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CONTENTS

The seal reproduced on the cover is the reverse of that of Earl Humphrey of Stafford; Lord of Gwynllŵg, 1403-60. (*Gwent Record Office*).

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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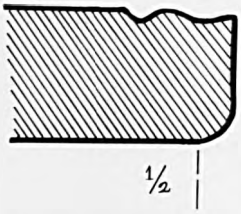
A SUMMER DINING-TABLE FROM LEGIONARY CAERLEON

By GEORGE C. BOON, F.S.A.

In the School Field excavations of 1928 which produced the celebrated Luna marble inscription of A.D. 100, re-used as a flagstone in the magazines beside the basilica on the south-west of the legate's palace in the legionary fortress of *Isca,*[1] V. E. Nash-Williams also discovered, unstratified in those buildings, eight conjoining fragments of a Purbeck marble slab 90 cm. wide, in length upwards of 53.5 cm., and 3.5 cm. thick. Apart from figuring as no. 93 in the *Catalogue of Roman Inscribed & Sculptured Stones found at Caerleon* which he published with the assistance of his brother Alvah in 1935, this object has languished in obscurity; for, excepting the slight cyma or undulated moulding around the rim, it is undecorated, and so did not qualify for R. J. Brewer's *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* fascicule, *Great Britain* i.5, *Wales,* in 1986.

As appears from P1.I, the main feature of the slab is the semicircular cut-out, 44 cm. wide, centrally set in the complete side. Not unnaturally, it led to the suggestion that the slab had been set over a window or a niche; the environs of Hadrian's Wall have indeed produced a number of monolithic arched window-heads, some with simple decoration, which no doubt prompted this identification.[2] However, there are two features of the



Caerleon stone which argue otherwise. The first is the proportion of the opening to the slab; of course, in the case of the window-heads, it came much nearer the top edge of the slab than it does here, even given the incomplete length of the piece. The second is the careful rounding of the underside at the edge (*fig. 1*). This rounding would not be found on wall-cladding, where a vertical edge, or a slightly angled one, would be seen, in order to ensure a close butting of one slab to another. The smoothed and rounded edge could have no place in wall-cladding.

It therefore appears that the slab was placed not vertically but horizontally, and as a table-top it has numerous parallels, notably at Pompeii where a similarly-shaped slab, on a solid masonry base, appears in the *triclinium* of the House of Epidius Hymenaeus,[3] as a recent paper by M. Nagy dealing with the Pannonian parallels points out.[4] Normally, dining-tables in Roman houses took the form of the three-legged *delphica,* either of wood—sometimes wood of rare kinds and price—marble, or bronze; a leg from a marble example has been excavated at Colchester, and fragments of a British version executed in the lustrous black Kimmeridge shale have been found on many sites, including Caerleon.[5] The stone table, with masonry substructure, is in Italy chiefly associated with the outdoor dining-alcoves, and a good instance of this may be seen in an aerial photograph of a Pompeian garden in W. Jashemski's book.[6] There the foundations of the three couches surround the base which, although bereft of its top, still exhibits the semi-circular cut-out seen on the Caerleon specimen.

The purpose of this cut-out, which appears in the case of the example in the House of Epidius Hymenaeus and the several Pannonian tops, is difficult to determine. Nagy explains it in terms of elegant variation from the straight line, citing various statue-bases and the like, or a great candelabrum with that shape of base; we might add, from Pompeii again, the incurved front of one of the great mosaic-incrusted fountains, or the cistern into which such a fountain played in the House of Meleager.[7] His main thesis, however, is to counterbalance the identification by E. B. Thomas of the Pannonian tops as belonging to Early Christian reliquary-altars, the lower part of which would have a grille fitted through which the relics could be seen.[8] This suggestion, however, merely accepts and does not explain the cutting of a half-round or horseshoe-shape in the edge of the top itself, since the cavity for the relics, and the arranging of a screen to protect them, could be contrived without such cut-outs at all. It is difficult to find any practical explanation for the cut-out, unless perhaps it was thought convenient to place a standard candelabrum there to keep it out of the servants' way when dishes were being served or removed. The depth, diameter and proportion of the cut-out vary quite considerably. One of the Pannonian examples, from Tác with a rim-moulding very like ours, has only a small cut-out, barely a semi-circle, slightly less than a quarter of the length of the side; another, from Óbuda, is more like ours, as is a further example from Mainz with elaborate scrollwork on the edge.[9]

Several of the Pannonian tops have decorated edges ranging from bead-and-reel to floral cutting reminiscent of the chip-carved British tables of the third and fourth centuries[10] and perhaps in some cases as late as that. The plain edge and great simplicity of the Caerleon top argue for an early date, and it is certain that the attractive, grey-green shelly Purbeck limestone was exploited from a very early Romano-British date as inscriptions of Claudio-Neronian date indicate. It is a material well-represented at Caerleon in the Fortress Baths,

the earliest building of note; and the majority of occurrences seem, where datable, to belong to the first and earlier second century.[11]

Not all the tops belonged to solid masonry plinths or bases. An example from Óbuda exhibits a square sinking in the underside, where a single support was centred. Like the legs of a *delphica,* such a support was often carved with a lion-mask, and it may be that the fragment in Bath stone from the Caerleon headquarters-building belonged to a *monopodium* side-table of that kind; there is another from York.[12] Other supports may be columnar.[13] The underside of the slab at present under discussion is smooth, though not as smooth as the top (which had been polished to show off the figured stone, with its myriads of tiny water-snail shells, to best advantage). There is no sign of a monopodial support, and a masonry base may thus be inferred.

It seems permissible to imagine a summer *triclinium* of Pompeian pattern in the enclosed garden-court, with its ornamental pool, which we see on the plan of the legate's palace; at very least, it may be said that the fragments of this handsome stone top occurred at no great distance from the building, the occupant of which was of senatorial rank, a grandee to whom such *delenimenta vitae* would have been commonplace. Less probably, it was a funerary *mensa* (though no hole for a libation-pipe existed, so far as can be told):[15] there are some instances of tomb-materials being re-used inside the fortress for paving, etc.[16, 17]

NOTES

[1] V. E. Nash-Williams, *Arch. Camb.* lxxxi (1929), 142-5, without mention of this piece.

[2] J. C. Coulston and E. J. Phillips, *CSIR Gt. Britain* i.6 (1988), pls. 98-100 *passim.*

[3] A. Maiuri, *Pompeii* (Official Guidebook, 1970 ed.), pl.xlvii, fig. 83.

[4] *Folia Archaeologica* xxxix (1988), 135-57.

[5] Colchester, S. Walker and K. Matthews, *Antiq. Journ.* lxvi (1986), 370-1; cf. also note 12 below. Kimmeridge shale, cf. J. Liversidge, *Furniture in Roman Britain* (1955), 37 ff.; Caerleon, *Arch. Camb.* lxxxvii (1932), 98, fig. 44,1; cxiii (1964), 39 fig. 11,1; *Journ. Roman Studies* 1 (1960), 213.

[6] W. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas* . . . (1979), 282, fig. 421; arbour, Maiuri *op. cit.,* pl. 1, fig. 88.

[7] *Ibid.,* pl.xxxii, fig. 57; pl.xxvi, fig. 45; cf. further pl.lix, fig. 103, and the garden painting, in a peristyle, showing a vase standing in the recess, pl.1, fig. 89.

[8] *Arheološki Vestnik* xxix (1978), 573-87. Dr. Thomas records that the first, hesitant identification of the slabs as table-tops was not made until 1955. Previously they had been claimed to be from the furnishings of baths or even latrines (*ibid.,* 573, 575).

[9] Nagy, *loc. cit.,* 146, Abb. 14 (drawn in Thomas, 579, Abb. 13); 141, Abb. 7 (Thomas, 582, Abb. 17); cf. 145, Abb. 13 (Mainz).

[10] W. Solley, *Britannia* x (1979), 169-77; cf. Brewer, *CSIR Gt. Britain* i.5 (1986), nos. 96-7, cf. my note in *Mon. Antiq.* iii (1978), 209; a fragment of another but in Purbeck marble, cf. my *Roman Town of Calleva* (1974), 116.

[11] *RIB* i, nos. 91-2. Caerleon, cf. J. D. Zienkiewicz, *The Legionary Fortress Baths* (1986), i, 303-4; cf. Brewer, *op.cit.* no. 4, for the largest and most important piece, the *labrum* of round shield-shape, with a Medusa-head in the centre, no doubt originally from the Fortress Baths (where it is now exhibited).

[12] *Arch. Camb.* cxix (1970), 49-51; *RCHM Eburacum: Roman York* (1962), pl.60.

[13] As in the case of the German 'cellar-tables', F. Haug, *Germania* iii (1919), 103-9; FRA 1608 in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, from Newstead fort, is a baluster-column most probably from a monopodium.

[14] The most recent note on this building is in my *Legionary Fortress of Caerleon-Isca* (1987), 50, and see the folding plan: from two different pre-war excavations. Cf. Zienkiewicz, *op. cit.,* i, 145.

[15]Cf. my 'Mensa dolenda . . .' *Bull. Board Celtic Studies* xxv (1974), 346-58. This piece had a perforation; one of the Dunapentele pieces (Nagy, *loc. cit.* 138, Abb. 3) is perforated likewise (and secondarily?). It was the custom to hold commemorative ceremonies and indeed banquets at the tomb-side, where the plot might well be enclosed and maintained as a garden for those private rites, as seems to have been the case at Dunapentele where both slabs appear to have come, as Dr. Edit Thomas established, from a Roman cemetery; and in that cemetery there was an apsidal enclosure which may well have been of the kind envisaged. *RIB* i, no. 385, from the cemetery on the south bank of the Usk, seems to refer to the donation of just such an area by a chief centurion; the occasion of his gift is unknown. The fragmentary inscription which records it is again on Purbeck marble.

[16]Cf. Brewer, *op. cit.* p. 16a.

[17]A British study which has made such use of Nagy's paper should not omit to retail his explanation (*loc. cit.*, 147) of the Carlisle slab with decorated border and 19 cm. cut-out, carrying a dedication to Hercules (*RIB* i, no. 946). In his view it is another table-top, and belonged presumably to a temple to which it had been presented by the commandant of the *Ala Augusta Petriana* in commemoration of the slaughter of a band of barbarian raiders towards the year 200. This explanation seems highly probable in the light of the form-parallels, superior to Rostovtzeff's notion as a panel from an architrave (*Journ. Roman Studies* xiii (1923), 97) and to Collingwood and Wright's 'arched head of a niche or window'. Certainly, the cutting of an inscription on the surface is no hindrance to the notion.

CHEPSTOW PORT WALL EXCAVATIONS, 1971

By TREVOR J. MILES

Summary

The Port Wall is located in a stratigraphic sequence and related to the sequential development of local ceramic styles, but no date closer than late thirteenth to early fourteenth century can be assigned to it on archaeological grounds. It was built on foundations laid directly on the old ground surface and there was no moat other than a rudimentary hollow. The changing patterns of land use on the adjacent area within the town are described. Context descriptions and finds catalogue are lodged in archive.

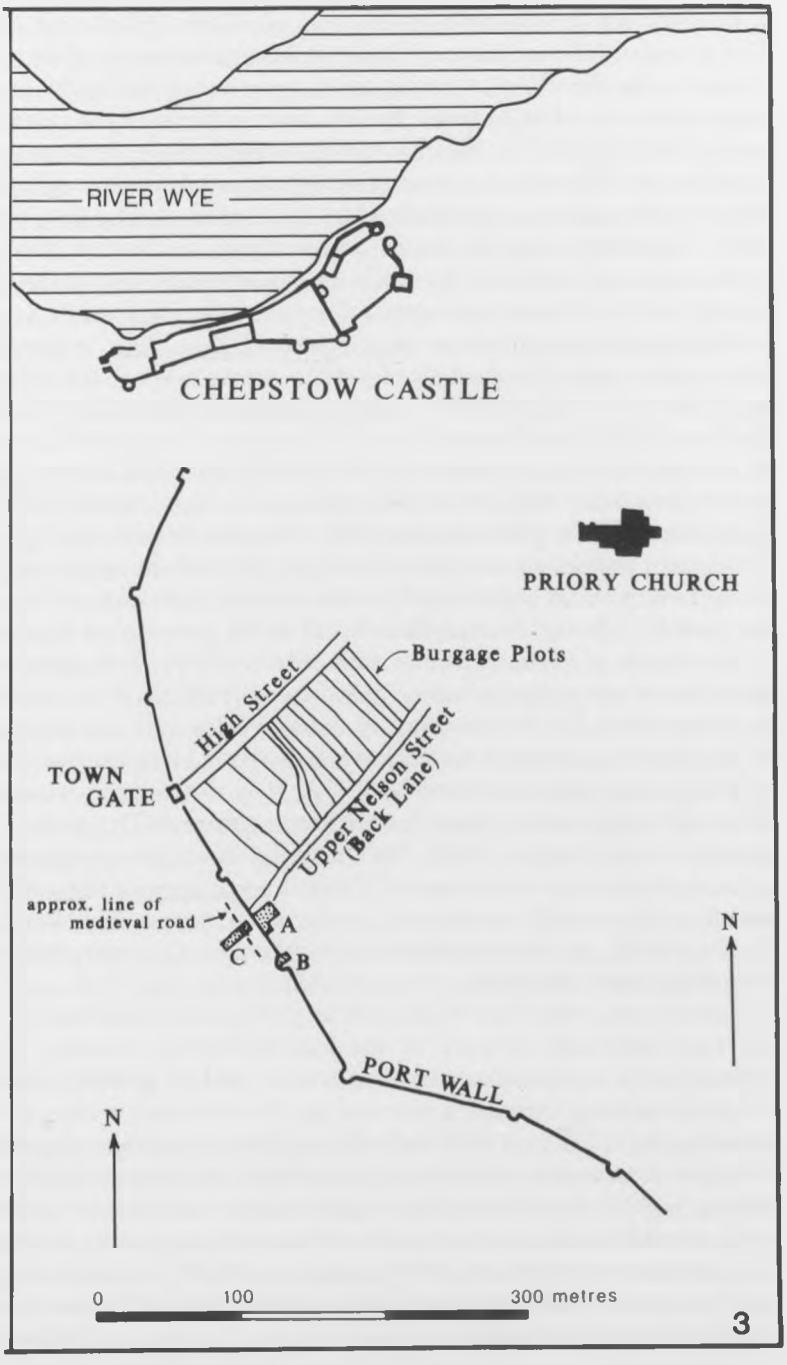


Fig. 1. Chepstow; location map; the Port Wall with the sites of the 1971 excavations. (I am grateful to Mr. Howard Mason for drawing this plan. TJM.)

Introduction

In 1971 the imminent construction of a new relief road for the town of Chepstow, Monmouthshire, necessitated the demolition of a length of the town defences, traditionally known as the Port Wall, roughly midway between the fourth and fifth bastions if these are counted from and include the square tower nearest to the castle. The centre of the breach was at NGR 53339370. The Port Wall being in the guardianship of the Ministry of Public Building and Works, the excavation here described was organised by the Inspectorate of Ancient Monuments and directed by the author during four weeks in the late summer of 1971. Thanks are due to the excavation team and a few local voluntary helpers for the enthusiastic way in which the work was undertaken, and to the town council who provided free use of the disused mortuary adjacent to the excavation as a site headquarters.

Prehistoric occupation is represented by less than a dozen small flint flakes, some discarded during the shaping of pebble cores. A few have crude secondary working and most show signs of utilisation. They are not closely dateable but were probably lost during the late Neolithic or Bronze Age. All were residual in medieval contexts. The Romano-British period is represented by occasional scraps of coarse pottery, frequently eroded, together with one small sherd of samian and some scraps of colour-coated wares. There are small scraps of tile which are probably Romano-British, and some at least of the fragments of Pennant Sandstone may be of this date. Second century to early-fourth century material seems to be present. All of the Romano-British finds were residual in medieval contexts but they surely reflect Romano-British use of the area rather than lost medieval curiosities.

The castle of Striguil was in existence by 1086. It is generally believed to have been founded on a previously unoccupied site by William Fitz Osbern very soon after 1066 to provide a base for the conquest of South Wales and was enlarged by successive lords. A castle of such a great size would have served as a focus for a settlement of some importance. A priory was founded there by 1077. It is not certain when the principal inhabitants achieved urban rather than feudal status although Domesday Book suggests that it was already a town before 1086. Probably the Norman settlement did not possess defences separate from those of the castle. There is no suggestive line on the Ordnance Survey plans and despite a careful watch being maintained, particularly between the priory church and the Port Wall, no silted ditch or other evidence of an early defence line was seen when the new relief road was built.

From its style the Port Wall (and its gatehouse) could have been built at any time from the mid-thirteenth century to the late-fourteenth century. No documentary evidence relating to its construction has been traced, and no grant of murage (the right to levy a tax on goods passing through a town to pay for its walls) is recorded. It has been argued that it was built c.1272 to c.1278 and although this deduction is based largely on circumstantial evidence it remains as the dating most likely to be correct.[1] Many towns in England and Wales, both old-established boroughs and new plantations were being fortified with stone walls around this time, for a variety of reasons, economic, political and military. A market and fair were granted in 1294 and there were 308 burgage plots by 1306.[2] Open-backed bastions, some with wooden floors for extra levels of defence, were built throughout this period. They were a relatively inexpensive yet clearly effective means of defence.

The lie of the land dictated the line of the Port Wall. More land was probably enclosed by it than the lord or the townspeople had need of, but had a smaller area been enclosed

much of the wall would have been overlooked within bowshot. Even to-day there are some parts of the enclosed area which have still not been built on. The construction of the wall would have been to the mutual benefit of the townspeople and the lord of the castle, and Perks' assumption that it was paid for by the castle lord, Roger Bigod III, may well be correct.[3] The Port Wall could well have served as an outwork, if a relatively weak one, to the castle, as well as fulfilling its purposes as a town wall. Although it could only have repelled attacks by small bands of brigands, it would nevertheless have delayed even a large force for a short time, sufficient perhaps to enable stores and valuables to be moved from the town to within the castle. Newly laid-out burgage plots, fronting on the new High Street within the new gate, might have yielded a cash rent to the castle lord. The Back Lane serving these properties, and the rear boundary of one of them, was seen in trench A.

The excavation has shown a sequence of activities in a quiet corner of the town; plough cultivation of fields outside the Norman town; urban expansion in the thirteenth century with town defences and additional burgage plots and access roads; spade cultivated gardens during the fourteenth century; paddocks/orchards and some neglect until the eighteenth century; intensive cultivation of allotments with the industrial expansion of the nineteenth century. Evidence of medieval industry, apart from food production and consumption, is slight. Bronze objects were made in small workshops, perhaps locally. Iron was worked locally but the amount of slag found on the site was very small indicating that the workshops were not nearby. There are pieces of slag hinting at smelting and smithing. Potsherds reflect inward trade—direct or indirectly via other ports. In medieval levels there are the usual few sherds of 'wine' jugs from South West France (slight evidence considering the importance of this trade in Chepstow[4]) and Normandy, and unusually a sherd from a cooking pot made in North or West Devon probably used to transport some other commodity. In the sixteenth century there are a green-glazed red earthenware bowl and a tin-glazed bowl from Spain or Portugal, a chafing-dish and a jar from South West France and a wine jug probably from Beauvais in Normandy. There are some sherds that seem to have come from Surrey at this time. From the end of the sixteenth century until the early nineteenth North Devon wares are fairly common. The absence of any post-medieval stoneware from the Rhineland is surprising. In the eighteenth century there are a few sherds from South Somerset and from Buckley in Flintshire. The various 'local' earthenware pots found in sixteenth to nineteenth century contexts have not all been traced back to their kilns—some may well have been traded from comparatively distant sources.

Trench A (Plan, Fig. 2; sections, Fig. 3)

This trench covered a roughly square area adjacent to the inner face of the length of the Port Wall which was about to be demolished. For many years this land had formed part of an area of allotment gardens, but by the time of the excavation it was overgrown and derelict. The topsoil was cleared mechanically and the site thereafter cleared down to the surface of the natural red clay by hand. Much rain during the time of the excavation made it advisable to clear parts of the site rapidly in sequence down to the natural, rather than expose the whole to the weathering which would have occurred while using the most favoured area techniques of excavation.

The earliest features were a number of randomly located gullies and pits, A1 - A11, which had been cut into the natural red clay. These were filled with brown soil and were certainly artificial although they contained no dateable objects. These features were truncated and buried by a layer of brown sandy soil, A12. This soil had been ploughed; clear traces of furrows were found in places on the surface of the natural beneath it. A few Late Neolithic or Bronze Age flints were found in this layer, together with some scraps of Romano-British pottery and tile, but there were sufficient medieval sherds present to show that it had been cultivated at that time. The early features, A1 - A11, and the brown sandy soil, A12, probably represent agricultural activity outside the Norman settlement, and manuring with domestic refuse.

Contexts A13 - A33 are gullies, pits and post-holes which had been cut from the surface of the Norman plough soil and must all be of roughly the same date as the construction of the Port Wall. Some may precede its construction by a short time as they were directly sealed by the stone bank, A36, associated with the Port Wall. A small pit, A31, contained a large stone which might well have been a plot boundary marker. Three post-holes, A28, A29 and A30, were aligned on it, equidistantly spaced 4.25 metres apart. An area of stones, burnt clay and charcoal, evidently a hearth, below A38 and on the surface of A12, belongs to this phase.

The bottom stones of the Port Wall, A34, were laid directly on the surface of the pre-existing plough soil without any below-ground foundations. No foundation trench had been dug and all the layers which butted against it on either face had accumulated after its construction. The survival of the wall to the present day shows that this labour-saving method of construction was justified although its base might have been more easily undermined in any siege. The stone used is almost entirely local grey Carboniferous limestone apparently obtained from quarry pits near to the outer face of the wall, but there are also occasional pieces of pale yellow Jurassic limestone and some red sandstone. There are slight variations in the dimensions of the wall at different points, but generally it measures 2.30 metres wide at its foundations, and 2.10 metres wide above the slight offsets. There is a wall-walk 4.30 metres above its base, 1.5 metres wide, with a parapet wall two metres high between embrasures which were probably about 5 metres apart. Only the approximate locations of these survive, as they have all been subject to much erosion and stone robbing. A string course, apparently original, survives in places just below the chamfered top of the parapet wall. Horizontal square-sectioned holes pierce the parapet wall at intervals of about 3.25 metres. They are all about 20 cms square, and their centres are approximately 50 cms above the level of the wall-walk. Presumably they were intended to hold additional timber defences.

In the south-west corner of the excavated area, now destroyed to accommodate the new relief road, was a large scar on the inner face of the wall, evidently due to stone robbing as the missing stone was not present at its foot. The scar, situated midway between bastions IV and V, retained parts of four stairs, remains of the flight which had given access to the wall-walk. A similar set of stairs seems to have been provided midway between each pair of bastions. Beside the stairs the surface of the wall-walk had been reduced in width to 1.20 metres, but the wall base had been extended in thickness to 2.90 metres to accommodate them. The wall-walk rises a few steps as it approaches the open-backed bastions and is continuous around their parapets. At the point where the wall section L - M was recorded the lowest part of the wall consisted of two courses of larger stones on each face with

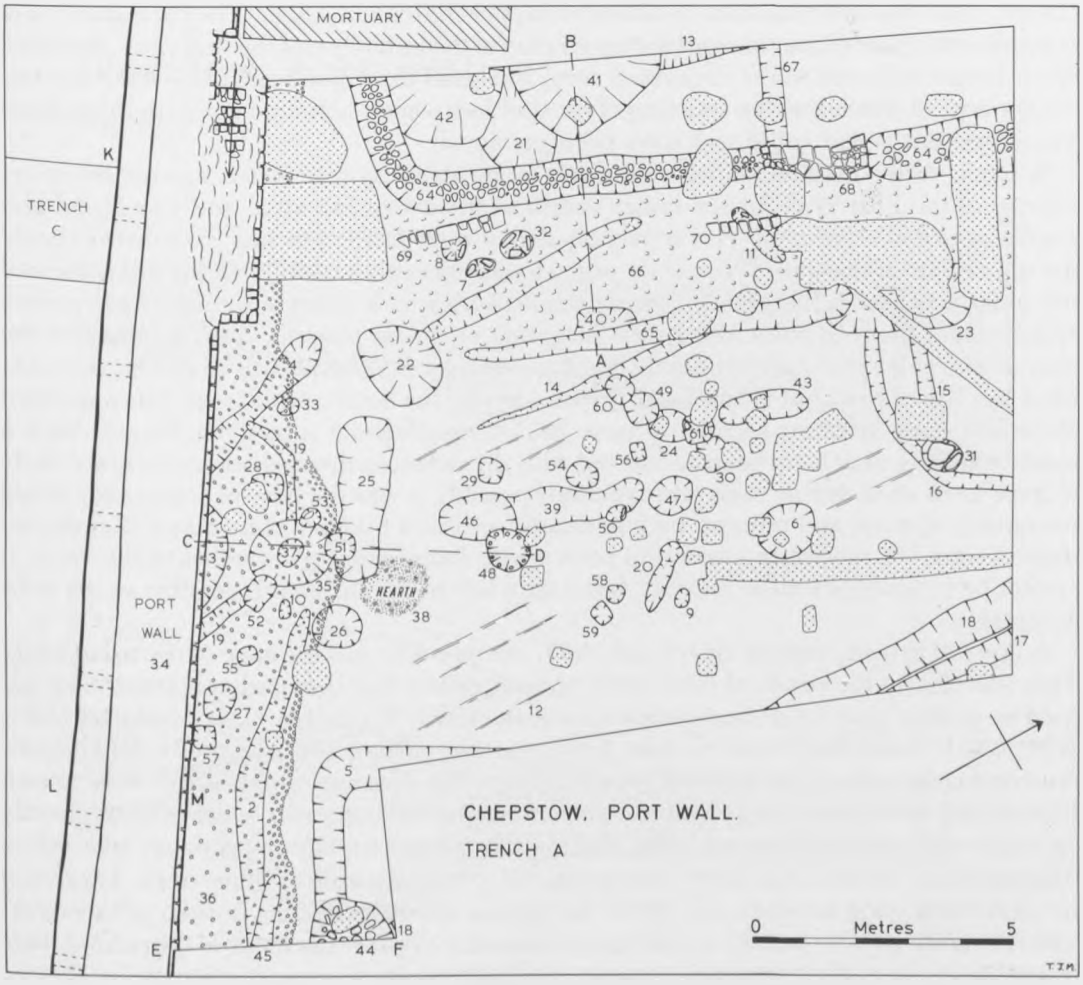


Fig. 2. Chepstow Port Wall; plan of trench A.

uncoursed rubble between them. Generally the stones of the lowest part were larger than those of the rest of the wall. The lowest part was bonded with reddish sand and included some patches of black soil which might have been trodden into place accidentally during its construction. All the stone used in the Port Wall is undressed, yet it was skilfully built, the two faces being reasonably well coursed, though individual courses do not always continue horizontally for any great distance. The core, observed during demolition, was random rubble and hard yellowish mortar.

At the point where the section was drawn five phases of construction could be seen above the foundations, each marked by a slight change in the colour of the mortar and a roughly level course of stones in the core. These construction phases could not be traced horizontally for more than a few metres. Elsewhere in the demolished length of the wall further construction zones were seen, but they did not correspond in number or in height.

Clearly they represent the work of different days or individual gangs. The flat flagstones of the wall-walk, part of the core and the upper part of the inner face of the wall were, for much of the length adjacent to the excavated area, a rebuild distinguished by off-white mortar, but the type of stones and the coursing of the wall face were much the same as in the original build, and this repair could well have been medieval.

A bank, A36, of small stones with small amounts of mortar rested against the lower courses of the Port Wall for the entire length of the excavated area, and was found in a similar position in trench B. It was possibly deliberately formed during the construction of the upper part of the wall. It certainly protected its base from erosion and possibly formed the foundation for a footpath following the wall by which defenders might have moved rapidly from point to point along it. A large stone-packed post-pit, A35, surrounded the pipe of a circular post approximately 30 cms in diameter. The pit was sealed by the stone bank but the post within it had been surrounded by the bank. Additional, but somewhat disturbed stone settings, seemed to have held three diagonal supporting stones. Such a massive timber may have been connected with the defences themselves, but is more likely to have been used during their construction; possibly it was the base of a crane for lifting containers of stone and mortar, such as can be seen in a number of medieval illuminated manuscripts.[5] A moderate amount of pottery was found among the stones of the bank. It cannot be precisely dated at present, but a date late in the thirteenth century seems to be acceptable.

A layer of brown, slightly clayey soil, A38, overlay A12 and the edge of the stone bank. This was clearly the result of cultivation and suggested that the newly enclosed land was used as garden plots for a time in this area of the town. A number of pits and post-holes, A39 - A61, were dug from various levels in this garden soil but they could not be reconstructed to form the plans of any buildings. No remains of any floors were found. Earth-filled pits containing various concentrations of domestic waste are frequently encountered on urban/domestic sites, and may not always have been primarily for rubbish disposal; some at least may have been prepared to contain fruit or other trees. There was no clear distinction between the top of the garden soil A38 and the bottom of layer A63 which overlay it. The pottery in this layer showed a slight refinement of fabric and form from that in the earlier contexts; perhaps it belongs to the fourteenth century.

The stone bank, A36, was widened and probably heightened by the addition of a layer of clean natural red clay, A62. The tail of this layer overlay the garden soil, A38. Perhaps this addition was linked to a major repair of the Port Wall. Certainly the deposition of this clay coincided with a change in the use of the land in this area. A layer of brown clay soil, A63, which covered the entire excavated area beyond A62, began to accumulate. This had none of the pits and post-holes which were such notable features of the medieval and post-medieval garden soils which came before and after it. Probably it represents a phase of soil formation while the land was in use as a paddock or orchard and subject only to infrequent cultivation when, to judge from the small finds and shreds of pottery present, it was manured with domestic refuse. There is no great change in the pottery represented, but this phase of the site's history may possibly extend into the fifteenth century.

Late in the medieval period a substantial boundary gully, A64, was constructed on the north west side of the site and packed with large stones. It enclosed the lightly metalled end of the High Street tenement adjacent to the Town Gate. No evidence concerning the above-ground form of this boundary was recovered. Originally a gap had been left in the gully to

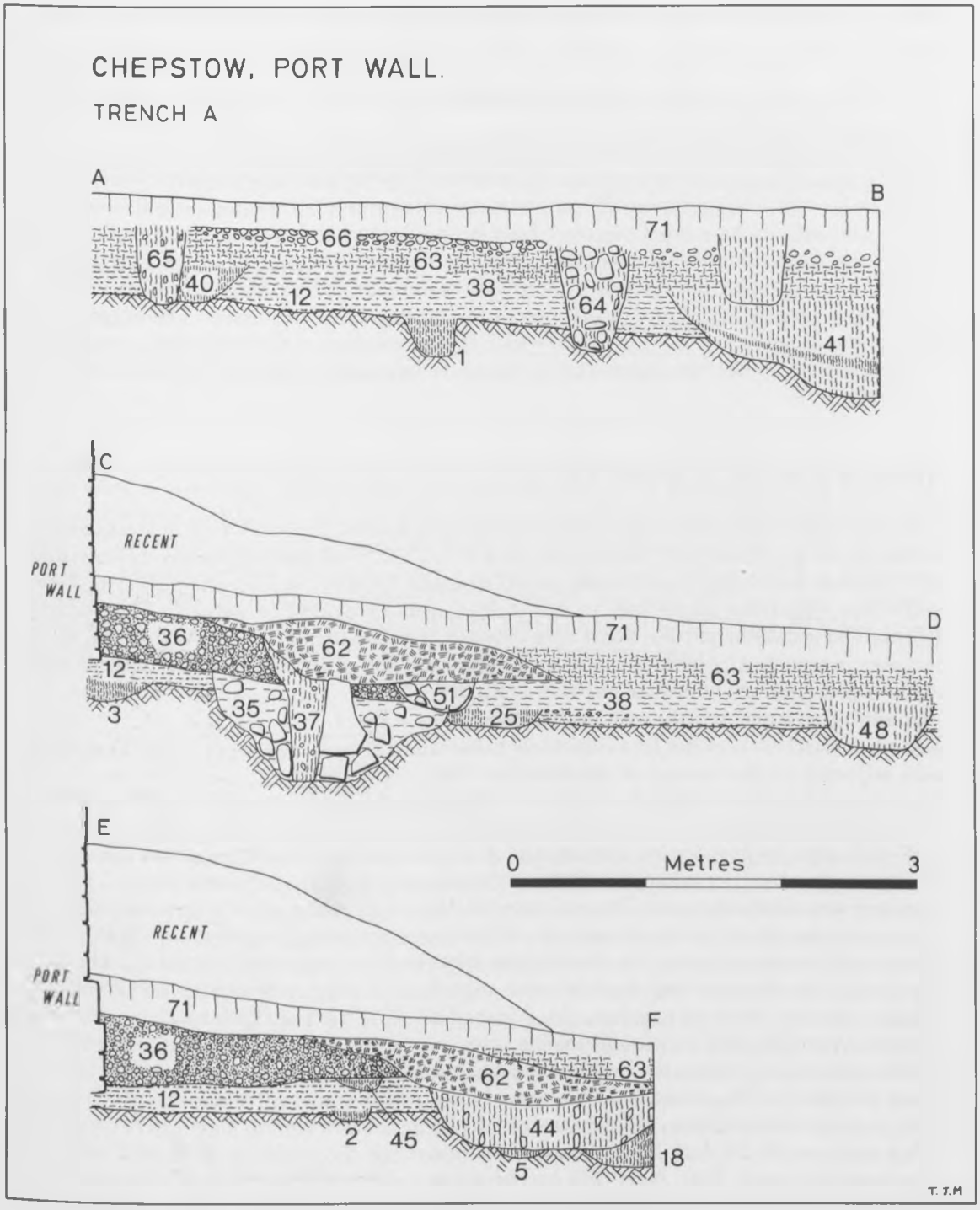


Fig. 3. Chepstow Port Wall; sections, trench A.

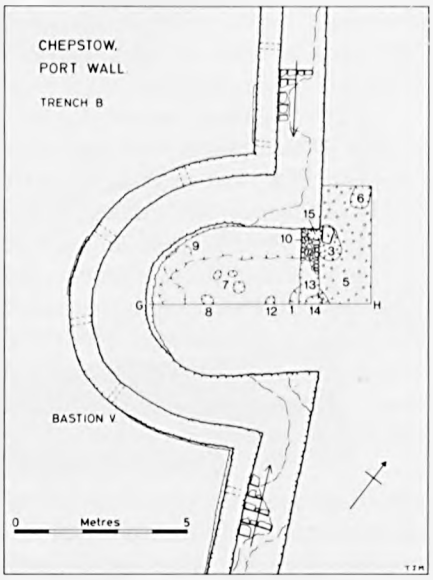
form an entrance, but this had been walled across before any wear had taken place. The entrance had given access to a metalled road, A66, the other side of which was delimited by a length of a smaller gully, A65. Contexts A64 - A66 contained no finds other than late-medieval pottery, but a few post-medieval sherds lay directly on the surface of the road. These probably belong to the base of A71.

It seems clear that the Port Wall was not maintained in post-medieval times, and that the extreme end of the back lane leading to it, and here serving only one property, went out of use. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are not represented among the finds from this trench and activity here must therefore have been minimal at this time. Intense allotment cultivation from the early nineteenth century until almost the time of the excavation had created a stratigraphic discontinuity as only soil of that date, containing eighteenth century to modern pottery was found to complete the stratigraphic sequence. The large bank against the inner face of the Port Wall which had at the start of the excavation resembled the remains of an earthen rampart was shown to have been a wholly twentieth century build-up.

Trench B (Plan, Fig. 4; section, Fig. 5)

It was plain from surface indications that the open-backed bastion V (the nearest bastion to the south east of trench A, beyond the area of the Port Wall destined for demolition) had at some time been walled across and possibly roofed. In order to trace the history of these secondary structures about half of the interior was excavated to natural. The earliest feature was a shallow pit, B1, filled with brown soil and evidently comparable to the early features in trench A. Above this was a continuation, B2, of the brown sandy plough soil, A12. Contemporary with this soil was a pit, B3, containing a stone which was probably a plot boundary mark. It may not be a coincidence that it was adjacent to the corner of the bastion. The bastion itself is of one build with the Port Wall and rests directly on the surface of the plough soil. The wall-walk rises by five steps to pass around its top. Sockets, presumably for additional timber defences, continue around the parapet. The wall faces of the bastion are not always vertical; there are offsets in places and some overhang on the interior face. Originally the bastion was floored with mixed rubble and clay rammed together, B4. Most of a rouletted jug (No. 99) was found in this layer, a useful association if either the Port Wall or the jug could be dated with precision. The stone bank, A36, was seen to continue, B5, in this trench. Its relationship with B3 had been removed by the insertion of the wall, B10. A pit, B6, had been cut in its surface. A group of post-holes (described

Fig. 4.



Chepstow Port Wall; plan of trench B.

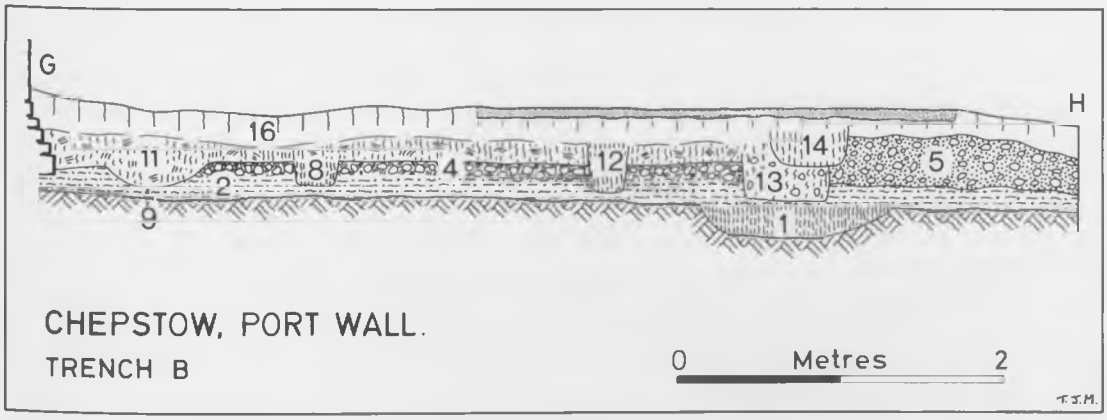


Fig. 5. Chepstow Port Wall; section, trench B.

under B7 and B8) had been cut into the clay and rubble floor. Probably while these post-holes were in use either considerable wear had taken place or shallow pits had been dug around the edge of the floor. The clay-bonded stone wall, B10, was probably inserted at this time. These events occurred between the early-fourteenth century and the early-sixteenth century. During the late-sixteenth century a layer of dark soil and clay with a moderate amount of pottery, B11, accumulated inside the bastion. The wall, B10, was partly robbed, B13, during the eighteenth century. Three post-holes, B12, B14 and B15 are post-medieval. In the late-nineteenth century a concrete floor was laid.

Trench C (Plan, Fig. 6; section, Fig. 7)

This trench was dug in front of the Port Wall, approximately at right angles to it. Modern garden soil and the remains of a derelict tennis court were removed mechanically. The trench continued four metres beyond the point shown in the plan and section, but no further features were encountered. Contexts C1 and C2 were pits cut into the natural red clay and apparently belonged to the early group, A1 - A11, in trench A. Context C3, the brown sandy plough soil (a continuation of A12) was seen to pass below the lowest course of the Port Wall, but had been removed by later activity throughout most of this trench. It had been expected that this trench would demonstrate the presence or absence of any moat or ditch associated with the Port Wall. However, just in front of the wall, precisely where a moat might have been expected, there was a shallow depression cut through C3 into the natural clay, four metres wide and one metre deep. During the mechanical clearance of the site in the first phase of the road construction, this depression was traced in plan for a total length of twenty-eight metres without an end being located, and maintained its relationship with the Port Wall as shown on the trench C section. It can hardly be described as a defensive moat yet it seems to have been related to the Port Wall and it would have formed an obstacle capable of impeding, for example, a mobile siege tower. To describe it as an unfinished moat is perhaps simplistic but it is difficult to see what else it could have been.

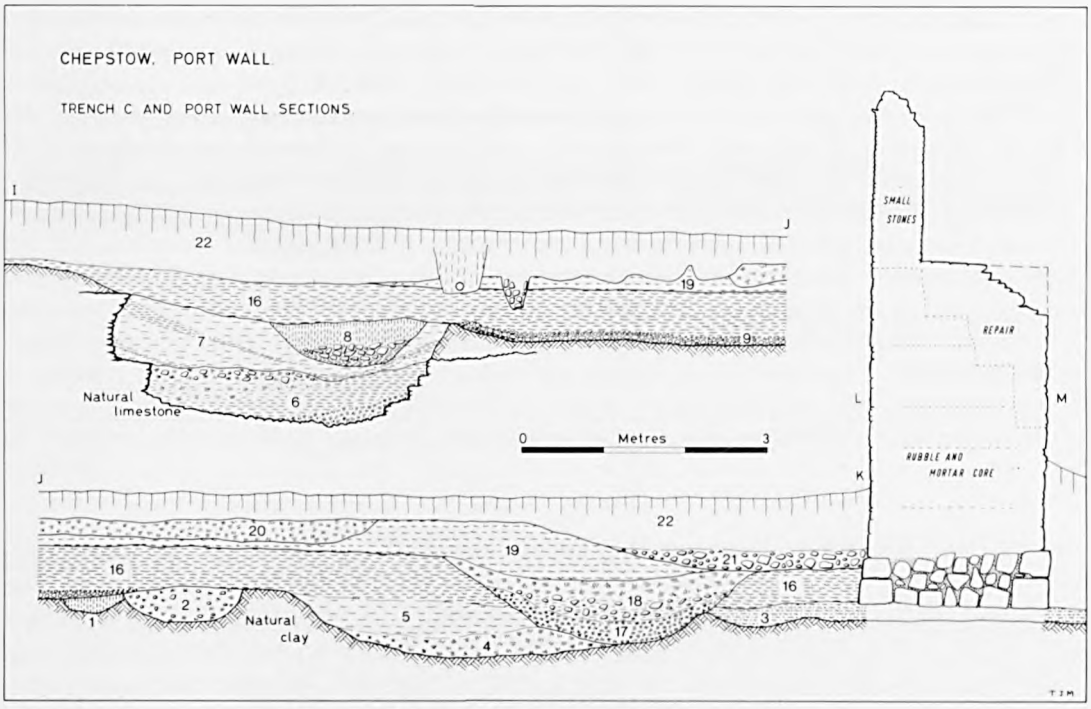


Fig. 6. Chepstow Port Wall; plan of trench C.

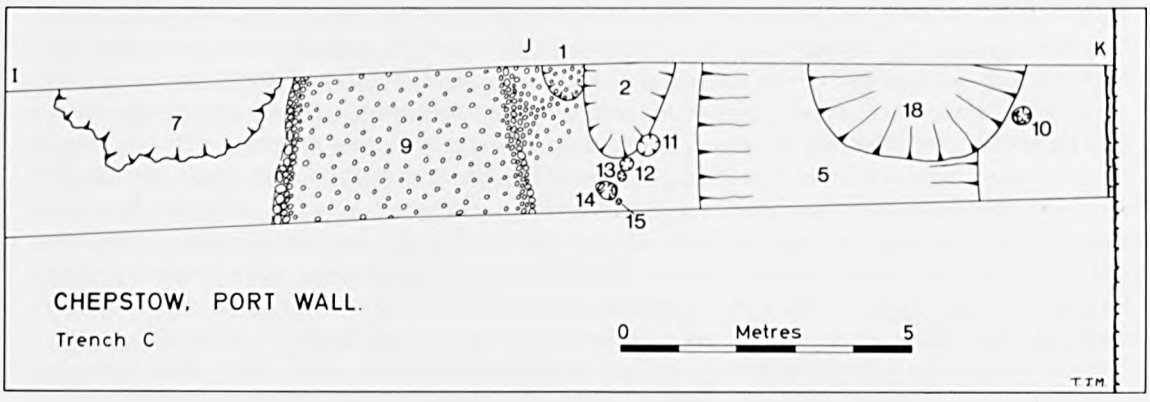


Fig. 7. Chepstow Port Wall; section, trench C.

It was filled with two layers, C4 and C5. Context C4, in its bottom, seemed to be a dump of redeposited red clay rather than silting. The small amount of pottery in this fill included both fabrics 1a and 1b, confirming the date already deduced from its stratigraphic position.

Further from the Port Wall an irregular pit had been cut through the natural red clay into the underlying Carboniferous limestone. It was almost certainly a small quarry for limestone and there was nothing in the stratigraphy to prevent it being associated with the construction of the Port Wall. Its sides were unweathered and the fill consisted of two zones, C6 and C7. The upper zone contained a small amount of medieval pottery, all fabric 1a. Wholly within C7 was a later pit, the top of which had been truncated. The fill of this, C8, contained no finds. Between the quarry and the possible moat a shallow depression contained a well-made road of small limestone blocks and chippings, C9, running parallel to the Port Wall. Any pre-existing tracks would have had to be re-aligned to pass through the new Town Gate and this probably represents a short length of contemporary new road but it quite soon fell out of use. Broadly contemporary with the 'moat', the quarry pit and the road, were a number of post-holes and stake-holes, C10 - C16.

Following the construction of the Port Wall a layer of dark-brown clay soil began to accumulate, which covered the entire trench. It was presumably agricultural in origin although it contained almost no finds apart from a few scraps of medieval pottery, and it clearly represents a long period in the history of the site. Its surface had been truncated by post-medieval activity. It contained a major pit, of which apparently half was within the excavated area. This pit had a clay lining, C17, to contain water and had been subsequently filled with rubble and clay, C18. This context contained a group of local sherds, the sixteenth century date of which is confirmed by the presence of imported Spanish pottery of this period. Layers C19 and C20 were stratigraphically later than the sixteenth century, although no dateable finds were found in them. The deposit of rubble, C21, contained seventeenth century clay pipes, while C22 was both nineteenth century and recent.

Observations during the construction of the new relief road

This road crossed the area enclosed by the Port Wall, and removal of topsoil along its length between the Priory Church and the Port Wall was watched during the spring of 1972 by Mr. J. Bennet. A number of isolated pits and other features were recorded at this time and some pottery including a small number of Romano-British sherds was recovered, all in fabrics and forms similar to those described from the excavation. The most important result of this work was the reliably obtained negative information in that despite a careful search nothing which resembled an earlier town boundary was seen.

The Association is indebted to Cadw for a grant in aid of publication of this article.

NOTES

[1] Perks, J. C., *Chepstow Castle* (D.o.E guide-book, 1967).
[2] Beresford, M., *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967) 559.
[3] Perks, op. cit.
[4] Waters, I., 'The Wine Trade of the Port of Chepstow', in *Presenting Monmouthshire* 16 (Autumn, 1963) 36-44.
[5] Harvey, J., *The Master Builders* (London, 1971) 25 (fig. 8).

NEWPORT CASTLE

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT, F.S.A.

Plate 1: Engraving of Newport Castle by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1743. *(Air Ministry, Photographic Reproductions Branch).*

A towne nere this, that buylt is all a length,
Cal'd Neawport now, there is full fayre to viewe;
Which seate doth stand, for profite more than strength,
A right strong bridge, is there of timber newe:
A river runnes, full nere the castle wall:
Nere church likewise, a mount behold you shall,
Where sea and land, to sight so plaine appeeres,
That there men see, a part of five fayre sheeres.

As upward hye, aloft to mountaine top,
This market towne, is buylt in healthfull sort:
So downeward loe, is many a marchants shop,
And many sayle, to Bristowe from that port.
Of auncient tyme, a citie hath it bin,
And in those daies, the castle hard to win:
Which yet shewes fayre, and is repayrd a parte,
As things decayd, must needes be helpt by arte.

Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales, A Poem* (1587)

The author of the twelfth century *Life of St Gwynllyw* of Newport[1] explained the family history of his hero in terms which, though of little value as evidence for the time when Gwynllyw is presumed to have lived, say something of the political geography of the writer's own day. Gwynllyw is represented as the eponymous ruler of Gwynllŵg, the most easterly of the seven cantrefs of Glywysing and as the eldest son of Glywys, from whom Glywysing took its name. The oldest ecclesiastical centre of Gwynllŵg seems to have been not St Gwynllyw's church, the present Newport cathedral, to which he retired to live in religious seclusion after a vision, but Bassaleg, two miles to the west, where the Roman road running westward from Caerwent and from the legionary fortress of *Isca* (Caerleon) crossed the river Ebbw, having passed north of the site of the later Newport. In the twelfth century, Bassaleg, whose name seems to be derived from the latin *basilica,*[2] retained rights over a series of parish churches in the uplands of Gwynllŵg, but its importance was now eclipsed by St Gwynllyw's on its hill above the river crossing of the Usk. Its claimed association with the legitimising ancestor figure of the rulers of the cantref may explain how it came to replace Bassaleg as the most important church of the area.

The First Castle

At the time of the Norman conquest of England, Gwynllŵg and northern Gwent were ruled by Caradog ap Gruffydd and the *Life of St Gwynllyw* records two episodes in the period of his rule. One of these describes how he gave sanctuary to three Norman knights after a rebellion against William the Conqueror — presumably the rising of 1075 which involved the downfall of Roger fitz William, the son of William fitz Osbern, of Chepstow. Caradog *rex Gulatmorganensium* is described as 'under king' (*subregulus*) to William the Conqueror, a status confirmed by the Book of Llandaff.[3] He died in 1081 and in the time of his son Owain, Glamorgan, including Gwynllŵg, was seized by the Normans under Robert fitz Hamon, though Owain's family remained as lords of Caerleon until ousted by William Marshall the Elder in 1217. Gwynllŵg was held under Robert fitz Hamon by Robert of Hay, who granted Bassaleg church to Glastonbury Abbey, whilst St Gwynllyw's church was granted to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (now Gloucester Cathedral) shortly before 1104. The traditional association of the church with the ruling house of Gwynllŵg might imply that the latter's court or *llys* stood nearby and this, along with control of the river crossing, may help to explain why Robert of Hay or one of his successors established a castle next to St Gwynllyw's church.

Until it was buried in spoil from a railway tunnel in the 1840's, the earth mound of this early castle stood a little to the south of the church tower. It was known locally as 'Twyn Gwynlliw' and was sometimes regarded as the burial place of the saint. Thomas Churchyard noted the 'mount' near the church in 1587 and added in a marginal note: 'On a round hill by the church there is for sea and land the most princely sight that any man living at one instant may with perfect eye behold'. William Harris was also attracted by the view in 1773: 'Within half a dozen yards of the churchyard, which seems enclosed within the works, stands a lofty Tumulus or *Arx Speculatoria* on which a fair spread tree grows and from whence you have a commanding prospect above the mouth of the Avon. . . and below the Holmes to the westward'. Archdeacon Coxe in turn noted 'near the church is a barrow called Twyn Gwnlliw'.[4]

The fate of this motte was recorded by Octavius Morgan in 1885: 'In a field within a short distance of the church. . . there was, not long ago, a moated mound, on the summit of which was planted a group or clump of fir-trees and it was called "The Fir Tree Field". . . This mound is now in the grounds of Springfield, laid out by the late Mr Gethin, who built the house. It is however no longer a mound, but is buried up to the top with the spoil brought up to the surface by the shafts during the excavation of the tunnel of the Great Western Railway, which runs underneath. The site however is still marked, for in order to preserve it, as the fir trees were all cut away, I suggested to Mr Gethin when he was laying out the grounds, to collect together the large masses of rock brought up out of the tunnel, and place them in the form of a cairn on the summit of the mound where the fir trees had stood. This he did, and the spot and the size of the flat summit of the mound are still preserved by a heap of large stones. The diameter of the top was exactly 50 ft. It used to be sometimes called "The Grave of St. Woolos".'[5]

The earliest reference to this castle was in 1172 when King Henry II summoned Iorwerth ap Owain, lord of Caerleon, to meet him at 'Castell Newydd ar Uysc' but on the way there, Iorwerth's son Owain was murdered by the men of William, Earl of Gloucester, an act which led to a ravaging of the lands occupied by the Earl and other Norman landowners by Iorwerth and his son Hywel.[6] The new castle on the Usk presumably belonged to the Earl and on his death in 1183 passed under royal control. A major Welsh rising followed, directed against the main castles of the lordship at Neath, Kenfig, Newcastle, Bridgend, Cardiff, Rumney and Newport. The Pipe Roll for the following year records expenditure on the castle of *Novo Burgo* (Newport), though it should be remembered that the work may be largely routine maintenance recorded only by the accident of the castle being in royal hands. This is most obviously the case with the work on the sea defences and on the bridges at Newport and Rumney (unless the latter had been damaged in the rising). The wages of the garrison of the castle would also have had to be paid, though the establishment might, without the rising, have been smaller than the five sentries, six mounted troopers and ten footsoldiers recorded. It was not unknown at this time for custody of a castle to be given by the crown to a Welsh lord (who might at times be a more reliable royal servant than the dependant of a marcher lord) and Newport was commanded by Hywel ap Iorwerth, the Welsh lord of Caerleon, who was paid 'for serving the king in the Marches of Wales. . . with sergeants. . . at *Novum Burgum.*' It is not possible to separate the cost of repairing the castle and the buildings in it from that on the bridge and sea wall, but together they cost a little over £6.13.0.[7]

A few years later, the new constable, William de Bendengis, became involved in a dispute with the monks of Gloucester, who held the adjacent church of St Gwynllyw, over the rights to the castle chapel. Monks and soldiers often made bad neighbours, but in the present case this was really the continuation of a quarrel between St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and the Earl of Gloucester over the validity of Robert of Hay's grant of the church to the Abbey. This had led to a lively dispute in 1156, when Picot, a clerk of Earl William of Gloucester laid claim to St Gwynllyw's church by 'monastic right' (*monachatu*), seemingly as the successor of the pre-Norman canons. He took possession of the key of the church and duly appeared in the posthumous miracles of St Gwynllyw in the *Vita Gundleii* in the guise of Ednywain of Gwynedd, who dressed himself in priest's vestments and improperly occupied the church of St Gwynllyw, being divinely punished for his impiety with feeble mindedness. In the present dispute, Gloucester claimed that the castle chapel

had been, since its foundation dependent upon St Gwynllyw's and attempted to reclaim it by appointing a chaplain, whom William de Bendengis refused to accept. The bishop of Llandaff decided the dispute in Gloucester's favour, referring to the service which the mother church had been accustomed to perform in the chapel in the time of previous constables.[8]

In 1207-08, when the lordship of Glamorgan was in the hands of King John in the right of his ex-wife, Isabel de Clare, substantial amounts were spent on repairing the castle of Newport and other castles of the lordship at Cardiff and Neath, but there are no details of what work was done.[9] The castle, with others, changed hands during the quarrel between the king and Richard Marshall in 1233 and again in 1265 during the Barons' Revolt, when Simon de Montfort seized the bridge and castle, but these events tell us little of the castle itself.[10]

Three years after Gilbert de Clare had fallen in battle against the Scots at Bannockburn in 1314, his estates were divided among his three sisters and co-heiresses. Cardiff and the lordship of Glamorgan passed to the eldest, Eleanor, wife of the royal favourite Hugh Despenser the younger. The second daughter, Margaret, was given in marriage by the king to Hugh d'Audele, a knight of the royal household, and inherited Gwynllŵg along with various English lands. Gwynllŵg, with its *caput* at Newport, hitherto a member of the lordship of Glamorgan, from now on came to be regarded as a separate lordship in its own right. Despenser however objected to this innovation and prevented d'Audele from taking possession. Despenser had many other enemies and in May 1321 a formidable alliance of marcher lords headed by the earl of Hereford and the Mortimers raised their banners against him. Taking Despenser's occupation of d'Audele's lands as a *causus belli* they marched on Newport with an army of 1,300 horse and 10,000 foot, with the royal arms displayed before them. After a siege of four days, they took the town and castle and put Hugh d'Audele in possession. Devastation of Despenser's lands and castles throughout Glamorgan followed. The temporary success of the barons ended in disaster at Boroughbridge in the following year and their leaders were executed or imprisoned. Hugh d'Audele only recovered his freedom and lands on the fall of the Despensers at the end of 1326. In the meantime, three hundred oaks had been needed to repair the damage done to the buildings and defences (*fortices*) of Newport castle during the siege.[11] It was thus still a timber fortification and, as all the evidence suggests, still on its original site next to St Gwynllyw's church. Only when the new lordship of Newport got underway with the restoration of Hugh d'Audele in 1327 did the need for something more suitable as the castle of its *caput* become apparent.

The Second Castle: Hugh d'Audele and the Earls of Stafford

The date when the castle of Newport moved down from its hilltop siting overlooking the town to command the bridge and river crossing is not known and can only be inferred from the history of the lordship combined with the documentary and architectural evidence of the present castle. D'Audele held the castle and lordship until his death in 1347. His daughter and heiress married Ralph, Earl of Stafford, a distinguished soldier and one of the founder knights of the Order of the Garter. Ralph fought at Crécy and at Poitiers and in 1352 defeated the French near Agen. From 1361 he commanded the British army in

Ireland. He died in 1372 at his other lordship of Tonbridge in Kent and there is little evidence of any close personal interest in his Welsh lands, though he was several times instructed by Edward III to raise Welshmen from the lordship of Newport for the King's wars.[12] His contribution to the building works at Newport may have been indirect, for profits of sack and ransom from the French Wars could be substantial and a number of major castles of the period reflect the building activities of magnates who had commanded there.

Ralph's son, Earl Hugh of Stafford, took a greater interest in Newport. In 1377 he founded a house of Augustinian Friars there, whose buildings still stood at Austin Friars or Friar's Fields, in the vicinity of the present bus station, in the earlier nineteenth century. He may also have walled the town, for the West Gate (on the site of the present Westgate Hotel), demolished shortly before 1800, was a later medieval structure similar in style to the castle water-gate and bearing the arms of the Staffords. In 1385 Hugh granted a charter to the burgesses of Newport, but in May of the same year his eldest son, Ralph, a knight of King Richard II's household, was murdered by the King's half-brother, Sir John de Holland, later Duke of Exeter. In the following spring Hugh de Stafford left the country on pilgrimage to Jerusalem but died at Rhodes during his journey in October 1386. His eldest surviving son was brought up as a member of the royal household, but died in 1392 at Westminster, two years after coming of age. His next brother, William, died, still a minor, in 1395. Edmund Stafford, the fourth and last son of Hugh de Stafford came of age in 1397, ending a lengthy period when the heir was almost continually a minor and the lordship therefore in the hands of the Crown.

Less than a decade after this, during the Glyndŵr rising, we find what was clearly an emergency building programme underway at Newport Castle, making additions to an existing building against impending attack. Since significant building operations would be highly improbable during the minorities of 1386-1397, the present stone-built castle must have existed by the death of Earl Hugh and the date of its foundation must lie in the bracket 1327-1386. It may never have been finished however. Little dateable architectural detail of this first phase has survived the later remodelling by the Duke of Buckingham, the use of the castle as a brewery in the nineteenth century and pre-Office of Works restorations. The windows of the hall are much restored, but a date in the mid-fourteenth century would seem likely. The north and south towers with their chamfered fronts and spur buttresses belong, in their initial form, to this phase. They recall the somewhat earlier towers on the wall of the north platform at Caerphilly, but the type lasted well into the century. The masonry of this phase is of coursed 'Old Red' Devonian sandstone, with contrasting dressings of pale ashlar, probably Dundry stone, and horizontal levelling courses of Lias limestone. There seems to be nothing in the work to preclude a date as late as the considerable building activity of Hugh Stafford in the *caput* of his lordship in 1372-86, though a slightly earlier date is possible and we cannot rule out the possibility that a start had been made by his father, Ralph Stafford, with the profits of his French wars. The most puzzling feature however is the plan of the castle, in particular the architectural and military paradox of the imposing river frontage, with its hall block, water gate and flanking towers, contrasted with the weak defences of the more vulnerable landward side, protected, even when complete, only by a simple stone wall and a ditch, lacking both in the normal military provision of flanking towers and in architectural refinement (*Fig. 1*). As a guidebook of 1839 expressed

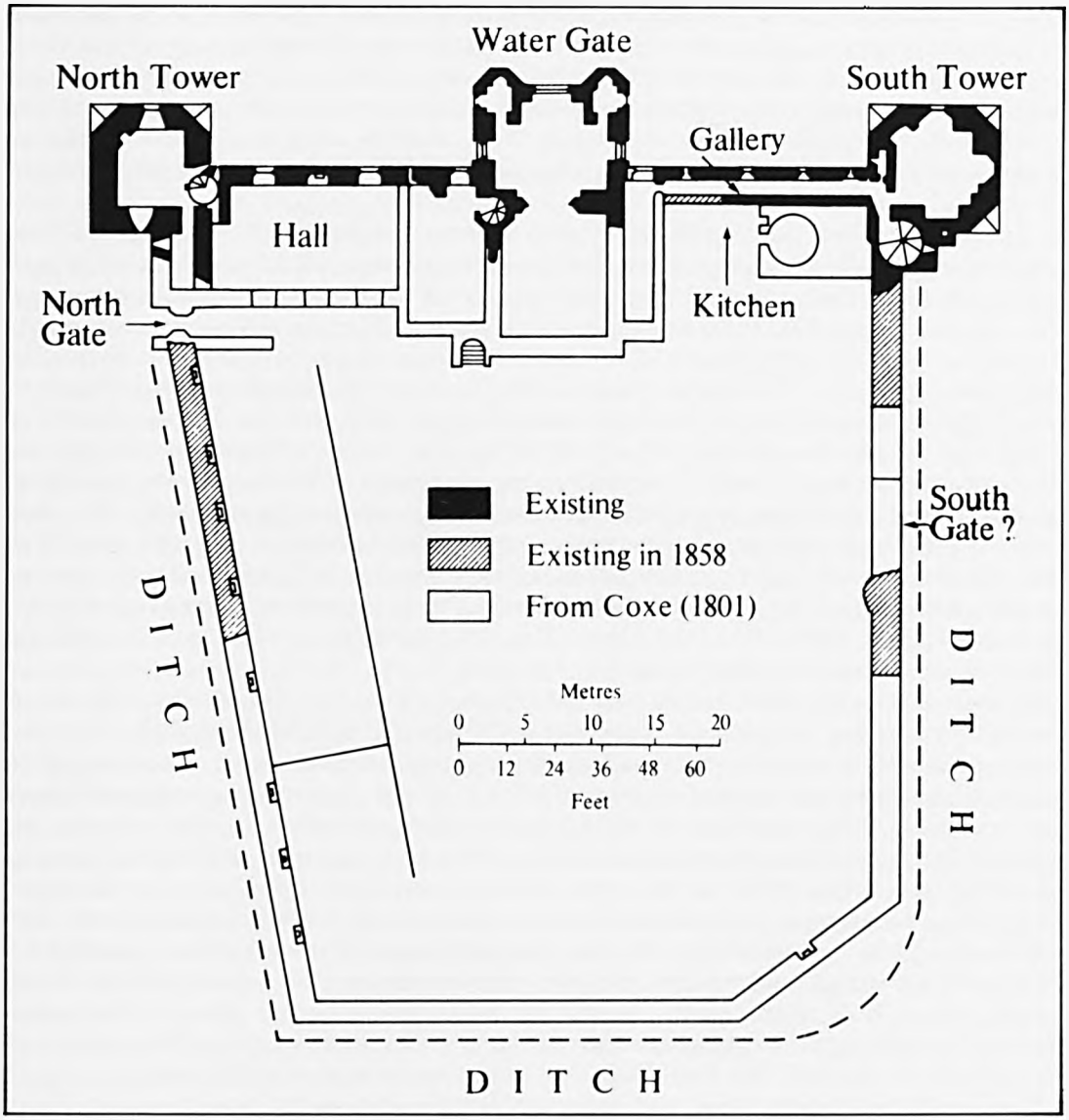


Fig. 1: Outline Plan of Newport Castle. *(J. K. Knight).*

it, this was 'only a common wall, without any flank of defence'[13] and it enclosed not a symmetrical rectangular ward, but an irregular trace.

This paradox is not wholly to be explained by the fact that the existing range of buildings contain a suite of formal apartments whose architectural character was determined not by military needs but by the desire to express the authority and rank of the nobleman whose residence they contained; nor by the fact that the landward sides of the castle were originally protected by a deep and wide moat, flooded at high tide and at low tide presenting a highly

effective barrier of river mud to an attacker. One would have expected that the very need to express in architectural form the dignity of its lord would have demanded a more formal lay out and a more fitting entrance than that provided. Bearing in mind the formal symmetry usual in fourteenth century castles, one might indeed have expected a land gate to match the existing water gate (if this is indeed of this phase), and corner towers on the landward facade to match the existing north and south towers on the riverward front.

Excavation in 1970 showed that where the gatehouse and north curtain wall met the hall-block, they overlay a square foundation, probably a porch, at the lower end of the hall. This suggests that this north curtain and gatehouse are not primary features of the castle, but must, for a time, have lain on a different alignment or have been unfinished. The sudden departure on pilgrimage of Hugh Stafford, following the violent death of his son at the hands of the king's half brother in May 1385, followed by his own death and the subsequent long period of minority, could provide a context for unfinished building works. When the castle was put into a defensible state under urgent military necessity in 1405, the exceptional number of masons employed (thirty-six) suggests that considerable amounts of stonework needed to be built and work on the gatehouse and castle ditch was certainly included. These emergency works would therefore be consistent with the completion of an unfinished structure to a differing plan by the addition of a curtain wall and new gatehouse. Subsequent owners were to add to the architectural quality of the apartments, but only the out-of-scale and uneven layout of the castle itself may have spoken of unrealised ambitions.

The Glyndŵr Rising

Not long after Richard II had been deposed by Henry Bolingbroke the rising under Owain Glyndŵr broke out in North Wales and spread rapidly. Three English armies counter-attacked, led by the King, Prince Henry (the later King Henry V) and Edmund Stafford. In July 1403 Stafford was made Constable of England, but was killed in the same month at the battle of Shrewsbury. In the following month the rising spread to Gwent and Glamorgan and widespread devastation by Glyndŵr's followers laid much of the area waste, including the town of Newport and the surrounding area. In the *Inquisition Post Mortem* which followed the death of Edmund Stafford, Newport was said to be worth nothing because of its devastation.[14] The royalist war effort continued and in September the mayor of Bristol was ordered to ship large quantities of wheat and oats, wine and ale, and over a thousand 'fishes called hakes' to Cardiff and Newport 'for the men at arms and archers there'. This was part of an extensive provisioning of the castles still in royal hands in south Wales, involving royal officials in Worcestershire, Bristol, Somerset and Devon and an arc of castles from Brecon, Hay and Builth, through Swansea, Kidwelly and Carmarthen to Cardigan and Aberystwyth. At the same time, the king issued a series of writs ordering the owners or constables of twenty two Welsh castles, Newport among them, to look to their furnishings and guard 'with men, victuals, armour artillery and all other things.'[15] It was no doubt in response to this that Usk castle was 'in some measure repaired for defence' in time for the Welsh attack on it in May 1405.[16]

In 1404 actions were fought in northern Gwent near Grosmont and Monmouth, but in the following spring the Welsh suffered a reverse in an attack on the castle of Grosmont in March, and in May a force led by Owain's eldest son, Gruffydd, ended in a decisive defeat

at Pwll Melyn near Usk Castle, when Owain's brother Tudor was killed, Gruffydd ab Owain taken prisoner, and three hundred Welsh prisoners massacred near the castle. Meanwhile, emergency building work was in progress at Newport Castle, which had probably been neglected in the series of minorities since 1386 and may have been damaged in the attack of 1403. The accounts cover a period of twenty four weeks from the third of April in the week before the Easter of 1405 to the following Michaelmas (29th September), Sir Gilbert Denys 'then captain there' being in charge of the work. The number of men employed makes the urgency of the work very clear. In the first week, thirty-six masons, twenty-four carpenters and eight sawyers, all at 6d a day, worked on 'the repair of the aforesaid castle', with forty-eight labourers (at 4d a day) assisting the masons, cleaning the castle ditch and clearing it of bushes. Easter week was a holiday, even at such a time, save for thirty of the labourers working in the castle ditch for three days, but when work resumed on April 17th, an agreement had been reached with the masons for Sunday working. The number of masons had dropped by fourteen, perhaps because of pressing needs elsewhere, or perhaps because the previous number were more than could be effectively used. All but six of the carpenters were laid off at the same time, the scaffolding perhaps having been finished, the others working on a 'Garret' or projecting wooden structure on the rear of the gatehouse.

On Monday, May 8th, 'on account of rumours of the rebels reaching the Captain', more labourers were taken on to clean out the castle ditch and clear it of bushes. The rumours were probably of the intended Welsh attack on Usk Castle, but by mid-week news of the Welsh disaster had evidently reached Newport, and the number of labourers fell from seventy-three on Tuesday to the normal thirty by Thursday. The crisis was now past its peak and by the end of May the masons numbered only thirteen and a boy. By mid-June, carpenters were preparing timber 'for the Great Tower' and a heavy rope was bought to haul timber for the tower. Work continued to the end of the normal building season in late September. There are no separate accounts for the digging of stone, which was presumably quarried locally, but large amounts of lime were bought for the mortar and there are accounts for other materials, including nails and timber. A *longtrowe* or boat was hired for the carriage of timber and another *longtrowe* laden with burnt lime was bought at Bristol. In all, some 452 crannocks of burnt lime were bought, usually in lots of sixty and some by tally, at 4d a crannock. Some of the lime came from 'Wenloc' and whilst this could be Wentlooge (where there is very little limestone) it may represent trade from Shropshire down the navigable Severn to Bristol. At Newport, a horse was hired to carry the lime from the boat to the castle and hurdles were bought, with other timbering, perhaps for use in the centreing of arches. Some artillery was evidently to be mounted on the walls, for cords were bought for the crossbows (*albastres*).[17]

The necessity for this work was shown in August, when a French expeditionary force which had landed in Pembrokeshire in support of Glyndŵr was able to march through South Wales without serious opposition to the outskirts of Worcester. They passed through Caerleon, three miles from Newport, where the French took great interest in the Roman Amphitheatre and in the Cistercian Abbey at Llantarnam, which they took to be King Arthur's Round Table and his Abbey near Caerleon, well known to them from the Arthurian Romances,[18] but they seem to have made no attempt against Newport or the other local castles. Further west, Coity was withstanding a long siege and in the autumn a royal expedition into South Wales for its relief, mounted from Hereford, ended in fiasco as

the winter rains set in. In the early summer of 1406 the House of Commons was still nervous about Wales, but Prince Henry's summer campaign recovered most of South Wales and Glyndŵr's star was by now in decline.

The Dukes of Buckingham, 1424-1521: Building Operations Under Humphrey Stafford, First Duke of Buckingham: 1424-1460

Humphrey Stafford, son of the Edmund Stafford who had fallen at Shrewsbury, came of age in 1424. A leading supporter of King Henry VI, he was created Duke of Buckingham in 1444 and Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1450. Newport Castle had probably been neglected save for the emergency re-fortification in 1405, since Hugh de Stafford had left for Jerusalem, following the murder of his son, in 1386. On coming into his inheritance, Humphrey Stafford set to work to convert the castle into a nobleman's residence worthy of his rank.[19]

The costs of the work were entered each year on the Exchequer Roll of the lordship, along with its other financial accounts. Only a few of these accounts survive and we cannot follow the progress of the work at Newport year by year as we sometimes can with other medieval buildings. The first surviving Exchequer Roll, of 1435, shows work underway on the South Tower, next to the Bridge (*Majoris Turris Iuxta Pontem*). (This Roll was in the hands of Octavius Morgan in 1885 and is now in Glamorgan County Record Office.)[20] Work had evidently been in progress for some years. Allowing a few years after the coming of age for the planning and organisation of the work, it may have got underway about the time when Humphrey Stafford confirmed the borough charter of Newport in 1427, in which case it had perhaps been in progress for some seven building seasons when we first encounter it.

The master mason, Richard More, bought four cartloads of freestone for the work in the quarries at Dundry Hill outside Bristol. Dundry stone had been a favourite for high quality dressed stonework throughout South Wales and much of Southern Ireland for many years. It was already used in the twelfth century at Llandaff Cathedral and was, for example widely used in the castles of William Marshall the Elder at Chepstow, Usk and Caerleon between 1189 and 1219.[21] The stone for use at Newport Castle was carted to the Welsh Back at Bristol and there sawn into pieces for transport by boat to Newport. It was there dressed by Richard More, his assistant (? apprentice) Geoffrey and another mason Nicholas Rufford, assisted by four Welsh labourers. The latter were also engaged in quarrying rougher stone for the rubble work of the walls (no doubt the local Devonian Old Red Sandstone) from quarries at Liswerry near Newport and in carting stone to the castle. Limestone was also quarried for burning into lime, from a place known as 'Talorthe' near Newport, and sea coal was brought from Hanham just east of Bristol for burning the lime. Three other masons presumably worked on the walling, but were paid less than the three free masons. Andrew Cole, seemingly a foreman-mason, was paid two shillings and sixpence weekly (the same as Richard More's apprentice); the others, Thomas ap Llywelyn and Richard Mason, were paid by the day. Of their six labourers, five were Welshmen, but the sixth, Philip Irish, deserves attention as the forerunner of the substantial Irish population which played such an important part in the more recent history of the town.

By 1447 the woodwork in the castle chambers was being repaired, and there were minor repairs to the castle buildings and to the long stable outside it, whilst £66-12-0½ was being spent on a new withdrawing room (*camera retracta*) next to the Chapel Tower. Work continued in the following year.[22] Twenty-four cartloads of freestone from the quarries at Dundry Hill were bought from the overseers of St Mary Redcliffe Church at Bristol, cut into smaller pieces for transport and carried by boat from the Avon to Newport. Eighteen boat-loads of 'stone called Lyas' were shipped from Penarth and 'walstone' (stone rubble for wall building) was dug at Stowe outside Newport. The stone brought by sea was landed at the south end of the Shirehall and carted from there to the castle, where Richard More, the master mason, was in charge of a work force comprising a free mason, John More, who worked the freestone; an apprentice, Richard Reve; four masons and six labourers. A hundred small oaks were bought from Morgan ap Rosser (at a shilling each) at Kirkelleyth (Llanhilleth, west of Pontypool) for woodwork in the *camera retracta* and carpentry work elsewhere in the castle. Timber for scaffolding and for a ladder was cut at 'Huelle' within the lordship. For the roof, eighteen thousand Cornish slates (*tegulas vocatur Cornysshtile*) were bought from a Cornishman, Auncell Wyke, and two dozen pottery ridge tiles from Alfred Crocker of Cardiff for three shillings.[23] At the same time, the north wall of the castle was being raised in height by three feet with wall stone from Stowe and eighty-nine pieces of ragstone from Dundry 'for the battlement crests of the said wall'. The north curtain no longer exists, but the heightening probably comprised a corbelled and battlemented parapet to match that shown on the riverward facade in the Buck print of 1732, traces of which survive on the south face of the central tower and above the hall.

Two later account rolls, of 1452 and 1457, show that the main building operations were by that time complete. In 1452 repairs were being made to the long stable outside the castle gate and to the palings of the castle ditch and maintenance work was being carried out on the woodwork.[24] In 1457 certain 'small repairs within the castle' were being made. Ralph Plomer was mending holes in the roofs of two of the towers with lead and solder, and glass was being bought for a window in the tower by the north gate, whilst carpenters were preparing benches, trestles, beds and tables 'against the coming of the lord thither',[25] but Buckingham was not to enjoy his new castle for very long. Quarrels between the aristocratic factions at the court of Henry VI developed into the Wars of the Roses. Buckingham supported his master the king, but was killed at the battle of Northampton in 1460. His grandson and heir, Henry Stafford, second Duke of Buckingham, was a supporter of Richard III, but rose in rebellion against him in 1483. The rising failed, and Buckingham was executed. His lands were confiscated and Thomas Bawdrif became constable, with Thomas ap John serving under him as porter, 'with custody of the warren of rabbits there'. After Richard's death at Bosworth, Henry VII reversed the attainder and granted the lordship of Newport to Buckingham's widow, Katherine, who was now married to Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, the king's uncle. Jasper Tudor and his wife held the lordship until on Katherine's death in about 1513 it reverted to her son Edward. Jasper's arms occur on the west tower of St Gwynllyw's Cathedral and the now much damaged statue on its west front probably represents him. Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, was an important courtier of Henry VIII, but fell from favour in 1521 and was beheaded on a charge of disloyalty — the third successive Duke of Buckingham to die by violence. Once again, the lordship of Newport was forfeited and passed to the Crown.[26]

The Decline of the Castle

In the year after the execution of the third Duke of Buckingham, a survey was made of his lands. Newport was 'a propur toune' with 'a goodly haven . . . wherunto a great shippe may resoorte and have good harbour'. Upon the haven was the castle, with 'iii towres adioynnyng iuste to the water, the middelleste towre having a vawte or entre to receive into the said Castell a good vessell'. In the castle was a 'faire hall', lodgings in the rooms next to the river and many 'houses of offices', but its roof and floors were decayed, though there was 'good plenty of fre(e) stone and rough stoone' stored in it for any intended repair, which might suggest that Buckingham had been planning new building work before his fall. Two parts of the castle still mattered — the exchequer chamber in the gatehouse, where rents were collected and the accounts of the lordship kept, and the prison under it:— 'Over the Castell gate is the Chequier chamber, and under the same is the porter's lodge and prison for punysshement and sauff keping of offenders and transgressours, which houses of necessite muste be maynteynned and well upholden'.[27] The gatehouse was kept up as a prison for many years, for in the reign of James Ist Jacovin Gunter brought a suit against William Morgan of Tredegar House claiming that he had imprisoned her and two other women in the castle of Newport for some weeks without just authority.[28] John and Thomas Morgan of Tredegar House were already serving as deputies to the sinecure Steward of the castle, the Earl of Wiltshire, 'for the well ordering of the country' at the time of the 1522 survey.

Henry VIII kept the castle and lordship in his own hands until his death in 1547, though since 1535 they had been a part of the new county of Monmouthshire. They were then granted to William Herbert, created first Earl of Pembroke in 1551, who in 1578 leased the castle to his kinsman Sir William Herbert of St Julian's on condition that he kept it in repair. With St Julian's only a mile away, William Herbert can have had little use for the castle as a residence, though it may have been of use as a symbol of his status in the town. When the topographer-poet Thomas Churchyard saw it in 1587 it had been 'repayred a parte', presumably under the terms of the lease, but by this time houses were already encroaching on the castle ditch, parts of which were being leased out to householders as gardens or rough grazing, with little evident concern for its defensive condition.[29]

There may have been more substantial repairs to the castle by the Herberts in the 1630s, for in 1874 an inscribed datestone of 1632 was found in its wall.[30] It played little part in the Civil War, though the opening move of the war, in the spring of 1642 saw Parliament attempting to order that the county magazine he moved from Monmouth to Newport, where it would be under the control of Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, the Parliamentary lord lieutenant,[31] but the castles under his nominal control were quickly seized by the Royalists and Newport saw no further action. A not wholly accurate royalist list of castles in the county classes it as 'ruined', and when King Charles slept at Newport in July 1645 it was in the house of a private citizen, though a guard of honour of fifty men under Richard Herbert of St Julians, the royalist governor of Newport, had turned out at the castle in his honour.[32]

In 1710 the castle was leased from the Herberts by Thomas Morgan of Ruperra, a kinsman of the Morgans of Tredegar House. By 1746 the rights to parts of the area were being claimed by a clergyman, the Rev John Burgh, as lord of the manor, on the grounds that it had been included in the 1710 lease in error, since it had not been included in that

Plate 2: Newport Castle and the Edwards bridge, about 1830. (Cadw).

of 1578. Lord Powis's agent wrote to his master that elderly burgesses had informed the agent that the Castle Green and the Castle Garden outside the north wall of the castle were part of the castle, from which a gateway and road still led to the Castle Garden.[33] Burgh had removed three hundred tons of cinders from the latter, which was probably the 'Cinderhill' of the medieval building accounts, and in a lawsuit claimed possession of a further piece of waste ground between the bridge and the middle of a pill or inlet, and of the Market Green near the castle. He also proposed that Lord Powis should surrender the lease of the castle to him. Burgh appears as 'the present proprietor' of the castle in the text to the print by the brothers Buck, published in 1749- a privilege for which he had no doubt (following the normal practice of the time) handsomely subscribed to the cost of its publication (*Plate 1*). Both Colonel Morgan of Tredegar, who now held the lease, and John Williams, the landlord of the Heathcock Inn, who held the key, were drawn into the dispute, but the castle was by now ruinous and about this time Colonel Morgan was removing stone from it to build a quay on the riverside.[34]

When the Monmouthshire canal was dug in 1792 the western ditch was used for the line of the canal and most of the remaining ditch filled with spoil. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the bailey was in use as a tanyard, but in about 1820 a Mr Allfrey established a brewery in the castle buildings, using the castle wall, which gave a supply of excellent water (*Plate 2*). The walls of the bailey seem to have been demolished piecemeal during this period, for whilst Coxe's plan shows them intact, when Octavius Morgan carried out a survey in 1858, only some eighty feet of the north wall survived. Allfrey's brewery was taken over by a Mr Blake, in 1880 by Searle and Herring (*Plate 3*) and ten years later by the Newport brewers Lloyd and Yorath, who moved their brewery out of the castle in 1899, though they retained it as a bottling store until 1905.[35] A photograph of the 1880s (plate 00) shows rectangular glazed windows throughout the castle (including in the blocked Watergate arch of the Central Tower and in the large window above it); the main block of brewery buildings behind the North Tower and high slated roofs on the Central Tower and between it and the South Tower, the latter roof, whose creasing still survives on the face of the South Tower, carrying a large placard reading 'Searle and Herring's Brewery'. A crude wooden jetty gives access from the river via a forced opening in the curtain. The setting of the castle had been further affected by the building of the railway bridge over the Usk immediately to the north of the castle in 1850, and the accompanying bridge carrying the railway over Shaftesbury Street.

Some concern was by now being felt for the preservation of the castle remains, and the veteran Chartist, William Townshend, wrote to the *Monmouthshire Merlin* in 1845 suggesting that if the proposal to build a railway station at the brewery came about, someone should be appointed to look after any archaeological discoveries made. In a further letter he listed some of the finds already made: coins 'of the Henries', a somewhat dubious sounding corroded 'Second brass' of Constantine and, in 1834, a gold noble 'of Edward II' (perhaps of Edward III, for his father of course issued no gold), the size of a half crown and weighing 117.5 grains troy.[36] It may have been the roofing of the area between the Central and Southern Towers that led to the discovery in 1858 of the kitchen oven and to Octavius Morgan's survey of that year. He followed that up with a further survey in October 1885,[37] carried out with the help of F. J. Mitchell, a prominent member of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association.

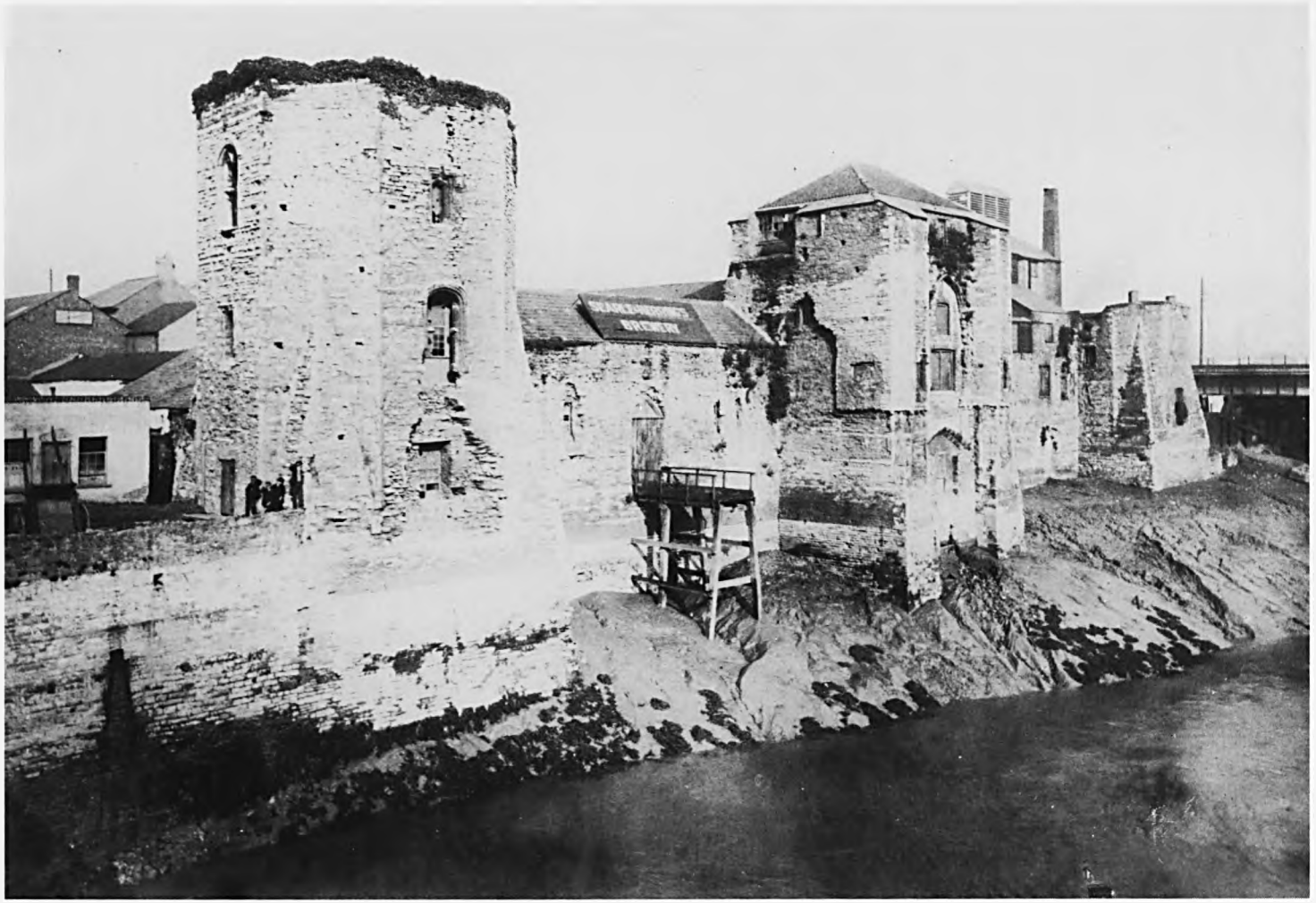


Plate 3: Newport Castle in the late 19th Century, in use as Searle and Herring's Brewery.

(Cadw: from an original of 1938 held by Newport Museum).

In 1891 the South Tower was acquired by Newport Corporation and after the closure of the brewery in 1899, the remainder of the castle was purchased by Lord Tredegar. In 1930 the ruins were placed in the care of the Office of Works by the Tredegar Estate, Newport Corporation adding the South Tower to the area in guardianship in 1935. A programme of conservation followed, the remains of the brewery being cleared away and the medieval masonry made safe. Sufficient evidence was found for the tracery of some of the windows for plans to be drawn up for their restoration, but the work was interrupted by the Second World War, though completed after it, the area in front of the remains being laid out as a small park. In 1970 this was sacrificed to road widening and the stump of masonry which formed the sole remnant of the north curtain wall was removed. Limited excavations by the present writer showed that the area of the park had been so heavily disturbed in recent times that no earlier traces remained, and photographs of the 1930's conservation work in the archives of Cadw show that substantial earth moving was necessary here to remove the recent buildings. On the other hand, the 1970 work revealed details of the junction of the north curtain with the South Tower and of the adjacent Gateway and castle ditch. Details of this work are given below.

THE CASTLE

The surviving range of the castle is symmetrical, with the imposing Central Tower or Watergate flanked by two lengths of curtain wall overlooking the river, each ending in a tower which is semi-octagonal towards the river, but rectangular to the rear. The hall lay between the smaller North Tower and the Central Tower, with the gatehouse in its flank, next to the North Tower and the lower angle of the Hall. The taller South Tower by the bridge was reached by way of a wall passage from the Central Tower. The sub-rectangular ward behind this range was destroyed in the earlier nineteenth century and no trace of it now remains.

The North Tower and Hall (*Fig. 2*)

The hall stood at first floor level over a vaulted undercroft or cellar, its floor level being marked by an offset. In the surviving riverward wall, a central fireplace is flanked by two tall windows, originally mullioned and transomed, set in deep arched recesses with window seats. The opposite wall does not survive above the hall floor level. In the Buck engraving of 1732, the two windows are shown with most of their tracery, mullions and transoms intact, but they were blocked up when the brewery was built and nineteenth-century photographs show an irregular pattern of rectangular window openings. The original features were recovered during the conservation work of 1936-39 and sufficient evidence remained for plans to be drawn up for the substantial restoration of the windows, though this was left unfinished at the outbreak of war. The walling is of coursed and dressed red sandstone rubble with scattered blocks and lines of Lias, and dressings in a renewed creamy-yellow freestone replacing the original, which was probably of Dundry stone. The fireplace has simple unchamfered ashlar jambs, but its hood is entirely gone and the back of its chimney shaft is now exposed. The windows are more elaborate, with moulded jambs to the

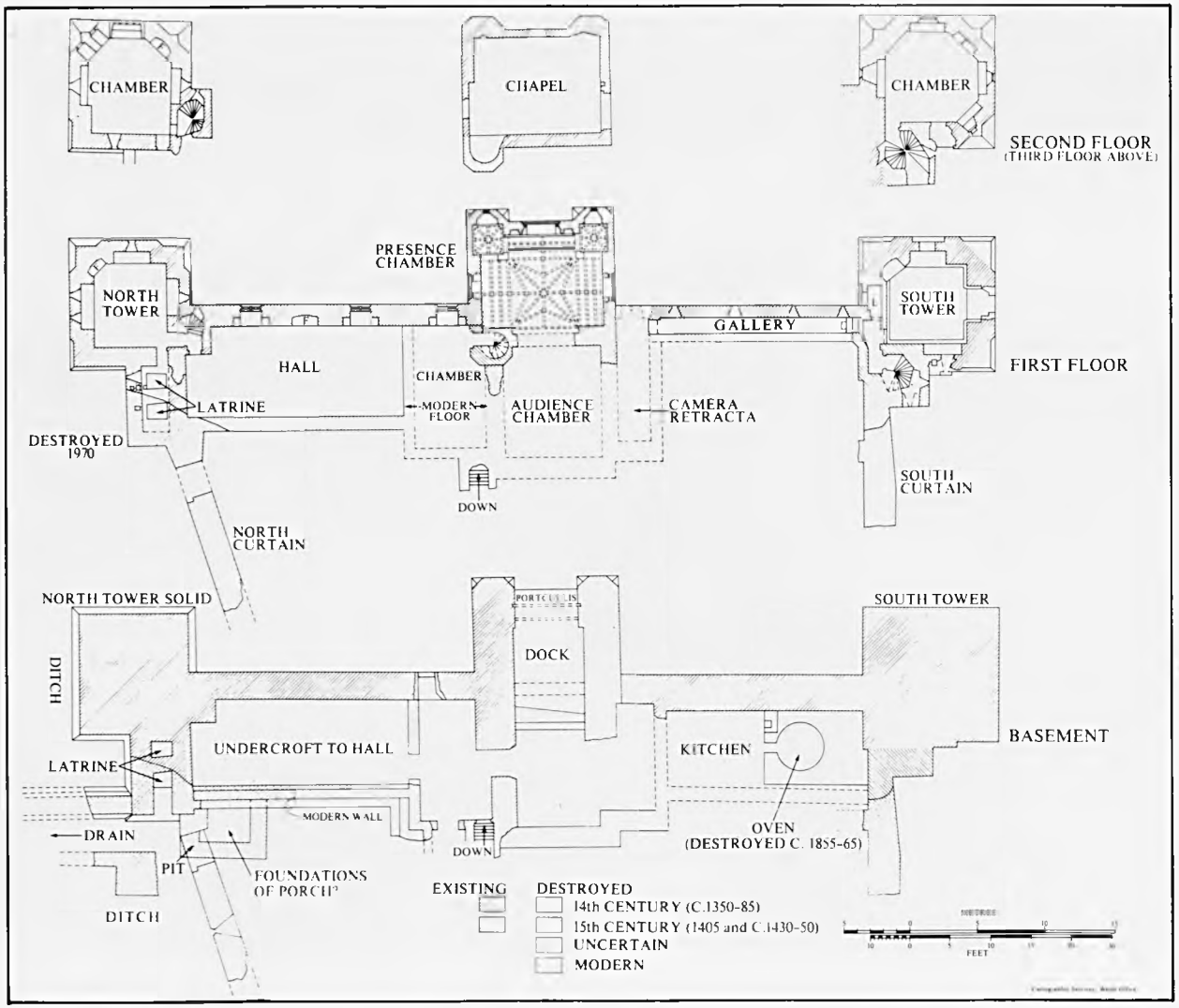


Fig. 2: General Plan of Newport Castle. (*J. K. Knight, and Cadw: Ancient Monuments Drawing Office*).

window openings. The window arch and rear arch both have chamfered ashlar surrounds with simple concave stops.

Originally, the hall would probably have been entered by way of a door close to its north-west angle and the rectangular foundation of what was probably a porch was found here during excavation, but the porch was later demolished and overlain by the north curtain, so that a new entry must have been provided. What little remains of the west wall of the hall is so altered, with forced openings and areas of modern brick re-facing (some of them removed during recent conservation work) that it is impossible to see what the entry arrangements were. There are traces of an opening mid-way along the west wall, opposite the fireplace, but what now remains of it is recent.

The North Tower is of two stories, above a solid ground level base. It is square at ground level, but its outer angles towards the river are chamfered off with spur-buttresses, so that its upper room is six-sided. Access to the ground floor was by way of a door with a much worn but original ashlar surround leading into a rectangular stair turret which projects into the north-east corner of the Hall. Both the rooms of the tower have window loops in arched recesses and corner fireplaces. The windows towards the river were later enlarged, the upper one now being a four-light mullioned window of the sixteenth century, perhaps part of the restorations recorded by Churchyard in 1587. A door from the ground floor room leads into a garderobe block at the north end of the Hall. Most of this was destroyed when the present road was built in 1970. It had two rectangular shafts (access to the western half of the latrine may have been from the service passage of the hall), discharging into large pits lined with red sandstone rubble walling which in turn discharged into the moat through a large drain. In contrast to the South Tower, the rooms of the North Tower are plain, though comfortably appointed, and they probably held the lodgings of an official of the household. Their proximity to the gatehouse, which often housed the constable or steward, and to the Exchequer Chamber on its upper floor, where the accounts of the lordship were stored and computed, suggests that it could have been the residence of the steward.

The North Curtain and Gate

When Octavius Morgan surveyed the castle in 1858, some 85 feet of the north curtain remained. By the time of the road widening in 1970 only a stump some 30 feet long was left, a six foot thick wall of coursed red sandstone rubble running at an angle of 80° to the main block, with the remains of a gate opening and a splayed loop, both much ruined. Of the gateway only a pit, presumably for a drawbridge, and part of the face of the west jamb survived. The pit was originally 1.40 metres (4ft 10ins) deep and measured 1.70 metres by 2.55 metres (5ft 6ins by 8ft 6ins), but the existing ground level was 75 cms below the original sill. It was faced in coursed Old Red Sandstone rubble. The door jamb, formed of blocks of Lias Limestone, was 1.03 metres wide and its face survived to a height of 1.35 metres. Two rectangular sockets for hanging a door remained. There were no architectural features to give any indication of date. The splayed window survived as a largely ruined opening at the present ground floor level. It was not shown in Morgan's plan, which does show a series of what appear to be fireplaces on the inside face of the curtain, and it was probably found and unblocked during the restoration work of the 1930's.

Excavation adjacent to the gate passage prior to its destruction in 1970 showed that it overlay the foundations of a rectangular structure on the north-west angle of the Hall. This measured 3.6 m by 3.2 m. internally (12 by 10.5 ft), with walls of solidly built red sandstone rubble 1.3 m to 1.5 m (4ft 3ins - 5 ft) thick. These foundations had probably been encountered earlier, in the 1930's, during the conservation of the overlying masonry. O'Neil believed that there had been a rectangular twelfth century keep on the site, basing this on 'the discovery of a thick wall below later medieval work, which has not yet been fully explored'.[38] There is no doubt, however, that the structure was contemporary with the hall, with which it was bonded at foundation level. Above this it had been demolished when the curtain was built over it. The much rebuilt west wall of the hall was on a differing line to the porch foundations, emphasising its essentially modern character. The area of the porch had been much disturbed and no internal flooring or other associated features survived.

The west face of the garderobe block survived to a height of some 2.5 metres above its foundation. The southern of the pair of garderobe pits consisted of a rectangular shaft some 1.3 metres square and 1.6 metres deep. Its black earth fill contained a group of 15th or early 16th Century pottery, including some six handled cups of Surrey White ('Tudor Green') ware, an associated brownware cup and a quantity of blue roofing slate of Cornish origin, which could be part of the boat load of 'Cornish tile' recorded in 1448, or (perhaps more probably) of a similar consignment. The shaft emptied to the west into a solidly built masonry drain 2.5 metres wide which ran northward into the castle moat. This was recorded during earth moving operations for the new road under difficult conditions.

The Water Gate and Central Tower

The room south of the hall has a modern concrete floor. There is now no trace of the wall dividing it from the hall and the present basement cross-wall supporting the end of the floor is entirely modern, so that the original width of the room is uncertain. The large window in its riverward wall matches those of the hall and suggests that the room was originally a chamber block at the upper end of the hall, but its function may have changed when the central tower was re-modelled in 1436-47. The spiral stair giving access to the room on the upper floor of the central tower, above the vault, was then inserted, with access from this room. This upper room was probably the castle chapel and the chamber may now have served as an anteroom giving access to the chapel and hall.

The central tower contains an impressive vaulted chamber set over a water-gate or vaulted dock. There was originally a further room, probably the chapel, above these. Only the bases of its windows survive, but a niche next to the base of the wide east window may have held a piscina, where the sacred vessels were washed after the Mass. On the western face of the tower, towards the town, a roof creasing and the stubs of side walls show that there would have been a further large room in this direction at ground and first floor level.

Internally, the vaulted dock or water gate is now choked with mud and its outer face closed with a modern wall to prevent flooding, but originally it would have formed, as the 1522 survey puts it 'a vawte or entre to receive into the said Castell a good vessell'. The outer arch towards the river was controlled by a portcullis operated from the room above. Towards the opposite end of the vault of the dock, a straight joint in the masonry shows how

the vault was extended when the tower was re-modelled in 1436-47, its western facade rebuilt and the first floor vault and its western arch inserted. In its original form, the central tower and dock belonged to the late 14th century castle of the Earls of Stafford and it may well be the Great Tower on whose upper part work was carried out in 1405.

Above the vaulted dock, the first floor chamber has a large window with pointed head, originally traceried, looking out over the river and smaller but similar windows in the end walls. Flanking the central window are a pair of recessed panels with cusped trefoil heads and contrived in the two eastern angles of the room are small square vaulted annexes, whose roofs originally had carved central bosses, now vanished. The chamber is roofed with a tierceron ribbed vault, whose central boss displays a double 'Tudor' rose (*Plate 4*). Some of the lesser bosses have foliage and masks. Double rose emblems were not unknown before the Tudors and there is therefore no need to assume that the boss necessarily belongs to the time of Jasper Tudor, lord of Newport from 1485 to 1495. On the west, a large and high arch with moulded surround led into the now vanished chamber whose creasing is visible on the outer west face of the tower. There are no traces of stone vaulting beneath this cresting, and the room must have had a timber roof.

The vaulted chamber is clearly a state apartment, where the lord of Newport sat on formal occasions. Suitors and others desiring audience may have been admitted to the western 'audience' chamber with its timber roof. The lord may have entered with his officials from the *camera retracta* to the south and taken his seat in the vaulted Great Chamber or Presence Chamber. The flanking vaulted annexes may have held officials, with their files and documents. The Dukes of Buckingham are known to have taken considerable personal interest in the administration and finance of their lands and the Presence Chamber would have provided a suitably impressive setting for the courts and hearings so important for the dignities and revenues of its lord.[40] South of the central tower was a long narrow room giving access between the audience chamber and the wall gallery leading to the south tower. This was probably the *camera retracta* of 1448, but very little of it is left. Its window opening is destroyed and filled with modern blocking, but the Buck print suggests that it may have matched those in the hall.

The Wall Gallery and South Tower

From the *camera retracta* next to the Presence Chamber in the central tower, a gallery in the thickness of the curtain wall led to the south tower. The inner wall of the gallery has gone, so that it is now open to the sky, but the toothing of its vaulted roof and four narrow window openings in its outer riverward wall remain. The 1732 Buck print shows the northern pair of slits as cross-oillets, though subsequent repairs have removed the evidence. The fourth window is shown as a narrow lancet, lighting the stairs down from the passageway into the ground floor of the South Tower, and one jamb of this lancet survives externally. There would presumably have been other window openings in the vanished inner wall, though these may have been obscured by the buildings along the inner face of the curtain. Above the gallery was a wall walk with corbelled-out and battlemented parapet, some of its merlons pierced by cross-oillets. This was already ruinous by 1732 and has now disappeared but its height can be seen from the scar it has left on the face of the central tower.

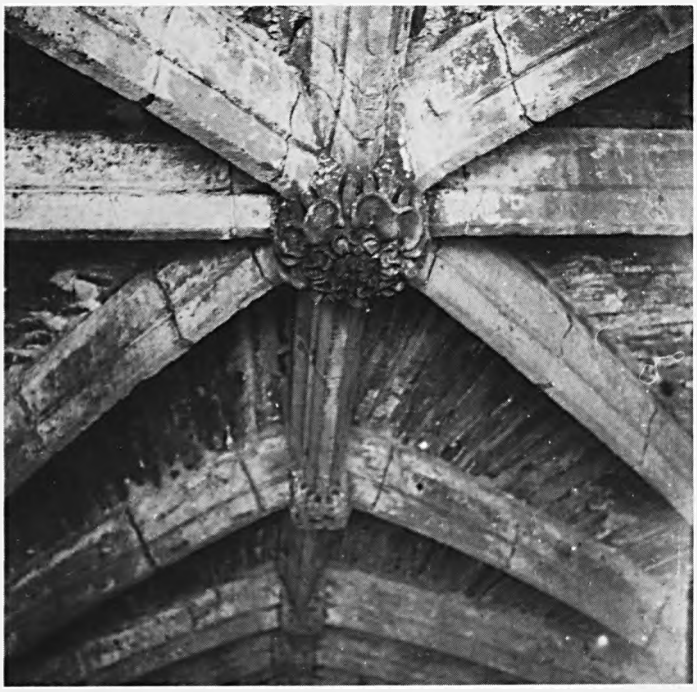


Plate 4: The vaulted roof of the Presence Chamber. (Cadw).

The South Tower, next to the bridge, is square at ground level, but semi-octagonal above this, three of its external angles being chamfered off with heavy pyramidal spur-buttresses. The fourth angle, next to the west curtain, has a square projecting turret housing the stairs to the upper floor. The tower is of three stories, each floor level being marked internally by an offset. The only original access was from the wall gallery, down a flight of steps leading to the ground-floor room. The present ground floor in the south face of the tower is a recent forced opening, cut through the embrasure of a small rectangular window shown in the 1732 print. At the foot of the stairs from the gallery, two doors lead off right and left to the stair turret and to a latrine. The corbelled roof of the latrine survives, but its outer face has gone and a gaping hole now looks out on the river mud. The ground floor room had three rectangular window openings set in arched recesses and a corner fireplace. All the angles, save that by the door, carry arched squinches chamfering off the interior corners so that the upper rooms are octagonal. The window opening towards the river was already ruinous by 1732 and has since been restored; that on the south has been removed by the forced door. The surround of the fireplace is also renewed.

At first floor level, the beam holes for two parallel joists survive. A large originally mullioned and transomed two-light window in a deep recess looks out over the river, its tracery was gone by 1732. The corner fireplace has a four-centered ashlar head with splayed out jambs decorated with recessed panels with cusped trefoil heads in rectangular frames, similar to the panels flanking the east window in the Presence Chamber. In the west wall, two doors lead to the stairs and to a latrine.

The upper floor of the tower has a similar pair of doors. A set of eight carved corbels are set in the angles of the room. Octavius Morgan recorded in 1885 that the room had once been equipped with an elaborate wooden ceiling of high quality. It is not clear whether this is inference from the corbels, or whether remains survived within the brewery, but the corbels would certainly have carried such a ceiling. There are three windows, matching those below, that on the south being of two lights under a semi-circular head and drip-mould. An angle fire-place has a renewed four-centered ashlar head. The masonry of the upper floor of the tower differs in some degree to that below and the first floor window on

the south-west side has a sill which cuts awkwardly into the edge of the spur buttress, again suggesting that the upper floor may have been added when the fourteenth-century castle was remodelled for Humphrey Stafford.

The Kitchen and Lodgings

The kitchen or bakehouse was situated inside the east curtain below the gallery leading from the Central Tower to the South Tower. Octavius Morgan's plan shows a circular stone oven some 12 ft (4 m) in diameter and surviving to a height of 3 ft (1 m) at the southern end of what was presumably a long rectangular building. This had been found some twenty or thirty years earlier, about 1855-65, and presumably recorded by Morgan at that time. It was set in a square masonry platform and had a small square rake pit to one side of its mouth. It seems to have been closely similar to the extant fourteenth-century kitchen and oven at Montgomery Castle.

Morgan's plan was measured up in October 1885 by himself and F. J. Mitchell, but seems to have incorporated an earlier survey by Morgan, for it shows the walls 'which actually existed in 1858', including a regularly spaced series of four recesses along the inner face of the north curtain. These were evidently fireplaces and Morgan restores them as a regular series of eight serving a long narrow range inside the curtain. Coxe shows five of the eight, together with another in the south west angle.[41] Late fireplaces of this type, belonging to two-storied half timbered ranges of lodgings, long vanished, are common enough in castles, as, locally, both Chepstow and Caldicot attest, but if Morgan's restoration of the series is correct, there may have been one of the long ranges of uniform lodgings, often as regular as a nineteenth-century terrace of houses, which characterise many houses of late medieval magnates. At the third Duke's Thornbury Castle across the Channel in Gloucestershire, built in 1511-21, much of the outer court is taken up with such lodgings and it would have been convenient for the Duke's household if equivalent accommodation had been available when they were at Newport.

The Gatehouse

It is not clear whether the structure which survived until 1970 was the main gatehouse. It may have been more imposing when complete than its scanty remains in its final phase suggested. The engraving by the Buck brothers of 1732 shows the rear of a rectangular gate tower in this position, and a traveller of 1805 described it as 'a grand gateway in the... gothic style',[42] though Coxe's plan of some years earlier (drawn by a professional surveyor) shows only a simple opening. Octavius Morgan, on the basis of a surviving stub of masonry, thought that the main gate was mid-way along the south curtain. He may have been right, but there is no other supporting evidence. We know something of the gatehouse from documentary evidence. It had a first floor room where the lordship accounts were audited and rents collected, with two rooms below flanking the gate passage, serving as a prison and a porter's and gaoler's lodge. On the rear was a projecting half timbered superstructure or 'garret', perhaps similar to the restored example on the rear of the near-contemporary great gatehouse at Caldicot.

The South Tower and Its Planning

In 1435, work was underway re-modelling one of the towers of the existing castle to provide a suite of private apartments for Humphrey Stafford, lord of Newport, and, within a few years, to be first Duke of Buckingham. The well appointed middle and upper floors of the tower were evidently for his use, with the ground floor (itself with its own fireplace and latrine) serving as an ante-chamber to the private rooms above. The Great Tower, housing a suite of private apartments for the lord of the castle or for his representative, already appears in the time of Edward Ist at Marten's Tower at Roger Bigod III's Chepstow or Caernarfon does the tower visually dominate the castle, though the Eagle alternative to the provision of a similar suite in a great gatehouse as at Harlech. Neither at Chepstow or Caernarvon does the tower visually dominate the castle, though the Eagle Tower, with its triple turrets, comes near it.

The South Tower at Newport is the almost exact contemporary of the Great Tower or 'Yellow Tower of Gwent' at Raglan, if the good and convincing seventeenth-century family tradition, which ascribed it to Sir William ap Thomas, with an implied date of 1432-1445, is correct.[43] The Raglan tower, with its hexagonal plan and elaborate French-style drawbridge arrangements is very difficult to parallel closely in this country, but is strikingly similar to some north French towers of the period. Bricquebec (Manche), a tall polygonal tower set on a revetted drum-like mound, presumably once moated, is a good example and, as if to emphasise the link with the captains of the Hundred Years War, it was in the hands of William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, from 1415 to 1429. A northern French influence, transmitted through the magnates who had fought in the French Wars does much to explain the renaissance of the Great Tower at the end of the Middle Ages, though the tradition of a *donjon* housing the main residential suite of the castle can be traced back through Flint or Chepstow, via the earlier round keeps, to the twelfth century.

Such a tower, whether a dominating keep (a 'Tower of homage' in the expressive Spanish phrase) or as an architectural *primus inter pares* as at Chepstow or Newport could serve other functions besides those of residence and expression of status. It could also serve as a safe deposit. When the Earl of Arundel died in 1376, the inventory of his possessions began: 'Firstly there was in the high tower of Arundel on the said day of his death in a coffer in divers bags, both gold and silver, the sum of 44,981 marks and 20 pence'.[44] Similarly the Great Tower at Raglan was, in the seventeenth century and very possibly before, 'the place where his Lordship did use to keep his treasure'.[45] Not all such treasures needed however to be of gold or silver. Carole Rawcliffe has drawn attention to the close personal interest of the Dukes of Buckingham in their archives and deed collections.[45] These, with their records of rents and debts, were a frequent target for rioters and significantly the second Duke's muniment room at Brecon Castle was set on fire by the king's Welsh supporters during his rising against Richard III. The third Duke, 'a hard headed landlord with a passion for litigation', put much work into the organisation of his business and estate papers, which included a list of debtors and creditors in his own hand. The normal day to day business would have been carried on, as was usual, on the upper floor of the gatehouse, the Exchequer Chamber over the gate of 1522, but if the current account (as it were) was kept there, the deposit account would be in the security of the Great Tower, with no doubt a coffer like that of the Earl of Arundel as well as muniment chests like those stored at Thornbury.

Was There a Town Wall?

When Leland visited Newport in the 1530's, he noted that there was 'a great stone gate by the bridge, at the este ende of the toun, another yn the midle of the toun, as in the high strete to passe thorough, and the 3rd at the west ende of the toun, as hard without it is the paroche church', but he 'marked not wheyther yt (i.e. the town) were waulled or no'.[47] Coxe, in 1799, found that there were still traces of the east and west gates. The pivots of the hinges of the east gate, near the bridge, were still visible in the wall of the castle.[48] The Buck print of 1732 shows an archway with pointed head and vegetation sprouting from its wall top at the end of the bridge (Plate 1) and this may be what Coxe and Leland are referring to, but 'near the bridge' could be a relative term and it is possible that there was a gate at the north-west angle of the castle, covering the road running north to Malpas. The gate in the centre of the town presumably stood on the line of the later Thomas Street, whilst that at the west end of the town stood on the site of the present Westgate Hotel, celebrated for its place in the story of the Chartist insurrection of November 1839.

The original West Gate was 'an ancient structure in the gothic style, built of red grit stone, with a shield charged with a chevron on each facade'.[49] As Coxe noted these were the arms of the Staffords *or, a chevron gules,* which he attributed to Ralph, Earl of Stafford (*obit.* 1372) though the gatehouse was more probably the work of his son, Hugh, Earl of Stafford, founder of the Augustinian Friary and grantor of the first Borough charter in 1385. By the mid-seventeenth century it was in use as the town clock tower or 'clock-house gate' and later served as the town prison.[50] It was taken down to make way for the hotel shortly before Coxe's visit, but made its last bow in 1884 when a small stone archway thought to be part of it was found during the demolition of the old Westgate Hotel. It was perhaps fitting that, since the original gateway may have reflected the pride of the burgesses of Newport in their new chartered status, this remnant was photographed with the mayor and aldermen standing in front of it.[51] One of the other town gates was immediately adjacent to St Lawrence's Chapel, usually thought to have stood somewhere near the castle. This could have been the East or hypothetical Malpas gate, but was more probably the Middle or Thomas Street gate.[52]

The Association wishes to express its appreciation of a grant made by Cadw in aid of publication of this article.

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NOTES

[1] B. L. *Vespasian A XIV* ff. 13-16, printed in *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae,* ed. A. W. Wade Evans (Cardiff, 1944) 172-193 (V.S.B.G. hereafter) There is similar material in the preface and prologue to Lifris's 'Life of Cadoc', contained in the composite text of the Vespasian *Vita Cadoci* (V.S.B.G. 24-29).

[2] Melville Richards, 'Ecclesiastical and Secular in Medieval Welsh settlements', *Studia Celtica* 3 (1968) 12.

[3] *Vita Gundleii* 15 (V.S.B.G. 188-191).

[4] Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales : A Poem* (1711 edition) 50; William Harris, 'Observations on the Julia Strata and on the Roman stations, forts and camps', *Archaeologia* 2 (1773) 7; William Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London 1801) 51.

[5] Octavius Morgan, 'Some account of the history and descent of the Lordship Marcher or County of Wentllwch', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1885, 261-2.

[6] *Brut y Tywysogion : Peniarth MS 20 Version,* ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), 68 Red Book of Hergest Version, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1955), 158-9.

[7] *Pipe Roll, 30 Henry II,* 59-60; 31 Henry II, 6 (*Publications of the Pipe Roll Society,* XXXIII - XXXIV (1912-13).

[8] The original grant is dated between Fitz Hamon's conquest of Glamorgan in 1093 and the death of Bishop Herewald of Llandaff in March 1104 (and the death of Abbot Serlo of Gloucester in the same year):— *Historia et Cartularium monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls Series, 33) ed. W. H. Hart Vol 2 (1865), no. DIX, p. 51; *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272,* ed. J. Conway Davies (Historical Society of the Church in Wales, 1948) vol 2, L. 13, p. 612. A variant Gloucester tradition associated the grant with King William Rufus (Hart, Vol I (1863) p 102, and Christopher Brooke, 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadoc of Llancarfan', in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), *Celt and Saxon, Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963), 260-262.). Dispute of 1156: Hart op. cit. Vol 2, DIX - DXV, DXVIII, pp. 52-57; Conway Davies op. cit. L 133 - L 140, pp. 647-650. On the dispute of 1186: Hart, Vol 2, no DIII, pp 48-9, Conway-Davies L 207, 669-670.

[9] *Pipe Roll 9 John,* 221; 'Et in operatione trium castellorum scilicet Caerdif, Norburo et Neth £58.18.6d.' Significantly those responsible for the work included Master William the Carpenter, *Pipe Roll 10 John,* 24 (Cardiff and Neath castles only); *Publications of the Pipe Roll Society* LX (1944) and LXI (1945); *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* I (Record Commission, 1833) 92.

[10] 1233: *Annals of Tewkesbury* (Rolls Series 36, *Annales Monastici* I (1864), 91. *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum* II (Record Commission, 1844), 499; for 1265 : *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Series 20, ed. Ab Ithel 1860) 102.

[11] *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1318-1323, 542; do. 402, 408; J. Conway Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', *Transactions Royal Historical Society,* 3rd Series : IX (1915), 21-64.

[12] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1333-37, 26-7 (March 1333); 1360-64, 340 (June 1362; 1364-68, 371 (February 1367). For a full account of the history and descent of the lordship of Newport in the later Middle Ages, see: A. C. Reeves, *Newport Lordship, 1317-1536* (publ. for Newport Museum and Art Gallery by University Microfilms International, 1979), 5-46. The Constables of Newport Castle are attested from 1316 onwards; for the office of Constable and its duties (which included the custody in the Castle of manorial reeves whose accounts were not in order) see Reeves, 67-8. Reeves (69) also describes the duties of the janitor or porter of the Castle. Reeves points out that 'the military aspect of administration in Newport lordship was in the hands of these two officials'.

[13] J. Clark, *A Pocket Guide through Monmouthshire* (London, 1839) 41-2: 'What is left of the castle consists of several massive towers with gothic doorways and windows and a few traces of the baronial hall and state apartments. It is in figure a right angled parallelogram, measuring about 46 yards by 32. . . towards the town it has only a common wall without any flanks of defences. Part of the building is now converted into a beer and porter brewery'. An earlier traveller had made the same point: 'It is little more towards the town than a strong plain wall void of buttress' (Rev. J. Evans, *Letters Written During A Tour through South Wales in 1803,* London, 1804, 65).

[14] *Chronicon Adae de Usk* (ed. E. Maunde Thompson, London, 1904) 84, 255; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem,* 4 Henry IV, No. 41. Reeves (29, 138-9) considers that the Castle was destroyed by Glyn Dŵr, but shows (43, n.82) that the date given by Adam of Usk (who was in Rome at the time) is clearly wrong. The evidence for the destruction of the Castle is inconclusive.

[15] *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry IV, 1401-1405,* 296-7. Cardiff and Newport were to be provisioned from Bristol; Brecon, Hay, Cefnllys, Builth, Clifford and Castell Dinas from Worcester; Carmarthen, Kidwelly, Swansea and Kilkenny (presumably Carreg Cennen) from Somerset; Aberystwyth, Cardigan and Newcastle Emlyn from Devon. From the prodigious quantities of salted hake involved, this was the equivalent for a fifteenth century army of the modern bully beef. *Calendar of Close Rolls,* (Henry IV, Pt. 2, iii. This lists twenty five castles in private hands, supplementing the list of fifteen castles in royal hands which were to be provisioned.

[16] *Chronicon Adae de Usk,* op. cit. 103.

[17] P.R.O. (E)101, 487/15; earlier £143-18-0 had been spent on repairs (Reeves, 139, citing P.R.O. E 136, 80/3 of 1403-05). Reeves also notes the overall cost (£162-1-0) from the receiver's account for 1405-06 (148, n.52, citing P.R.O. SC 6, 924/18, m.l).

[18] J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower* (Oxford, 1931) 104.

[19] On the career of Humphrey Stafford: see Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham* (Cambridge University Press, 1978 : Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 3rd series, vol II), 19-27.

[20] Glamorgan County Record Office D/DC. M/45.

[21] On Dundry stone see F. J. North, *The Stones of Llandaff Cathedral* (Cardiff 1957) 73-80, and Dudley Waterman, 'Somersetshire and other foreign building stones in Medieval Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 33 (1970) 63-75.

[22] Reeves, 139 (citing NLW, *Tredegar Park MS* 146, f.9); P.R.O. SC 6, 924/23 (printed in T. B. Pugh, *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536* (Cardiff, 1963) 227-31.

[23] E. M. Jope and G. C. Dunning, 'The use of blue slate for roofing in medieval England', *Antiquaries Journal* 34 (1954) 209-17. A hundred thousand Devon slates were among the building stones at Thornbury Castle on the fall of the third Duke of Buckingham in 1521: A. D. K. Hawkyard, 'Thornbury Castle', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc.* 95 (1977), 53. In 1449-50 a further £4-4-11 was spent, perhaps marking the completion of the *camera retracta* (Reeves, 141, citing Staffs. R. O. D 641/1/2/20.

[24] P.R.O. SC 6, 924/24; Staffs. R. O. D 641/1/2/22 (cited Reeves, 141).

[25] P.R.O. SC 6, 924/25.

[26] On the second and third dukes, see Rawcliffe, op. cit. n.19, 28-44.

[27] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII,* Vol. 3, Pt. I (1519-23) 507.

[28] P.R.O. C 3, 72/22, cited by Brynmor Pierce Jones, *From Elizabeth 1st to Victoria : Newport, Monmouthshire, 1550-1850* (Newport, 1957) 2.

[29] Thomas Churchyard, *The Worthines of Wales, A Poem* (1587; edn. of 1776), 50; NLW, Tredegar Park MSS 62/56 (1574): 'Two burgages adjoining the ditch of the castle of Newport and also two parts of the said ditch'; do. 67/399 (1658) lease of house and garden : 'also all the moat and waste lands lying without the walls round about the castle of Newport'.

[30] *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1885, 362. Catalogue of Exhibition at the Newport Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association: 'Inscribed stone 1632 from wall of Newport Castle 1874. Exhibited by C. Kirby'.

[31] Ronald Hutton *The Royalist War Effort 1642-1646* (London, 1982), 14-15, citing *Journals of the House of Commons* Vol 2, 503, 527, 545, 548-9, 575; and *Journals of the House of Lords,* Vol 5, 57-8. In the event, the magazine was moved to Caerleon, perhaps because the castle at Newport was thought too ruinous to be secure.

[32] Richard Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War,* ed. C. E. Long (Camden Society, 1859) 206.

[33] NLW, *Tredegar MSS* 67/400-401, letter from Roger Goodman of Newport to Lord Herbert of Chirbury; do. 402, accounts of rents claimed by Mr Burgh; do. 404-5, case re claims of Mr Burgh.

[34] Cardiff Library, *Bute Mss* 19/72, 49-54; Brynmor Pierce Jones, *From Elizabeth 1st to Victoria : Newport, Monmouthshire 1550-1850* (Newport 1957) 112.

[35] Letter from W. A. Gunn (curator, Newport Museum) to B. H. St J. O'Neill, 21 January 1939, quoting information from Mr Searle's son, a Newport solicitor — in CADW archives, Cardiff.

[36] *Monmouthshire Merlin,* 18; 27 September 1845.

[37] Octavius Morgan, 'Some account of the history and descent of the Lordship, Manor or County of Wentllwch', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1885, 257-70.

[38] B. H. St J. O'Neill in V. W. Nash Williams (ed), *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology* (Centenary volume of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1946), 134 and n. 4.

[39] It is hoped to publish this material elsewhere. I owe the identification of the slate as Cornish to Mr Stephen Locke, sometime assistant curator of Newport Museum. The white inclusions are apparently characteristic. There is a Cornish decorated micaceous ridge tile from Tintern Abbey (site museum: first identified by Mr Trevor Miles).

[40] Carole Rawcliffe has noted that the first Duke of Buckingham made regular circuits of his property, touring his estates and executing official business. Each of his receiverships had at least one large residence capable of accommodating him and his retinue (op. cit. p. 66). This is undoubtably the context of his rebuilding of Newport Castle. She also notes (p. 154) events at Newport such as the annual audit of 1425 when Duke Humphrey and his Council were present, his confirmation of the borough charters in 1427 and an official enquiry (and the collection of lapsed dues) in 1433.

[41] D. Morgan, Op. cit in n. 37; W. Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (1801), plan opp. p. 49 (our fig 2).

[42] E. Donovan, *Descriptive Excursions through South Wales and Monmouthshire* (London, 1805) 195.

[43] A. J. Taylor *Raglan Castle, Official Guidebook* (H.M. S.O. 1950) 8. The original source of the name 'Sir William Thomas, his Tower', is Sir Thomas Herbert of Tintern's manuscript family history, *Herbertorum Prosapia* (Cardiff Public Library MS 5. 7, folio 50). For a contrary view of the date of Raglan, see Anthony Emery, 'The Development of Raglan Castle and Keeps in Late Medieval England', *Archaeological Journal* 132 (1975) 151-186.

[44] B. L. Harl. 4840. folio 393, quoted K. B. Mc Farlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford 1974) 91.

[45] A. J. Taylor, *Raglan Castle, Official Guidebook* 47.

[46] Carole Rawcliffe, 'A Tudor Nobleman as Archivist : The Papers of Edward, third Duke of Buckingham', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 5, no. 5 (April 1976) 294-300. See also her comments on the role of the castles as safe deposits and for the collection of revenues from the Stafford estates. op. cit, in n. 19, 47-65. She notes that 'In Wales, where arrears rose alarmingly and often went unpaid for years, a period of incarceration in Newport or Brecon castles seemed the obvious deterrent' (p. 48).

[47] Leland, *Itinerary in Wales* ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (London, 1906) 14, 45.

[48] William Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801), 48.

[49] Coxe, loc. cit.

[50] National Library of Wales, *Tredegar Park MSS* Box 29/15: 'The highway leading from the clock house gate towards the church of St Woolos' (1651); Box 29/21; 'The highway from the cross of Newport to the clocktower there' (1654-5).

[51] *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11th July 1884.

[52] National Library of Wales, *Tredegar Park MSS* Box 29/11: 'A garden commonly called St Lawrence's Churchyard with a gateway belonging to the town of Newport (1671); do. Box 62/83 (1604) and 7/10 (1668): 'A parcel of land called St Lawrence's Chapel in Newport'.

GWENT SEALS: II

Heraldic Seals in the Gwent Record Office

By MICHAEL SIDDONS

In recent years studies have been published of certain classes of Welsh seals. These include a catalogue of Welsh ecclesiastical seals by the Rev Dr D. H. Williams,[1] and the present writer's studies of Welsh equestrian seals[2] and of Welsh seals in Paris.[3] Dr Williams is also the author of *Welsh History through Seals,*[4] an illustrated introduction to the subject of seals in general and to Welsh seals in particular. Some Welsh seals have been noted in the catalogues of seals in the British Museum[5] and the Public Record Office,[6] and in the catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Charters[7] as well as in G. T. Clark's *Cartae.*[8] It is desirable that as many seals should be catalogued as possible, since they are, being nearly all made of wax, by nature fragile, and many of those which have survived are already damaged and subject to further deterioration.

Heraldic seals are an important primary source for the study of heraldry, and tell us much about heraldic practice in the past. They often give us earlier and more reliable information than we can obtain elsewhere. There are, however, certain pitfalls. For example, a man might borrow a seal if he did not have one. If a deed is executed by several persons, it is not always certain whose is the seal appended. Sometimes several unrelated persons used the same seal for convenience, particularly from the sixteenth century on when respect for the authority of seals diminished.

The present article comprises a list of the heraldic seals in the Gwent Record Office, and includes as far as possible all those dating from before the early eighteenth century. I wish to thank the staff of that Record Office for their patience and help.

The descriptions of the seals follow as far as possible the suggested form in *A Guide to seals in the Public Record Office.*[9] Unless otherwise stated seals are of wax, from a single matrix, and attached by a single parchment tag; shields are pointed and placed upright. In order to save space, I have included no discussion of the coats of arms found, nor reference to the pedigrees of the families represented. For most of those from the period before 1630 these will be found in volume II of my forthcoming work, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry.*[10]

The following have kindly granted permission to reproduce photographs of seals:
The Gwent County Council: Nos. 22(g), 55.
R. Hanbury-Tenison, Esq., Clytha Park: Nos. 47, 57(1).
R. A. E. Herbert, Esq., Llanover: No. 57(2).

NOTES

[1] D. H. Williams, 'Catalogue of Welsh Ecclesiastical Seals as known down to A.D. 1600', Part I, 'Episcopal Seals', *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* 1984, pp. 100-35; Part II, 'Seals of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction', *ibid.,* 1985, pp. 162-89; Part III, 'Capitular Seals', *ibid.,* 1986, pp. 154-62; Part IV, 'Seals of Cistercian Monasteries', *ibid.,* 1987, pp. 138-55; Part V, 'Other Monastic Seals', *ibid.,* 1988, pp. 119-134; Part VI, 'Personal Seals with Religious Devices', *ibid.* 1990, pp. 67-77.

[2] Michael Powell Siddons, 'Welsh Equestrian Seals', *National Library of Wales Journal,* vol. XXIII (1984), pp. 292-318.

[3] Michael Siddons, 'Welsh Seals in Paris', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies,* vol. XXIX (1981), pp. 531-44; vol. XXXII (1985), pp. 234-40; and vol. XXXVI (1989), pp. 185-6.

[4] D. H. Williams, *Welsh History Through Seals* (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 1982; Welsh edn., 1984).
[5] W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of the Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (6 vols., London, 1887-1900); A. B. Tonnochy, *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum* (London, 1952).
[6] Roger Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office, Personal Seals* I, London, 1978, II, 1981; *Monastic Seals* I (London, 1986).
[7] W. de Gray Birch, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Manuscripts* (London, 1893-1904).
[8] G. T. Clark, *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent* (2nd edition, 6 vols., Cardiff, 1910).
[9] 2nd edition, London, 1968.
[10] Michael Powell Siddons, *The Development of Welsh Heraldry* (in the press), hereafter referred to as *DWH*.

Abbreviations:
Lom. : Lombardic Capitals
Bl. : Black Letter Script
Ren. : Renaissance Capitals
circ. : circular
diam. : diameter

Catalogue

1. **AP ADAM, John,** lord of Llanllywel, lordship of Usk.

Red, imperfect, worn, circ., 30 mm. diam.
Shield couché, with arms: a cross; surmounted by helm and mantling, and crest or panache; sprays of plants in background, the whole in gothic tracery.
SIGILLVM . . . M (Lom.)
St James the Apostle, April ( ) Henry V (in 1413-22) *ref:* D 43/5231 (ill. *DWH*, fig. 28).

2. **BARRY, Thomas** and **Richard,** sons of **William,** of Tregate, Llanrothal.

Red, applied, good impression, oval, 16 × 15 mm.
Shield of arms: two bars paly of six, *Barry,* impaling: a bend between two crosses crosslet; surmounted by the initials **W B** (the seal is that of the father).
20 June 1562 Signatures. *refs:* D 361/E/1/118/32 (Thomas), 33 (Richard).

3. **BAYLEY, Elizabeth,** spinster, of the City of Oxford.

Red-brown, good impression but imperfect, circ., 19 mm. diam.
Shield, point lost, arms: three birds volant, a crescent in centre chief; surmounted by a helm and mantling, crest lost.
22 Feb. 1687 *ref:* D 8/1/676.

4. **BOWLERS, Sir Thomas,** lord of Portskewett.

Red-brown, complete, fair but worn, lozenge-shaped, 15 × 15 mm., in beaded rim.
No shield; a pair of wings conjoined in lure, surmounted by the letter **b**. *?* a letter **t** below.
8 March 1502 *ref:* D 501/313.

5. **BRIDGEMAN, Charles,** of Little Dean, Glos.

Brown ochre, very worn, oval, 12 × 15 mm., on a tie.
Shield of arms, indistinct: *?* per pale, 1. Wavy nebuly, 2. Wavy nebuly, *?* a wolf's head in chief.
2 March 1627 *ref:* D 583/160.

6. **DANIEL, Richard,** of the Middle Temple; **George Newton,** of St Clement Danes, tailor, and **William Herbert,** of London, all used the same seal.

Red, applied to tag, complete, good impression, oval, 15 × 12 mm., beading.
Shield of arms: a lion rampant in an orle of crosses crosslet.
6 Jan. 1685 All signed. *ref:* D 2222, box 26.

7. **DAVID THOMAS AB IEUAN AP TRAHAEARN,** of Gelli-gaer, Mid-Glam., yeoman.

Red, imperfect, worn, central crack, shield-shaped seal, no border.
Tournament shield, 14 × 12 mm., with arms: three chevronnels (perhaps for *Iestyn ap Gwrgan*).
25 June 1552 *ref:* D 8/1/1832.

8. **DODD, Thomas,** citizen and grocer of London.

Brown, imperfect, worn, oval, 15 × 12 mm., beaded border, on a tie.
Shield, pointed, with arms: a chevron (*?* barry) between three (*?* lions' faces); surmounted by helm, crest lost.
1 April 1589 *ref:* D 583/58.

9. **EDMUND WILLIAM JENKIN,** of Panteg, yeoman.

(1) Dark brown, applied, imperfect, oval, 17 × 14 mm.
Shield of arms: two bendlets and in sinister chief a martlet (probably a second martlet lost—see (2) below).
26 July 1684 Signature: *Edmund William* *ref:* D 8/1/114.

(2) (a) Red brown, applied, good impression, circ., 14 mm. diam., within beading.
Shield, scalloped at top, squat at point, with arms: two bends between two martlets.
12 April 1698 Signature: *Edmund William* *ref:* D 8/1/120.

(b) Same, 11 April 1698. *ref:* D 8/1/111.

(c) Same, used with mark of David Richard. 15 March 1697 *ref:* D 8/1/115.

ENGLAND, kings of:

Only fragments remain of most of these royal seals.

10. **CHARLES I.**

Great Seal; light-brown, from double matrix, single tag, approx. two-thirds of impression survives. Good impression, but worn. Orig. circ., diam. 155 mm.
Obverse: the king in majesty, enthroned under a canopy, crowned and holding sceptre; on his right hand a shield of arms: qu. 1. and 4. qu. *England* and *France modern,* 2. *Scotland,* 3. *Ireland*; surrounded by the Garter and surmounted by the royal crown; beneath this a lion sejant, and a pennon with a cross patty fitchy, *Cadwaladr.*
. . . **ANGLIAE ET HIBERNIAE REX FIDEI DEFENSOR** (Ren.)

Reverse: equestrian; the king in armour, crowned and bearing a shield with the same arms, and a sword; beneath his horse a greyhound courant, and tufts of plants (*?* thistles).
. . . **DEI GRATIA ANGLIAE SCOTIAE. . .** (Ren.)
10 Feb. 1626 *ref:* D 43/4792.

11. **CHARLES II.**

Great Seal; black, fragmented, poor impression; circ., *c.* 120-30 mm. when complete.
28 Nov. 1682 *ref:* D 2222, box 1.

12. **GEORGE (I)**

? Seal for the Principality of Wales

Black, from double matrix, fragment only, less than one-quarter of a circular seal, *c.* 130 mm. diam. when complete; imagery lacking.

Obverse: . . . **ORGIV. . . DE. G...MA. . .** (Ren.)
Reverse: . . . **PRINCEPS. . . O** (Ren.)
At top of parchment, the royal arms: Stuart, not Hanover; mention of manor of Sudbrook; by the tag: *Monmouth,* Signed: *Owyn.*
6 July 6th year (George I) (1720). *ref:* D 2222, box 2.

13. **GODWIN, Francis** (1562-1633), **Bishop of Llandaff** (1601-17)

Brown, fragment only of the episcopal seal, oval 60 × 50 mm., with, on reverse, two impressions of a small counter-seal, oval, 12 × 10 mm., imperfect, both worn.
Counter-seal has upright shield of arms: *?* qu. 1. and 4. three objects, arranged two and one; 2. *?* a lion rampant, 3. a saltire; crest, a beast standing.
17 Feb. 1610 *ref:* D 583/142.

14. **GRIFFITH, Charles,** of (G)lanyrafon, Llanfrechfa.

One of the following was probably borrowed:

(1) Black, applied, damage to border, circ., 15 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three birds close; crest: a similar bird; helm and mantling.
5 April 1670 Signature. *ref:* D 8/1/76.

(2) Red-brown, applied, imperfect, circ., 15 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: *?* three covered cups; helmet and mantling, but no crest seen.
5 April 1670. Signature. *ref:* D 8/1/77.

15. **GWILLIM, Moore,** of Monmouth.

Dark brown, worn, circ., 17 mm. diam., poor impression, surrounded by beading.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three goats' heads erased.
6 June 1611. *ref:* D 43/5160.

16. **HACKETT, John,** of Kettleby, Leics.

Brown, worn, poor impression, complete, circ., 15 mm. diam., on a tie.
Shield of arms: Per pale, 1. A bend, *?* other charges; 2. on a bend three *?* stags heads cabossed.
26 Sept. 1678 Signature: *Jo: Hack.* *ref:* D 2222, box 26.

17. **HERBERT, Charles,** of Troy, Monmouth.

Red/brown, complete, originally good impression, worn, oval, 14 × 12 mm., surrounded by beading.
Ornate shield charged with: a beast (*?* a calf) passant, and in chief decoration.
1 Dec. 1548 Signature. *ref:* D 583/99.

18. **HERBERT, William,** of London—see under **Daniel, Richard,** above.

19. **HUGHES, Nicholas,** of Furnival's Inn.

Red, applied, imperfect, poor impression, circ., *c.* 17 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis.
18 March 1671. Signature. *ref:* D 43/5741.

20. **HUNTLEY, Hugh.**

(1) Red, complete, circ., 10 mm. diam., fair impression, beading. No shield; a stag's head couped, a pheon between the attires, crest of *Huntley.*
Whitsun (20 May) 1453 *ref:* D 2/31.

(2) Red-brown, complete, circ., 13 mm. diam., worn, originally good impression, beading.
No shield; a stag's head couped, a *hunt*ing horn between the attires. Legend on a ribbon:
HU. . . (Lom.)
31 March 1489 *ref:* D 760/256.

21. (*?* **HUNTLEY), Peter.**

Red, imperfect, some damage of edge, circ., 15 mm. diam.
No shield; a stag's head couped, within beading; legend above the head:
ptri hun. . . (Bl.)
Seal loose in box D 43/5501-5609, seen on previous visit, but not found in 1983 and 1989.

22. **HUNTLEY, Thomas** (mid 15th C.), of Treowen. His seal was used by his descendants at Treowen. See (g) for description.

(a) Red, very worn.
Signature: *J. Thomas* (John Thomas David Jenkin, lord of Hendreobeth).
17 Sept. 1526 *ref:* D 43/5122.

(b) Red, fragment.
7 Aug. 1527 John Thomas David ap Jenkin *ref:* D 43/5176.

(c) Light brown, good impression, slightly damaged.
Same date with signature. *ref:* D 43/5124.

(d) Badly damaged.
Same date. *ref:* D 43/5239.

(e,f) Light brown, good impressions.
Same date. *ref:* D 583/65, 66.

(g) Ochre, good impression, slightly damaged, circ., 23 mm., diam.
Shield couché, arms: on a chevron between three stags' heads cabossed, three hunting horns; surmounted by helm and mantling; crest: a stag's head cabossed, a hunting horn between the attires; surrounded by lattice tracery.
S. THOME (H)UNTELEY (Lom.)
Used by William John Thomas of Treowen.
13 Aug. 1563 Signature. *ref:* D 43/5123.

(h) Fragment only of worn impression.
Used by John Jones of Treowen.
31 Oct. 1554 Signature. *ref:* D 583/115.

(i) ? Only centre of seal used.
Used by John Jones of Treowen.
28 April 1570 *ref:* D 43/5132.

23. **IORWERTH AP DAFYDD AP LLYWELYN AB IORWERTH** of Trevethin.

Brown ochre, friable, good impression, complete, circ., 12 mm. diam., beading.
Tournament shield of arms: on a chevron between three ? signet rings or buckles, three ? mullets.
13 Sept. 1477 Second name, second seal. *ref:* D 8A/133.

24. **JOHN APREES** of Monmouth.

Red, badly imperfect, worn, orig. circ., *c.* 20 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three crescents; legend mostly lost:
. . . A . . . AT (Lom.)
On a release by Joan, relict of Edward Fuystier of Monmouth, and John ap Rees. This is second seal; was it really his? The Lombardic Capitals of the legend suggest not.
25 Dec. 1460 *ref.* D 43/5052.

25. **JOHN WILLIAM IEUAN** of Llangatwg Feibion Afel.

Light brown, good impression, complete, circ., 18 mm. diam.
Shield with arms crudely done: a lion rampant.
WILLIAM VAVGHAN (Ren.)
28 June 1584 (23 Eliz. (1581) in text, 1584 at end). *ref:* D 583/113.

26. **JONES, James,** attorney, of Caerleon.

Red, applied, unbroken, oval, 18 × 15 mm., beading.
Shield 10 × 8 mm., with arms: a fess between three boys' heads couped at the neck, each with a serpent around the neck (variant of arms attributed to *Moreiddig Warwyn*); surmounted by helm, mantling and crest (indistinct): a similar boy's head.
24 Feb. 1670 Signature. *ref.* D 43/5762.

27. **JONES, Philip,** of Llanarth, citizen and grocer of London.

(1) Brown, complete, fair impression, oval, *c.* 16 × 13 mm., surround squashed.
Ornate shield of arms: a hunting horn between three stags' heads cabossed (a variant of *Huntley*); surmounted by the initials **P I.**
5 July 1591 Signature. *ref:* D 583/93 (second seal).

(2) Red-brown, imperfect at left lower side, slightly squashed at top, circ., *c.* 13 mm. diam., beading.
Same device, but not so distinct; signature, *'lately citizen of the city of London'.*
1 Dec. 1599 *ref:* D 583/73.

28. **JONES, Priscilla,** widow, of Trevethin, and **Christopher Jones,** her son, Pharmacopola (D 8/1/174 of 1713). Same seal used by both.

Red-brown, applied, oval, 14 × 11 mm., that of Priscilla good impression, that of Christopher squashed in one corner, within a rim border.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. three crescents, 2. and 3. three mullets; the initials **I K** above the shield.
19 April 1723 Both signed. *ref:* D 8/1/517.

29. **KEMEYS, Roger,** of Newport.

Red, very worn, poor impression, incomplete bottom left, circ., 22 mm., diam.
Primitive shield of arms: quarterly, 1. indistinct, 2. and 3. three birds' heads, 4. *?* paly of twelve; crest: a *?* hedgehog or *?* a boar; supporters, *sin.* a *?* dragon, *dext. ?* twisted stems.
10 Nov. 1613 Signature: *R Kemes* *ref:* D 43/5171.

30. **KEMEYS, Thomas,** lord of Caerwent.

Dark red-brown, complete, fair impression, slightly squashed top left, crack right side, circ., 15 mm. diam., beading.
Shield of arms: a chevron between in chief two pheons, points up, and in base a cinquefoil; two or three illegible letters in background.
20 June 1464 *ref:* D 501/234 (ill. in *Welsh History through Seals,* fig. 18).

31. **LANCASTER, Duchy of.**

Pale red-brown, from double matrix, imperfect, all border lost, very worn, originally circ., *c.* 70 mm. diam.
Obverse: Equestrian, rider with sword in outstretched right hand, shield held by left hand, arms: *England* with a label of three points; horse wears trapper, background fretty with pierced mullets in spaces.
Reverse: shield of arms: *England* with a label of three points.
1 April 1630 *ref:* D 583/158.

32. **LEWIS, Thomas,** of St Pierre.

This seal is on a feoffment by William Charitie alias *Pynner of Chepstow, merchant, to the above Thomas Lewis. Although accompanied by the signature of* William Charitie, *it is probably the seal of Thomas Lewis.*
Black, circ., 19 mm. diam., within beading; rim squashed, worn impression.
Shield, 11 × 8 mm., with arms: a gryphon segreant; legend illegible.
28 Sept. 1588 Signature (see above) *ref:* D 501/744.

33. **LEWIS, William,** son and heir of Henry Lewis of St Pierre.

Red-brown, complete, worn, fair impression, circ., 12 mm. diam.
No shield, a gryphon passant, wings raised, within beading.
16 May 1570 Signature. *ref:* D 501/882.

34. **MATHEW, Edmond,** of Cardiff.

Ochre, twin tag, complete, worn, circ., 17 mm. diam.
Rounded shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. a lion rampant *(Mathew of Radur, etc.),* 2. *?* a beast statant, 3. three chevrons *(Iestyn ap Gwrgan);* surmounted by mantling, helm and crest worn.
10 June 1591 Signature. *ref:* D 8/1/1921.

35. **MORGAN, Edward,** of Llantarnam.

Black, complete, worn, slightly squashed at bottom right, circ., 15 mm. diam., beading.
Shield, rounded at bottom, with arms: three bulls' heads cabossed *(Bledri ap Cydifor),* a roundel in centre for difference.
24 May 1598 Signature. *ref:* D 43/5696.

36. **MORGAN, Francis** and **George,** of Chepstow, 1722—see under **Yeamans** below.

37. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Arxton, Herefs.

(1) Brown, fragment, now detached, good impression; orig. circ., *c.* 17 mm. diam.
Upper sinister corner of shield, one (*?* of three) wolves' heads couped; surmounted by the initials **T M,** surrounded by beading.
31 Jan. 1559 *ref.* D 8/1/635.

(2) (a) Red ochre, complete, circ., 16 mm. diam., good impression.
Rounded shield, 9 × 7 mm., with arms: per pale, three lions rampant *(Herbert),* a crescent in centre for difference; surmounted by the initials **I W** (!).
26 July 1573 Signature: *per me Thomam Morgan* *ref:* D 8/1/1845.

(b) perhaps same, ochre, fragment only.
27 July 1573 Signature as before. *ref:* D 8/1/1888.

38. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Lincoln's Inn (probably of the Tredegar family).

Red, applied, circ., 15 mm. diam., good impression.
No shield; on a wreath, a stag's head, double-horned.
25 April 1722 Signature. *ref:* D 2222/box 26.

39. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Llanfair Cilgoed.

(a) Light brown, complete, worn, oval, 18 × 15 mm., beading.
Shield, 11 × 9 mm., with arms: a chevron between three spear-heads *(Bleddyn ap Maenyrch)*; no charges seen on chevron.
18 Feb. 1593 Signature. *ref:* D 10/695.

(b) Red-brown, incomplete, most of border lost, less good impression, partly squashed.
1 July 1584 Signature. *ref:* D 10/698.

40. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Machen.

Light brown, complete, fair impression, worn, circ., 22 mm. diam., beading.
Shield of arms: three bulls' heads cabossed *(Bledri ap Cydifor)*; surmounted by the initials: **T M**; at the sides the year: **15 85.**
22 June 1586 Signature. *ref:* ref: D 583/64.

41. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Tredegar (probably the same as last).

Brown ochre, incomplete at bottom, very worn, circ., 24 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: three bulls' heads cabossed *(Bledri ap Cydifor)*; surmounted by the initials: **T M**; figure **15** seen at dexter side of shield.
5 July 1591 Signature. *ref:* D 583/93 (first seal). *Cf.* last entry.

42. **MORGAN, Thomas,** of Tredegar.

Red, applied to parchment, good impression, almost complete, a little lost at bottom left, oval, 18 × 15 mm.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. a gryphon segreant *(Morgan),* 2. A lion rampant *(Cydifor Fawr),* 3. three bulls' heads cabossed *(Bledri ap Cydifor),* 4. a tree (no root seen), at its foot a boar *(Llwch Llawenfawr)*; surmounted by helm and mantling, crest: a stag's head.
30 June 1687 Signature. *ref:* D 43/5499.

43. **MORGAN, William,** of Pen-coed.

Black, complete, poor impression, circ., 12 mm. diam.
No shield; a gryphon segreant, surrounded by beading.
16 March 1567 Signature. *ref:* D 43/4004.

44. **NEWTON, George,** of St Clement Danes, tailor—see under **Richard Daniel** above.

45. **NICHOLAS, Andrew,** of Middle Temple, brother of Philip Nicholas of Llansoy.

Red, applied, complete, good impression except at top.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three birds close, and a canton; surmounted by helm and crest (indistinct).
12 June 1669 Signature. *ref:* D 43/4868.

46. **POWELL, William,** of Perth-hir, Llandeilo Bertholau.

Ochre, complete, orig. good impression, slightly squashed, worn, circ., 17 mm. diam., beading, multiple tags from same attachment.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three lions rampant (perhaps intended as a variant of *Herbert*); shield flanked by the initials **W P.**
22 Dec. 1609 Signature. *ref:* D 760/256.

47. **PRICE, Christopher,** of Llan-ffwyst, Doctor of Medicine.

Red-brown, applied, circ., 17 mm., diam., within beading.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three spear-heads, points up (probably *Bleddyn ap Maenyrch*); helm and mantling; crest: an arm in armour, bent at the elbow, hand holding a spear.
14 Nov. 1693 Signature. *ref:* D 8/1/155.

48. **PROBERT, Christopher, of Pant-glas (bond by John Watson to him).**
Brown ochre, nearly complete, part lost on right side, worn, circ., 18 mm. diam., beading, on a tie.
No shield; a bird close, standing in a fetterlock (crest of *Probert*).
9 May 1579 *ref:* D 583/131.

49. **RAWLYNS, John,** of London.

Ochre, on a tongue, worn and imperfect in lower sinister corner.
Ornate shield, 14 × 11 mm., with arms: a lion sejant holding in its fore-paws an arrow, point down.
25 June 1588 Signature. *ref:* D 43/5116.

50. **ROBERT AP HOPKIN AP HYWEL** and **ALICE,** his wife, of the lordship of Senghenydd Supra.

Red, circ., 18 mm., first good impression, second poor, imperfect.
Shield of arms: a gryphon segreant, surrounded by gothic tracery; legend difficult to read.
10 Feb. 1506 *ref:* D 8/1/1772.

51. **SOMERSET, Edward,** 4th Earl of Worcester, born *c.* 1550, succ. 1589, died 3 March 1628.

Brown, complete, fair impression, circ., 25 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. Somerset, 2. Herbert, 3. Wydvill; surrounded by the Garter with its motto: **HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE**, surmounted by a coronet.
17 Oct. 1608 Signature. *ref:* D 43/4996.

52. **SOMERSET, Henry,** Lord **Herbert.** Succeeded as 5th Earl of Worcester 1628; created first Marquis of Worcester 1643.

(1) Reddish ochre, broken, very worn, oval, 19 × 17 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: quarterly, and an inescutcheon, indistinct; the 2nd quarter is *Herbert,* perhaps a label.
10 Jan. 1527 Signature. *ref:* D 583/176.

(2) (a) Red-brown, imperfect, much of right side lost, worn, circ., 35 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. *Somerset,* 2. *Herbert,* 3. *Wydvill*; an inescutcheon, a chief; surmounted by a coronet; supporters: *dexter,* ? a goat, ducally gorged; *sinister,* (a four-legged winged dragon) lost on this impression; indecipherable motto, on a ribbon.
20 Sept. 1628, at Raglan. *ref:* D 2/41.

(b) Reddish ochre, broken, incomplete at top, crack down right side, orig. circ., 31 mm. diam.
Less good impression than D 2/41, but sinister supporter seen; motto illegible.
2 Feb. 1632 Signature. *ref:* D 583/141.

53. **SOMERSET, Henry,** 1st Duke of Beaufort.

Red-brown, poor impression, cracked, small piece lost, circ., 50 mm. diam., in a tin.
Shield of arms: *Somerset,* surmounted by a ducal coronet; supporters: *dexter,* a panther, *sinister* (squashed).
10 May 1689. Signature. *ref:* D 2222, box 32.

54. **SOMERSET, William,** 3rd Earl of Worcester, succ. 1549, died 21 Feb. 1589.

Brown, incomplete, broken, border lost, circ., 27 mm. diam. when complete.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. *Somserset,* 2. *Herbert,* 3. *Wydvill*; surmounted by coronet; legend lost.
21 August 1586 Signature: *W. Worcester.* *ref:* D 43/5662.

55. **STAFFORD, Humphrey,** Earl of Stafford, lord of Tonbridge, and of Newport (Gwynllŵg, Gwent); born 1402, created Duke of Buckingham 1444, died 1460.

Brown, from double matrix, imperfect, about one-fifth being lost at right lower side, fair impression, circ., 65 mm. diam.
Obverse: Equestrian, the earl in armour, including a closed helmet and wearing a coronet, holding sword in outstretched right hand, and shield held in left hand, arms: a chevron *(Stafford)*; out of the coronet, the crest: a swan's head and neck, with a wing; the horse wears a trapper, fore-legs missing; foliage in field.
. . .hum. ... tonbrig. . .c Wenlloke (Bl.)

Reverse: a shield of arms: a chevron *(Stafford)*; field diapered.
★ **sigillu. cancel(a)rii. humfridi. comiti. . . . . .enllok** (Bl.)
5 May 1433 *ref:* D 43/5458.

Plate 1.

(Reduced by 15%)

56. **THOMAS, Richard,** of Bertholau, Llanhenwg; steward of the manor of Edlogan.

Black, cracked and imperfect, circ., 10 mm. diam.
No shield; three pheons, one and two, within beading.
17 June 1617 Signature. *ref:* D 43/5157.

57. **TUDOR, Jasper,** Duke of Bedford, Earl of Pembroke, lord of Glamorgan and Morgan.

(1) Seal for his *Chancellery at Cardiff.*
(a) Light-brown, from double matrix, almost complete, part of lower border lost, good impression, circ., 85 mm. diam.

Obverse: Jasper in armour, with closed helm, on horseback, holding sword in outstretched right hand, and shield in left hand, arms: quarterly, *England* and *France modern* (fleurs-de-lis placed 2 and 1) in a bordure; crest: a wyvern (two-legged dragon); horse's trapper flies out behind; under the horse a four-legged winged dragon.
Sigillu: Iaspar: fratris: auuncli: reg*um: duc' bed*. . . Pebruc: Dni: Glamorga × m. (Bl., letters in italics derived from (b) below).

Reverse: Shield of arms: quarterly, *France modern* (fleurs-de-lis 2 and 1) and *England,* in a bordure charged with martlets; surmounted by a coronet; supporters: two two-legged winged dragons; spray of broom with pods in field.
Sigillum: Jaspar: duci': bedfordie: comitis: Pem*broc: ac:* dni: Glamor*gan:* Morganoc. (Bl., letters in italics derived from (b) below).
14 Jan. 1487 *ref:* D 8/1/1814.

(b) As last, better impression on obverse, less good on reverse, part of border lost; legend on *obverse:*
fratris: auuncli: regu: duc': bed. . . uc: dni: glamorga × m. (Bl.)
27 Nov. 1493 *ref:* D 8/1/1794.

The same: Duke of Bedford, Earl of Pembroke, lord of Abergavenny.

(2) Seal for his *Chancellery at Abergavenny.*
(a) Brown, from a double matrix, badly damaged and imperfect, good impression, worn, orig. circ., *c.* 85 mm. diam.
Obverse: See (b) for description; in this impression right arm lost from elbow, crest missing: legend mostly lost:
. . . : pen. . . ochie:. . . (Bl.)
Reverse: See (b) for description; in this impression objects on bordure cannot be distinguished; crest lost, only rear part and legs remain of sinister supporter; legend mostly lost:
. . . fratris: et: . . . (Bl.)
10 Oct. 1490 *ref:* D 8/1)0156.

(b) Dark brown, from double matrix, good impression, well preserved, small crack upper right, part of rim lost, circ., *c.* 85 mm. diam.

Obverse: Jasper in full armour, with vizor open, on horseback, holding sword in outstretched right hand, shield in left, arms: quarterly, *France modern* (fleurs-de-lis one and two) and *England,* in a bordure charged with indistinct objects. On the helm, a chapeau, surmounted by crest: a winged wyvern. The horse's trapper powdered with ermine spots, a greensward beneath its hooves; field powdered with sprays of bean pods; legend punctuated with sprays of foliage:
. . . ducis bedfordie: (Domini de Gla)morg(anie). . . domini. de b.rgav.. (Bl.)
Reverse: A round-bottomed shield, arms: the same (the charges on the bordure indistinct), surmounted by a chapeau; supporters; *dexter,* a four-legged winged dragon; *sinister,* a greyhound; sprays of bean-pods in field, a sprig between each word of the legend.
(Si)gillum excellentissimi principis Jasperis (fratis) et (pat)rui *(? inu)* (re)gum. (Bl.)
10 Oct. 1492 *ref:* D 2/34.

58. **VAUGHAN, Thomas,** son and heir of Sir Roger Vaughan (of Tretower).

(1) Red, complete, worn, circ., 14 mm. diam.
No shield; a human head and shoulders, a serpent around the neck; surmounted by the name: **thomas vaghan** (Bl.).
12 May 1475 *ref:* D 8A/1759 (ill. in *DWH,* fig. 15).

The same, knight, son and heir of Sir Roger Vaughan.
(2) (a) Red, complete, worn, circ., 18 mm. diam.
Shield, charged with same device as (1); surmounted by the initials: **t v**; surrounded by cross-hatching and beading. Crude work.
29 June 1493 *ref:* D 8/1/1717.

The same, knight, of the lordship of Tretower.
(b) Same as (a), complete, shield 12 × 10 mm., good impression, rubbed, on a tie.
6 July 1493 *ref:* D 8/1/1857 (ill. in *DWH*, fig. 16).

59. **WELSH, Anthony,** of Llan-wern; or perhaps **William Price** of Llanmartin.

On a tie, brown, nearly complete, part of top edge lost, poor impression, beading.
Shield 13 × 10 mm., with arms: a narrow fess between three *?* pheasants, looking to sinister.
Signature: both are givers of a bond, two seals on a tie, the lower one, non-heraldic, is opposite the signature of *Anthony Welsh,* there is no signature of Price.
6 May 1559 *ref:* D 43/3987.

60. **WILKYN, David,** of Raynham, Kent.

Light brown, complete, fair impression, oval, 16 × 13 mm., on a tie.
Ornamental shield of arms: an eagle, wings raised, head facing to dexter.
17 April 1579 Signature. *ref:* D 583/127.

61. **WILLIAM JOHN HARRY,** and his wife **MARGARET** *ferch* **DAFYDD** of Llanelli, Breconshire.

Both sealed, red/brown, damaged, oval, 17 × 14 mm., second is better impression.
Shield of arms: three chevrons; crest: the Paschal Lamb; these arms and crest are often borne by descendants of *Iestyn ap Gwrgan.*
20 Aug. 1602 *ref:* D 8/1/210.

62. **WILLIAM JOHN THOMAS** William Jones) of Treowen—see also under Thomas Huntley, above.

Light brown, complete, fair impression, circ., 14 mm. diam., beading, on a tie.
Ornate scalloped shield of arms: a stag's head cabossed (derived from **Huntley**).
28 Jan. 1563 Signature: *W. John Thomas* *ref:* D 583/49.

63. **WILLIAM THOMAS,** of Panteg, and **Catherine** his wife.

Red-brown (William), blackened (Catherine), applied to tags, that of William fair impression but damaged at top, circ., 16 mm. diam., within rim.
Shield of arms: a dragon's head erased, holding in its mouth a human hand couped at the wrist (*Rhys Goch of Ystrad Yw*).
7 July 1692 His signature, her mark. *ref:* D 8/1/88.

64. **WILLIAM THOMAS DAVID AP JOHN** of Llanarth.

Brown, imperfect, part lost at bottom, worn, circ., 23 mm. diam.
Shield of arms: a chevron between (probably) three lions rampant; (1 is distinct, 2 not seen, 3 indistinct).
13 June 1599 Signature: *Willm Thoms.* *ref:* D 583/25.

65. **WILLIAMS, Henry,** of Llangattock Court, Breconshire; **Margaret,** his now second wife; **James Hughes,** of Gelli, Mon., and **Anna Maria,** his wife, all used the same seal.

Red-brown, apposed, all impressions imperfect, circular, 11 mm. diam., within beading.
Shield of arms: quarterly, 1. and 4. three quadrupeds (*?* bulls or horses) passant, two and one; 2. and 3. a bend of six fusils; a mullet in centre for difference.
31 May 1709 All signed except Margaret *ref:* D 8/1/238.

66. **YEAMANS, Mary** and **Joyce,** of Bristol, spinsters; same seal used by **Francis** and **George Morgan** of Chepstow.

Black/gold, good impression, oval, 17 × 15 mm.
Shield of arms: a chevron between three roundels.
25 April 1722 Signatures. *ref:* D 2222/box 26.

Plate 2.

57 (1) (a) *Obverse*

57 (1) (a) *Reverse*

57 (2) (b) *Reverse*

57 (2) (b) *Obverse*

(All reduced by 30%)

ROYAL SERVICE IN GWENT UNDER THE EARLY TUDORS

The Career of Thomas ap Robert of Pant Glas

By W. R. B. ROBINSON, F.S.A.

In 1963 the late Professor Glyn Roberts drew attention to the tendency in the later Middle Ages for the Welsh gentry to become closely involved in the administration of the Principality and the marcher lordships of Wales.[1] The extent to which the gentry in particular localities were able to participate in government requires further examination, but examples can be found of Welsh gentry families in most parts of Wales which significantly advanced their fortunes by exploiting the opportunities for power and profit offered by participation in the government of their localities. The present article seeks to illustrate this development by showing how royal service helped to promote the advancement of the family later known as the Proberts of Pant Glas, which for many generations held a secure position among the gentry families of Gwent.

Pant Glas, where a post-medieval house now stands, is in the parish of Trellech about a mile and a half south-west of the parish church. Like many of the gentry families of Gwent, the family later known as the Proberts of Pant Glas claimed descent from Ynyr, king of Gwent, and although their pedigree through succeeding generations cannot readily be corroborated, by the fifteenth century they were clearly a long-established Gwent family.[2] In the 1430's their influence in the lordship of Trellech was consolidated when Richard (*d.* 1460), duke of York, who had inherited the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech as part of the earldom of March, by letters patent under his seal of arms dated at Usk on 6 April 1435, granted to John, or Jenkin, ap Howell ap Ievan of Pant Glas, the representative of the family at that time, the office of chief forester and keeper of wood in the forest or chase of Wye's Wood, to be held by him and his heirs with an annual fee of 60s 8d.[3] By a further deed of 8 July 1436 the duke granted Jenkin ap Howell and his heirs twelve 'seams' (packhorse loads) of wood daily from the forest as profits of his offices, and after his death this grant was confirmed by Edward IV by letters patent of 4 June 1478 granted at Greenwich under the seal of the earldom of March.[4] Jenkin ap Howell, cited as Jankyn ap Howell ap Ievan, was one of several Welshmen whose grants from Edward IV were safeguarded by the Act of Resumption made early in 1465,[5] but the date of his death has not been established.

The evidence relating to his son, Robert ap Jenkin, is also sparse and fragmentary, comprising mainly some deeds dating from 1470 onwards and a few references in record sources. In the 1470's and 1480's he appears as a witness or as a party to deeds relating to lands in the lordships of Usk and Trellech, including some dated at Trellech.[6] The most significant of these deeds as evidence for Robert ap Jenkin's career is one dated 5 March 1474 by which William Herbert (*d.* 1490) of Raglan, the second earl of Pembroke of the Herbert creation, appointed Robert ap Jenkin one of his two attorneys to deliver seisin of lands in the lordship of Usk.[7] Landowners appointing persons as their attorneys to deliver seisin normally nominated trusted associates or servants, and Robert ap Jenkin's appointment suggests that by the early 1470's he was established in the earl of Pembroke's service. The earl's father, also named William, was the first Welsh gentleman to be raised to the peerage, and in Edward IV's first reign his exceptionally successful career brought him extensive lands in South Wales, appointment to a wide range of senior royal offices throughout Wales, and in 1468 his creation as earl of Pembroke.[8] His execution in July 1469 after the

battle of Edgecott, leaving the second earl a minor, was a major setback for the Herberts. During Edward IV's second reign the second earl's lands and authority were severely curtailed and in 1479 he was obliged to surrender his title of earl of Pembroke to the infant Edward, Prince of Wales, being created instead earl of Huntingdon. The decline of the Herberts in the latter part of Edward IV's reign has been outlined by the late Mr David Lowe in a valuable article linking their decline with the extension after 1473 of the power of the young Prince's Council under the control of Anthony Woodville (*d.* 1483), Earl Rivers.[9]

Among other evidence illustrating this theme the article discussed a petition submitted to the Prince's Council at some date between 1473 and the end of Edward IV's reign in which the petitioners, John ap Hopkyn and his wife, sought recovery of the deeds of their lands within the fee of Trellech and the cessation of the harassment to which they were being subjected in the possession of their lands by Robert ap Jenkin.[10] In this petition Robert ap Jenkin was described as a yeoman of the Prince's Chamber, but one of those mentioned as being associated with his activities was Thomas Benbidell, Lord Herbert's bailiff, and it seems probable that while serving in the Prince's household Robert ap Jenkin remained in the service of the Herberts, or closely associated with them. Apparently the Yorkist kings did not require those entering their service to sever their existing commitments to other lords, provided that men concerned accepted the Crown's claims as being paramount in any conflict of interest.[11] Clearly the petitioners did not regard Robert ap Jenkin's service in the Prince's household, which presumably involved only occasional attendance, as likely to impair the proper consideration of their complaints to the Prince's Council. They may indeed have seen it as an advantage, in that if the Council upheld their complaint, Robert ap Jenkin would be unlikely to disregard any order made restraining his misconduct. The outcome of the proceedings initiated by John ap Hopkyn and his wife is not recorded and no other references to Robert ap Jenkin during Edward IV's reign call for comment.

Following Edward IV's death on 9 April 1483 his elder son ascended the throne as Edward V. On 30 April 1483 the young king's uncle, Richard, duke of Gloucester, took him into his custody at Stony Stratford and on the same day Anthony, Earl Rivers, and two others who had been prominent in his Council before his accession were arrested and later executed. There is no reason to suppose that the duke of Gloucester, who succeeded to the throne as Richard III on 26 June 1483, regarded the junior members of the former Prince's household with disfavour and Robert ap Jenkin presumably continued as previously to be mainly preoccupied with local affairs in Gwent during the summer of 1483. However, the participation of Henry, duke of Buckingham in the rebellion of October 1483 obliged Richard III to seek the assistance of his subjects in South Wales and the adjacent counties against the rebels, and after the rebellion was suppressed he was generous in rewarding the loyalty of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon and members of the Herbert affinity. On 12 November 1483 Robert ap Jenkin was one of several gentlemen of Gwent to whom the king granted life annuities from the revenues of the lordship of Usk, his being one of 100s.[12] Although annuities of 100s were the smallest of those granted on this occasion, they represented valuable rewards by contemporary standards. Moreover Robert ap Jenkin soon received further and more individual recognition from Richard III, as before the close of 1484 he had entered the king's household as a yeoman usher of his Chamber and had been granted the office of coroner of the king's lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Netherwent

for life with wages of ten marks (£6 13s 4d) a year.[13] No evidence is available of the circumstances leading to Robert ap Jenkin's entry into Richard III's household, which terminated with the king's death at Bosworth. Robert ap Jenkin's grants from Richard III also proved of brief duration, as early in 1486 Henry VII's first Parliament enacted that all Richard III's grants, including those of annuities and offices, were to be void with effect from the first day of Henry VII's reign, unless exempted by specific provisos, none of which related to Robert ap Jenkin.[14]

Henry VII's accession deprived Robert ap Jenkin of his annuity of ten marks, but otherwise its effect on his participation in the government of the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech is uncertain, as the earliest surviving document concerning their administration in Henry VII's reign relates to 1501.[15] This document shows Robert ap Jenkin as receiving a fee of 40s granted for life under letters patent of unspecified date as the officer responsible for the sale of wood in Trellech Forest, but the office of forester of Wye's Wood, which had been granted to his father and his heirs in perpetuity, was held by William Herbert of Troy for life by letters patent of Henry VII. It is not clear when William Herbert had first acquired the forestership, and the grant to Robert ap Jenkin of an office concerning the sale of wood in Trellech Forest may perhaps have been intended as some compensation for the loss of his hereditary office. The office of coroner of the lordship of Usk, which had been granted to Robert ap Jenkin in Richard III's reign, was held in 1501 by John Hughes. However, one of Robert ap Jenkin's sons, John ap Robert, appears as beadle of the subordinate lordship of Edlogan and constable of the subordinate lordship of Tregrug, offices which he had been granted by royal letters patent on 24 June 1499.[16] The document of 1501 also mentions another of Robert ap Jenkin's sons, namely Thomas ap Robert, as a lessee of certain royal lands, this being the earliest reference to the main subject of this article. Robert ap Jenkin and his sons were also mentioned in an account of the lordships for the year ended Michaelmas 1502 which shows that besides the offices mentioned in 1501 as in their possession, Robert ap Jenkin was farmer of the fishery of Linweir in Tintern Parva and Thomas ap Robert was reeve of Usk castle.[17] However, the most interesting entry in the account concerning Robert ap Jenkin is that recording the payment to him, made after the closure of the accounting year, of a 'reward' of £13-6-8d for his good service by virtue of a royal warrant dated at Richmond on 19 January 1503. The entry describes him as one of the gentlemen ushers of the king's chamber and provides the earliest evidence of his being a member of the king's household. Clearly Henry VII did not regard the service which Robert ap Jenkin and his father had rendered to the house of York over several decades as debarring him from membership of his household.

The few surviving deeds of Henry VII's reign which mention Robert ap Jenkin concern private transactions, including two in which he was acting as a feoffee of a member of the family of Lewis of St Pierre near Chepstow.[18] The last reference to his activities is his appointment with local knights and esquires on 4 June 1504 to a commission concerned with the drainage and sea defences in the 'levels' adjoining the coastline of Gwent.[19] Robert ap Jenkin's date of death has not been ascertained, but it was before 20 May 1509 when his son, Thomas ap Robert, obtained Henry VIII's authority to exclude from the royal pardon, widely granted at the beginning of a new reign, several named Welshmen whom he alleged had murdered his father and his brother, John ap Robert, at Usk.[20] The date and circumstances of this double murder are not recorded, but the fact that Henry VIII appended his signature three times to the 'bill' in which Thomas ap Robert submitted his

request may reflect the king's indignation at the murder and his concern that the murderers, who were alleged to have continued their misdeeds and robberies since the murder, should be brought to justice. The bill also shows that Robert ap Jenkin's position as one of Henry VII's gentlemen ushers, which is mentioned in Thomas ap Robert's 'bill', had enabled two of his sons to follow him in entering the royal service, as both Thomas ap Robert and his brother, John ap Robert, are referred to as Henry VIII's servants.

No will of Robert ap Jenkin survives and there is no record of the value of his lands at the time of his death. The date of birth of his son, Thomas ap Robert, is also unrecorded and it is not clear whether Thomas was older than his brother John or whether there were daughters or other sons. The references to Thomas ap Robert in the documents of 1501 and 1502 concerning the administration of the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech have already been mentioned and the next reference to him relates to 12 April 1504 when he appears as the general receiver of the lordships, an office which William Herbert (probably William Herbert of Troy) had held in 1502.[21] At that date Sir Walter Herbert (*d.* 1507) of Raglan and his brother, Sir George Herbert (*d.* 1504) of St Julians near Newport, were joint stewards of the lordships. Thomas ap Robert, like his father, was associated with the Herberts, as is shown by his marriage to Jane, daughter and heir of William Herbert Fain, an illegitimate son of William (*d.* 1469), first earl of Pembroke of the Herbert creation. Thomas ap Robert's association with the Herberts is also shown by the fact that the chancery 'bill' relating to the murderers of his father and brother was submitted to the lord chancellor by Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, created earl of Worcester in 1514, who had acquired the lands of the Herbert earldom through his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of William Herbert (*d.* 1490), earl of Huntingdon. Thomas ap Robert's appointment as receiver may be attributable to family connections—his father's position in the royal household, his Herbert associations and the patronage of Sir Charles Somerset—but it is unlikely that he would have retained an important position in Henry VII's financial administration unless he carried out his duties effectively. His subsequent career shows that he had the necessary capacity.

An initial problem in tracing Thomas ap Robert's career is that his name, both in its English form of Thomas Roberts or in its more frequently used Welsh form, was not uncommon, and other contemporaries of some standing named Thomas Roberts are mentioned in the public records. There was in particular an auditor named Thomas Roberts (or Robertz) in the royal service who by coincidence was an auditor of the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech during much of the time when Thomas ap Robert of Pant Glas held the office of receiver of those lordships.[22] Not surprisingly, and despite the incompatibility of the duties of receivers and auditors, even contemporaries could confuse them, and the compiler of a document of 1525 recording the fees of royal officers in Wales listed those of both men but, assuming that they related to one person, included them in a single total.[23] Although probably of Welsh origins, Thomas Roberts the auditor, who died on 1 December 1535, owned property near London and his visits to Wales to audit the accounts of royal receivers and subordinate officers there would normally have been of short duration.[24] It was clearly the Thomas ap Robert of Gwent who appears in a list of the mourners at Henry VII's funeral in May 1509 as one of the gentlemen ushers of the king's chamber, a position similar to that which his father had held in Henry VII's reign.[25] Later in the same month he received a fresh appointment, during pleasure, as receiver of the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech, and appointment by the same grant as coroner or

constable of the lordship of Tregrug and beadle and coroner of the lordship of Edlogan.[26] For his part Thomas Roberts the auditor received several grants in the early years of Henry VIII's reign, including one, in May 1510, appointing him jointly with John Perient to be auditor of the lordships of Usk and Caerleon, but no further reference need be made to his career.[27]

The accounts of Thomas ap Robert as receiver of the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech survive only for 1515, 1519 and 1521 and other sources provide little information about his career in the first dozen years of Henry VIII's reign.[28] His tenure of the receivership was apparently a successful one, since the amount of arrears for which he was personally liable was relatively modest, and he derived financial benefits from his office which will be discussed later in this article. On 16 July 1517 he obtained a royal warrant authorising payment to him of wages amounting to 60s 8d a year in respect of the office of master forester and keeper of the chase of Wye's Wood in the lordship of Trellech.[29] This was the office which had been granted to his grandfather and his heirs in 1435, but had been held for many years by Sir William Herbert (*d.* 1524) of Troy. In 1516 Herbert's wages were disallowed by the king's commissioners on the grounds that his letters patent were invalid because Henry VII, their grantor, had held the lordships only in the right of his wife, Queen Elizabeth.[30] If this defect in William Herbert's letters patent had been the only objection to his grant, new letters patent could have resolved the problem but presumably Thomas ap Robert had sufficient influence to ensure that his hereditary title to the office was recognised and Herbert's claim rejected. Thomas ap Robert's influence in the lordship of Trellech was further extended in November 1518 when he was granted a lease of the manor of Trellech and the hamlets of Penarth golley and Penallt for twenty-one years.[31]

On present evidence it is uncertain whether Thomas ap Robert was involved in these years in the administration of any other marcher lordships besides those of Usk, Caerleon and Trellech, but it is interesting to note that in 1518 he was sued for a debt of £100, arising from a bond by Edward (*d.* 1521), duke of Buckingham, whose lordship of Newport adjoined those of Usk and Caerleon.[32] Following Buckingham's execution and attainder in 1521 his lands came into the possession of the king, and by royal letters patent of 12 January 1522 Thomas ap Robert was appointed receiver of the lordship of Newport (Gwynllŵg) and Machen with a fee of five marks (£3 6s 8d).[33] On 16 April 1524, following the death of Sir William Herbert of Troy, he was granted the offices of steward and receiver of Ebbw, a manor within the lordship of Newport belonging to the duchy of Lancaster,[34] and on 20 June 1524 he was granted a 21-year lease of the fishery of Llan-gors lake in the lordship of Brecon.[35] In these grants, as in a list of members of the king's household compiled in the early 1520's, Thomas ap Robert is described as a gentleman usher of the king's chamber, but there is no evidence of his attendance at Court.[36] In addition to his duties in Gwent as receiver, he was involved in local affairs there in a private capacity, for instance by acting as a feoffee in respect of a burgage in Usk in 1522, and of lands in Trostrey and elsewhere in 1523.[37]

Little information is available about Thomas ap Robert's activities in the late 1520s. He died either in the last few months of 1529 or very early in 1530, as he is described as deceased in a warrant of 28 February 1530 for the appointment of James Whitney, the representative of a Herefordshire gentry family, to succeed him in most of his offices.[38] Regrettably no record survives of Thomas ap Robert's will, which may have provided bequests indicative of his wealth to his wife and children, who included at least three sons

(his heir Walter, William and John) and a daughter, Elizabeth.[39] Also regrettable is the absence of any record of an *inquisition post mortem* into his lands. It is, indeed, uncertain whether an inquisition was in fact made, as the royal officers concerned may not have made one into Thomas ap Robert's lands if they had no reason to suppose that he held any land of the king by knight service. The absence of a will and *inquisition post mortem* makes any comment on his wealth problematic, but some interesting information about his acquisition of property is provided by Chancery proceedings initiated a few years after his death.

The complainant in the case was Lewis Philip, whose father, Philip David John, had been mayor of Caerleon in 1525, dying shortly after he surrendered that office, and as mayor had been answerable to Thomas ap Robert, then receiver of the lordship, for the fee-farm rent of £9 12s 5½d due to the king from the town.[40] Lewis Philip claimed that this money had been duly paid to Thomas ap Robert and to the latter's deputies at that time, namely his son, Walter, and Watkyn Harry, and that no further demand for it had been made until Thomas ap Robert's death, when the sum in question was charged upon the former mayor. Lewis Philip, as his father's executor, was subsequently compelled by Sir John Daunce, one of the general surveyors of the king's lands, to pay the sum in question to the king's use, but he had met with no success in his efforts to secure reimbursement from Thomas ap Robert's son Walter, as executor of his father's will, and Watkyn Harry, against both of whom he sought subpoenas. Walter ap Robert (who by taking his grandfather's name as his surname, gave the surname of Probert to his descendants) responded to this complaint by claiming that he had fully administered all his father's goods and chattels, the implication being that no further claims could be met from his father's estate.[41] In reply, Lewis Philip firmly rejected Walter ap Robert's assertion that he had fully administered all his father's goods, claiming that Thomas ap Robert had had at his death 'grett substaunce of goodes' which were still in his son Walter's hands, the greater part of them unadministered.[42] He went on to specify the leases ('farms') and grants which remained in Walter ap Robert's hands as executor and heir of his father. These included a pasture called 'Twynpyll' belonging to the king in the lordship of Caldicot worth £5 yearly over and above the rent; the forestership of Wye's Wood held of the king worth 20 marks (£13 6s 8d) a year; a lease of a weir on the Wye belonging to the king worth £10 yearly; and demesne lands belonging to the queen (Anne Boleyn) in New Court in the lordship of Usk worth £5 or £6 clear a year. Lewis Philip went on to claim that Thomas ap Robert had purchased lands to the yearly value of £20 above all charges, besides certain manors and lands belonging to him of ancient inheritance, and that these manors and lands in the lordships of Usk and Trellech had descended to Walter ap Robert as his son and heir.

The outcome of Lewis Philip's Chancery case is not recorded, and it is in any event unlikely that the court reached any conclusions on his detailed claims concerning Thomas ap Robert's acquisitions. These were advanced by an interested party and although some of the leases and grants mentioned are referred to in other sources, the claims about the profits which Thomas ap Robert derived from them cannot be corroborated. They are nevertheless quite credible, as is the interesting claim that Thomas ap Robert had in his lifetime purchased lands worth £20 a year in addition to the lands which he had inherited. Although Lewis Philip did not indicate how Thomas ap Robert had found the money to purchase lands on this scale, it is highly probable that this arose mainly from the fees and other profits of his offices. The receivers of marcher lordships enjoyed many opportunities for profit which were not incompatible with the reasonably efficient performance of their

obligations to the Crown. These arose not from withholding revenues for which they were formally liable, as that could eventually lead to serious debt and loss of office, but from the private transactions which they could undertake. Large cash balances provided opportunities for moneylending and in the performance of their duties receivers could benefit from the disbursement of substantial sums for officers' expenses, administrative costs, the carriage of money, and repairs of castles and other property. Expenditure made by Thomas ap Robert in this last category included large sums for the repair of drainage ditches ('gouts') and sea walls on the coasts of the lordships of Newport and Caerleon.[43]

The granting to tenants of lands, mills and fisheries enabled the receivers who had the main responsibility for the terms of leases to secure advantageous grants for themselves, as Thomas ap Robert was alleged to have done, or to profit from arranging advantageous grants to others. The absence of surviving complaints about Thomas ap Robert's performance of his duties as receiver is possibly fortuitous, and there is no reason to suppose that he was more restrained in exploiting his offices than his contemporaries in other lordships. There is some evidence to suggest that he acted oppressively on at least one occasion. In April 1526, at the conclusion of a hearing before the Council in the Marches of Wales in which he had appeared as defendant, the Council ordered that the plaintiff should occupy certain disputed lands, apart from a parcel of land which he was content to sell to Thomas ap Robert.[44] The steward of the lordship of Usk and the officers of the bishop of Llandaff and the abbot of Tintern were accordingly instructed to see the plaintiff put into possession of the lands in dispute, which Thomas ap Robert had presumably been occupying without proper title.

Because stewards and their deputies appear most prominently in the extensive documentation concerning the abuses in marcher lordships before the implementation of Henry VIII's legislation for Wales, the importance of receivers in the government of these lordships has not been widely recognised. They were generally drawn from the ranks of the less prominent gentry families than stewards and their rôle emerges less clearly from the surviving sources, perhaps understandably, as the accounts which form the main record of their activities tend to make arid reading and can be difficult to interpret. The career of Thomas ap Robert accordingly throws light on a significant aspect of the administration of marcher lordships before the Henrician reforms. It is also of interest because office-holding was probably the most rewarding of the limited range of options open to Welsh gentlemen seeking to advance their fortunes at this period. In contrast, the gains accruing to Welsh gentlemen who sought to prosper financially by exploiting the agrarian or mineral resources of their estates appear to have been modest, although their competence in estate management is hard to assess. Later in the Tudor period the range of opportunities for profitable activity available to enterprising gentlemen significantly increased as a result of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the disposal of church lands and property in the succeeding decades,[45] but those who benefited were the minority who could raise the money to secure grants on advantageous terms. The representatives of families which had profited from office-holding may have been better placed than others to do so. The opportunities for profit which receivers and other accounting officers derived from their offices had a considerable influence on the fortunes of several gentry families in early Tudor Wales.

Turning to the implications of Thomas ap Robert's career for the fortunes of his own family, the loss of his will seriously curtails comment, as it deprives us of such indications

as it might have provided as to whether he used his purchased lands mainly to make provision for his younger sons, leaving to his heir the lands which he had himself inherited, or whether he passed on to his heir a substantially enlarged estate. The latter situation is perhaps more likely, but we cannot be certain. The references to Walter ap Robert in the public records are much more sparse than those relating to his father. Despite his service as a deputy of his father in at least one of his receiverships, he did not succeed his father in his offices, which, as previously noted, passed to James Whitney. Although he followed the family tradition by securing a place in the royal household, being mentioned in 1538 as a sewer of the king's chamber, he does not seem to have taken advantage of his access to Court to secure any significant royal grants.[46] Nor apparently did he take advantage of the disposal of church property to extend his estate,[47] unlike the two Monmouthshire squires, William Morgan (*d.* 1582) of Llantarnam and Roger Williams (*d.* 1585) of Llangibby, whom he appointed overseers of his will. In the musters taken in 1539 he and two servants were noted as being furnished (i.e. with armour) and as having geldings as mounts.[48] He appears in four commissions of the peace dating from 1542 to 1558, being included in the quorum in the 1558 commission, and was appointed sheriff of the newly established county of Monmouth in 1542 and again in 1554.[49] His marriage to Dorothy, daughter of Sir Christopher Baynham (*d.* 1540) of Clearwell in the Forest of Dean, which probably took place in his father's lifetime, was indicative of his family's status.[50] In view of his father's land purchases his assessment at £40 a year in lands in 1545 is less than might have been expected,[51] but a search among collections of contemporary deeds for references of his property transactions (not undertaken in the preparation of this article) might provide better evidence for the value of his estate. His will, made on 8 August 1558, gives the impression that he possessed substantial property, including some land which he had purchased, and his bequests included £276 13s 4d to provide dowries for his daughters. In an interesting, but apparently unnecessary, bequest he gave to his eldest son the office of master forester of Wye's Wood which had descended to him by hereditary right by virtue of the grant of Richard, duke of York. It was appropriate that Walter ap Robert, whose descendants were to maintain a prominent place among the county families of Monmouthshire until the late nineteenth century, should have recalled in his will one of the rewards of the ducal and royal service which had significantly contributed to the advancement of his family in the preceding three generations.

Abbreviations: J. A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire*, 4 vols (London, 1904-33); Bradney: *Monmouthshire*; *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*: *BBCS*; *Calendar of Close Rolls*: *CCR*; *Calendar of Patent Rolls*: *CPR*; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*: *LP*; National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth: NLW; Public Record Office, (Chancery Lane), London: PRO.

NOTES

[1] G. Roberts, Wales and England: 'Antipathy and Sympathy 1282-1485', reprinted in G. Roberts, *Aspects of Welsh History*, (Cardiff, 1969), pp. 307-9.

[2] For the family pedigree see J. A. Bradney (ed), *Llyfr Baglan* (London, 1910), pp. 10-11, 331; Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, II, pt. II, pp. 141-5; P. C. Bartrum, *Welsh Genealogies AD 300-1400* (National Library of Wales, 1974), Vol. IV, pp. 936-40.

[3] PRO, SC6, Henry VIII, no 345, m 136d. For John ap Howell as a member of York's retinue in 1441 see P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), p. 36, n. 54.

[4] PRO, STAC 5/P51/22, complaint by William Probert of Pant Glas of the forcible interruption in May 1583 of his enjoyment of his right to wood from Wye's Wood. In citing the fifteenth-century grants the complainant erroneously gives the date of the first, given in other sources as 6 April 13 Henry VI, as 6 April 3 Henry VI, several years before the duke of York came of age.

[5] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, (6 vols, London, 1767-77), V, p. 545b.

[6] NLW, *Badminton Deeds and Documents* in date order, nos. 68, 1523, 1446, 1361, 1743, 1559, 1601; Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, III, pt I, p. 66 (1480).

[7] *Ibid*, no. 1523.

[8] For the careers of the earls of Pembroke of the first Herbert creation see *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne and others (13 vols, 1910-59), X, pp. 400-403; T. B. Pugh (ed), *Glamorgan County History*, Vol III: *The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971), pp. 259-265.

[9] D. E. Lowe, "The Council of the Prince of Wales and the Decline of the Herbert Family during the Second Reign of Edward IV (1471-1483)", *BBCS* (1977), pp. 278-97. See also Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 207-8.

[10] PRO SC8/344/E1313, calendared, but attributed to Henry VII's reign, in W. Rees, *A Calendar of Ancient Petitions relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 529-30, and discussed in D. E. Lowe, *article cited*, pp. 282-3. These works describe Robert ap Jenkin respectively as 'esquire' and 'usher' of the prince's chamber. The word in the MS describing his position is difficult to read, but the reading 'yomen' was kindly confirmed by Dr M. M. Condon.

[11] Rosemary Horrox, *Richard III: A Study of Service* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 20-1.

[12] *British Library Harleian Manuscript* 433, ed. Rosemary Horrox and P. W. Hammond (Richard III Society, 4 vols, 1979-1983), I, p. 95.

[13] *Ibid*, p. 225.

[14] *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (6 vols, London, 1767-77), VI, p. 336.

[15] Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 4094. From August 1490 until his death in February 1499 the lordships were held by John, Lord Welles, half brother of Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort.

[16] *CPR* 1494-1509, p. 162.

[17] PRO, E315/83, ff. 24-5.

[18] NLW, Milborne Collection no. 300; Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, IV, pt. II, p. 237. He also appears in a deed of 1501 concerning lands in Trellech (NLW, *Badminton Deeds and Documents*, no. 1603).

[19] *CPR* 1494-1509, p. 380.

[20] PRO, C82/336; *LP*, I, pt. I, no. 54 (43). John ap Robert is described in the bill as 'servaunt to your most noble hignes', but there is nothing to indicate whether his entry into Henry VIII's service, and his murder and that of his father, took place before or after the young king's accession.

[21] *CCR* 1500-1509, no. 377 (1). With his father, he was appointed to the commission *de wallis et fossatis* of 4 June 1504 (*CPR, 1494-1509*, p. 380).

[22] *LP*, I, pt. I, no. 485 (37). For Thomas Roberts the auditor, see W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration 1485-1547* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1952), passim. Although Thomas ap Robert of Pant Glas is most commonly referred to by that name, he is sometimes referred to as Thomas Roberts.

[23] British Library *Royal MS* 14B xxvii; *LP*, IV, pt. I, no. 1941.

[24] PRO, C142/58, nos. 41, 43.

[25] *LP*, I, pt. I, no. 20 (f. 132).

[26] *LP*, I, pt. I, no 54 (31).

[27] *Ibid* no. 485 (37).

[28] PRO, SC6 Henry VIII, no. 345, mm. 133-8, 2486.

[29] PRO, SC6 Henry VIII, no. 345, mm. 136d-137.

[30] *Ibid*, m. 138d, 'Super' section. For a grant of the office to Herbert in 1484, see n. 12, p. 190.

[31] *LP*, V, no. 1499 (23), XIII, pt. I, no. 384 (41).

[32] Carole Rawcliffe, *The Staffords, Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham 1394-1521* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 245.

[33] *LP*, III, pt. II, no 2016 (12).

[34] R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: Volume One 1265-1603* (London, 1953), p. 646.

[35] *LP*, IV, pt. I, no. 464 (20).

[36] PRO, E36/130, f. 213.

[37] NLW, *Llangibby Castle Collection,* Deeds and Documents B869; Bradney, *Monmouthshire,* III, pt. 1, p. 82.

[38] *LP,* IV, pt. III, no. 6301 (12) The receiver's accounts for the lordship of Ebbw for the year ended Michaelmas 1529, which was probably compiled early in 1530, records the payment of his fee of 20s as receiver, but the account for the lordships of Newport and Machen for the same period show his heir, Walter ap Robert, and his widow (unnamed) as accounting for the receiver's office, with James Whitney acting as receiver from Michaelmas 1529 (PRO, DL29/619/9947; SC6 Henry VIII, no. 2461).

[39] Bradney, *Monmouthshire,* II, pt. II, p. 142, shows a daughter, Alice, as wife of Thomas Powell of Whitchurch co. Hereford, but this may be an error, as the will of Thomas ap Robert's son and heir, Walter, refers to Elizabeth Powell as his sister and to Thomas Powell of Whitchurch as his brother-in-law (PRO, PROB11/42A, f. 393).

[40] PRO, C1/876/37.

[41] PRO, C1/876/38.

[42] PRO, C1/876/39.

[43] E.g: PRO, SC6 Henry VIII, nos. 2459-60; 345, mm. 137-8.

[44] NLW, *Badminton Deeds and Documents,* no. 1415.

[45] Madeleine Gray, 'Change and Continuity: The Gentry and the Property of the Church in South-East Wales and the Marches' in *Class, Community and Culture in Tudor Wales,* ed. J. Gwynfor Jones (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 1-38.

[46] *LP,* XIII, Pt. I, no. 384 (41). No other reference has been found to his belonging to the king's household.

[47] His will mentions the reversion of lands which he had purchased from Morris ap John ap Jevan and an unexpired lease of lands granted to his father by Thomas Morton, abbot of Tintern 1513-17 (PRO, PROB11/42A, f. 392). For purchases of church property by Morgan and Williams see Madeleine Gray, *article cited,* pp. 9-13.

[48] *LP,* XIV, pt 1 no. 654 (23); PRO, E36/26, f. 44.

[49] J. R. S. Phillips, *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire 1541-1689* (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 344-5; *PRO List and Index,* No. IX (1898), p. 83.

[50] His will mentions his wife Jane, possibly his second wife, who is not mentioned in the pedigrees.

[51] PRO, E179/148/14, m. 6.

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE GWENT IRON INDUSTRY IN THE 17th CENTURY

By PAUL COURTNEY

This article aims to bring to attention some new documentation for the Whitebrook wireworks and Tintern furnace in Eastern Gwent. The Mineral and Battery Company, an Elizabethan monopoly, established the wireworks at Tintern in 1566.[1] In 1606 a second wireworks was founded at Whitebrook, 4 km to the north, which continued in the hands of the company after they lost control of the Tintern works in 1631.[2] At first the malleable osmund iron necessary for wire production came from two sites in West Gwent at Monkswood, near Usk, and at Pontymoile, near Pontypool, but the company experienced considerable supply problems in the 1590's.[3] By 1629, if not considerably earlier, this problem had been apparently overcome by the construction of a furnace and forge at the Laytons, on the north side of Tintern Abbey, although specific documentation for production of osmund iron is lacking. Accounts survive for 1630-33 and indicate that the furnace and associated forge formed part of the dower of Anne, countess of Worcester.[4]

Physical remains of two further seventeenth-century furnaces are known in the area, Woolpitch Wood and Coed Ithel, the latter excavated by Professor Tylecote. Coed Ithel is documented in a letter of 1649 and probably in 1634. Paar has argued that a furnace mentioned as being repaired in the same 1649 letter is Woolpitch Wood rather than Coed Ithel though this remains unproven.[5] Laytons forge continued into the 18th century as the Lower Forge, but, the furnace was replaced by a new site higher up the Angidy valley. The Upper, or Pont y Saeson Forge, was also in production by 1672-3 on the evidence of the surviving accounts.[6] It specialised in the production of osmund iron while the Lower Forge produced merchant iron. The Angidy furnace was recently excavated, by John Picken, and conserved for display.[7] Surviving documentation shows that the furnace was producing pig iron in 1669 and rising production in 1669-72 may indicate that it was in blast for the first time.[8]

Whitebrook Wireworks

A survey of *Ca.* 1630 for Trelech manor lists the wireworks buildings lying on the lord's waste known as 'the Manny', as three houses for the drawing of smallwire, four hammer houses and a forge.[9] There were also 14 cottages on the waste which housed wireworkers although it is clear that these were only a minority of the workforce.[10] The Mineral and Battery Company also held 120 acres by lease. By a similar survey of *Ca.* 1655-77 a further house for drawing smallwire brought the list of wireworks buildings on the Manny to nine.[11] This survey adds that a further nine buildings lay on the adjacent lands of Sir William Catchmay, four for drawing rough wire, a great storehouse, an annealing house, a forge and two store houses under one roof. It is stated that all 18 buildings were built using timber from the Forest of Wisewood although this does not necessarily indicate they were entirely of wooden construction. Twenty wireworkers and a wireworker's widow were also recorded as dwelling on the Manny or Pen y Fan wastes.

The '120 acres' of the company grant from the earl of Pembroke is defined by bounds in a deed of 1607, plotted by Professor Tucker.[12] The Manny can be identified as the modern

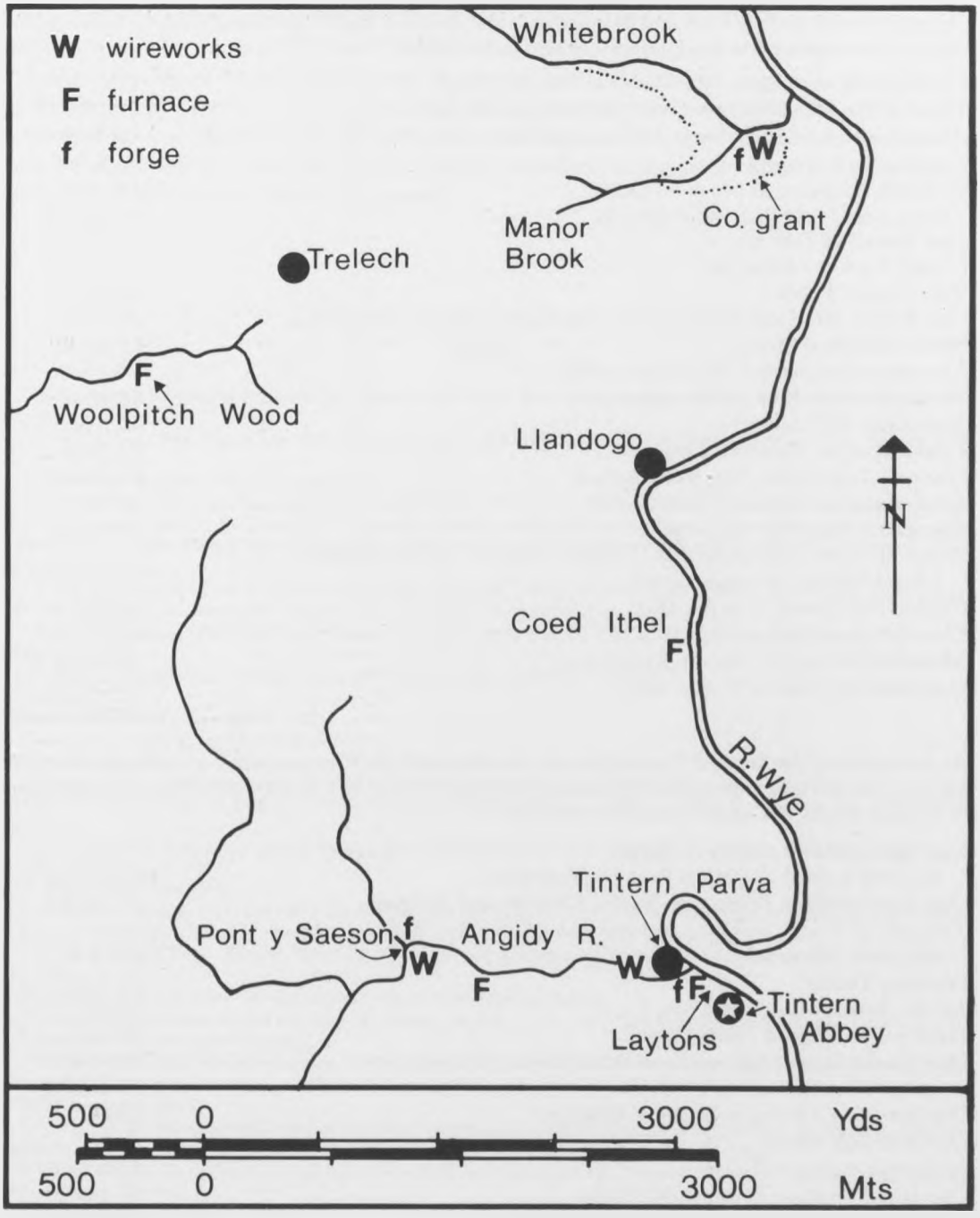
Manor Brook and a leat and associated building remains have been identified by Tucker.[13] This deed also indicates that Catchmay's lands lay to the east of the Pembroke grant along the Whitebrook towards the River Wye. The absence of the workings on Catchmay land from the *Ca.* 1630 survey could mean that they were not recorded due to the difference of freehold or may reflect expansion after the loss of Tintern in 1631. However, the lack of an annealing house or houses for drawing rough wire in the 1630 survey suggests the former.

Tintern Furnace

In 1699 the new Tintern Furnace and the Lower Forge were the subject of a joint stock agreement between the owner, the duke of Beaufort and the iron master, John Hanbury.[14] The two entered into a five year agreement of co-partnership from 11 Sept 1699. Hanbury was to pay the duke £50 yearly on 10 Sept. He was also to pay £500 on or before 11 Nov next and £618-8s-6d on or before 11 March the next following. £200 was to be spent on necessary work by Hanbury along with £400 of the duke's money.

The agreement also stated that the duke was to be paid 5s for a long cord of wood[15], cut and corded, 20s for a load of small coles (charcoal) and brayes (small or broken charcoal) delivered from the Upper Forge to the Lower Forge, 30s for a ton of timber, 6s 6d for a dozen of clean-washed cinders (bloomery slag) delivered to the furnace, 6s for a dozen of mine (iron ore) delivered to the furnace. Cordwood was to be paid for out of the joint stock, half on delivery and the rest within 3 months. Timber, cinders and mine were to be paid for on delivery. The duke was to pay the joint stock the current price at the furnace for pigs to be used at the Upper Forge for producing osmund iron for the duke's wireworks. Hanbury was to have like quantity at like price with the approbation of the duke. John Hanbury was to be solely in charge of the furnace's management and to report to the duke every three months. Full accounts were to be rendered by Hanbury three months after every blast. At the end of the agreement the tools in the inventory were to be left in good condition and Hanbury was to receive his share of the cordwood, cinder and mine in money or kind and take half the remaining iron within 3 months of the partnership ending, on 10 Sept 1704 or on the completion of the blast.

Of particular interest is the inventory of the materials at the Tintern Furnace and Lower Forge which is transcribed in full below. It bears useful comparison with the 1821 inventory of the wireworks, published by Paar and Tucker, which includes the Angidy Furnace but not the Lower Forge, which had by then lost its industrial function.[16] Besides giving some idea of the range of goods and equipment stored on site, the 1699 inventory emphasises the capital intensive nature of the iron industry. The duke of Beaufort was able to provide capital for such ventures and benefit from the profits needed to finance the expensive lifestyle of a reformation aristocrat. The Beauforts (formerly earls of Worcester) were exceptionally active and efficient managers of their estates.


W wireworks
F furnace
f forge
Whitebrook
fW
Co. grant
Manor Brook
Trelech
F
Woolpitch Wood
Llandogo
N
Coed Ithel
F
R. Wye
Tintern Parva
Pont y Saeson
f
W
Angidy R.
W
F
W
fF
Tintern Abbey
Laytons
500 0 3000 Yds
500 0 3000 Mts

The 1699 Inventory: GCRO Misc Mss 1156[17]

A Particular of the Stock att and belonging to the ffurnace and forge called Tintern Furnace and fforge to be imployed in the Partnership and Joynt Stock.

Charcoles att the Furnace 620 loads at 30s p(er) load	£930-0-0
Wood delivered 4400 Short Cord (18) at 5s p(er) Cord	£1100-0-0
Charcoles at the Lower fforge 110. load at 30s	£165-0-0
Scraps of Iron 4 c(wt)	£0-8s-0d
Sackcloth 15 pieces at 32s p(er) piece	£24-0-0
Tallow 1 qtr — 24 lb at 4½d (per) lb	£0-19s-6d
One Barrell of Tarr att	£1-10s-0d
Grease 3 qrs at 4d p(er) lb	£1-8s-0d
Two Grease Tubbs	£0-5s-0d
One Riddle, Six Cole basketts, two Cole Rakes and one Grindstone	£0-3s-6d
Seven (hammer) Helves	£1-0s-8d
Two pair of (hammer) Armes and a Half	£0-10s-0d
Timber 3 t(on): 30 qt att 30s p(er) t(on)	£5-12s-6d
Knittlesses 190 knotts[19]	£0-0-0
Lead 3 c(wt) at 12s p(er) c(wt)	£1-16-0
One cast Plate in the Pigg Yard 5 c(wt)	£1-10s-0d
Timber att the Furnace 4 Tun att 30s	£6-0-0
One grease tub cover and a paile	£0-4s-6d
Three Barrows, 2 Mine Boshes, 1 Cinder Bushell, 12 Cole Basketts, 2 Sand Riddles and one Sieve[20]	£1-2s-0d
Cinders 700 Dozen at 6s per Doz	£210-0-0
Oare 529 doz at 6(s per doz)	£158-14-0
Morsells (? of ore) 23 doz att 2(s per doz)	£2-6s-0d
Cole Sacks 12 Doz att 2s (per doz)	£24-0-0
	£2636-17s-0d

An Inventory of the Severall Materialls now remaining att the Furnace and Lower Forge which are agreed to be left and delivered to His Grace the Duke of Beaufort att the End of the ffive said years in as good Plight & Condicon as now they are

Cast Materialls att ye Lower fforge 14 t(on)- 8 c(wt)- 0 q(tr)- 0 lb at £6 p(er) t(on)	£86-8s-0d
One Iron veighing Beam with Scales, Chaines and Weights	£1-19s-6d
Two pair of Finery Bellowes and one pair of Chaffery Bellows with their Harnesse	£12-0-0
Working Tooles	£2-5s-0d
Att the ffurnace One Sand Sow 1 tun[21]	£6-0-0
Plates att ye Tunnell Head 1 (ton)	£6-0-0
One Cinder Sow & 4 Sowes in ye Stack 3 t(on): 4 c(wt)	£21-0-0
Two Buck Staves 3 c(wt)[22]	£0-18s-0d
One Standing Tun in ye Scales & Weights	£6-0-0
One Iron and Tooles	£5-0-0
Bellowes Leather & Nailes	£1-0-0
One Iron Weighing Beam w(i)th Scales	£0-10s-0d
One Standing Beam w(i)th Chaines & Triangles	£0-10s-0d
One Tun of Weights w(i)th Beam ('Chaines' crossed out) Scales and Triangles	£6-15s-0d
	£161-5s-6d

Appendix: The exact site of the Monkswood furnace and osmund forge site remains uncertain. Two maps surveyed in 1776, however, record two converging trackways (SO 322020 to 332025 and 331020 to 332025) in Glascoed as leading north-east 'to the Old Furnace'.[23] One of these trackways is clearly shown as lying to the west of a track leading to Monkswood chapel. This suggests that the furnace lay at the western end of the extra-parochial area of Monkswood, formerly a monastic grange. A search by the author and Dr Mark Pollard failed to find any field evidence, between the restricted area of the Ordnance factory and the western parish boundary.

NOTES

[1] M. B. Donald, *Elizabethan Monopolies* (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 86-141 and W. Rees, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1968), vol. 2, pp. 596-652.

[2] D. G. Tucker, 'The Beginnings of the Wireworks at Whitebrook, Gwent, in the 17th century', *J. Hist. Met. Soc.* 12/2 (1978), pp. 102-3.

[3] Donald, *op. cit.* (as in note 1), pp. 109-37.

[4] Gwent County Record Office (GCRO), Newport 4216. This is an account of the Laytons furnace and forge from 1630-33. A more detailed discussion of the Laytons Furnace and a full transcription of the account has been recently submitted to the *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies* as part of an article by Dr Madeleine Gray and myself entitled 'Tintern Abbey after the Dissolution'.

[5] R. F. Tylecote, 'The Blast Furnace at Coed Ithel, Llandogo', *Monmouths. Antiquary* 2 (1967), pp. 149-60; H. W. Paar, 'The Furnaces at Coed Ithel and Trellech', *Bull. Hist. Met, Grp.* 7.i (1973), pp. 37-9.

[6] B. L. C. Johnson, 'The Foley Partnership: The Iron Industry at the End of the Charcoal Era', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* IV (1951-2), p. 333.

[7] J. Picken, 'Excavations at Abbey Tintern Furnace', *J. Hist. Met. Soc.* 16/1 (1982), pp. 1-21.

[8] *ibid,* pp. 1-2.

[9] Cardiff Central Library MS. 5. 115.

[10] Rees, *op. cit.* (as in note 1), vol. 2, p. 631.

[11] GCRO, D. 1078. 263. 'Wisewood' = Wye's Wood.

[12] Tucker, *op. cit.* (as in note 2) and GCRO M446/4806 (1607 deed). For the technology of wiredrawing see H. W. Paar and D. G. Tucker, 'The Technology of Wire Making at Tintern, Gwent, 1566 - c. 1880', *J. Hist. Met. Soc.* 11/1 (1977), pp. 15-24.

[13] D. G. Tucker, 'The Seventeenth Century Wireworks Sites at Whitebrook, Monmouthshire, *Bull. Hist. Met. Grp.* 7i (1973), pp. 28-31.

[14] GCRO, Misc Mss 1156.

[15] A traditional Gwent long cord was 175 cu. ft. stacked vol. (9 ft. × 4 ft, 4 ins. × 4 ft, 6 ins): W. Linnard, *Welsh Woods and Forests: History and Utilization* (Cardiff, 1982), p. 72.

[16] H. W. Paar and D. G. Tucker, 'The Old Wireworks and Ironworks at Tintern, Gwent, *J. Hist. Met. Soc.* 9/1 (1975), pp. 11-3.

[17] Insertions in brackets are the transcriber's expansions or interpretations.

[18] A traditional Gwent short cord was 88 cu. ft. stacked vol. (9ft. × 2ft, 2 ins × 46 ft, 6 ins): Linnard, *op cit.* (as in note 15).

[19] These are tied up coppice loppings.

[20] The mine (ore) bosh was presumably a container named after its shape, i.e. resembling the bosh or downward tapering section of the lower furnace stack. A cinder bushel was probably a bushel-basket, i.e. large enough to hold a bushel quantity. A riddle is a coarse sieve.

[21] A sow was an oblong shaped lump of cast iron formed by running off the molten metal from the furnace stack into channels in the sand of the casting floor. Pigs were smaller lumps attached to the sides of the sow.

[22] A buck is a vat. The value of the two buck staves indicates they are of iron. Possibly they are so named merely because of their shape.

[23] *National Library of Wales,* Badminton Maps, vol 10, nos 13 and 15. I am grateful to the Duke of Beaufort and his agents for permission to cite this document.

LIFE IN THE MONMOUTH MILITIA: 1778 to 1812

From the Duke of Beaufort's Orderly Books at Badminton

By KEITH KISSACK, F. S. A.

Plate 1. Regimental Medal (1810). *(Reproduced by permission of the National Museum of Wales).*

National suspicion of standing armies such as Cromwell's New Model, led at the Restoration to a preference for a locally controlled Militia. It was to be based partly on the Elizabethan trained bands and partly on the volunteers recruited by Cromwell's major-generals, men who for £8 a year attended emergencies and quarterly musters. An immediate issue was the collection of the many weapons remaining in private hands after the Civil War. The rôle of such a militia would be the defence of the homeland and a reserve for the army. The best men would stay at home and doubtful characters would be channelled into the regular forces for service overseas.

In the first half of the 18th century the Militia was rarely used except for law enforcement, but the outbreak of war with France led to the Militia Act of 1757 which, with amendments, controlled the way in which it operated for the rest of the century. Its importance increased with the American and French revolutions, but it was during the Napoleonic wars that it reached its greatest size. Its growth was accompanied by the formation of several local volunteer forces.

At this time the 5th Duke of Beaufort commanded the Monmouth Militia, and when the regiment merged with the Brecon in 1793 he continued to command until 1803 when the 6th Duke took over.[1] The Militia has been referred to as 'Society in Uniform' and whichever duke was colonel this was so. He appointed the officers who, when applying gave their income and status. Thus in 1798 John Rumsey, Gent. could become a captain with an income of £300 a year, whereas Richard Davis, Gent. who depended on his father, could only become an ensign. The Orderly Books at Badminton, supplemented by those kept in Monmouth are the basis of these notes. They are chiefly concerned with the embodiments of 1778 and 1793 and refer to other regiments as well as the Monmouth.[2]

The NCOs were usually regulars, but the men were raised by ballot. They had to be between 18 and 50, over 5ft 4ins high, and able-bodied. Each parish was given an allotment of the number of men to be picked by lot. If, when chosen, the man was unwilling to serve

he could either pay a £15 fine or find a substitute. Most men took the latter course, so that in 1792, out of 216 Monmouth Militiamen, 147 were substitutes. In the whole national militia in 1793 there were 40,998 substitutes out of 45,492. It was not always easy to find men willing to enter the militia and few substitutes were ideal military material. They served for three years and could not be sent abroad.

When embodied they trained with regular units at one of the great camps such as Roborough, Warley or Coxheath which, in June 1779, contained the 6th, 14th, 50th, 65th and 69th regulars, along with the militias of Devon, Dorset, Monmouth, East Devon, Anglesea, North York, East Suffolk, Bucks, Worcester, Gloucester, Somserset, Lincoln, Rutland, East York, Northampton and Caernarvon. Here they drilled, paraded, engaged in field days, and were inspected by visiting generals. In 1778 the generals included George III, and the officers commissioned a pair of paintings by Philip de Loutherbourg to commemorate the event. To ensure accuracy COs were asked to supply drawings of their unit's uniform.[3]

These exercises were controlled by signals from the officers to drummers who beat out the commands. It could lead to confusion, so in 1795 the Duke of York introduced a time-table designed 'to provoke Uniformity in the Discipline of the Troops'. All COs were to exercise their units separately on Monday and Friday; on Tuesday they would train by brigades; on Wednesday the General would exercise the whole division; Thursday was 'a Day of Repose for all except those who had been negligent. . .or behind-hand in their Discipline'; and Sunday was to be reserved for attendance at Divine Service.

When not exercising or drilling, men could be employed on special duties such as escorting deserters, guarding French prisoners, or suppressing riots in Bristol. According to the rules of the Army men should be paid 3/- a week but the Duke, who had always paid 3/6 continued to do so. Out of this came stoppages for breakages, losses and food. The price of the latter varied. In 1778, for instance, a wheat loaf, lasting a man four days, cost him 5d. and his meat for the same period about the same.

Officers paid 6d. a day for their rations which were distributed according to rank. Colonels received 11 rations a day, Lieutenant Colonels 9, Majors 7, Captains 3 and Subalterns 1. There was a similar scale for forage for horses: Generals 40 bales, Colonels 9, Majors 5, Captains 3, Subalterns 1. When in winter-quarters Field Officers were allowed two rooms, while a single room held either one Captain, two Subalterns or twelve Other Ranks.

In camp NCOs could bring their wives with them, but where the men were concerned the number was restricted to four wives for each company of 80 men and six for a company of 100. They lived in huts behind the lines where they could be punished for misbehaviour in exactly the same way as their husbands. They led a hard life; were not allowed to use army blankets and there was no issue of bedding straw, though the Duke reluctantly allowed them to have the men's old straw when it was thrown out. Even so, there were often far more women than the company allowance of wives. If men married while in camp the wives were either sent home or stayed in the neighbourhood and the husband was on stoppages to support them. One of the few privileges allowed to the women was permission to ride on the baggage wagons when the regiment moved, hence the term 'a baggage'.

The Duke seems to have had a free hand when deciding the dress of the regiment during the 18th century, but by 1812 he was having to submit his designs to the Clothing Board. It made little difference except that it took longer; if it exceeded the Government allowance

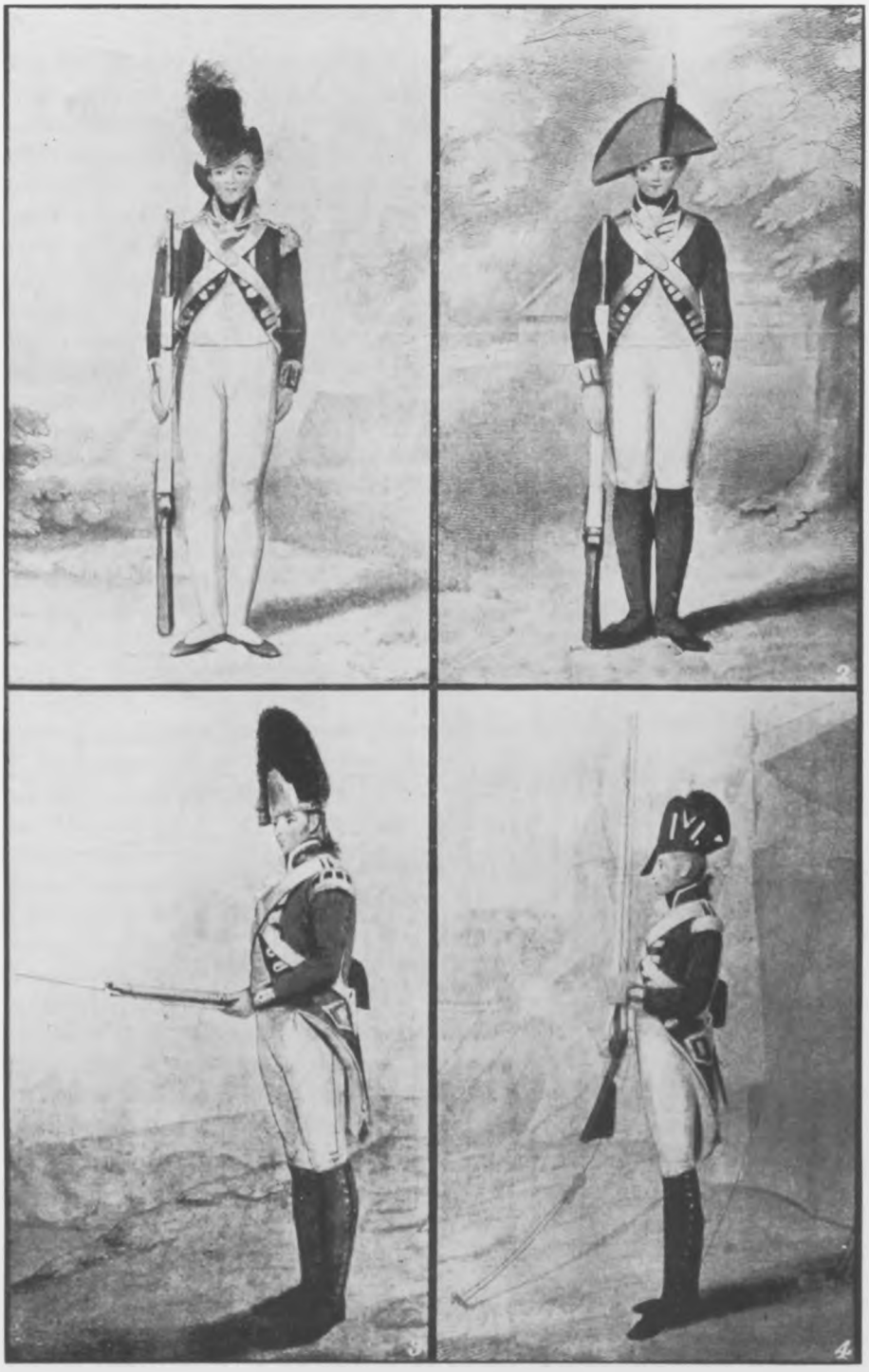
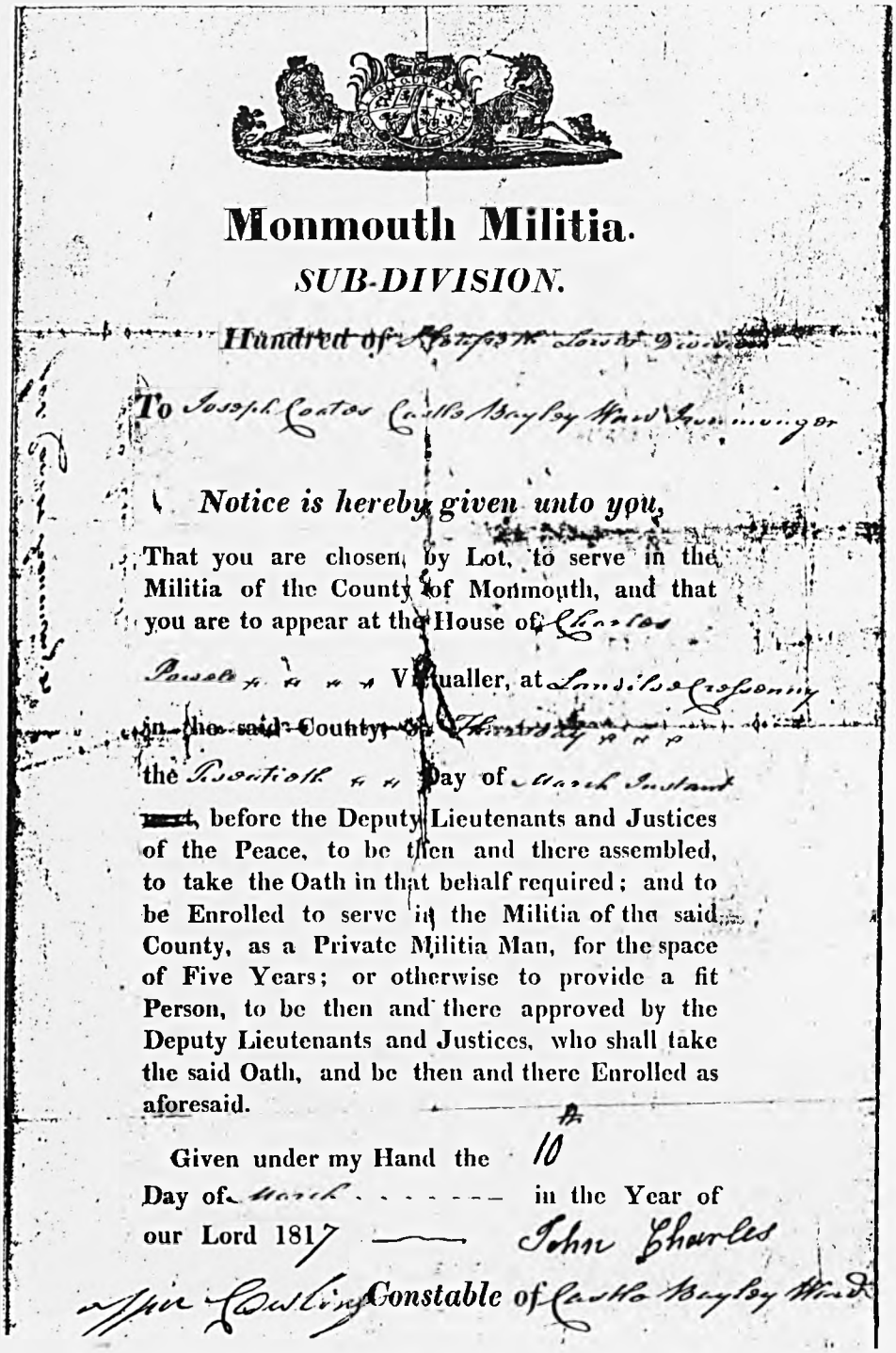


Plate 2. Militia Uniforms (1793). *Top-left*: Light Infantry Company, *Top-right*: Battalion Company, *Bottom-left*: Grenadier Company, *Bottom-right*: Battalion Company. *(Reproduced from B. E. Sargeaunt,* The Royal Monmouthshire Militia, 1910).



Monmouth Militia.

SUB-DIVISION.

Hundred of [illegible]

To Joseph Coates Castle Bayley Ward Ironmonger

Notice is hereby given unto you,

That you are chosen by Lot, to serve in the Militia of the County of Monmouth, and that you are to appear at the House of Charles Powell [illegible] Victualler, at Landsdowne Crescent in the said County of [illegible] the Fourtieth [illegible] Day of March Instant, before the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace, to be then and there assembled, to take the Oath in that behalf required; and to be Enrolled to serve in the Militia of the said County, as a Private Militia Man, for the space of Five Years; or otherwise to provide a fit Person, to be then and there approved by the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices, who shall take the said Oath, and be then and there Enrolled as aforesaid.

Given under my Hand the 10
Day of March ——— in the Year of
our Lord 1817 ——— John Charles
Acting Constable of Castle Bayley Ward

Plate 3. Ballot Paper of Joseph Coates, ironmonger (1817), who found a substitute.

the men paid. Thus in 1793 he issued each man with a shirt (5/6), stockings (1/6), shoes (6/-) and gaiters (4/-), but as this came to 13/- more than the allowance, that amount was stopped from each man's pay.

By 1803 the annual issue to a corporal or private consisted of a cloth coat with unlined sleeves, breeches of the same quality, a Kersey waistcoat with sleeves of milled serge, a lacquered felt hat with cockade, feather or tuft, and a pair of military shoes. The last rarely fitted and men often sold them. To prevent this in 1810, sergeants were ordered to fit each man's shoes and see they were clearly marked with his name and regiment. In that year the Duke thought he could save money by having the uniform material made up by using Monmouth tailors rather than London ones. He was furious to find that making a private's coat and breeches cost 4/1 in Monmouth but only 2/4 in London.

The men paid the difference and, not unnaturally, there were many attempts by men to do the tailoring themselves. Sometimes this was encouraged and in 1779 the Duke allowed them 'to cut their red jackets short so that they can be worn under the waistcoat without being seen'. A year later their coats were to be turned and made into jackets, but this was done by regimental tailors while the men, six at a time, waited. In 1795 Sir Charles Morgan gave each man a length of flannel to make himself a waistcoat, but at the same time there was trouble over men making gaiters out of their old jackets.

The Government clothing allowance in 1793 was £5.14.7 for a sergeant, and £2.10.5 for a corporal or private, but officers paid for their own, and under the Duke fashions changed rapidly. In 1782 they were ordered to get regimental breeches and waistcoats not edged in red and with only one row of buttons. In 1793 they were told to buy Hussar-topped boots, black pleated stocks, and blue double-breasted greatcoats 'with a red cape like the Duke's'. In 1812 they were to get new uniforms when the Duke's designs had been approved by the Clothing Board, and were advised to patronise Mr. Hawkes, 'as cheap if not more so than any other Hatter'.

But cheapness was not always the best policy, and in 1797 Mrs. Isaacson, the Adjutant's wife, was returning from watching a review of the regiment when a waterspout burst over them. 'All their finery was spoilt', she wrote, 'and many an officer had to buy a new coat' as dye from the red capes percolated to the blue greatcoats and turned them purple.[4] Most officers would have been able to afford the expense; they would not have been admitted to the regiment if there had been doubt on that score.

The scale of daily pay after the Monmouth and Brecon Militias merged in 1793 was: £1.6.0 (including 7 warrant men) for the Colonel; 15/11 for Lieutenant Colonels; 14/1 for Majors; 9/5 for Captains; 8/- for Adjutants; 5/8 for Lieutenants; 4/8 for Ensigns; 5/8 for Quarter Masters; 10/- for Surgeons; 5/- for Assistant Surgeons; and 15/- for Paymasters. Amongst other ranks, the Sergeant-Major received 2/0¾, Sergeants 1/6¾, Corporals 1/2¼, Drummers 1/1¾, and Privates 1/-.

An added expense was caused by the Ducal obsession with the men's hair. In 1778 it was to be plaited and put up under the hat; in the following year it was to be combed, powdered and greased with hog's lard. By 1793 it was to be short, clubbed, with pads and roses; whiskers were to be as low 'as the tib of the ear'. In 1795 it was to be kept under their hats, 'as it is the best way to keep it in good order'. Powder was not to be used, 'nor soap suds or anything to change the colour of the hair'. Powder soon came back and in 1797 officers were ordered to provide every man 'with hair tyers and proper false tails'. Eight months later powder was again forbidden and officers were to see their men 'with hair cut on top

of their heads'. Two years later the Commander-in-Chief added to the confusion by ordering that all men except the flank companies should wear their hair queued, 'tied a little below the upper part of the collar, ten inches long with one inch below the binding'. In the same year, 'owing to the high price of flour', powder was again forbidden; but by 1809 it was back and the Duke was complaining that officers wore so little that it was hardly observeable. This may have been to avoid the Hair Powder Tax, but they had little hope of changing the Duke's conviction that 'the future appearance of the battalion depends much upon its hair'.

He was equally concerned about the way men wore their hats, to one side, back to front, or with parts missing. These too changed frequently. In 1779 white feathers adorned their hats and in 1794 fox tails dangled from their forage caps. In 1797 officers were told to obtain hats 'of the same cock, binding, band, roses, loop and regimental button as the Duke has, also white feathers'. These were later changed to red, then half white and half red, and finally green. These lasted for some years, but in 1808 officers were ordered 'to provide themselves with a vulture feather, eleven inches in the feather': not easy to pick up in Monmouth, one would think, but the regiment still owns a bunch of brown feathers described as such today.

Once correctly dressed, the Militia spent much of its time drilling, marching and being inspected. When on parade the regiment stood three deep, the small men in front, the tall men in the middle, and the awkward men hidden in the rear. Further back still were the Itchy Men, while out of sight in the huts were the women, batmen and cooks. Saluting in 1779 was by smartly removing the hat with the left hand and bringing it down to the left side. By 1803 the custom had changed to putting the right hand to the hat and 'giving the wall'. Practice in shooting was always restricted by lack of ammunition. In 1779 men fired only once a week, and the thrifty ones were forbidden to search for shot they had fired as it belonged to the owner of the land on which it fell.

Seventy years later, another Commander of the Regiment, Colonel Vaughan, writing from the Crimea, bemoaned the lack of firing practice and the effect of the tight, smart dress the men had to wear in action. He complained that the British soldier, 'the smartest as the most uncomfortable of men . . . is only at ease when improperly dressed and only comfortable when unbuttoned'. On the battlefield 'this trussed-up army soon fell into the opposite extreme of looseness . . . down went the shakos, off went the wings, away went the stocks', and away went discipline.[1] Vaughan's criticism had as little effect on the War Office in 1855 as it would have had on the Duke of Beaufort in 1793.

Even so, there is no shortage of criticism in the Orderly Books; usually of the marching, when shouting, straggling, leaving the lines to steal fruit, and feigning lameness were common. The Duke feared the worst when a route march was planned, and there was usually a warning. In 1793, for instance, 'It is expected the men will march quietly and soberly and not in the riotous manner as they marched from their own county'. He was disappointed. Yet the Monmouth was well ahead of the Middlesex Militia which General Sir Charles Grey had the misfortune to meet when they were marching from Shorncliff to Herne Bay in 1798: 'Soldiers quitting their lines, straggling over the whole country, taking the nearest pathways to Bridgetown, and in every alehouse'. As a result they arrived a day late and the General wrote despairingly, 'With the enemy at the door . . . what chance can a corps of this description have against a disciplined enemy?'

Sentries caused similar trouble, especially when guarding prisoners. They fraternised,

traded, pawned clothing and took bribes. Chairs were carried into sentry boxes, and in 1799 the Somerset Militia turned the boxes round so that the backs were to the wind and five French prisoners escaped. The slackness of the sentries was in part due to the reluctance of officers to attend guard mounting, and one visiting General was furious to find that while the guard was mounting the duty officer was dining in the mess as was the regimental custom.

When the Militia performed well on field days they were sometimes rewarded; in 1778, for instance, with a pint of beer after being reviewed by George III. In the following year the Duke gave every man a pound of beef and a quart of porter to drink the King's health, 'and he hopes they will behave themselves afterwards'. They did not and the Duke did not risk drink again. So when the Regiment left Bristol in 1780 after dealing with the riots there and the Common Council voted £100 to be distributed amongst the men, the Duke, to the dismay of all, spent it on shirts, stocks and winter stockings. There was often a bonus on disembodiment; in 1802 a day's pay, 'to be used soberly. . . and not more than three men to travel home together'.

Drunkenness was almost always the cause of trouble, and opportunities to get drunk abounded. In 1779 there were 128 booths supplying liquor at Warley Camp, and by 1807 drunkenness had become so prevalent that the CO ordered a regimental parade every Sunday morning at 8 o'clock. It was inspected by the Adjutant and any man still unsteady on his feet was put in the Black Hole. Drink often led to rioting, assaulting the watchmen, and fighting with other regiments. At various camps the Monmouth fought with the Devons, The Loyal Emigrants, the 42nd (on the evening of the day on which the Duke had commended their behaviour), and the 7th Dragoons who were attacked by Monmouth men disguised in smock frocks. After the battle with the Loyal Emigrants the troops were warned not to be seen with 'Clubs, Stakes or Drawn Bayonets'. There was usually trouble when allowances were paid, and the fact that winter quarters were often in an inn provided unlimited opportunities.

As, very often, did the Officers' Mess. The Hon. John Byng, who visited Monmouth in 1781, described the Militia as a stout body of men, but was disgusted to find the Beaufort Arms occupied by regimental officers. 'It is a plague to be in an inn with troops', he wrote, 'for the officers employ and occupy the whole house. . . the landlord oppresses the traveller, and the officers. . . take pleasure in eating up the landlord. . . I slept not a wink last night.[6] Bills for broken glass, furniture and crockery occur frequently amongst the regimental papers.

The Militia was occasionally used to intercept smugglers. When contraband was found its value was divided amongst the whole regiment below the rank of subaltern and was not kept by the party making the capture. This seems to have encouraged small groups to go out and waylay lawful travellers in the hope they were smugglers. Robbery was fairly frequent and ranged from poaching and stealing fruit to the removal of a whole field of potatoes during one night, a feat which the poor farmer (he had ten children) claimed would require at least forty strong men. Poaching with firearms was punished by fines of £5 for officers and £1 for other ranks. The money was then given to the poor of the parish poached. Occasionally the officers offered rewards for information: £3 when a poor woman was robbed in front of the camp, and £10 when the Sergeant Major's horse was killed.

But drunkenness remained an unsolved problem. In 1800, for instance, 'in consequence of Drunken, Disorderly and Unsoldierlike behaviour, and particularly the almost daily

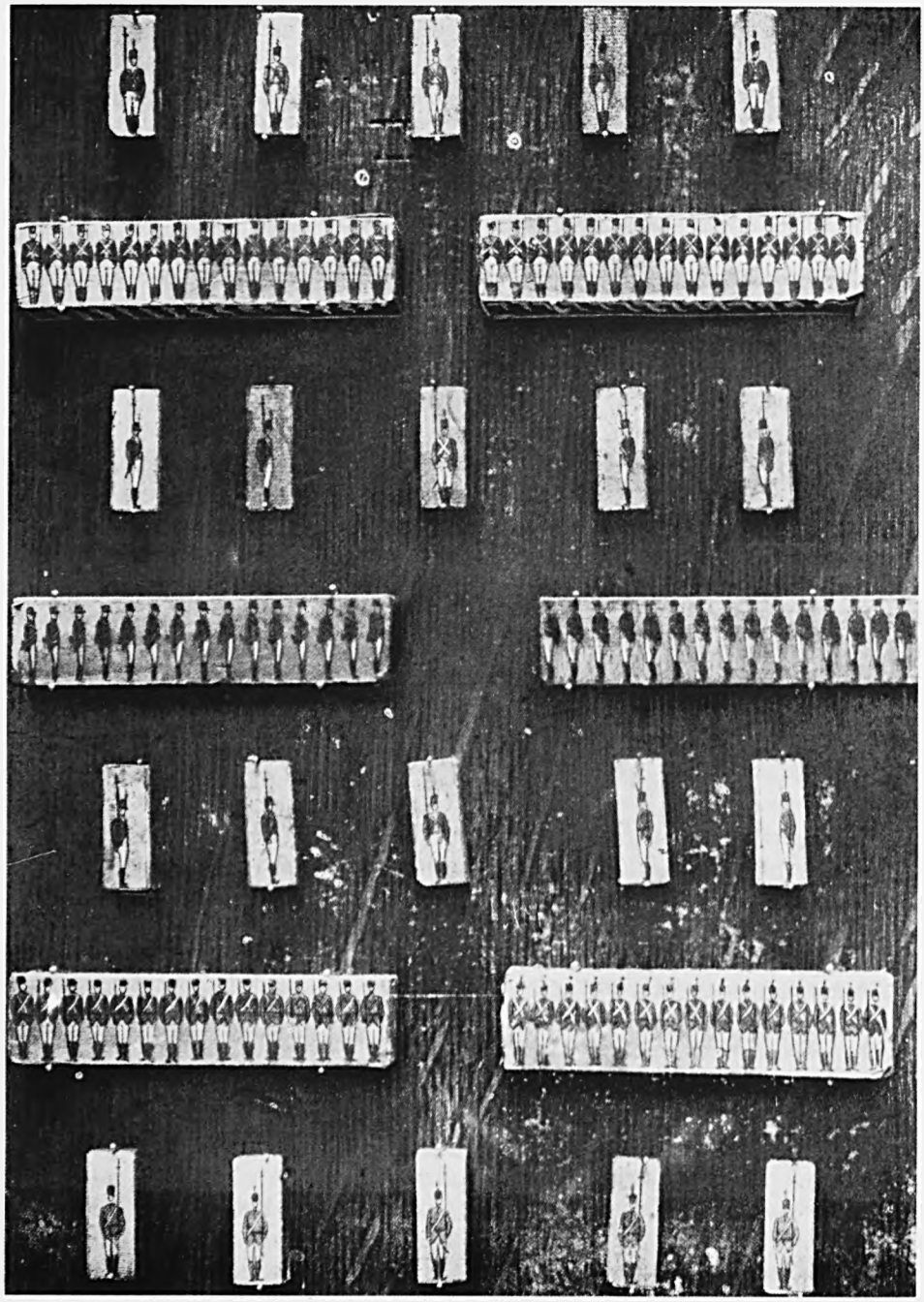


Plate 4. Set of Drill Blocks, *Ca.* 1800, for teaching formations and movements. Each of the four sides of a block have different positions. *(Now in Regimental Museum, Monmouth Castle).*

Desertion that takes place no liberty from any parade will be granted'. A week later the regiment assembled to watch the flogging of Jephtha Jones, and the CO warned the regiment that he had received but a small part of his punishment; 'He will receive the rest as soon as the Surgeon allows it'. Sentences over 500 strokes were usually administered in three parts, the victim going to hospital between each flogging.

Other punishments included extra parades, fines, and confinement in the Cage or the Black Hole, a deep pit where a man could spend a week on bread and water. Courts martial were often held in an inn. In 1778 James Eavins was accused of absence without leave at the King's Head in Monmouth. His defence was that he heard that his child was ill and went to see her before she died, and was late for church parade. He was sentenced to 100 lashes with the cat of nine tails on the bare back. Three months later Joseph Young was sentenced to 1000 lashes, but the King was pleased to direct that not more than 500 should be given at the same time. A man who stole a pig was given 800, but not more than 400 at once, and it was agreed that as an example the picquet be made to watch and report the severity of the punishment. In 1780 a man caught stealing fowls had the second instalment remitted as he was too ill to receive it. In 1793 Thomas Jones, due to receive 100 lashes for stealing a comrade's stockings had the sentence halved because of his youth. Others had sentences reduced for good character or because they had been long in prison.

Mutiny was always savagely punished. In 1795 some men from the Oxfordshire Militia mutinied at Newhaven and the Duke of York ordered the sentence to be read to every corps in Britain. Two were executed, one was sent to Australia for ten years, one man received 1500 lashes, four more 1000 each, and another man 500. It was not until 1812 that the War Office limited the number of strokes to 300.

Officers were occasionally court martialled. Captain Morrison of the Middlesex Militia was cashiered in 1796 for appearing with strings in his shoes and refusing the CO's order to change. Ensign Grummet in 1799 was censured for sending a letter at the low rate of an NCO and the sentence was read to all regiments. A similar sentence, with loss of pay for one year, was passed on Lt. Colonel R. Watson of the Queen's Own Light Dragoon Guards for drinking and smoking in the other ranks' canteen. Although there were frequent complaints about officers being absent from duty, poaching, spending nights out without leave, walking the streets improperly dressed, and arriving in church when the sermon had ended, there was little the CO could do other than reprimand them. Even when two officers sitting on a court martial failed to appear, the General did no more than express his disappointment.

The camps were unhealthy and the hospitals inadequate. Until 1798 a room in barracks or a tent was considered sufficient. At Roborough an old barn was used. Distrust of hospital led to men concealing sickness and then being threatened with court martial for doing so. Latrines were to be six feet deep and filled in when half full. This was rarely done and men relieved themselves behind hedges, walls and, on one occasion against the Duke's tent.

The Regimental Surgeon ascribed most illnesses to nuts, which he considered very dangerous, or women whom he regarded as even more so. The latter were blamed for everything from the Foul Disease (V.D) to sore eyes. Men affected by the former had to pay the surgeon 5/- to be cured, but were fined 10/- if found concealing it. For a time it was not taken very seriously, and in 1780 the sentries at the hospital were accused of bringing disorderly women inside and making so much noise that the patients could not sleep. But in 1799 the Duke was led to believe that men with V.D. would lose their private parts if they

concealed it, and ordered the whole regiment to parade for examination by the Surgeon. The outcome of this bizarre exercise is not revealed. Sore eyes, too, were attributed to women, so the Duke reduced the allotment of wives and had the barracks fumigated.

A problem for troops in these great camps was boredom. They were not allowed to mix with other regiments inside or with civilians outside. When on duty in Bristol they were warned against contact with 'the lower inhabitants', always prone to symptoms of rioting, while in Monmouth they were not allowed to stand about in the streets. There were few amusements, and restrictions on almost every form of leisure activity. An attempt to import a billiard table in 1778 was immediately forbidden because it might lead to gambling. Men were not allowed to go to the skittle alley, to alehouse dances, to angle 'contrary to the Rules of War', to kick balls under the Monmouth Shire Hall, to bathe in improper places, to swear in the street, or to comment on officers' wives when they passed them. Indoors they were forbidden to play cards, to cook, 'to lie down with dirty shoes between the blankets in day time', to sell their meat ration, to buy extra bedding, to wear worsted stockings for warmth, or to wash their white trousers without taking them off.

All public occasions such as Assizes, elections, bull baiting, race meetings and fairs were out of bounds. But the fact that men continued to do all these things and were punished when caught seems to have been accepted by all. They are chronicled in the Orderly Books in sentences beginning, 'The Duke is saddened/ashamed/distressed/appalled to hear that. . . ' And when restrictions were relaxed the Duke was just as likely to be disappointed. In 1796 he reluctantly allowed the regiment to go to the races on condition that no man got under the ropes and crossed the course. On the following day there is an entry, 'Great complaints of men getting under the ropes and getting liquor'. The men tended, too, rather naturally to take sides against the authorities, hindering the arrest of disorderly women by the constables, trying to rescue them from gaol, bartering with French prisoners, and fighting with the Press Gang to free sailors.

There was little effort at education, though there was some attempt to teach the NCOs to write in 1778, when 'all those improving themselves in writing' were 'to show their copy books to the Adjutant every Sunday morning who will report to the CO any neglect he shall find there'. Two years later, 'all sergeants and corporals not perfect in writing' were to attend school in the storeroom in order to be instructed. That this exercise was successful in part is proved by the meticulous calligraphy of the Orderly Books themselves.

There was a flourishing band with a wide range of instruments. There were restrictions on its use while the regiment was embodied, though trouble was caused by members taking their instruments home on leave, and by the disruption of church services when they practised in Bristol on Sunday mornings. But once disembodiment had occurred, it came into its own as a colourful element in Monmouth's life; at dances, concerts, and political meetings. Opposition to its political use was voiced at the trial in 1826 of Joseph Price, J.P., D.L.[7] He was a supporter of the Duke of Beaufort, and when one of the Duke's opponents was elected Mayor, Price decided to disrupt the ball at the Shire Hall. He went to the Mason's Arms, which was kept by Sergeant-Major Jones, summoned the band, and then led them through the town, 'the buglers making disgusting noises' at the houses of the Duke's enemies. A witness at the trial said that 'Whenever Mr. Price wishes to promote any object by means of a mob or rabble he invariably makes the Mason's Arms his headquarters and then sends for all the NCOs and assembles all the rabble he can collect and from thence sallies forth in a body'. The Duke was not pleased to be accused of

commanding a regiment which was based on a town, 'constantly exposed to the tumult, terror and outrages of the military. . . infuriated with intoxication, merely for party purposes'. He dismissed the accusation as, 'a heap of bombast, abuse and most shamefully perverted and exaggerated statements', which was partly true, but did not secure Mr. Price's acquittal nor begin to solve the problem of how to occupy the Militia in peacetime.

At harvest time a proportion of the regiment was allowed to help local farmers, but many men used the opportunity to go home and the Duke was often infuriated to find them carrying on their proper trades far from the farmers' fields. Militia regiments could volunteer for service in Ireland, and in 1813 the Monmouth embarked from Bristol and arrived in Dublin six days later.[8] At this time many men were transferring to the Regular Army. It was believed that the longer a man endured the Militia, the more likely he was to do this, and Henry Dundas, the Secretary for War, thought that this was because most militiamen had become so used to idleness that on disembodiment they preferred the army to going back to work. Whatever the reason, in 1799 the Militia was reduced to 66,000 men, and volunteers were offered a bounty of £10 to join the regulars. Over 15,000 did so and, according to the Orderly Books, many men from the Monmouth and Brecon volunteered for the 40th Regiment to serve in Europe, and the Regiment was highly praised by the GOC for its good order and discipline.

Only occasionally did the threat of action in this country arise. In 1798 General Sir Charles Grey issued a long address, warning the troops of the imminent French invasion, and telling them to prepare for the resulting hardship by sending to the interior all heavy baggage, women, children, anything that might hinder mobility. A suggestion that sheep and cattle should also be removed was ridiculed by Sir John Moore and quickly dropped. On a more practical level, pouches were to be kept permanently filled with 30 rounds of ball cartridges, and above all, troops were to remember that invasion could only be repelled by the ruthless use of the bayonet. The problem never arose, and in these critical times, the Militia's chief rôle remained, as had originally been intended, that of an invaluable recruiting ground for the Regular Army.

NOTES

[1] The 5th Duke married Elizabeth Boscawen, daughter of the Admiral, and was partly responsible for building the Naval Temple on the Kymin outside Monmouth. The 6th Duke, who succeeded in 1803, had trouble with his son, the Marquess of Worcester, over his affair with Harriet Wilson and both feature prominently in her memoirs.

[2] With the exceptions below, most of the information comes from 22 Orderly Books, 2 Letter Books and 1 Clothing Account, kindly lent by the Duke of Beaufort. All quotations, unless otherwise stated, come from these books which are kept at Badminton.

[3] De Loutherbourg's paintings belong to H.M. the Queen and are now at Windsor. They measure 48 × 72 inches and depict the Mock Attack and the Review by George III. The Duchess paraded in full regimentals and the King complimented the Duke on 'the handsome appearance of the men, the neatness of their uniform, and their steadiness and activity'. The sketches of the various uniforms submitted by COs are in the British Museum. (201 C.5).

[4] Mrs Isaacson's Diary covered the years 1792 to 1802 and there are extracts in *Some Records of the Royal Monmouthshire Militia* by Captain W. F. Noel, published in Monmouth in 1886.

[5] The diary of Colonel J. F. Vaughan and the anonymous pamphlet he wrote on returning from the Crimea are in the Castle Museum, Monmouth.

[6] *The Torrington Diaries,* Vol. 1, p. 21.

[7] *Report of the Trial at the Monmouth Spring Assizes, 1826. The King v. J. Price.* Taken in shorthand by J. A. Dowling.

[8] The Regiment's stay in Ireland is recorded in the diary of Captain Morgan, a copy of which is in the Castle Museum, Monmouth.

FIELD EXCURSIONS, 1990

Saturday, May 19th: In perfect weather, members travelled to Shropshire, visiting first Whittington Castle, where Mr. J.R. Kenyon, Librarian of the National Museum of Wales, spoke of its early history and guided members around the site. The afternoon was spent at nearby Pradoe, a late-eighteenth century brick house and home of the Kenyon family since 1803. We were welcomed by Col. and Mrs. Kenyon, and then visited the extensive range of outbuildings, including threshing barn, stables, dairy and brewery, with Col. Kenyon and Ms. Carole Ryan, Conservation Officer for Shropshire. We were next conducted around the delightful house and beautiful gardens before enjoying a much appreciated home-made tea prior to our departure for home.

Saturday, September 15th: The day was spent in South Glamorgan, once again in beautiful weather. After coffee and Welsh cakes, we visited some of the most recent acquisitions at the Welsh Folk Museum, St. Fagans, with Dr. Elfyn Scourfield, Keeper of Farming and Crafts. Members then explored the buildings and gardens at their leisure. After lunch, we travelled to Sutton, a most exciting early house near Cowbridge, owned by a charming young couple, Mr. and Mrs. D. Gluck. Sutton is a sixteenth-century house, divided into two separate sets of accommodation, typical of Snowdonia but rare for Glamorgan. We have been invited to return in four years time, when the careful and loving restoration should be complete. Tea was taken at Dyffryn House, St. Nicholas, and there was time for a quick tour of the gardens before returning home.

Evening Outings: There were eight very enjoyable and varied outings this season. At Pencoed Castle, dating from at least the thirteenth century, but now in a sad state of disrepair prior to becoming a country club, architects representing the developers showed us around. A large party of members was warmly welcomed by our President, Mr. I.S. Burge, and Mrs. Burge, at Glen Usk, a delightful house built in 1830 for Sir Digby Mackworth. Sadly, torrential rain prevented our exploring the gardens. Also in bad weather, a few hardy members visited the very important Bronze Age site at Caldicot, where Mr. Stephen Parry described in detail the significance of the waterlogged site and the finds and the difficulties of excavation. At Mathern church, the Rev. A.R. Willie gave a very lively history of the very interesting building and took the braver members up the tower. Afterwards, at Moynes Court, Mr. and Mrs. James Delves-Broughton showed us their beautiful home, where Mr. Delves-Broughton's hand-made furniture excited great envy, and we were entertained to a glass of wine on the lawn. At Abergavenny, Mr. Eric Finney spoke very knowledgeably on the history of the parish church and members of the Abergavenny Local History Society guided us around points of interest in the town. Mr. M. Buckridge, Director of Torfaen Museum Trust, showed us over Llanyrafon Farm, which the Trust is restoring as an example of a typical late Victorian valley farm. Begun in 1660, Llanyrafon was until the late nineteenth century the chief estate and manor of Llanfrechfa. A dozen members braved the rain to explore the hillfort of Llanmelin under the guidance of Mr. R.J. Brewer of the National Museum of Wales. The final visit was to see the new Monmouthshire Militia Museum at Castle House, Monmouth, arranged by Mr. K. K. Kissack, who spoke on the history of the house, built in 1653 as a town house for the Duke of Beaufort and subsequently the Assize Court, a girls' school and the headquarters of the Monmouthshire Militia. Col. Duggey showed us part of the building, with its very ornate moulded ceilings and decorative fireplaces.

G.V.J.