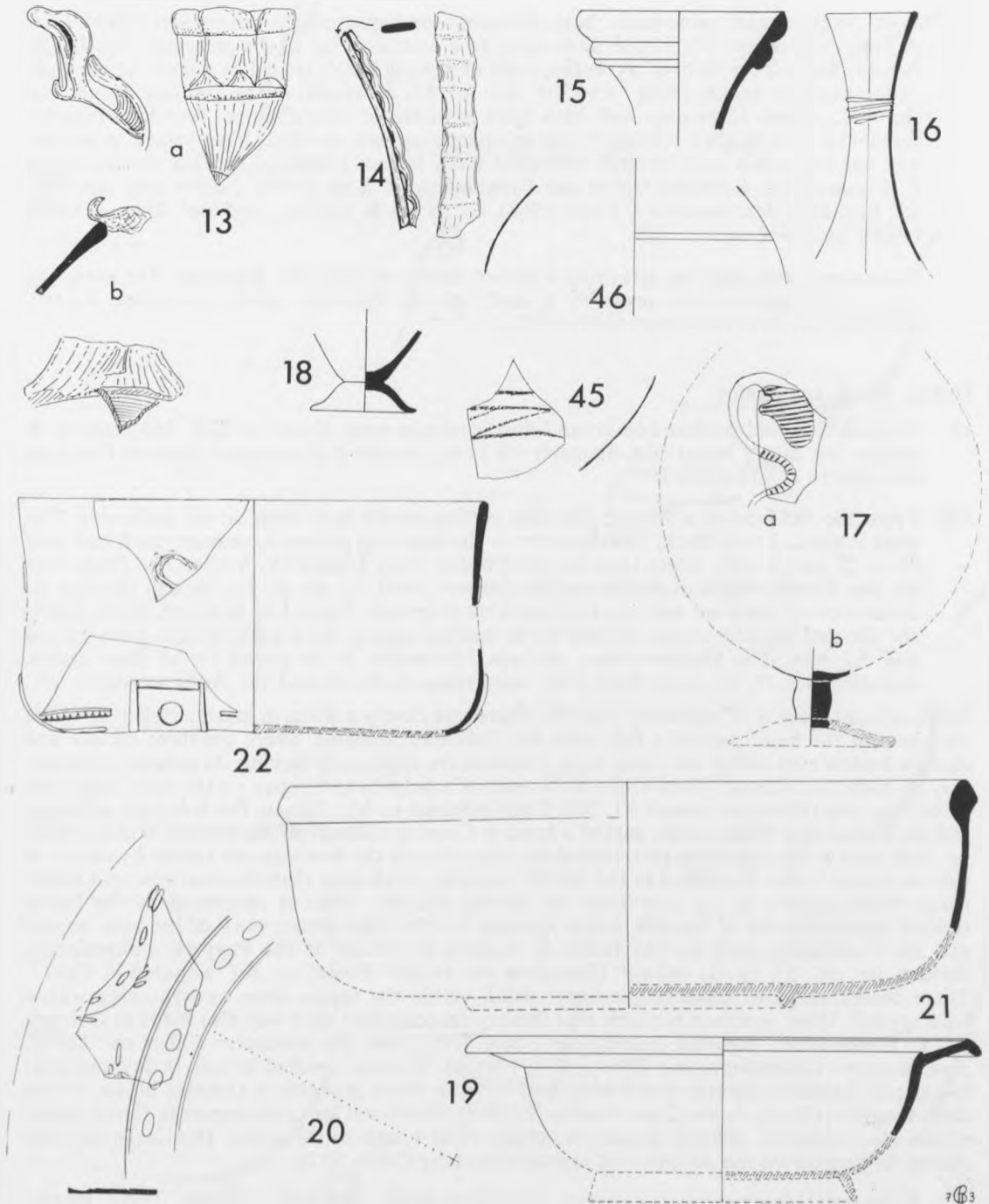


FIG. 2. Glass from Caerwent.

17. Body-fragment and ' wine-glass ' base, colourless, perhaps from the same vessel (1899-1912).
a-b A likely body-shape is a flattish flask rising to a neck like that of the preceding vessel. The decoration took the form of serpentine trails of varying width, ridged by a tool. An example of the famous ' snake-thread ' style (cf. also no. 33) developed in the east and brought to the west, where Köln may well have been a centre of manufacture. Western examples frequently have brightly-coloured trails in opaque colours, as white, blue, yellow, occasionally red and rarely gold, though colourless trails remain common. 2nd-3rd centuries. See F. Fremersdorf, *Römische Gläser mit Fadenauflege in Köln* (1959), *passim*, and esp. Taf. 23; Brit. Mus. *Masterpieces of Glass* (1968), no. 85; D. B. Harden, *Archaeol. Journ.* CXXVI (1970), pl. 6 a-b, etc.
18. Colourless base, made by attaching a second bubble to form the base-ring. The surviving wall-angle suggests most probably a flask, cf. the Hauxton piece, Liversidge, *loc.cit.*, fig. 5, pl. 3a. 2nd-3rd century (1899-1912).

Dishes, Bowls and Plates

19. Colourless mould-pressed and ground dish, common type, about 1st half, 2nd century. A similar but larger vessel (rim-diameter 19.3 cm.) occurred in a sealed drain at Caerleon dateable to c. 150 (1899-1912).
- *20. From the flat base of a similar dish: the cutting would have been on the underside. The glass is about 2 mm. thick. The diameter to the base-ring cannot have been much less than 26 to 27 cm., a trifle larger than the superb dish from Judaea (Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of the Letters* (1963), fig. 40, pl. 29), though that has no decoration of the kind seen on the Caerwent fragment. There are, however, facets below the rim and egg-and-tongue cutting on its leading edge, as on a Richborough piece figured *ibid.* fig. 40A. The Mediterranean, perhaps Alexandria, is the source for all these dishes, including no. 19, to judge from their occurrence in Iberia and the Adriatic region, etc.

The Caerwent piece is of particular interest. There was clearly a frieze in marine style just within the circle of the base: part of a fish, with fins indicated, remains. There are three minute and shallow hollow cuts within the main facet. Parallels are apparently lacking. In general, reference may be made to a Chester piece which shows part of a palm-branch again on the basal underside within the ring (*Liverpool Annals* VI, 167: I am indebted to Mr. Dennis Petch for the reference and for a drawing). There is also part of a bowl in Corning (*Glass from the Ancient World* (1957), no. 360) with a hunting-scene punctuated by trees wherein the branches are shown by means of narrow straight cuts: it is dated to the 3rd-4th century, much later than the Caerwent or Chester pieces which should be no later than the second century. What is interesting is the highly stylized representation of the fish, which strongly recalls Alexandrian work of the later second and third centuries, such as was found at Karanis (a village of the Fayyum: conveniently, Harden, *loc. cit.*, 53, fig. 3; and e.g. *Glass from the Ancient World*, no. 367, acquired in Cairo). These décors, however, have simple linear detail within the facets, done by scratching with a hard crystal. There is reason to think that this crystal-scratched glass was also made at Cologne (cf. F. Fremersdorf, *Figürlich geschliffene Gläser* (1951) and *Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflagen aus Köln* (1967), *passim*). It never reached Britain in any quantity: the largest fragment, from a round-bottomed bowl or more probably a globular bottle, comes from Caerleon (Boon, *Journ. Glass Studies* X (1968), 80-84) but lacks the names in Greek letters which, also scratched, identify figures on certain other vessels of the series. The Caerwent piece should lie just before the adoption of crystal-scratching (1899-1912).

21. Substantial fragments of a blown colourless bowl, externally ground. Three smaller occurred in a context of c. 140-230 at Caerleon (House XXIV N, 1899-1912).

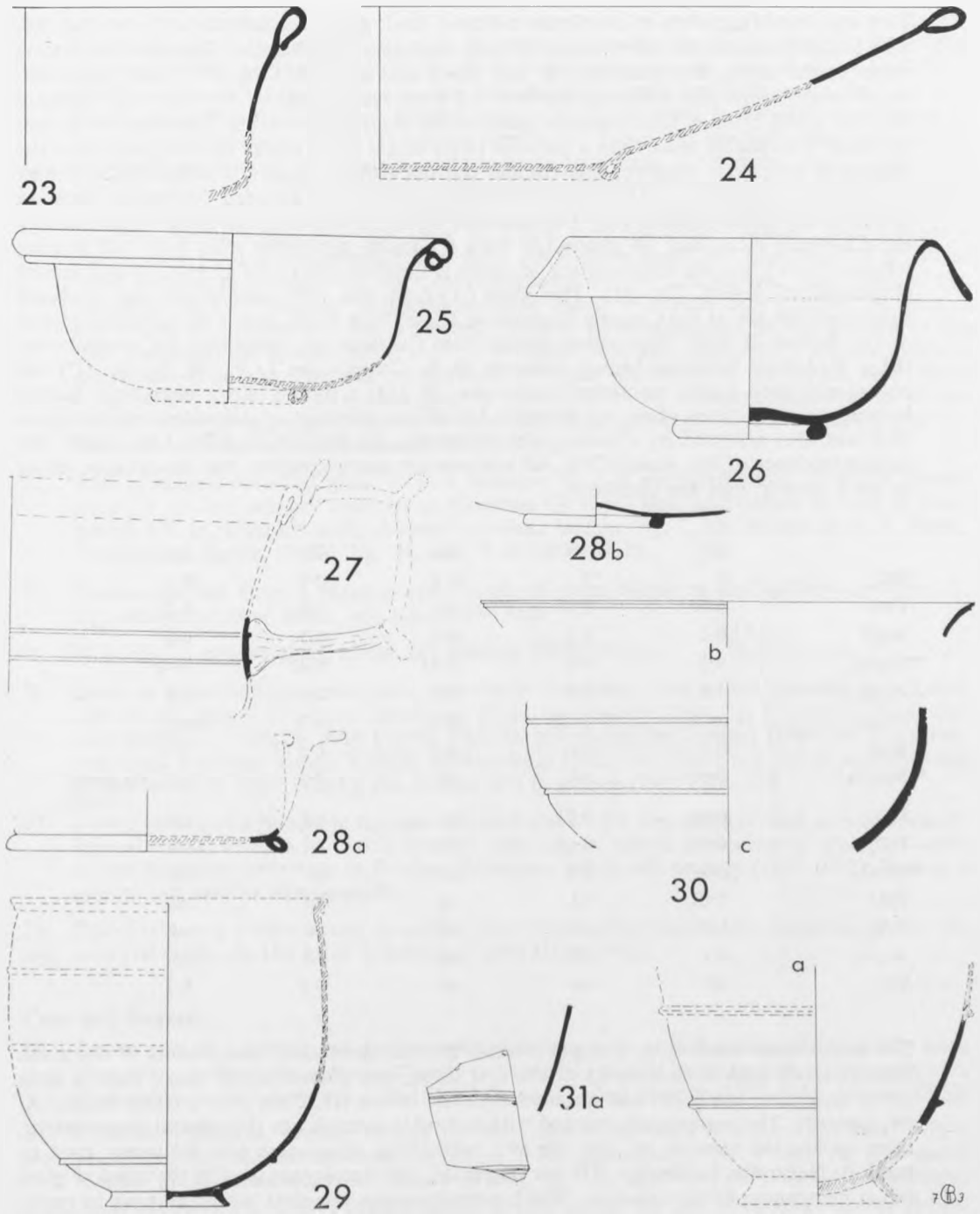


FIG. 3. Glass from Caerwent.

*22 Rim and basal fragments of a colourless blown bowl, ground externally and over the rim, with linear decoration in relief; possibly there may have been handles. The most interesting vessel in the series, first published by Lee (*Isca Silurum* (1862), pl. 28, 2) and since (unsatisfactorily, since the rim-fragment had not been recognised) in *Annales du 4e Congrès des J.i.V.*, 100-2, fig. 6. Good quality glass, rather poor relief-cutting. The vessel is far too incomplete to enable more than a guess as to its height to be made, and no guess as to the decorative scheme is possible. The circular button within a square is unmatched but may be linked in some way with the rare dishes or bowls with abraded decoration showing round facets within squares (e.g. Fremersdorf, *Schliff*, Taf. 106-7). In point of chronology the Caerwent piece may be connected with a curious pyramidal mug with two sloping handles from Trier, the relief-cutting of which is similarly poor (smilax tendrils and leaves) (Fremersdorf, *Schliff*, Taf. 31). This glass (A) from the 1855 excavations was analysed spectrographically at the Corning Museum of Glass, New York, under the superintendence of Dr. Robert H. Brill. Four other glasses from Caerleon are listed here for comparison: (B) a Hadrianic relief-cut beaker (*Annales du 4e Congrès des J.i.V.*, 98, fig. 4); (C) the crystal-scratched bottle mentioned under no. 20; (D) a mould-blown negrohead beaker in brilliant moss-green glass, 1st century; and (E) a fragment of colourless window-glass ((C) was also analysed by Corning; the remainder, by Pilkington Bros. Ltd., under the superintendence of Mr. Henry Cole. All analyses are spectrographic, but the calcium values in the Corning ones are chemical).

	(A)	(B) %	(C)	(D)	(E)
*SiO ₂	73	75	69.8	70.9	69.1
*CaO	5.73	5.41	6.5	7.6	8.2
MgO	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.6
**Fe ₂ O ₃	0.5	0.5	0.44	0.41	0.49
Al ₂ O ₃	1.5	1.5	1.9	2.6	2.6
*Na ₂ O	18 to 20	18 to 20	18.1	15.8	16.2
K ₂ O	0.1	nd	0.3	0.5	1.4
**Mn ₃ O ₄	0.01	nd	nd	0.2	1.1 (in parts, more)
SrO	0.05	0.05	tr	nd	nd
TiO ₂	0.05	0.03	0.1	nd	nd
**Sb ₂ O ₃	0.6	0.6	0.5	nd	nd
PbO	0.01	nd	nd	nd	nd
P ₂ O ₅	1.0	nd	nd	nd	nd
As ₂ O ₅	0.1	nd	nd	nd	nd
SO ₃	nd	nd	nd	0.5	0.2

The compounds marked by a single asterisk are the three chief components of the glass. The relatively high soda content of the first three, cut, glasses would make them a little softer and more easily cut and abraded than the others (H. Cole, *Journ. Glass Studies* X, 84, quoted). The compounds marked with a double asterisk are the natural iron-content, more or less the same in all, and the two substances, manganese and antimony, used to mask it. Naturally, the beaker (D) has very little. The decolorant used in the window-glass (E) is manganese in fair quantity, which actually stains the glass a streaky pink in parts; and the decolorant used for the fine colourless table-wares is antimony.

The phosphate content of the Caerwent glass (A), about 1%, is at present unusual. Some phosphate commonly occurs in Roman glasses, but in much smaller proportion (0.05 to 0.36%, averaging 0.15%, cf. E. R. Caley, *Analyses of Ancient Glass 1790-1957* (1962), esp. p.102). Ultimately, research may isolate a high-phosphate group, because it is hardly likely that the Caerwent piece is unique in that respect. It would be interesting to know the composition of the Trier mug mentioned above, for example. But analyses are at present far too few for comfort, and are likely to remain so for many years. Caley does cite one fragment with a similar content, a piece of window-glass from the Rhineland (T. Havernick and P. Hahn-Weinheimer, 'Untersuchungen römischer Fenstergläser,' *Saalburg-Jahrbuch* XIV, 73); but since we know from Silchester evidence (see footnote 4 above) that window-panes could have been made from scrap, the parallel is of doubtful value apart from proving that the Caerwent glass is not, in fact, unique. The source of the phosphate is also obscure. Medieval northern glass, *Waldglas*, may contain between 2 and 4% of phosphate, and this is derived from the wood-ashes used as flux in place of the soda employed for Roman glass: beech is a timber, it is said, particularly likely to leave a phosphatic residuum. But this cannot have been the source of the phosphate here: there is only 0.1% of potash, as against 18 to 20% of soda. Some organic contamination of one of the principal ingredients seems in question: whether unperceived, accidental, or intentional we have no present means of knowing.

23. Rim in natural-coloured glass, from a common type of carinated bowl, of which several occur in 1st-2nd century contexts at Caerleon (in royal blue and brown as well as blue-green). Cf. D. Charlesworth, *Archaeol. Aeliana loc. cit.* fig. 7, no. 4; and in S. S. Frere, *Verulamium Excav.* (1972), fig. 74, nos. 9-10 (1899-1912).
24. Similar rim but from a plate, possibly oval, of great diameter, 2nd century or later; cf. e.g. *Masterpieces of Glass*, no. 106 (1899-1912).
25. Bowl-rim in similar glass; about 2nd century (1899-1912).
26. Bowl in strongly blue-green glass, two-thirds complete, with added footring (pontil-rod scar on the base). The most handsome of an uncommon form: cf. F. Fremersdorf, *Das naturfarbene . . . Glas in Köln* (1958), Taf. 70, two dated 2nd century (1899-1912: presumably from a pit near House XVIIIN, *Archaeologia* LXII, 14). There is a rather poor drawing of this vessel in John Ward's *The Roman Era in Britain* (1911), fig. 52B.
27. Lower return of a handle in natural-coloured glass, with tiny piece of wall attached, carrying two trails. From a carinated bowl or wide cup of which an analogous specimen exists in the Silchester collection at Reading Museum. 3rd or 4th century (1899-1912). Part of a similar but smaller handle exists.
28. Two bases, one a mere scrap, in similar glass: alternative profiles are indicated in the one case (1st century); the other is probably later (1899-1912).

Cups and Beakers

29. Lower part of a blown and ground colourless cup with neat footring. There would have been other cordons above and a slightly everted rim, cf. a Mértola specimen, J. de Alarcão, *O Arqueólogo Português* ser. 3 V, 195, pl. 2, no. 12. 2nd century (1899-1912, House XIIS).
30. Colourless beakers, similar, though (c) may have come from a bottle. The first, with a prominent low cordon, resembles a couple from Montmaurin (G. Fouet, *La villa gallo-romaine de Montmaurin, Hte. Garonne* (1969), fig. 146, nos. 528, 165). Cf. also Harden in A. Brodrigg *et al.*, *Excav. at Shakenoak II* (1971), fig. 45, no. 57 (1899-1912: (a) House XIIS).

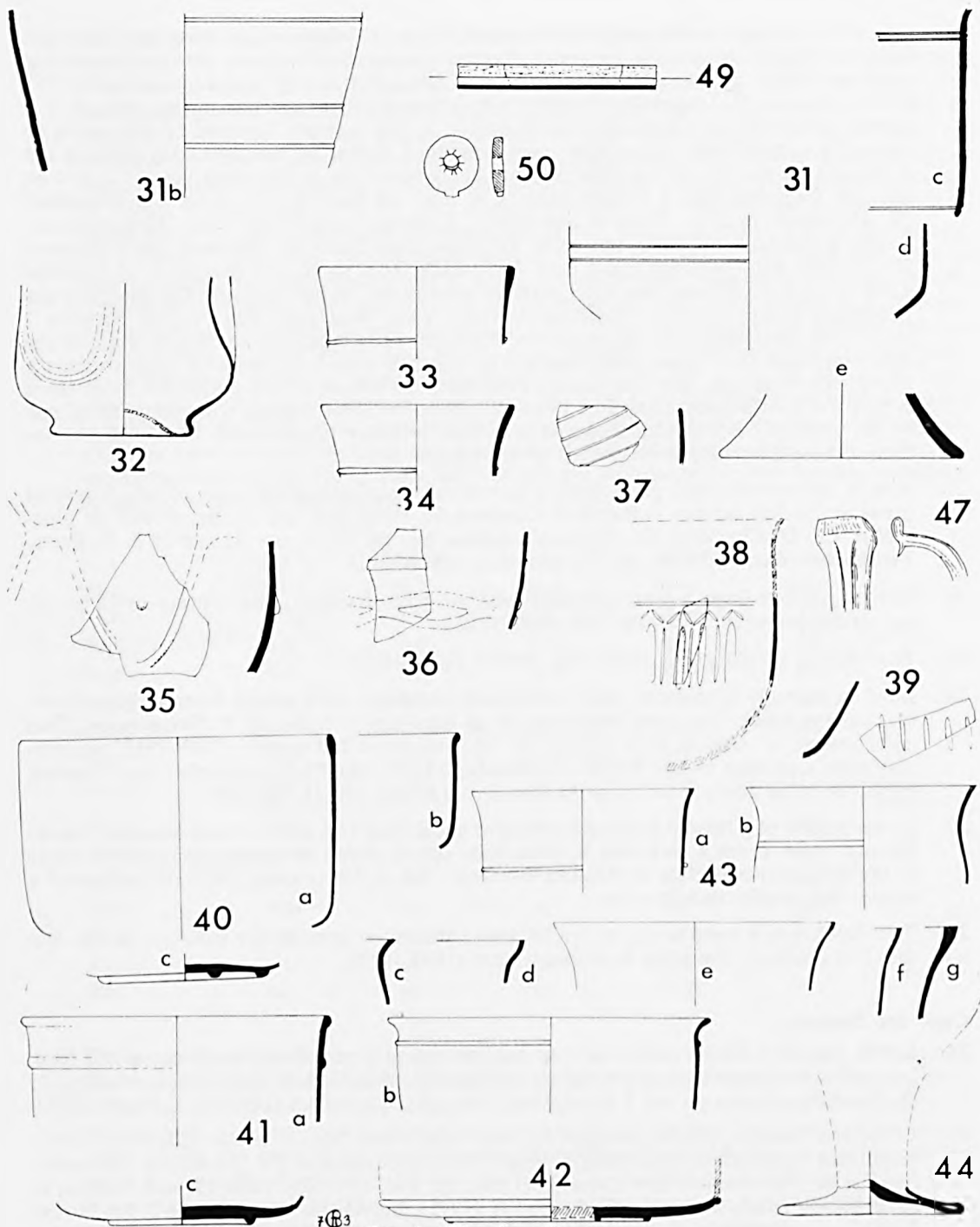


FIG. 4. Glass from Caerwent.

31. More colourless wheel-cut and ground pieces probably from beakers, though the basal a-e fragment could as well, if not better, come from a bowl; (c-d) belong to a type of carinated beaker on a similar kind of base, cf. e.g. *Verulamium Excav.* fig. 77, no. 43. 2nd century (1855; 1899-1912).
32. Colourless indented or 'thumb' beaker. Two from Caerleon, c. 140-230 and 2nd-3rd century, as well as an earlier type of indented beaker in blue-green (1899-1912).
- *33. Rim (drawn) and a few body-sherds (not drawn) of a colourless indented beaker, very thin, bearing colourless snake-thread decoration (see no. 17 above). The glass has a distinct greenish cast. Cf. Fremersdorf, *Fadenuaflage*, Taf. 16. 2nd-3rd century (1855: first published by Lee, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, 3; see also Thorpe, *op. cit.*, 36-7, fig. 2h).
34. Similar rim (1855).
35. Colourless fragment with pincer network decoration. Cf. Fremersdorf, *Fadenuaflage* Taf. 108 or 109 (tall), 113 (wide). Fragments of one from Caerleon, tall, c. 140-230 (1899-1912: House XIIS).
36. Natural-coloured shard with similar trailed decoration (1899-1912).
37. Rim-fragment from a small colourless hemispherical cup, with opaque white trails as shown; also a small non-conjoining scrap. Ground rim (1899-1912).
38. Tiny colourless fragment from a bag-shaped cup. Enough of the facet-cutting is left to show a favourite 2nd-3rd century decorative scheme, the 'row of windows' (*Fenstermuster*). Cf. Fremersdorf, *Schliff*, Taf. 63, 140, etc.; R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times* (1930), fig. 42, 1-2 (1855).
39. Fragment from near the bottom of a similar vessel, poor linear facets. Late 3rd century? — Fremersdorf, *Schliff*, Taf. 32, lower left; Taf. 34, lower two (1899-1912).
40. These colourless fragments together give some idea of the commonest kind of 2nd-3rd century cup. The double coil forming the base is typical. Rims from about 10 cups (1899-1912) and two more (1855).
41. Another common type of cup of similar date, in which more care has been lavished on the forming of the rim, and there is a trail below (one at Caerleon has a turquoise trail). The bases usually have only one coil. On these and other cups, see D. Charlesworth, 'A group of vessels from the commandant's house, Housesteads' *Journ. Glass Studies XIII* (1971), 34-7 (1899-1912; (b) 1923-5).
42. Colourless cup-base, ground externally: cf. Charlesworth, *ibid.* fig. 3, rising to a simple everted rim (1899-1912).
43. Sharp beaker and cup-rims: (a), with trail; (b), with engraved lines; (e-g), from conical types with pushed-in or ring bases. Colourless, except (g), with is unusually thick and greenish-yellow, cf. J. and A. de Alarcão, *Vidros romanos de Conimbriga* (1965), pl. 9, no. 236 (*verde musgo*) (1899-1912, except (a, d), 1855; (e), 1923-5).
44. Pushed-in base, greenish-yellow natural-coloured, rather poor. Probably from a tall beaker, cf. M. Vanderhoeven, *Verres romains tardifs et mérovingiens du Musée Curtius [Liège]* (1958), pl. 11, no. 48, second half, 4th century. A contemporary type of jug has a similar foot but usually a higher internal kick (1923-5).

Various

45. Thin colourless curved fragment, with decayed trails (opaque white?). Flask or bottle, 2nd-3rd century (1899-1912).
46. Good-quality colourless glass, curved, very thin, fine wheel-cut lines; two or three scraps. Blown flask or bottle. 2nd century? (1899-1912; similar, 1855).
47. Handle, colourless, from cup? (1899-1912).

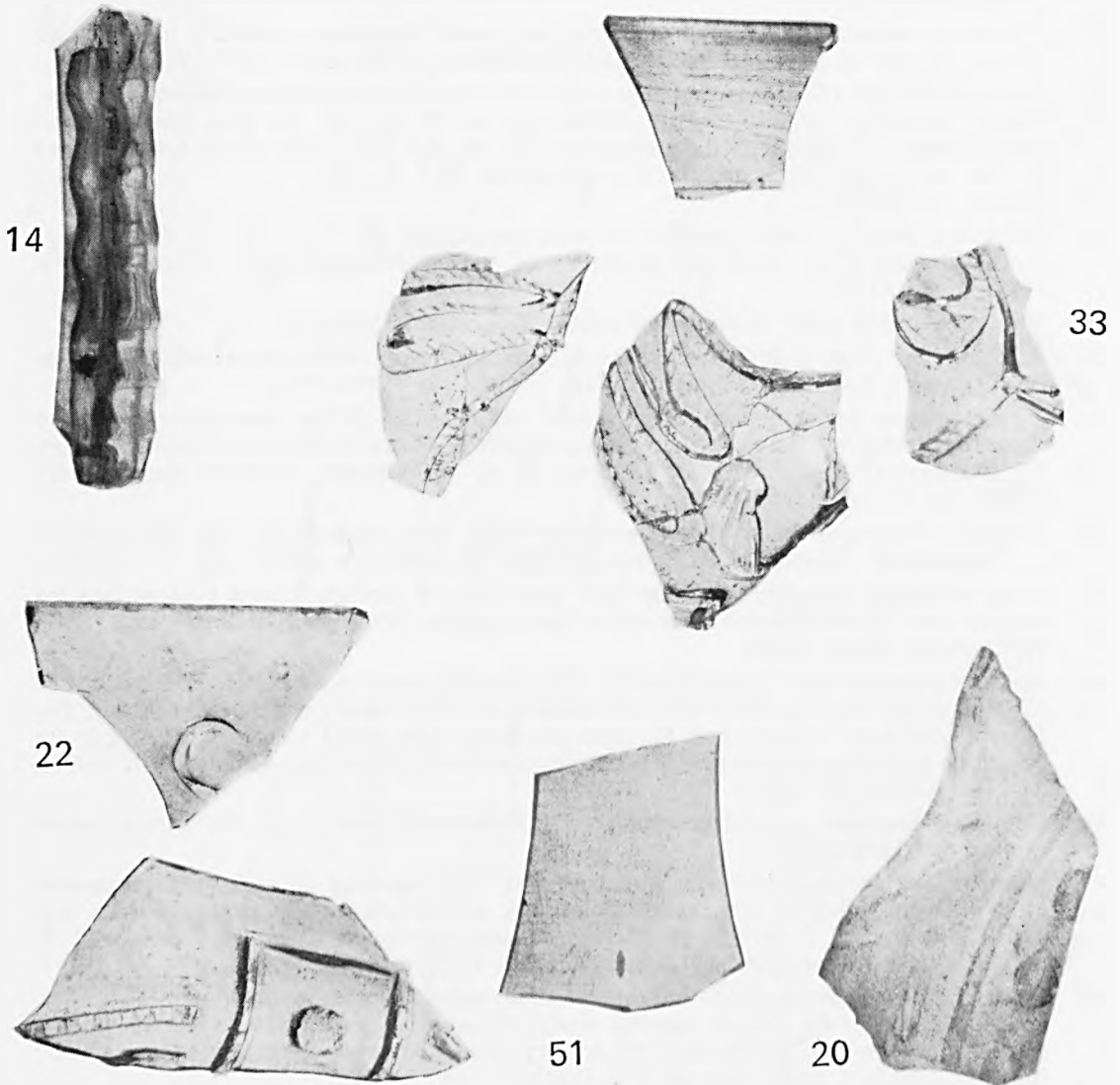


FIG. 5. Glass from Caerwent. (Scale, 1:1).

48. *Not illustrated.* Very tiny natural-coloured piece, extremely thin, in the form of a blunt protuberance; conceivably mould-blown, but certainly much thinner than would be expected. On the other hand, not likely to be the result of heat-deformation. (1899-1912).
49. Natural-coloured drawn tube in three conjoining sections, imperfect at either end. The character of the glass, much flawed, shows that it does not come from the neck of a phial or any vessel of that kind. It strongly resembles a bead, but its length of some 6 cm. and width of 7.5 to 8 mm. suggests that it is not in fact a bead. More probably, it is part of a drawn cane from which beads were made. For comparative material from a bead-manufactory, see Gladys D. Weinberg, 'Glass manufacture in Hellenistic Rhodes,' *Archaiologikon Deltion* XXIV, 149, pls. 84a-c. Similar piece, 5.4 cm., Whitchurch (Som.), *Archaeol. Journ.* CXXII (1966), 25, fig. 10, 10. The question of bead-making at Caerwent is thus raised, but not decided, by this specimen (1899-1912: House V N.).
50. Natural-coloured flat bead-like object, but with traces of a stem; impressed lines around the piercing on one side only. Probably the head of a pin or some small toilet-implement, perhaps cf., in bone, *Lydney Report* (1932), pl. 32, no. 176, (1899-1912).
- *51. *Addendum* (photograph only). The following fragment is of considerable interest. Unfortunately, it cannot be stated positively to have come from Caerwent (1923-5); but at least, if it did not, it came from one of the pre-war excavations in South Wales (National Museum).

Colourless strap-handle fragment, very slightly curving in section towards the broad end; 2 to 2.5 mm. thick; edges a little rougher than the faces; broken at either extremity. The only known British specimen referable to a type of mould-pressed and ground *trulleus*, or handled bowl, in colourless glass (there is an example in mosaic-glass in the Silchester collection). The shape of the vessel would have been similar to the small bronze 'dippers' of first-century date, e.g. a specimen in the Glyndyfrdwy 'hoard' in the National Museum (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1927, 136, fig. 8), though probably without the piercing, and probably less curved at the end. Miss Jennifer Price kindly informs me that one perfect and one fragmentary *trulleus* were found in a grave at Mérida, and that there is a fragment of another in the museum at Cuenca, central Spain.

This *trulleus* would have been used in the table-service of wine, but (like the Silchester piece mentioned) it must have been extremely fragile. Though the base of the handle would have expanded considerably to clasp the rim of the vessel proper, the thickness of the glass would have been very much the same. Indeed one wonders how the vessel was manipulated in practice. It could never have been held like a saucepan. The fingers of the hand must have extended around the bowl and the handle must have rested between thumb and forefinger. Only so could it have been supported when dipped into the wide-mouthed *cantharus* or wine-bowl, and used to fill the small cups of guests at a dinner-party.

There are other kinds of glass *trullei*. The commonest has an applied strap-handle, with a good, firm pad of glass at the junction with the wall of the vessel to provide support. They are found of various dates: small fragments of an example, in early emerald-coloured glass, come from Usk. Others with a cylindrical or polygonal handle terminating in an animal-mask are stronger still. The finest of these was found at Pompeii; it is in sapphire-coloured glass with an opaque white overlay, cameo-cut (*Real Museo Borbonico* X (1839), tav. 29). But in none of these cases is the material very suitable for its purpose. The existence of these glass vessels, formed after metal prototypes, illustrates the tendency of the Roman craftsman to copy shapes proper to one material in another. Thus we find pottery copies of a glass ribbed bowl (at Caerleon) or of metal *trullei* (direct casts from the handles, Holt); and strap-handled *trullei* in Kimmeridge Shale (Wheeler, *Y Cymmrodor* XXXIII, 146, fig. 69, 1, *Segontium*: handle-terminal should be D-shaped, not circular; and various others from Caerleon and elsewhere).



PLATE I. Sir William Morgan of Tredegar in 1650 at the age of 90.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AT TREDEGAR HOUSE, NEWPORT, IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES

By M. R. APTEd, M.A., Ph.D., F.S.A.

The Tredegar Records

The vast majority of the surviving Tredegar records are housed in the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, where they were deposited on three separate occasions. The first collection, numbering about 4,000 documents, has been indexed in ten volumes with brief details of each document¹. The remainder, which relate primarily to the 19th century, have not yet been indexed but have been summarised in the National Library Annual Reports for 1958/9 and 1961/62².

In spite of the wealth of material about Tredegar at Aberystwyth there are relatively few surviving documents which relate to the house as such; on the other hand there is a great deal of information about social conditions at Tredegar during the last three hundred years. The most valuable of these for the century after the new house was built (i.e. from c. 1670 to c. 1770) are the detailed inventories of the contents of the house from 1688-1698³ and the almost complete set of annual accounts kept by James Pratt, chief agent at Tredegar, from 1701-1732. Taken together with other documents of the same period and studied against the background of the house as it stands today, these effectively illustrate many aspects of every day life at Tredegar as it was lived in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Tredegar House

There are no records of the building of the medieval house at Tredegar although the evidence of the surviving hall indicates that this took place in the last quarter of the 15th century if not before. We know from Leland's *Itinerary* that there was 'a fair place of stone' at Tredegar in c. 1540⁴, that King Charles I visited the house on July 16th, 1645 with his retinue and two troops of horse, and that he stayed the following night there⁵. Virtually the only source of information that we have about the house at this period therefore is the tracing of a plan of house and grounds (fig. 1) annotated by Octavius Morgan 'Drawing from a rough plan of the ancient mansion and gardens of Tredegar as they were in the early half of the 17th century (probably in the time of Elizabeth) before the alterations and new buildings were made after the Restoration by William Morgan, Esq. in whose handwriting the notes on the plan seem to be. O.M.'⁶ The original map cannot now be found, but the lay-out of house and gardens so closely resembles the existing arrangements at Tredegar that it is reasonable to assume that this plan does provide a comparatively accurate record of the position as it existed before the 17th century alterations.

Although there are interesting similarities between old and new at Tredegar there are also significant differences which reflect the change in social customs between the two periods involved. The old house was built, like the existing one, round a central courtyard (fig. 2). The visitor approached from the north⁷ as he continued to do in the 17th century, passing through the gates of what were then 'the great bowling green' and 'the middle court' to the main entrance. Although this was in the same position as the 17th century front door it was not an

entrance into a range of buildings, but a gate in a screen wall through which one passed directly into the courtyard since there was no range of buildings at that time on this north side of the courtyard. The difference is a significant one since in the early house the key to circulation was the courtyard itself. The house looked inward to the court and every room was entered either from the courtyard direct or from one of the passages that bisected the west and east ranges on either side. The plan suggests that there was in fact a hall on either side of the courtyard and that these passages were screens passages crossing the halls at the lower end in the traditional manner. There were doorways at the outer end of each passage, the one leading to the gardens and the other to the stable yard behind the house. If the old plan is to be trusted, access to the hall in the west range (i.e. the existing library) was from the screens passage at the north end,

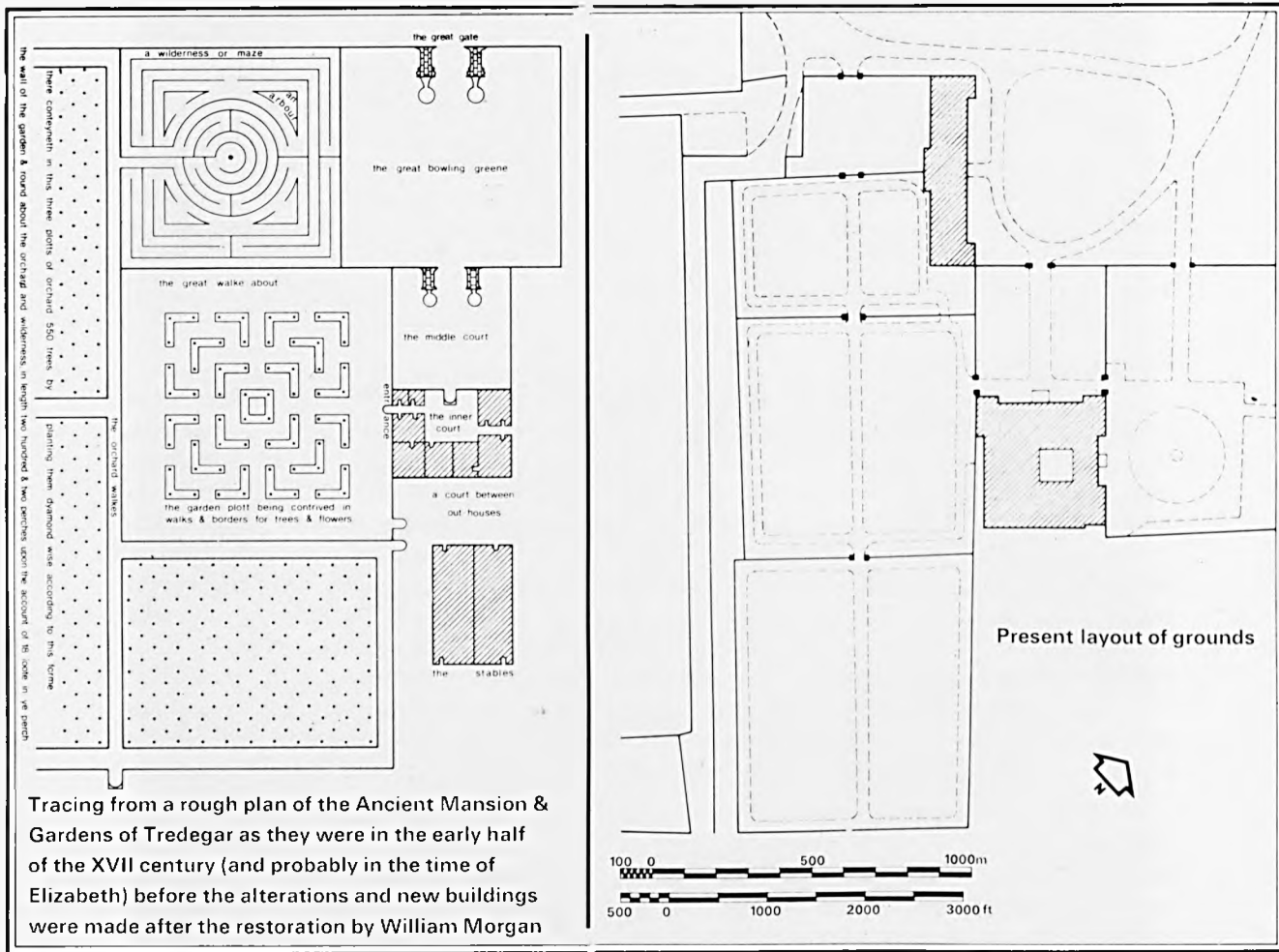


FIG. 1. Medieval and 17th Century Tredegar compared.



PLATE 2. (above) Medieval Tredegar (below) 17th Century Tredegar.



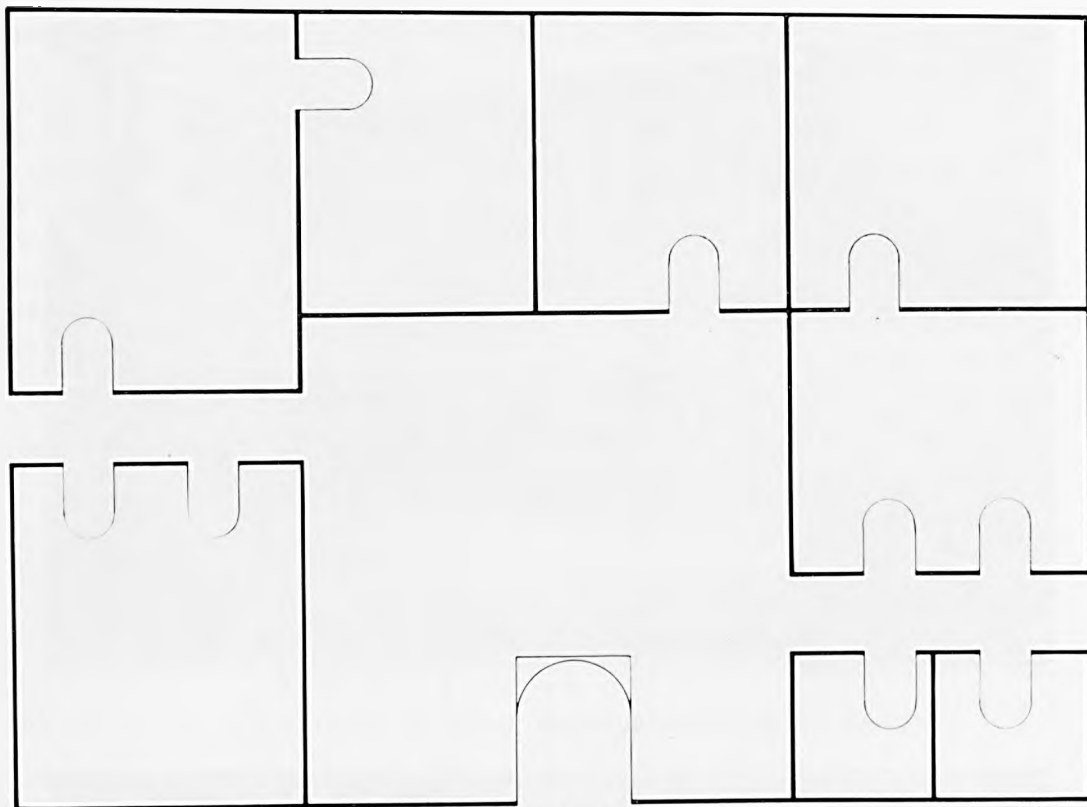


FIG. 2. The Old House: detail.

with buttery and pantry beyond (i.e. on the site of what is now the Gilt Room). There was certainly a way through to the garden at this point even after the 17th century alterations, since a quite elaborate doorway of the later period still survives at the outer end of the passage, albeit masked by the modern cloakrooms which now lie between house and garden.

The plan of the house was in a sense turned inside out when it was enlarged and partially rebuilt in the 17th century. The house now turned its back on the courtyard and looked out over the gardens to the park beyond, while the courtyard became in effect the back yard. The key to circulation was now the new hall at the front. From this room there was access to every part of the house, for it was connected to all the rooms on the ground floor either by intercommunicating doors or by the corridor along the east wing, and to the rooms on the floors above up the main stair which also opens off the hall.

There are also significant differences between the sixteenth and seventeenth century gardens, although the overall pattern remains the same with a series of enclosures on the west side of the house. In the old plan these are shown as 'a maize or wilderness,' a formal garden

'the great walks about the garden plot being contrived in walks and borders for trees and flowers' and an orchard — a characteristic formal lay-out calculated to keep nature at arm's length. This was replaced in the 18th century by an 'English' garden, an informal arrangement of paths, trees and shrubs, with vistas to the horizon along the fine avenues of trees. To this the lake was added c. 1790 so that untamed nature had now been, so to speak, brought into the garden instead of being rigorously excluded from it.

The Morgan Family

Charter chests rarely preserve personal information about individual members of a family and the Tredegar records are no exception in this respect. No document of this kind has been found relating to the Sir William Morgan who entertained King Charles I, but of him, exceptionally, there is a portrait which now hangs in the National Museum of Wales (Plate 1). This was painted in 1650 when Sir William was 90 and depicts him as a shrewd, alert, elderly gentleman with the hint of a smile in his eyes sitting, knobbed stick in hand, in a cushioned chair with a skull (symbolising mortality) on the table beside him. The painter is unknown. His great-grandson, Thomas Morgan, must also have had such a portrait since the contents of his room in 1688 included 'my masters picture'.⁸

Sir William's grandson married twice, on the second occasion to Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Lewis of the Van and widow of Sir James Dayrell. She subsequently became insane and a number of documents relating to her lunacy are preserved among the Tredegar documents⁹ as well as a personal memento in the shape of a bill 'for white and house bread' for the period 14th November to 5th December 1677.¹⁰ This is endorsed 'Mrs. Selby pray pay to Mr. Nichols the baker the sum of 12/8½,' and is signed Eliz. Dayrell. Since no similar accounts for the period survive, this example has presumably been deliberately preserved because of the endorsement.

The one member of the family who comes to life in the papers is the Sir William Morgan who inherited in 1719 and died in 1731. From James Pratt's accounts it is clear that he was a man who liked to live with a flourish and (thanks in part to the inherited wealth of his uncle, John Morgan the merchant of London) had the means to do so.¹¹ As early as 1721 he was paying for the two French horns that were still in the house in 1908, for dice and drinking horns, for the services of a French peruke maker, for a new chaise and for a great silver punch-bowl costing £61 2 11d. The following year there were payments for building a horse-course at Cardiff and a cockpit at Newport, followed by expenditure at the Cardiff horse-race of £50 'to my master' and a further £50 'to the horse keeper.' The same year there was a substantial payment 'to the cock-feeder by my master's order' and in 1730 'for William Kinastor's bill going to Ross cockmatch.' In addition to the above there was a payment of 13s in 1727 'for bull baiting last Christmas.'

Sir William was married in style in 1724 to Lady Rachel Cavendish, daughter of the Duke of Devonshire. 8/6 was paid 'for washing my master's laced ruffles' and £108 'to a purse of broad gold at my master's wedding.' There were also payments for music at Devonshire House, to the poor at the gate, for a gold snuff box and a pair of pistols. The chairmen were hired for a month at a cost of £4 4 0d.

Sir William followed the fashions of the day by employing coloured servants. One such was Girolamo Bardoletti, also called 'Jerolamo the black' and ultimately Segnior Girolamo Bartolletti (fl. 1723-32). In 1732 materials for his livery cost £3 2s. and 17s were paid for making up the coat, waistcoat and leather breeches. His duties are never clearly defined, but in 1725 there was a payment for coach hire and travelling expenses from London to Tredegar for Girolamo, Mrs. Jenny and 'the two clarinets' and in 1729 another to Girolamo 'for going to Gloucestershire with the horses.' His wage in 1732 was £5 a year which was about normal for a servant of some consequence. Sir William may also have employed a coloured page-boy since there was a payment in 1724 for shoes 'for David the black and the cook's boy.'

One of the 'clarinets' referred to above was called William Trendenfield and he received £5 5s. after his journey down from London. Previously there had been a harpist at Tredegar for many years since £1 10s. was paid for a new harp in 1706 and in 1717 Thomas Williams the harper received £4 for his year's wage. The fact that there was a payment in 1724 for 'another bill for physic for the harper' may explain indirectly why there was no further reference to him in the records.

Sir William was made a Knight of the Bath in 1725 which cost him £410 in fees and £113 3s. 'for bills of honour due to the King's household.' Perhaps characteristically he was able to obtain exemption from 'the rites of bathing, vigils etc.,' but he subsequently incurred a certain amount of ridicule for allowing himself to be robbed of the Order by a foot-pad.

Staff

Sir William Morgan made his will in 1674 and in it he bequeathed £2 'to every one of my domestics that attend and lodge in my houses of Tredegar and Machen at the time of my decease'.¹² When he died in 1680 this bequest was duly honoured and the receipt for the payments survives, headed 'a note of legacys paid the servants of Tredegar together with their receipts'¹³ — the receipts being in the form of crosses against the names of the individuals paid.

The 'note' gives the names of 46 servants at Tredegar (35 men and 11 women) and 8 at Machen. In the case of the 35 Tredegar men the document gives in a number of cases occupations as well as names — presumably for more specific identification. The list includes two butlers, a groom of the chambers, 'my ladys man,' a cook, two in the kitchen and a waterman. For outside duties there were in the stables a groom, coachman, postillion, huntsman and wheeler, and for the gardens and estate one gardener, a bailiff, a reeve, a joiner, a cowman, two shepherds, a man in the forge, an iron carrier and a maltsman. None of the women's occupations is given, but the list must include the housemaids and the girls in the kitchen, the laundry and the dairy. The steward in 1680 is likely to have been a man called Rowland Morgan who received an individual legacy of £100 under the terms of the will; the housekeeper was almost certainly Mistress Powell who had her own room (Mistress Powells Chamber) in the house. Other rooms specifically named in the inventories were the chambers belonging to the nurse, the maids (3 beds), the bailiff, the porter and the kitchen boy. When Mistress Powell died in 1702 she also left legacies to the members of the household staff — in this case 4/- to each including the price of a pair of gloves to wear at the funeral. On this occasion 37 men and 12 women were regarded as being included within the terms of the legacy.¹⁴

The list of legacies paid out on Sir William's death gives no idea of the wages paid for the various occupations but there are other documents which do. There is a wage list of 1686¹⁵ giving names but not occupations; this can, however, be collated with the list of legacies to show in certain instances not only what a number of the people listed did, but also what they were paid for doing it. In addition the accounts kept by James Pratt not only confirm the figures derived from the two lists, but also add a number of names and occupations not mentioned in either.¹⁶ In general it can be said that wages at the end of the 17th century ranged from £25 to £2 a year, with the agent himself at the top of the scale with £25, followed by the head cook and chief gardener at £16, the keeper and the warrener at £8, the coachman and head carpenter at £6 and the remainder, i.e. the bulk of the staff, at smaller wages ranging from £4 down to £2. For the majority of the staff, therefore, Sir William's legacy amounted to about a year's wages. Normally wages were paid at the end of the year of service, but this was not always the case, e.g. on June 14th 1701 the coachman was paid a year's wages due on the previous February 25th, while on July 17th 'Kate in the dairy' was paid 5 year's wages due on the previous 7th May. The latter entry suggests that it must have been possible for some at least of the domestic staff to live almost entirely on the keep provided by the family.

The figures for staff given above can be compared with those listed by F. J. Hando in his articles on Tredegar House published in the *South Wales Argus*. He is referring back to the period between World Wars I and II and includes among the men, footmen, a chef, a roaster, a laundryman and 30 gardeners, and among the women the housekeeper, 5 housemaids, 5 kitchenmaids, 3 laundrymaids and a dairy maid.¹⁷

The documents so far quoted are primarily concerned with indoor staff. The labourers working on the demesne are however listed in a wage sheet dated April 1693 and headed 'a note of all the workmen'.¹⁸ There are 52 names on this list including 13 under the heading 'ploughboys,' although two of the latter are evidently girls. With the exception of these 'ploughboys,' a ploughman and two men foddering, there is no record of what the men were doing; what the document does give is the names of the individuals concerned, the number of days worked and the amounts paid, while the cross against each name presumably records payment. Occupations are however included in a similar list of 1819 headed 'a list of Tredegar labourers' names and where employed, together with daily rates of pay'.¹⁹ The pay rates range down from 3/- for the miller to 1/- for a housemaid or dairymaid, with the girl who looked after the chickens getting 2d. a day extra.

In general the work of maintaining the house including masonwork, carpentry and painter work seems to have been carried out by men especially employed for the job in hand, but there was at least one exception, the glazier who maintained the windows and other glasswork about the house. In 1694 the contractor was Simon Barwick and he received a salary of £5 a year 'for keeping the glass of Tredegar'.²⁰ The window tax at this time was 10s. a year, although this had risen to £1 10s. a year by 1716. This was not due to any rise in the cost of living since there is an entry of 1717 'paid lost by 386 guineas on the fall of gold — £9 13 Od.'²¹

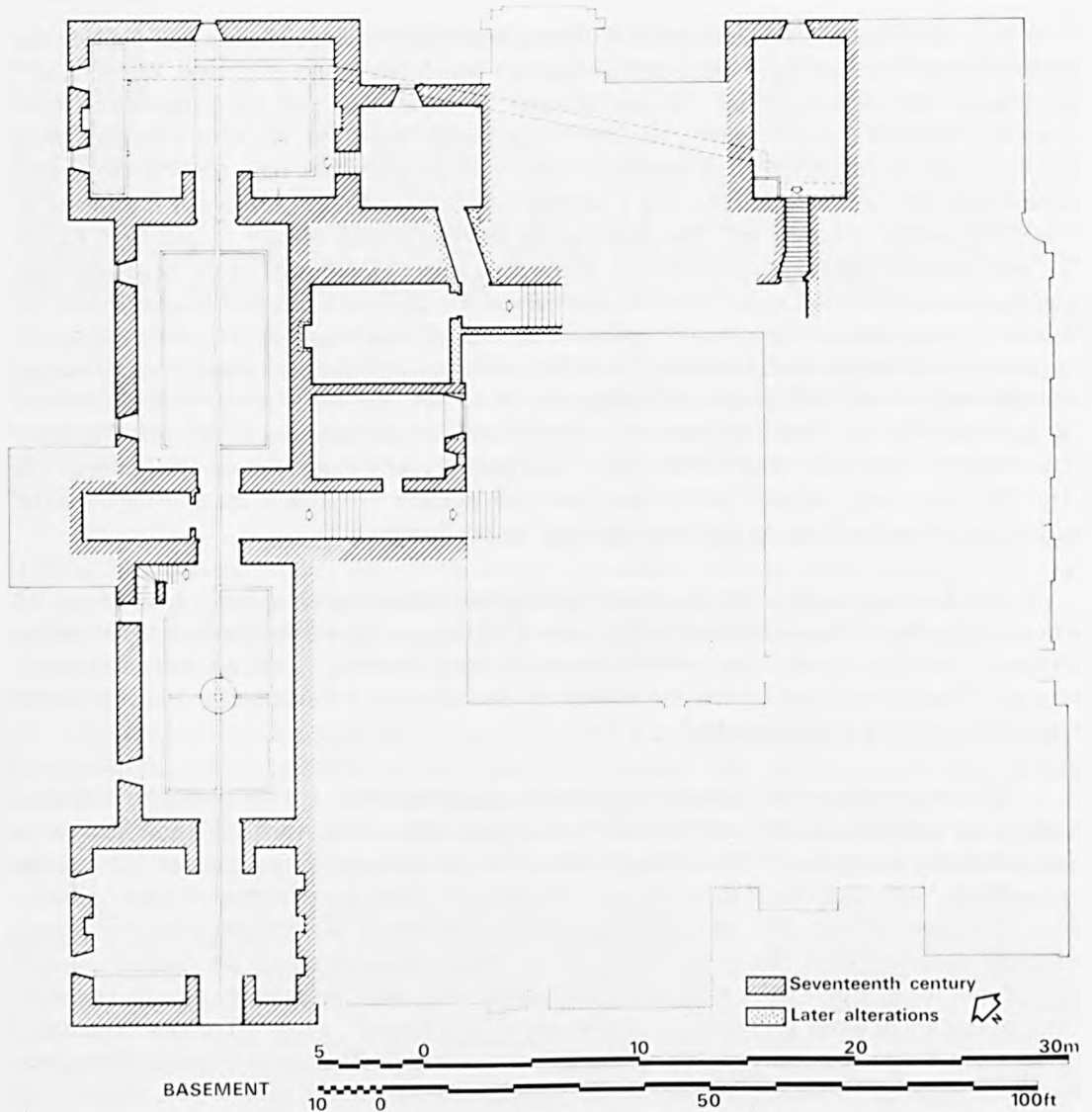


FIG. 3. Tredegar House: the cellars.

Food and drink²²

There is no doubt that at the beginning of the 17th century Tredegar was largely self-supporting as far as food and drink was concerned. The vegetable gardens, orchards, farm, rabbit-warren and river were backed by dairy, bakery and slaughter house.

The contents of the cellar (fig. 3) in 1688 included 30 hogsheads for cider and 16 for ale, table beer and small beer. In addition there were 3 vessels holding 4 barrels of ale, 1 vessel holding 3 barrels of ale and 1 large vessel containing 6 barrels of cider. 'David in the brew-house' received £2 10s. as a year's wage in 1704.

The more homely drinks such as ale and cider were supplemented during the period 1700-1730 by, on the one hand, chocolate (1721), tea and coffee (1731) and hot well water (1724 & 1731) and, on the other, by brandy (10 gallons in 1706), whisky (1706), Port and Florence wine (1710), arrack and Cyprus wine (1722)

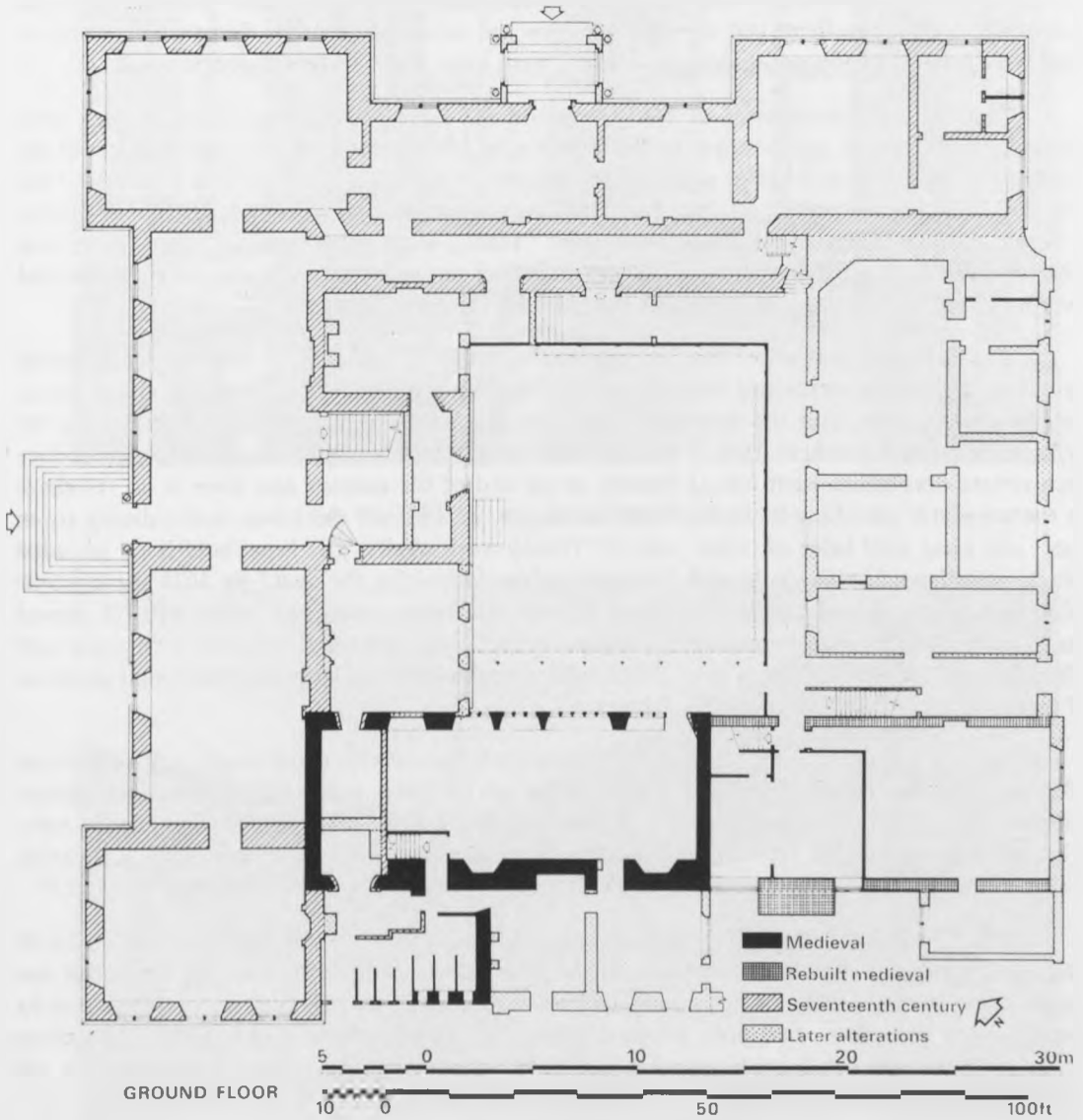


FIG. 4. Tredegar House: ground floor.

Accommodation, furnishings and decoration²³

The principal public rooms at Tredegar (fig. 4) after the 17th century rebuilding were on the ground floor on either side of the entrance hall, to the right (west) 'the dining room' (now the Brown Drawing Room) and 'the gilted room' (the Gilt Room), to the left 'the new parlour' (the chapel), 'the drawing room that is hanged with gilt leather' (the side entrance hall) and beyond that, 'the drinking room.' On the first floor were 'the Chambers' (i.e. the principal bedrooms) and above them and over the kitchens the servants' quarters. Some of the outdoor staff were housed in the out-buildings — there were even beds in the slaughterhouse!

The Tredegar inventories of 1688-98 record the contents of every room as they were handed over from one house-keeper to the next, i.e. in 1698 there is 'A true inventory of all the goods in Tredegar House taken under Mary Madox charge 14 May 1698.' At that time 'the new hall' (i.e. the entrance hall) was furnished as a reception room with 24 gilt leather chairs, a dozen cushions striped with black velvet and 'Turkey-work worsted lace' and a large oval table of cedar with a red leather cover. There were four gilt sconces for candles on the walls and twelve paintings of Roman emperors known as 'the Caesars' heads'.²⁴

The principal feature of the 'dining room' today (Plate IIIb) is the elaborate carved panelling. This is not mentioned in the inventories since it is not part of the contents of the room, but the coat of arms over the fireplace shows that this panelling was not added until after Sir William Morgan's death in 1680.²⁵ It is unlikely to have been added much later either since such ornate decoration went out of fashion at the end of the century and there is no reference to the supply of panelling in James Pratt's accounts. In 1688 all there was in the dining room was 'one great oval table of cedar' and 12 Turkey-work chairs. The household linen included two large 'diaper' table cloths and 5 damask table cloths 'for the oval.' By 1698 the big oval table had been removed and instead there were in the dining room two tables with 18 carved cane chairs with 'pink-coloured little cushions striped with silver and trimmed with green and white fringes.' There was also a cane couch with a squab and two large and two small cushions of flowered velvet trimmed with silk fringes.

In 1688 the list of silver plate in the pantry included cutlery, candlesticks, salt cellars and '3 dozen trencher plates.' There were also 4 dozen pewter plates with coats of arms and 6 dozen without. China was being used by 1698 including dishes, cream bowls and plates of Delft ware, while an account of 1711 records the purchase of more plate including knob spoons, a tankard, 4 oval salt cellars, a salver and 2 porringers, all subsequently engraved with coats of arms.²⁶

The Gilt Room (Plate IIIa) was no doubt to some extent the equivalent of the medieval solar — the room to which the company retired after dinner on formal occasions. In 1688 it was empty apart from the red curtains — possibly because it had only just been decorated — but by the following year there had been added a green, silver-embroidered couch with 12 matching chairs, and by 1698 the furnishings were relatively elaborate and included 'a scitore with gilt frame covered with leather' and 'a tea table and two small stands of Japanware.' On the last occasion the curtains were of 'striped muslin trimmed with knotted fringes and valences of the same.' In contrast 'the drinking room' at the same date was appropriately furnished for its purpose with ten old leather chairs and an oval table.



PLATE 3. (above) The Gilt Room (below) The Brown Drawing Room (formerly the Dining Room).



The most lavish feature of the Gilt Room is the painting on walls and ceiling. There are in fact paintings over most of the fireplaces in the principal rooms with subjects taken from Biblical or Classical sources. In the entrance hall is 'the Judgement of Solomon,' in the chapel 'Lot leaving Sodom with his wife and daughters' and in the King's Room 'The sacrifice of Isaac.' Elsewhere the classical subjects include 'Mercury and Argus' in the Pink Room, 'Apollo pursuing Daphne' in the Passing Room, and in the Oak Room 'Mercury and the daughters of Cecrops.' The principal painted ceilings were in 'the new parlour' (the chapel) and the Gilt Room. The first was taken down in 1848, but is said to have depicted 'the tribute of the gods to Flora and Zephyr': a survey drawing made at the time shows that it occupied a large oval framed area in the centre of the ceiling as does that surviving in the Gilt Room. The latter is still relatively well-preserved and is a copy of part of a ceiling painted by Pietro da Cortona in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome, probably taken from an engraving published by Tetius in 1647²⁷. The subject-matter is an allegory which, according to Tetius, represents Urban's wisdom, his study of philosophy and other disciplines fostered by Divine Aid, while Chastity attacks the luxurious and intemperate. In the Gilt Room, exceptionally, the panelling is also painted, on the one hand with landscapes and on the other with symbolic figures including part of a series representing the Virtues (Temperance, Prudence, Justice) and part of another illustrating the Seasons. Some of these are copied from a series of engravings of sculpture at the town hall in Amsterdam which was published in 1665-68. The Venus derives ultimately from the Prado version of Titian's *Venus and the Organ-Player* although the organ-player has been omitted. Such subjects were quite characteristic of the 17th century and were no doubt selected by the painters from appropriate books of engravings after consultation with their patron. The paintings themselves provide evidence that the house — which on the evidence of the glass sundial in the Cedar Room existed at least by 1672 — could not at the earliest have been decorated much before that.

The fireplace in the Gilt Room, with William Morgan's monogram concealed in the intricate decoration, is quite exceptional, but marble fireplaces imported from Italy and Dutch tiles from the Low Countries as seen in a number of rooms at Tredegar were common features of the period. The tiles can be classified according to subject matter and the selection at Tredegar includes horsemen, landscapes, Biblical themes and children's games.²⁸ Only one reference to these tiles has been found in the records, a payment of £1 12 5d. in November 1715 'for 8 dozen of Dutch tiles at 4s. per dozen and package'.²⁹

The 'Chambers' upstairs (fig. 5) were normally named either after their occupants (e.g. 'My Master's room,' 'Young Master's room'), or after the colour of the bed furnishings. Thus the bed in 'the blue-flowered velvet chamber' of 1688 had a set of blue-flowered velvet curtains with double valences and foot valence lined with blue silk and a silk quilt with head-piece and tester of sky-coloured sarsenet. There was a Turkey carpet on the floor and a 'great chair and six lesser chairs' upholstered to match the bed 'being all with silver and silk fringes.' 'My Master's room' was one of the few to have 'a piece of hanging of arris' (i.e. a tapestry) on the walls, but John Morgan bought no less than 17 tapestries in 1711 described variously as 'landskip hangings,' 'fine landskip with figures' and 'two pieces fine Italian conversation.'³⁰

The inventories also mention gilt leather hangings as well as a screen of gilt leather in the dressing room. Wall paper is mentioned for the first and only time in 1707 when there is a payment for ' 12 pieces of painted paper for hangings.'³¹

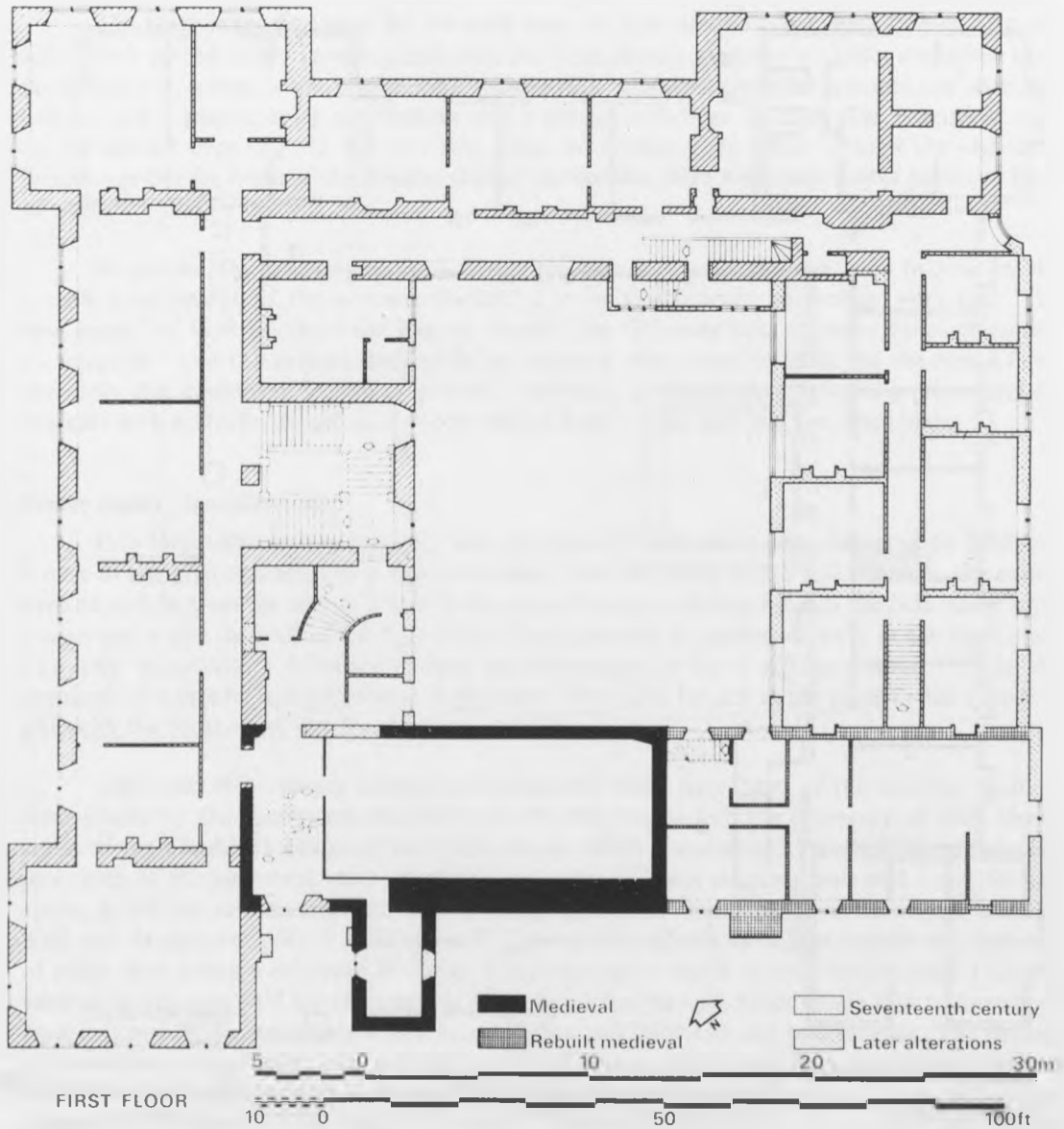


FIG. 5. Tredegar House: first floor.

In a number of rooms on the first floor the panels have been covered with brocade or damask, some of which (i.e. in the Passing Room) may date to the 18th century. Such evidence as there is suggests that originally the panelling was painted. Thus 'the new chamber at the head of the stairs' (almost certainly the Passing Room) was painted in 1688 — the outside of the doors being white and the internal wall surfaces of 'grey, noble walnut.' 'The empty chamber'

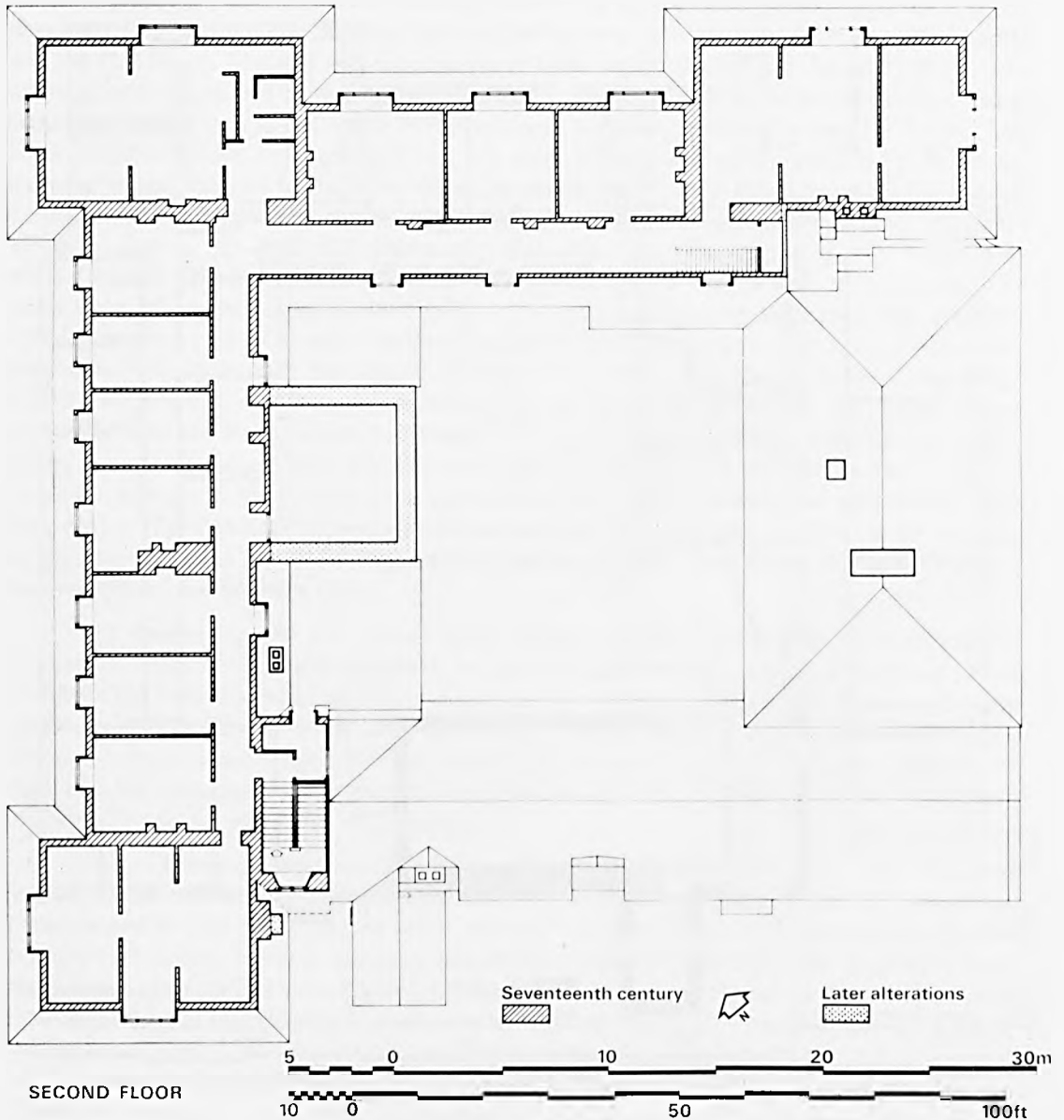


FIG. 6. Tredegar House: second floor.

— probably the room next door — was painted ‘grey marble and tortell shell’ at the same time.”³² According to Octavius Morgan ‘the new parlour’ (i.e. the chapel) was painted white in 1788 ‘according to the fashion of the time — the same white paint remained without ever being renewed till the year 1856 — and was then in as sound and perfect a state as when first done.’³³

The furnishings provided for the staff were, as one would expect, very simple. The old hall, which served as the servants’ hall once the 17th century ranges were built, contained little more than two tables — one a long table with four benches and the other a round one with one bench, with a pair of brass candlesticks and a pewter salt-cellar on each. The household staff on the second floor (fig. 6) did, however, sleep on feather beds albeit without the elaborate furnishings but for some of the outside staff in the bothies there were only timber beds or ‘beds of chaff.’

In general the inventories show that there was little change from year to year in the overall arrangement of the accommodation. The only significant alterations were that ‘the new room’ of 1688 became ‘the Passing Room’ the following year (a name which it retains — uniquely — to the present day) while an armoury was added in 1698. At the time of the inventory this contained 6 pairs of pistols, 3 carbines, a blunderbuss, 5 fowling pieces and 66 muskets with firelocks, as well as 3 swords with 2 belts — one buff and the other plain.

Water-supply, sanitation etc.

It is impossible to say precisely how supplies of fresh water were delivered to Tredegar House in the 17th century, but it may have been from the pump which still stands in the courtyard as well as from the stream which flows under the house from a tank in the N.E. cellar until discharged under the wall of the S.E. cellar. There are also a number of wells in the farm area. The only documentary reference to such matters traced so far is an entry dated 1792 in the accounts of a painter and plumber — a payment ‘for 6 days for self at the pipes by the pump’ — although the location of the pump is not stated³⁴.

Until the 19th century sanitary arrangements must have been of the simplest kind — close-stools for the gentry and chamber pots for the remainder. The inventory of 1688 shows seven of the Chambers equipped with close-stools, while the attached ‘account of pewter (sic) belonging to the chambers’ lists 12 close-stool pans, 3 dozen chamber pots and 1 pot for the stairs. A bill for various domestic articles purchased in 1711 includes two close-stool pans @ 3/6d and six chamber pots @ 2/6d apiece.³⁵ There is no evidence as to how sewage was disposed of other than a single reference in James Pratt’s accounts which records that in May 1725 the sum of £6 12s. was paid for the removal of 33 tons of night-soil. Since this is said to have been paid in London it presumably refers to a London property and not to Tredegar. The earliest reference to a water-closet noted is dated April 1842 when a letter from James Jones, the Tredegar agent, to Sir Charles Morgan informed him that a Mr. Langdon had been at Tredegar ‘asking dimensions for the hot bath and water closet,’ while a second letter of June indicates that the closet was then being installed.³⁶

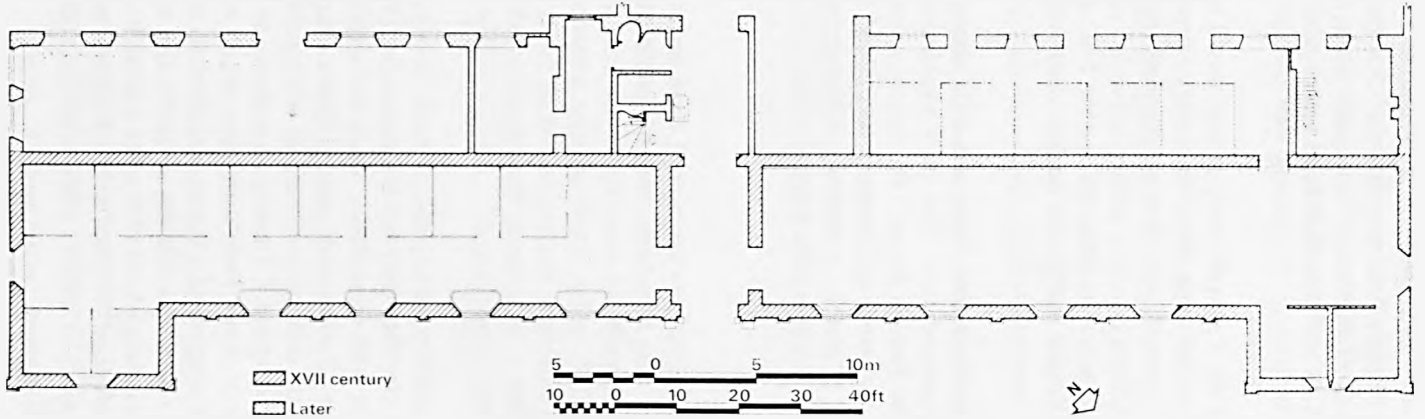


FIG. 7. Tredegar House: the stables.

As far as personal washing was concerned basins and jugs were no doubt brought to the bedrooms — there were 15 basins belonging to the Chambers in 1689. The earliest surviving references to a bath are 1717-18 when there are a series of items in the accounts relating to the installation of ‘the bath.’³⁷ The provisions include shutters, stonework and a cock to the bath, as well as eight brass rings, six cane chairs and a table. This bath may have been for cold water only since the reference to Mr. Langdon’s visit above specifically refers to ‘the hot bath’ which may imply that a bath with piped hot water system was then being installed for the first time.

Lighting

The invention of gas and electric lighting must have led to an immediate and dramatic change in social conditions in a house such as Tredegar — indeed it is almost impossible for anyone accustomed to normal urban conditions in Britain today to imagine what life can have been like in a large mansion after sun down before the provision of ample supplies of artificial light. Such evidence as there is suggests that in the 17th century Tredegar was lit almost entirely by candle and firelight. There is only one reference to a lantern in the 1688 inventory — for the rest there were sconces on the walls of a few of the more important rooms and snuffers in most of the bedrooms, while in the buttery were 2 large silver candlesticks, 10 pewter candlesticks and 23 brass or copper candlesticks. There was also a bin for candles in the wardrobe upstairs.

Candlesticks are listed among household utensils bought in 1711³⁸ (e.g. ‘3 pair of brass candlesticks at 12/-, 3 snuffers and 1 saucepan at 5/-’). Candles were necessarily bought in bulk, e.g. there was a payment for 31½ dozen candles in 1727 bought ‘since the last fair’ at 5/6d a dozen³⁹—a reminder that many of the small household items were brought back from Bristol fair. In 1732 there were bought, in addition to 48 dozen candles, 3½ dozen rush lights — the only reference noted to this form of lighting.⁴⁰

Outdoors lanterns must have been used, although the only example recorded in the 17th century inventories is the ‘large glass lantern’ which in 1688 was stored upstairs in the inner wardrobe with a miscellaneous collection of odds and ends including a child’s cane chair, a frame to weave fringes in and a bird cage. Although glass was used for a lantern in this case there is later a reminder that the name derives from lanthorn since there is an account of 1792 which includes a payment of 9d for ‘horning’ the butler’s lamp.⁴¹

Funerals

Many of the Morgans of Tredegar were buried in the family vaults at Lower Machen and Bassaleg. Funeral expenses for the period 1701-32 are recorded in some detail,⁴² as for example in 1701 following the death of Thomas Morgan of Tredegar the previous year. Payments include bringing the corpse down from London (including the tip for coachman and postillion), digging the grave, ringing the bell and making the gravestone. The expenses entered for Mistress Powell’s funeral a year or so later included a burial duty of 4d which was paid at the same time as the duty on young Mr. Charles’ birth (2d).

Payments for painting hatchments and escutcheons are recorded on a number of occasions, including the death of John Morgan, merchant of London, in 1716. John’s wish, recorded in his will, was, ‘to be buried in the parish church where I die, or as my executors think fit, with

as little ceremony as may be.' He was, in fact, buried in the family aisle at Lower Machen, where his memorial (supplied for £62 by a Mr. Stanton) and gravestone are still to be seen. There are fine collections of hatchments still hanging on the walls of the churches at both Lower Machen and Bassaleg.

The most detailed records survive in connection with the funeral of John Morgan of Tredegar in 1719. The arrangements included ringing the bells at Newport and Bassaleg for 15 days, hire of hearse and horses for 5 days, and work on the mourning coach in London, as well as the provision of ale-cake, hams, tongues and a barrel of ale 'against the funeral,' together with ample supplies of 'macharoons and biscuits' for the ladies.

No document giving the overall cost of any funeral has been discovered, but Sir William did cover the point in his will of 1674 in the following terms:—' I commit (my body) to the earth to be buried in Christian fashion and decent manner in the parish of Bassaleg near the body of my late dear and deceased wife Blanche, and my desire is that my funeral obsequies be performed within two days after my decease and that the expenses thereof do not exceed one hundred pounds.' Sir William did not alter these arrangements after his second marriage although he did add a codicil to his will bequeathing to Lady Dayrell 'the best of all my coaches and six of my best coach horses and all those three nags and one mare that are now known as her horses.'

The Gardens

Octavius Morgan wrote a 'short history of the gardens at Tredegar' which is preserved amongst the Tredegar papers.⁴³ This account, which is incomplete, is based in part on a conversation held in 1840 with John Howell, an old labourer who had worked in the garden since 1792. According to Howell the brick walls were built in the days of Mr. Bryan who was steward to John Morgan, Sir William Morgan and his son William Morgan in succession, i.e. during the period from c. 1700 to c. 1763. At that time the gardens were laid out in what Howell called 'Turpentine Walks' i.e. 'probably in the Dutch style with many small beds, with winding walks and cut edgings between them.' This is the sort of garden lay-out shown in the old plan of Tredegar. The subsequent (i.e. in essentials the existing) lay-out was said to be due to a Mr. Walker who was head gardener from 1782 to 1801, and 'who seems to have planted the garden with all the new trees and shrubs which at that time had recently been imported from America.'

James Pratt's accounts of 1701-32 contain a number of brief references to the garden which mostly concern either the wages of the garden staff, or with payments for seeds and plants. Items mentioned by name over the period include cabbages, bush beans, peas, apricots, peaches, melons, gooseberries, currants, artichokes, 'liquorice plants,' cherry trees and turnips.

The only surviving document dealing specially with the garden appears to be the detailed account for building the hot-houses in 1791. This itemises the expenditure in considerable detail, including the travelling expenses of the supervising staff and the cost of providing a mould for the cast-iron fireplace.⁴⁴

According to Octavius the shrubbery and lake 'were made in 1790 by Mr. Mickle, a famous Scottish landscape gardener of the day, who then planned and carried into effect the new road from Newport to Cardiff over Ebbw Bridge and through the park.' Octavius blamed

Mr. Mickle for damage to the great avenues and in this he may well have been right since a letter written in 1791 to a timber merchant records that 60 walnut trees 'which formed the avenue leading to the Cleppa Park' had been felled since February 1789, the year before the new road was begun.⁴⁵

The Tredegar Demesne

The Tredegar demesne (Plate IV) consisted *c.* 1770 of about a thousand acres. The boundaries are clearly defined at that date in a survey prepared for Thomas Morgan of Tredegar by Robert Snell.⁴⁶ The demesne is shown as a long, irregularly-shaped area with its main axis running north/south, sited mostly to the east of the Castleton-Bassaleg road, but with the Cleppa lands forming a compact extension to the west of the road. The drawing of house and stable at the top, right-hand corner of the map is the earliest and most detailed of the illustrations of the house so far discovered.

Some evidence as to the development of the demesne is presumably to be deduced from the fact that the area north of the Castleton-Newport road is referred to as 'the old park,' while the Cleppa extension west of the Castleton-Bassaleg road is shown as 'the new park.' A triangular field S.E. of the house is called 'the old orchard.'

The principal feature of the lay-out as a whole is the series of avenues projecting from the house like the spokes of a wheel. The most prominent is the great double avenue which starts north of the Castleton-Newport road and climbs up to the 'fort' which still crowns the hill above the golf-course. A second avenue extended transversely from the fort towards Bassaleg. Other avenues extended N.N.E., S.S.E. and W.N.W. from the house.

In addition to the house and farm the map records the site of the forge, which is shown beside a stream to the west of the River Ebbboth close to the point where it divides into two for a short distance forming an oval island, and also the mill which lay just south of Pont Ebbboth. N.W. of the same bridge appears the word 'Rock,' which is presumably the site of the estate brick-kiln (e.g. 1703 'towards making bricks at the Rock'; 1704 'paid Tho. John in full of bricks made at ye Rock.')

⁴⁷

A second map has survived dated 1827.⁴⁸ This was prepared by William Jones for the Sir Charles Morgan who owned Tredegar from 1792 to 1846. Although only fifty years or so separates this survey from the previous one the two provide an interesting contrast since the first was made before, and the second after, the making of the great lake and the toll-road through Tredegar Park. Although these are the most important differences the most striking is the disappearance of the double avenue from the house to the fort and the depletion of some of the others. As stated above Octavius Morgan blamed a Mr. Mickle for this and it was certainly Mr. Mickle who signed the contract for walling the new road in 1790.⁴⁹ The wall was to be 'effectually done and pointed at the rate of one shilling for every perch of 18 feet in length and one foot high'; 'the work was to be executed in a workmanlike manner and to be subject to the inspection, control and directions of Mr. Mickle or his agent.' The walls were to be two feet

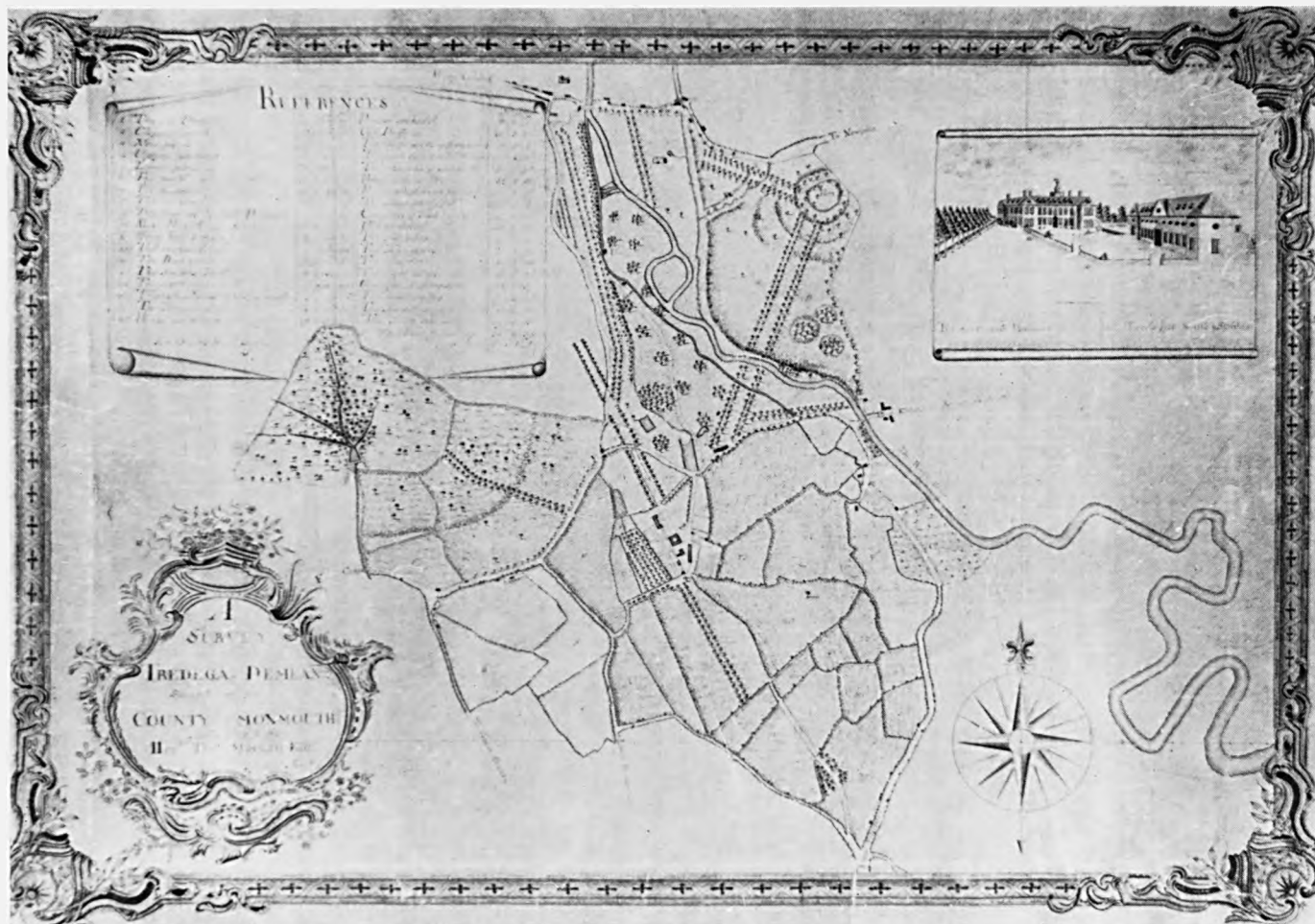


PLATE 4. The Tredegar Demesne, c.1770.

thick at the bottom, eighteen inches at ground level and to taper to the top. The work was to be completed by November 1790 and the drawing attached to the contract gives a distance between walls of about 70 feet, with a strip of metalled road in the middle about 20 feet across.

Octavius notes in passing that the Newport Mail Coach set out from London on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in the evenings, arriving at Newport on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays about midnight.⁵⁰ On the other hand the two men who came down to supervise the erection of the hot-houses in 1791 (as shown in the gardens on the 1827 plan) claimed expenses for three days on the road, plus coach fare from London to the New Passage at 18/-, the crossing at 1/- and horses from the crossing to Newport at 11/-.⁵¹

The 1827 survey also reveals that the demesne has been somewhat extended to the west by the addition of two areas from the Cleppa lands, the total increase being about 50 acres. Part of this had been afforested since the previous survey, and part appears to be included because it contains a length of one of the Tredegar avenues. As in the first survey some of the names on the estate are given in Welsh, some in English, but the Welsh used in 1827 is much the more correct of the two.

There is no inventory of stock and equipment surviving which is precisely contemporary with either of the maps, but there is one for 1787, i.e. in the period between the two.⁵² This includes all the stock, equipment and crops on the demesne at that date. The total valuation is given as £2,676, including cattle, horses, sheep and pigs, with crops of barley, oats, vetches, buck wheat, malt, hops, hay and clover. There were 9 horse carts of various types, two ox carts, nine ploughs and two timber carriages. There is no indication of the number of men required to work the estate at that time, but the list of Tredegar labourers dated 1819 contained 46 names.⁵³

Commercial activities — the forge and the sloop ‘Tredegar’

The site of the Tredegar forge is marked on the 1770 survey of the demesne on the west bank of the river close to the position where Forge Cottages stand today. There are many references to the forge and to the Morgans' other industrial activities in the Tredegar papers, but the earliest complete document concerning the forge noted so far is dated 1690. This is a lease for 11 years of the Tredegar forge 'and also all those two forges called Machen Forges . . . and the furnace lately built in Eglwyselan.'⁵⁴ Attached to the lease is an inventory and valuation of the stock and equipment at the forge with a total valuation for the three sites involved of £2,536 8 4½d. Another document, dated the following year, sets out the balance at the end of the years working including allowance for equipment, stock in hand etc.⁵⁵

A second group of documents deals with another of the family's commercial enterprises — the building and operation of the sloop 'Tredegar,' including accounts for building and equipping the ship in 1674 and records relating to her voyage between Newport and Barbados in 1674.⁵⁶ There was a mixed cargo including sugar, ginger, cotton and rum as well as a few passengers. The round trip took 6 months and 20 days. Subsequently there are occasional references to the vessel, the last being in Mr. Cole's estimate for replacing the oak floor in the new parlour at Tredegar in 1766, which includes a payment of 3s for haulage 'from the yeard to the Tredegar sloop.'⁵⁷

Acknowledgments

My thanks are due to the Reverend Mother Superior of St. Joseph's Convent and to the Headmaster of St. Joseph's High School for permission to visit Tredegar House freely on many occasions, and to Sister Sarto and Mr. I. Jones for practical help on the occasion of those visits. Also to the staffs of the Glamorgan County Record Office, the Monmouthshire County Record Office, the National Library of Wales, the National Museum of Wales, the Newport Museum, the Warburg Institute and to many individuals for help with the many problems concerning the house and its history.

Plates I and IV are reproduced by permission of the Director of the National Museum of Wales and the Librarian of the National Library of Wales respectively. The photographs on Plates II and III were taken by Mr. G. Nichol and Mr. C. J. Parrott of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments for Wales and are reproduced by permission of the Comptroller of H.M.S.O.

The line drawings have been prepared by Mr. P. Humphries from the plan of Old Tredegar in the National Library and from surveys provided by Messrs. E. R. Bates, Son and Price (the house) and the School of Architecture, UWIST (the stables). The cellars were surveyed by Mr. B. Petersen and Mr. Humphries.

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APPENDIX

The Tredegar Inventory for 1688 (Tredegar Papers MS 1496)

An account of all the goods in Tredegar House taken the 15th June 1688

In the Old Parlour Chamber

Two standing bedsteads with mats and cords, 2 feather beds, 2 feather bolsters, 3 pillows, 4 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 white rug, 1 set of grey cloth curtains with double valences, 1 set of white curtains and valences wrought with black worsted, 6 grey cloth chairs, 1 table, 1 large looking glass, 1 box to hold the looking glass, 1 great chest of spruce, 1 close stool, 3 window curtains, 1 pair andirons, slice and tongs with brass tops, 1 pair snuffers, 1 grate stove, 1 pair bellows.

Mr. William's Chamber

One standing bedstead, matt and cord, 1 feather bed, 1 feather bolster, 1 green rug, 1 set grey serge curtains and valences of flannel, 1 table, 1 cupboard, 1 chair, 1 stool.

In Golborne Chamber

One standing bedstead, mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 pillow, 2 blankets, 1 green rug, 1 set of silk curtains and valences, and the room hung with Kiddermaster, 1 table with a red cloth, 1 gilt leather stool, 2 wrought velvet stools, 1 turned chair.

In the Black Chamber

One standing bedstead, mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 set of black curtains and valences of flannel, 1 table, 1 cupboard, 1 chair, 1 stool.

In the Best Chamber

One standing bedstead with feather bed and bolster, 3 blankets, 1 calico quilt, 2 large pillows and 2 little pillows, 1 suit of flowered damask for the bed containing 4 curtains with double valences and foot valences of the same, a headpiece and tester lined with gold coloured sarsnet and 1 silk quilt suitable, 4 outside curtains of blue paragan, 6 chairs, 1 table, 2 stands, 1 large looking glass, 1 small looking glass, 1 large cabinet, 1 brass hearth, 1 pair andirons, 1 pair dogs, tongs and slice, all of brass with a pair of bellows with brass handles and pipe, 5 alabaster images, 1 close stool, 1 large Turkey carpet.

In the Cloth Chamber next to the Best Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 set cloth curtains with double valences, 1 table, 1 great cloth chair, 5 other cloth chairs, 1 fire grate with brass tops, with tongs, slice and fork of iron, 1 curtain of cloth for the window with an iron rod.

In the New Chamber

One standing bedstead, mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 yellow rug, 1 suit of white Indian silk wrought with gold and silk flowers lined with white sarsnet containing 4 curtains with valences for the head and foot with gold fringes; 1 counterpane of white sarsnet with gold fringes about it, and a headpiece of white sarsnet, 1 table, 2 stands, 6 cane chairs, 7 cushions suitable to the bed with slice, tongs and fork of iron, 1 small looking glass, 1 pair brass snuffers, and box, 1 hearthbrush with 1 other brush.

In the room within the New Chamber

One canopy bedstead mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 curtains of flowered silk and valences, 1 great satin chair, 3 other lesser chairs of flowered silk, 1 table, 1 red rug lined with a blanket and 1 blanket.

In the chamber next to the Blue-flowered velvet Chamber

One standing bedstead with feather bed, bolster, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 set of dark coloured cloth curtains with double valences lined with lemon coloured sarsnet with quilt, bedstead and tester suitable; 2 tables, 1 table cloth, 1 great chair, 4 lesser chairs, 1 cane chair, 1 stool, 1 looking glass, 1 grate and back with slice and tongs, 1 curtain and rod to the window.

In the Blue-flowered velvet Chamber

One standing bedstead with feather bed and bolster, 2 great pillows, 2 little pillows, 2 blankets, 1 calico quilt, 1 suit of blue-flowered velvet curtains with double valences and foot valences lined with blue silk, 1 silk quilt with headpiece and tester of sky coloured sarsnet, 1 case for the bolster, 1 great chair, 6 lesser chairs suitable to the bed, being all with silver and silk fringes, 2 tables, 2 stands, 1 large looking glass, 1 small looking glass, 1 pair andirons, 1 pair dogs, slice and tongs, snuffers and box all of brass, 1 pair bellows with brass handles and pipe, 1 Turkey carpet, and 1 close stool.

In the Green-wrought Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blankets, 1 green rug, 1 suit of curtains, valences, counterpane and table cloth all wrought green worsted, inward curtains, valences and headpiece of white calico, 1 large chair, 4 lesser chairs, 2 low stools all suitable to the bed; 1 table, 1 white bumbast curtain for the window and 1 for the door, 1 grate, 1 slice and tongs of iron, 1 close stool, 1 pair snuffers and box, 1 stand, 1 looking glass.

In the Velvet Chamber

One standing bedstead, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 white rug, 1 suit of red velvet curtains, double valences and foot valences lined with satin with silk fringes, tester headpiece and quilt of white satin, 4 paragan outward curtains, 1 great chair, 5 lesser chairs all suitable to the bed; 1 table, 2 stands, 1 great looking glass, 1 little looking glass, 1 pair brass snuffers and box; 1 stove with brass slice and tongs, 1 pair of bellows with brass handles and pipe, 1 Turkey carpet, and 2 pieces of arras hangings.

In the Press Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 pillow, 2 blankets, 1 red rug, 1 suit red cloth curtains, valances, tester headpiece, and coverlet all of the same, 2 chairs, 1 stool suitable to the bed, 1 great press, 3 pieces of gilt leather hanging, 1 looking glass, 1 pair brass snuffers.

In the Dressing Room

One screen of gilt leather, 4 cane chairs, 1 large looking glass, 1 stove with slice and tongs of iron.

In my Master's Chamber

One standing bedstead, 1 feather bed and bolster, 4 pillows and 2 little pillows, 5 blankets, 1 calico quilt, 1 suit of curtains with double valences and foot valence of mohair silk lined with white sarsnet, tester headpiece and quilt of white sarsnet, 4 yellow paragan curtains, 1 Turkey carpet, 1 piece of hanging of arras, 2 tables, 2 cabinets of olive, 2 large chairs, 6 smaller chairs all suitable to the bed, 1 great glass, 2 stands, 1 screen the same with the Indian bed, and my Masters picture, 1 brass hearth, 1 pair andirons, slice and tongs of brass, 1 pair bellows with brass handles, and pipe.

In Mistress Powle Chamber

Two standing bedsteads with mats and cords, 2 feather beds and bolsters, 2 pillows, 4 blankets, 2 red rugs, 1 set curtains and valences of red cloth, 1 set curtains and valences of Kiddermaster, 1 table with a green carpet, 1 grate for firing with slice and tongs, 1 iron back, 1 pair brass snuffers, 1 little table tinned over, 2 chairs, 1 stool, 1 table stand, 1 close stool, 1 looking glass.

In the Kitchen Chamber

One standing bedstead, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 pillow, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 set of white wrought curtains, valences, foot valences and counterpane. White chair, 3 cane chairs, 1 table with a green carpet, 1 large looking glass, 1 grate with brass tops and 1 pair tongs and the room hung round with Forest work.

In the Nurse's Chamber

Three standing bedsteads with mats and cords, 3 feather beds and bolsters, 4 blankets, 2 pillows, 1 red rug, 1 tawny rug, 1 white rug lined with a blanket, 1 set curtains and valences of Kiddermaster, 2 old trunks, 3 old chairs, 1 stool, 1 grate, 1 cupboard.

In the Maids Chamber

Three bedsteads of timber with mats and cords, 3 feather beds and bolsters, 5 blankets, 1 green rug, 1 red rug and 1 coverlet lined with a blanket and 1 plain white coverlet.

In the Great Gallery

Two standing bedsteads whereof one has a cord, 1 timber bedstead with a cord, 1 feather bed and 2 bolsters, 1 green rug, 1 old Kiddermaster screen, 2 Kiddermaster curtains.

In the Wardrobe

Three standing bedsteads with mats and cords, 3 feather beds and bolsters, 6 blankets, 2 red rugs, 1 coverlet, 2 red cloth counterpanes, 2 set curtains and valences of red cloth, 3 curtains with valences of Kiddermaster, 2 great red chairs, 3 lesser chairs, 1 red stool, 2 tables, 1 red table cloth, 1 grate, 2 andirons, 1 back, 1 red window curtain, 1 bin to hold candles, 2 pillows.

In the Green Cloth Garret Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 green rug, 1 set curtains and valences of green cloth, 1 green window curtain, 1 table, 1 stand, 1 tawny coloured couch, 1 great chair, 2 lesser chairs, 2 low stools all green, 1 blue velvet chair, 1 hanging shelf, 1 iron grate, 1 pair andirons with brass tops, and brass slice and tongs.

In the Yellow Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 blankets, 1 green rug, 1 set yellow cloth curtains and valences, 1 table, 1 great chair, 2 stools.

In the Canopy Chamber

One canopy bedstead with 3 red curtains and valences, 1 mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 tawny stool and 2 blue stools and 1 iron sconce.

In Bloyers Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 tawny rug, 1 set curtains, double valences, counterpane, tester and headpiece of tawny cloth, 1 table and table cloth of Linsey Woolsey, 2 tawny cloth chairs, 3 cane chairs, 1 stool of the same, 1 grate, 1 pair andirons with brass tops, 1 pair tongs and slice with brass tops, 1 pair snuffers, 1 stand.

In the White Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 white rug, 1 set of white wrought curtains, valances and a wrought sheet upon the bed, 1 great chair, 5 lesser chairs suitable to the bed, 1 table, 1 stand, 1 looking glass, 1 window curtain, 1 fire grate, 1 pair andirons with brass tops, 1 back.

In Mr. Lewis's Chamber

One standing bed with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket, 1 tawny rug lined with a blanket, 1 set curtains and valences of tawny cloth, 1 table, 1 cupboard, 2 tawny stools, 1 great chair.

In Mr. Morice's Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 pillows, 2 blankets, 1 red rug, 1 coverlet, 1 set curtains and double valences of red cloth, 1 table with a red carpet fringed, 1 great chair, 4 stools, 1 grate, 1 pair andirons, 1 iron back.

In the Three bedded Chamber

Three timber bedsteads with mats and cords, 3 feather beds and bolsters, 3 blankets, 3 red rugs lined with blankets, 2 settle bedsteads, 2 stools.

In the Inner Room

Two standing bedsteads, with cords and mats, 2 feather beds and bolsters, 2 blankets, 2 green rugs lined with blankets, 2 set curtains and valences of Kiddermaster, 1 table, 1 great chair, 2 stools.

In the Black Gallery

One standing bedstead, 2 timber bedsteads with mats and cords, 2 feather beds, 2 feather bolsters, 1 yellow rug lined with a blanket, 1 coverlet lined with a blanket, 1 stool.

In the Bailiff's Chamber

One standing bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 2 blankets, 1 red rug, 1 coverlet lined with a blanket, 2 stools.

The Chamber above the Scullery

One standing bedstead, 1 timber bedstead and 1 truckle bedstead all with mats and cords, 2 feather beds and bolsters, 1 blanket, 1 green rug lined with a blanket, 1 coverlet of thrum lined with a blanket, 1 timber chair, 1 blue stool.

In the Porters Chamber

Two timber bedsteads, 1 cord, 2 mats, 2 feather beds, 3 feather bolsters, 1 green rug and 2 coverlets all 3 lined with blankets.

In the Kitchen Boy Chamber

Two timber bedsteads with mats, 1 feather bed, 2 chaff beds, 1 feather bolster, 3 chaff bolsters, 1 blanket, 1 red rug lined with a blanket, 1 coverlet.

In the Stable Chamber

One timber bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket, 1 white coverlet and 1 stool.

In the Stable

One feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket, 1 red rug and 1 mat.

In the New Kill

One timber bedstead with mat and cord, 1 feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket, 1 green rug lined with a blanket.

In the Old Kill

One timber bedstead, 1 chaff bed, 2 old blankets, 1 old coverlet lined with an old tattered blanket.

In the Ox House

Four timber bedsteads, 5 chaff beds, 1 feather bolster, 3 chaff bolsters, 4 coverlets lined with blankets, 1 red rug, 1 green rug, 1 iron pot, and pot hooks.

In the Huck House

One timber bedstead, 1 chaff — bed and bolster and 1 coverlet lined with a blanket, 1 iron pot.

In the Drawing Room that is hanged with Gilt Leather

One pair gilt leather hangings, 6 cane chairs, 6 flowered velvet cushions, 1 cane couch, 1 table and 2 stands of Japan work, 1 large Japan looking glass, 1 pendule, 1 Turkey carpet, 5 alabaster images, 3 Japan pots, 2 calico curtains fringed with red silk, 1 stove grate, 1 pair iron andirons, 1 fender, with tongs, slice, spud and back.

In the New Parlour

Two oval tables, 18 Turkey-work chairs, 1 weather glass, 1 iron grate with brass tops, with tongs, fork.

In the New Hall

One long table, 21 gilded chairs, 2 little gilded chairs, 12 Caesars, 1 great fire grate with brass tops, with slice, and fork and 2 oval tables, 4 gilt sconces.

In the Dining Room

One great oval table of cedar and 12 Turkey-work chairs, 1 iron grate with brass tops and 1 back.

In the Gilted Room

Ten red curtains, 1 pair andirons, 1 pair dogs and 1 back.

In the Old Hall

One long table, 1 round table, 5 forms, 1 old cupboard, 6 leather chairs and fire fork.

In the Old Parlour

One table, 1 cupboard, 3 great chests to hold linen, 4 trunks to hold linen, 1 limbick with an iron pot, 1 great basket to hold linen, 1 red cloth couch and 1 pair bellows.

Pictures in the Long Entry and in the Staircase

21 painted pictures, French pictures 60, 1 map of America.

A note of all the Silver Plate, Pewter, Brass, Copper and Linen belonging to the Buttery in the hands of Thos. Wellins the 6th of June 1688.

Silver Plate

One large salt cellar with 3 arms with sockets and cover to it, 12 trencher salts, 3 large tankards, 3 pint tankards, 2 stands belonging to the table, 12 spoons and 12 forks, 5 old spoons, 1 great pottage spoon, 2 large candlesticks, 2 tumblers, 1 sugar box, 1 pepper box, 1 mustard box, 3 dozen trencher plates, 12 silver hafted knives.

Pewter

Four dozen trencher plates with Coats of Arms, 6 dozen plain plates, 4 stands for dishes, 1 cistern that's large, 1 great gun, 1 long tankard, 1 less tankard, 1 barbers basin, 10 candlesticks, 1 iron frame to hold the plates by the fire.

Brass and Copper

Three tankards, 23 candlesticks.

Linen

Ten dowlas table cloths for the lesser table in the parlour whereof one is but small. 3 French table cloths for the same table, 3 dowlas table cloths for the oval table, 4 calico window cloths, 1 dowlas cloth for the window, 4 towels, 27 dozen of dowlas napkins.

2 black jacks, 12 white hafted knives, 1 pair of Gaming tables.

An account of all the goods in the Kitchen and Scullery taken the 1st of June 1688*Brass and Copper*

One furnace of copper in the wall, 2 brass kettles of a middle size, 1 large brass pot, 2 lesser brass pots, 1 brass pan, 1 furnace in the scullery, 9 saucepans of several sizes, 3 brass dishes, 2 stewpans with covers, 3 covers more for stewpans or pots, 4 patty pans with bottoms, 1 long brass stewpan with a cover, 1 brass skimmer, 2 brass slices, 1 brass ladle, 1 old little brass pan, 12 little brass patty pans, 5 being without bottoms, 2 mortars with an iron pestle, 1 brass flower box, and 1 colander.

Pewter

One very large dish, 2 of lesser size, 11 dishes of another size, 10 dishes of a lesser size, 3 dishes of another size, 11 inter mess dishes, 3 pudding dishes, mazarines, 5 pie plates, 4 saucers, 1 pasty plate, 1 large old dish.

Tin Ware

One great pasty plate, 1 large patty pan with a bottom, 4 covers for dishes, 24 small patty pans, 5 without bottoms, 1 flower pot, 1 grater.

Ironware

Three frying pans, 2 grid irons, 2 pair pot hooks, 1 basting spoon, 3 dripping pans, 2 iron peels for the oven, 2 racks, 1 fire grate, 1 fender, 2 fire shovels, 1 pair tongs, 1 fire fork, 11 spits, 5 trivets, 1 flesh fork, 1 cleaver, 1 iron skimmer, 2 chopping knives.

Wooden ware

Three trays, 1 great bowl, 3 lesser bowls, 1 wooden platter, 2 ladles, 4 pails.

An account of all the vessels in the Brewhouse and Cellar taken the 30th May (1688)*In the Brewhouse*

Two furnaces, 1 cooler, 3 vats, 2 trinds, 3 tubs, 2 lappers, 1 ladle lapper, 20 pails, 1 kettle, 1 iron shovel.

In the Cellar

Seven stands, 31 hogsheads for cider, 16 hogsheads for ale, table beer and small beer, 4 pipes, 3 vessels holding 4 barrels of ale, 1 large vessel containing 6 barrels of cider, 1 vessel holding 3 barrels of ale, 4 tubs.

In the Cider Mill

Twelve broken hogsheads, 2 broken barrels, 1 broken tub.

An account of vessels that are in the dairy

One great brass pan, 2 lesser brass pans, 2 great brass kettles, 1 brand-iron, 39 wooden trinds, 3 churns, 1 turning churn, 3 great cream tubs, 5 ferkins, 4 kilderkins, 7 milking pails, 8 little milking pails, 12 cheese vats great and small, 2 deep cheese vats, 3 skimming dishes, 2 strainers, 3 great tubs to run cheese, 4 covers for cheese vats, 1 great tub to hold bran, 2 great cans, 1 barrel to carry milk, 1 milk bowl, 9 cheese cloths, 3 pails that are used about the house, 4 ladders for cheese.

An account of what linen was delivered to Wadley the 6th day of March 89

(Note: this heading has been deleted but almost certainly marks the beginning of the 1689 inventory, particularly as the writing is in a different hand).

Holland

Eight pair of sheets with 3 breadths, 10 pair with 2 breadths and a half, 2 pair with 2 breadths, 28 pair of Holland pillow cases, 4 Holland little table cloths.

Dowlas and Centin sheets

Thirty-four pair of dowlas and centin, 16 pair of dowlas pillow cases, 24 dowlas towels, 19 pairs of flaxen sheets, 4 calico spitting sheets.

Diaper

Two large table cloths for the oval, 3 more of a lesser size, 10 square tablecloths for the parlour, 19 tablecloths for the chambers of several sizes, 14 towels whereby 2 are very large, 9 dozen and 9 napkins.

Damask

Five round tablecloths, 5 tablecloths for the oval, 8 tablecloths for the chambers whereof 2 are very large, 9 towels, 11 dozen and 10 napkins.

Course Canvas Sheets

54 pairs and a half.

Tablecloths and napkins for the new hall and the old

Two tablecloths for the new hall, 10 tablecloths for the old hall, 7 tablecloths for the round, 11 coarse towels, 3 dozen and 6 coarse napkins, 1 dozen of knives, 3 salt cellars, 6 calico tablecloths for the chambers, 1 dozen and 5 old napkins for the old hall, 5 pewter candlesticks.

REFERENCES

- ¹ A set of these volumes is available for reference in the Monmouthshire County Record Office, Newport
- ² *National Library of Wales Annual Report 1958-59* pp. 59-65 and *Ibid.*, 1960-61, 52-57.
- ³ Tredegar Collection, 1496.
- ⁴ Leland's *Itinerary*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 1906, IV, pp. 31-33.
- ⁵ *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Civil War*, Symonds ed. C. E. Long, Camden Society, 1859.
- ⁶ T.C., 1079
- ⁷ For the sake of simplicity this account assumes that the house faces N, S, E and W. In fact it faces N.W., S.E., N.E., and S.W.
- ⁸ *Op. cit.*
- ⁹ T.C., 356-361, 87/1191-2.
- ¹⁰ T.C., 102/111.
- ¹¹ T.C. Mss. 315-345. James Pratt's accounts are extensively quoted in this paper.
- ¹² T.C., 30/7. There are a number of copies of the will amongst the papers.
- ¹³ T.C., 102/80,
- ¹⁴ T.C., 76/9.
- ¹⁵ 102/88.
- ¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ Series of articles in *S. Wales Argus* (Items 160-162 & 752) dated Feb. 10th 17th and 24th 1956 and June 7th 1968.

¹⁸ T.C., 121.

¹⁹ T.C., 106/674.

²⁰ T.C., 102/96.

²¹ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

²² Information in this section from Tredegar Inventories and J.P's accounts.

²³ Information in this section largely from Tredegar Inventories.

²⁴ These paintings were, I am told, hanging on the walls of the housekeepers room within living memory. The entry might also refer to the busts in the Brown Drawing Room, although this seems less likely.

²⁵ The last quartering of this coat shows one of the charges introduced to the arms of Morgan of Tredegar by Blanche Morgan, Sir William's first wife. The arms would therefore be appropriately carried by his successors, beginning with his son Thomas in 1680.

²⁶ T.C. 102/82.

²⁷ Information about the paintings in the Gilt Room and elsewhere has kindly been provided by the staff of the Warburg Institute, University of London. For the ceiling formerly in the chapel see *Nat. Libr. Annual Report 1961-62*, p. 57 'Drawing of one quarter of the original ceiling in the oak dining room taken down in 1848.'

²⁸ See *Dutch Tiles*, C. H. de Jonge, trans. Falla, London 1971.

²⁹ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

³⁰ T.C., 102/86

³¹ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

³² T.C., 102/98.

³³ T.C., 69/89.

³⁴ T.C., 68/76.

³⁵ T.C., 102/81.

³⁶ T.C., 57/395.

³⁷ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

³⁸ T.C., 102/81.

³⁹ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ T.C., Tredegar inventories, Op. cit. and 68/76.

⁴² T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

⁴³ *Nat. Libr. Wales Annual Report 1958-59*, p. 65: 'Typescript account of the history of the gardens at Tredegar.'

⁴⁴ T.C., 69/92.

⁴⁵ T.C., 1303: miscellaneous notes by Octavius Morgan. See also T.C., 69/90.

⁴⁶ *Nat. Libr. Wales Annual Report 1961-62*, p. 57: plan of Tredegar Park by Robert Snell.

⁴⁷ T.C., J.P's accounts, Op. cit.

⁴⁸ *Nat. Libr. Wales Annual Report 1961-62*, p. 57: plan of Tredegar Park by William Jones.

⁴⁹ T.C., 105/66.

⁵⁰ T.C., 1303: miscellaneous notes by Octavius Morgan.

⁵¹ T.C., 69/92

⁵² T.C., 68/65.

⁵³ T.C., 106/674.

⁵⁴ T.C., 69/32

⁵⁵ T.C., 76/2.

⁵⁶ T.C., 761-766.

⁵⁷ T.C., 68/89.

**THE FIRST PAPER MILL IN WALES?
PERTHIR MILL ON THE RIVER MONNOW, 1700**

By D. G. TUCKER, D.Sc.

Although paper-making started in England at the end of the fifteenth century, in a mill near Hertford,¹ its development was very slow and it could not be said that the industry was established until towards the end of the sixteenth century.² Shorter (see ref. 1) gives evidence of a number of paper mills in England in the seventeenth century, but hitherto the earliest recorded for Wales has been that at Halghton in Flintshire in 1706.³ The greatest part of the paper-making attributable to Wales in the eighteenth century took place in Monmouthshire, mainly in the valleys of the Mounton Brook where paper-making had started at latest by 1730,⁴ and of the White Brook where it started around 1760,⁵ although the earliest hitherto recorded was at Rullins Mill on the Monmouthshire side of the River Monnow which Shorter⁶ claims for 1722 using indirect evidence which I think is reliable, as explained below. The first positive evidence of Rullins Mill as a paper mill⁷ which I have found is a deed of 1729,⁸ which makes this mill contemporaneous in origin with some of those in the Mounton Valley. The location of the places mentioned is shown in Fig. 1.

I now want to put forward the claim of Perthir Mill on the River Monnow as the first paper mill in Wales and therefore also the first in Monmouthshire. An indenture of lease¹⁰ between Mrs. Mary Powell and Mr. Richard Roberts dated 19 May 1700 includes

“ all that Water Mill conteyning severale corne Mills and a paper Mill under one Rooffe comonly called Perthires Mill.”

This seems very good evidence. It is hardly credible that the lawyer or clerk would have written “ paper ” in error, as paper mills were then extremely rare in England and absent in Wales; admittedly there had been a paper mill at Redbrook, 3 miles south-east of Monmouth, before 1691,⁹ but it had been converted to a copper works for a decade. Unfortunately there is no previous or subsequent record of the paper-mill at Perthir; some other references to the Perthir mill are as follows:—

- 1597¹¹ “ Water corne mill ”
- 1659¹² Marriage settlement made by John and Mary Powell includes “ Water grist mill called Perthire’s mill ”
- 1679¹³ Lease by Mary Powell widow, relict of Edward Powell, late of Perthir, gentleman, to Hugh Harris of Lanellen, gentleman, of “ all that capital messuage called Perthire . . . and . . . one water grist mill . . . ” for £200.
- 1717¹⁴ A complicated transaction involving Bridgett, Catherine and Winifred Powell, spinsters, of Perthire and, *inter alia*, Thomas Evans of Llangatock-vibon, Abell who was also involved in Rullins Mill in the deed of 1729 (ref. 8)-transferring “ All those Water Corn Mills and Fulling Mills lying under the same roof comonly called Perthire Mills ”

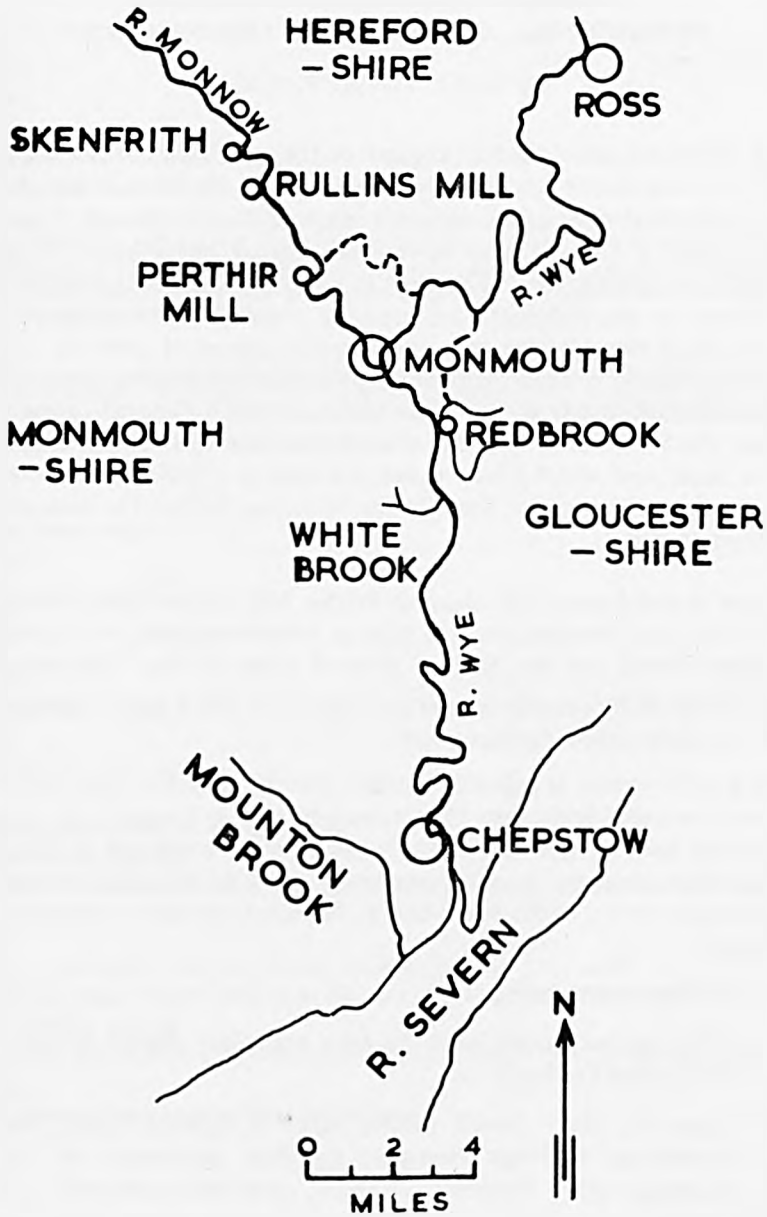


Fig. 1 Map of eastern Monmouthshire showing locations mentioned in text. The Monmouthshire boundary is, starting at the north, the R. Monnow, then the broken line to the R. Wye north of Monmouth, then the broken line to the northern stream at Redbrook, then the R. Wye and the Severn estuary.

1742¹⁵ Lease by Bridgett and Winifred Powell, spinsters of Perthire to William Richards of same parish, miller, of “ All that Corne or Water Grist mill commonly called or known by the name of Perthire’s mill . . . ”

The apparent conversion of the paper mill to a fulling mill (or mills) by 1717 is interesting, as is also the apparent reversion to a plain corn mill by 1742. Evidently the lessees of Perthir Mill were not very successful in their excursions into manufacturing industry. It was still a corn mill on the 6-inch O.S. map of 1886 (see fig. 2) but was not shown on later editions.

We can now return to Shorter’s claim of a date as early as 1722 for Rullins Mill. It is necessary to note that both Perthir Mill and Rullins Mill are in the parish of Rockfield. Shorter’s evidence is:—

“ 1722. William Vaughan, paper maker, of Rockfield, took an apprentice. Jeremy Wyett. (Rolling Mill was in the parish of Rockfield.) ”

Since Perthir Mill had apparently abandoned its paper-making activities before 1717, it is not unreasonable to allow Shorter’s attribution of this evidence to Rullins Mill to stand.

In accepting the date of 1700 as the earliest for which there is evidence of paper-making in Wales (or Monmouthshire) we must take note of the comment made above that there was a paper mill at Redbrook before 1691. The evidence for this is good¹⁶; the question is, was the mill in Gloucestershire or Monmouthshire? It was undoubtedly at Upper Redbrook, for it was a transfer from Benedict Hall to John Coster.¹⁷ The boundary between Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire (and hence between England and Wales) lies on the course of the brook at Upper Redbrook, and it is almost certain that the mill concerned was situated on this brook — but on which side is unknown. Thus doubt must remain.

Acknowledgment

The assistance of the staff at the Monmouthshire County Record Office is gratefully acknowledged.

Grid references

Perthir Mill	SO 484 154
Rullins Mill	SO 464 193
Mill at Redbrook	SO 536 102 (presumed location)

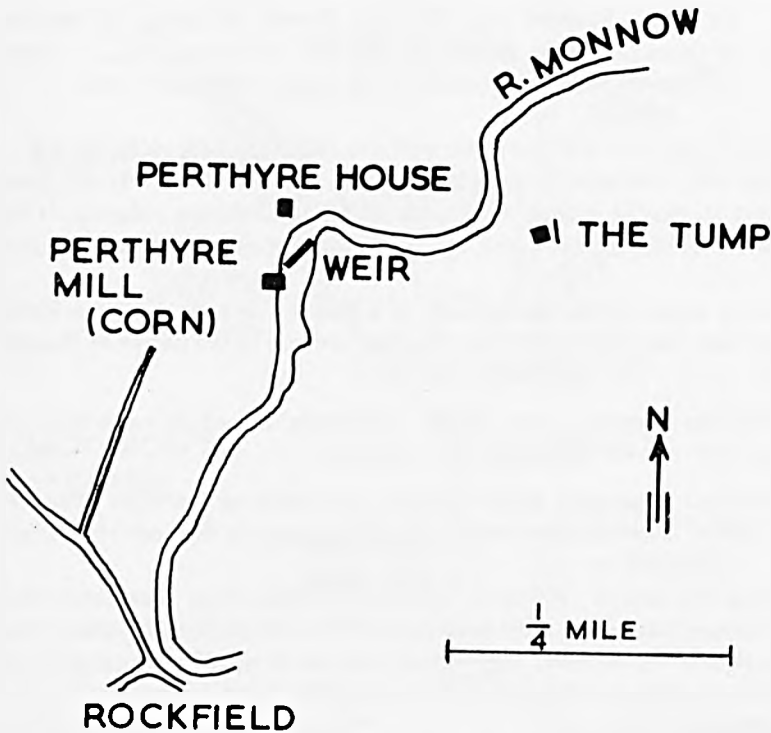


Fig. 2 Detail respecting Perthir Mill from 6-inch O.S. map of 1886. The spelling "Perthyre" is as given on the map.

REFERENCES

¹ A. H. Shorter, "Paper Mills and Paper Makers in England, 1495-1800," Paper Publications Soc., Hilversum, Holland, 1957, p. 27.

² Rhys Jenkins, "Observations on the rise and progress of manufacturing industry in England," *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, 7, 1926-7, pp. 1-16, especially p. 9.

³ As ref. 1, p. 257; also noted in A. E. Davies, "Paper-mills and paper-makers in Wales, 1700-1900," *Nat. Lib. Wales J.*, 15, No. 1, 1967, pp. 1-30.

⁴ Ivor Waters, "Chepstow Miscellany," *Chepstow Soc.*, 1958, pp. 27-41.

⁵ D. G. Tucker, "The paper mills of Whitebrook, Monmouthshire," *Arch Cambrensis*, 121, 1972, pp. 80-96.

⁶ As ref. 1, p. 216. Also A. H. Shorter, "Paper-mills in Monmouthshire," *Arch Cambrensis*, 102, 1953, pp. 83-88.

⁷ The history of Rullins Mill, which has numerous spellings, is being separately published by H. W. Paar and D. G. Tucker.

⁸ Monmouthshire County Record Office, D361 E/1. 101.0002.

⁹ See D. G. Tucker, "The embanked ponds of the Penallt-Whitebrook-Redbrook area and their industrial uses," *Severn and Wye Review*, 1, 1971, pp. 50-58, espec. p. 55.

¹⁰ Mon. C.R.O., D.361.35 - 4 & 5.

¹¹ Mon. C.R.O., D.384.0003.

¹² Mon. C.R.O., D.361 E/1, 35.0002.

¹³ Mon. C.R.O., D.384.0009.

¹⁴ Mon. C.R.O., D.384.0018.

¹⁵ Mon. C.R.O., D.384.0028.

¹⁶ Gloucestershire County Record Office, D1677 GG1352-7. This deed of 1709 recites a lease of 16 July 1691 referring to "All that Mill then formerly used or Employed as a Paper Mill now converted into a copper works."

¹⁷ C. E. Hart, "The Industrial History of Dean," David & Charles, Newton Abbot, 1971, discusses the development of the copper industry at Redbrook, and shows that John Coster operated only at Upper Redbrook.





R.H. del.

W.B. drev.

THE TOWN OF CAERLEON ON THE RIVER USK.

Published March 7 1860. by Cadell & Davies, Strand.