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Front cover: The Newport medieval ship. Overall view looking towards the bow, taken during dismantling in 2002. *Copyright: Nigel Nayling.*

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EDITORIAL

Once again, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* has been fortunate to attract contributions of a very high calibre, which considerably increase our knowledge of the archaeology, history, art history and architecture of Gwent/Monmouthshire. I am most grateful to all our authors for their support of this publication.

I must also acknowledge the very considerable help that I have received from members of the Editorial Sub Committee – Mr Richard Brewer, Dr Raymond Howell, Mrs Gwenllian Jones, our honorary secretary, and, an invaluable member of this group since the publication of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* is the Association's largest annual expenditure, our honorary treasurer, Mr Richard Hutchings. They all gave practical help as well as occasionally much-needed moral support.

Our honorary assistant editor, the Revd Dr David Williams, continues to play a pivotal role, and I am happy to pay tribute to all that he does to ensure the quality of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, and to make its publication a smooth and efficient process. As last year, he has also been assiduous, and despite some disappointment and frustration, successful in seeking financial support for the publication of this journal.

The Association gratefully acknowledges the support it has received from Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit towards the publication of its report on excavations at St Lawrence's, Bayfield, Chepstow; Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, for assisting the publication of the colour plates accompanying Mr Julian Mitchell's article on the water-colour artist, Joshua Gosselin; and the Marc Fitch Fund for David Williams's paper on Monmouthshire wills. In addition, two of our authors, Julian Mitchell and Mr Rhys Robinson have most generously helped towards the publication of their papers. The Association is also very grateful to Monmouthshire County Council for its support of the publication of Volume XIX through its Welsh Church Act Fund.

Finally, may I request intending contributors to obtain from me a copy of the *Guidelines* which explain the style, conventions, and standards expected for *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*.

**Annette M. Burton,
Honorary Editor,
31 January 2003.**

EARLY TO MID-HOLOCENE (MESOLITHIC-NEOLITHIC) DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLWAY VALLEY (CENTRAL GWENT, UK) AND ITS ARCHAEOLOGICAL POTENTIAL

By Simon K. Haslett

The history of landscape and environmental development through the later Quaternary in south-east Wales, and adjacent regions of south-west England, has been derived from two main areas of study. Firstly, the Pleistocene and Holocene deposits underlying the extensive coastal lowlands of the Severn Estuary and Bristol Channel (Allen, 2001a). These include areas of the south-east Wales coastline, around Barry, Glamorgan (Strahan, 1896), and the Gwent Levels (Rippon, 1996) that are subdivided into the Wentlooge Level lying between Cardiff and Newport, and the Caldicot Level between Newport and Chepstow. In England, coastal lowlands occur along the banks of the Gloucestershire Severn Estuary (Rippon, 1997), and the extensive Somerset Levels (Kidson and Heyworth, 1976; Haslett *et al.*, 2001a). In these areas Pleistocene sands and gravels, mostly of non-glacial origin, pass abruptly upward into Holocene silts and peats deposited when post-glacial sea level rose to inundate the area (Hawkins, 1971a, b; Kidson and Heyworth, 1973; Heyworth and Kidson, 1982; Haslett *et al.*, 1998a, b), creating extensive salt and freshwater marsh environments (Haslett *et al.*, 2001b). The hiatus in sedimentation represented by the abrupt Pleistocene to Holocene transition is often marked by the occurrence of a palaeosol that existed on the Pleistocene land surface before being submerged by the effects of the rising Holocene sea level. Prehistoric archaeology has been forthcoming throughout the Quaternary sequence, but especially from the Holocene deposits of the Somerset Levels (Coles and Coles, 1986) and the Gwent Levels (Bell and Neumann, 1997).

The second area of study has come from the glaciated landscapes of northern Gwent, and the surrounding uplands, such as the Brecon Beacons, Powys. Most of the research in this area has focussed on glacial landforms and deposits (Charlesworth, 1929; Pocock, 1926; Clarke, 1936; Welch and Trotter, 1961; Lewis, 1966, 1970a, b; Williams, 1968a; Ellis-Gruffydd, 1977; Walker, 1980), and is usefully reviewed by Barclay (1989). In addition to these mainly geomorphological studies, some palaeoecological research has been undertaken, including palynological analysis of a peat sequence at Waen Ddu (Trotman, 1963) and a sediment sequence from Llangorse Lake (Jones *et al.*, 1985); however, these studies are in the minority.

In central Gwent, situated between these two main areas discussed above (the glaciated uplands of northern Gwent and southern Powys, and the extensive coastal lowlands bordering the Severn Estuary), there is little information published concerning landscape and environmental development during the later Quaternary, with its implications for archaeology and the wider geographical context. It is important to investigate this area if a full understanding of regional landscape development and associated archaeology is to be gained, and the interconnectivity of upland and lowland appreciated. The latter aim is also being addressed in Somerset, where the Quaternary Research Unit at Bath Spa University College is investigating both the lowland landscape of the Somerset Levels (Haslett *et al.*, 1998a, b, 2001a, b; Haslett and Davies, 2002) and the adjacent upland area of the Mendip Hills (Davies *et al.*, 2001; Davies and Robb, 2002). The intermediate area represented by central Gwent, for example, is a neglected piece of the regional jigsaw. The

present paper begins an attempt to address this shortfall, in this case through an investigation of Early to Mid-Holocene land surfaces buried beneath the alluvium of the Olway Valley system in central Gwent. This study offers a preliminary interpretation of the data available, and explores the significance of these findings for archaeology and regional Holocene landscape development.

Study Area

The Olway Valley is situated in central Gwent (Fig. 1), extending east of the town of Usk. The principal watercourse in the valley is the Olway brook. Its headwaters rise near Trellech in eastern Gwent, where it has been mapped as the Penarth brook, at an altitude of *c.* 230 m OD (Ordnance Datum, Newlyn). Initially, its course is erratic and mostly within a narrow valley. However, it emerges from upland *c.* 2 km east of Llandenny to flow within an excessively broad valley (up to *c.* 1 km wide) compared to the present dimensions of the brook, which has a maximum channel width of *c.* 5-6 m, and is clearly an underfit river (Dury, 1970). This broad lower valley of the Olway brook is characterised by an extensive floodplain, lying at *c.* 30 m OD near Llandenny, where the floodplain is known as Llandenny Bottom, falling over a distance of *c.* 5.5 km to *c.* 17 m OD at Usk. At Usk the Olway brook flows into the Usk Valley, flowing southward, but close to the eastern side of the valley, for a further *c.* 3 km to its confluence with the river Usk near Llanllowell.

The Olway brook has a number of important tributaries. These include the Llangofen brook, Pontyrhydan brook, Nant y Wilcae brook, Pill brook, and Llangwm Isaf brook, as well as a number of other un-named streams. In this study the Pill brook valley has been investigated and warrants a brief description. The headwaters of the Pill brook rise south-west of Devauden at an altitude of *c.* 200 m OD and flow north-eastward through a relatively narrow valley to its emergence onto Llandenny Bottom and its confluence with the Olway brook north of Gwernesney.

The solid geology of the Olway catchment is almost entirely of Siluro-Devonian Old Red Sandstone (ORS) (Welch and Trotter, 1961; Haslett, 1998), with the exception of a small intrusion of igneous rock near Llanllowell (Haslett, 1990, 1992). The general dip of the ORS in the catchment is to the south and east, which has influenced the development of a number of escarpments. Many faults also occur, providing lines of weakness that appear to have been exploited by rivers and streams (Searle, 1970). The floodplain of the Olway Valley has been mapped as river alluvium by the Geological Survey (Welch and Trotter, 1961), the Tywi Formation of Bowen (1999), but is subdivided by the Soil Survey of England and Wales (1983) into a number of different soil associations.

In his monograph of the relief and drainage evolution of Wales, Brown (1960) all but ignored the rivers of eastern Gwent, possibly because of the lack of information available. However, Searle (1970) provides many stimulating ideas regarding the evolution of the county's rivers, albeit lacking in supporting evidence beyond topographical relationships and stratigraphical notes. She considers that the Olway Valley has had a highly complex history, suggesting that the broad valley of Llandenny Bottom indicates a former course of the river Usk flowing south from Raglan prior to the formation of the Llanbadoc Gap at Usk during the later Pleistocene. Despite the speculative nature of her ideas, they do provide credible theories and models that could be tested through focussed fieldwork in the area.

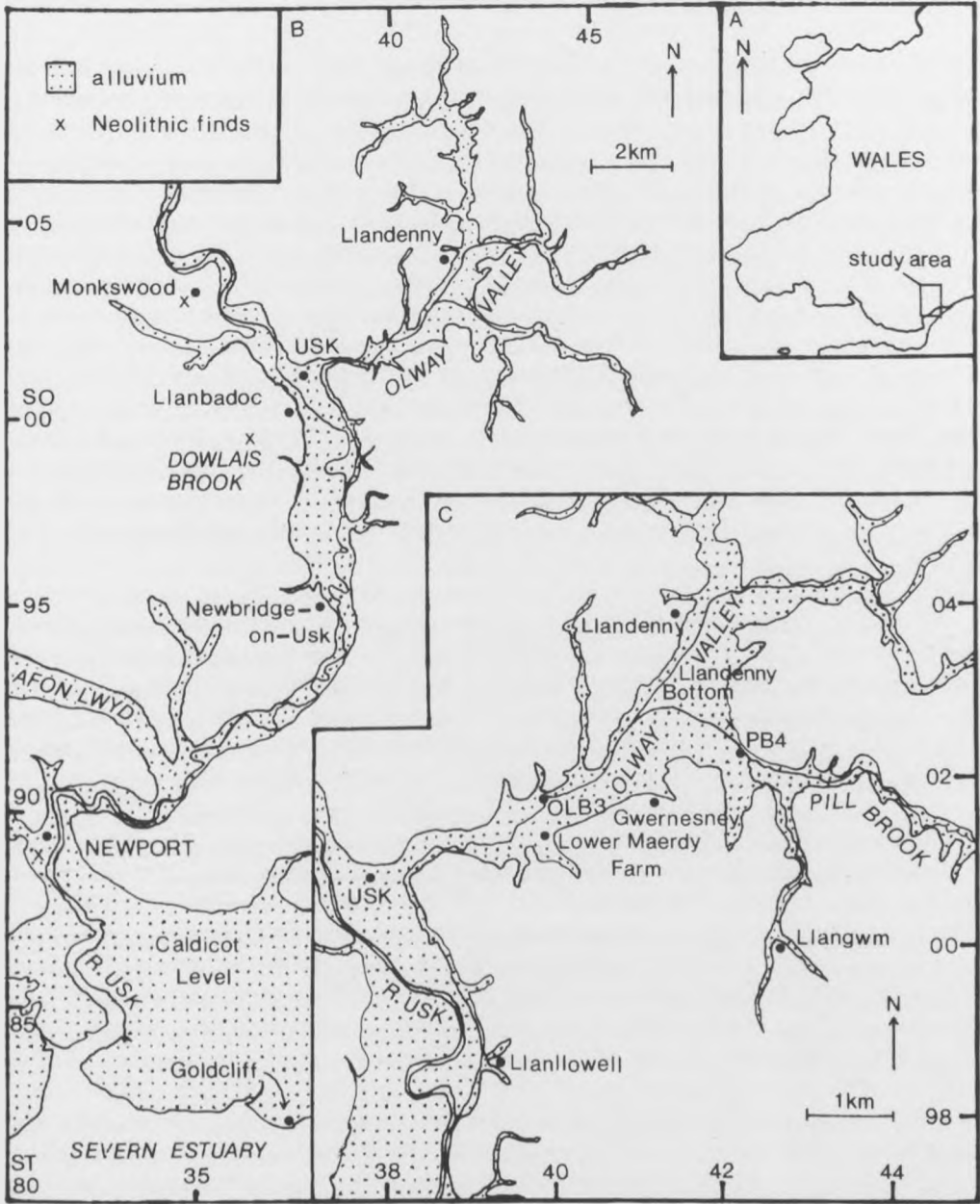


Fig. 1. Distribution of alluvium in central Gwent. Note that estuarine alluvium extends along the river Usk upstream to Newbridge-on-Usk, and river alluvium occurs north of this point. A-location of study area in Wales; B-distribution of alluvium of the Olway brook system, the lower Usk Valley, and tributaries; C-detail of the location of sites investigated in the Olway and Pill brook Valleys, and the confluence with the adjacent Usk Valley. The find locations of Neolithic artefacts are also indicated.

Stratigraphy and Radiocarbon Dating

The banks of the Olway brook and its tributaries are in many places cliffed, exposing deep sediment sequences. The stratigraphy at two sites has been investigated in some detail for this study and samples collected for analysis. The first site is located *c.* 300 m north-east of Lower Maerdy Farm, *c.* 2 km east of Usk. The section examined occurs in a meander bend on the eastern bank of the Olway brook, where the altitude of the top of the bank is *c.* 19.5 m OD. The second site occurs along the lower reaches of the Pill brook north of Gwernesney in its western bank, where the altitude of the top of the bank is *c.* 26 m OD. In addition to describing cliff exposures, boreholes were also made using a hand-operated Eijkelkamp gouge. Lithostratigraphic boundaries are measured in terms of depth (m) below the top of the exposure (usually the top of the channel bank).

The Lower Maerdy Farm site comprises three described sections referred to as Olway brook Sections 1-3 (abbreviated OLB1-3). Section OLB1 was described from a borehole within the channel of the Olway brook representing relatively recent Holocene deposition during the last one thousand years, with a sequence thickness of 1.34 m, and will be the subject of a future paper. Sections OLB2 and OLB3 are 10 m apart along the eastern bank of the Olway brook. The sequence is similar in both sections and is exemplified by OLB3 (Table 1). The lowest lithostratigraphic unit exposed is a uniform grey-brown sandy clay spanning 2.95 m depth to at least 3.45 m. This unit is conspicuous by its pale colour and is fairly resistant to erosion, as in many places along the Olway brook it is seen forming the bed of the channel (at least from Llandenny Bottom to near Llanllowell). A sample of this deposit was collected, sieved at 0.063 mm and examined for certain microfossils (*i.e.* ostracods, foraminifera, and plant macrofossils) under a reflected light microscope (Haslett, 2002), but none were encountered. Overlying this basal unit at OLB3 is a lens of clayey peat spanning 2.8 to 2.95 m. Plant macrofossils are clearly visible in the deposit, including woody remains. At OLB2, the peat horizon is underlain by a thinly layered, slightly organic, sandy, and partly cemented deposit (relatively hard and resistant to erosion), indicating the activity of pedogenic processes, suggesting that it should be described as a sandy organic palaeosol. Overlying the peat is a 2.8 m thick unit of reddish-brown sandy to silty floodplain alluvium.

The site along the Pill brook (section PB4) is described from an exposure and a borehole, sunk at the foot of the exposure, that continues the section downward. The lowermost unit observed in the borehole, spanning 3.92-3.94 m, is a pinkish gravel that is overlain by a 0.09 m thick woody peat. Various thin layers of sands and gravels occur above the peat to where the sequence passes into typical reddish-brown sandy to silty floodplain alluvium at a depth of 2.68 m.

The peat units at both OLB3 and PB4 were bulk sampled in the field and have been radiocarbon (^{14}C) dated by Beta Analytic Inc., Miami, Florida, USA. The results are shown in Table 2. As is the convention, only 2σ (95% probability) calibrated ages in calendar years BC or BP ('before present' = AD 1950) are used in the discussion. The peat at OLB3 yielded a Mesolithic age range of 4780-4450 BC (6730-6400 BP), whilst the peat at PB4 yielded a later date transitional to the Neolithic, with an age range of 3620-3090 BC (5580-5040 BP).

Discussion

The basal grey-brown sandy clay described at OLB3 is most likely a head deposit similar to the 'stoneless loam' described by Welch and Trotter (1961) from other parts of Gwent. Head deposits are a type of colluvium that are considered to form through solifluction processes (Matsuoka, 2001) under periglacial conditions and as such, in the present context, are thought of as Pleistocene in age. However, an alternative possibility arises from a theory proposed by Searle (1970) who speculates that during the Late Pleistocene the Usk Glacier may have flowed south of the Llanbadoc Gap to block the mouth of the Olway Valley, so forming an ice-dammed (ice-contact) lake. Glacial lake sediments have been identified to the north of the area around Llantilio Crossenny, where stoneless lake clay deposits lie above the level of the modern alluvium (Welch and Trotter, 1961). Therefore, these lake clays are morphostratigraphically different from the grey-brown sandy clays of the Olway Valley as these latter deposits occur below the modern alluvium. Also, there are no varves within the Olway Valley deposits, which would confirm a glacio-lacustrine depositional environment if present (Miller, 1996). Furthermore, the extension of this deposit into the Usk Valley, at least as far downstream as Llanllowell, tends to discount an ice-contact lake origin for this deposit. Although a single sample of the deposit failed to yield certain microfossils, detailed sedimentological and micropalaeontological analyses are planned in order to confirm its origin.

Whether the grey-brown sandy clays of the Olway Valley are of a solifluction or glacio-lacustrine origin, it is highly likely that in response to low Pleistocene sea levels (130 m lower at the Last Glacial Maximum, 18,000 BP; Haslett, 2000), the early post-glacial Olway brook occupied a deep channel incised into this surface (*cf.* inner channel of Schumm and Ethridge, 1994). Williams (1968b) has demonstrated near Newport that the Usk river also occupied a deeply incised channel, as did other rivers along the south-east Wales coastline (see Allen, 2001b), that extend out across the bed of the Severn Estuary as buried channels. These coastal sections of rivers have later been infilled by Pleistocene gravels and Holocene marine and freshwater deposits. Using the terminology of Zaitlin *et al.* (1994), the section of the Usk incised valley below Newport could be referred to as an *Outer Incised Valley*, whilst the Olway Valley (lacking in marine deposits) is classed as part of the *Inner Incised Valley*. The *Middle Incised Valley* section would span from Newport upstream to the limit of tidal influence, currently around Newbridge-on-Usk.

During the late Pleistocene and earliest Holocene the incised channels of the Olway brook and Usk river would have acted as conduits through which water and sediment would bypass the respective valleys to be transported directly to the sea, from the glaciated landscapes of northern Gwent (Zaitlin *et al.*, 1994). Therefore, with the exception of coarse channel deposits, such as the gravels seen infilling the buried channels of the Usk river (Williams, 1968b), there would be little flooding and fluvial deposition within the valleys. This would allow soils to develop on the surface of the grey-brown sandy clay, as represented by the cemented palaeosol seen at OLB2 (Lower Maerdy Farm).

The presence of a peat on this early Holocene land surface in the Olway Valley indicates an impeded drainage characterised by a rising water table with consequent water-logging of the ground surface. Given the relatively low altitude of the sites investigated in the Olway Valley, and proximity to tidal influences (currently only 3 km from the Olway's confluence with the river Usk and the Usk's tidal limit at Newbridge-on-Usk), it may be reasonable to suggest that a rising water

table and ground water-logging is related to relative sea-level (base level) rise and the marine inundation of the Severn Estuary (Heyworth and Kidson, 1982). However, Schumm and Ethridge (1994) state, 'the upvalley influence of sea-level change is limited to the lower drainage system' (p. 12). Discussing sedimentation in the lower river Severn, Brown (1987) accepts that the early Holocene rise in sea-level must have caused rapid aggradation in the Severn Estuary, reducing the gradient of the river Severn and, consequently, its stream power. In association with progressive and continued base level rise, gradient and stream power reduction, the bypassing function of the incised channel will decrease, leading initially to water-logging of the valley floor, and subsequently to an increase in the frequency and magnitude of over bank flooding and floodplain alluviation. This latter stage is represented in the Olway Valley stratigraphy by the <3 m of reddish-brown sandy to silty alluvium capping the sections described here. Brown (1987) and Schumm (1993) state that the behaviour of such floodplain sedimentation, once commenced, is affected primarily by factors other than base level changes, such as sediment availability and channel movements. Therefore, at this stage, the inland valleys begin to act as a sink for sediment derived from the formerly glaciated landscapes upstream.

A similar sequence of head overlain by a palaeosol and peat is seen west of Goldcliff Island (Bell *et al.*, 2000) on the Caldicot Level, along the Severn Estuary shore some 3-4 km east of the mouth of the river Usk (Fig. 1B). The sequence has become known as the 'Mesolithic Site' and is described by Allen (2002), comprising an artefact-rich sandy palaeosol that overlies Pleistocene head. The palaeosol has yielded worked flint and tuff, charcoal, animal teeth and bones assigned to the Mesolithic. Charcoal from this layer has been radiocarbon dated (GU-2759: 6430±80 BP; Bell, 1995), giving a calibrated age of 5440-5280 BC (7390-7230 BP) (Bell and Neumann, 1997). The palaeosol is overlain by a fenwood peat (Allen, 2002) that yields a radiocarbon date for its growth initiation of 5920±80 BP (CAR-1501; Bell, 1995), with a calibrated age range of 5060-4660 BC (7010-6610 BP) (Bell and Neumann, 1997). The sequence lies approximately between -0.5 and 1.5 m OD.

In order to explore the relationship between drainage impedance in the Olway Valley, peat formation on the prehistoric surface, and relative sea-level rise, these data were plotted together in Fig. 2. Sea-level information is provided by age/altitude points for the Somerset Levels from Heyworth and Kidson (1982), calibrated by Haslett *et al.* (1998a). Heyworth and Kidson (1982) consider these age/altitude points to represent the position of Mean High Water Spring Tides (MHWST) through the Holocene, and although Haslett *et al.* (1998a) have identified deficiencies in these data, there is presently no alternative sea-level curve for the region.

Fig. 2 reveals that peat formed on the Mesolithic palaeosol at Goldcliff as MHWST approached its maximum altitude, at the switch from the Early Holocene phase of a rapid sea-level rise rate, to the Mid- to Late Holocene phase of a much lower sea-level rise rate. Curiously, the peat at OLB3, some *c.* 15 m higher in altitude and *c.* 20 km further inland than Goldcliff, indicates surface water-logging at essentially the same time. This is significant in that it is possible that OLB3 defines the upstream limit of the 'lower drainage system' of Schumm and Ethridge (1994), which would respond directly to a base level rise. At the higher site of PB4, peat formed *c.* 1000 years later and cannot be explained as a direct response to base level rise. It is more likely that floodplain alluviation in the lower Olway Valley, brought about by the decrease in sediment bypassing the valley, created a zone of drainage impedance that migrated upstream to affect its tributaries, such as

the Pill brook. Schumm (1993) demonstrates experimentally that while floodplain aggradation, in response to base level rise, occurs in the lower valley, upstream erosion and incision may persist until sediment backfilling of the valley can occur. Such an indirect mechanism, involving an increase in sediment availability coupled with progressive overbank sedimentation, is considered by Brown (1987) to be responsible for much of the upstream sediment infill of the river Severn valley.

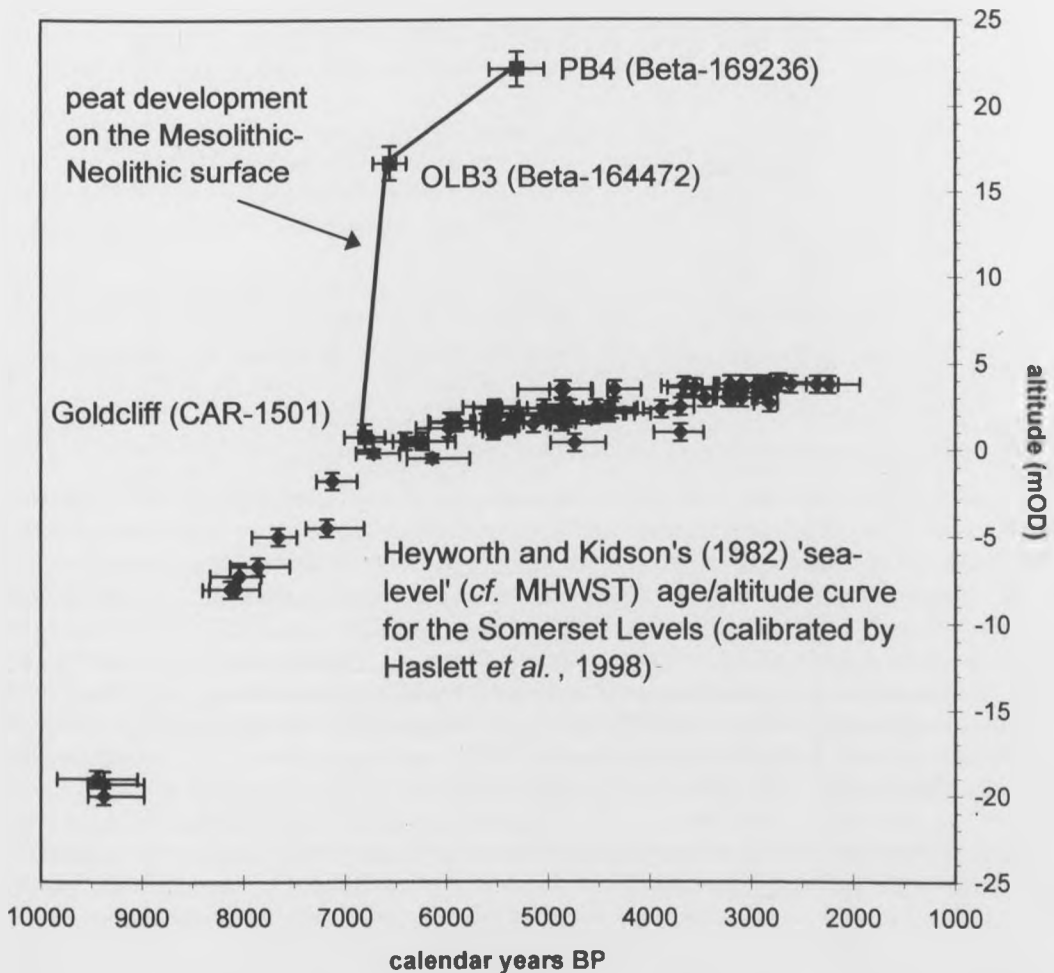


Fig. 2. The relationship of ^{14}C dates for peat initiation on the prehistoric buried land surface in Gwent (Goldcliff; Olway brook Valley, OLB3; and the Pill brook Valley, PB4) and regional relative sea-level rise. Sea-level information is derived from age/altitude data of Heyworth and Kidson (1982), calibrated by Haslett *et al.* (1998a). BP is 'before present' (AD 1950), and OD is Ordnance Datum, Newlyn.

A model for the development of the Olway Valley

This investigation has provided data that may be used to construct a preliminary three-stage model for the development of the Olway Valley.

1. During the Early Holocene (10,000-6,500 years BP), the Olway Valley probably possessed a deeply incised inner channel that accommodated a high stream power flow. This inner channel would have acted as a conduit for fluvial sediment to bypass the valley, to be transported downstream, ultimately to the sea. As a consequence there would be little (if any) overbank flooding and sedimentation within the valley. Therefore, the valley floor and sides outside the inner channel would have remained largely dry, allowing a palaeosol to develop on the prehistoric land surface.
2. Sea-level (base level) rise approached its present level and stabilised at 6,500 years BP, impeding drainage and initiating peat formation on the increasingly water-logged prehistoric surface in the lower Olway Valley. A reduction in river gradient and stream power would lead to a decrease in sediment bypassing, with overbank flooding and sedimentation commencing in the lower valley.
3. Continued reductions in sediment bypassing would increase overbank sedimentation and floodplain development through the Mid- to Late Holocene, leading to progressive upstream prehistoric land surface water-logging, peat formation, and overbank sedimentation.

Implications for the development of the Severn Estuary Levels

From the results and discussion given above regarding the Olway Valley, it is clear that in general the rivers bordering the Severn Estuary, and their inland valleys, may have a significant influence on the delivery of sediment to the estuary system. With regard to the model outlined above, during Stage 1, sediment bypasses the river valleys and is transported directly from the glaciated uplands downstream to the estuary (Fig. 3a). Such sediment input may have helped intertidal surfaces keep pace with the rapid rate of sea-level rise during the Early Holocene (Haslett *et al.*, 2001b). The Early Holocene estuarine sediments of the region, the lower Wentlooge Formation of the Severn Estuary Levels (Allen and Rae, 1987), and the North Yeo Member (Haslett and Davies, 2002) of the Somerset Levels Formation (Campbell *et al.*, 1999), are characterised by thick sequences of estuarine silts (Locke, 1970; Kidson and Heyworth, 1976).

During Stages 2 and 3 sediment delivery to the Severn Estuary would diminish as the sediment bypassing function of the rivers decreases, and sediment derived from the glaciated uplands becomes increasingly stored in the river valley floodplains (Fig. 3b). The Mid-Holocene in the Severn Estuary and Somerset Levels is characterised by a substantial development of peat (Locke, 1970; Kidson and Heyworth, 1976; Haslett *et al.*, 2001a). In most places, peat formation persisted for 3-4,000 years, although it continued up to the modern period in the Brue Valley of Somerset (Coles and Coles, 1986). Although in the majority of cases, the initiation of peat growth is related to drainage impedance brought about through relative sea-level attaining an altitude approaching the present, combined with a reduction in the rate of sea-level rise (Allen, 1995), its persistence and widespread occurrence on former (Early Holocene) intertidal surfaces may be influenced by a reduction in sediment input from fluvial sources. This is because an increase in the organic:mineral sediment ratio on an intertidal salt marsh surface, can ultimately elevate the surface out of the

tidal frame (Allen, 1994). Once initiated, peat will continue to grow for as long as its growth rate exceeds the rate of relative sea-level rise. It is clear that this remained the case, at least, throughout the Mid-Holocene.

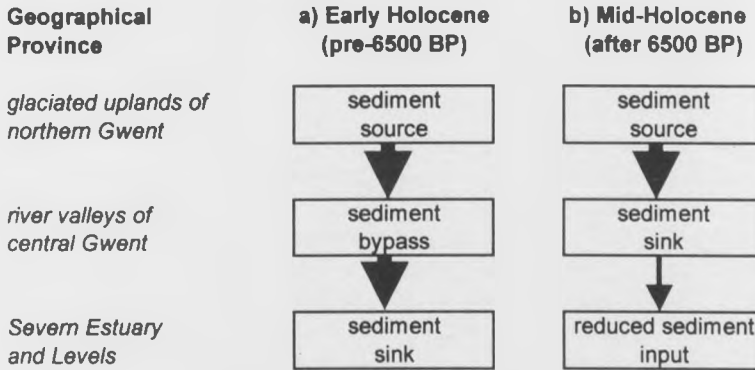


Fig. 3. The changing function of the central river valleys of Gwent (e.g. the Olway and Usk Valleys), through the (a) Early and (b) Mid-Holocene. The dimensions of the arrows represent relative amounts of sediment transfer.

The Mesolithic-Neolithic archaeological potential of the Olway and adjacent Usk Valley

In the lower Olway Valley, typified by the sections at Lower Maerdy Farm, it is clear that a Mesolithic land surface with palaeosol development is buried beneath the thin peat and later alluvium. As noted above, the grey-brown sandy clay (probably Pleistocene head) that supports the surface extends into the Usk Valley, at least as far as Llanllowell, and therefore, the surface could be of significant geographic extent. A similar stratigraphy is seen at Goldcliff (Allen, 2002), and here the Mesolithic palaeosol has yielded artefacts (Bell, 1995; Bell *et al.*, 2000). By analogy, the archaeological potential of the buried Mesolithic land surface of the Olway and Usk Valleys requires field evaluation, possibly through small scale excavations along the river banks during periods of low flow during the summer. However, sites for excavation should be informed by the location of Mesolithic finds in other areas. For example, regionally there appears to be a preference for slightly elevated sites, such as Goldcliff Island in Gwent (Allen, 2002), and similar 'island' settings in the Somerset Levels (Norman, 1982). Therefore, any bedrock 'islands' occurring in the Olway and Usk Valleys should be targeted in the first instance.

Further upstream in the Olway Valley and its tributaries, such as in the Pill brook valley, the buried land surface remained drier for longer, at least until the early Neolithic. The potential for Neolithic archaeology on this surface is significant, and is indicated by the find of a Neolithic stone axe on the edge of the modern floodplain at the confluence of the Pill brook and Olway brook val-

leys (National Grid Reference SO422025). The stone axe was reported during the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Lithics Survey 2000 (PRN 00940g). There is also similar potential upstream and within tributaries of the adjacent river Usk. Within the valley of the Dowlais brook, which has its confluence with the river Usk *c.* 2 km south of Usk town, Barnett (1964) reports a polished Neolithic axe-head found at Upper Prescoed Farm, Llanbadoc. Barnett (1964) goes on to state that 'the Usk Valley was one of the principal routes to the Brecknockshire long cairn area and beyond' and that 'Uskmouth was port of entry for Neolithic settlers or traders coming from Wessex across the Bristol Channel' (p. 127). Knight (1969) also reports on a Neolithic axe found at Monkswood *c.* 3 km upstream of Usk town, and states that 'a fairly large population of Neolithic peasant farmers settled along the valley of the Usk in the period 3000-1500 BC' (p. 204). Whether the evidence to support Knight's (1969) statement is presently available is uncertain; however, the finds discussed here are encouraging. It is probable that evidence for Neolithic activity will most likely be forthcoming from tributaries of the Olway brook and river Usk, as it is in these locations that the buried prehistoric land surface would have persisted beyond the Mesolithic. Furthermore, valleys, wetlands, and the wetland edge, appear to have proved attractive to Neolithic people, either as routes for communication (Barnett, 1964), or as areas for settlement and resource exploitation, such as in the Somerset Levels (Coles and Coles, 1986) with its extensive Neolithic and later wooden trackways. However, Neolithic activity on the Gwent coastal wetlands appears to have been limited (Bell, 2001), with the exception of clearance phases identified in pollen records (Smith and Morgan, 1989), and Neolithic human remains found near Newport (Knowles, 1911; Cowley, 1961; Locke, 1970).

Summary

The Holocene stratigraphy of the Olway Valley comprises a basal grey-brown sandy clay deposit that is likely to be a Pleistocene head. This deposit locally supports a palaeosol and an overlying woody (fenwood) peat that yields Mesolithic to Neolithic Period radiocarbon dates. A thick floodplain alluvium caps the sequence. The stratigraphy suggests a model of Holocene landscape development: (1) during the Early Holocene, sediment bypassed the valley and was transported, probably *via* a deeply incised inner channel, directly to the Severn Estuary where it would have contributed to the intertidal sediment budget; (2) as relative sea-level approached its present level, by the Mid-Holocene, it impeded land drainage, leading to ground water-logging and localised peat development; (3) overbank flooding and sedimentation would have subsequently propagated water-logging upstream and into tributary valleys, such as the Pill brook.

This model has implications for the development of the Severn Estuary Levels with regard to the general supply of sediment to the coast by local rivers. Supply would have been relatively high during the Early Holocene, when sediment bypassing was at its maximum, but decreased during the Mid-Holocene as sediment became stored in the valley floodplains.

The archaeological potential of the buried prehistoric land surface is largely unknown; however, Mesolithic artefacts have been forthcoming from a similar stratigraphic sequence at Goldcliff. Neolithic artefacts have been found in both the Olway Valley and the adjacent Usk Valley and their tributaries. The prehistoric land surface in the lower parts of the valleys were water-logged by the end of Mesolithic; however, in upstream sections and tributaries the land surface remained open at least during the early Neolithic. It is in this environmental context that Neolithic finds have been made in the past, and are most likely to occur in the future.

Acknowledgements

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Table 1. General lithostratigraphy of cliff and borehole sections along the Olway brook at (a) Lower Maerdy Farm, and (b) Pill brook. Depth (m) is measured from the top of the river bank.

Depth interval (m)	Lithological description
<i>(a) Lower Maerdy Farm</i> <i>Section OLB3</i>	
0-2.8	reddish-brown sandy to silty alluvium
2.8-2.95	clayey peat with woody plant macrofossils (¹⁴ C dated)
2.95->3.45	uniform grey-brown sandy clay
<i>(b) Pill brook</i> <i>Section PB4</i>	
0-0.96	red friable well-sorted sand
0.96-1.36	stiff red sandy-clayey-silt
1.36-2.56	interval obscured
2.56-2.68	red sandy clay weathering yellow/orange
2.68-2.8	pale grey sandy clay with plant fragments
2.8-3.2	red mottled coarse gravel (mainly rounded clasts of St. Maughans and Brownstone Group sandstone) supported by a sandy clay matrix, and plant macrofossils
3.2-3.47	pinkish-grey, very coarse sand and granules
3.47-3.6	pinkish-red mainly angular gravel (mainly Raglan Mudstone clasts)
3.6-3.64	pale khaki-coloured well-sorted medium sand
3.64-3.74	brown organic sand
3.74-3.83	pink-grey sand supported fine gravel
3.83-3.92	woody peat (¹⁴ C dated)
3.92->3.94	pinkish gravel

Table 2. Radiocarbon (^{14}C) dates for two basal peat samples collected in the Olway Valley, Gwent. The radiocarbon age is calibrated using INTCAL98 (Stuiver *et al.*, 1998). BP is 'before present' (AD 1950).

Sample identifier	OLB3/280-295cm	PB4/383-392cm
Laboratory number	Beta-164472	Beta-169236
Radiocarbon age	5760±80 BP	4600±80 BP
Calibrated intercept age	4590 BC (6540 BP)	3360 BC (5310 BP)
Calibrated age (1 σ) (68% probability)	4710-4500 BC (6660-6450 BP)	3500-3200 BC (5450-5150 BP)
Calibrated age (2 σ) (95% probability)	4780-4450 BC (6730-6400 BP)	3620-3090 BC (5580-5040 BP)

EXCAVATIONS AT ST LAWRENCE'S, BAYFIELD, CHEPSTOW

By Peter Leach

With contributions by Colin Hayfield, Paul Courtney, Lynne Bevan and Annette Hancocks

Summary

Following an archaeological evaluation by Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit in 1998 of land allocated for residential development at Bayfield, Chepstow, one area containing the remains of medieval structures was targeted for further excavation during 1999. In the course of those works it quickly became apparent that remains of much greater extent and complexity survived in the locality. The initial objective of a full excavation was therefore modified to topsoil removal and surface clearance over a much-expanded area in an attempt to define the full scale and character of the site. This revealed the remains of three ranges of medieval stone buildings set around an open yard, remains of at least one kiln manufacturing glazed ridge tiles and/or pottery during the fourteenth century, evidence for other outlying boundaries and structures, and part of a contemporary burial ground to the east. These remains are associated with the former medieval chapel of St Lawrence, which may itself be the location of the earlier church of St Cynfarch, and appear to represent part of either a manorial centre or ecclesiastical grange – perhaps part of the twelfth-century named 'villa lann cinmarch' owned by the bishop of Llandaff. Following their recording, the remains were reburied and the site has been accommodated within the new development to ensure its future protection.

Introduction

This report documents discoveries made in the course of a series of archaeological investigations carried out at Bayfield on the western boundary of Chepstow, Monmouthshire (Fig.1). This commenced with an archaeological desktop evaluation of 26.2 ha of land (centred on NGR ST522940) scheduled for housing development, by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust in 1995 (CPAT, 1995), which identified one site where a follow-up evaluation by trial excavation was recommended. The site, tentatively identified as a rectangular earthwork, lay within a field of permanent pasture on the west side of St Lawrence's road - the A466 - and to the north of St Lawrence's hospital at NGR ST52349396.

In November 1998, Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) was commissioned to undertake an assessment of the site by trial trenching, on behalf of Westbury Homes Ltd. The postulated earthwork could not be identified, but spreads of stone rubble and several wall foundations found in association with later medieval ceramics suggested the remains of at least one stone building (Hughes and Jones, 1998). Following consultation with the curatorial section of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT) a further stage of excavation to investigate the suspected medieval building was required prior to the development proceeding. In accordance with a specification agreed by GGAT, this excavation was undertaken by BUFAU in March 1999 on behalf of the developer. In the early stages of topsoil removal, it was evident that the remains were far more extensive than the evaluation had suggested, and the excavation strategy was modified initially to extend the area of topsoil clearance and the first-definition hand cleaning process, in an attempt to determine the true extent of surviving archaeological remains. In the course of that exercise it became clear that their full excavation would require a substantial input of resources, and

that long-term preservation of the remains would be a more desirable option. This was eventually agreed in consultation with Westbury Homes and GGAT, by means of a deeper reburial of the site and changes to the proposed plan for the new residential development. Following the demolition of a derelict building on the site, a further area to the south-east was cleared to first-definition level and recorded in December 1999 – revealing a total area of over 200 square metres for recording, prior to its reburial and preservation.

The Site

At the time of the 1998 evaluation, the area identified in the earlier desktop study as a possible earthwork was not readily apparent, except as an ill-defined sloping platform along the south side and near to the head of a shallow dry valley, at around 87 m AOD. This valley deepens markedly to the east, beyond St Lawrence's road, where there are springs, and continues steeply downhill for approximately one mile to its junction with the river Wye. Here it separates Chepstow castle as a ravine from the neighbouring medieval walled town. The valley is cut through Carboniferous Limestone, although partly filled by Triassic Keuper Marl deposits (Mercian Mudstone) seen in excavation as the natural formation underlying the site.

The area lies within the parish of St Arvans, and prior to the First World War, a lane descended into the valley from the south, passing between the excavation site and the site of St Lawrence's chapel, before turning north-east to the hamlet of St Kingsmark and the main road north to Tintern at Crossway Green. This lane was straightened and converted into the main A466 road during or soon after the war and set upon a short length of embankment to cross the shallow valley adjacent to the chapel site. The lowest part of the field at this point has been suggested as the site of a clay or marl pit and the tithe map of 1847, which names the field as Pool Close, appears to confirm this (CPAT, 1995, Site 12).

Also within the field, and overlying the south-east corner of the archaeological site, was a derelict timber-framed building clad in corrugated-iron (CPAT, 1995, Site 10). Map information indicates that this was erected early in the twentieth century, possibly at the time of road improvement, and that it was occupied as a dwelling until at least the 1950s (local informants). Behind this building, and still faintly visible as a bank running east-west across the now enlarged field, was the line of the original southern boundary to Pool Close. This boundary is also marked by two large mature oak trees, growing immediately south of the excavation site. From here the land rises steadily southwards to the modern compound of St Lawrence's hospital¹ on the crest of the hill, and more gently to the west. Across the modern main road to the east and within 50 m of the excavation, is thought to be the site of St Lawrence's chapel, first recorded in the fourteenth century, though now difficult to locate within a strip of scrub and woodland along the south side of the dry valley here.

¹ The buildings comprising St Lawrence's hospital (formerly a burns unit, but more recently a community hospital) were demolished during 2000, after staff and patients had been transferred in Feb. 2000, to a newly-built community hospital opposite it, on the east side of the A466. Houses have since been built on the St Lawrence's hospital site; the Ordnance Survey map, on which Fig. 1 is based, has not yet been revised. (Honorary editor – pers. comm.).

Excavation procedures

Evaluation

In November 1998, an evaluation by trial trenching was undertaken with the purpose of examining an earthwork feature identified during an earlier desktop survey of 26.2 ha of mainly agricultural land at Bayfield by the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust (CPAT, 1995). This feature was not clearly defined, but four trenches were cut with the aid of a JCB-type mechanical excavator across a platform that sloped gently down towards the north-east (Fig. 2). Trenches 3 and 4 produced the clearest evidence for structural remains, encountering stone wall foundations and deposits of rubble or other occupation levels almost one metre deep in places. Trenches 1 and 2 were less complex but revealed further spreads of stone rubble and several cut features. Associated finds included animal bone, late medieval pottery and roof tile, stone tile fragments, and some post-medieval finds. With the exception of the remains and deposits found at the north-west end of Trench 3, all the trenches were cut down to an underlying level of weathered natural red marl.

The report of this investigation suggested the presence of medieval stone building remains with associated stratified deposits, and thus a requirement for a further archaeological response in the context of proposals for a residential development in this locality (Hughes and Jones, 1998). At this stage it was agreed in consultation between GGAT, as representatives of the planning authority, and Westbury Homes, owners and proposed developers, that the remains identified should be subject to archaeological excavation and recording rather than attempting to preserve them *in situ*. As part of the specification for excavation works it was agreed that an area approximately 25 m square (designated as Trench 5) should be cleared mechanically of turf and topsoil to allow excavation and recording by hand to proceed. The area chosen was centred upon the remains of a stone-founded building at the north end of Evaluation Trench 3 and encompassed parts of Trenches 1 and 4. Subject to results there was a contingency allowing for the exposure and investigation of an additional 100 square metres.

Excavation

It was apparent at an early stage in this procedure that the extent and preservation of archaeological remains was on a scale much greater than originally envisaged, continuing well beyond the original bounds defined for excavation, notably to the south and east. In these circumstances it was clear that the original brief for investigation required considerable modification. Following discussion with representatives from GGAT and Westbury Homes, it was agreed that the area of mechanical topsoil clearance (Trench 5) should be enlarged in an attempt to define the true parameters of the site, and that resources be concentrated upon defining and recording the surfaces and structures so revealed by hand, at their upper horizon of preservation. In consequence, no further efforts were made to proceed with stratigraphic excavation and recording.

For the remaining period of excavation in March 1999, all surfaces exposed by monitored machine excavation were cleaned by hand to reveal a horizon of initial (or rather latest surviving) archaeological definition. This cleaned horizon was then recorded by vertical colour print photography, using an aluminium quadrupod camera mount to obtain a series of horizontal surface images, each approximately 2.5 m square. Subsequently, these were computer scanned and rectified to pro-

vide an image of the archaeological remains at this definition level, providing both a permanent record prior to reburial and an aid to their interpretation. Certain archaeological features and contexts were identified numerically and described at this stage, enabling finds collected during the hand cleaning process to be associated and thus their distribution recorded. In addition, a set of oblique colour slide and monochrome print photographs was taken, and certain areas or features (e.g. the kiln remains) were also recorded as drawn plans at 1:20 scale. The vertical photographic record is also supported by an instrument survey based upon a site grid, locating the excavation boundaries and principal structural elements of archaeological significance.

The corrugated-iron building and an area of scrub and hedgerow to the south-east were not cleared during this phase of machining, although archaeological structures and deposits were observed continuing in that direction. A separate north-south aligned trench was therefore cut to the east of the building and close to the main road embankment (Trench 6, Fig. 2). This revealed several east-west inhumation burials or their grave cuts, none of which was removed. Within the main area much of the backfills of the earlier evaluation trenches was also re-excavated and their sections re-examined. Immediately following this phase of excavation the whole site was covered by terram fibre matting to protect the exposed archaeological remains and surfaces.

Following the preparation of an interim report on the discoveries and their implications, it was then decided that rather than excavations proceeding (as originally envisaged), the whole site should be reburied and the subsequent residential development planned for this area be redesigned to avoid any further disturbance of the remains. Before this was implemented a final investigation was made of the area between Trenches 5 and 6 in December 1999, following demolition of the derelict corrugated-iron building. A similar surface cleaning and recording procedure was adopted, with no further excavation undertaken. The remains of two more stone buildings, yard surfaces and rubble spreads were encountered, but no other burials were seen (Fig. 2).

Excavated remains

With the completion of all three phases of field investigation almost 200 square metres of the site had been mechanically cleared of overburden, hand cleaned and its surface recorded. This process revealed the outlines of three linked, stone-founded ranges of buildings, spreads of stone debris from those structures, and the remains of structures around them, including further buildings, boundary walls and ditches, floor or yard surfaces, an inhumation cemetery, and the site of at least one kiln which was producing glazed roof tile and perhaps pottery in the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Considerable quantities of pottery (over 2,600 sherds) and tile (over 1,000 fragments) were recovered in the surface cleaning process, the subject of separate reports by Colin Hayfield, below. Other fired clay material was associated primarily with the kiln and is reported on by Annette Hancocks. Animal bone in good condition was present, but the small quantity collected has not been reported on in more detail. There may well be charred/carbonised plant remains present (not sampled), although the potential for waterlogged material on the site must be low.

Without the systematic application of stratigraphic excavation it has not been possible to provide a full chronology or structural events sequence for the remains here, although it is clear from what could be recorded that evidence of several phases of building and associated activities is preserved. This account of the remains is therefore primarily a descriptive survey, and there has

been no attempt to order the evidence within a chronological framework. Following the presentation of important groups of ceramics recovered from the site (Colin Hayfield), and a review of the documentary sources that relate to it (Paul Courtney), the report concludes with a provisional interpretation of the results and their significance, a model whose veracity can only be tested or developed by further research through excavation.

The Yard

Close to the centre of the excavated part of the site, what is interpreted as an almost square open Yard appears to be the focus for the most coherent set of building remains (Figs. 3 & 5). Within it were exposed a patchwork of buff-pink, stony clay deposits, incorporating some concentrations of burnt stone, ash and charcoal, and quantities of both glazed ridge tile and jug fragments (including wasters). These deposits were identified as 5003, 5006 and 5007, sealed in places by a buff silty soil (5011), which also contained some post-medieval material (pottery, glass and clay pipe fragments). Part of evaluation Trench 3 cut across the Yard, through similar clay and stone rubble deposits 3002 and 3004. These varied in thickness from 0.5 to 0.8 m, north to south, above a natural formation of weathered pink or grey-green marl (3007).

Towards the south-west corner of the Yard was exposed a roughly oval setting of heavily burnt stones, associated with the densest concentration of charcoal, ash, burnt soil and daub, tile and pottery fragments, with a high proportion of wasters (5005). This was more thoroughly cleaned to obtain a clearer definition, though not fully excavated, revealing what is suspected as the remains of a circular, stone-lined kiln with possibly its flue to the south (F548, Fig. 4), and part of its chamber fill (5035). Colin Hayfield's study of the ceramics (below) suggests that this may have been used for the manufacture of glazed ridge tiles in the later fourteenth or fifteenth century, and possibly also for some of the glazed jugs, whose remains were also abundant in this area. Similar material was obtained in some quantity from in and around the buildings elsewhere on the site.

To the west the Yard is bounded by the remains of a stone wall (F543/F544), comprising a strip of unmortared stone rubble (5002) set into a shallow foundation trench. Its proximity to the kiln suggests that it may not have been a contemporary structure. Beyond it was a narrow and shallow ditch (F547), on a similar alignment but possibly of an earlier phase. Both of these features were identified at the east end of evaluation Trench 1 as F10 and F4, respectively. Approximately 10 m further west was another shallow ditch segment (F3), also on a north-south alignment. Most of Trench 1 continued beyond the area of Trench 5 and was cut to the underlying surface of weathered natural. The stone content of overlying deposits 1002 and 1003 was markedly less from F3 westwards, although up to 0.80 m of red silty clay soil had accumulated up-slope, sealing the boundary ditch features. The evidence from this trench suggests that the western limit of medieval occupation and building remains has been found.

The North Range (Figs. 3 and 5)

The boundary features to the west of the central Yard continued northward, although their relationship with the structures of the North Range was not revealed. The North Range itself comprises at least three rooms, the largest flanking the north side of the Yard, approximately 11 x 5 m internal and defined by the stone wall foundations F501/F6, F502, F510/F7 and F512/F8. A smaller

room, 4.5 x 2.5 m internally, was added later to its north side, defined by wall foundations F518, F519 and F520. To the west a third room was defined by stone wall footings F513, F514 and F515, and was almost 6 x 3.5 m internally. This room was possibly earlier than the main room and could belong to a structure replaced by it, a question only to be resolved by further excavation. Two boundary-wall foundations extend out from this room - F516 to the west and continuing beyond the site boundary, and a broader, slightly curving wall, F517 to the north. A clay surface and stone debris in the area between this wall and the later northern room to the east suggest the possibility of another room here, perhaps of flimsier construction.

All of these rooms were partly buried by an extensive spread of stone rubble, most of which was left *in situ*, and was probably the residue from the collapse or demolition of the structures. Some of the upper surviving wall courses retained traces of lime mortar – the stone itself being almost exclusively local Carboniferous limestone. There was no clear evidence for floor levels or doorways in any of the rooms, although this may have been concealed by the rubble spreads. Fragments of dark red Pennant sandstone roof tile within the rubble suggest that at least some of the North Range rooms had stone tiled roofs. The stone rubble spread was particularly dense just outside the exterior walls of all rooms, though becoming much sparser within 2 m or so. This material was observed to seal some of the central Yard surfaces where cut through by Trench 3 (layers 5009, 5010 and 3009), and was in turn sealed by the later deposit 5011. This trench also revealed three surviving, roughly laid stone foundation courses, up to 0.5 m deep within a vertical-sided trench, for the south wall of the main room (F501/F6) through which it was cut, but no interior floor levels were seen behind.

A few metres to the north of the North Range building was the bottom of the shallow valley within which the site is contained. A weathered surface of pink and grey-green natural marl was exposed on the up-slope to the north. Along the bottom of the valley, and following its axis, an intermittent scatter of weathered stone and darker brown soil appeared to mark the line of an infilled ditch here (F548). This may mark the northern boundary of the site, draining water from it downhill and eastwards. Joining it from the north appeared to be another drainage or boundary ditch (F549), marked by similar infill. Neither of these features was excavated, although occasional sherds of medieval pottery were found in the top fill of the east-west ditch.

The East Range

The East Range comprised the most complex set of structures seen, although not all elements of this building range were clearly exposed, some remains apparently continuing beyond Trench 5 to the east (Figs. 3 and 5). The principal and most coherent component was a substantial building, approximately 17 m long x 10 m wide, along the east side of the central Yard. Internal divisions and annexes to the north and east probably reflect an extended construction history. Its original external walls were F503 west; F504, F533 (a robber trench) and F525 north; F521 east; and F522 south. A segment of wall foundation (F506) built alongside the interior of the west wall doubled its width, but could belong to an earlier phase. Set almost parallel and to the east a narrower internal wall foundation (F505) defined the east side of a long narrow room, 11 m x 2.5 m internally, although its junction north with the end wall F504 was robbed out. A stone-lined drain (F507) ran alongside the internal wall F505 within this room or corridor. To the south this room continued at a right angle to the east, less than 2 m wide by just over 6 m long and defined north and south by

internal wall foundations F524 and F523, to a presumed junction (not observed) with the main east wall F521. The internal walls F505 and F524 also defined a room to the north-east, approximately 8.5 x 4.5 m internally (Fig. 6). This room appears to have had a main doorway to the east, marked by two short, parallel wall foundations (F526 and F527) butted against the exterior of the wall F521 and enclosing a cobble floor surface approximately 2 m square - possibly an entrance porch. Within the room a rectangular plinth of pitched stone (F528) was misaligned with the surrounding walls and may be of a different structural phase. At the southern end of the main building was a third room, 8.5 x 3 m internally, created by the interior wall F523. No other entrances were identified within these rooms, and evidence of their floors was not recovered among the rubble spreads above them.

Beyond the main building, arrangements were less clearly defined in first-definition cleaning (Fig. 6). To the north, what may be a later annex was bounded to the west by the wall foundation F508, and to the north by more fragmentary wall foundation alignments F509 and F531. The latter was linked to the main building by a slightly curving foundation of large, vertically set stone blocks (F530), probably marking an internal partition wall. The position of an east wall to the annex can be conjectured among a spread of rubble to the east. A stone-lined and capped drain (F532) ran northwards across the west room of the annex and continued outside, draining downhill towards the ditch F548. A deeper machine cut to the north revealed what may have been an earlier drainage ditch on the same alignment, but at a lower level and continuing further north, sealed beneath coluvium deposits in the valley bottom here. To the west, short and less well-built sections of stone wall foundation (F534 and F535) linked the eastern corners of the North Range with the East Range and its northern annex, probably in a later phase of building development.

East of the main building and continuing beyond the eastern boundary of Trench 5, an extensive deposit of compact, pale buff-red dumped clay (5023) sloped away to the north-east. This was sectioned by Evaluation Trench 4 (layer 4001), which found it occurring to a maximum depth of 0.4 m and sealing lower deposits of stony soil and rubble up to 0.5 m thick (4002), which in turn sealed the weathered natural marl (4003) at approximately 1 m below the modern surface. The clay dump was bounded to the north by a band of occupation soils and stone debris (5022), approximately 4 m wide and continuing to the eastern edge of the trench and beyond. There was the hint of several stone-packed postholes along the well-defined junction between the clay and stone debris spread to the north, and possibly others to the west. The clay deposit appears to represent a floor contained within a timber-framed building, although further excavation would be needed to clarify this. Several other possible features were cut into or incorporated within the clay surface, the most prominent being a short stone wall foundation (F529), which lay opposite the eastern entrance to the main building, though truncated by Evaluation Trench 4. The dumped clay surface was bounded to the south by a rectangular pitched stone platform, approximately 6 m x 5 m in area (F538), itself separated by a spread of less coherent stone rubble from the main building to the west. This platform may be the floor of a separate timber-framed building to the south-east.

The South-East Building

A final stage of site investigation took place in December 1999, following demolition of the derelict corrugated-iron building close to the main road. Machine removal of topsoil, followed by hand clearance revealed further spreads of stone rubble, within which could be discerned the outlines of

another stone-walled building (Figs. 3 and 5). This South-East Building covered an area of approximately 12 m x 9 m and was defined by outer walls F550 to the south, F551 to the east, F552 to the north, and F553 to the west. All were approximately 0.5 m wide of limestone blocks, but with no sign of bonding mortar. Segments of the south and east walls could not be traced at the first definition level of cleaning, and there was no evidence for internal floors or room divisions.

The South-East Building lay almost 10 m east of the East Range, on a slightly different alignment, and was surrounded by spreads of stone rubble. Some of this material almost certainly derived from its collapse, although evidence for the remains of other structures or surfaces could still be concealed here. Medieval ceramics and some post-medieval material - pottery, glass and clay pipes - were recovered in cleaning above and around the building remains. The modern corrugated-iron building had been located partly above the South-East Building, causing some truncation and disturbance of its remains, which survived in places within 0.3 m of the modern surface. One large area of disturbed soil (5037) in the centre of the earlier building may have been the fill of a pit contemporary with the twentieth-century building, lying just outside it to the north. An earthenware drain belonging to this building also cut across the western edge of the earlier stone building, running on downhill to the north.

The South Range

At the south-west corner of the East Range another room extended to the west, demarcating part of the south side of the central Yard area (Figs. 3 and 5). This was defined by stone wall foundations F537 to the north and F540 to the east (both butted against the East Range wall F503), F539 to the west and F541 to the south. This room, over 8 m x 3.5 m internally, contained a large fireplace of Pennant sandstone flags and vertical edge settings (F546), set centrally along the inner north wall. Extending northwards from the foot of that wall and running on beneath the Yard was a large stone-capped drain (F536), seen in the bottom of the evaluation Trench 3. This ran parallel with the main block of the East Range and could be linked to the ditch that continued below the drain F532 into the valley bottom north of the East Range buildings. The south wall of the South Range room was continued west as one built by the wall foundation F542, whose line then continued as a foundation trench F545, before turning north at almost a right-angle to terminate as a misalignment against the south end of the western boundary wall F543 of the Yard. It is possible that a second room continued the South Range westwards along the southern edge of the Yard, although no remains of a north wall continuing the line of F537 were seen. The relationship of the main South Range building to the East Range is clearly secondary, although there may have been earlier structures here.

Stone rubble spreads to the south of the South Range rooms thinned out in that direction, and no other structural remains were recorded in Evaluation Trench 2. This trench did, however, reveal a sterile accumulation of stony red clay-silt, sealing the medieval rubble horizon up to 0.5 m deep at its west end, which probably represents largely post-medieval hillwash down slope from the field to the south. At the south-east extremity of Evaluation Trench 3 was the corner of another stone-founded building, parts of its east and north walls F554 and F555 being exposed also along the southern edge of Trench 5. A substantial area of stone rubble with some larger, roughly dressed blocks (5034) spread downhill from these building foundations to the north and east, presumably representing their collapse or demolition. The remains of this structure lie just beneath a shallow covering of turf and topsoil, but it does not appear to have been linked directly with either the South

or East Ranges and its full plan and dimensions were not established. Beneath equivalent rubble (3004) within Evaluation Trench 3, a sub-rectangular pit (F5), 1.8 m long, was cut 0.75 m into the underlying natural marl. This contained a few sherds of thirteenth/fourteenth-century pottery and animal bone fragments, but its relationship to buildings of the South and East Ranges in its vicinity is unclear.

Trench 6

In March 1999, a separate trench, almost 40 m long and over 2 m wide, was cut along the foot of the modern A466 road embankment, east of the main area of excavation (Figs. 3 and 5). This was to test for the possibility of further structural remains in that direction, given the suspected close proximity of the chapel of St Lawrence to the main road. No further building remains were encountered, but the principal discovery was a series of human burials and grave cuts, aligned east-west. These occurred at depths of between 0.4 and 0.5 m below the modern surface, sealed beneath mixed deposits of post-medieval date and some hillwash. The remains of at least six extended adult inhumations were seen, lying within indistinctly defined rectangular grave cuts (F603-F608), although no further attempt was made to expose or excavate them. All were aligned east-west, with heads to the east and bone preservation appeared to be good. Sherds of thirteenth/fourteenth-century pottery were observed in one or two grave fills, but there was no clear sign of coffins or other grave contents. The outline of several other suspected graves could be seen by the colour variation of their fills but these were not investigated further. It is likely that these remains are part of a medieval cemetery associated with the contemporary chapel of St Lawrence. Regrettably, no further stratigraphic information was recovered in December 1999 that could clarify its relationship with the building complex to the west, although the location of the South-East Building suggests that it did not extend much further west of Trench 6.

Some 3 m south of the most southerly burial an east-west aligned band of darker soil, incorporating charcoal and a few sherds of medieval pottery, was exposed but not excavated. This may represent the fill of a contemporary ditch (F602), possibly a southern boundary to the cemetery, since no further burials were seen beyond its line. Approximately 5 m further south, a spread of stone rubble just below the surface of the field and marked by a break of slope (F601) should represent the line of the former southern field boundary to Pool Meadow. This is a post-medieval enclosure boundary, still marked further west by a slight lynchet and two large oak trees. The north end of Trench 6 exposed the edge of a dump of massive angular stone rubble and clay, which overlay the south edge of an ill-defined cut F609 into the natural marl beneath. This probably represents the edge of the [?post-medieval] pond or marl pit that gave the field its name, subsequently infilled as a preliminary to the early twentieth-century layout of the A466 road.

Documentary Research, St Lawrence, Chepstow
By Paul Courtney

The excavated site lay in the marcher lordship of Chepstow. This area of Gwent may already have been occupied by Earl Harold Godwinson who is recorded as building a hunting lodge at Portskewett in 1065 by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The area was certainly occupied by the Normans soon after the Conquest, as Domesday Book ascribes the building of Chepstow castle to William Fitz Osbern, who died in 1071. The borough and Benedictine priory of Chepstow were also founded within a decade of the Conquest. The lordship was bounded to the north by Wentwood, a great tract of forest running along an east-west sandstone ridge. Most of the better land along the reclaimed Caldicot levels was settled by immigrant English peasantry, probably in the twelfth century. This area was mostly held as knight's fees by minor lords. It was associated with a landscape dominated by nuclear villages and common fields, mostly enclosed piecemeal in the early modern era. A more dispersed settlement pattern associated with Welsh tenants existed along the fringes of Wentwood. This would also have been associated with open fields, but probably less communally organised, and more prone to late medieval enclosure. Many of these Welsh tenants, outside the knight's fees, were administered through a series of 'hamlets'.

St Arvans, St Kynemark and St Lawrence all lay between the medieval forest of Wentwood and the river Wye, immediately north of the area dominated by English immigrants. Both the prior of St Kynemark and the secular lord of St Arvans are recorded as holding rights of common in Wentwood in a list of 1270 (Bradney, 1929, 146). The present-day landscape is one of small villages or hamlets, such as Tintern, and scattered farms. Enclosure probably largely took place in the late Middle Ages. The lordship was held with Caerleon and Usk lordships by the Clares c.1119-89 and then the Marshals, 1189-1245. Chepstow was then held as a separate entity by the Bigod family, 1245-1306, and subsequently descended with the earldom of Norfolk (Courtney, 1984, 216-38).

The excavated site lies opposite the former chapelry of St Lawrence, now within the modern parish of St Arvans. The church of St Arvans is first documented in the mid-tenth century (Evans, 1893, 218; Davies, 1979, 120). In 1270, William de Lacu was lord of St Arvans and it was held in 1306 by Leysan ap Morgan, the only Welsh tenant of knightly status in the lordship (Bradney, 1929, 146; *CIPM*, 4, no. 434). St Kynemark (or St Kingsmark), a minor Augustinian priory, lay only a short distance from St Lawrence's chapel. The church of St Kynemark is first documented in the bounds of a Llandaff charter of c. 722 relating to Chepstow. A second charter, in which King Athrwys granted *ecclesia Cynmarchi* with its *territorium* to the bishopric, is of dubious authenticity, though indicates that the diocese was laying claim to this church by the twelfth century (Evans, 1893, 166 and 372; Davies, 1979, 102 and 105). A bull of Pope Honorius in 1128 confirmed to the bishop of Llandaff the possession of the estate of St Kynemark (*villam lann cinmarch*) with its meadows above the Wye and land below Chepstow (*Castellguent*) (Evans, 1893, 32).

Both documentary and archaeological evidence suggest the priory was in existence by the mid-thirteenth century, though its foundation date remains uncertain. In 1415, the prior of St Kynemark produced for the Great Sessions at Chepstow a charter confirmed by Gilbert Marshal (1234-41) as evidence of the priory's possessions (Pugh, 1963, 68). Excavations in 1962-5 revealed the priory buildings and a cemetery but found no evidence of a church (Butler, 1965). A papal letter of 1355, and the legend on its common seal, indicate that the monastery was dedicated to St

John the Baptist (*CPL*, 3, 575; D. H. Williams pers. comm. re. seal). The papal letter furthermore describes it as lying near St Kynemark's, the latter presumably serving the lay community. In 1291, the priory held the advowsons (rights to tithes etc.) of St Arvans, Portcasseg and St Kynemark, which were jointly valued at £4 (*Tax. Eccles.*, 278). Its temporalities (non-ecclesiastical income) amounted to £7 - 2s.- 10d. in 1291, and included a carucate of land, valued at ten shillings, as well as small amounts of meadow and rents, mostly from two fish weirs (*Tax. Eccles.*, 282). Its temporal income had only risen to £8 - 4s.- 8d. in 1535 (*Val. Eccles.*, 4, 372). In 1577, the priory and its lands were sold by the crown to John Farnham, clearly a land speculator. The grant lists the disused priory site and its manor with demesne land in St Kynemark and rents from a number of nearby parishes, including the 'parish' of St Lawrence. The grant also included the advowsons of St Arvans and Llanissen [Llanishen] parishes (*CPR 1575-8*, 332). This is also the first recorded reference to St Lawrence.

The chapel of St Lawrence is located on a Llandaff chapter map of 1869, and on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey map (NLW Llandaff Chapter estates map, No. 126 and OS Sheet 31, six inches to a mile, surveyed 1879). Both maps show the sites in dotted outline, suggesting that ruins were still visible. An extent of 1585, made upon the death of William Lewis of St Pierre, records that he held lands in St Kynemark and St Lawrence by knight's service from the bishop of Llandaff and the earl of Worcester. In 1592/93, an extent upon the death of his son, Thomas Lewis of St Pierre, recorded that he held 100 acres in St Kynemark, St Lawrence and Chepstow (Bradney, 1929, 80-1). The earls of Worcester thus appear to have acquired their possession of St Kynemark between 1577 and 1585. In 1624, the bishop and chapter of Llandaff granted St Lawrence to Thomas Hackett of Tintern for a term of three lives. The lease included tithes, houses and lands at £24 per annum. Reference is made to a previous lease to the same Thomas Hackett, then of St Briavels, in 1613 at the same rent (Bradney, 1929, 41). In 1624, William Pinner, gentleman, of St Lawrence, was involved in a lawsuit (Waters, 1979, 190). The Chepstow parish register records that on 20 June 1642, Eleanor, the daughter of Walter Hutten was baptised at St Kynemark. This was possibly undertaken in St Lawrence's chapel if it was still standing, or else in a private house, perhaps as a result of severe illness to the child (Waters, 1955, 17). Two pieces of glebe lands, whose income presumably once went to support the chaplain of St Lawrence, are identified in a diocesan survey of the chapelry made in 1807 (NLW LL/Misc/470 f. 1807).

In 1773, an estate map drawn by John Aram shows the estate and tithing of St Lawrence as leased by Paul Morgan from the bishop of Llandaff (GRO D501.1332, f.6: redrawn in Waters, 1979, opp.193). The landscape was fully enclosed at this date. The sites of both the supposed medieval chapel (Upper Deans) and the excavated area (The Pool Close) are shown as devoid of buildings. At this date St Lawrence house lay on its present site, to the south of the excavated house. Apparently the house and thirty-seven acres of land at St Lawrence belonged some time in the late eighteenth century to Thomas Fydells, a Chepstow merchant who built a new house there (Bradney, 1929, 42). The house was bought in 1809 by Richard Watkins who considerably enlarged it, and in 1947, it became a youth hostel (Waters, 1979, 190).

Undoubtedly, the ecclesiastical territories of St Kynemark and St Lawrence once formed a single discrete unit, the original parish of St Kynemark. This is clear from the way the remnant 'parish' or extra-parochial area of St Kynemark (seventeen acres) cuts into the compact and curved boundary of the tithing of St Lawrence (see OS map, first edition, and NLW tithe map of c.1840).

This early parish may also have coincided with a secular administrative or tenurial territory, perhaps a Welsh *tref* (the administrative unit below the *maenor*).

The bishop clearly held St Lawrence in 1535, but it is then listed as 'St Kynemark' under a list of the bishop's chapelries. They received £3 - 19s.- 4d. for the farm or farms of St Kingsmark at this date (*Valor Eccles.*, 4, 346). The bull of 1128 indicates that the bishop already held St Kingsmark, thus the priory territory was presumably carved out of the bishop's parish. This suggests that St Lawrence was once the parochial church of St Kynemark, but had been re-dedicated to St Lawrence by 1577. (I am grateful to the Revd Dr David Williams for this suggestion). The excavated site was presumably a grange or manor for running the bishop's demesne lands, collecting rents and tithe. Even on manors with no demesne, a tithe barn would be needed to store the corn and livestock presented as tithe. The priest's residence may also have been part of the complex. The apparent lack of a pre-Norman phase is hardly surprising whatever its origin. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw a trend for direct farming of land by lay and ecclesiastical lords rather than for leasing to sub-tenants, while the same period also saw an increased complexity in the variety of manorial buildings found in documents or on manorial sites. Subsequently, it was increasingly common from the fourteenth century, for both secular and ecclesiastical/monastic landlords to lease out their properties for rent rather than to directly work the demesne themselves due to high wages and falling profits (see Dyer, 1989).

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The Pottery and Roof Tile **By Colin Hayfield**

Introduction and distribution of material

Excavation resulted in the recovery of 2,615 sherds of pottery, of which 2,423 sherds weighing 26.8 kg, and representing a maximum of 1,889 original vessels, could be confidently related to particular areas of the site. Although all the material from these excavations is essentially unstratified, these sherds came from 30 contexts, of which 28 could be exclusively related to a building range, courtyard or exterior. Thus, for analysis purposes the site has been divided into eight areas.

Table 1 shows that just under half the pottery assemblage came from the central Yard, with the building ranges the next dense, leaving the western area and the two outside areas with the lowest concentrations of pottery. This overall pattern of distribution is similar to that of the glazed roof tile fragments reported on below, and has a number of possible implications that are discussed below.

Table 1 – Basic Analysis of the Pottery Assemblage

Area	Total sherds	% of sherds	Total vessels	% of vessels	S.V. Ratio
Yard	1106	45.65%	876	46.37%	1.26
N. Range	180	7.43%	116	6.14%	1.55
E. Range	430	17.75%	383	20.27%	1.12
Far E. Range	330	13.62%	305	16.15%	1.08
S. Range	178	7.35%	76	4.02%	2.34
West Area	62	2.56%	34	1.80%	1.82
Outside N.	110	4.54%	81	4.29%	1.36
Outside S.	27	1.11%	18	0.95%	1.50
Total	2,423		1,889		1.28

The 'S.V. ratio' of the final column, is the sherd to vessel ratio and reflects the average number of sherds for each identified vessel from each area. This ratio is indicative of the level of residuality and, as this is an unstratified assemblage, the ratios are very low. However, that of the South Range is a little higher and this is also one of the two areas which shows a concentration of later medieval pottery.

Pottery Fabrics

The pottery from Bayfield divides into a small number of basic fabric groups, whose principal characteristics are detailed below. For each fabric a two-letter initial or abbreviation is given which will be used as an identifier in the various pottery tables.

Coarseware Fabrics

Coarse Sandy (CS). An early to high-medieval coarseware fabric, heavily tempered with sub-rounded quartzite, usually of semi-translucent or 'milky' appearance, providing rough-textured surfaces. Most vessels are oxidised to oranges or orange-red, with the more heavily fired examples a purplish-brown. The thicker fabric cores are often reduced to pale bluish-greys. Typically of such fabrics the bulk of the vessels in these coarseware fabrics are coil-built and wheel-finished (Hayfield, 1980), and frequently derive from rural kilns (eg. Brewster and Hayfield, 1992).

Although considered statistically as a single fabric group, two minor, but distinct, variations are observable from the main fabric group. The first of these is in a Very Coarse Sandy fabric, whose quartzite inclusions are slightly larger, and more plentiful, creating harsher textured surfaces. A number of fully reduced examples was found. This may prove a precursor of the main Coarse Sandy fabric.

The second variation consisted of a more finely tempered version of the main fabric type used for glazed vessels and referred to below as Early Medieval Sandy ware. Their suspension glazes frequently showed signs of corrosion to produce dusty yellow surfaces. The few surviving glazes were of a plain, yellowish-green or olive colour.

Coarse Sandy wares (Fig. 9, Nos. 1-21)

1. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Grey-buff surfaces and blue-grey core with dull orange margins. Some sooting to underside of rim. [unstratified].
2. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Brownish-orange surfaces, with blue-grey core and orange-red margins. Some abrasion. [5024].
3. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Brownish-orange surfaces and grey-black core. [unmarked].
4. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Purple-brown outer surface, blue-grey core and dull orange inner surface. Traces of burning and sooting on the outer surface. [5023].
5. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded, dull reddish surfaces and pale blue-grey core with pale buff margins. [5024].
6. Coarse Sandy tripod-pipkin. Orange surfaces and core. Both surfaces covered with a thin dirty-buff surface material that has the appearance of a very badly corroded glaze. [5035].
7. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Brownish-orange surfaces and orange core. Outer surface of rim burnt. [5013].
8. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Yellowish-grey outer surface, grey core and greyish-orange inner surface. [5021].
9. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded orange fabric with traces of a very fine buff surface skin. [5010].
10. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded dull pinkish-orange surfaces and red core with orange margins. Traces of burning to underside of rim. [Trench 4].
11. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded dull brown surface skin and blue-grey core with orange-red margin. [5026].
12. Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded orange surfaces and orange-red core. [5026].
13. Coarse Sandy bowl. Red-brown surfaces and orange-brown core. Outer surface burnt. [2004].
14. Coarse Sandy bowl. Greyish-brown surfaces and grey-black core. Burnt. [5026].
15. Coarse Sandy jug. Brownish-orange outer surface, pale bluish-grey core and orange-brown inner surface. Coil built and rather crudely wheel-finished. Roulette decoration. Again, rather crudely applied. Slightly corroded, greenish-yellow splashed glaze. An early jug form of the late 11th or early 12th century. [Trench 4].

16. Very Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Hand-finished, abraded, dull black surfaces and grey-black core. [5025].
17. Very Coarse Sandy cooking-pot. Buff-brown surfaces and grey-black core. Burnt. [5019].
18. Early medieval Sandy cooking-pot. Abraded reddish-brown surfaces and grey core. Sandy fabric, whose surfaces are smoothed, almost burnished on inner face of rim. Burnt and soot-ed. [5019].
19. Early medieval Sandy cooking-pot. Smoothed brownish-red surfaces and grey-black core. [5021].
20. Early medieval Sandy jug/pitcher. Smoothed light orange outer surface, blue-grey core and orange inner surface. Rouletted decoration. [5023].
21. Early medieval Sandy jug/pitcher. Abraded orange-buff outer surface, blue-grey core and grey-buff inner surface. Unglazed, lightly and very simply rouletted. Coil built and only roughly wheel-finished. [Trench 3].

B: Whiteware Fabrics

White Sandy Fabric (WI). A distinctive fabric, whose surface colours were usually pale, creamy-white. Some vessels had a very pale bluish core and internal surfaces that were oxidised to very pale yellowish-oranges. Glazes were usually bright, high-quality brownish-greens, often with indications of mottling towards the glaze margins. A Bristol origin for these vessels is possible (Ponsford, 1978).

Saintonge (SG). A small number of sherds was identified in the basic Saintonge, mottled copper-green glazed fine whiteware fabric, which has a relatively broad date-range in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Hurst *et al.*, 1986). The few examples from Bayfield occurred from across the site.

Whitewares (Fig. 9, Nos. 22-31)

22. Whiteware bottle. Smooth, fine whitish-grey fabric with full greenish-brown glaze taken fully to rim top. [5015].
23. Whiteware jug. Finely potted and thin walled. Copper-green glaze. [5023].
24. Whiteware jug. Grey fabric. Green glaze with at least one vertical row of applied spots in an iron-rich clay appearing black under glaze. [5023].
25. Whiteware jug. Off-white outer surface, pale greyish-blue core and inner surface. Thin, bright, olive-green glaze. [5019].
26. Whiteware jug. Pale greyish-blue core and pale orange inner surface. Bright olive-green glaze, with darker copper-green streaks, on outer surface taken neatly to rim top. [5026].

27. Whiteware jug. Off-white inner surface and pale grey core. Rather dull yellowish-green glaze on outer surface. Applied decoration in self-clay. [5021].
28. Whiteware jug. Pale whitish-grey core and cream inner surface. Mottled olive-green glaze. Applied thumbled strip in an iron-rich clay appearing black under glaze. [5023].
29. Whiteware jug. Grey-black core and blue-grey inner surface. Olive-green glaze. Applied decoration in an iron-rich clay that appears blackish under glaze. Full design unknown. [Trench 4].
30. Saintonge jug. Abraded off-white fabric with a bright, thin copper-green glaze on both surfaces. [Trench 3].
31. Saintonge jug. Abraded thin-walled, pale cream fabric. Pockmarked and patchy copper-green glaze. [5021].

Orangeware fabrics

Fine, slightly micaceous orange-coloured fabrics occur across medieval England, from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries (McCarthy and Brooks, 1988).

Orangewares (OW). This fabric is in many ways similar to the coarse orangeware fabric below, but without the quartzite tempering, leaving the vessel surfaces very smooth to the touch. If sherds are held to the light, a fine micaceous content can be seen. Vessel walls, particularly the upper bodies of the jugs, are often quite thin. Oxidised orange-coloured vessels predominate, but a number show internal reduction to pale purple-browns. Orange-brown glazes seem the most common, but a number of copper and olive-green glazes is apparent, the former showing evidence of the mottling that is usual on suspension-glazed orangewares. Again, many of the glazes show signs of corrosion. This type of smooth, seemingly untempered, orange fabric was produced across England, including Scarborough and the fine estuarine clays of the Humber where it ranges in date from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries (Hayfield, 1985).

Coarse Orangeware (CO). A distinctive early to high-medieval fineware fabric. A fine soft orange fabric sparsely tempered with rounded and sub-rounded quartzite grit, of variable size and colour. The larger particles frequently stand proud, particularly on the inner surfaces giving an uneven, almost lumpy surface texture. The less abraded sherds nevertheless have quite a smooth feel, but increasing surface abrasion reveals a rougher, grittier texture. Most examples are oxidised to a fairly consistent orange colour with some core reduction in the thicker sherds. Glazes are thin and usually an orange-brown on the orange fabrics, although many show signs of surface corrosion to a dull, dusty, yellow. Several vessels in a more buff coloured fabric have copper-green glazes.

Hard Orange (HO). Although the fabric appearance of these sherds is very similar to the Orangewares described above, these vessels were generally thicker and much harder fired. The colouring is also different, with a substantial proportion of the thirty-five vessels from Bayfield varying from dull buffs to grey-browns. Glazes are darker greens to brownish-greens. Both the vessels forms recognised, and the nature of the fabric itself seem characteristic of a later-medieval pottery type.

Orangewares (Fig. 10, Nos. 32-58)

32. Coarse Orangeware cooking-pot. Orange-pink surfaces and pale orange core. Usual tempering with occasional larger cream coloured inclusions. [5012].
33. Coarse Orangeware cooking-pot. Pale whitish-orange surfaces and orange-pink core. [5026].
34. Orangeware cooking-pot. Abraded dull, dark red surface skin and orange core. [5027].
35. Coarse Orangeware bowl. Pale buff outer surface and core, pale orange inner surface. [5016].
36. Coarse Orangeware pancheon. Pale pinkish-orange fabric. Associated sherds have a thick greenish-yellow glaze on the inner surface. [5026].
37. Coarse Orangeware pancheon. Abraded dull orange fabric. Spots of corroded glaze. [5015].
38. Orangeware pancheon. Light orange outer surface and orange core. Inner surface covered with a fully corroded yellowish glaze. Fabric slightly coarser than for orangeware jug fabric. [5025].
39. Coarse Orangeware pitcher. Abraded dull orange surface and orange core. Traces of a highly corroded glaze. This is the upper attachment of a large handle, but with no plug, indentation or other support. [5012].
40. Coarse Orangeware tripod pitcher. Dull orange-brown outer surface skin, blue-grey core with yellow-buff margin. Abraded and with voids. [5016].
41. Orangeware jug. Greyish-red outer surface, orange core and dull red inner surface. Bright yellowish-green glaze. [5003].
42. Orangeware jug. Dull greyish surfaces and blue-grey core with red margins. Slightly corroded brownish-yellow glaze. [5003].
43. Orangeware jug. Abraded orange-pink fabric with grog inclusions. [5005].
44. Orangeware jug. Light orange fabric. [5005].
45. Orangeware jug. Orange surfaces and pale bluish-grey core. Light olive-green glaze. [5021].
46. Orangeware jug. Dull purplish surface skin and blue-grey core with orange margins. Yellowish-green glaze. Plugged upper handle attachment and slashed handle decoration. [5009].
47. Orangeware jug. Dull reddish-purple outer surface skin, blue-grey core and orange inner surface. Applied vertical strips of pipe clay, olive-green glaze. [5009].

48. Orangeware jug. Dull pinkish-buff surfaces and grey-black core. Marginal traces of suspension glaze. [Trench 3].
49. Orangeware jug. Orange fabric, with a badly corroded, yellowish, glaze. Deeply scored and stabbed handle decoration. [Trench 3].
50. Orangeware jug (reconstructed profile, non-fitting sherds). Dull red surfaces and red core. A corroded, powdery yellow suspension glaze. Basal edge pinched out so as to lift the base of the vessel clear. Both handle attachments simply smoothed on, each with back fillets. [5029].
51. Orangeware jug. Dull red outer surface skin, orange core and orange inner surface. Olive-green glaze traces. [5014].
52. Orangeware jug. Abraded dull red outer surface skin, pale greyish-blue core and inner surface. Thumbed base and traces of an olive-green glaze. [5011].
53. Orangeware vessel. Dull purplish-brown surfaces and dull orange core. Traces of a greenish-brown glaze on inner surface. Unusual form. [5006].
54. Orangeware aquamanile. Abraded pale, dull red outer surface skin over orange-vermilion fabric. Light ginger-brown glaze with copper-green mottling. Applied and pierced lug set at the joint of a head or spout at right-angles to main body of vessel. [5016].
55. Hard Orangeware jug. Dull, dark red outer surface skin, orange core. Greenish-brown glaze on both surfaces. Edge of a pulled lip. [5012].
56. Hard Orangeware jug. Reddish-pink outer surface skin, orange core and inner surface. Clear brownish-green glaze taken neatly up to base of applied, thumbed strip around neck. [5009].
57. Hard Orangeware jug. Light red outer surface and red core and inner surface. Bright and clear olive-green glaze. [5006].
58. Hard Orangeware jug. Dull orange outer surface, blue-grey/red core and dull brownish-buff inner surface. Purple-black glaze on outer surface (and on parts of inner surface). Stabbed and slashed decoration. [5005].

Late-Medieval Sandy Wares

Late-Medieval Sandy Wares (SW). A hard, sand-tempered fabric that formed over 46% of the identified vessels from the assemblage. The available forms suggest a date range from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, the later vessels becoming thicker walled and even harder fired. The basic fabric is finely sand-tempered with rounded and sub-rounded quartzite. The earlier, oxidised sherds also show traces of finely crushed 'grog' amongst the filler, although this is less easily observed in the later examples.

Many of the earlier-looking vessel forms are oxidised to orange or dull reds, whereas later ones are more likely to be reduced, particularly on the inner surfaces where pale greys and dull

blue-greys are common colours. Earlier glazes are often orange-browns, but, as with other fabrics, many show signs of corrosion to a powdery yellow.

A small number of sherds was overfired to the point of distortion or fragmentation. These were almost all jug sherds that had been 'wasted' during the firing process. Although such sherds are usually restricted to a localised distribution around the immediate production source, they can also be found used as packing sherds around consignments of pottery.

Late-medieval Sandy Wares (SW) (Fig. 11, Nos. 59-96)

59. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Grey-buff outer surface, grey core and orange inner surface. [5006].
60. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Light orange fabric, corroded glaze spots. [5006].
61. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Abraded orange fabric. [5028].
62. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Orange-vermilion fabric. [5006].
63. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Light orange surfaces and blue-grey core. [5033].
64. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Dull orange fabric and corroded glaze spots. [5006].
65. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Orange fabric, corroded glaze spots on outer surface, and under inner bevel of rim. [5006].
66. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Purple-brown surfaces and grey/orange core. Odd specks of glaze on inner surface. [5027].
67. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Dull reddish-purple surface skin and orange core. [5021].
68. Late Sandy Ware cooking-pot. Grey outer surface, blue-grey core and brown-buff inner surface. [5003].
69. Late Sandy Ware pancheon. Orange fabric, turning grey-brown in the core thickening. Remains of a brownish-yellow glaze on inner surface. Burnt outer surface. Abraded. [5021].
70. Late Sandy Ware pancheon. Abraded orange fabric with indications of burning on outer surface. Corroded glaze spots on inner surface. [5006].
71. Late Sandy Ware lid. Orange fabric, yellow-brown glaze on outer surface and 'flushed-on' inner surface. Inner surface has throwing marks and the sherd is slightly concave. Rather crude, lightly incised design on outer surface. [5027].
72. Late Sandy Ware lid. Yellowish-buff fabric. This knob was very simply applied to top of lid and has fractured along join. [5006].

73. Late Sandy Ware cucurbit. Abraded orange fabric. [5028].
74. Late Sandy Ware cucurbit. Dull purplish-red outer surface skin, orange core and inner surface. Minute glaze specks on outer surface. [5005].
75. Late Sandy Ware jug (re-constructed profile, non-fitting sherds). Pale grey to dull red outer surface, blue-grey core and greyish-blue inner surface. Shiny olive-green glaze with occasional dark mottles. Upper handle attachment smoothed on. Overfired, and distorted. [5005].
76. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull purple-brown surfaces and orange-red cord. Corroded yellowish glaze. Plugged upper handle attachment and slashed handle decoration. [5009].
77. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull orange outer surface, blue-grey core and brownish-grey inner surface. Odd tiny glaze spot. [5015].
78. Late Sandy Ware jug. Buff-grey surfaces and orange-buff core. Traces of corroded glaze. Hint of a plugged upper handle attachment. [5005].
79. Late Sandy Ware jug. Light grey surfaces and dull red core. Overfired. [5006].
80. Late Sandy Ware jug. Orange fabric. [5006].
81. Late Sandy Ware jug. Pale purplish-pink surfaces and dull orange core. Marginal traces of olive-green glaze. Upper handle attachment set in line with the applied thumbled strip. [5021].
82. Late Sandy Ware jug. Light orange outer surface and core, orange-grey inner surface. [5006].
83. Late Sandy Ware jug. Grey-buff surfaces and dull orange-buff core. [5005].
84. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull red outer surface, orange core and inner surface. [5006].
85. Late Sandy Ware jug. Orange-buff surfaces and orange core. Traces of a simple pulled lip. [5027].
86. Late Sandy Ware jug. Light orange-buff surfaces and pale bluish core. Glaze specks on lower body. [5027].
87. Late Sandy Ware jug. Purplish-grey outer surface, and blue-grey core. Dark olive-green glaze. Scored and stabbed 'decoration'. [Trench 3].
88. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull reddish-orange surface and orange core. Powdery yellow traces of corroded glaze. [5015].
89. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull purplish-brown outer surface and dull dark blue-grey core. Dark olive-green glaze. Upper handle attachment simply smoothed on. Some firing distortion. [5026].

90. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull orange-pink outer surface and orange core. Traces of a corroded glaze. [5015].
91. Late Sandy Ware jug. Dull buff-brown surface and blue-grey core with orange margin. [5027].
92. Late Sandy Ware jug. Orange outer surface and core and pinkish-buff inner surface. Thicker parts of core under glaze are a blue-grey. Yellow-olive glaze unevenly applied. Applied, thumbled strip. [3001].
93. Late Sandy Ware jug. Pinkish-brown outer surface and brownish-pink inner surface, and pinkish-orange core. Traces of a corroded glaze on the base of this sherd. [3001].
94. Late Sandy Ware bottle. Pinkish-red surfaces and blue-grey core. Bright brownish-green glaze on inner surface. [5003].
95. Late Sandy Ware dish. Purple-buff surfaces and very pale grey core. Watery olive-green glaze on inner surface. [3001].
96. Late Sandy Ware dish. Pale reddish-purple outer surface, blue-grey core and dull red inner surface. Bright olive-green glaze on inner surface on base and lower part of body. [5015].

Strays (ST)

This category represents the only five medieval vessels from across the site that did not belong to one of the above groups, and which were likely to have derived from potteries in the wider region.

Post-Medieval (PM)

A basic chronological grouping of all sixteenth and seventeenth-century pottery fabrics. Most were general coarseware bowl, jar and pancheon forms, but it also included a small number of Cistercian wares, and one example of a Tudor Green lobed cup.

Modern (MD)

A basic grouping of all eighteenth-century and later pottery fabrics from the assemblage, ranging from the thick-walled, brightly glazed kitchenware jars and pancheons, to the more ubiquitous 'Willow Pattern' and other later transfer wares.

Distribution of Pottery Fabrics across the Site

With any unstratified assemblage, it is likely that the pottery within it will largely reflect the chronological diversity of the site. Given that the various medieval pottery fabrics identified here seem to span several centuries, it is of interest to see how they are spread out across the eight 'areas' of the site. (Table 2). The code at the top of each column in this table refers to the pottery fabrics identified above.

Table 2 – Vessel Numbers in Each Fabric by Area

Area	Total	CS	CO	OW	WI	HO	SW	ST	SG	PM	MD
Yard	876	10	31	243	2	19	565	2	1	2	1
N. Range	116	18	4	27	1	4	58	1	-	1	2
E. Range	383	42	42	132	9	4	139	2	2	1	10
Far											
E. Range	305	82	-	108	12	4	90	-	-	3	6
S. Range	76	-	11	13	-	1	48	-	-	-	3
West Area	34	1	1	19	-	1	11	-	-	1	-
Outside N.	81	7	1	32	2	2	36	-	1	-	-
Outside S.	18	14	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-
Total	1,889	174	90	576	27	35	948	5	4	8	22
Total % (based on a total of 1,889 identifiable vessels)		9.21	4.76	30.49	1.43	1.85	50.18	0.26	0.22	0.42	1.16

The distribution of the various pottery fabrics across the site is not as distinct as that of the ridge tile fragments. Nevertheless, certain observations can be made. The Yard, containing the highest quantity of pottery of any of the areas, had the highest percentage of the Late-Medieval Sandy Wares (SW), and the lowest (save for the South Range) of the Coarse Sandy Wares (CS).

If the Coarse Sandy, Coarse Orange and Orangerwares are grouped together as representing the earlier range of fabrics, then, save the few vessels from the Outside South Range, the higher proportions belong to the East (56.39%) and Far East (62.29%) Ranges, with the lowest being the South Range (31.57%), and the Yard (32.42%). Conversely, these two areas have the highest proportion of later medieval fabrics (South Range 64.48%; Yard 66.9%).

Some fabrics are noticeable for their absence. Specifically, the site produced no examples of continental stoneware such as Siegburg or Raren, which, by the late-medieval period, are commonplace on most sites, even those of relatively lowly status (Hurst *et al.*, 1986). Their absence from the Bayfield assemblage is surprising.

Distribution of vessel forms

The same approach was taken regarding the distribution of pottery forms across the site. The assemblage is dominated by the two most common medieval pottery forms, the cooking-pot and the jug; together they formed 96.4% of all vessels. Countrywide, the overall change in pottery forms throughout the medieval period is the decline in the proportion of cooking-pots, and the increase in the proportion of jugs (Hayfield, 1988). In this respect, at Bayfield, there is an underlying correlation between those areas where late medieval pottery predominated and higher propor-

tions of jugs, and those areas where the proportions of earlier pottery was highest, and the incidence of cooking-pots. That much might be expected. However, the proportion of cooking-pots in both the North Range and the Far East Range remains higher than the site norm, and this might possibly have functional implications.

In the overall assemblage, there are few vessel forms that might reflect upon the status of the site. One fragment from an aquamanile from the North Range, and a fragment of decoration that might have derived from a knight-jug, are the only vessels that might be considered high status, and even then in only relative terms. The sherds of Saintonge are perhaps slightly more 'up market' than the normal domestic wares, but given the site's proximity to the major trading artery of the Severn Estuary, their absence might have been even more surprising (Ponsford, 1983).

Table 3 – Percentage Distribution of the Major Pottery Forms across the Site

Area	Cook-pot	Bowl	Jug	Pancheon	Other	Unidentified	P-Med
Yard	2.17	0.11	95.43	0.80	0.46	0.68	0.34
N. Range	15.52	0.86	78.45	-	1.72	0.86	2.59
E. Range	11.49	-	84.33	0.26	0.52	0.78	2.61
Far							
E. Range	25.24	0.33	70.16	0.98	0.33	0.33	2.62
S. Range	1.32	-	93.42	1.32	-	-	3.95
West Area	2.94	-	94.12	-	2.94	-	-
Outside N.	8.64	-	86.42	2.47	2.47	-	-
Outside S	66.67	5.55	27.78	-	-	-	-
Total	179	4	1,642	14	12	11	27
Total %	9.48	0.21	86.92	0.74	0.63	0.58	1.43

(based on the 1,889 identifiable vessels)

Comparison of Pottery and Tile Fabrics

Comparison between the pottery fabrics and the fabrics used for the glazed ridge tiles reported on below showed some startling comparisons. Each of the four tile fabrics could be matched with the four dominant pottery fabrics, as outlined below:

Pottery Fabric		=	Tile Fabric	
SW	50.18%	=	A	64.73%
OW	30.49%	=	B	22.17%
CO	4.76%	=	C	7.6%
CS*	8.73%	=	D	5.49%

*This match with Coarse Sandy Ware is with the slightly finer Early Medieval Sandy wares which comprised about 30% of the Coarse Sandy total.

In general, there was a rough correlation between the proportion of the pottery fabric and the corresponding tile fabric, particularly in terms of their relative proportions to other fabrics. For example, the Late-Medieval Sandy Ware and Orangeware fabrics were the two most numerous pottery fabrics, and A and B were the most numerous tile fabrics.

Waster Pottery

Unlike the roof tile fragments, there were only two or three possible pottery waster sherds, but all were in the Late-Medieval Sandy Ware fabric, although a number of other sherds in the same fabric was overfired.

From the Yard, there were: [5005] x 35, [5012] x 1, and [5027] x 18 overfired vessels.

From the South Range, [5028] x 44, and [5029] x 1 overfired vessels.

From the West area, [5002] x 1 and [5008] x 1 overfired vessels.

These waster sherds, along with the more overfired vessels, may well have been products of the kiln structure within the Yard (or indeed of other kiln structures within the vicinity of this site), but, given the limited nature of the excavations, the relationship is essentially a circumstantial one.

Date Range

As an unstratified site, pottery dating is problematic and much rests on comparative dating from other, stratified, sites in the area (such as Ponsford, 1978, and Vince, 1991).

There was no recognisable Saxo-Norman pottery amongst the assemblage and the earliest material would have been the nine sherds in the Very Coarse Sandy fabric whose manufacture and forms would suggest an early twelfth-century origin. Splashed glazed jug, No. 15, is also likely to be late eleventh or early twelfth-century in date. Following on, the Coarse Sandy, Coarse Orangeware and Orangeware fabrics probably date from the late twelfth century to the fourteenth

century, and are typical of similar generic fabric types across the country (McCarthy and Brooks, 1988; Hayfield, 1985). The Saintonge imports would also relate to this general period.

The Whitewares, Hard Orangewares and the Late-Medieval Sandy Wares would all relate to a later period of pottery production that probably originated in the fourteenth century and lasted until the later fifteenth century. Here at Bayfield, the bulk of the Late-Medieval Sandy Ware vessel forms appear to be of a mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth century date range. The numbers of sixteenth and seventeenth century vessels (only 0.42% of the assemblage), and of those of eighteenth and nineteenth century date (1.16%), suggest that occupation on at least this part of the site had effectively ceased during the fifteenth century.

Discussion

With the recording of the upper structure of a kiln-like feature within the Yard of this complex (F548, Fig. 4), the question obviously arises as to whether it could have been a pottery kiln. The nature of the tile fragments, and the comparatively high proportion and distribution of waster tiles in the A fabric, as defined and reported on below, suggest that if this kiln were used for the firing of ceramics, it was more likely to have been for glazed ridge tiles. However, a number of medieval pottery kilns, particularly later medieval ones, revealed traces of the production and firing of glazed ridge tiles along with the normal pottery. Laverstock in Wiltshire, and Cowick in West Yorkshire, are just two such examples (Hayfield, 1985).

Nevertheless, the strong similarity between the A tile fabric and the Late-Medieval Sandy Ware pottery fabric suggests that they were broadly contemporary, and that both were of very local, perhaps even immediate, production. Although it is common to find the fineware fabrics of the early and high medieval period deriving from kiln sites in an urban environment, from the fourteenth century onwards, pottery production across the country is more usually found in rural situations where they are able to exploit neighbouring urban markets. Situated so close to Chepstow, Bayfield would fit such a scenario.

A similar correlation between the B tile fabric and the Orangewares, between the C tile fabric and the Coarse Orangewares, and between the D tile fabric and the Early Medieval sandy wares, suggests that each of these were probably also broadly contemporary in their production, and therefore from similar sources. However, the lack of wasters in any of these fabrics may argue against a production source at Bayfield itself. All these latter three pottery (and tile fabrics) belong to a chronologically earlier group of fabrics than the Late Medieval Sandy Wares, although some general similarities in vessel forms, and particularly in ridge tile designs and decoration, suggest they all derive from Severn Estuary potting traditions.

The nature and distribution of the earlier group of fabrics suggest a more direct association with the East Range, North Range and Far East Range, but less so with the South Range (which may therefore be a later structure). Of these three ranges, the East Range appears the dominant structure, with possibly the North and Far East Ranges as ancillary structures. The evidence of vessel form distribution is far from convincing, but the marginally higher proportion of cooking-vessel forms from the North Range, and particularly the Far East Range, suggest the possibility that they may have served as ancillary structures to the East Range.

The concentration of the later medieval pottery fabrics around the courtyard itself and the South Range suggest that these areas may have been the focus for activity during this period.

Excavations at Chepstow, from The Priory, Nelson Street, and other sites have produced a range of stratified medieval pottery types, described by Vince as fabrics Ha-Hh (McCarthy and Brooks, 1988). Many of these belonged to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and included unglazed jugs and pitchers with rouletted decoration, and Vessel Nos. 15, 20 and 21 from Bayfield would seem to compare with vessels of this type from Penhow (Wrathmell, 1981). It was considered that many of the fabrics either originated from sources up-river towards Gloucester, or from the Vale of Glamorgan where documentary evidence indicates that a number of kiln sites are known.

Stratified groups of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries would seem to be in short supply in this area (McCarthy and Brooks, 1988), and there is therefore no immediate opportunity to parallel many of the illustrated vessel forms from Bayfield.

Despite this being an unstratified assemblage, and the obvious frustrations of not having been able to learn more about the kiln structure within the Yard, the pottery from Bayfield is of considerable interest. This interest is accentuated by the possibility that the Late-Medieval Sandy Ware vessels may have had a production source in the near vicinity of this site.

The Roof Tile

Introduction and Distribution of Material

Excavation resulted in the recovery of 1017 fragments of roof tile, of which 948 fragments weighing 34,877 kg could be confidently related to particular areas of the site. Although all the material from these excavations is essentially unstratified, these 948 fragments came from 30 contexts, of which 28 could be exclusively related to the same eight areas as the pottery above.

Table 4

Area	Fragments
Central Yard	- 483 (51%)
North Range	- 64 (6.76%)
East Range	- 124 (13.09%)
Far East Range	- 78 (8.24%)
South Range	- 93 (9.82%)
West Area	- 47 (4.96%)
Outside North	- 39 (4.82%)
Outside South	- 19 (2.01%)
Total - 948	

From this table it can be seen that just over half the tile assemblage came from the central Yard, with the building ranges the next dense (from 6-13%), leaving the western area and the two outside areas with the lowest concentration of tile. This variation in distribution across the site would seem to be significant, and possible interpretations are outlined below.

Roof Tile Fabrics

The roof tile from Bayfield divided into four main fabrics, termed here Fabrics A-D, which are described below:

Fabric A

A hard, sand-tempered fabric with a sparse, but clearly visible, micaceous content that is more easily seen on the inner surfaces of the softer-fired fragments. Tiles averaged 1 cm in thickness, thickening more towards the ridge, and had a roughish surface texture, particularly on the inner surface. Glazes are all suspension type and with a preponderance of darker olive greens or brownish greens, usually fairly bright, often seemingly carelessly applied, with glaze margins thinning untidily.

As with all four tile fabrics, the recovered fragments represent the remains of glazed ridge tiles. Only one fragment in the A fabric allowed an edge to ridge depth to be measured, and that was 18 cm; no guide could be obtained as to the length of these tiles. All these A fabric tiles were undecorated, save for an applied strip along the length of the ridge that had been boldly thumbled to give a crenellated or scalloped appearance (Fig. 12, Nos. 6 and 7). Each raised section had been pierced to an average depth of 2 cm; presumably to reduce the risk of firing damage. One fragment of glazed tile in this fabric showed a section of a circular glaze scar (approximately 9 cm diameter) that was reminiscent of a jug rim (although it could have been a spacer). All the overfired and waster tile fragments from this site were in the A fabric.

Context 5009 produced the sites only fragment of glazed floor tile (Fig. 4, No. 8) about 8 cm square with a centrally cut 'dimple' underneath. The fabric and glaze of this tile were very similar to that of the A fabric, but with only a single example, its association with the A fabric ridge tiles must remain tenuous.

Fabric B

A fine, smooth-textured, orangeware fabric with a notable micaceous content and tendency for the inner surfaces to feel dusty to the touch, particularly on the softer fired examples. The tiles are all oxidised to orange or orange-reds, but often reducing to greyish-blues in the thicker parts. Glazes are thick and bright, usually light olive-greens, but often with yellowish streaks or blotches. Several examples show darker copper-green glazes mottling gently onto lighter green backgrounds.

Decoration seems largely limited to ridge cresting, almost identical in style and manufacture to those of the A fabric. In addition, however, several fragments show evidence of a pronounced horizontal rib along either side of the tile (Fig. 12, No. 5). Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of the tiles in this fabric precluded any estimate of overall size of these tiles, or even of the position of these ribs.

Despite the differences in fabric composition, the character of the tiles in the B fabric was very similar to those of the A fabric.

Fabric C

Examples of tiles in the C and D fabrics were sparser and consequently there is less certainty about how representative they are of their type. Almost all the examples in the C fabric from Bayfield show considerable signs of weathering.

The C fabric is a hard, heavily sand-tempered fabric whose surfaces are rough textured. All are oxidised to brownish-red colours, reducing to grey-black in the cores. Most examples have traces of a glaze, but almost all of these were heavily corroded. An example from 5008 showed a surviving glaze to be a fairly dull, but thick, olive-brown. Decoration on these tiles was slightly more varied than the other fabric. Again there was the scalloped crest, although these seemed slightly less pronounced than those of the A and B fabrics (Fig. 12, No. 4). There were also fragments showing slightly wavy horizontal bands of applied thumbed strips (also shown on Fig. 12, No. 4), while others showed traces of a crudely scored 'herringbone' design (Fig. 12, No. 3). Fragments were of insufficient size to determine the size of these ridge tiles.

Fabric D

Tiles in this fabric were generally thicker than the others (up to 2 cm) and in an oxidised, slightly roughish-textured, sand-tempered fabric that lacked the obvious micaceous content of the A and B fabrics. Surfaces were usually an orange colour, although with a tendency to turn a dull red below the glaze margins of the lower surfaces. Glazes were thinner than those of the other fabrics, most examples were watery-looking olive-greens, often heavily pock-marked (reminiscent of 'splashed-glazed' pottery fabrics).

Like the other tile fabrics here, the tops of the ridges had raised scallops, but smaller than those of the A and B fabrics, and with three, more ornately conceived piercing on either side (Fig. 12, No. 1). One fragment showed a slightly fuller glaze and a single horizontal impressed wavy line decoration (Fig. 12, No. 2). Almost all the tile fragments in this fabric showed some signs of weathering or abrasion.

Table 5 demonstrates that these four fabrics did not occur equitably across the site, and that, at a little under 65%, Fabric A was the dominant tile fabric across the assemblage.

Table 5 – Bayfield – Tile Analysis by Area

Area	Fabric A	Fabric B	Fabric C	Fabric D
Central Yard	398 (82.4%)	73 (15.11%)	10 (2.07%)	2 (0.41%)
North Range	9.5 (14.84%)	31.5 (49.22%)	7 (10.94%)	16 (25%)
East Range	45 (36.29%)	42 (38.87%)	25 (20.16%)	12 (9.68%)
Far East Range	29 (37.18%)	30 (38.46%)	9 (11.54%)	10 (12.82%)
South Range	78 (83.87%)	11 (11.83%)	4 (4.3%)	-
West Area	39 (82.98%)	5 (10.64%)	3 (6.38%)	-
Outside North	9.5 (24.36%)	14.5 (37.18%)	5 (12.82%)	1 (25.64%)
Outside South	5 (26.32%)	3 (15.79%)	9 (47.37%)	2 (10.53%)
Total	614 (64.73%)	210 (22.17%)	72 (7.6%)	52 (5.49%)

(The % figure represents the proportion within each area.)

The above table shows that the A fabric's dominance was really restricted to three areas, the central Yard, the West Area and the South Range, with the Yard representing by far the greatest concentration. Although tile fragments were recovered across the whole Yard, they were particularly abundant around kiln feature F584, where the A fabric overwhelmingly predominated.

Waster Tiles

Within the tile assemblage a large number of fully or partly wasted fragments occurred along with a number of heavily overfired fragments: all these were in the A fabric.

Table 6

Tile Fabric A	Total	Wasters	Overfired	Normal
Yard	399	141	93	165
North Range	9.5	7	-	2.5
East Range	45	15	18	12
Far East Range	29	5	5	19
South Range	78	58	4	16
West Area	39	14	-	25
Outside North	9.5	1	1	7.5
Outside South	5	-	5	-
Total	614	241	126	274

As can be seen on Table 6, again the Yard represents the area of highest density of the A fabric, with 2.93 fragments per square metre (against a site average of 0.73 fragments per square

metre). Within the courtyard, kiln-feature F548 contained 70 tile fragments, of which 63 were in the A fabric and 39 (61.9%) of those were waste. This also translates to a tile density of 11.66 fragments per square metre, which was the highest for any context across the site.

The deposit sealing the kiln (5005) contained both the highest numbers and proportion of A fabric waster sherds across the site, an intensity of tile material not reflected by a similar density of pottery or other finds categories. Small-scale sampling below 5005, (context 5035) produced a further 20 tile fragments, of which 19 were in the A fabric (10 of those wasted and a further 3 over-fired). The clear implication is that feature F548 represented, at least in its final phase of activity, a tile kiln, producing glazed ridge tiles in the A fabric.

Date Range

The difficulties of dating finds from an unstratified assemblage have already been alluded to above in the pottery report. It is probably also no coincidence that there was a general similarity in fabric and glaze between all four tile fabrics and pottery fabrics. The tile assemblage here appeared to be exclusively ridge tiles and it is not uncommon to find pottery and glazed ridge tiles produced from the same kiln sites (Laverstock, Cowick, etc.). However, the evidence for the production of pottery from this kiln at Bayfield is very limited.

Based on typology and the comparison with the relevant pottery fabrics, the following date ranges could be tentatively suggested for the Bayfield ridge tiles: Fabrics B-D = 13th-14th centuries (with B being the latest and D the earliest); and Fabric A = 14th-15th centuries.

Discussion

If the remains of tile fabrics B-D had included plain flat roof tiles, then their numbers and distribution across the site may have seemed commensurate with their being the remains of the original roof structures of the various buildings around the Yard. The fact that they are all ridge tiles makes this less likely, although it appears that Pennant sandstone may have been used for the roofs of some buildings. Even if these excavations had recovered fragments of every ridge tile ever used on these buildings, there seems many more than would ever have been needed.

The sheer numbers of the A fabric, including its relatively high proportion of wasters or over-fired fragments, with a density focusing on kiln feature F548 within the Yard, argue for production of glazed ridge tiles on the site.

Further questions arise concerning the nature and relationship of the buildings around the courtyard to the kiln. Kilns posed a fire risk, and its situation within a courtyard of buildings, even if largely of stone construction seems unlikely, unless, of course, those buildings had already largely fallen into disuse before the kiln was established.

The Fired Clay/Daub By Annette Hancocks

Introduction

A small assemblage of 75 fragments, weighing 1,639 g, of fired clay/daub and kiln lining was recovered. Details are listed in Table 7 below:

Table 7 – The fired clay/daub

Type	Quantity	Weight (g)
Fired clay/daub	13	243
Fired clay/kiln lining	31	289
Kiln lining	13	450
Vitrified kiln lining	17	531
Vitrified lining	1	126
TOTAL	75	1,639

Methodology

The material was quantified by weight (grams) and count, and classified into the five categories listed in Table 7. Where recognised, material with finger-smoothing/squeezing and with grass impressions was recorded in greater detail. The material was also classified into two fabric types, essentially distinguished by firing. These could not be equated precisely with any of the tile or pottery fabrics identified by Colin Hayfield (above), but neither those, nor this material, was subjected to more detailed microscopic or chemical analysis.

Fabrics

Fabric 1: a reduced grey, very hard-fired fabric, with abundant quartz sand temper (2 mm), and occasional flint and ironstone.

Fabric 2: an oxidized, very hard-fired fabric, with abundant quartz sand temper (2 mm), and occasional ironstone.

Summary and conclusions

Spatially, all of this material was concentrated within the Yard area, and in particular towards its south-west corner (Fig. 3). It appears to be directly related to the remains of the kiln structure F548 (contexts 5005 and 5035) and its immediate environs (5003, 5004, 5006, 5010 and 5027). No kiln furniture was recognised amongst the assemblage, but smaller quantities of vitrified lining, some with glaze adhering, suggest the firing of ceramics to very high temperatures.

The presence of large quantities of tile has been interpreted as evidence for F548 being a tile kiln, but this material could also have been used in the formation of the kiln superstructure. The

waste tiles could also have been used as kiln furniture during the production process. In addition, significant quantities of slag, charcoal and ceramic debris, including wasters, were recovered from the surrounding deposits, further evidence that the kiln was used for the firing of glazed ridge tiles and perhaps for pottery (Colin Hayfield, above). Since surface cleaning rather than stratigraphic excavation provided the bulk of the material recovered, it is difficult to determine the full extent of the kiln debris and the degree of preservation *in situ* of the kiln structure or of its character.

Other Finds By Lynne Bevan

Small Finds

The small finds assemblage was limited both in size and chronologically-diagnostic material. Although several items came from contexts also containing Medieval pottery, with which they were potentially contemporary, few could be reliably dated, the exceptions being part of a fourteenth-century strap-end (Fig. 13:1) and a Late Medieval (*c.* fourteenth-fifteenth century) horseshoe (Catalogue No. 3, not illustrated). A rectangular bone [?gaming] piece (Fig. 13:2) was also of probable Medieval date.

Catalogue

1. Part of a copper alloy forked spacer from a strap-end with an acorn knob, very similar to an illustrated example from the Museum of London (Egan and Pritchard, 1991, Fig. 94:675, 144) for which a 14th-century date is most likely (*Ibid.* 145). Length: 52 mm, width: 1-4 mm, thickness: 1 mm. Context 5021. Fig. 13:1.
2. A rectangular-shaped bone [?gaming] counter, the top of which is highly-polished through wear and the base of which has been scored into a series of irregular squares. Length: 25 mm, width: 14 mm, thickness: 5 mm. Context 5023. Fig. 13:2.
3. Horseshoe, of probable Later Medieval date, since the general shape conforms to Type 4 in the typology of Medieval horseshoes from London (Clark, 1995, Figs. 86-89), although in this case the nail holes are obscured by corrosion products. Length: 108 mm, width of arms: 15-28 mm, thickness: 8 mm. Context 5017. Not illustrated.

Other finds included two small copper alloy rings, possibly from a purse (5032, SF 6), a small fragment of copper alloy plate (5015, SF 1), a roll of lead sheet (5015), and a circular-sectioned lead object with a 'pinched' end (5014).

The iron objects were all heavily-corroded and the majority were fragmentary but they included some fragments of door furniture (5026), a possible punch (5016), two hooked fittings (5022, 5023), a cleat (5023) and a nut and bolt (5022), the latter of relatively-recent origin. Other iron items consisted of a ring-shaped object (5003), a curved object (5006), three fragments of plate (5014, 5025, 5028), an amorphous lump (5014) and 94 nails from the following contexts: 5009 x 1, 5010 x 3, 5012 x 1, 5014 x 5, 5015 x 12, 5016 x 4, 5017 x 5, 5018 x 1, 5020 x 1, 5021 x 6, 5022 x 16, 5023 x 8, 5024 x 1, 5025 x 5, 5026 x 9, 5027 x 1, 5028 x 4, 5030 x 5, unstratified x 6.

Vessel and Window Glass

All of the glass was of Post-Medieval date and the majority appeared to have been of relatively-recent origin. The glass comprised a complete inkpot (4002), twelve fragments from bottles, eleven fragments from other vessels and eight fragments of clear window glass, all of which are listed by context below:

Bottle glass: 3008 x 1, 5003 x 1, 5011 x 1, 5015 x 2, 5017 x 1, 5028 x 1, unstratified x 1.

Other vessel glass: 5010 x 1, 5015 x 3, 5021 x 1, 5022 x 1, 5027 x 1, 5029 x 1, 5032 x 2, unstratified x 1.

Window glass: 3008 x 1, 5012 x 1, 5015 x 1, 5017 x 1, 5022 x 1, 5023 x 1, 5028 x 1, unstratified x 1.

Miscellaneous Materials

Additional finds comprised eight oyster shells (5022 x 2, 5023 x 2, 5024 x 3, unstratified x 1), a fragment of slag (5006), three clay pipe stems (5011, 5012, 5015), and four fragments of brick (5016, 5018, 5026, 5028).

Interpretation and Discussion

Given the limited scope of the field investigation to which this site was subjected, no very detailed interpretation of the remains or their chronology can be advanced. However, a considerable body of data was recovered, and from this it is possible to draw certain conclusions and provide a hypothesis for the site's origin and function. This process has been much aided by Colin Hayfield's analysis of the ceramics, documentary research by Paul Courtney and contributions from David Williams.

The principal structural element of the site is a range of stone-founded buildings set around three sides of a small yard, which contained evidence for the production of glazed roof tiles and perhaps pottery during the later fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. The development sequence of the buildings and their relationship to the tile and pottery production, or to other activity on the site, could not be adequately explored. However, certain structural and stratigraphic sequences could be discerned, and the presence of thirteenth-century and perhaps twelfth-century pottery within the ceramic assemblage collected, suggests two or three centuries of occupation here. The bounds of the site to the south and east were not fully explored, although the presence of what is suspected as a contemporary burial ground associated with the medieval chapel of St Lawrence, effectively limits it to the east. Despite the remains of one building known to continue to the south, no major extension appears likely in that direction. Certain boundary walls and ditches are known to extend in other directions beyond the excavated area, but as yet there is no evidence to suggest that any other substantial contemporary remains are to be found in this field. The core of the site appears to lie within an area defined approximately 40 m N-S by 60 m E-W along the west side of St Lawrence's road – the A446 (Fig. 2).

Within the limitations of the recorded evidence, some attempt can be made to suggest structural sequences, character and function for the building ranges. The most visible remains represent

stone buildings and some boundary walls of substantial construction, primarily employing local Carboniferous limestone. Exterior wall faces were roughly dressed with a rubble core, and, where seen, set upon three or four unmortared foundation courses within a construction trench. Above ground courses were originally mortared, with timber framing employed for floors, roofs and possibly upper stories, although no direct evidence survived. Relatively little is known of the interiors of rooms, or of specific functions, although several had hearths or fireplaces and were serviced by stone drains. Roofs were probably thatched or covered with wooden shingles (though no evidence survives). However, the presence of stone roof tiles of Pennant sandstone suggests that this material had been used on the main buildings of the North and East Ranges at least, and perhaps also for some floors. Those buildings with tiled roofs may have been capped by ceramic glazed ridge tiles – fragments of the two earliest types at Bayfield (C and D) were well-weathered. A softer, dark red sandstone seems to have been used for some door and window frames, but there was no other evidence of the freestone employed for building details. Where intersected by the earlier evaluation trenches it was apparent that stratified deposit sequences were preserved in places beneath the latest rubble of building destruction, and some floor levels probably survive.

Without further excavation it is difficult to consider the origin and development of this settlement – ceramics collected primarily from the latest levels of the site providing the most reliable evidence. The earliest ceramics could have originated in the early twelfth century – a very coarse sandy ware (Hayfield's VCS fabric), although the great bulk of pottery and tile recovered spans the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The distribution of such material seems to indicate a shift in the focus of the site from east to west; the proportional occurrence of earlier fabrics (13th - earlier 14th century) being slightly higher in association with the North and East Ranges relative to the preponderance of later fabrics (later 14th and 15th century) associated with the central Yard and South Range.

One of the earliest structures could have been the large building at the core of the East Range (Figs. 3, 5 and 6). This was divided into three ground-floor rooms, one of which had the appearance of an L-shaped corridor, with a drain set into one section of its floor. The presence of a second west wall (F506) in that corridor, and the isolated stone plinth (F528) further east, could signify an even earlier building on this site. Structures which are secondary to it can be identified with more confidence, and include the twin-roomed annex to the north, a porch (F526 and F527) to the east, and beyond it an extensive clay floor associated with what may have been stone-packed post-holes. The latter remains suggest the presence of a timber-framed building with a sloping earth floor, although it is unclear whether this was built against the east side of the stone building or succeeded it. The stone platform F538 may be another component of this eastern timber-framed extension of the East Range, perhaps a separate room or area requiring a firm floor.

The largest room of the originally separate North Range could well be contemporary with the core stone building of the East Range; subsequently linked to it following the addition of the northern annex to the latter (Figs. 3 and 5). A smaller north room is certainly a later addition, but the status of another room to the west is less certain. This appears to overlie an earlier western boundary to the building complex (F517/F547), but its relationship to the main room of the North Range suggests the possibility that the west room may belong to an earlier structure, replaced by the central room, or perhaps partly integrated with it.

The main room of the South Range was certainly secondary to the East Range core building, and the marked concentration of later medieval (fourteenth - fifteenth-century) pottery from within and around it supports its later date in the building sequence. Its proximity to the kiln F548 suggests that the latter was not in operation when this room was built (Figs. 3 and 5). Once again, however, there is a suggestion of earlier structures here; another possible room further west could be part of a preceding building, while the large drain (F536) running north from beneath the main room was evidently a primary feature in this area. The limited exposure of another stone structure to the south-east - the South Building - was insufficient to indicate its scale, function or relationship with the South Range proper.

It is a matter of regret that, relatively, so little information is available relating to the tile and suspected pottery manufacture on the site. This was focused on the central Yard, where the remains of at least one kiln was partly exposed (F548), and its products identified (Figs. 3, 4 and 5). Analysis suggests that this structure was producing glazed ridge tiles in the fifteenth century (Hayfield, Fabric A), although an identical and apparently contemporary pottery fabric (Hayfield, Sandy Ware) is present as the most common on the site and may also have been manufactured within it or in an adjacent kiln. The density of tile fragments and wasters from immediately around and above the kiln remains suggests that these were its latest product, but earlier firings could have been made to produce Sandy Ware jugs. Alternatively, another kiln for the jugs was located nearby but not excavated. Interestingly, there are pairings of earlier ridge tile and pottery jug fabrics from the site (Hayfield Fabric B with Orange Wares (OW); Fabric C with Coarse Orangerware (CO) and Fabric D with glazed Coarse Sandy Wares (CS)), although there is no direct evidence that any of these were manufactured here.

Without further excavation it is impossible to establish the exact relationship of this tile/pottery manufacturing industry with the adjacent suites of buildings. The kiln appears to have been in operation during the fifteenth century, although conceivably of earlier origin and could even share the site with an unseen earlier kiln. Its operation involved fire, high temperatures and good access - among other things - requirements best suited to an outdoor location. The structural sequences and ceramic evidence associated with the North and East Building Ranges suggest their primacy to the kiln, and thus a not insubstantial fire risk, particularly with the prevailing west or south-westerly winds here. Either these buildings were out of use (but still standing since rubble from their later collapse lay above the central Yard surface), or perhaps were considered to be safe enough by virtue of their essentially stone construction and tiled roofs. Indeed, whatever their earlier function, these buildings could have housed the potters manufacturing tiles or jugs within a workshop and drying room, provided storage space for raw materials, fuel and the finished products, as well as living quarters for those associated with the industry. The L-shaped room or corridor with its drain in the East Range for example, might well represent the site of such a workshop. More problematic is the South Range, whose proximity to the kiln seems to pose a greater threat, although evidently a later building and conceivably built contemporary with it. What may have been a second room to the west could have been demolished to accommodate the kiln. Alternatively the South Range was not built until after the kiln had ceased production.

The bounds of this site to the north and west seem to have been reached, although occasional boundary ditches or walls continue beyond, probably defining larger contemporary closes or field plots. This may also apply largely to the south, despite the continuation of at least one other

stone structure here. Only to the east is there evidence for greater complexity and the continuation of further elements of the site. Of these, the most important is the cemetery located by Trench 6 (Figs. 3 and 5). The relationship of the burial ground with the remainder of the site was not altogether determined, although both are almost certainly contemporary. The specific context for these burials is almost certainly the chapel of St Lawrence, whose site is thought to lie close by, either now beneath the modern road or just beyond it to the east. Having established their presence it was decided that the burials should thereafter remain undisturbed, but it is reasonable to assume that they represent a graveyard set around the chapel, thus helping to confirm its general location. Furthermore, a close relationship between the building complex, chapel and cemetery is now almost certain, the latter surely representing the remains of those living and working here in later medieval times.

The relationship between the burials and the rather poorly preserved remains of the South-East Building was not clarified, although its location suggests that the cemetery boundary lies between them. From what could be seen of this building it seems to belong with the complex exposed to the west, rather than having any ecclesiastical function. A ditch (F602) appears to be the northern boundary of the cemetery, although no equivalent boundary was seen to the south. Here was the site of the former pond/marl pit, which although containing extensive deposits of twentieth century infill, may prove to have been a source for the clay required to manufacture the ridge tiles and pottery on the site.

Evidence for the abandonment of this site comes from the range of finds present (recovered primarily from its upper levels), as well as from deposits that sealed the remains. Apart from some mainly twentieth century material, which relates largely to occupation of the corrugated-iron building and the modern realignment of the road, the ceramic sequence virtually ceases before the end of the fifteenth century. Despite the presence of extensive deposits of stone rubble across the site, dressed building stone, stone roof tile, or fragments of finer detailing appear to be relatively sparse. This, and some robbing-out of wall lines, suggests that much stone was removed for use elsewhere after the abandonment of the buildings, rather than their dereliction and collapse. Thereafter, the whole site seems to have been forgotten, apart from the remains of the chapel of St Lawrence, apparently still visible during the nineteenth century and recorded on estate maps and by the Ordnance Survey, but no longer clearly identifiable. Hillwash accumulation, particularly towards the south and west margins of the site, indicate cultivation nearby, if not over the remains themselves. By the eighteenth century, the landscape was enclosed and 'The Pool Close' field, which contained the site investigated in 1999, as well as the pond, was in existence. It may be significant that it was the pond rather than the building remains or activities associated with them that gave this field its name, suggesting a fairly rapid and total obliteration of this settlement following its abandonment – forgotten until its rediscovery at the end of the twentieth century.

Conclusions

Despite the shortcomings of this field investigation, the Bayfield site evidently represents an establishment of some status. The character and layout of the building remains exposed, the later manufacture of ridge tiles and pottery here, and a likely association with the chapel of St Lawrence could all be hallmarks of a monastic grange. Emerging particularly in the thirteenth century, granges operated as economic centres to manage the often extensive and widely distributed estates

that many monastic houses accumulated during the Middle Ages (Platt, 1969). The grange was essentially a large-scale farm, with a range of buildings that could include a large tithe barn, animal sheds, a dovecote, a mill, fishponds, as well as (in this instance) a house for the bishop's steward, a priest's house and probably humbler dwellings. While functioning primarily as estate farms, other commercial activities such as metal-working or tile/pottery-making were often located there, and by the fourteenth century, the presence of a chapel to serve their communities of lay brothers as well as other workers and their families was not unusual.

Relatively few granges have been investigated archaeologically in any detail; Dean Court, Cumnor - a grange of Abingdon Abbey in Oxfordshire - being a notable exception (Allen, 1986), although many other sites are known. The layout and range of buildings present at such sites will naturally vary in accordance with their ownership, wealth, scope of activities and the local topography. Here, the main group of buildings seen can be associated with fifteenth century tile and pottery manufacturing at a late stage of their use, although some almost certainly functioned also in part as dwellings. Both the North and East Ranges probably originated a century or more earlier and could represent the main farmhouse with ancillary buildings of the thirteenth or fourteenth century establishment.

It is likely that other elements of the site lay to the east of the chapel, the presence of which itself might imply a larger establishment than is represented by the remains found within the area of investigation. Further buildings and associated structures could well extend along the south side of the valley to the east. The presence of earlier paired tile and pottery fabrics on this site implies a longer-lived tradition of manufacture in the locality, and the possibility that such material was being produced in kilns elsewhere within the estate in the later thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The potential for the survival of additional remains and evidence for the economy of this settlement complex must be high, notably to the east, and their preservation must be a priority.

As Paul Courtney's research demonstrates, contemporary documentation for this site has yet to be found, and thus the question of its status and ownership remains open. There is no suggestion of a link with the great Cistercian abbey of Tintern a few miles up the Wye Valley, although several of its granges are known in the locality. Likewise, the priory of St Mary's, Chepstow seems to be ruled out. However, a more likely contender would be the small Augustinian priory of St Kynemark (St Kingsmark), whose remains lay only a few hundred m away to the north-east (Butler, 1965). This was always a very modest house, apparently founded at a site with much earlier Christian traditions, first mentioned in the eighth century as the church of St Cynfarch when it came into the possession of the see of Llandaff. Few of Llandaff's medieval diocesan records seem to have survived and there are no known records of St Lawrence and its parish until the sixteenth century. At this time, it certainly belonged to the bishop of Llandaff, and despite their close proximity, there is little or no evidence of a link ever having existed between St Lawrence's and the priory. However, as David Williams has suggested (*pers. comm.*), the land immediately surrounding St Kynemark's seems to have been carved out of Llandaff's Llangynfarch (St Lawrence) estate, and thus the possibility that the bishop had some hand in the priory's foundation. Furthermore, it can be postulated that as part of the original estate, the St Lawrence's chapel site could well equate with that of the original early Christian church of St Cynfarch. If so, the potential importance of the burials discovered and the cemetery as a whole would be much enhanced as an early Christian site. Had excavations proceeded further, radiocarbon determinations for some of these burials would have

been a priority. Documentary and cartographic evidence apart, the proximity of this site, with its separate chapel and burial ground to St Kynemark's, itself indicates separate establishments by the later Middle Ages.

On current evidence, the most likely owners of St Lawrence's chapel will have been the see of Llandaff, whose bishops probably founded the site as a grange, or perhaps more accurately a manor house and farm, around the more ancient chapel, in the twelfth or early thirteenth century to service their extensive estates in this area. Indeed, this site may well be part of the township of 'villa lann cinmarch' given to the bishop of Llandaff in 1128 (David Williams, pers. comm.). The (?re-dedicated) chapel of St Lawrence and its priest will thereafter have served the community based here, in life and in death. Effectively this was a small village, engaged primarily in agricultural production and collection, but also involved in the manufacture of roof tiles and pottery jugs in the fifteenth century, if not earlier. By this time it was common for big landlords to lease out their properties for rent, and this may have been the impetus for ceramic production at St Lawrence's. Study of the distribution of the tile and pottery products in the wider region could shed further light upon this - was it supplying other Llandaff estates or was this more of a commercial venture, taking advantage of this site's proximity to Chepstow? The whole site had almost certainly been abandoned by the sixteenth century, possibly linked to the Dissolution of the monasteries, although more likely occurring several decades earlier in the later fifteenth century. With the exception of the site of the chapel of St Lawrence, the settlement was forgotten, but its rediscovery provides a glimpse into the medieval life and economy of this region, and the potential of a site which is complete and relatively undisturbed.

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Fig. 1: Site location map from 1:25000 OS map extract.

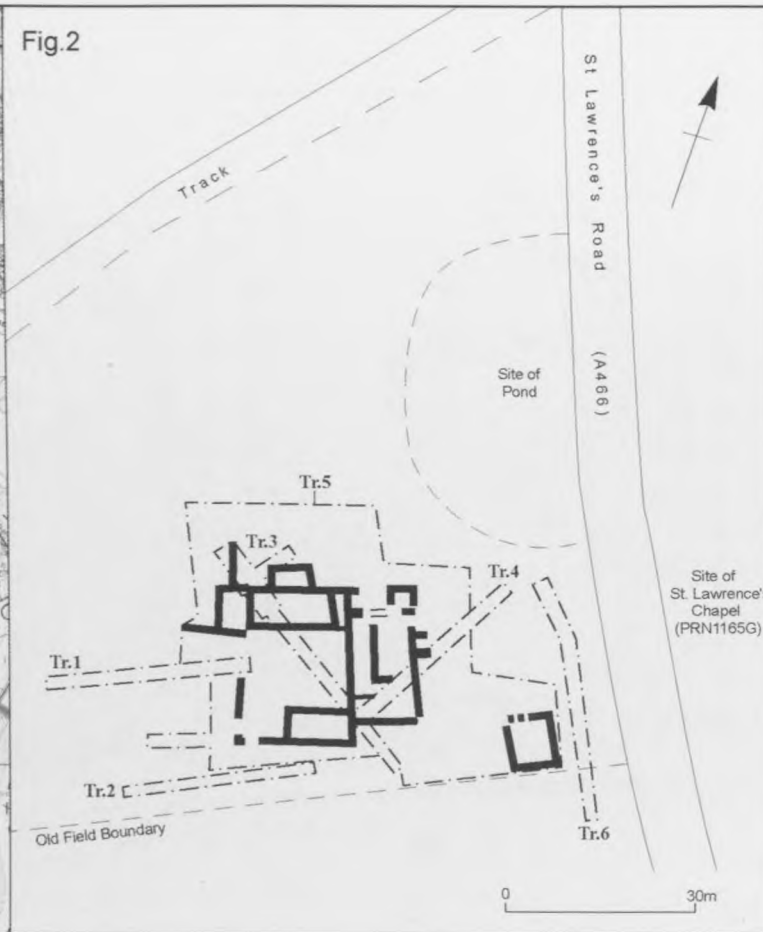


Fig. 2: Location plan of excavated area.

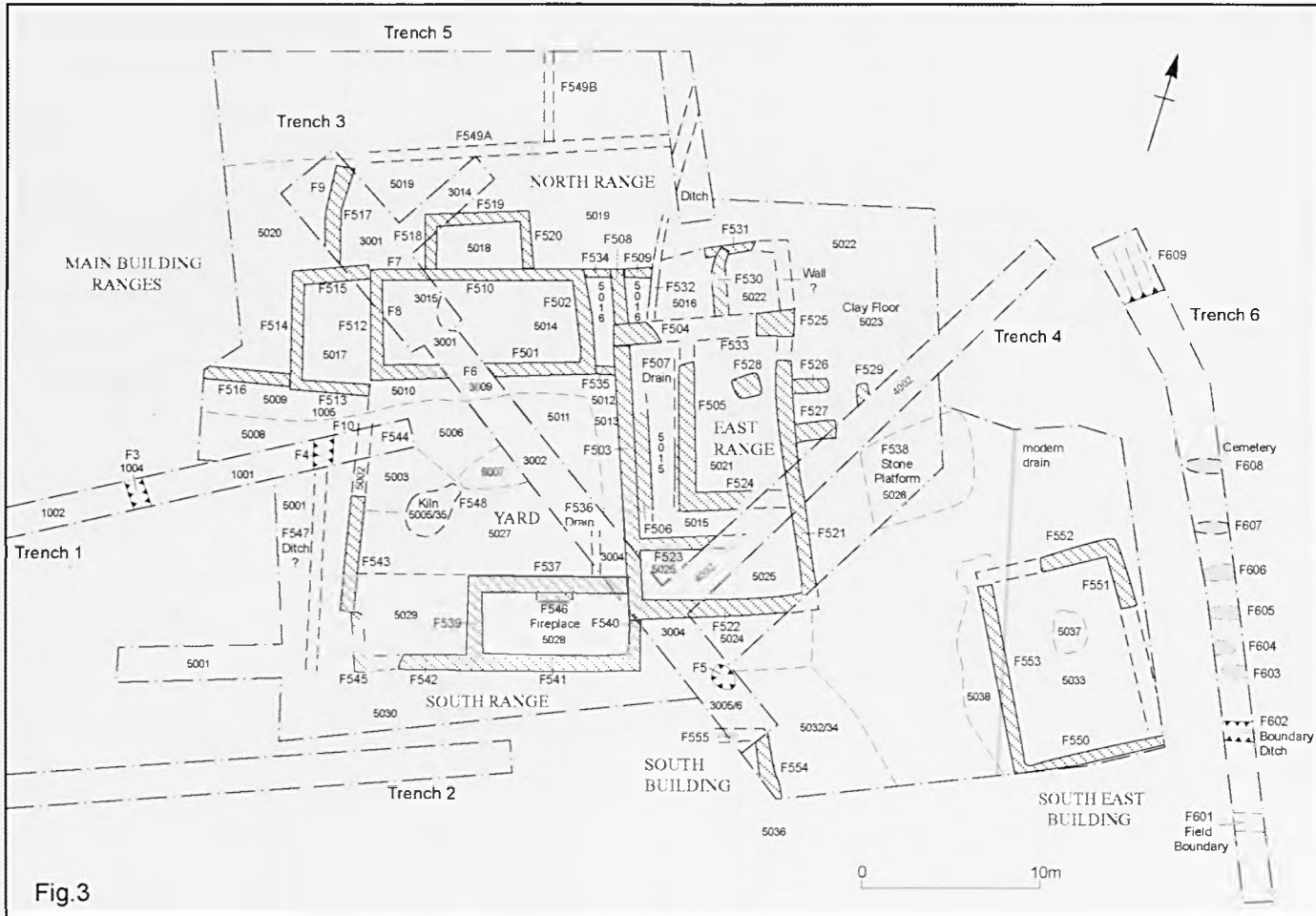


Fig.3

Fig. 3: Location plan for excavated structures and contexts.

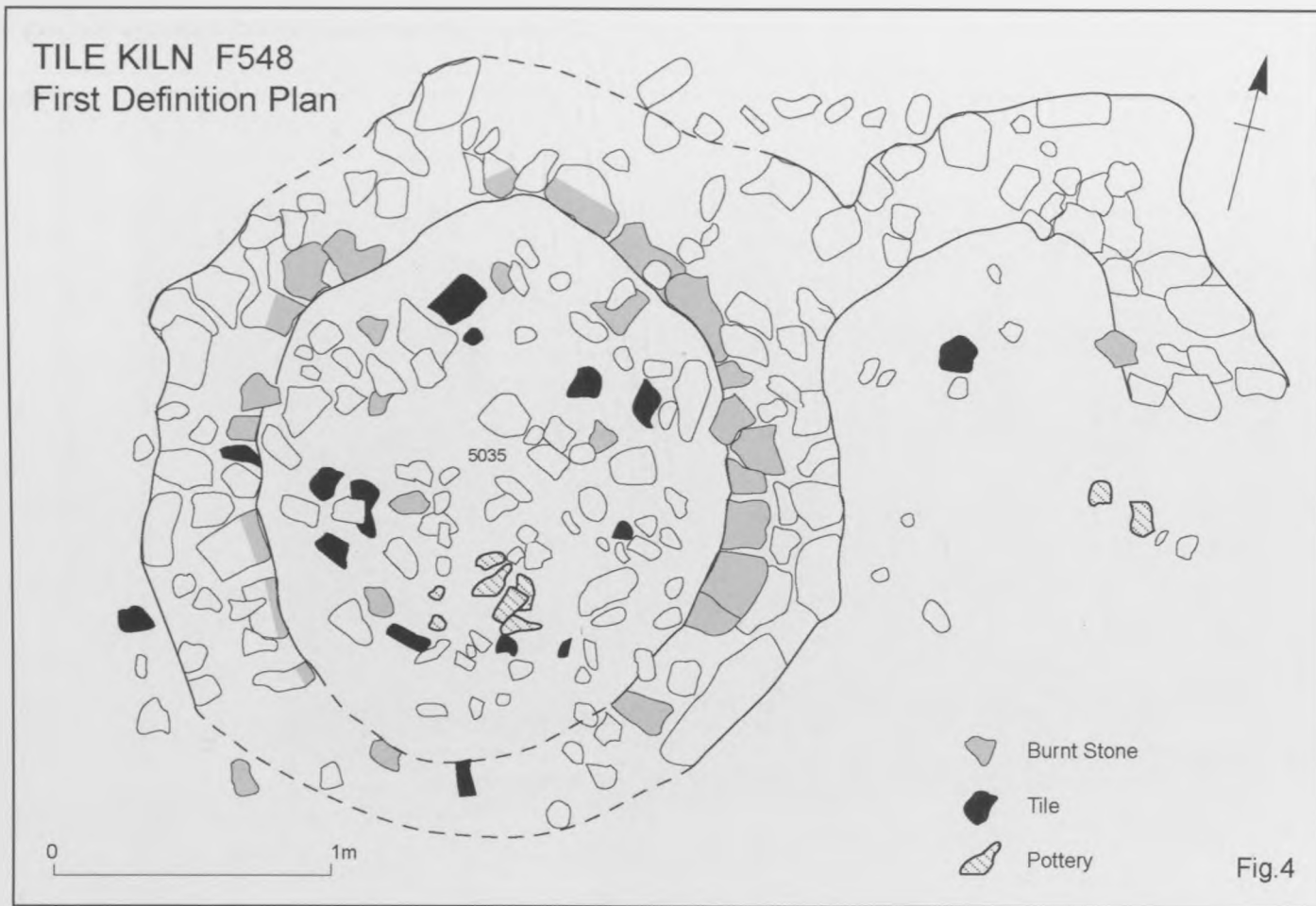


Fig. 4: Detail plan of kiln F548 remains.

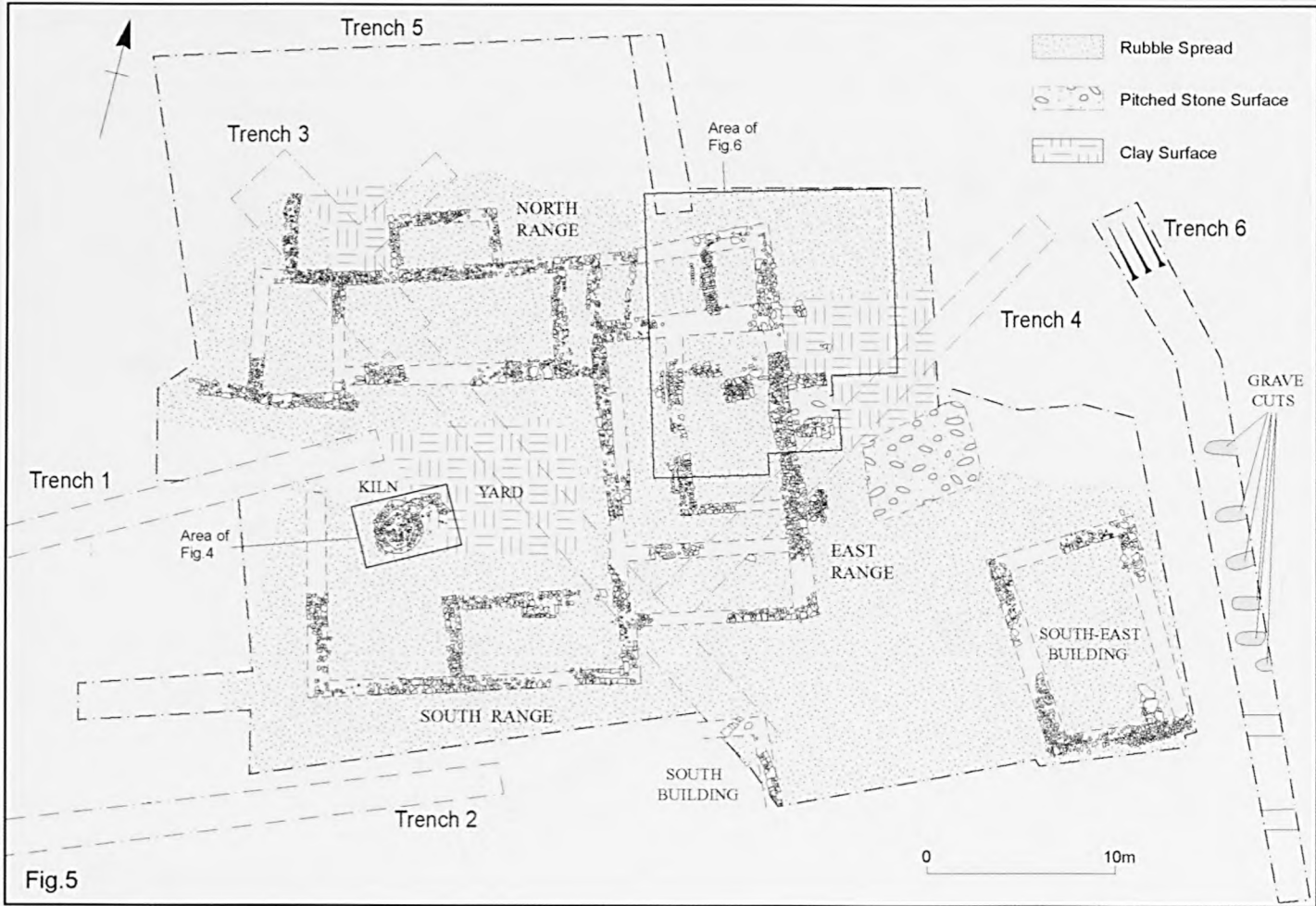


Fig. 5: First definition plan of principal remains.



Fig. 6: Vertical photograph showing part of the East Range.



Fig. 7: Handcleaning of the North and East Ranges, looking north across the dry valley towards St Kingsmark.



Fig. 8: Vertical photographic recording of the South Range, looking east towards the corrugated-iron building and the A466 embankment.

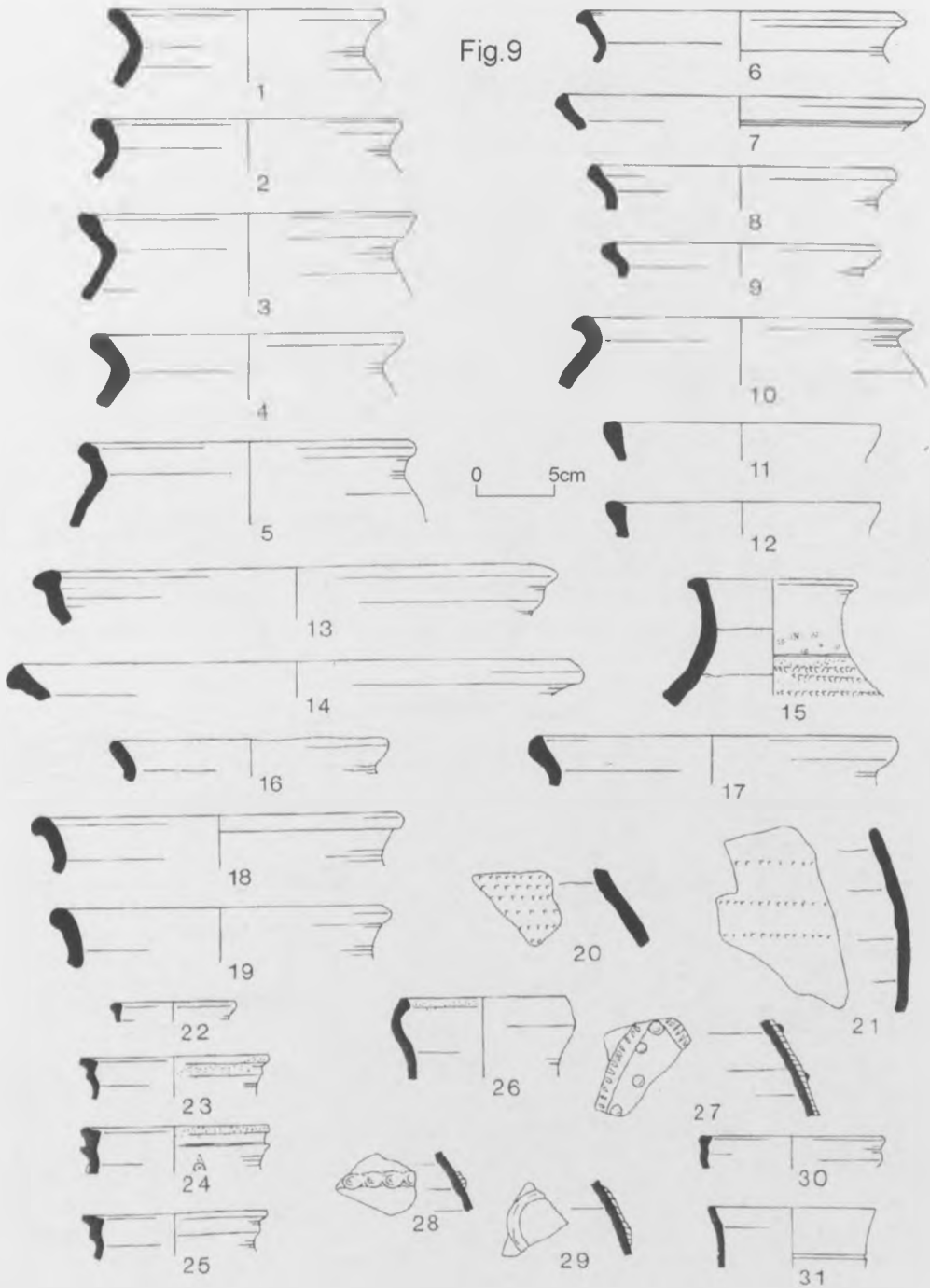


Fig. 9: Medieval pottery, nos. 1-31.

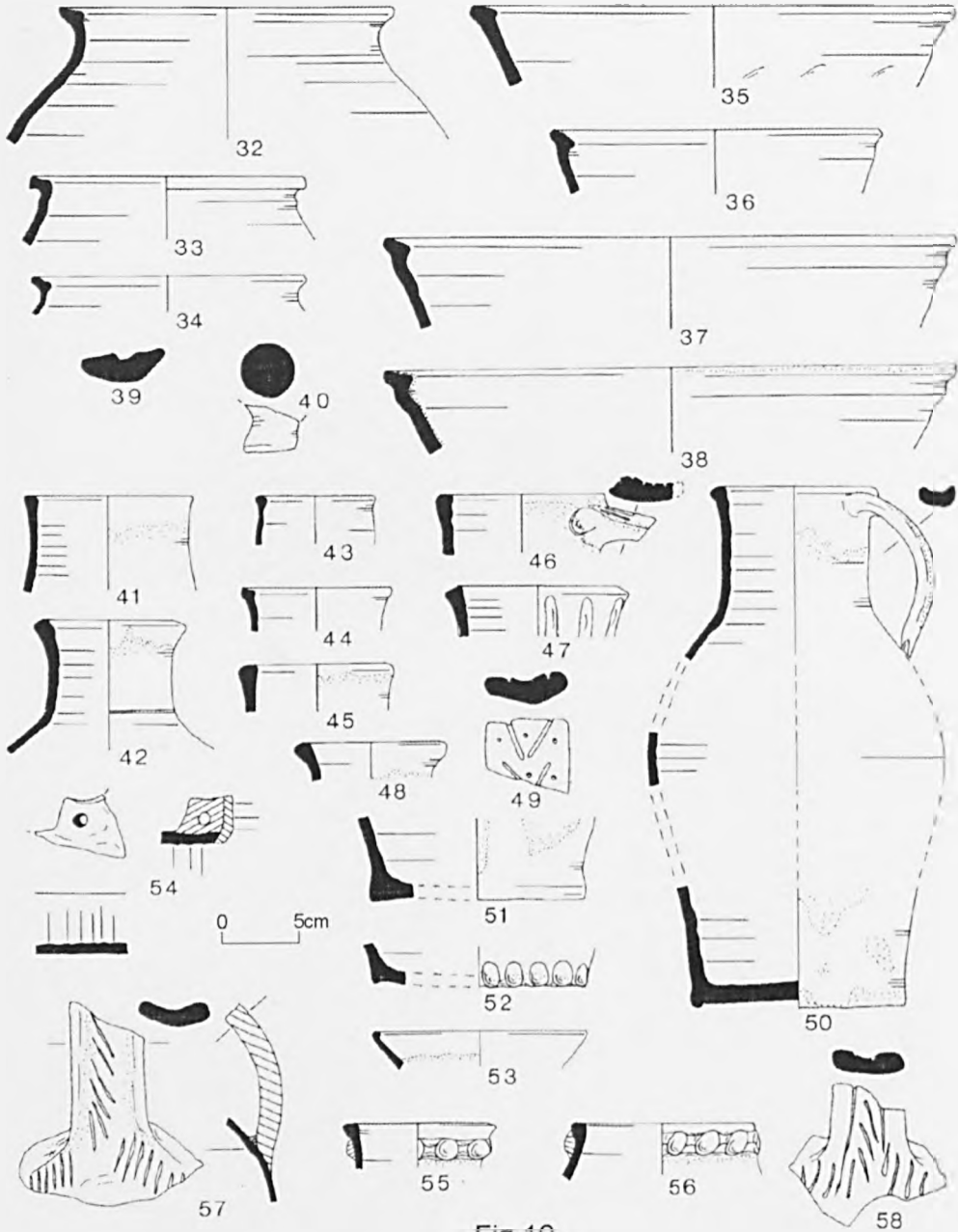


Fig. 10

Fig. 10: Medieval pottery, nos. 32-58.

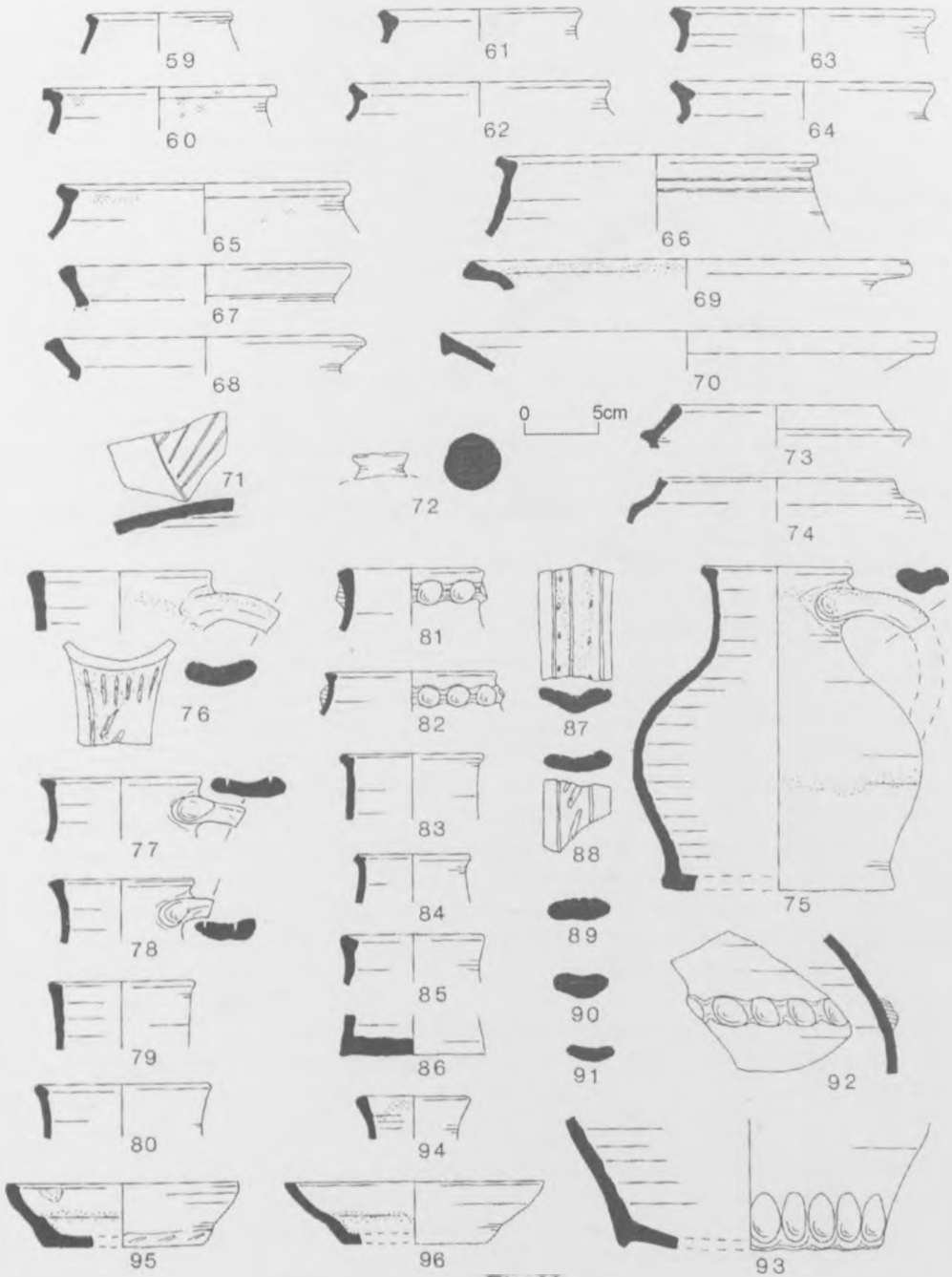


Fig.11

Fig. 11: Medieval pottery, nos. 59-96.

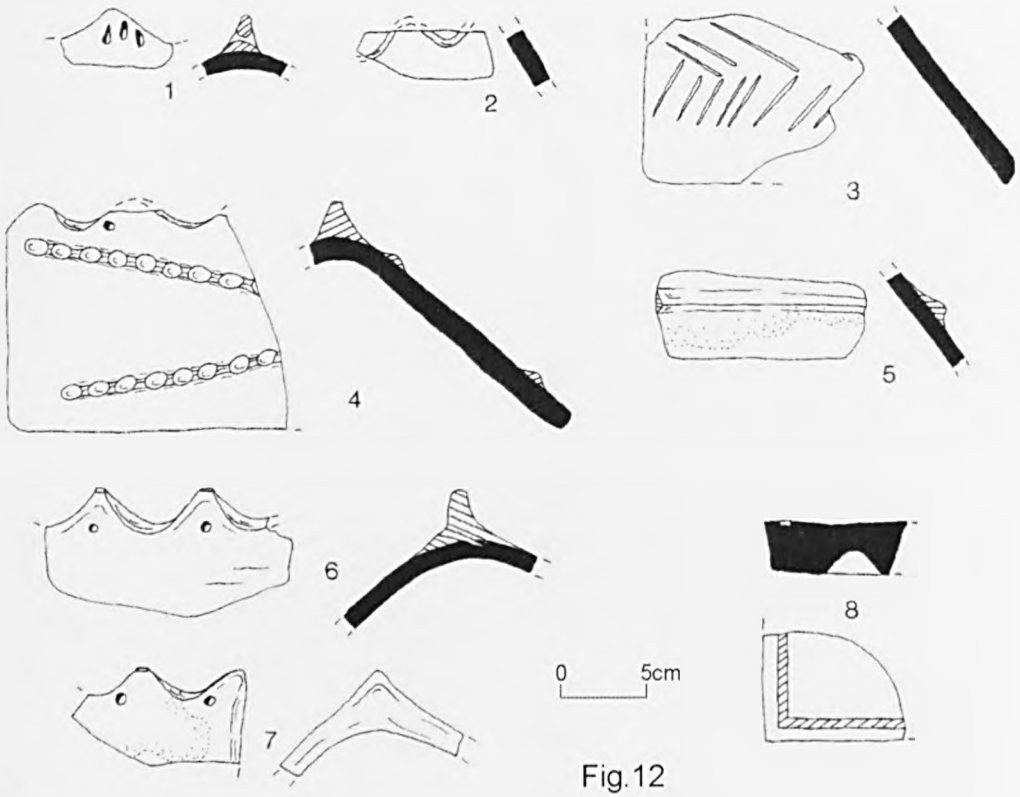


Fig. 12: Medieval tile, nos. 1-8.

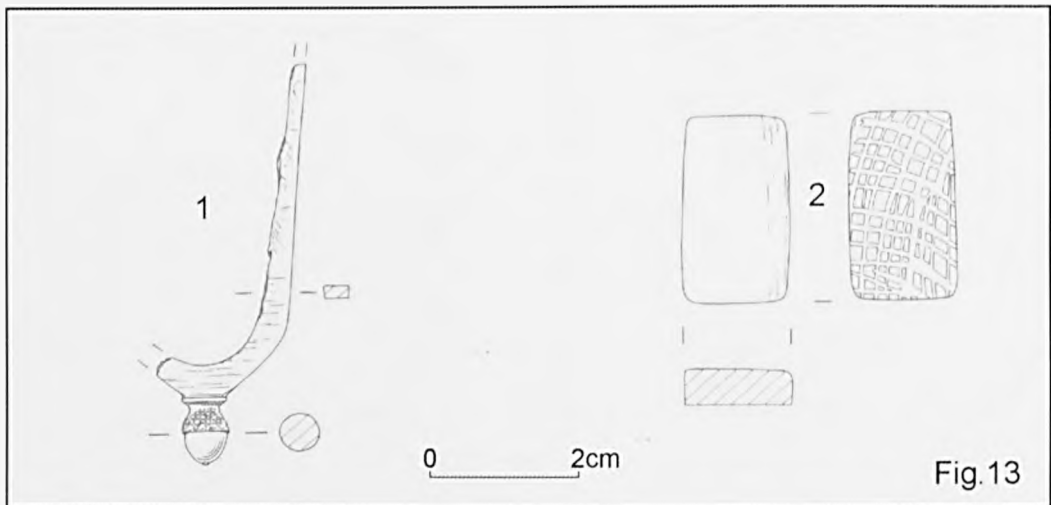


Fig. 13: Small finds, nos. 1-2.

HARRY OF MONMOUTH, HENRY V OF ENGLAND: LOCAL ESTEEM AND NATIONAL REPUTATION¹

By Ralph A. Griffiths

Henry V was born in Monmouth castle, and in 1413 he became king of England. This article takes its cue from these two events: it seeks to say something, first, about Prince Hal and his family – the house of Lancaster – and especially about his relationship with Monmouth; and something, secondly, about Henry V and his dynasty – also the house of Lancaster – and especially his contribution to the development of the English monarchy.

Henry and his Family

To say that Henry V was an extraordinary king is not to say very much, since in a highly personalised monarchy such as England's in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the character, personality and abilities of each individual king laid a peculiar stamp on his own reign. Henry V's stamp has seemed more indelible than that of most English kings. We may quarrel about the wisdom or foolishness of his territorial claims and conquests in France, but no-one can deny the scale of his military successes – which earned him the title of Henry the *Magnifico* from a contemporary Venetian chronicler.² We may dispute some of the traits of his character, but there is no denying the admiration that he drew from friend and foe alike. And although we may question the accuracy of its details, few other kings have had such an enduring and admiring testimonial penned about them as Shakespeare's heroic play, *King Henry V*, written in 1599.

Henry is extraordinary in other ways. He and his father, King Henry IV, who seized the crown of England from the head of Richard II in 1399, were the first kings in more than two and a half centuries whose date of birth is not certainly known; and Henry V is the last king or queen of England about whom that can be said. This reflects an important fact: Henry IV and Henry V, as the son and grandson of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of King Edward III, had no realistic expectation of becoming king of England at the time of their birth, the one probably in 1366, the other in – when? Late fourteenth-century chroniclers, therefore, showed little or no interest in their childhood years and, naturally, the royal and government archives contain no record of their birth and early boyhood.³

Henry V was only the second English king, to date, to be born in Wales, a distinction he shared with Edward I's eldest son, later King Edward II, who had been born at Caernarfon in 1284. Admittedly, Caernarfon was a royal borough founded after the recent capture of the site from the

¹ This article is based on a lecture to a joint meeting of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and the Gwent County History Association, held at Caerleon on 27 Oct. 2001. I am grateful to the honorary editor of this journal, Mrs Annette Burton, for suggesting that it be published.

² In his account of the battle of Agincourt, the Venetian chronicler, Gasparo Zancaruolo, referred to 'quel magnifico Enrigo': Marciana Library, Venice, classe VII, Italiano, 49-50, vol. 2. I am grateful to Dr John Law for this reference.

³ Kirby, J.L., *Henry IV of England* (London, 1970) 11-18; Allmand, C.T., *Henry V* (London, 1992) 7-11. What references there are to their childhood years are in the archives of the duchy of Lancaster.

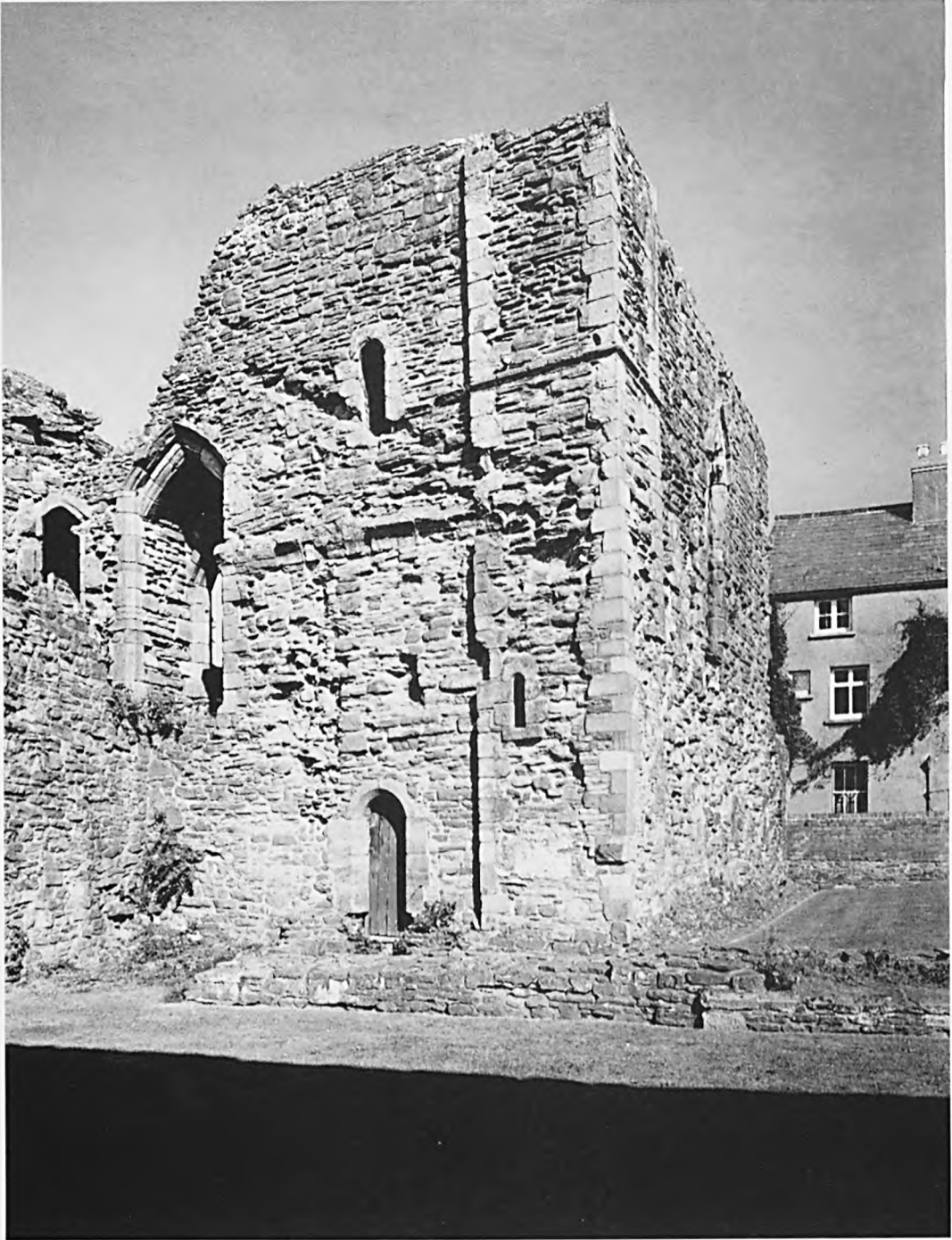


Plate 1: The Great Tower of Monmouth castle from the east, showing the main doorway at first floor level. Henry V may have been born in this building. *Copyright: RCAHMW.*

last of the Welsh princes, Llywelyn ap Gruffydd (died 1282); and its spanking new royal castle was already rising on the shore when the king and queen arrived. By contrast, Monmouth was a castellated town which had been in baronial hands since the eleventh century, and in those of the earls and dukes of Lancaster since 1267. In the middle of the fourteenth century, a large hall in the castle known as the Great Tower was extensively renovated to convert its upper floor into a truly princely residence (Plates 1 and 2). Now ruinous, this is reputed by some to be the birth-place of Henry V.⁴ No other monarch has been born in Monmouth – or is ever likely to be.

But what about the date of Henry V's birth? Nowadays, historians are inclined to accept that Henry V was born in Monmouth castle on 16 September 1387, relying on the word of his chaplain and biographer, Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton (Nottinghamshire) in his 'Chronicle of the Noble Kings of England', completed about 1416.⁵ And in 1987, the town of Monmouth decreed that 1387 it was, and accordingly arranged its centenary celebrations. Yet there remain some nagging doubts and untied ends. London chroniclers suggest that 1386 is the correct year, and estate records of the duke of Lancaster's lordship of Monmouth show that Henry V's father and mother were indeed at Monmouth in the summer of 1386. As to the day, John Leland, the antiquarian who visited Monmouth on his tour of South Wales in the mid-1530s, gives the feast of St Cuthbert (4 September), and local Monmouth tradition has preferred in the past a couple of dates in August – hence 13 August appears on the famous statue in Agincourt Square. One day, no doubt quite unexpectedly as is sometimes the way with historical research, someone will encounter a decisive piece of evidence and we will know more certainly when the great king was born.⁶

The point is this. Henry of Monmouth was born, without the glare of publicity, to Henry Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who was lord of Monmouth, and to Bolingbroke's wife, Mary Bohun (died 1394), the heiress of the lordships of Brecon and Hay nearby. Henry of Monmouth mounted the throne of England in 1413 as a consequence of his father's rebellious seizure of the crown in 1399. Until that year, and until the age of twelve, he was presumably reared and educated as a young nobleman, not as a prospective king of England. He was born in Monmouth because his father had been given the task of exploiting the lordship of Monmouth for all it was worth by the duke of Lancaster, and because Henry Bolingbroke liked to hunt in the forest of Grosmont and did so in the summer of 1386 and/or 1387, even though his wife was pregnant.⁷

⁴ Kissack, K.E., *Medieval Monmouth* (Monmouth Historical and Educational Trust, 1974), ch. 2 with a pedigree of the lords of Monmouth on p. 30; Taylor, A.J., *Monmouth Castle and Great Castle House* (London, 1951) 14-17.

⁵ See the references to Elmham's 'Chronicle' in Taylor, F. and Roskell, J.S. (eds.), *Gesta Henrici Quinti: The Deeds of Henry the Fifth* (Oxford, 1975) 2 n.1.

⁶ Smith, L.T. (ed.), *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539* (London, 1906) 46; Wylie, J.H., *History of England under Henry the Fourth* (4 vols., London, 1884-98), vol. 3, 324; Clark, J.H., *History of Monmouthshire* (Usk, 1869) 216. Even Henry's most recent and authoritative biographer has lingering uncertainties: Allmand, *Henry V* 7-8.

⁷ Thus, Martin, G.H. (ed.), *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396* (Oxford, 1995) 128-9 and 550-1, notes both the marriage of Bolingbroke and Mary, and Mary's death, but not the birth of the son. The most that *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381-1394*, Hector, L.C. and Harvey, B.F. (eds.), (Oxford, 1982) 520-1, says about Mary and her sister's children is that 'each of the sisters has left illustrious offspring behind her', without specifying who they were. Not even *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421*, Given-Wilson, C. (ed.), (Oxford,

Henry's Death

By contrast, Henry V died reputedly one of the greatest kings ever to rule England. To judge by contemporary comments in England and France, the sense of loss in 1422 was widespread and unmistakably profound.⁸ The circumstances of his death, however, are no less fascinating than those of his birth and have some significance. There is a minor dispute about the date, but the margin for debate is tiny: was it 30 August 1422 or was it 31 August? This small difference arises mainly because Henry died in the middle of the night, at the grand chateau of the kings of France at Vincennes, a few miles east of the walls of Paris.⁹ Henry was just about thirty-five or thirty-six years old. He had been taken to Vincennes, painfully ill, from the siege which he was conducting at Meaux, a town some miles further to the east. The fascination of Henry's death relates more substantially to the cause of his last illness, but in view of contemporaries' understanding of medical diagnosis and chroniclers' descriptions of symptoms, this argument is probably now incapable of satisfying today's medical opinion. Contemporary writers attributed the king's death to a variety of causes: leprosy, pleurisy, smallpox, dysentery, St Anthony's Fire (caused by contaminated grain) and St Fiacre's malady.¹⁰ The last suggestion holds a peculiar interest, and its popularity as the cause of Henry's death among French and Scottish writers (and it is worth noting that many Scots served in the French armies fighting against Henry V) opens for us a window into the mind of Frenchmen and Scots in the last days of Henry V.

St Fiacre was – and is – thought to have been a seventh-century hermit-saint of Scoto-Irish descent, possibly the son of a Scottish king of Irish immigrant lineage. The son became a Christian missionary like other of his countrymen and settled as a hermit near Meaux, where he died in 670. His commemorative day is none other than 30 August. It is said that in 1422, while Henry V was besieging Meaux, he decided to remove the relics of St Fiacre from their shrine there and transport them to England. But before that could happen, Henry was laid low by his last illness, which was eagerly regarded by hostile French and Scottish writers as an appropriate punishment – hence St Fiacre's malady. The coincidence of date, place, illness and explanation seemed too compelling for hostile contemporaries to ignore – and in any case it was rumoured that that other great English commander in France, Edward the Black Prince (died 1376), had contracted his fatal illness after desecrating the shrine of St Fiacre half a century earlier. A Scots chronicler went further and reported that Henry V, when told in his last hours what the nature of his illness was, exclaimed that the wretched Scots were pursuing him everywhere, be he alive or dying. As for St Fiacre, his relics are still at Meaux. His persistent popularity lent his name to the hotel in Paris from which hackney-car-

1997), notes his birth. For exploitation of Gaunt's Welsh estates see Somerville, R., *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: Volume One, 1265-1603* (London, 1953), ch. 4, and of the Bohun estates by Henry Bolingbroke, Holmes, G.A., *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1957) 24-5.

⁸ Griffiths, R.A., *The Reign of King Henry VI* (London, 1981) 1. Compare the verdict in Harriss, G.L. (ed.), *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship* (Oxford, 1985), especially ch. 1 ('The exemplar of kingship').

⁹ Wylie, J.H. and Waugh, W.T., *The Reign of Henry V* (3 vols., London, 1914-29) vol. 3, 418 and n. 5; Griffiths, *Henry VI* 11.

¹⁰ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, Watt, D.E.R. (ed.), vol. 8 (Aberdeen, 1987) 123-4 (written c. 1440), refers to 'a cancerous illness which in the vernacular is called St Fiacre's disease'; Balfour-Melville, E.M.W., *James I, King of Scots, 1406-1437* (London, 1936) 90.

riages once ran, and so *fiacre* became the French word for hackney-carriage and, more recently, for taxi – that is, when the French are not resorting to the Franglais word, *le taxi*!¹¹

The point here is that far from dying, as he was born, in obscurity, Henry V expired a notable king about whose death too much – rather than too little – has been written for clarity's sake.¹² And his death was inevitably attributed to the politicking of saints and the intervention of the Almighty. Moreover, Henry died relatively young. Only two adult kings of medieval England died younger – Richard II and Richard III – and their deaths were the result of revolutions. Henry was, too, the only king to die in France after the twelfth century and, apart from Richard III's slaughter at Bosworth, he was the last king of England to die on campaign. These are significant facts, because they emphasise the enormity of his bequest to England: a nine-month-old son and heir who became king as Henry VI, and a Herculean commitment in France that helped to destroy his own dynasty a generation after his death.¹³

Henry and Monmouth

We might reasonably expect that the town of Monmouth and the shire created in 1536 out of several neighbouring marcher lordships, including that of Monmouth, would have preserved some personalised memories of Henry V. After all, he was possibly the most illustrious son of both shire and town. His only rival is Geoffrey of Monmouth, the twelfth-century monk whose book about the beginnings of British history and especially about King Arthur has inspired a long line of writers and painters, serious and bizarre.¹⁴

Our expectation is strengthened by the existence of a chronicle written in Monmouthshire in Henry V's own day, by Adam, a native of Usk, which is only a dozen miles from Monmouth to the south-west. But this chronicle carries no mention of Monmouth at all, let alone a reference to the birth and early life of the future king. This is all the more curious when we consider that Abergavenny, Newport and Usk all rate a mention. But, then, Usk and Monmouth may have been keen rivals even then, as they were to be later on. Certainly they were the centres of neighbouring, sometimes quarrelsome, marcher lordships; in Henry's day, their lords were rivals for the crown of England – the Mortimer earls of March in the case of Usk, Henry and his father as dukes of Lancaster in the case of Monmouth. In any case, Adam was a vain, conceited man who had an elephantine memory when it came to bearing grudges: and he was forced to flee into exile in the reign of Henry's father, Henry IV, and he failed to secure the bishopric which he thought he so richly merited. So, there is no reference to Monmouth or to Henry's birth in his chronicle.¹⁵

In 1599, Shakespeare's *King Henry V* was first performed. Although this play was not espe-

¹¹ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, 123-4, 205; Farmer, D.H., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (2nd edit., Oxford, 1987) 159; Wylie and Waugh, *Henry V*, vol. 3, 418-19 and n. 11.

¹² Certainly overmuch about the cause of his death: *ibid.* vol. 3, 418-20; Allmand, *Henry V* 173.

¹³ Cannon, J. and Griffiths, R.A., *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy* (Oxford, 1988), ch. 3 for comparisons of the later medieval monarchs.

¹⁴ Geoffrey's 'study', attached to St Mary's church, is still pointed out to the unwary, even though its style of building is several centuries later!

¹⁵ Given-Wilson, *Adam Usk*.

cially popular in the century that followed, it hardly allowed much room for a specifically Monmouth view of Henry V to develop. The character of Fluellen (or Llywelyn) is one of several Celtic characters in the play and they balance the low-life Englishmen who provide both comic and tragic interest. As a Welsh captain, he seems comic yet respected, able to speak to King Henry directly as a fellow Welshman. Although he cannot be connected with Monmouth or any particular Welsh locality, it is possible that Fluellen derives some of his qualities from the Elizabethan soldier and writer on military matters, Sir Roger Williams of Penrhos (Monmouthshire). And, too, there are a small number of allusions to Monmouth in the play that help to bind Fluellen and his king in a unique relationship. In the exchange between Fluellen and Gower during the battle of Agincourt, Shakespeare alludes to Monmouth and in favourable terms:

GOWER... Oh, 'tis a gallant king!

FLUELLEN. Ay he was porn at Monmouth, Captain Gower. What call you the town's name where Alexander the Pig was born?

GOWER. Alexander the Great.

FLUELLEN. Why, I pray you, is not 'pig' great? The pig, or the great, or the mighty, or the huge, or the magnanimous, are all one reckonings, save the phrase is a little variations.

GOWER. I think Alexander the Great was born in Macedon: his father was called Phillip of Macedon, as I take it.

FLUELLEN. I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is porn. I tell you, Captain, if you look in the maps of the world, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth. It is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but 'tis all one, 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. If you mark Alexander's life well, Harry of Monmouth's life is come after it indifferent well, for there is figures in all things. Alexander, God knows, and you know, in his rages, and his furies, and his wraths, and his cholers, and his moods, and his displeasures, and his indignations, and also being a little intoxicate in his prains, did in his ales and his angers, look you, kill his best friend Clytus.

GOWER. Our king is not like him in that: he never killed any of his friends.

FLUELLEN. It is not well done, mark you now, to take the tales out of my mouth ere it is made an end and finished. I speak but in the figures and comparisons of it. As Alexander killed his friend Clytus, being in his ales and his cups, so also Harry Monmouth, being in his right wits and his good judgements, turned away the fat knight with the great-belly doubtlet: he was full of jests and gipes, and knaveries, and mocks; I have forgot his name.

GOWER. Sir John Falstaff.

FLUELLEN. That is he. I'll tell you, there is good men porn at Monmouth.

GOWER. Here comes his majesty.

Following the battle, Henry V and Fluellen are given a celebratory exchange during which the Welsh contribution to the English success is highlighted, and Monmouth and the river Wye again figure:

FLUELLEN... If your majesty is remembered of it, the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow, wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which your majesty know to this hour is an honourable badge of the service; and I do believe your majesty takes no scorn to wear the leek upon St Tavy's day.

KING. I wear it for a memorable honour.

For I am Welsh, you know, good countryman.

FLUELLEN. All the water in Wye cannot wash your majesty's Welsh flood out of your pody, I can tell you that. God pless it and preserve it, as long as it pleases his grace, and his majesty too!

KING. Thanks, good my countryman.

FLUELLEN. By Jeshu, I am your majesty's countryman, I care not who know it. I will confess it to all the world. I need not to be ashamed of your majesty, praised be God, so long as your majesty is an honest man.

KING. God keep me so!

Plays were staged by travelling players and companies in Monmouth's Town Hall in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including some by Shakespeare, but it is not at present known whether *King Henry V* was amongst them. It would be interesting to know if it was read or performed in Monmouth and what sort of reception it had.¹⁶

Instead, Henry's reputation in Monmouthshire acquired a rather different veneer as a result of the struggles between Protestant and Catholic, between crown and ministers, following the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Nathan Rogers, a Monmouthshire gentleman who wrote a history of his native Wentloog in the 1680s, adopted Henry of Monmouth as a good Protestant a full century before the Reformation: he portrayed a king who was deflected from his strong wish to reform the corrupt Catholic Church in England by an archbishop of Canterbury (and here he is taking his cue from the Protestant Shakespeare) who persuaded him to campaign in France instead. Rogers also praised Henry for calling many Parliaments – though in reality the king had to do so to finance his wars. So, on somewhat spurious political and religious grounds, Henry's reputation in Monmouthshire began to sweeten. The king's connection with the county town was certainly remembered with affection at this time. When the birth of Henry Somerset, later the second duke of Beaufort, was imminent in 1684, his mother, the marchioness of Worcester, was instructed by her father-in-law, the first duke of Beaufort, 'to lie in of him her first Child, in a House lately built within the Castle of Monmouth near that Spot of ground and Space of Air, where our great Hero King Henry V was born'. Great things were expected of the new child. Later travellers and tourists might note that Monmouth castle had partly fallen into ruins, but to them it was still the birth-place of 'our English hero', and songs and ballads sung around 1800 lauded the reputation of both Henry and his Welsh contingents at Agincourt.¹⁷

As to more tangible memorials of the king at Monmouth, on close inspection these tend to slip through the fingers and disappear into the sand. The passion for antiquarianism was strong in the eighteenth century and it came to feed a romantic interest in the Middle Ages. A stone font was discovered in the garden of a Monmouth house in the eighteenth century. Its curious heraldic decoration produced the conclusion that it must have come from the chapel of Monmouth castle, and that therefore it must have been the font at which the baby Henry was baptised in the 1380s. There

¹⁶ *King Henry V*, Act IV, scene 7, ll.10-53, 96-115. Clark, *History of Monmouthshire* 209, quotes Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1622) on Monmouth caps: 'these were the most ancient, general, warm and profitable covering of men's heads in this island'. See also T.W. Craik's edition of *King Henry V* (London, 1995) 38 n. 99. I am grateful to my audience for a reminder about the Monmouth caps.

¹⁷ Rogers, N., *Memoirs of Monmouth-shire* (1708, re-printed Chepstow, 1983) ch. 3; for commentary, see Mitchell, J., 'Nathan Rogers and the Wentwood Case', *Welsh History Review*, 14, no. 1 (1988) 23-53 (31ff. on Henry V). See Shakespeare's *King Henry V*, Act I, scenes 1 and 2, for the machinations of the archbishop and the bishop of Ely. An example of a traveller is Wyndham, P., *A Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales, 1774-1777* (2nd edit., Salisbury, 1781) 207; for songs, Palmer, R., *The Folklore of (old) Monmouthshire* (Almeley, 1998) 249-50.

are too many uncertainties about this attractive theory – not the least of them being the present whereabouts of the font so that it can be examined.¹⁸

The cradle in which Baby Henry was allegedly rocked to sleep was also identified in the eighteenth century, and can still be seen in the City of London Museum, on deposit from H.M. The Queen. It is a carved oak cradle of elaborate design, surmounted by two beautiful eagles which were once gilded. At the end of the eighteenth century, the Revd Thomas Ball of Newland, Gloucestershire, alleged that it had been handed down in his family from an ancestor who had been the royal ‘rocker’, and who had received the cradle as a memento – though Ball thought so little of it that by 1804, it was being kept in the garret of an empty house. After his death, it was moved to Bristol and then to Clevedon by 1881. It was back at Troy House near Monmouth by 1896, when it was shown to the Prince and Princess of Wales on their visit to Raglan. In 1905, this cradle was sold to an unidentified person, who may have been acting on behalf of the prince, now become King Edward VII, and hence it passed to her present Majesty. But despite this fascinating saga, sad to say, the cradle’s design cannot be earlier than the late fifteenth century, long after Henry V could have been rocked to sleep in it.¹⁹

Next there is the bell allegedly presented to St Mary’s church in Monmouth by Henry V after he returned to England from the Agincourt campaign in 1415. The story goes that as Henry was preparing to embark at Calais following the battle, the inhabitants somewhat prematurely expressed their relief that he was leaving, by ringing the bells of Calais’s churches. The king was so annoyed that he confiscated almost all the bells and shipped them to England, where he presented one to Monmouth. This charming story of what appears to be an unique favour shown by Henry V to the town of his birth rests on a mis-translation of a Latin inscription on one of St Mary’s bells, an inscription retained when the bell was recast in 1706: *Habeo nomen Gabrielis missi de Coelis*. Rather than ‘I have the name of Gabriel sent from Calais’, it should translate as ‘I have the name of Gabriel sent from Heaven’ – as good archangels like Gabriel properly are.²⁰

Then there is the story of the courier who was sent bearing news of Henry’s birth from Monmouth to the baby’s father, Henry Bolingbroke, who was apparently at Goodrich castle, some miles away. So eager was the courier to deliver the glad tidings as swiftly as possible that either he or (depending on the version of the story) his horse collapsed and died. A related tale has it that Bolingbroke was then congratulated by the ferryman at the Wye ferry, near Goodrich, as he crossed

¹⁸ Most of the myths about Henry V are described in Heath, C., *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Ancient and Present State of the Town of Monmouth* (1804 and later edits.) no pagination.

¹⁹ *London Museum: Medieval Catalogue* (London, 1954) 29 and pl. 86. Coxe, W., *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801, re-printed with a new introduction by J.K. Knight, Cardiff, 1995) 343, notes the claim that Margaret (d. 1395), the wife of Sir John de Montacute, nursed Henry V at Courtfield House. Her reputed effigy in the nearby church of Welsh Bicknor in fact dates to the late 13th century – another myth! See Pevsner, N., *The Buildings of England: Herefordshire* (London, 1963) 311; even Heath was dubious about this claim in his *Excursion down the Wye from Ross to Monmouth ... [including] Court Field, the nursery of King Henry Fifth ...* (Monmouth, 1799) no pagination.

²⁰ Kissack, K.E., *Monmouth Parish Church* (Gloucester, [1970]) 13-14. The story had also been noted earlier, in *The Account of the Official Progress of His Grace Henry, the First Duke of Beaufort, through Wales in 1684*, introduced by R.W. Banks (London, 1888) 384.

the river to speed back towards Monmouth. But it is a puzzle as to why Bolingbroke should have wanted to cross the Wye at that spot if he were travelling from Goodrich to Monmouth, unless he were making the trip by river. It is a nice thought, but it smells too pungently to be true.²¹

Henry V himself seems to have shown little interest in his birth-place in later life. So far as is known, he made no gifts to St Mary's church, he gave no charter of privileges to the townsmen, and he made no visits to Monmouth other than possibly one or two in the course of suppressing the revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr.²² He did not mark the anniversary of his birth at court, and he did not mention Monmouth in that last will and testament re-discovered behind a sofa at Eton College as recently as 1978.²³ His officials may have expected him to show an interest in the town, for in 1415, they waited until his return from France before granting the customary allowances for the purchase of robes and food for the mayor and bailiffs of Monmouth.²⁴ But they were optimistic if they thought that he would wish to show special affection for Monmouth or intended to visit it.

Even the tower of Monmouth castle's gatehouse in which he was probably born was allowed to fall into ruin by later kings and townsmen. Henry's father had built, at considerable expense, a new hall and chamber in the castle in the 1390s, soon after the boy's birth, when the expectation was that dukes of Lancaster would continue personally to exploit the wealth of Monmouth as much as possible. But by 1411, twelve years after Henry Bolingbroke became king, and in the aftermath of Owain Glyn Dwr's revolt, the gatehouse and two towers were in need of major repair. Despite expressions of concern by both Bolingbroke and Henry V, it was left to the great king's son, Henry VI, to undertake the overhaul. The third Henry had an eye for regal tradition and expressions of dynastic solidarity. In 1445, he reconstructed the gatehouse tower 'in which [*he declared*] our father of famous memory was born', and about the same time he began to construct Henry V's chantry chapel in Westminster Abbey to house the king's body. Around the wall of the chapel – which is still to be seen – were represented in stone the crowned king and the warrior hero. And in August 1452, Henry VI at last paid probably his only visit to Wales in a thirty-nine-year reign when he stepped across the border and entered the lordship of Monmouth. Yet the medieval castle and its gatehouse fell into permanent decay thereafter. By 1804, it could be said ruefully that 'the birth-place of a mighty Prince ... is now converted into a yard for fatting ducks'.²⁵ The king's reputation remained high, but it was not the special possession of Monmouth.

If Henry V apparently showed little special interest in Monmouth, the meagre sentiment seems to have been reciprocated by the town before the end of the eighteenth century. Not even

²¹ Heath, *Town of Monmouth*, recorded the story. He claimed that the deed granting the ferry was still at Hill Court nearby in 1799. See Kissack, K.E., *Henry of Monmouth* (Monmouth, 1986) no pagination, which also reports the stories very briefly.

²² For Prince Hal's activities during the rebellion, see Davies, R.R., *The Revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr* (Oxford, 1995).

²³ Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI* 16-19, 25 n. 19; Allmand, *Henry V*, especially 171-3. The will is published in Strong, P. and F., 'The last will and codicils of Henry V', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981) 89-98.

²⁴ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, vol. 1, 176; Kissack, *Medieval Monmouth* 52.

²⁵ Brown, R.A. et al., *History of the King's Works* (2 vols., London, 1963), vol. 1, 488-9; vol. 2, 739; Kissack, *Medieval Monmouth* 49-51. See Allmand, *Henry V* 180-11, for description; Griffiths, *Reign of Henry VI* 250, for Henry VI's visit; and Leland, *Itinerary* 46, for its ruinous state by the 16th century.

Horatio Nelson when, in the summer of 1802, he visited Monmouth in the company of Sir William Hamilton and his wayward wife, Emma – the most famous *ménage à trois* in British history – is known to have alluded to the royal soldier born in the town. In his speech at a banquet given by the corporation, the naval hero sought to share the acclaim lavished on him for his victories in the Mediterranean by praising the British army as well; but in doing so he made no reference – as well he might have done – to Henry V and his victories over an earlier generation of Frenchmen.²⁶

Well he might have done, indeed. For by 1802, the war with France and Napoleon – and Nelson's exploits in it – were already leading to a resurgence of interest in Henry V, not least in Monmouth. The popularity of Shakespeare's play seems to undergo a revival whenever there are wars, rumours of wars or expressions of military enthusiasm among the British. Indeed, its popularity has owed as much to the vagaries of British foreign policy as to British theatrical taste. This was evident at the end of the eighteenth century as much as in the 1940s. In the wake of the Falklands conflict in 1982, a new print was made from the original negative of Laurence Olivier's forty-year-old film, first shown in 1944. Advance publicity described it as 'British theatre in battle-dress, ready to fight not just the French at Agincourt but the Second World War and any patriotic conflicts still to come'. It was followed in 1989, by Kenneth Branagh's quite different, brooding and reflective film of *Henry V* and the horrors of war.²⁷

Seated at the banquet addressed by Nelson in 1802 was Charles Heath (1761-1831), printer, publisher and author who, though he was born in Kidderminster, wrote about the history and topography of his adopted shire and town of Monmouth. From 1791, he lived in Monmouth, first in Monnow Street and then, more respectably, in Market Place, until his death in 1831. This was the age of the Romantic Revival and of renewed fascination with things Gothic and medieval. It was Heath who popularised in print – in some cases, perhaps, even unearthed – the myths about Henry V's cradle, his font and the courier; he sold his books in local bookshops, inns and in Monmouth's market place. They pandered to a growing curiosity about Henry V among the townsfolk.²⁸

In 1792, on the eve of war with Revolutionary France, a statue of King Henry by a local sculptor, Charles Peart, had been erected in the market place at the cost of the corporation, and it is still there. Although this representation of the king is often criticised for its ungainly gait, that is probably to be explained by the fact that, like many a medieval statue, it was designed to be viewed from below.²⁹ Within two years of the battle of Waterloo that brought these wars to a close in 1815, Monmouth had changed the name of its market place to Agincourt Square, in order to celebrate a victory of Henry V's that seemed as famous as Wellington's. Soon afterwards, Agincourt Street put in an appearance. Then, in 1819, Charles Heath, as the new mayor, revived the town's civic ban-

²⁶ Freeman, E. and Gill, E., *The Story of Lord Nelson and Sir William and Lady Hamilton's Tour in Wales and Monmouthshire ... 1802* (Cowbridge, 1962) 11-12 and 31-45, for the visits to Monmouth on the way to and from Milford Haven. See, briefly, Kissack, K.E., *Monmouth: The Making of a County Town* (London and Chichester, 1975) 251-3.

²⁷ For *Henry V* 'in performance', see most recently Craik's edition of *King Henry V* 80-95, and A. Gurr's edition (Cambridge, 1992) 37-55.

²⁸ For Heath, see Kissack, *Making of a County Town*; and *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 25, 340.

²⁹ Kissack, *Medieval Monmouth* 53.

quet and held it on 9 August, which he and the corporation considered to be Henry's birthday; one of the first toasts to be drunk was to Henry V himself.³⁰

Monmouth and the nation have never looked back since then in their admiration for Henry V. At the outbreak of World War I, there were emotional recitations of Henry V in Swansea's streets, and with the popularity of Olivier's classic film produced in 1944, Duke Ellington was moved to write a jazz setting for Johnny Dankworth's 'the Ballad of Hank Cinq', in a ballad series, 'Shakespeare and all that jazz', inspired by Shakespeare's plays and sonnets.³¹

Henry and the Welsh Revolt

Taking a broader view, Henry V's relationship with Wales was an ambivalent one. He was the fourth English-born prince of Wales since Edward I's conquests in 1282-3, and he was born in Wales. Nevertheless, he never attracted much affection from the Welsh during his lifetime. He could hardly have been expected to do so: after all, in parts of Wales he represented a conquering power just a century after the last independent Welsh principality was snuffed out in 1283; his father had deposed a king, Richard II, who seems to have been popular among some Welsh people in the north-east; the Mortimer neighbours and rivals of the Lancastrian family had good Welsh blood in their veins; and, of course, in his father's reign, Henry played a leading part in suppressing Owain Glyn Dwr's rebellion. Reports that Welshmen regarded his birth as fulfilling the ancient prophecy that a Welsh-born prince would one day rule in England seem not to have emerged until long after his death. If the prophecy appeared at the beginning of the first *Life* of Henry V to be written in English, this was probably because the *Life* was written a century after Henry became king.³² Just like the first English prince of Wales, Edward of Caernarfon, Henry rather bought any popularity he enjoyed in Wales by wise acts of conciliation after the rebellion was over. He had other priorities in his mind by then: his French adventures required the pacification of one of his most troublesome dominions, Wales.³³

As to the effect which Glyn Dwr's rebellion had on the young prince, the popular view is that his character, abilities and military genius were forged by his experiences at the head of the king's armies. Yet Henry was barely thirteen or so when the revolt began in 1400. He had a special interest in it, admittedly, because in October 1399 Henry IV invested him with the state, honour and dignity of prince of Wales. The king put a circlet on his head, a gold ring on his finger, a rod of gold in his hand; he kissed him on the cheek, handed him his charter, and young Henry was prince of Wales. It was a ceremony which, in its essentials, was to be revived twice in the twentieth century after a long lapse.³⁴

³⁰ Kissack, *Henry of Monmouth*; *idem*, *Making of a County Town* 77-8.

³¹ Cleo Lane sang the ballad to Duke Ellington's setting of Johnny Dankworth's music for the series.

³² Kingsford, C.L. (ed.), *The First English Life of King Henry V* (Oxford, 1911).

³³ Griffiths, R.A., 'The Glyn Dwr Rebellion in North Wales through the eyes of an Englishman', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 12 (1967), re-printed in *idem*, *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (Stroud, 1994), ch. 9; Powell, E., *Kingship, Law and Society: Criminal Justice in the Reign of Henry V* (Oxford, 1989), especially chs. 8 and 9.

³⁴ Griffiths, R.A., 'Wales and the Marches' in Chrimes, S.B., Ross, C.D. and Griffiths, R.A. (eds.), *Fifteenth-Century England, 1399-1509* (2nd edit., Stroud, 1995) 146-7; Allmand, *Henry V* 16-17.

Yet the age and inexperience of the new prince, and the serious threat posed by the Welsh rebellion, meant that Henry IV was not at first prepared to delegate to his son complete control over royal affairs in Wales – or the conduct of the war. Henry was appointed the king's lieutenant in Wales from 1403, when he was about sixteen; he also took part in several of the frustrating campaigns against the rebels in the years that followed. But for long periods the king himself took responsibility for the security of Wales and its castles, and as often as not footed the bill. What the prince learned during the rebellion he learned mainly by observation – of sieges and campaigning – and by gradually taking charge of the military-financial organisation of a country that was still disturbed even after the rebellion had passed its peak by 1406. These lessons were undoubtedly valuable to him as king during his French operations; above all, they taught him to be conciliatory yet firm, and to win loyalty by judicious concessions. The political and managerial lessons of combating rebellion in Wales were as important to him as the military ones.³⁵

Henry V and the Lancastrian Monarchy

If there are grounds to be rather sceptical about the warmth of the relationship between Henry V and his family and the town of Monmouth, it is possible to be much more enthusiastic about the impact which the king and his dynasty made on the English monarchy. When King Henry III succeeded to the English throne in 1216, during a civil war and only a year after Magna Carta had been forced upon his father, King John, it underlined the inherent strength and continuity of the English monarchy; the fact that Henry III was only nine years-old helped to establish its hereditary character in the senior male line. Although the three Lancastrian kings who ruled England for sixty-two years between 1399 and 1461 were a usurping dynasty, they ultimately took their name from this royal predecessor in the early thirteenth century. Their usurpation meant that dynastic stability, hereditary monarchy and the cohesion of the house of Lancaster were matters of permanent concern throughout their rule. And it is worth recalling that the Lancastrians occupied the English throne for a shorter period of time than any other west-European dynasty had done so far since the twelfth century.

Henry V had a unique contribution to make to perceptions of kingship in England and to the ways in which kingship was projected to its subjects and the world at large. There is a paradox here: an ideology of Christian kingship was refined and promoted in England in the fifteenth century by the least secure and most short-lived of English dynasties, including the Lancastrian dynasty.³⁶ The century that saw serious turbulence around the throne – the Wars of the Roses – was the century during which the throne was elevated as never before in magnificence and majesty – perhaps it had to be – and Henry V had a crucial contribution to make to that.

Three occasions in his reign reveal these extraordinary dynastic pretensions of Henry V and the house of Lancaster. They helped to focus the king's mind on the need to project his monarchy

³⁵ Griffiths, 'Wales and the Marches' 146-50; Griffiths, W.R.M., 'Prince Henry, Wales and the royal Exchequer, 1400-13', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 22 (1985) 202-15; *idem*, 'Prince Henry's War: Armies, Garrisons and Supply during the Glyndwr Rising', *ibid.*, 34 (1987) 165-73; *idem*, 'Prince Henry and Wales' in Hicks, M.A. (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in later medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990) 51-61.

³⁶ Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* especially 268-98.

and they helped to formulate a vision of English kingship that endured. The first occasion was the reburial of King Richard II in 1413. One of Henry V's earliest public acts after his accession was to order the exhumation of the body of the king whom his father had dethroned in 1399, and murdered the following year. It had been buried at King's Langley in Hertfordshire. The intention in 1413 was to fulfil Richard's last will that he be buried with solemn ceremony in the chapel of the kings in Westminster Abbey. There his tomb can still be seen with the beautiful effigies which Richard had commissioned of himself and his first wife, and which were now placed on top on the orders of Henry V, who was present at the re-interment. Henry's aim is clear: by this symbolic act of reconciliation he attempted to wipe away the stain of his father's usurpation and repair the damage done to England's hereditary monarchy. It was a courageous, imaginative and conciliatory act.³⁷ When it came to making arrangements for his own burial, Henry V rejected Canterbury cathedral, where his father lay, and sought to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Lancastrian dynasty in the right line of English kings by arranging his own burial at Westminster – like Richard II and earlier monarchs, close to the shrine of St Edward the Confessor.³⁸

Another significant occasion in Henry's reign was the great council of the western Church which assembled at Constance, on Lake Constance, in 1414. There envoys of Henry V appeared in the conclave along with representatives of all the monarchs of Europe, including the Pope and the German emperor, who now bore the grandiloquent title of Holy Roman Emperor.

By Henry's day, English kings ruled not merely the realm of England: they were also lord of several dominions beyond its borders – Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands, Calais and Gascony in France, and, of course, Wales, where Henry had recently helped to suppress the widespread rebellion. The way in which Henry V regarded his realm and dominions is reflected in declarations made by his envoys at the Council of Constance: they reveal the king's conviction that his was an imperial monarchy which had God's special sanction – a second English empire.³⁹ In one breath, the envoys maintained that the English monarchy was a uniquely ancient one, enjoying divine approval. In another breath, they insisted that this monarchy incorporated Ireland, Wales, and Scotland too in an English 'nation'. One may wonder how Englishmen and their king could claim independence and uniqueness whilst at the same time ruling half-a-dozen other dominions, all of whose inhabitants could, however, be said to be the king's subjects and therefore part of the English nation.

The assertive self-confidence of Henry's claims was echoed in his envoys' insistence that his monarchy acknowledged no superior in Christendom, certainly that it was 'not inferior to the realm of France in antiquity or authority'. They pointed to the antiquity of English Christianity, introduced (they insisted) by Joseph of Arimathea, who had taken the crucified Christ from the Cross. If true, the English claim was unassailably superior when set beside Frenchmen's veneration of a mere St Denis, their patron saint. It was stated too that England:

³⁷ Most recently on the re-interment, see Saul, N., *Richard II* (London, 1997) 428-9. For Henry's stay in Richard's household before 1399, including on the king's expedition to Ireland, see Allmand, *Henry V* 12.

³⁸ Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 297; Allmand, *Henry V* 173.

³⁹ Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 189-90; for fuller details of the Council, see Allmand, *Henry V* 237-56.

is superior in the antiquity of its faith, dignity and honour and at least equal in all the divine gifts of regal power and number and wealth of clergy and people. During the second age of the world, the excellent royal house of England arose and it continues in royal existence to this date.⁴⁰

Henry V's astonishing victories in France seemed to confirm that this was so. In popular poems and propaganda, the great Harry appeared as 'the true elect of God', the celestial warrior. And following the example of Richard II, to whom surprisingly Henry seems to have been attracted in several ways, he adopted a title which brooked no rival on earth, that of 'Most Christian King'.⁴¹

Connected with the special relationship which English kings claimed to have with God was the belief that England was an independent sovereign monarchy answerable only to God. It was, in medieval parlance, an empire, self-contained and sovereign. That brings me to the third occasion in Henry V's reign - the visit to England in 1416 of the German Emperor Sigismund, the first (and only) visit paid by a medieval western emperor, and the first since Richard the Lionheart had been forced to acknowledge his kingdom's subservience to the Emperor Henry VI in 1193. A graphic demonstration of English imperial pretension was apparently staged on Henry's orders when the emperor arrived at Dover. A ritual was performed in which Henry's youngest brother, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, rode into the surf to bring the emperor ashore, thereby making it clear publicly that Sigismund entered the kingdom not by imperial right but with the permission of the king-emperor, Henry V. Six weeks earlier, Sigismund had raised a number of eye-brows in Paris. There, he had been invited to attend the king's court; he promptly sat in the king's chair and ennobled a French litigant, as if he (Sigismund) were as much emperor in France as he was in Germany. Bad news travelled fast, and at the water's edge, Henry averted a similar display of imperial pretension. It may have been the first time that a western emperor had come to England, but there may also have been a suspicion in the minds of some that the surrender of the kingdom by Richard I had not been forgotten at Sigismund's court, and therefore precautions had better be taken.⁴²

As for the French, their king might also claim to be an emperor, but since 1337, the rightful king of France was none other than the king of England, at least in English eyes. A few months after Sigismund left England, a detailed account was made by one of the royal chaplains of 'The Deeds of Henry the Fifth'.⁴³ Its purpose was to portray Henry V as a Christian prince who, along with his people, had God's approval and support in his ventures, most notably the conquest of France. The first words of this account describe Henry as 'The Most Serene Prince', language used of Roman emperors in the classical past and of their Byzantine successors in the Middle Ages. And in Italy, after news of Agincourt had arrived, he was indeed hailed as another Caesar.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ For the quotation, see Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 270.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 272-4. For this theme, see McKenna, J.W., 'How God became an Englishman' in Guth, D.J. and McKenna, J.W. (eds.), *Tudor Rule and Revolution* (Cambridge, 1982) 33ff.

⁴² Kingsford, *The First English Life* 67-8; Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 203-5. For details of the visit, see Allmand, *Henry V* 104-5 and 243-4.

⁴³ Taylor and Roskell, *Gesta Henrici Quinti* xliii-xlv, 129-33, 2-3.

⁴⁴ Kingsford, *The First English Life* 66-73; see Gasparo Zancaruolo's chronicle (n. 2 above).

It was Henry V pre-eminently, then, who popularised the vision of the English king as an emperor in his kingdom; and his son Henry VI was occasionally called 'Most Imperial Majesty'. For popular consumption poems and songs made the point explicit and helped to persuade subjects to accept the ideology of their king. When Henry V took Rouen from the French in 1419, the celebrations in England were ecstatic, if expressed in execrable verse:

And he is king excellent
 And unto none other obedient
 That liveth here in earth – by right
 But only unto God almighty
 Within his own, Emperor
 And also king and conqueror⁴⁵

This reflected the undiluted sovereignty of a Christian English king acclaimed by a jubilant nation. It appears to have been Henry V, too, who was the first English monarch to wear a new imperial crown of state: a closed or arched crown, with four curved hoops meeting in the centre above the diadem itself, and surmounted by a cross. It symbolised the self-contained sovereignty of a Christian king, and this crown design has not significantly altered since – and of course is seen balanced on the present queen's head when she opens Parliament.⁴⁶

These sentiments which Henry appears to have cherished about his Lancastrian kingship, these perceptions which he appears to have had of his realm, became important ingredients of the English monarchy in the centuries that followed. In particular, Henry VIII showed admiration for his namesake predecessor and commissioned a biography of him.⁴⁷ And when the Tudor king and his Parliament united Wales with England in 1536 and created new shires in place of marcher lordships, in the south-east they did not take the name of Newport or Abergavenny or Usk – as they might have done – for the new shire, or any of these towns as the county capital. They took Monmouth, the town and lordship of the house of Lancaster and the birth-place of Henry V.

⁴⁵ For Christian and imperial language in Henry VI's reign, see Genet, J.-Ph. (ed.), *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages* (Camden Society, 1977) 103 and 168. For comment, see Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 203-5 (with the poem on 204).

⁴⁶ Cannon and Griffiths, *British Monarchy* 204, with illustrations from the 15th and 16th centuries on 193, 204 (Henry VII), 212 (Henry VI), 255 (Edward IV), 258 (Henry VII), 274 (Henry VI) and 294 (Richard III).

⁴⁷ For interest in Henry V early in Henry VIII's reign, see Kingsford, *The First English Life passim*; and Davies, C.S.L., 'Henry VIII and Henry V: The Wars in France' in Watts, J.L. (ed.), *The End of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), ch. 7, especially 237, 249-62



Plate 2: The Great Tower of Monmouth castle from the north, with the fine fourteenth century window of the large main chamber.
Copyright: RCAHMW.

JOSHUA GOSSELIN IN MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Julian Mitchell

Joshua Gosselin (1739-1813) was a distinguished member of a family established in Guernsey since at least the sixteenth century. If their origins were French, they had become as anglicised as Channel islanders ever can be; Joshua was sent to school in London. In 1768, he succeeded his father as *greffier*, clerk of the Royal Court of Guernsey. He was also active in the Militia from the age of eighteen, rising in 1789 to the rank of colonel, just as the Channel Islands found themselves in the front line of the wars against France. In addition to his official careers, he was a pioneer of local botany, contributed an article on Guernsey's 'druidical' remains to the journal of the Society of Antiquaries, and collected shells, coins and medals. Among his acquaintances was Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, whom he visited in 1789 on one of his frequent return visits to England. He was also an assiduous sketcher in water-colours, though virtually unknown as an artist outside his own family until a large collection of his work appeared at Phillips's Bond Street sale-rooms in November 1999. Of the 200 or so pictures then on offer, more than a quarter were of Monmouthshire and South Wales which he visited in 1784, 1805, and 1808, and which seem particularly to have inspired him. His 1784 sketch-book, which contains more than forty of these, is now in Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery, St Peter Port, but most of the paintings he did in 1805 and 1808 are now dispersed in various public and private collections in Wales.¹

Joshua and his wife Martha were married for more than fifty years, and had fourteen children. The 1999 sale also contained paintings by some of these, notably their eldest son, also Joshua, and their third son Gerard. The great majority of the water-colours, though, were by Joshua senior, who usually, but not always, signed and dated his work. Joshua junior died in 1789, but not before he had married and had children, and the pictures descended through his own eldest son, Thomas William Gosselin, who assembled and sometimes re-labelled them. Joshua senior's handwriting is quite distinct from that of his sons and grandson.²

¹ McClintock, David, *Joshua Gosselin of Guernsey. Botanist and Antiquarian* (Guernsey, 1975); Phillips's sale catalogues, *The Joshua Gosselin Collection of Topographical Watercolours* (London, 5 Nov. 1999), with introductions by Geoffrey Gosselin and David McClintock; and *Watercolours, Drawings and Original Illustrations* (London, 5 Nov. 2001), at which unsold items from the first sale were re-offered. All errors are entirely my own, but I am most grateful for the help I have received in writing this article from record offices in Guernsey, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset and Gwent. I am specially indebted to Brian Owen, formerly of Guernsey Museum and Art Gallery, St Peter Port, who went out of his way to help me; also to Mrs Elizabeth Harris of Priaulx Library, and Dr Darryl Ogier of the Guernsey Archives, where the recently acquired Gosselin papers, many in number, have not at the time of writing been catalogued. I also received much help from the honorary editor of this journal, Annette Burton; Andrew Helme of Monmouth Museum; Frank Olding, formerly of Abergavenny Museum, now of Blaenau Gwent Borough Council; and especially Ann Rainsbury of Chepstow Museum. I am most grateful, too, to the States of Guernsey Heritage Committee for permission to reproduce pictures from Joshua Gosselin's sketch-book of 1784 (Plates 1 – 20).

² Many of the pictures have the inscription written well below the actual painting, but sometimes they have been quite close-cropped and a new inscription, almost certainly copied from the old, added in what I believe to be Thomas William Gosselin's hand. See the picture of Monnow Bridge (Monmouth Museum - Plate 33), and the eight paintings of Lot 71 in the Nov. 1999 sale catalogue. Compare also the inscription on the front of Joshua senior's picture of Glasbury bridge (private collection), with his own inscription and signature on the back.

Joshua Gosselin's method was usually to draw the scene in pencil or pen and ink, and then apply simple clean colours, though he sometimes confined himself to grey washes. He was influenced by Captain Francis Grose, another military man and artist, some of whose drawings he copied, though not Welsh ones.³ He may also have seen water-colours by Paul Sandby in the collection of Sir Joseph Banks. Not being a professional artist, and having a military eye for detail, he was less concerned with making aesthetically pleasing pictures than with taking accurate views. His rural scenes prove that South Wales was, except for its mountain tops, completely enclosed with hedges by the latter half of the eighteenth century. His horses and cows are not very convincing, but he was clearly fond of pigs, which occur several times in the 1784 sketch-book. His human figures are often rather idealised, even 'Frenchified', for Monmouthshire farm-workers. But his depiction of buildings seems careful and accurate, though he does sometimes 'improve' reality to include more information (see below, St Mellon's Church). Altogether, Gosselin's pictures have great charm and, carefully kept by his heirs, are remarkably fresh.

Gosselin travelled to England many times, but to judge by his difficulty with Welsh words, his visit to Abergavenny in July 1784 was his first to Wales, though a drawing of Tintern, signed G.G. for his son Gerard and dated 1781,⁴ and another of May Hill (Monmouth), by Joshua himself and dated 1783, may mark previous trips to the Welsh Border. Why he came to Wales in 1784, and whether alone or with members of his family, we do not know, but he was mostly interested in medieval buildings, and may simply have been in search of the picturesque. William Gilpin had just published his *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales, etc, chiefly relative to Picturesque Beauty*, and was full of praise for the 'pass' into the vale of Usk, which is the first subject of Gosselin's sketch-book. He does not, however, share Gilpin's interest in industry. Though he got within a quarter of a mile of some iron works, he only painted the nearby waterfall.

He stayed in Abergavenny for some time, making sorties as far as Brecon and Cardiff. The sketch-book (12.5 x 19 cm [4½ x 7½ inches]) contains forty water-colours of South Welsh subjects; four of the Old Passage to Aust (including a fine drawing of a passage boat); two of the New Passage; and thirteen of English places, including Stonehenge, which he visited on the way back to Guernsey via Southampton. There are also twenty-four sketches of Channel Island scenes dated 1785 to 1787. Glued in at the back of the sketch-book is a sheet with a detailed and annotated sketch plan of Caerphilly town and castle, dated July 1784. There is also a loose sheet with the drawing of May Hill (page 87) signed and dated 'JG 1783'. The sketches are usually on the right hand page, with notes and comments on the left. Only the more interesting of the latter are included here.

The first twenty-two water-colours are all dated July 1784. In the order they appear in the sketch-book, with Gosselin's page numbers and titles, they are:

1. 'Town of Abergavenny in Monmouthshire from Little Skirret or Skirret Vowr [*sic*]'. (Plate 1). This shows the town in the middle of the 'pass' into the vale of Usk. Gosselin notes that

³ Gosselin, Geoffrey, *op. cit.* Grose was the author of *Antiquities of England and Wales*, published between 1773 and 1787.

⁴ Private collection. Gerard Gosselin would have been twelve in 1781, and the drawing is not accomplished. It may, perhaps, have been copied from a print. While it is possible that the family toured the Wye as early as 1781, there is as yet no other evidence for it.

the town wall is 'in many places still entire', and 'the trade in flannels is still considerable. The Government is vested in a bailiff, recorder and common Council of 27 of the principal inhabitants with a town Clerk and other proper officers'. But he adds darkly: 'By what I have since learned this town has nobody to govern it'.

2. 'The holy Mountain or Skerrid vawr'. (Plate 2).
3. 'View of Monk Street in Abergavenny and the Bloreng Mountain'. (Plate 3). Because of building since Gosselin's day, this view of Bloreng is no longer visible, but some of the houses on the right can still be detected under their modern disguises.⁵
4. 'View of the Priory Church of Abergavenny with the Little Derry, Sugar-loaf and Great Derry mountains'. (Plate 4). The priory was bought by the Gunter family at the dissolution of the monasteries, and they built the house seen in the painting about 1700. It was knocked down in 1952, but a new church hall was built on the site (opened 2000).
5. 'A House belonging to Mr Roberts at the upper end of Monk Street, Abergavenny'. (Plate 5). John Roberts, a notable figure in the town, was sheriff in 1762. His brother was provost of Eton. The house still exists, though much altered. Bradney records it as the County Club.⁶
6. 'Waterfall called Pwl-y-recce in the Parish of Lannethlly [Llanelly] in Breconshire'. '6 miles from Abergavenny (Should be seen in Winter) ¼ of a Mile beyond it are the Iron works'. The name, and perhaps also the waterfall, seem to have been lost in subsequent industrial development.⁷
7. 'Another view of Pwl-y-recce'. (Plate 6).
8. 'Ruins of Lantony Abby in Mon'. 'the Chancel has been a piece of the finest architecture that could be executed, on the tower are three large yew trees growing between the stones'.
9. 'Monument of a Knight Templar in the Church at Abergavenny'. Gosselin repeats the story of the knight and his virtuous greyhound.
10. 'Castle of Abergavenny battered down by Cromwell'. (Plate 7). This is the castle before the earl of Abergavenny transformed it into a hunting-box (now the museum) in 1819.
11. 'Ragland Castle in Monmouthshire'. '... great part of the building yet remains with several arches and Chimney pieces and the walls are in many parts of a prodigious thickness'.
12. 'Ragland Castle'.
13. 'Ragland Castle'. (Plate 8).
14. 'Ragland Church'. (Plate 9). This water-colour has a particularly fine pig in the foreground. Comparison with the existing church shows how extensive was the re-modelling by T.H. Wyatt in 1867-8.
15. 'Chepstow Castle'. (Plate 10).
16. 'Chepstow Bridge over the Wye'. '70 feet high above the surface of the water. Rained very hard when I was there'. Perhaps this is why the drawing is unfinished.
17. Blank.

⁵ Some years ago, enlarged photocopies of Nos. 3,4,5 and 21, were given to Abergavenny Museum by an anonymous donor, presumably a member of the Gosselin family. They can be seen there still.

⁶ Bradney, Sir J.E., *A History of Monmouthshire. Volume 1 Part 2a The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 1)* (1906, reprinted by Academy Books, London, 1991) 179.

⁷ I am grateful to John Evans of Blaenavon for the suggestion that it vanished under the Brecon and Abergavenny canal.

18. 'View of part of Chepstow Castle etc from the Garden of the Beaufort Arms Inn'. (Plate 11). This shows Marten's Tower on the left, with the old horse-pond below. The roofs immediately below the garden wall, are of the almshouses on Hocker Hill.
19. 'Wye Bridge at Monmouth'.
20. 'White Castle a very strong Edifice 6 miles from Abergavenny'. (Plate 12).
21. 'Church of Abergavenny'. (Plate 13). This shows the church with a single roof over the nave and north aisle, before the several alterations which resulted in the church's present state. In the background can be seen a chimney of the priory.
22. 'Bridge over the Usk at Abergavenny'. (Plate 14). This was before the building of the Brecon and Abergavenny canal.
23. 'Tudor Street Gate at Abergavenny'. (Plate 15). If Gosselin re-visited Abergavenny in 1805, he would have found that the gate had been pulled down.

Presumably Gosselin did all these pictures while staying in Abergavenny, though he may have spent a night at the Beaufort Arms in Chepstow, to get out of the rain. Thereafter, he started naming the day of his paintings when he went on his travels.

24. 'Wooden bridge over the Usk and Castle at Newport in Monmouthshire, July 28th 1784'. (Plate 16).
25. 'St Mallons [*sic*] Church situated on a Hill between Newport and Cardiff, July 28th 1784'. 'll pronounces clth'. (Plate 17). This is probably the most free of Gosselin's drawings. St Mellons has a considerable slope in front of it, which makes it impossible to see the hills beyond. It is also impossible see both the west end of the church and the chancel at the same time. No doubt Gosselin wanted his drawing to contain as much information as possible. St Mellons, now part of Cardiff, remained in Monmouthshire until 1974.
26. 'Taken from Cardiff Castle, July 29th 1784'. This drawing shows Penarth Point, Flat Holm and Steep Holm. Gosselin must have climbed either the Black Tower or the keep to get this view, which is no longer possible because of high buildings.
27. 'Cardiff Castle, July 29th 1784'. Three views of Cardiff Castle on one page: a general view; the keep; and the Black Tower. 'It is now repaired tho' not finished in the side, has a great number of small rooms but few very good'.
28. 'Black-Friars at Newport in Monmouthshire, July 29th 1784'. 'Belonging to Mr Blewet with a distant view of Newport Church [St Woolos] from whence is a very extensive prospect of Tredegar etc'. (Plate 18). The friary had passed through many hands since the dissolution of the monasteries. Gosselin's 'Mr Blewet' was probably the iron-master, Edward Blewett.⁸ Black Friars was demolished to make way for The Friars, an early Victorian building, the home of Octavius Morgan, the antiquarian Tory M.P., brother of the first Lord Tredegar. It is now part of St Woolos hospital. Gosselin's painting with its haystack, shows how rural Newport still was in 1784.
29. Notes on the double-page spread of Caerphilly Castle on page 30 (see below).
30. 'S.E. View of Caerfeli Castle in Glamorganshire, 30th July 1784'. This is a double-spread.
31. 'Hanging Tower at Caerpheli Castle in Glamorganshire, 30th July 1784'.

⁸ Gray, Madeleine (ed.), Bradney, Sir J.A., *op. cit.*, Volume 5 *The Hundred of Newport* (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff and National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1993) 38 and 46.

The remaining ten Glamorgan and Breconshire paintings are all simply dated July 1784, and if in fact they were done in the order we now see them, Gosselin must have made great speed across country.

32. 'Pont-y-pridd over the Taaff in Glamorganshire'.
33. 'Pont y pridd'. Another view of the bridge. The slightness of these two drawings suggests that Gosselin was in something of a hurry.
34. 'Alasby or Crickhowel Castle'.
35. 'Porth mawr at Crickhowel'. 'formerly a monastery belongs to Henry Williams Esq.'.
36. 'Tretawr Castle near Crickhowell in Monmouthshire'. Neither Tretower nor Crickhowell was ever in fact in Monmouthshire. Gosselin's aesthetic priorities are shown by the fact that he drew only the ruined medieval tower, and not Tretower Court.
37. 'Ruins of a Castle'. '7 miles from Brecon I take it to be Blaen Llevenny Castle ...'.
38. 'Part of a Roman Pavement at Llanvermoach'. '3 miles from Brecon belonging to Mr Wilkins'. The Roman building at Llanfrynach had only recently been discovered.
39. 'Castle at Brecon'. Below the small sketch of the castle, are sketches of a man on a horse, and a cow.
40. 'Mouchdenny Mountains near Brecon'.
41. 'St John the Evangelist at Brecon'.
42. 'Castle at Brecon'. From below the bridge.

After that, Gosselin went home – the pictures of Aust are all dated August 1784.

43. 'Aust passage from Gloucestershire [*sic*] to Monmouthshire'.
44. 'Passage house in Monmouthshire at Aust Passage'. (Plate 19). Gosselin must have been standing where the ramp now is for the disused Beachley car ferry. The Passage House has become the Old Ferry Hotel, much altered, and with no bow window from which to look out for approaching boats. The steps immediately above the beach are still there, as is the striated red cliff behind, but there is a high sea wall on the left where Gosselin shows rock. The machine on the beach is for drawing boats out of the water. The boat with the ensign looks very like the passage boat of No. 45.
45. 'Aust Passage boat or wherry'. (Plate 20).
46. 'New passage across the Severn in Monmouthshire'.
47. 'Aust passage house across the Severn in Gloucestershire'.

The loose drawing of May Hill (Monmouth), is numbered 87.

The Gosselins were very unfortunate in their children. Of the fourteen, only seven, four sons and three daughters, were still living in 1802. The two older sons were making very successful careers in the army and navy. Gerard, a lieutenant-colonel on his way to becoming a general, was living in Warwickshire. His father visited him there, making an excursion to the Wye to draw Clifford castle and the bridges at Hay, Glasbury and Whitney. The bridges are all signed and dated 1802, two of them on the back, while the inscriptions on the front are in another hand, probably that of Thomas William Gosselin (see note 2). There are similarities, however, to the hand on Gerard's drawing of Tintern in 1781, and perhaps it was he who identified these 1802 drawings.

By 1805, the two youngest Gosselin sons had also died, aged twenty-three and eighteen. Thomas, though, the second but now eldest surviving son and a post-captain, was living at Bengeo Hall, a grand house in Hertfordshire. He wrote to his parents on 17 April 1805, with a suggestion perhaps designed to cheer them up:

A little trip to England [*sic*] would do you and my dear mother a great deal of good. I am sure Amelia Smythies would welcome you with open arms.⁹

Born on 5 May 1777, Amelia was the Gosselins' fifth daughter. She was named for the lieutenant-governor of Guernsey, Lieutenant-Colonel Paulus Aemilius Irving, whose own daughter was one of her godmothers.¹⁰ On 21 March 1799, she married William Carleton Smythies at the town church in St Peter Port where she had been baptised as an infant. Smythies, born in New York on 2 April 1778, was a lieutenant in the 22nd Foot, the Cheshire Regiment, which was serving as part of Guernsey's very considerable garrison of 6,167 regulars and 2,729 militia.¹¹

The Smythies family had been prominent in Colchester since the seventeenth century as doctors, lawyers, town clerks, schoolmasters and clergymen. They were 'seen as managers of the ruling group within the corporation ... and their ubiquitous legal practice gave rise to popular suspicion of self-interest'.¹² William Carleton's father, another William, was born in Colchester on 18 July 1753, his mother being Anna Dorothea Carleton. What took this William to New York as a young man we do not know; perhaps it was something to do with the Twynning tea business, with which the family was connected - the Boston Tea Party, a protest, amongst other things, against the dumping of Indian tea on the American market, had taken place in 1773. In any case, he married Margaret Burgess, daughter and co-heir of a Mr Burgess of that city, at Trinity church, New York, on 28 April 1777.¹³ Perhaps the young married couple already knew Admiral Edmund Affleck, another Colchester man, and commissioner for the port of New York in 1781. In 1784, Affleck stood for election in Colchester. He lost, perhaps because he was at sea and unable to campaign, but he gained the seat on appeal thanks to the machinations of the Tory Francis Smythies, a leader of the self-interested tribe, and a famously choleric town clerk. On 14 May 1788, five months after the death of the first Lady Affleck, Sir Edmund married the now widowed Margaret Smythies. Young William Carleton, just ten, was soon fatherless again, for Affleck died within six months. In 1794, his mother married Major John Mackinnon, who had served in a local regiment, the 63rd Foot, the West Suffolks, since 1776.¹⁴ It is not surprising, given two such stepfathers and with a war on, that William Carleton Smythies joined the services himself.

⁹ McClintock, *op. cit.* 19.

¹⁰ She is written variously Amelia, Amilia, Aemilia and Emilia.

¹¹ Church registers of St Peter Port in the Priaulx Library; *Army List*, 1799; *Guernsey Evening Press*, 31 Jan. 1953.

¹² Board, Beryl and Durgan, Shirley, 'Georgian Colchester' in *V.C.H. Essex*, vol. 9, 158 and 173.

¹³ Register of Trinity church, NY.

¹⁴ Affleck was created a baronet in 1782 for his part in the action off Domenica; rear admiral of the red in 1784; and of the blue in 1786. See Medicott, R., *The Family of Gosselin ... A.D.1030 - A.D.1990* (typescript) in the Priaulx Library; Cokayne, G.E., *Complete Baronetage*, vol. 5, 1701-1800 (London, 1900); Board and Durgan, *op. cit.*; and St Marylebone parish registers in the London Metropolitan Archive.

The wedding settlement required Joshua Gosselin to pay the young couple an annuity of £15-6s., and Smythies, who left the army on his marriage, does not seem to have had much if any money of his own.¹⁵ He first appears in Monmouthshire in 1805, when he took a lease on what Gosselin called Readymain (properly Rhydymaen), a farm of ninety-eight acres in Llandenny, owned by a family called Bourn or Bourne. It was valued for land tax purposes at £30-15s.-10d., and taxed at £6-3s.-3½d. At some time, he seems also to have had property in St Arvans.¹⁶ How much Smythies knew about farming we do not know, but there were certainly cows, for his father-in-law's painting of Rhydymaen shows a cow in the field in front of it. The house is double-pile and roomy, and there is interesting plasterwork round the remains of a large upstairs fireplace. Internal alterations over the centuries make its history difficult to determine, but externally the house has scarcely been altered since 1805, though only half of the very large brick barn at the back remains.¹⁷

Amelia was fecund, like her mother. The vicar of Llandenny baptised twelve Smythies children, ten of them girls, between January 1806 and October 1820. Some of these must have been born before the family arrived in Monmouthshire, for two were baptised together on 13 January 1806, shortly after the birth of their sister Frances on 11 December 1805.¹⁸ In any case, Amelia had young daughters about her, and was in fact pregnant again, when her parents came to spend several weeks at Rhydymaen in the summer of 1805.

The 1805 paintings are all small, but of different sizes. Gosselin was sixty-six now, and doesn't seem to have travelled very far from his daughter's home. He did paint Chepstow castle (Plate 30), but that may have been coming or going.¹⁹ Otherwise he stayed close to home. He painted Llandenny church on 20 June (Plate 26); the view from Rhydymaen of Skirrid over Llandenny village, on 24 July (Plate 22); Trellech church on 6 August (Plate 28). The painting of Rhydymaen itself (Plate 21) is dated July 1805, the others simply 1805. The secular subjects he drew include Raglan castle (Plate 32), Clytha house (Plate 31), Chepstow castle, Usk, and Merdy-bach farm (now Lower Maerdy – Plates 23 and 24).²⁰ He shows Clytha with a two-storey front porch,²¹ and Merdy-bach with its yard full of haystacks. He also painted churches at Llanfihangel Tor-y-mynydd (Plate 27), Llantilio Crossenny (Plate 29), and what he called 'Langwm Chapel' (St John's church at Llangwm Isaf – Plate 25), as well as Llandenny (Plate 26) and Trellech. Gosselin's paintings of these churches are, I believe, with the exception of Trellech, the earliest known images we have of them.

¹⁵ Copy of Gosselin's will in the Priaulx Library; McClintock, *op. cit.* 11.

¹⁶ Gwent Record Office (hereafter GRO) D25.0687, undated.

¹⁷ Confusingly, there was another farm called Rhydymaen in Llandenny at this time, which is now known as Llandenny Court. There was no connection between the two. For the Smythies' Rhydymaen, see Llandenny land tax records in GRO.

¹⁸ GRO, Llandenny parish registers.

¹⁹ There was an unsigned and undated drawing of Tintern in the 1999 sale, which may also belong to this year, but it is of inferior quality, and is probably the work of Gerard Gosselin.

²⁰ Monmouth Museum now owns the Rhydymaen and Merdy-bach paintings, and Chepstow Museum that of Chepstow castle. The view of Usk is in Guernsey Museum.

²¹ John Gardnor's engraving (1793) in David Williams's *Monmouthshire* shows it as only one-storey.

Trellech church is illustrated in Archdeacon Coxe's *A Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (1801). With his companion, Colt Hoare, he visited the village on 14 May 1799, and the latter's engraving presumably dates from sketches he made then.²² It shows the church with a sagging roof, the base of an implausible steeple, and the churchyard a graveless mound. Gosselin knew Colt Hoare's work – there was probably a copy of Coxe in Rhydymaen – because he copied the illustrations of the Trellech stones and sundial, and passages from the text, perhaps as a rainy day occupation. He also copied Clytha gates and castle. He did not sign these copies, but he did sign his own drawings, and his view of Trellech church, with a straight roofline, an accurate steeple and a neat churchyard, is so very different from Colt Hoare's that it feels like a deliberate corrective.

Altogether Gosselin's paintings give a very good idea of how extensive, and sometimes aesthetically reprehensible, the campaign of Victorian church restoration was. 'Langwm Chapel', though not very sturdy in Gosselin's drawing, still looks serviceable, though the chancel had to be propped up. (St Jerome's church can be glimpsed in the distance, something now possible only through a substantial oak-tree). Forty years later, the tiny church was virtually derelict, as can be seen from the water-colour in the collections of the Society of Antiquaries.²³ It obviously had to be completely rebuilt, and so it was in 1849-51. But Prichard and Seddon's abolition of the charming bell-turret of Llanfihangel Tor-y-mynydd in 1853-54, and its replacement by a standard utilitarian model caused protest even at the time, with indignant response from the architects.²⁴ To modern eyes, perhaps, the most unsightly aspect of the restorations was the replacement of local stone tiles shown by Gosselin with North Welsh slates.

Evidence for Gosselin's second visit to the Smythies in 1808, comes from a picture of Monnow Bridge (Plate 33), and another Llandenny view, both dated to that year.²⁵ Other paintings from 1808, and indeed 1805, may well exist.

Joshua and Martha Gosselin lived long enough to celebrate their golden wedding, but not to see Thomas made an admiral. Joshua died on 17 May 1813, while visiting Thomas at Bengeo and was buried in the Bengeo churchyard. Martha died a few weeks later. In his will Joshua stated:

As my said daughter Amelia Irving Smythies has a numerous family [there were at least eight children by then] I give her whatever sum or sums of money I may have advanced to her or her said husband whether these are promissory notes or note receipt or receipts of acknowledgement for them or not, provided either of them do not make any demand for any yearly payment or allowance which I was obliged to by their marriage contract, which I consider as paid by the interest on said sum or sums advanced.

This sounds as though the Smythies had not prospered at Rhydymaen, and were dependent on Gosselin for support; according to David McClintock, they were in financial trouble until the

²² Thompson, M.W. (ed.), *The Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare* (1983) 106.

²³ Illustrated in McHardy, George, 'A Note on the Four Volumes of *Gwentia Eccles. Antiq.* in the Collections of the Society of Antiquaries of London', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 18 (2002) 57, plate 16.

²⁴ Lambeth Palace Library, Incorporated Church Building Society Files, no. 4609 (Llanfihangel Tor-y-mynydd). I am most grateful to the honorary editor for drawing my attention to this correspondence.

²⁵ In Monmouth and Guernsey Museums respectively.

1830s.²⁶ They stayed at Rhydymaen until 1820, when John Evans took over the lease. His descendants bought the farm early in the twentieth century, and live there still.²⁷ Where the Smythies went next with their 'numerous family' is not known, though it was most probably Colchester.²⁸ One of their two sons, Thomas Gosselin Smythies, became curate at St Briavels, then from 1844, the first vicar of St John's, Cinderford (a grim new church of harsh stone by Edward Blore). Thomas died in Bath in 1871 'after a long affliction'.²⁹

By then the family had long been established at Weston, just outside Bath. The census of 1851 describes William Carleton Smythies, by then seventy-three, as a 'Fund-Holder', which means he was living off his investments in Government stocks. Amelia, sadly, had gone blind. Four unmarried daughters shared the house with them, and the family could afford two living-in female servants.³⁰ William Carleton died in 1853, Amelia five years later. Thomas William Gosselin wrote to Gerard Lypyeatt Gosselin, eldest son of the general, and husband of Amelia's daughter, another Amelia:

at her advanced age [eighty-one and a half] and with her infirmities it was an event which must more or less have been expected, and it was no doubt a great comfort to herself and family that she retained her faculties to the last.³¹

She was buried in Weston churchyard, next to one of her unmarried daughters. Amelia and her husband, William Carleton Smythies, were later joined by four more daughters, and their son, Revd Thomas Smythies. The graves are rather cramped together, as perhaps their lives had been. Philip Affleck, Sir Edmund's younger brother, and also an admiral (died 1799), is buried close by in much more expansive style. Gerard Lypyeatt Gosselin and his Amelia lie not far away in Locksbrook cemetery, Bath.³² Whatever her financial travails with William Carleton Smythies may have been, it seems that Amelia ended her days with her family about her. There is no sign that any of her descendants inherited Joshua Gosselin's gifts as an artist. But since it took nearly two centuries for his to emerge, we may live in hope.

²⁶ McClintock, *op. cit.* 11.

²⁷ I am most grateful to Mr and Mrs Rhydwen Evans of Rhydymaen for their generous assistance and hospitality.

²⁸ William Carleton Smythies is described on his grave as 'late of Colchester'.

²⁹ *Clergy Lists* (London, 1841-70); *Gloucester Journal*, 23 Dec. 1871.

³⁰ 1851 Census for Weston, Somerset, 6.

³¹ Priaulx Library, Gosselin papers.

³² The gravestones are now very hard to read, and I am relying on an old copy of the inscriptions in the Gosselin papers in the Priaulx Library.



Plate 1: 'Town of Abergavenny in Monmouthshire from Little Skirret or Skirret Vowr', July 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 1). Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.



Plate 2: 'The Holy Mountain or Skerrid Vawr', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 2). Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.



Plate 3: 'View of Monk Street in Abergavenny and the Bloreng Mountain', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 3). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 4: 'View of the Priory Church of Abergavenny with the Little Derry, Sugar-loaf and Great Derry mountains', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 4). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 5: 'A House belonging to Mr Roberts at the upper end of Monk Street, Abergavenny', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 5). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 6: 'Another view of Pwl-y-recce' in the parish of Llanelly in Breconshire, 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 7). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 7: 'Castle of Abergavenny battered down by Cromwell', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 10). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 8: 'Ragland Castle', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 13). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 9: 'Ragland Church', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 14). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 10: 'Chepstow Castle', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 15). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*

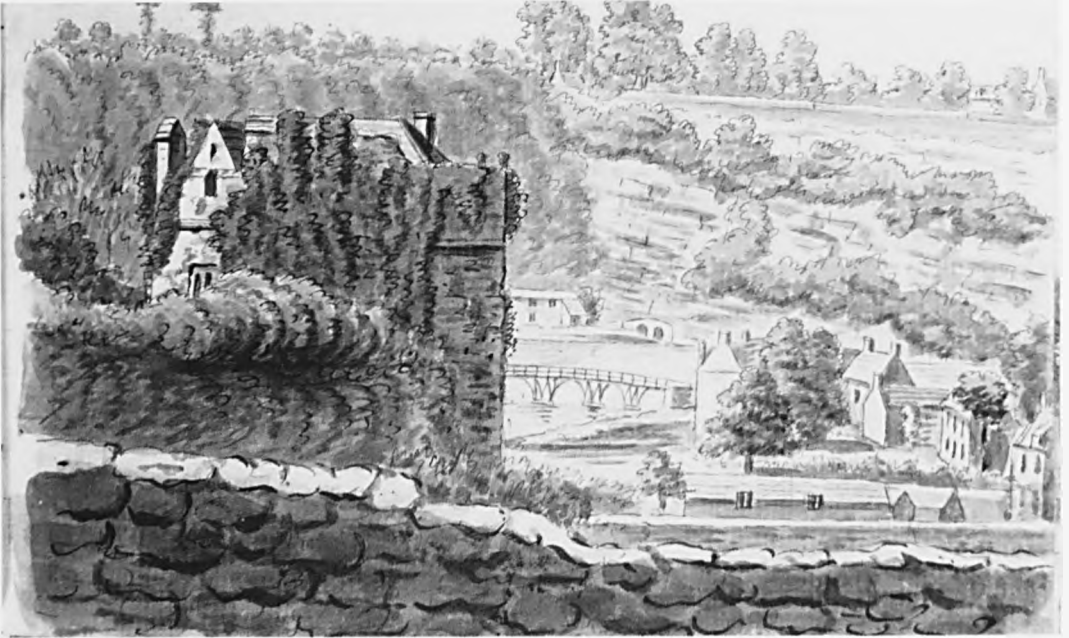


Plate 11: 'View of part of Chepstow Castle etc from the Garden of the Beaufort Arms Inn', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 18). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 12: 'White Castle a very strong Edifice 6 miles from Abergavenny', 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 20). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 13: 'Church of Abergavenny', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 21). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 14: 'Bridge over the Usk at Abergavenny', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 22). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 15: 'Tudor Gate Street at Abergavenny', 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 23). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 16: 'Wooden bridge over the Usk and Castle at Newport in Monmouthshire', 28 July 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 24). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 17: 'St Mallons [*sic*] Church situated on a Hill between Newport and Cardiff', 28 July 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 25). Copyright: *States of Guernsey Heritage Committee*.



Plate 18: 'Black-Friars at Newport in Monmouthshire', 28 July 1784. (Sketch-book, p. 28). Copyright: *States of Guernsey Heritage Committee*.

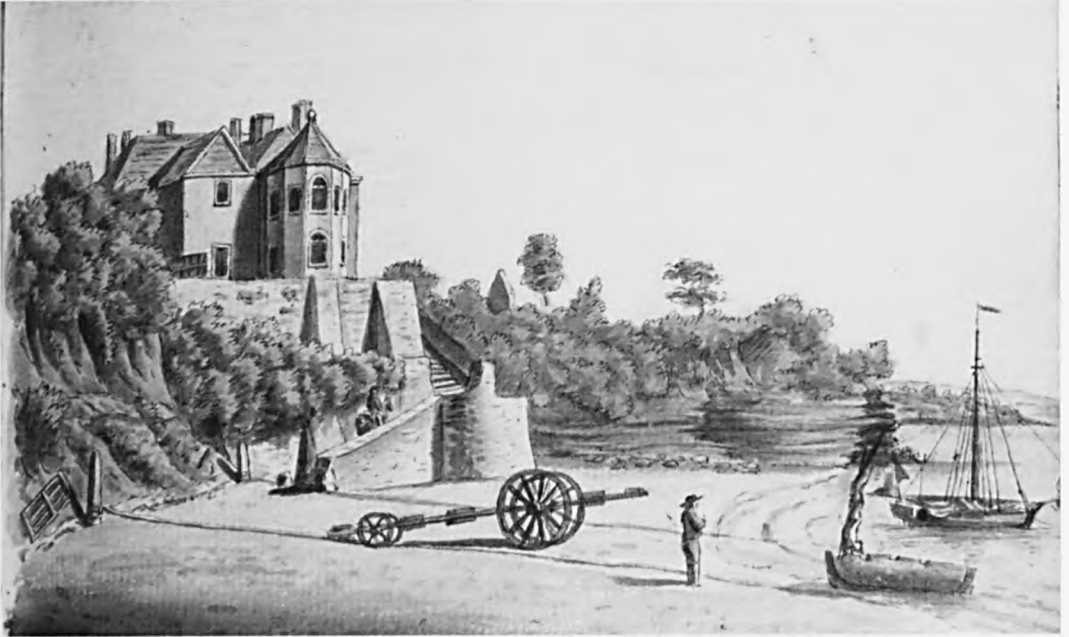


Plate 19: 'Passage house in Monmouthshire at Aust Passage', August 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 44). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*

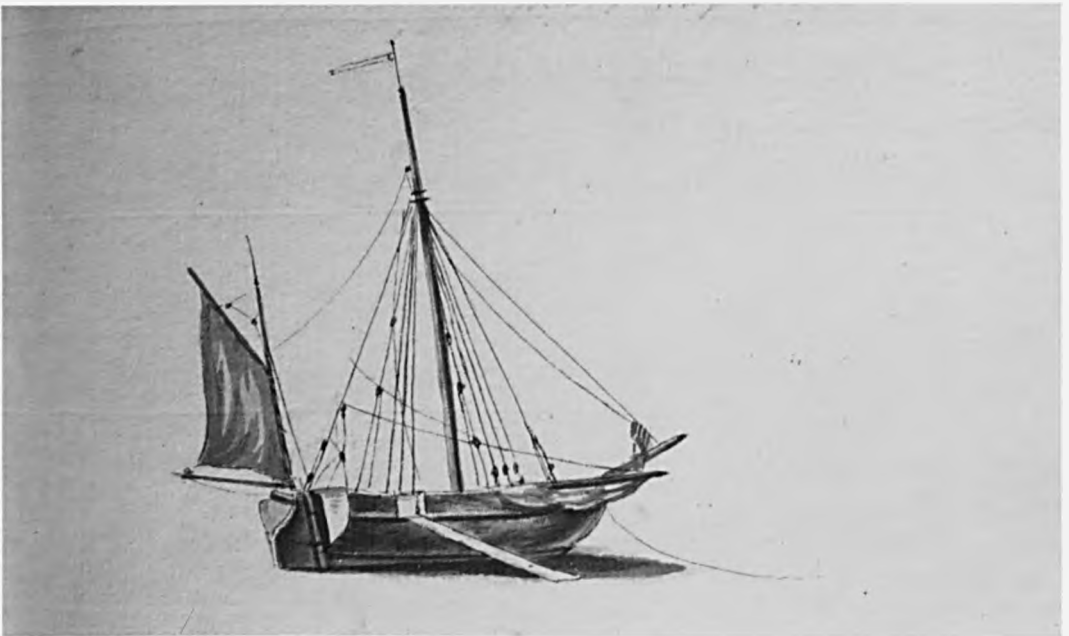


Plate 20: 'Aust passage boat or wherry' – 'Great passage boat', August 1784.
(Sketch-book, p. 45). *Copyright: States of Guernsey Heritage Committee.*



Plate 21: 'Readymain, 3 miles from Usk in Monmouthshire', July 1805.
Copyright: Monmouth Museum.



Plate 22: 'Sugar-loaf mountain beyond Abergavenny 14 miles off' – 'Llandenny village near Readymain' – 'Holy mountain or Skyrrid vawr near Abergavenny ...', 24 July 1805.
Copyright: Monmouth Museum.



Plates 23 and 24: 'two views of Merdy-bach farm between Usk & Readymain', August 1805.
Copyright: Monmouth Museum.



Plate 25: 'Langwm Chapel, with a distant view of Langwm church. This Chapel is not used',
1805. *Copyright: private collection.*



Plate 26: 'Landenny Church, 3 miles from Usk, in Monmouthshire', 20 June 1805.
Copyright: private collection.



Plate 27: 'Llanvihangel torfynydd between Usk & Chepstow', 1805.
Copyright: private collection.



Plate 28: 'Trelech church 5 miles from Monmouth & 7 from Readymain', 6 August 1805.
Copyright: private collection.



Plate 29: 'Landeilo cresseny between Monmouth & Abergavenny', 1805.
Copyright: private collection.



Plate 30: 'Chepstow Castle', 1805.
Copyright: Chepstow Museum.



Plate 31: 'Clytha house', 1805.
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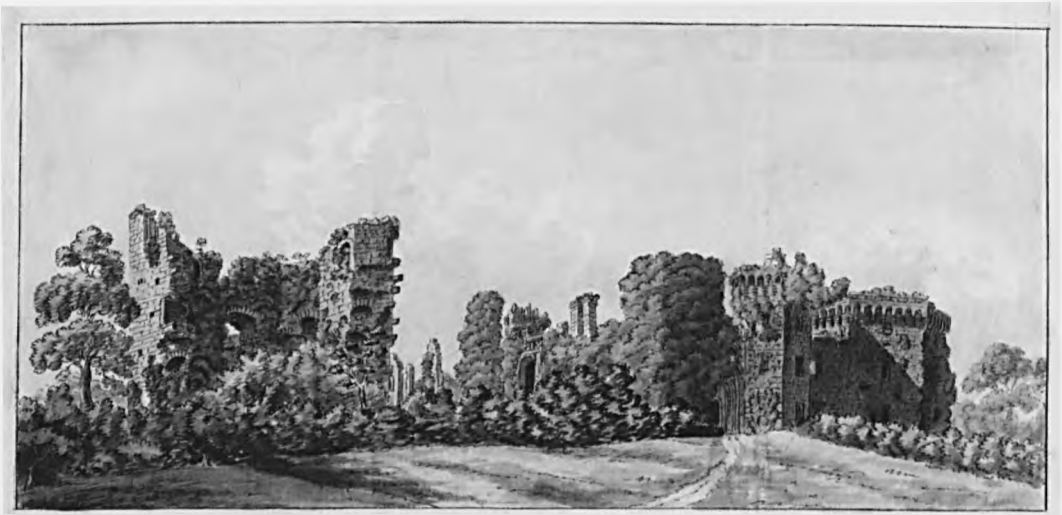


Plate 32: 'Ragland Castle, Monmouthshire', 31 May 1805.
Copyright: private collection.



Plate 33: 'Monnow bridge & Gate at Monmouth', 1808.
Copyright: Monmouth Museum.

MEDIEVAL MONMOUTHSHIRE WILLS IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

Extracts transcribed and translated by David H. Williams

Introduction

The earliest known will emanating from Monmouthshire and held at the National Library at Aberystwyth, dates only from 1445, but for the century thereafter fifteen original wills in the Library's collections, mostly written in Latin, coupled with manuscript notes of many others elsewhere, form a valuable research resource reflective of life - both domestic and ecclesiastical - in late medieval and Tudor times. Even political circumstances come to the fore, as shewn by the two testators who felt it expedient to make their wills prior to taking up arms on behalf of Henry VIII, who was currently at war with both Scotland and France. The wills shew in their bequests a concern for the maintenance of the county's bridges, some of whose names are now lost, but only make limited provision for the poor.

On the domestic front, the goods and chattels to be inherited by family members are often spelt out in great detail, but very rarely are books mentioned for many, if not most, people could neither read nor write. Unfortunately, some of the terms employed are not to be found in any modern glossary. The cereals growing and the stock grazing in the fields find description, and as one would expect of a largely self-sufficient age, a mixed agricultural economy is indicated. There are very few insights into the domestic architecture of the period, but there are often detailed instructions as to the inheritance of property after one's demise.

The church historian and the ecclesiastical architect are well served by these wills. They are a valuable, sometimes the only, source from which the names of the parochial clergy can be derived. The evidences of the Reformation are plain, for thereafter rarely do the dying invoke the prayers of the Mother of God and the saints, whilst images - like those of St Leonard at Trefonnen (Nash) and of the Assumption of Our Lady at Y Fenni (Abergavenny) - are a thing of the past. There are glimpses of funeral rites, and some dateable evidence for church restoration and improvements - as in the erection of a new tower at Cwmcarnfan church and the insertion of a new processional archway into their church from the cloister for the monks of Llantarnam.

Not least, the wills reveal changes in church dedications with the passage of time: St Andrew's, Tredynog (Tredunnoch), was formerly the church of St Gorothin; the dedication to St Stephen at Caerwent replaced the much earlier Tathan. A knowledge is afforded of chapel and shrine dedications within the churches - like the Holy Rood of Y Fenni (Abergavenny), the Holy Trinity of Llandeilo (Llantilio), and the chapel of St John at Y Grysmwnt (Grosmont). Most interest must lie in the chapel in the church or elsewhere in the parish of Cwmcarnfan, dedicated to the north Walian virgin Winefride. Her cult, centred mostly on Holywell and Shrewsbury, though found in a very few other dedications much further afield, is shewn to have expanded towards this humble outpost. The late Professor E.G. Bowen demonstrated the correlation between Beuno and Winefride sites and, indeed, Cwmcarnfan is not so far from St Beuno's Church at Llanfaenor. There was another St Gwenfrewi, a daughter of St Brychan, the king of Brycheiniog, and a Cwrt-Brychan at Llan-soe (Llansoy). As for the testators themselves, mostly they were domiciled within Gwent, but a few show the spread of Welshmen into England, and often many miles distant.

*The Wills***1. David Boteler***Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1813 (4 February 1445)*

'... In the first place, I bequeath my soul to almighty God, to the blessed Mary His mother and all the saints, and my body for ecclesiastical burial. Item, I leave to the prior of Monmouth 6s. 8d., to the prioress of Aconbury 3s. 4d., to the vicar of Monmouth 15d., ... for the fabric of the church of Monmouth 12d., to Robert Penne, monk, 12d., to John Hope, monk, 12d., ... to William Roger, my kinsman, one mattress of bluet¹ and three sheets, and one coverlet and a pair of blankets which are in keeping in my chamber at Chelvey ... to Johanna Wyssam, daughter of my wife, one large bowl and one pot and one basin with ladle² and four spoons and one drinking bowl ... to Isabel Ingleby one pair of sheets and one pair of blankets and one coverlet ... to Walter my kinsman one pair of sheets ...'.

Residue (after debts and executors expenses): to his wife, Johanna.

Probate: granted to his wife and William Louffer, executors, in the parish church of Trefynwy (Monmouth) by the commissary of the bishop of Hereford, 26 October 1445. (Seal wanting).

2. Johanne vergh Jenkyn ap Houa, late wife of Philip Robert of Cwmcarnfan*Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1686 (5 March 1476)*

Bequeaths her soul (*as No. 1*), then her body 'for burial in the chapel of St Wenefredo of Cwmcarnfan. ... I leave to the high altar there and for forgotten tithes 12d., to the fabric of the said chapel 2s., to the fabric of the mother church of St Teilo, Llandaff, 6d., to the fabric of the church of Usk 3s. 4d., to the fabric of the church of Llanbadog-iuxta-Usk 12d ...'.

Residue: to Jenkin ap John ap Robert, my son. He was also *executor* and was to fulfil the terms of the will 'for my soul and for the souls of all my benefactors and of all the faithful departed'.

Probate: granted 28 March 1477 in the parish church of Trelech, by Hugh ab Hoell, official of Llandaff. (Fragment of his seal).³

3. Agnes Wyte, widow of John Wyte, burgess of Casnewydd (Newport; 9 May 1481)*Tredeggar Park Muniments Box 102, No. 43.*

Bequeaths her soul (*as No. 1*), her body 'to be buried in the cemetery of Saint Gunley⁴ ... I bequeath to the fabric of the said church of Gunley 3s. 4d. otherwise a mare ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 4d., ... to John Taylor Vicar of St Gunley for my tithes forgotten 12d., ... to Thomas my son, my best pot, best bowl, best cup, together with the best coffer, a pair of handys⁵, 2 pairs of linen sheets, 2 of canvas, 1 new mattress ... to Wenllian my daughter, 3 linen sheets, 2 canvas, 1 covering⁶ of blood-red colour, 1 coffer, 2 pots, 2 bowls, 6 dishes, 1 table-cloth, 2 towels

¹ *alt.* 'blue colour'.

² *lanago*.

³ I am grateful to Mr Graham Thomas, formerly Senior Assistant Archivist at the National Library of Wales, for checking this transcription.

⁴ St Gwynllyw/Woolos.

⁵ Small wooden vessels or pails with upright handles.

⁶ Perhaps for blanket.

and 1 tub ... 1 pair of cups between my two daughters ... to Isabella my daughter, 3 sheets, 2 of canvas, 1 covering, 1 pot, 1 bowl, 6 dishes, 1 table-cloth, 2 towels, 1 tub ... I wish that all the shop equipment be sold for the best price ... 1 pair of sheets to Alice my sister and 1 canvas, to John William 2 sheets, 1 canvas ... to Agnes William 2 sheets, 1 of twill, 1 of oakum⁷ ... to Wenllian my daughter 1 pair of handys with one ? *veru* ... I wish that holding ... which I lately bought from the lord Thomas Caerleon be sold to pay my debts. And if Thomas Baker wishes to bear the said lands I wish that he have 6s. 8d.

Residue: to her trustees to pay her debts.

Executor: Thomas Taylor.

Probate: granted by Thomas Taylor, vicar of St Gwynllyw, commissary-general in the deanery of Casnewydd (Newport), in the church of St Gwynllyw on 10 July 1481. (Small fragment of his seal).

4. Hugh ap Jankyn ap Thomas Moris, burgess of the town of Trelech

Badminton Deeds, Group I, No. 1602 (12 June 1488)

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 1*), his body 'to be buried in the parish church of Trelech in the chapel of blessed Mary on the northern side ... I leave to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d., for reparation of the altar of blessed Mary 20s., to the light of St Nicholas 3s. 4d., for decumbent oblations 2s., ... I wish that my two sons, Robert and Thomas, have all my lands and holdings whether within or without the borough of Trelech in the following manner, viz. My elder son Robert to have my principal mansion house in which I live with one half of all my lands ... my son Thomas to have my brewhouse and my new mansion with the other half of the lands aforesaid ... if one of them dies without heirs of their body then ... the other to have all the lands and holdings ... if both die without heirs ... then my daughters, Wenllian and Katherine, to have all the lands and holdings ... if it happens that my daughters die without heirs then I will that the parish church of Trelech has one half of all my lands aforesaid for the celebration of solemn masses and other divine services for my soul and the souls of my parents and of all the faithful departed, and that Johanna my sister should have the other half ... should it happen that Johanna dies without heirs of her body ... then all the lands and holdings ... shall remain with the church of Trelech to find a priest to celebrate for the souls of myself and my benefactors ... I wish that Johanna my mother have a moiety of all my lands while she lives by appointment of my trustees ... and that Margaret vergh Jankyn have the other half whilst she is single and unmarried ... I wish that my two sons Robert and Thomas give ... my two daughters aforesaid £10... that Robert ap Jankyn, the lord Thomas (*blank*) vicar of Trelech, Thomas Cachemay, John Vaughan of Chepstow and John Gethyn, my trustees, give to my sons ... and my daughters ... full and peaceful possession and seisin of all my lands and holdings aforesaid ... after my decease and until my sons have come to full age. ... I wish that my sons and daughters aforesaid be under the tutelage and governance of Robert ap Jankyn and Thomas Cachemay ... I give to Margaret vergh Jankyn 2 oxen and 4 cows ... to Robert my son one kettle...

Residue: to the disposition of my executors ... Thomas Cachemay and John Gethyn, and their overseers, William Herbert of Troy, knight, and Robert ap Jankyn.

Witnesses: the lord Thomas, vicar of Trelech, John ab Hywel ab Iorwerth, Jankyn ap Philip and John ap Philip, and many others.

Probate: granted in the presence of John Ieuan, B. Decret., commissary of John, bishop of Llandaff on 2 May 1494. (No place noted. Fragment of his official seal).

⁷ Coarse flax.

5. Richard ap Thomas ap Rees Ladde**Llangibby Castle Deed A. 1144 (26 October 1499)**(Cf. NLW, 7635D, 45-7. This will is transcribed in: Bradney, J.A., A History of Monmouthshire, Volume 4 Part 1 The Hundred of Caldicot (Part 1) (1929) 143-44.)*

Bequeaths his soul to 'God the Father Almighty [and] the Blessed Virgin Mary', his body to be buried 'in the cemetery of St Stephen of Caerwent', leaves ... 'to the fabric of the cathedral church of Llandaff, 6d., to the fabric of the church of Caerwent 2s., to Nicholas, my son, one brazen pot and bowl ... to Janet, my daughter, another brazen pot and bowl and 6 dishes and 2 linen sheets and bed-covers (*alt.* bedding) and 2 cows / one in custody of Rees Vane of Undy and the other in the keeping of John Hopkin of Llanfair ... to Jenet ap Brene one cow in the custody of George Edwards *alias* Skotte of Crick ... all my goods, movable or immovable, to Thomas Browe, rector of Llanvaches, that he have charge of the same until my sons come of lawful age ...'.

Executor: Thomas Browe, rector of Llanfaches.*Witnesses:* Thomas Kemys, Hoell ap John, William Morgan, John Watkyn, Morgan prene, John mayliz and many others.*Debts due to me:* John Cocks, 47s. 9d., John Hopkyn 2s. 3d., John Goysse, 2s. 4d., George Skotte, 20d.*Probate:* granted in parish church of Magwyr (Magor) on 12 December 1499 by Thomas David, commissary of John, archbishop of Canterbury, in the diocese of Llandaff *sede vacante*. (Portion of his seal).* A Walter Ladd still owned lands in Christchurch parish in 1583 [Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 4 Part 2 The Hundred of Caldicot (Part 2) (1932) 287*].**6. William Madocke, of Thornwell, Cas-gwent (Chepstow)***Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1039 (5 February 1506)*

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 1*), then 'my body to be buried in the church of blessed Mary of Chepstow ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d., ... to the high altar of Chepstow for my debts forgotten 12d., ... to the church of Monkton (*Mounton*) 17d., ... to Katherine, my wife ... one holding and 15 acres at Trelenny⁸ for term of her life ... and after her death ... to Thomas my son and his heirs and assignees. I leave ... Thomas 40s. sterling ... to my two elder daughters 12 cattle called 'Hayfers' valued at 72s. and I leave my youngest daughter 2 cows worth 14s. ... to the lord Edmund, my curate of Chepstow, to pray for my soul and all the souls of the faithful departed 3s. 4d., ... to John Anste 6s. 8d. for his labours.'

Residue: to Katherine my wife and John Anste ... making them my *executors*.*Witnesses:* Edmund Orell, chaplain., William Nicholl, Roger Clerk and others.*Debts owing to the testator:* totalled £7 11s. 5d., from five individuals, including Johanna Parys, widow [£6 5s. 4d.]*Probate:* prebendary church of Merthyr Tewdrig (Mathern), 6 April 1507. (Imperfect seal of the bishop's official).

⁸ NGR ST 511926.

7. Glyn ab Hoell ap M[?]*Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1555 (23 February 1507)*

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 1*), then 'my body to be buried in the parish church of Llanishen ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 2s., to the reparation of the church of Llanishen one mare ... to also Richard ap Rese for my tithes forgotten a young sow ... to the aforesaid Richard to pray for my soul and the souls of my parents 6s. 8d. ... to Johanna, my wife, all my land in which she is enfeoffed until the end of her life only ... two cows and one bed ... all pots and brass bowls and all other vessels which the same Johanna has ... with her by reason of gift ... a young sow ... a third part of the grain gathered in that land in which she is enfeoffed ... I wish that my feodaries give feoffment and seisin of all my lands and holdings to Wenllian vergh Hoell my sister holding them for herself for term of her life according to the tenor of a certain charter which certain charter remains in the keeping of the lord Richard ap Rese ... the aforesaid lands and holdings after the decease of the aforesaid Wenllian to [be] left to William ap Jevan ap Jankyn ... all those lands and holdings aforesaid which are in my possession, custody or occupation and of Johanna my wife ... after the death of Johanna are to pass to the aforesaid Wenllian and William ab Jevan and the heirs of his body ... if it happens that William dies without legitimate heirs ... then I wish that all the aforesaid lands and holdings pass to the legitimate heirs of Margaret vergh Henry ... I wish that the aforesaid Wenllian and William appoint the aforesaid lord Richard to celebrate for the salvation of my soul if he is able on account of the cure of souls, and if it is not possible another priest to fulfil this service through the whole year ... I wish that the aforesaid Wenllian and William give in exchange to Robert Lloargh 4 parcels of my land lying within the land of the aforesaid Robert for another 4 parcels of the aforesaid Robert situated within my lands so that [*the land*] can be better held together ... I give and bequeath all my movable chattels and all my utensils and all my grain in the barn or growing on the land to the aforesaid lord Richard ap Rese, Robert Llaorghe and Hoell Vaughan for paying my synodals and debts.

Residue: to Richard ap Rese, Robert Lloarghe and Hoell Vaughan ... my *executors*, to dispose of the same for the salvation of my soul and the souls of all the faithful departed ... I appoint and ordain the aforesaid lord Richard ap Rese *overseer* of the aforesaid Wenllian and William in execution of the premises.

Witnesses: Jankyn ap Richard, Jankyn ap Thomas Ph'ot.

Probate: in the presence of the official of the bishop of Llandaff, in the parish church of Brynbuga (Usk). (His name, and the date, both omitted, but fragment of his red wax seal).

8. John Thomas, of the parish of Tredynog (Tredunnoch)*Llangibby Castle Deed A 1171 (16 September 1521)*

(*Cf.* NLW, 7635D, 36-7. This will has been transcribed in: Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire, Volume 3 Part 2 The Hundred of Usk (Part 2)* (1923) 265).

Leaves his soul 'to God the Father Almighty', his body for burial 'in the church of St Goroithine of Tredunnoch', he bequeaths 'to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d., to the high altar of St Goroithine 6d. for my tithes forgotten ... to the fabric of the bridge of Tredunnoch 3s. 4d., ... to the fabric of the bridge of Caerleon 3s. 4d., ... to Margery, my wife, £4 13s. 4d. sterling ... for the fabric of each chancel window in the church of Tredunnoch 20d. I wish that Jane, my daughter, after my death shall have all my land held by villein tenure⁹ which would fall to her by right of

⁹ *Terra natuivi.*

inheritance ... I wish that my tenants William ap Roger, Roger Rawlins and Morgan Philip sell all my lands ... That they find and provide me with various necessities and keep me fitly during the rest of my life, and after my decease they have a worthy funeral ... I leave to the brothers of the cell of Minors in the town of Cardiff [*Franciscans*] and the brothers of the town of Newport [*Augustinians*] 5 shillings in equal portions.

Residue: to Roger Rawlins and Morgan Philip, my *executors* ... they and William ap Roger constitute my *overseers* ...

Witnesses: d[omi]ni. Phi's, rector of Llangybi, Thomas ap Morgan, Margery Thomas [*his wife*].

Probate: granted on 5 February 1523 in the town of Brynbuga (Usk) by Henry Morgan, B. Decret. Canon of the cathedral church of *Caliogensis*,¹⁰ deputy of Cardinal Wolsey, archbishop of York and papal legate. (Fragment of his seal).

9. Philip ab Hoell, of Llan-soe (Llansoy)

Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1451 (19 September 1534)

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 1*), then 'my body to be buried in the parish church of Llansoy ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d. ... to the high altar of Llansoy church for my tithes forgotten or inadequately paid 12d. ... towards glazing the chancel window(s) of the church of Llansoy 6s. 8d., for the bell(s) of the church of Llansoy £10., ... for reparation of the church of St Michael at Tor-y-Mynydd 3s. 4d., and for repair of the chapel of Llangynog 6s. 8d., ... for repair of the bridges called Pont Hoell ab Ieuan ap M^l and Pont Beroer 16s. 8d., ... to Johanna, my wife, five of the best cows and two mares ... two beds, namely the feather bed and the flax bed ... and a half of my vessels and also my wooden vessels, ... I wish that David Phillip, my son, gives to Johanna, his mother, eight measures of wheat and eight measures of oats every year during her life ... I give and bequeath to Johanna all holdings ... Trecapragh'ed and beyond the brook called Nant Vaghe leading towards the stream called Pyll on the west side and the north of my house to the end of the life of Johanna ... I leave to Johanna certain lands in part conceded by charter of indenture to the end of the life of Johanna ... the residue of all lands and holdings to David Phillippe, my son, with reversion of the remainder on the death of Johanna ... lands and holdings at Trecapraghed, Llangynog, land late of Jankyn ab Ieuan ap M^l in the lands of Hendre Boyth, of Dan-yr-Allt in Wolvesnewton, and land lately of Nicholas Capper in Llanfihangel Tor-y-Mynydd, keeping the lands and holdings according to the disposition and strength of my charter of indenture dated 4 August 1533. I wish the rent of a house of mine in which John Agorve now lives with the rent of an adjacent croft be for five Masses of the Five Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ to be celebrated in the church of Llansoy each year in perpetuity on my anniversary day for my soul and the souls aforesaid¹¹, if it happens that the day of my anniversary falls on a Sunday or other solemn feast, I wish the said Masses to be celebrated on the ferial day immediately preceding or following ... I leave to David Phillip, my son, two silver parcel gilt cups weighing about 32 ounces which are in the custody of Philip Ieuan, vicar of Llangwm.'

¹⁰ There is no cathedral nor see of this name; its entry here - possible a later addition - is inexplicable. Henry Morgan must be the young cleric who gained his B.Cn.L. at Oxford in 1522, later held prebendaries of Lincoln and of Llandaff, and became bishop of St David's in 1554.

¹¹ A reference to the late medieval tradition that five such Masses released one's soul from purgatory.

Residue: to David Phillip, my son, and John William, chaplain, appointing them my *executors*. Furthermore, I appoint Walter ap Robert and Philip ab Ieuan, chaplain, to be *overseers* of this my will.

Witnesses: Roger [William], rector of Llan-soe, five others named 'and many others'.

Probate: granted in parish church of Brynbuga (Usk), 12 January 1535, by Lewis Johns, bachelor in decretals, canon of Llandaff, and vicar-general of George, bishop of Llandaff (with the official's seal attached).

Debts owing to the testator: 26 people owed the deceased money, including William, abbot of Kingswood, £3 5s. 4d., Richard, abbot of Tintern, 65s., John Agove, junior, chaplain, 6s. 8d., and Richard ap Rise, rector of Llangofen (Llangovan), 6s. 8d.

10. John ap Reys (*Rice/Rhys*), of Gwndy (Undy)

Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1351 (18 July 1537). English language

'... I bequeath my soul unto Almighty God, to his blessed mother saint Mary and to all the holy company of heaven, my body to be buried in holy grave ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d. ^{paid} to the high altar of Undy 12d. ^{paid} ... to John, my son, four oxen and four kine and 40 sheep ... to my wife¹² 6 kine and three acres wheat and 2 acres barley ... to Margaret, my daughter, four oxen and two steers and ten of the best of the fat bullocks and heifers ... and four score sheep to be equally divided between John and Margaret ... to Margaret the next best pan and the next best crock and half a dozen of pewter vessels ... to my sister a yearling ^{paid} ... to Hopkyn an acre wheat and an acre barley ... I give all my lands that I hold by lease to John my son ... to William my brother the house that he dwelleth on during his life, a cow and a yearling and my grey mare ^{all paid} ... to John my son the black mare ... to my sister's daughter a yearling ^{paid} ... to Thomas Davy of Llanfihangel a calf ^{pd} ... to my sister [*in*] law a cow ^{paid} ... to the son of Robert Leny a yearling ^{pd} ... to Hopkin's son a yearling ^{pd} ... and to his daughter a yearling ^{pd} ... to Evan a yearling ^{pd} ... to John Davy's daughter a yearling ^{pd} ... to Jeny my daughter [*in*] law a yearling ^{pd} ... to Sir Harry my ghostly father for to pray for my soul and all christian souls and to be good to John my son that he may learn his *pater noster* the sum of 10s. ... my wife shall have the custody of my children so long as she is widowed, if it happen, as God forbid, that my wife and children should depart out of this world, then ... all my goods and lands shall be reserved unto my brothers children of Kemyes, that is to Lewis and to James.

Residue: to John my son and Margaret my daughter.

Executors: John my son and William Thomas Fawkener.

Overseers: Mr Thomas Aparry and Mr William Vaghan.

Debts owing to the testator: £18 3s. 11d. from 17 individuals, including his brother-in-law, Robert Phillips [£31 3s. 0d].

Debts owed by the testator: £8 8s. 8d. to 6 persons [two of the debts were for bullocks (2s.) and sheep (6s. 8d.) bought].

Probate: in presence of Lewis Johns, B. Decret. Commissary of Robert, bishop of Llandaff, in parish church of Caerllion (Caerleon), 4 September 1537. (Large portion of the official seal remains).

¹² Not named.

11. Katherine Madocke*Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1040 (24 September 1540). English language*

'... I bequeath my soul to God Almighty, my body to be buried in Christian burials ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 6d. ... to the high altar of Mathern for my forgotten tithes 12d. ... to Elinor my daughter one cow, a brasen crock, 2 platters and a candlestick of brass ... unto Thomas Madock my son one cow and 2 bushels of wheat.'

Residue: to my son-in-law, Thomas Nicholas, and to daughter Alys his wife to dispose for my soul, whom I ordain to be my *executors*.

Witnesses: Sir Philip Veyne, vicar there, 3 others named 'and others'.

Probate: parish church of Cas-gwent (Chepstow), 23 October 1540, in presence of Lewis Johns, Ll. B., commissary of Robert, bishop of Llandaff. (Seal wanting).

12. Davit Thomas, rector of Llandegfedd*Llangibby Castle Deed A 931 (3 March 1541)*

(Cf. NLW, 7635D, 52-4. Transcribed (with slight omissions) by J.A. Bradney. See *ibid.* 276-7.)

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 1*), his body 'to be buried in the parish church of Llandegfedd ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 8d., to glazing the chancel window(s) of the church of Llandegfedd 3s. 4d., ... to John William, chantry priest¹³ at Usk, my robe and 6s. 8d., ... to David Thomas Johns my sheep ... to Gruffydd ap Rosser 1 cow ... to David William 1 cow ... to Henry Johns 1 cow ... to Elnor ap Rosser 1 young cow ... to Joan Bruer 1 cow, 3 measures of wheat,¹⁴ 2 measures of oat malt, all my vessels of lead, 2 vases and 2 stands ... [*also*] for term of her life, my bakehouse to inhabit, and after her death I bequeath the said bakehouse to my brother Ieuan Thomas in perpetuity, provided that Joan sufficiently thatches the aforesaid bakehouse with ferns¹⁵ ... to my son Ieuan Thomas 1 acre by estimation of land ... with all my edifices built upon it in the parish of Llandegfedd between the lands of my father Thomas David ab Iorwerth and the church lands ...'.

Residue: to the aforesaid lord John William and David Thomas Johns (*executors*) ... disposing part of my goods for my soul and the souls of all the faithful departed in Christ ...

Overseer: Ieuan Thomas.

Witnesses: the lord John ap Morgan, 6 others named and 'many others'.

Debts owed by the testator: £1.

Debts owing to the testator: 12 persons owed a total of £2 3s. 4d., including 4s. due from Philip David, parson of Llangybi.

Probate: 17 May 1542 in parish church of Brynbuga (Usk), in the presence of Lewis Johns, Ll.B., commissary of the bishop of Llandaff. (Broken portion of official seal).

13. William Gunter, burgess of the Town of Caerllion (Caerleon)*Holland Deed 46 (3 October 1542). English language*

Bequeaths his soul in similar terms to *No. 1*, and his body as *No. 10* '... to the mother church of Llandaff 2s. ... to the altar of St Cadocs church for my tenths and oblations forgotten 3s. 4d. ... to

¹³ *Patarist*.

¹⁴ Bradney gives 'barley malt'.

¹⁵ Bradney gives 'rushes'.

Roger Gunter my son, my house which I bought of Roger Llewys, set and being within the town of Caerleon and in the parish of Christchurch, and the parcel of lands that I purchased in Somerton and in the parish aforesaid. To have and to hold to the said Roger and to his heirs forever.'

Residue: after debts paid ... to Amy vergh Philip my well beloved wife to be my sole *executrix* and to dispose my goods for the wealth of my soul and for the furtherance of my daughters.

Witnesses: William ab Jevan, vicar of Caerllion (Caerleon), and five others.

Probate: Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 28 April 1543 (Seal wanting).

[Gunter lands in 'Redcastle', Caerleon and Somerton, Christchurch, find mention in Bradney J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 3 Part 2 The Hundred of Usk (Part 2)* (1923) 194-5, and *Volume 4 Part 2 The Hundred of Caldicot (Part 2)* (1932) 289. The will is also partly transcribed in NLW, MS 7602D, 81 (after PCC, 19 Spert)].

14. Watkin Morris, of Gwehelog, Brnybuga (Usk)

Badminton Deeds, Group 1, No. 1128 (20 October 1544)

Bequeaths his soul (*as No. 10*), his body 'to be buried in Christian burial ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 4d. ... to the high altar of Usk for my tithing and oblations forgotten ... to Elizabeth my daughter one milch cow and half my household stuff and half my farm and mansion house ... the other (half) of my farm to Nest vergh Thomas my wife during her life and after her decease unto John Watkyn my son ... all my free lands and burgages set and being within the parish of Usk ... to John Watkyn my said son and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten ... and in default of heirs all my said free lands to Philip Watkyn my second son and to his heirs ... and in default of heirs ... all my lands shall remain to Margaret Watkyn my daughter and to her heirs ... and in default of heirs ... my said lands shall remain [to] my right heirs ... to Gwenllian my base daughter one milch cow ... to Harry my base son one milch cow.'

Residue: to Nest vergh Thomas my wife ... to be mine *executrix* ...'

Witnesses: Sir John Lewis, deputy vicar of Monmouth, 5 others named 'and many more'.

Debts owed by the testator: £3 4s. 0d. to 6 creditors.

Probate: St Mary's Church, Brynbuga (Usk), in the presence of John ap Harry, LL.D., vicar-general, diocese of Llandaff, 'last day and year aforesaid'. (Large portion of his official seal).

15. Will of Philip David of Maerun (Marshfield), husbandman

Tredegar Park Muniments, Box 110, No. 77 (29 March 1550)

Commends his soul to Almighty God, his body 'to be buried in the parish church or churchyard of Marshfield ... to the cathedral church of Llandaff 12d. ... to the high altar of Marshfield 8d. ... in money to be put in the common chest or coffer in the parish church¹⁶ ... toward the relief of the poor people within the parish 8d. ... to Margaret my wife 4 kine, 8 sheep, 2 swine and 1 bushel of wheaten meal ... to Thomas my son 4 kine 8 sheep, a colt of 2 years age, a pan and a crock of brass of the best I possess ... to William my son a cow, 8 sheep, one mare, 2 of the best swine I have, to Margaret my daughter 2 kine 8 sheep ... and to Margaret my daughter and my son William 3 heifers of 2 years auld ... to my said daughter Margaret 2 swine, half a dozen of pewter dishes, one whole bed clothes and one chest ... I will that my son Morgan shall have the custody of my chil-

¹⁶ For a 'poor man's chest' in Llangatwg Feibion Afel church, see Hunt, Judith (1985) 101.

dren William and Margaret till they come to the age of discretion ... I bequeath to Manlid my daughter 6 sheep ... to Joan vergh John my niece one cow and 8 sheep, ...to the children of Ll'es Richard and of my daughter Gwladys 5 sheep ... to Morgan my eldest son all my leases ... of lands or tenements within the county of Monmouth or elsewhere and also 2 kine, 8 sheep, the *residue* of my goods ... after my debts paid my funeral expenses performed.'

Executors: 'Morgan my eldest son and Thomas my second son.'

Overseer: Rowland Morgan of Machen.

Witnesses: William Howell of Coedcernyw (Coedkernew), Morgan Philip, Morgan John David.

Debts were owing to the testator by 7 named persons and totalled £5 13s. 8d.

Inventory of goods: 14 milk kine (£5 16s. 8d.), 109 sheep (£2 13s. 4d.), household stuff (£2 0s. 0d.).

Probate: 29 October 1550, in presence of John Smyth, LL. D., vicar-general of Llandaff. (Only tiny fragments of his official seal survive).

Appendix

The National Library's Bradney MSS and Prints (1933 deposit), contain a series of notebooks (*NLW, MSS 7602D-7640D*), giving abbreviated transcripts of Monmouthshire wills proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and the diocesan courts of Hereford and Llandaff. Some were published by Sir Joseph Bradney in his *A History of Monmouthshire* (London, 1904-33), whilst all the Monmouthshire wills of the period proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury find full transcription in Judith Hunt's, *Monmouthshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1404-1560* (Diploma in Extra-Mural Studies [Local History], University College, Cardiff, 1985). A copy of her work is held at Newport Reference Library under the class-mark: q.M000. 346.054. It is an important source for all historians of the county.

* Will more fully transcribed under the relevant parish in Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* (12 parts, London, 1904-33).

**NLW, 7602D, 1; 7612, 16-17: William Herbert, 1st earl of Pembroke, K.G.*, (27 July 1469; proved 31 August 1469, PCC 228 Godyn). 'To be buried in the priory of Abergavenny under the arch between my father's tomb and chancel'. Reference to John Dezman, his confessor. Legatees included 'Doctor Leisoun, 10 marks a year, to sing for my soul every May', whilst two priests were to be found 'to sing afore the Trinity at Llantilio for my soul and for all souls slain in the field for eleven years'. Gives C tons of [blank] towards the cloister of Tintern'. (*Cf. Hunt, 154-6*).

NLW, 7602D, 70: Thomas Kemeys of Casnewydd (Newport; 13 August 1493; proved 2 May 1494, PCC, 10 Vox). To be buried 'in the church of St Gwynllyw'. Thomas ap John was vicar of Casnewydd (Newport; *Cf. Hunt, 34, No. 12*).

NLW, 7602D, 70: William ap Rhys, clerk, rector of Crudwell, Somerset (6 December 1500; proved 17 July 1501, PCC, 19 Moone). 'To be buried in the church of St Stephen, Caerwent'.

**NLW, 7602D, and 7636D, 76-7: George Lewis* of Netherwent (8 September 1508; proved 29 January 1509, PCC, 10 Bennett). 'To be buried in the church of St Peter's' (Sain Pŷr/St Pierre); gives to the church 'my brewhouse and millhouse set and builded together in the town of

Chepstow'. £9 yearly to abbot and convent of Tintern for 10 years 'to the intent that my daughters therewith shall be married and have the same delivered to them at their marriage'. James was vicar of Merthyr Tewdrig (Mathern; *Cf. Hunt, 39, No. 20*).

**NLW, 7629D, 83: Thomas Bowles* of Pen-hw (Penhow; October 1511; proved 3 December 1511, PCC 5 Fetiplace). Bequests include money towards 'buying the bells of Penhow'. (*Cf. Hunt, 39-40, No. 21, where year of 1506 given*).

NLW, 7602, 88: John Lloyd of the King's Chapel (10 January 1519; proved 9 May 1526, PCC, 7 Bodfelde). Benefactions included '£8 to Christchurch of Caerleon for a vestment and chalice', and £8 to St Cadog's, Caerllion. (*Cf. Hunt, 44, No. 28*).

**NLW, 7636D, 69, 78-9: Thomas Kemeys*, priest (7 April 1519; proved 30 May 1519, PCC, 16 Aylofffe), to be buried 'in chancel of Our Lady Church of Chepstow', gave 6d. 'to the blessed Trinity of Sudbrook'. Thomas ap Howell was vicar of Merthyr Tewdrig (Mathern). (*Cf. Hunt, 42-3, No. 27*).

**NLW, 7602D, 90; 7612D, 18-19; and 7618D, 7-9: David ap Gwillim Morgan* of Kingston, co. Hereford, and of Llanddewi Ysgyryd (Skirrid; 2 June 1523; proved 13 April 1524, PCC 19 Bodfelde). Legatees included Grace Dieu Abbey; the heirs of his purchased lands were 'to find a priest to sing Masses in Llanddewi Skirrid church'; the 'parson of Llanwenarth' was Hugh ap Ric'. (*Cf. Hunt, 49-50, No. 32*).

**NLW, 7602D, 1-3, and 7612D, 25: Sir William Herbert, knight.*, of Troy (15 March 1524; proved 13 April 1524, PCC, 19 Bodfelde). 'To be buried in south side of the new chapel which I lately builded in the parish church of Monmouth ... a tomb of marble to be made over my grave with images of me, Margery my first wife and Blanch my now wife'. Stevyn was parson of Troy. (*Cf. Hunt, 47-8, No. 31*).

**NLW, 7602D, 71, and 7610D, 18-19: Thomas ab Iorwerth ab Hopkin* (7 August 1525; proved 11 December 1525, PCC, 40 Bodfelde). Burial in parish church of St Mary, Trefynwy (Monmouth). Bequests included those to John Straensan, vicar of Monmouth; mention of John Lewys, parish priest of Monmouth. 10 marks were to be paid 'in four years after the beginning of the new tower or belfry of the church of St Clement of Cwmcarnfan'. 10s. bequeathed for 'Walter's [? *Waller's*] Bridge placed upon the stream of Troy'. (*Cf. Hunt, 160-2*).

NLW, 7602D, 3; 7612, 25; and 7637D, 3: Richard Herbert, of Sain Pÿr (St Pierre; 27 October 1526; proved 29 April 1529, PCC 6 Jankyn). To be buried in church of St Pierre. Bequests included 40s. to Tintern Abbey 'to pray for Robert Hatton's soul'. Witnesses included 'Sir William Marchaunt, my curate'. (*Cf. Hunt, 53, No. 35*).

NLW, 7602D, 4-5, and 7612D, 23-4: Thomas Herbert of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; 9 January 1528; proved 8 June 1529). 'To be buried in the chapel of Our Lady in the priory of Abergavenny'. Mention made of 'a chantry before the Blessed Rood of Abergavenny', and a bequest is made of 'my yellow horse to the Rood work of the parish church of Abergavenny'. William Barry was curate of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; *Cf. Hunt, 53-4, No. 36*).

NLW, 7602D, 71-2; 7612D, 22-3; and 7640D [non-pagin.]: **Howell ap Ll'en**, burgess of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; 5 April 1529; proved 8 July 1529, PCC 9 Jankyn). 'To be buried in the church of the Holy Rood in the town of Abergavenny' – the nave section of the priory church. Bequests included sums of money to the Black and Grey Friars of Caerdydd (Cardiff), the high altar of Llanfihangel Crucornau church and the upkeep of Brynbuga (Usk) bridge, and, to his wife Maud, 'a meadow by the holy well of Abergavenny' (*alt.* 'by the Holy Wall of Abergavenny'). Provision was made for 'a taper of 7 lbs. to be repaired yearly and maintained for ever before the image of Our Lady of the Assumption of Abergavenny', and one of 21 lbs. of wax before the image of St Michael in the church of Llanfihangel Crucornau. William Barry was curate of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; *Cf.* Hunt, 55-6, No. 37). [Joan, lady of Abergavenny (*fl.* late 14th cent.), imported a silver gilt statue from France: *PRO C 47/3116*].

NLW, 7602D, 72, and 7636D, 81: **John Thomas**, merchant of Bristol, where buried (13 May 1529; proved 24 August 1529, PCC, 10 Jankyn). Bequests include £5 towards 'the building and reparations' at Llantarnam Abbey. Abbot Morgan Blethyn named as one of two overseers. £10 to parish church of Abergavenny for an *obit* in perpetuity. (*Cf.* Hunt, 57, No. 39).

NLW, 7602D, 92: **John ap Richard** of Trefonnen (Nash; 1 June 1531; proved 19 September 1538, PCC, 21 Dnyegeley). 'I give 13s. 4d. to our church to buy a branch to bear light afore St Leonard ...'. Mention of 'the new church of Goldcliff'. (*Cf.* Hunt, 59-60, No. 47).

NLW, 7602D, 91 and 7609D, 23: **Walter ap Thomas ap David** (2 April 1532; proved 12 August 1533, PCC, 5 Hogen). Burial in church of Llanfihangel Crucornau. Bequest of 6s. 8d. to Maurice ap David, clerk, an *overseer* of the will. (*Cf.* Hunt, 58, No. 43).

*NLW, 7602D, 73 and 7613D, 1-2: **Morgan Jones** of Rockesford, co. Herts (1 July 1532; proved 3 December 1532, PCC, 21 Thower). Bequests to Llantarnam Abbey included 10 marks 'to buy a vestment in the Lady Chapel ... the farm of the King's Park by the town of Usk called the Old Park, as long as [*the abbot*] shall find (*care for*) my son John ... £10 towards making an arch at the entry of the church out of the cloister.' (*Cf.* Williams, David H., *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* [Pontypool, 1976] 85-86; Hunt, 57-58, No. 42).

NLW, 7602D, 75: **Thomas Myryck** of Llanfaches (Llanvaches; 26 October 1537; proved 1 February 1543, PCC, 15 Spert). To be buried there. Bequests include 6s. 8d. 'to Sampytt his bridge'. (*Cf.* Hunt, 69-70, No. 56).

NLW, 7602D, 73-4 and 7612D, 21-2: **Meredith ap Sir Philip**, burgess of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; 20 October 1539; proved 23 February 1540, PCC 3 Alenger). 'To be buried in lady chapel of parish church of Abergavenny'. Mention of Lewis Jonys, Ll. B., 'late vicar of Abergavenny.' (*Cf.* Hunt, 61-2, No. 48).

*NLW, 7602D, 73 and 7609D, 45 : **Howell ap Thomas ap Gwillim ab Howell** of Llanfocha (St Maughan's; 1 January 1541; proved 12 May 1541, PCC 28 Alenger). Burial in Llanfapley; bequest of £10 to repair and buy bells, and 3s. 4d. for repair of 'the cross' of the church (one transcription gives 'the tower'). Mention of 'Morgan ap David, my curate'. (*Cf.* Hunt, 63, No. 50 and pp. 164-5).

NLW, 7602D, 83*: **James ap Gwatkyn of Llanddewi Rhydderch (12 February 1541; proved 6 February 1546, PCC 3 Alenger). Burial in chancel there. Benefactions towards 'the reparation of the bell and bell-house of Llanddewi Rhydderch'. Morgan Lloyd was parson of Llanwenarth, and John ab Howell, parson of Llanddewi Rhydderch. (*Cf. Hunt, 92-3, No. 87*).

NLW, 7602D, 75 and 130, and 7610D, 33*: **William Morgan, knight, of Pencoed, parish of Llanfarthin (Llanmartin; 1 May 1541, proved 25 October 1542, PCC, 10 Spert). Bequests include £20 'for building a chapel or tomb there', to be buried there 'if I die near it'. (*Cf. Hunt, 66-7, No. 54*).

NLW, 7602D, 74-5: **Thomas a Popkin** [?Thomas Hopkin], of Rockfield (27 June 1541; proved 20 September 1541, PCC, 31 Alenger). To be buried there. 8d. to the altar of Rockfield, 20s. to repair of the church, and to the said church 2 torches. Hugh was vicar of Rockfield. (*Cf. Hunt, 64-5, No. 51*).

NLW, 7602D, 75, and 7637D, 8*: **David Paynod, priest, parson of Newton (Drenewydd Gellifarch/Shirenewton; 26 November 1542; proved 1 February 1543, PCC, 15 Spert). To be buried there. Legatees included Roger Lawrence, vicar of Caerwent (who received his books), and William Chetnam (or Cheltnam), vicar of Caldicot. (*Cf. Hunt, 70-71, No. 57*).

NLW, 7602D, 80-1 and 7632D, 79*: **Lewis Blethin, gent., of Caerleon (29 September 1542; proved 16 November 1542, PCC, 13 Spert). Burial in parish church of St Cadog, Caerleon. Mention of 'my farm of Pulpen and my farm, Cefn Fynach'. [These were both former granges of Llantarnam Abbey, and Lewis perhaps owed them to his kinsman, Morgan Blethin, the penultimate abbot]. Witnesses included: Sir William ab Jevan, vicar of Caerleon, Sir Philip ap David, curate of Christchurch. (*Cf. Hunt, 68-9, No. 55*).

NLW, 7637D, 40 and 7610D, 29*: **John Arney of New Rawe, Goldcliff (16 January 1543; proved 14 February 1543, PCC, 16 Spert). To be buried there. Witnesses included Sir David Gwillim, 'my ghostly father'. (*Cf. Hunt, 71, No. 58*).

NLW, 7602D, 75 and 130*: **Henry Morgan, clerk (12 May 1543; proved 26 June 1543, PCC, 22 Spert). Buried in Oxford. Legatees included Edward David, vicar of Brynbuga (Usk), and Master Haylin, priest of Tredynog (*Cf. Hunt, 72-3, No. 61*).

NLW, 7602D, 76 and 94; 7612D, 30-1; and 7635D, 66-7: **Hugh ab Howell**, yeoman, of Llanwytherin (Llanvetherine; 28 May 1543; proved 2 May 1544, PCC, 6 Pynnyng). Burial in Abergavenny Church. Bequests include money for 'the bridge of the town of Usk'. (*Cf. Hunt, 75-6, No. 64*).

NLW, 7610D, 30: **Richard Adye** of Redwick in Magwyr (Magor; 17 March 1543; proved 4 October 1543, PCC, 25 Spert). He was 'going fresh to the King's wars'. (*Cf. Hunt, 73-4, No. 62*).

NLW, 7602D, 94: **Richard ap David ap Ll'en** of Cwm-iou (Cwm-yoy; 21 May 1544; proved 18 February 1545, PCC, 23 Pynnyng), 'going to the king's wars beyond the seas'.

NLW, 7602D, 77: Philip Walter, one of the Yeomen of the Guard (10 July 1544; proved 25 September 1545, PCC, 35 Pynnyng). Burial in London, owned lands near the town of Monmouth. (Cf. Hunt, 90, No. 81).

NLW, 7602D, 76: [William] John ap Jenkyn, burgess of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; 10 December 1544; proved 31 March 1545, PCC, 21 Pynnyng). Burial in St Mary's, Abergavenny. Sir John Jevan was curate there. (Cf. Hunt, 78-9, No. 68).

NLW, 7602, 82: William Watkyn Thomas of Y Fenni (Abergavenny; 7 April 1545; proved 22 April 1545, PCC, 26 Pynnyng). Burial in St Mary's, Abergavenny. John ap Philip was parson of Llanddewi Ysgryd (Skirrid), Thomas Heiskyn, parish clerk, and John ab Jevan, curate of Abergavenny. (Cf. Hunt, 83-5, No. 74).

**NLW, 7609D, 2122: Jevan ap John ab Gillym Rawlyns*, of Tre-gaer (8 April 1545; proved 7 July 1545, PCC, 32 Pynnyng). Burial in the church of Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern ... 'on the day of my death twelve masses for my soul with twelve tapers containing 12 lbs. of wax burning around my body'. Hugh ap Richard was rector of Llanfihangel Ystum Llywern, Hugh Lewis, vicar of Llanddingad (Dingestow), and William Capper, chaplain. (Cf. Hunt, 89).

NLW, 7629D, 77 and 7634D, 61-2: Howell ab John Hawkyn of Y Grysmwnt (Grosmont; 11 April 1545; proved 13 June 1545, PCC, 30 Pynnyng). Money was 'to be distributed to priests, clerks and poor folks at the day of my burying'. Vicar of Grosmont was Walter ab Ieuan. (Cf. Hunt, 87-8, No. 77).

**NLW, 7602D, 82-3: William Vaughan* of Ripple, Kent (30 October 1545; proved 3 November 1545, PCC, 41 Pynnyng). Burial in London. Bequests included 'part of the lands of the suppressed house of Chepstow part of the manor of Cophill'. (Cf. Hunt, 169).

NLW, 7602D, 78 and 130b: Phillip Morgan of Llanfair Cilgoed (11 March 1547; proved 2 March 1548, PCC, 5 Populwell). Burial in parish church of Llandeilo Gresynni (Llantilio Crossenny). Bequests included 'my lease of the reversion of the tithe barn of Skenfrith which I had of the late abbot and convent of Grace Dieu', and benefactions for the reparation of Skenfrith church and St Noye's chapel, Blackbrook. (Cf. Hunt, 96-7, No. 91).

**NLW, 7602D, 81-2 and 7636D, 89-90: John Walter* of Redwick (5 April 1545; proved 21 April 1545, PCC, 25 Pynnyng). To be buried 'in the parish of the Stapull of St Michael the Archangel in Redwick in the parish of Magor ... the day of my funeral 6 priests shall say and sing *diriges*¹⁷ and masses and 8 lbs. of wax lights and tapers shall burn about my hearse ... to the building of the porch of the chapel of my sepulture I give one yearling or 6s. 8d.'. Witnesses included Doctor Richard Chicheley, vicar of Magwyr (Magor) and Redwick, who drew up the will. (Cf. Hunt, 81-3, No. 72).

NLW, 7636D, 2, and 7615D, 5: Joan ap Jonys, widow (29 August 1546), of Trefynwy (Monmouth). Mention of Sir John Coke, curate there.

¹⁷ 'Dirges'. The word 'Dirige' was the first word of the antiphon to the 1st psalm at Matins of the Dead.

NLW, 7602D, 79: **Wenllian Thomas**, widow, of ‘Michaelstone, Netherwent’ (Llanfihangel Rogiet; 20 February 1548; proved 26 May 1550, PCC, 14 Coode). Roger Lawrence was vicar of Caerwent, and Thomas Morgan, parson of Llanfihangel). (*Cf. Hunt, 100-1, No. 100*).

NLW, 7602D, 5-6*: **Sir Walter Herbert, knight, of St Julians (30 September 1550; proved 27 February 1551). ‘Body to be buried in holy grave’. Mention of ‘my ship called the *James* and all cables, anchors, etc.’ (*Cf. Hunt, 103-4, No. 104*).

Later wills tell of the projected ‘building of Llansoy steeple’ (1630; *NLW, 7622D, 44*); of Runston church still being in use (1645; *NLW, 7625D, 66*); and of a burial desired ‘in the chapel of St John, being part of the parish church of Grosmont’ (1662; *NLW, 7628D, 33*).

Judith Hunt includes details of: a chapel of St Anthony in St Mary’s church, Cas-gwent (Chepstow; 39); an altar or image of St Theodoric in Merthyr Tewdrig (Mathern) church (he was the patron saint there; 40); of an altar or chapel of the Holy Trinity in St Mary’s church, Trefynwy (Monmouth; 59); of the dedication of Cwm-iou (Cwmyoy) church to St Martin (1515, 25); and of John Wynston as vicar of St Mary’s, Monmouth in 1545 (83). The will of Morgan Johns of Bassaleg, drawn up in 1450 (35-7, No. 14), includes a bequest of 20s. to the Friars of Casnewydd (Newport), and the goodly sum of £20 ‘to make a chapel of carving work within the parish of Basaleg, and a tomb of alabaster’. *Judith Jones’s* later printed volume of wills from 1560-1601, shows Dinham church to have been still in use in 1590 (157), whilst *K.F.M. Morgan’s* thesis notes a burial at Sudbrook church in 1622, and a bequest to Howick church the following year (303, 334).

Further Reading

Chandler H., *The will in medieval Wales to 1540* (M. Phil. thesis, Wales, 1992) No. 230.

Hunt, J., *Monmouthshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1404-1560* (Diploma in Extra-Mural Studies [Local History], University College, Cardiff, 1985. Newport Reference Library, q.M000. 346.054).

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Pitman, L., ‘Some Monmouthshire Wills’, *Gwent Local History* No. 91 (Autumn 2000) 10-18.

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORDSHIP OF MONMOUTH UNDER HENRY VIII

By W.R.B. Robinson

The accession of Henry VIII on 22 April 1509, did not bring about any major changes in the administration of the lordship of Monmouth.¹ Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, who had been appointed high steward of the lordship during royal pleasure in 1503, was re-appointed to the stewardship on 21 May 1509, by a grant for life which also conferred on him the constablerships of Monmouth castle and the castles of Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle (the Three Castles). No formal appointment to these constablerships had been made after the death of Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford, in December 1495, but since 1496, William Herbert of Troy had been paid an annual allowance for occupying the offices of janitor (gatekeeper) of Monmouth castle, constable of Grosmont and Skenfrith and keeper of the woods of White Castle.² Somerset's appointment to the constablerships probably left Herbert's role in relation to the castles substantially unchanged, as on 23 May 1509, Somerset appointed him janitor of Monmouth castle and keeper of the woods of the Three Castles.³ In the early months of Henry VIII's reign, Somerset's influence in the Marches of Wales was extended by further royal grants appointing him for life to the stewardship of other marcher lordships, and the young king's favour towards him was also shown by his re-appointment to the office of lord chamberlain, one of the most senior offices in the royal household. Further grants to Somerset followed in the second year of the new reign. In June 1510, most of Somerset's Welsh offices were included in new grants conferring them on him and his son and heir apparent, Henry, jointly for life in survivorship. In July 1510, the stewardship of Monmouth was also granted to them on the same terms.⁴

Besides holding the stewardships of several important marcher lordships, Somerset also held the lordships of Chepstow and Tidenham and other lordships and lands in South Wales by virtue of his marriage with his first wife, Elizabeth Herbert (died 1507). His influence as marcher lord and royal office holder consequently extended over much of Gwent and other parts of south and east Wales, as was shown in 1513, when the representatives of several leading Welsh gentry

¹ For the administration of the lordship in Henry VII's reign, see Robinson, W.R.B., 'The administration of the lordship of Monmouth under Henry VII', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 18 (2002) 23-40, hereafter Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII'. In n. 68 (p. 32) of that article, the reference at the end of line 3 should be DL 29/599/9597. For a general account of the history of the lordship see Kissack, K., *The Lordship, Parish and Borough of Monmouth* (Hereford, 1996), hereafter Kissack, *Monmouth*.

² Public Record Office, Kew, hereafter PRO DL 29/617/9898, Herbert's account as receiver for 1496-7, allowances. For the early career of William Herbert (d. 1524) see Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII', Appendix 1, 'The Early Career of William Herbert of Troy'.

³ PRO DL 29/617/9911. Herbert held these offices during Somerset's pleasure and took the annual fees of £4-11s.-0d.

⁴ For these grants, see Robinson, W.R.B., 'Early Tudor Policy towards Wales: The Acquisition of Lands and Offices in Wales by Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, hereafter *BBCS*, 20 (1964), hereafter Robinson, 'Early Tudor Policy', 434-6. For Somerset's role in Gwent and that of his son and heir, Henry, see Robinson, W.R.B., *Early Tudor Gwent 1485-1547* (privately printed, 2002) *passim*.

families served under his command in France and were knighted at the end of that campaign.⁵ Somerset's contribution to the success of the royal army was recognised in February 1514, when Henry VIII created him earl of Worcester.⁶ Until his death in April 1526, he continued to spend most of his time at or near the Court or on diplomatic missions overseas and despite the extent of his Welsh lands and offices,⁷ he rarely visited Wales. His son and heir, Henry (c. 1495-1549), who assumed the title of Lord Herbert when his father became an earl, probably spent more time in Wales, although there are few references to his activities before the 1530s.⁸ His entitlement to succeed his father as steward of Monmouth and constable of Monmouth castle and the Three Castles, already assured by the royal letters patent granted to them jointly for life in July 1510, was confirmed in July 1518, by further letters patent granting him the reversion of these offices.⁹

Somerset was not the only officeholder in the lordship of Monmouth to be re-appointed in the early months of Henry VIII's reign. On 9 July 1509, Philip Morgan of Skenfrith was re-appointed during pleasure as beadle of Monmouth castle and of 'the three other castles belonging to the same castle',¹⁰ an office which he had held since March 1507¹¹ and on 10 July 1509, William Herbert of Troy was re-appointed to the office of sergeant of the Vale of Monmouth, which he had held since November 1492.¹²

No fresh grant was made to Herbert of his much more important office of receiver of the lordship, which he had held since 1485 and continued to hold during pleasure. He probably also continued to act as deputy steward of the lordship, as he had done in the latter part of Henry VII's reign, although no evidence apparently survives of his holding the courts of the lordship. In contrast, his activities as receiver are well documented and show that he continued to perform his duties satisfactorily without incurring large arrears. He was clearly regarded with favour by Somerset, who besides appointing him in effect as his deputy in the constablerships of Monmouth

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* (22 vols. and Addenda, 1862-1932), hereafter *LP*, 1 pt. 2. Appendix 26 names those 'of the Lord Chamberlain's ward' knighted on 13 Oct. 1513, who included Sir William Morgan (d. 1542) of Pencoed.

⁶ *LP*, 2 pt. 2, no. 2620.

⁷ For his career see Cokayne, G.E., *The Complete Peerage* (13 vols. in 14, 1910-59), hereafter G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, 12 pt. 2, 846-50.

⁸ For his career see *ibid.* 851-2 and Robinson, W.R.B., *The Earls of Worcester and their Estates, 1526-1642*, Oxford B.Litt. thesis, 1958, and 'Additional Notes', 1997, relating to that thesis, both in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁹ R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: Volume One, 1265-1603* (London, 1953), hereafter Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* 649.

¹⁰ PRO DL 42/22 ff. 6v.-7. Morgan and others were bound in £40 in respect of the office, which was granted following a report by the auditor of the duchy of Lancaster that he owed no outstanding arrears (PRO DL 5/5 f. 3r.).

¹¹ PRO DL 29/617/9906, Herbert's account for 1506-7, fees section, notes the letters patent of 15 March 1507 granting the beadleship to Morgan with wages of a penny a day. Morgan signed himself as of Skenfrith on 17 Sept. 1523 (PRO DL 3/12 no. R 1 d.). For his pedigree, see Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire* (4 vols., London, 1904-33), hereafter Bradney, *Monmouthshire, Volume 1 Part 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith* 123, and for his will, see PRO PROB 11/32, will-register Populwell, f. 32.

¹² PRO DL 42/21 f.7.

and the Three Castles, also employed him extensively in the administration of his Gwent lands.¹³ The earliest surviving accounts for these lands show that in 1520, he was steward and receiver of the lordships of Chepstow and Tidenham and receiver of other Gwent lands. He was not among the Welsh gentlemen who served with Somerset in France in 1513, when he was probably in his seventies, but was knighted in 1516, during his year of office as sheriff of Herefordshire.¹⁴ We may confidently assume that Somerset approved of his knighthood, which may indeed have been granted on his recommendation.

Neither Herbert's account as receiver of the lordship of Monmouth nor those of the subordinate accounting officers there survive for the year ended Michaelmas 1509, but evidently the tenants and residents of the lordship assembled within a few weeks of Henry VIII's accession, as they had done following Henry VII's accession, to acknowledge the new king's formal entry into the lordship.¹⁵ The tenants certainly granted the king the customary 'tallage of recognition' of 100 marks [£66-13s.-4d.], acknowledging his entry, as instalments of the tallage are recorded among Herbert's receipts for 1509-10 and 1510-11.¹⁶ A few years then elapsed before the tenants were charged with the first instalment of a more onerous communal tallage, namely the fine of £100 granted by the tenants and residents for the dissolution of the Great Sessions held at Monmouth on 2 August 1513, before William Herbert and his fellow itinerant justices.¹⁷ These had been appointed by a commission issued in London by the Council of the duchy of Lancaster on 10 February 1513, which included the lordships of Ogmore and Ebbw [Ebboth] near Newport, as well as Monmouth, within their jurisdiction.¹⁸ The commission was headed by Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, who was in France in August 1513, but Herbert's accounts do not indicate which of the other commissioners were present with him at the sessions. He may have been joined by William Rudhall and a few others, but probably not by most of the gentlemen and lawyers named in the commission. When the next Great Sessions were held at Monmouth in August 1518, Herbert and Rudhall were apparently the only itinerant justices who attended.¹⁹

A larger group of itinerant justices attended the Great Sessions held at Monmouth in September 1523.²⁰ Besides Herbert and Rudhall, those named as being in attendance on that occasion were William Walwyn, the auditor for the South Parts of the duchy;²¹ Thomas ap Robert of

¹³ Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII', Appendix 1.

¹⁴ PRO, *Lists of Sheriffs for England and Wales* (Lists and Indexes, no. 9, 1898) 61.

¹⁵ Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII', 23.

¹⁶ PRO DL 29/617/9911, 9913. The burgesses of Monmouth were excused half of their annual fee farm rent of £27 due to the king at Easter 1509, because the tallage of recognition had been fully paid (PRO DL 29/599/9595, bailiffs' account for 1510-11, allowances).

¹⁷ PRO DL 29/618/9917, account for 1512-13.

¹⁸ PRO DL 42/95 ff. 30-30v. This commission is also recorded in DL 42/73 f. 190.

¹⁹ PRO DL 29/618/9927, account for 1518-19. The entry recording receipt of £33-6s.-8d., part of the fine of £100 granted to the king for the dissolution of the Great Sessions, states that they were held before Herbert and Rudhall but makes no reference to any fellow itinerant justices, and leaves blank the date in August when the sessions were held.

²⁰ The duchy order of 10 July 1523, for summoning the sessions, stated that they were to be held at Monmouth on 15 Sept., and at Ebbw on 19 Sept. (PRO DL 42/95 f. 78v.). PRO DL 29/618/9935, Herbert's account for 1522-23, allowances section, records payments of expenses to those present.

²¹ For the career of William Walwyn (d. 1535), see Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* 441-2.

Usk and Pant Glas near Trelleck, the king's receiver for the lordships of Usk, Caerleon and Trelleck;²² and the lawyer, Nicholas Williams of Cardiff, who had been serjeant of the Vale of Monmouth from October 1485 until November 1492.²³ These Great Sessions, like earlier ones, concluded with the agreement of the tenants and residents to the payment of the customary fine of £100 for their dissolution.²⁴ Apart from Nicholas Williams, the itinerant justices who attended the sessions, together with Philip Morgan of Skenfrith, were also present at Troy on 17 September 1523, when they examined David ap Williams of Grosmont about an allegation that he had built a new water mill to the prejudice of the king's mills.²⁵ The duchy commission ordering inquiries to be made into this allegation did not apparently include Rudhall and Walwyn, who were presumably present because they were staying at Troy while attending Great Sessions.

The surviving sources rarely provide any information about Great Sessions proceedings apart from recording payments for their dissolution, but an unusually long entry in the receiver's account for 1528-29, mentions an indictment for felony which was apparently heard at the Great Sessions held at Monmouth in September 1523. The indictment concerned Walter William, who was convicted of the felony and afterwards 'admytted to his fyne', assessed by the justices at £20.²⁶ Five yeomen from the lordships of White Castle and Abergavenny and one from Monmouth entered into a recognizance on 14 April 1526, as pledges for the payment of the fine, but it was still unlevied in March 1530. Fines imposed in judicial proceedings which remained unpaid were sometimes granted as rewards to royal servants, and a royal warrant of 17 March 1530, recorded that the king had given the fine due from Walter William and his pledges to Henry Webbe, a gentleman usher of the king's chamber. The warrant accordingly ordered Rudhall, his late fellow justices at the sessions at Monmouth, and the officers of the borough and lordship, to make out process against Walter William and his pledges for the speedy payment of the £20. These measures were successful, as the fine is recorded as having been paid to Webbe by the receiver of the lordship. By comparison with the sums imposed in other marcher lordships as fines for pardoning felonies, the fine of £20 seems

²² For Thomas ap Robert (d. 1529 or 1530) see Robinson, W.R.B., 'Royal Service in Gwent under the early Tudors: the Career of Thomas ap Robert of Pant Glas', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 7 (1991) 55-64.

²³ For whom see Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII', 24 n. 12.

²⁴ Payment of the first instalment, £33-6s.-8d., was recorded in the account of James Whitney, Herbert's successor as receiver, for the year ended Mich. 1524 (PRO DL 29/619/9937).

²⁵ PRO DL 3/12 no. R1d., certificate by Herbert, Thomas ap Robert, esq., and Philip Morgan ap Gwatkin, gent., appointed by commission dated 8 Jan. 14 Henry VIII (1523). The record of the examination of David ap William on 17 Sept. 1523, which appears immediately below the heading of this certificate, does not describe Rudhall and Walwyn as commissioners, although they were present 'and heryng the matter'. An earlier commission to enquire into the complaint against David ap William, dated 8 July 14 Henry VIII (1522), names those appointed as Robert Whitney of Whitney, esq., John Arnold and Nicholas Williams, gents., as well as Herbert, Thomas ap Robert (Robartes) and Philip Morgan (PRO DL 42/95 f. 76).

²⁶ PRO DL 29/619/9947, receiver's account for 1528-9, allowances. The relevant entry gives the full text of the relevant warrant of 17 March 1530, relating to the indictment, and records payment of the £20, indicating that the receiver's account was not closed until several months after Mich. 1529. The warrant mentions a recognizance dated 14 Apr. 1526, taken subsequent to the hearing of the indictment at the 'last sessions', which must refer to the Great Sessions held in Sept. 1523, as the only references to 'Great Sessions' in the accounts for the three years ending Mich. 1526, relate to the receipt of instalments of the fine granted for the dissolution of the 1523 sessions (PRO DL 29/619/9937, 9939, 9941). The nature of Walter Williams's felony is not recorded.

unusually high, but it is mainly of interest as evidence that at least one felon was tried and convicted at the Great Sessions of September 1523, before they were dissolved.

The Great Sessions held at Monmouth in September 1523, were the last attended by Sir William Herbert of Troy. He made his will on 15 March 1524, in the presence of William Rudhall; 'Sir Stephen', the parson of Troy; and two others. He died shortly afterwards, and on 13 April 1524, his elder son and heir, Charles, and his wife's proctor, were granted probate of his will in St Paul's Cathedral.²⁷ Herbert had been the receiver of Monmouth for over thirty-eight years, and was the last survivor of the officers of the lordship appointed in the first year of Henry VII's reign. Richard Greenway, who had been forester of Hadnock since the autumn of 1485, had died between Michaelmas 1516 and 22 January 1517, being replaced by John Scudamore, a sewer of the king's chamber and a member of a family long-established at Holme Lacy in Herefordshire.²⁸ Herbert's successor as receiver was his stepson, James Whitney (died 1545), also a sewer of the king's chamber, who was appointed on 11 April 1524, during good behaviour.²⁹ He was a younger son of James Whitney (died 1500) of Whitney, Herefordshire, whose widow, Blanche, had married Herbert within a few years of her first husband's death.³⁰ Herbert's successor in the minor office of serjeant of the Vale of Monmouth, was Henry Somerset, Lord Herbert, who was appointed to the office for life on 16 April 1524.³¹ Following Herbert's death, Charles, earl of Worcester, made no appointment to the office of porter of Monmouth castle and keeper of the woods of the Three Castles, retaining for himself the annual fee of £4-11s.-0d. Until his death, Herbert had presumably continued to serve as deputy steward of Monmouth, although no reference of Henry VIII's reign which so describes him has been found, and his successor as deputy was probably his elder son, Charles, who was described as deputy steward in 1532.³²

The death of Sir William Herbert in 1524, was followed on 15 April 1526, by that of Charles, earl of Worcester, whose son and heir, Henry, Lord Herbert, succeeded him in the earldom and as steward of Monmouth and constable of Monmouth castle and the Three Castles. As mentioned above, Lord Herbert had been granted the reversion of these offices for life in 1518, and he

²⁷ PRO PROB 11/21, will-register Bodfeld, ff. 144-14v, summarised in Bradney, *Monmouthshire Volume 2 Part 2* 162.

²⁸ Robinson, 'Monmouth ... Henry VII', 24; PRO DL 29/618/9923. For the career of John Scudamore (d. 1571), four times sheriff of Herefordshire, see Bindoff, S.T. (ed.), *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (3 vols., The History of Parliament Trust, 1982) vol. 3, 284-5. His second wife was a daughter of William Rudhall. The forestership of Hadnock was granted to him for life on 22 Jan. 1522.

²⁹ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* 651; PRO DL 42/22, f. 74v.

³⁰ For his pedigree, see Weaver, F.W. (ed.), *The Visitation of Herefordshire ... in 1569* (Exeter, 1886) 75-6, where he appears as 'Sir Jas. Whitney, o.s.p.'. This reference to his having died without children supports the view that he was the James Whitney who died in 1545, as no children are mentioned in his will (PRO PROB 11/30, will-register Pynnyng, f. 256). The pedigree is wrong in showing him as a knight.

³¹ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* 652.

³² Charles Herbert was described as deputy steward in Easter term, 1532 (PRO DL 535 f. 498). He was again described as deputy steward in 1534 (DL 42/95 f. 131v.; DL 3/25 no. G2). For his career, see Bindoff (ed.), *House of Commons*, vol. 2, 336-7. His mother, Blanche, married his father after the death on 30 June 1500, of her first husband, James Whitney (*Cal. of Inquisitions Post Mortem Henry VII*, vol. 2, no. 261), and Charles was probably born a few years later. He was presumably of full age when he stood as surety for James Whitney, when Whitney became receiver of Monmouth in 1524 (PRO DL 41/838, f. 148v.).

also succeeded his father in his many stewardships and other offices in the Marches of Wales. His father was not included with him in the grants of royal offices in the lordships of Brecon and Usk, which he received in 1523 and 1525, although these too are attributable to Earl Charles's³³ influence. Earl Henry was not himself highly regarded by Henry VIII, and after his succession to the title, he received no further grants of royal offices. His main residence was Chepstow castle, and although he is not recorded as visiting Monmouth, he probably did so on occasion. It is, however, uncertain whether he visited Monmouth as a consequence of his inclusion in a special commission issued in March 1525, to inquire into the murder of Richard Dyer of Monmouth.³⁴ The commissioners appointed with him were the mayor of Monmouth; Sir Lewis Pollard, a judge of the Common Pleas; Sir William ap Thomas, a member of the Council in the Marches of Wales; William Rudhall; George Bromley, deputy justice of Chester; John Salter, deputy justice of North Wales; and four others.³⁵ The inclusion of three judges and other lawyers in the commission, suggests that the duchy Council was anxious to ensure that the inquiry into Dyer's death was not influenced by any partiality on the part of local residents. Similar concerns about the partiality of local residents probably influenced the duchy Council in May 1527, when it issued a commission appointing Bishop Veysey, the president of Princess Mary's Council (the Council in the Marches) and the members of the Council, but no local gentlemen, to punish those responsible for maintenance, retaining and riots at Monmouth, problems discussed more fully below.³⁶

On 14 July 1528, Bishop Veysey, Earl Henry and many others were appointed to hold sessions in eyre in the lordship of Monmouth.³⁷ By virtue of this commission, the Great Sessions began in Monmouth in September 1528, and resumed after adjournments in the following December and March.³⁸ Neither Veysey nor Worcester is recorded as having been present at the sessions, which were, however, attended by an unusually large number of itinerant justices, including William Rudhall, John Salter, George Bromley, William Walwyn (the auditor for the South Parts of the duchy), James Whitney, Charles Herbert and four other gentlemen. The receiver's account for 1528-29, unlike earlier ones, records the number of days, although not the dates, of attendance of the itinerant justices. Rudhall was paid for eleven days, Walwyn for six, Whitney for five, and the others for three or four days. The total payments made to the justices for their expenses, recorded in the receiver's accounts for 1528-29 and the following year, amounted to the enormous sum of £104-4s.-6½d. Although Worcester was apparently not present when the Great Sessions met on 21 September 1528, he was directly affected by the first recorded decision of the itinerant justices who then assembled. On that day, Roger Saer *alias* Hopkyn, indicted as principal

³³ Robinson, 'Early Tudor Policy', 437-8.

³⁴ PRO DL 42/95 f. 86.

³⁵ Rowland Morton and Robert Wye, esqs., and John Jubbes and Edmund Gullylam, gents.

³⁶ PRO DL 42/95 ff. 94v.-95.

³⁷ PRO DL 42/95 ff. 100v.-101.

³⁸ The receiver's account for 1527-8, refers to the justices being at Monmouth '*mense Octobr' et Decembr' hoc anno*' (PRO DL 29/619/9945). It is probable that the account was written early in 1529, and that the Oct. and Dec. there mentioned fell in the accounting year beginning at Mich. 1528. The account fails to record that the justices met in Sept. 1528, and is probably wrong in referring to their meeting in Oct. Both Thomas Audley and Charles Herbert stated that the sessions were held on 21 Sept. 1528, and Whitney stated that they were then adjourned to Dec., and again to the Monday in Passion Week, i.e. 15 March 1529 (PRO DL 1/4, no. A4; DL 29/619/9945).

for the death of John Varthe, and Owen Fisher the younger, indicted as accessory for the same murder and also for rape, were committed to prison in Monmouth castle, and Worcester, in his capacity as porter of the castle, was bound under penalty of £100 for each prisoner to ensure their safe custody and appearances before the justices on the following day. The prisoners escaped before they could be brought before the justices on 22 September, and 'than and ther', as noted in a letter addressed to Worcester in the king's name on 1 March 1529, 'for the seyde escape a ffyne was assessed by our justices ther upon you to the sum of cc li'.³⁹ The escape of the prisoners and the consequential penalty was reported to the duchy Council by Thomas Audley, the attorney-general of the duchy, in order that Worcester and Charles Herbert, his deputy as porter of the castle, should be compelled to pay the £200 fine to the king's use.⁴⁰ There is no record of any response by Worcester to Audley's report, but Herbert responded by claiming that he should not forfeit £200, both on the unconvincing ground that the prisoners had not been convicted, and because he was not under-porter or under-gaoler at the time of their escape.⁴¹ Part of Herbert's answer justifying this latter claim is missing, but it was apparently based on the custom that all offices in the lordship were temporarily taken into the king's hands at the beginning of the sessions in order that the office-holders should answer any complaints brought against them on behalf of the king or the inhabitants.

Audley's report does not explain why Worcester and Herbert were both held liable for the £200 penalty, but it was Worcester whom the royal letter of 1 March 1529 ordered to pay the £200 to the receiver of the lordship. There is no record of Worcester's response to this order, which also ordered him to pay the 'reliefs' totalling £10-10s.-0d., due to the king on the death of his father in respect of Wyesham, Dingestow and 'Le Garth', held of the lordship by knight service.⁴² What is clear, is that Worcester never paid the fine or reliefs. These sums were still outstanding on his death in 1549, and continued to be charged on his heir, William, earl of Worcester, until he was granted a royal pardon for these and other debts in September 1558.⁴³ Although Worcester was held liable for the £200 penalty, the duchy's officers did not abandon attempts to secure payment from Herbert, who appeared in the duchy Court in Michaelmas term, 1532, and 'layed yn his old answer for th' escape'.⁴⁴ No further appearances are recorded, and the duchy apparently had no success in pursuing Herbert for the debt, nor in levying an amercement of £6 imposed on him during the sessions for retaining men contrary to statute.⁴⁵

The penalty of £200 imposed on Worcester in September 1528, was ten times larger than that imposed on the bailiffs of Monmouth for the escape of two prisoners at the beginning of Henry

³⁹ PRO DL 42/95 f. 105v. This letter summarises the events leading to Worcester's fine, and further details are supplied in Audley's report and Charles Herbert's answer cited below, n. 40. On 1 Feb. 1529, twelve men appeared in the duchy court at Westminster and confessed their perjury in acquitting Fisher and another for the rape and were jointly bound in £200 to pay such fines as would be imposed on them (PRO DL 5/5 f. 363v.).

⁴⁰ PRO DL 1/4, no. A4a.

⁴¹ PRO DL 1/4, no. A4.

⁴² These sums were charged upon Worcester in the 'Super' section of the receiver's account for 1528-9 (PRO DL 29/619/9947) and in later accounts.

⁴³ *Cal. Patent Rolls Philip and Mary*, vol. 4, 432-3.

⁴⁴ PRO DL 5/6, f. 8.

⁴⁵ PRO DL 29/619/9947, receiver's account for 1528-9, 'Super' section. The amercement was stated to be of record in the rolls of the sessions.

VIII's reign. The penalty was a heavy one, and there are other indications that the Monmouth Great Sessions of 1528-29 adopted a more severe attitude than hitherto towards offences and administrative negligence. This may be inferred from an obscurely phrased letter from the duchy Council written in the king's name on 28 February 1529, to John Salter, George Bromley and William Rudhall, the three senior lawyers attending the sessions.⁴⁶ The letter thanked them for their diligence in the administration of good justice in the sessions, and instructed them to proceed with the final determination of the sessions which had been prorogued to 17 March. They were informed that the king's pleasure was 'to take rodes [rods] in' for the sessions, a phrase apparently meaning that the sessions should administer severe punishment. Salter, Bromley and Rudhall were ordered to have particular regard to all penalties, forfeitures, fines, amercements and other commodities due to the king by reason of any offences and defaults, and were given full power to assess all penalties, which were to be reported to the exchequer of Monmouth for speedy action. On the day when this letter was issued, the letter cited above ordering Worcester to pay the £200 penalty was also despatched, and on the previous day, Richard Hassall, who had acted as the king's attorney at the sessions a few months earlier, was ordered to serve in the same capacity when the sessions re-assembled on 17 March 1529. No reason for the earlier prorogation of the sessions is recorded, but when the justices had met on 17 March, they clearly had much unfinished business to despatch, as by the conclusion of the sessions, they had imposed fines and amercements totalling over £74.⁴⁷ By no means all these fines and amercements were duly collected, and some are recorded as still unpaid years later. The nature of the offences and faults which gave rise to these penalties is not recorded. As the justices apparently concluded all outstanding cases, there was no reason for the tenants and inhabitants to offer the customary fine of £100 for the dissolution of the sessions. The receipts for the sessions were consequently much less than in earlier years, and as the sum paid to the justices for their expenses amounted to over £104, the holding of the sessions resulted in a substantial net loss to duchy revenues.⁴⁸

The decision of the itinerant justices at the 1528-29 Great Sessions to impose substantial fines on individual offenders, rather than to dissolve the sessions on payment of the customary fine, was a radical departure from established precedent, which raises the question of who was responsible for this change of policy. It was probably influenced by the attendance at the sessions of Salter and Bromley, both professional judges and members of the Council in the Marches of Wales. Their

⁴⁶ PRO DL 42/95 ff. 105v. – 106.

⁴⁷ The fines and amercements imposed in the Great Sessions held in Sept. and Nov. 1528 and in March 1529, are recorded in the 'onus' sides of the ministers' accounts for the lordship for 1528-9 (PRO DL 29/601/9627), and in the receiver's account for the same year (PRO DL 29/619/9947). There are minor differences in the sums recorded in the two documents as being charged on the ministers responsible for collecting revenues from subordinate lordships or manors. The sums shown in the ministers' accounts total £74-11s.-0/d., as compared with £71-18s.-9/d. in the receiver's account. The 'onus' sides of these accounts do not name the persons on whom the fines or amercements were imposed, but those who had not paid their fines or amercements when the receiver's account was closed, are listed with other outstanding debts relating to the sessions held in 21 Henry VIII in the 'Super' section of the receiver's account, and also in later accounts if the fines or amercements remained unpaid (PRO DL 29/619/9949, 9954, 9956).

⁴⁸ The payment of £83-7s.-9d. is recorded in the receiver's account for 1527-8 (PRO DL 29/619/9945). For the dates when the itinerant justices met, see n. 38 above. A further sum of £20-16s.-9/d. was paid to the justices for their expenses at their resumed meeting in March 1529 (PRO DL 29/619/9947).

inclusion in the commission of 18 July 1528, together with Bishop Veysey, the president of the Council, who did not attend the sessions, may reflect the enhanced role in the administration of justice in the Marches which the Council assumed when it was enlarged and re-constituted in July and August 1525, as Princess Mary's Council. The itinerant justices who held the Great Sessions at Monmouth in 1523, did not include any member of the Council, but Bishop Veysey and the members of the Council were appointed by the commission issued in May 1527, discussed below, to punish those responsible for maintenance, retaining and riots at Monmouth. The membership of that commission and the commission of 18 July 1528, shows members of the Council in the Marches so described taking part in the administration of justice in a particular marcher lordship, but the membership of these commissions remained the responsibility of the Council of the duchy of Lancaster. The decision to prorogue the sessions was apparently taken by the itinerant justices themselves, as the royal letter issued by the duchy on 28 February 1529, about the remaining work of the sessions, referred to them as 'not yett dissolved, but for certen consideracionz by your wysdomez proroged to be contynued'.⁴⁹ The reference in the letter to the king's pleasure being to take rods ('rodes') in for the sessions confirms the impression that the justices had been instructed to make the punishment of offenders their priority. It is unlikely that the king had expressed any views on the matter, and it was almost certainly the duchy Council, headed by the chancellor of the duchy, Sir Thomas More, which was responsible for giving the justices this remit.

The Great Sessions held at Monmouth in the 1530s, are less well-recorded than those of the preceding decade, and there is some uncertainty about their dates. The receiver's account for 1529-30, refers to the Great Sessions held there in September 'this year', [i.e. 1530], as having been adjourned to the Monday after Passion Sunday, [i.e. 27 March 1531], and records that £26-14s.-1d. was paid to the itinerant justices for their expenses.⁵⁰ The account does not name any of the justices, and no record has been found of the commission appointing them. As the receiver's accounts for the following three years do not survive, the outcome of these sessions is uncertain. The account for 1533-34, makes no reference to any payments of fine or tallage for the dissolution of any Great Sessions held in the preceding years, but there is evidence suggesting that sessions were held during this period which imposed individual fines on offenders. Among other outstanding debts recorded for 1533-34, are three fines of 13s.-4d., imposed on William ap Richard and his sons, for not appearing at the sessions as shown by the rolls of the sessions held there in the years 22 and 23 Henry VIII, probably the accounting years ending Michaelmas 1530 and 1531.⁵¹ The same account also records money due from Philip Morgan of Skenfrith, beadle of the manor of Monmouth, for fines and ameracements imposed on diverse persons at the Great Sessions held at Monmouth in 24

⁴⁹ Particulars of the fines, ameracements and other sums assessed at the Great Sessions in March 1529, were sent to the duchy chamber by William Rudhall and other itinerant justices and in July 1529, Whitney was ordered to levy them (PRO DL 95/42 ff. 107v.-108).

⁵⁰ PRO DL 29/619/9949, account for year ended Mich. 1530. The sum of £4-1s.-8d. was also paid for the expenses of the Great Sessions held in the lordship of Ebbw.

⁵¹ PRO DL 29/619/9954, 'Super' section. Although Philip William ap Richard and David William ap Richard are not described as the sons of William ap Richard, he was presumably their father.

Henry VIII,⁵² probably the accounting year ending Michaelmas 1532, and a total of £107-9s.-0d., due from the burgesses and community of Monmouth for fines and amerancements shown in the rolls of the Great Sessions, also apparently held in 24 Henry VIII. In view of this evidence for the holding of the Great Sessions during the year ending Michaelmas 1532, it is surprising that the sessions were next held less than two years later, as the receiver's account for 1533-34 records receipts from the fine for the dissolution of the Great Sessions held at Monmouth in September 1533.⁵³ These sessions were held before John Coningsby, the receiver-general of the duchy, and his fellow itinerant justices, and the account records the receipt of the first instalment of the £100 fine. It also records fines totalling £20 imposed by the justices on four offenders for certain felonies as shown in an extract from the rolls of the sessions in the hand of James Hadley, one of the justices.⁵⁴ The receiver's account for 1536-37, records payment of the last instalment of the fine paid for the dissolution of these sessions, which were to be the last held in the lordship.⁵⁵ Their continuation would have been incompatible with the inclusion of the newly-created county of Monmouthshire within the jurisdiction of the royal courts at Westminster and the royal justices of assize, as provided by the Act of Union of 1536.⁵⁶

As the Great Sessions were held infrequently and often dissolved without reaching judgments on most cases brought before them, we may assume that felonies and lawsuits between parties were usually tried at courts held by the deputy steward of the lordship. Regrettably, little evidence about these courts survives. A deposition made by John Philip Morgan of Skenfrith in 1554, about the courts of the lordship, mentions that before 'the alteration of the lawes in Wales' [i.e. the Act of Union of 1536 and subsequent legislation], the lordship 'had jurisdiction to hold all maner of ples', but says nothing about how often, or where, the courts met.⁵⁷ An isolated reference to them in 1527, does not greatly clarify the situation. In that year, William Watkyn of

⁵² PRO DL 29/619/9954, receiver's account for 25-26 Henry VIII, 1533-34, 'Super' section, records the sum due from the burgesses as being arrears 'this year', but the entry in the account for the following year (PRO DL 29/619/9956), records the same sum, still unpaid, as relating to arrears for 24 Henry VIII. This is probably correct, as if the sum had been due in respect of 25 Henry VIII, it would presumably have been recorded on the 'onus' side of PRO DL 29/619/9954 as being due from Monmouth town and manor.

⁵³ PRO DL 29/619/9954, 'onus' side entry. The reference in the entry to the month in 25 Henry VIII when the sessions were held indicates that the reference is to the regnal year. The entry does not give the day in Sept. when the sessions were held. The commission appointing the justices who attended these Great Sessions has not been identified. Only John Coningsby and James Hadley are named on PRO DL 29/619/9954, and neither of these was included in a commission issued on 18 Feb. 1533 for holding the sessions in the lordship (PRO DL 42/95 f. 128). Those named in this commission are Henry, earl of Worcester, Thomas Hoskyn, then mayor of Monmouth, John Scudamore, John Arnold and Rowland Morton, esqs., Thomas Lane, John ap Guillam, serjeant-at-arms and Thomas ap [rest of name omitted]. James Hadley is presumably the Somerset esquire whose will was proved in 1537.

⁵⁴ John ap Richard Kenvyn and Thomas Buccher were each fined 100s. and Roger Hopkyn £6-13s.-4d. for breaking prison and John ap Hoell Morgan was fined 66s.-8d. Three of these fines, but not that of Thomas Buccher, were still outstanding in the following year (PRO DL 29/619/9956).

⁵⁵ PRO DL 29/620/9960.

⁵⁶ The Act of 27 Henry VIII, cap. 24, enacted in the same session as the Act of Union of 1536, provided that justices in eyre and other justices should be appointed only by royal letters patent under the king's Great Seal, thereby depriving other marcher lords, such as the earl of Worcester, of the power to make such appointments.

⁵⁷ PRO DL 3/62 no. R6a. For John Philip Watkin (d. c. 1559), see Bindoff (ed.), *Commons*, vol. 2, 628-9.

'Tavernbauche', arrested for felony, should have appeared at the court of White Castle on 15 May and thereafter from court to court, until he was acquitted before the steward or his lieutenant (deputy), but although summoned to appear at the king's court of White Castle held at Grosmont on 31 July 1527, Watkyn failed to appear.⁵⁸ His neighbour, Walter Hopkyn, who had stood surety for his appearance, consequently forfeited a penalty of £20. Courts held at White Castle and Monmouth are also mentioned in a later reference to Walter Hopkyn, William Watkyn and two others as owing £40 between them in forfeitures.⁵⁹ These references suggest that the courts held by the deputy steward at Grosmont and White Castle, and probably at Skenfrith also, tried felonies and other pleas arising in these lordships. Evidence for repairs to the gallows at Grosmont and at Llantilio in the lordship of White Castle during Henry VII's reign, also suggests that these courts had power to try and execute felons and to levy fines for pardoning them. It is therefore surprising that the receiver's accounts do not mention payments for the custody and execution of prisoners, and include only occasional references to fines and penalties. The paucity of references in these accounts to the administration of justice before the 'alteracion of the lawes in Wales' is particularly frustrating in view of the complete loss of the court rolls of the lordship.

The consequences of the Act of Union of 1536 for the administration of the lordship of Monmouth are poorly recorded in contemporary sources. The royal officials who drafted the Act recognised the importance of Monmouth as one of the larger towns of South Wales, by designating it as the shire town and giving its name to the new county.⁶⁰ The Act provided that the sheriffs', or county court, should be held at Monmouth or Newport alternately, and that a burgess for the borough of Monmouth should be elected for parliament with fees payable by Monmouth and the other ancient boroughs in the shire. The general provisions of the Act relating to Monmouthshire also affected the lordship and borough of Monmouth. The requirement that the sheriff, escheators and coroners in Monmouthshire should exercise their offices as those officers did in England, no doubt curtailed the role of the duchy officers, and the obligation on the sheriff to appear before the justices of the peace for the county at Quarter Sessions, probably led them to meet at Monmouth more frequently than elsewhere in the county.⁶¹ The new status conferred on Monmouth by the Act prompted Bishop Lee, the president of the Council in the Marches, to visit the town in June 1536.⁶² He reported to Cromwell that as Monmouth was to be a shire town, and the Council must go there, the stone and timber from Monmouth priory should be reserved for repairing the castle, which at the cost of £200, would make a convenient lodging for the Council. In the event, Lee's recommen-

⁵⁸ PRO DL 29/619/9943, receiver's account for 1526-27, 'Super' section. In Mich. term 1528, Hopkyn appeared before the duchy Council in response to an order to pay the £20 (PRO DL 5/5 f. 358).

⁵⁹ PRO DL 29/619/9947, account for 1528-29, allowances. The entry records that by a warrant under his sign manual, the king had granted the £40 owing as forfeitures to four named servants of Princess Mary as a reward.

⁶⁰ 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, sections 3, 28. The section numbers of this statute here cited are those used in Bowen, I., *The Statutes of Wales* (London, 1908). For a general discussion of the provisions of the Act of Union relating to Monmouthshire, see Howell, B., *Law and Disorder in Tudor Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1995) xviii-xxiv and Robinson, *Early Tudor Gwent* chap. 5.

⁶¹ 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, sections 4, 22.

⁶² LP 10 no. 1178, transcribed in Wright, T., *A History of Ludlow* (London, 1852) 385-7. Some information about the priory's property shortly before and after its dissolution is given in Kissack, *Monmouth* 99-102. Lee stated that the castle was in ruin, the hall and walls excepted.

dition for using material from the priory for repairing Monmouth castle was not implemented, and there is no evidence that Monmouth was included among the towns where meetings of the Council in the Marches were held.

The gentlemen appointed to the new offices created by the Act were drawn from all parts of the county, and included some who already held office in the lordship of Monmouth by duchy appointments. On 17 November 1540, Charles Herbert of Troy, the deputy steward, was appointed the first sheriff of Monmouthshire, an office to which he was again appointed in 1548,⁶³ and he and James Whitney, the receiver of Monmouth, were included in the earliest surviving commission of the peace for the county issued in March 1542.⁶⁴ The only pre-1550 record of the presence of the justices of the peace at Monmouth, relates to 18 October 1546, when the then sheriff, John Kemeys, entered into an indenture there with ten justices recording that he had paid them a total of £6-12s.-0d. in wages for their attendance at sessions held between 30 September 1545 and 24 June 1546.⁶⁵ Before the implementation of Henry VIII's legislation for Wales, the leading gentry of the lordships which were then included in Monmouthshire, had had no occasion to assemble to discuss public business as they did at Monmouth in October 1546. Meetings such as these arising from the administration of the new county, probably led them to collaborate more closely in dealing with the problems of local government than they had done previously. One of the major changes introduced by the Act of Union was the inclusion of Monmouthshire within the jurisdiction of the royal law courts at Westminster and the justices of assize, drawn from those courts when on circuit. Monmouthshire was included in the Oxford circuit from July 1541, and two justices of assize sat at Monmouth at the end of that month, but no record survives of their activities there.⁶⁶

One of the further consequences of the legislation of 1536, was to relieve the receiver of Monmouth of his responsibility for collecting tallages for the dissolution of the Great Sessions, but otherwise his duties were not much affected. James Whitney continued to hold the receivership of Monmouth until his death in August 1545. From 1530 onwards, his accounts record substantial and increasing arrears, partly attributable to his being charged with uncollectable debts, such as the £200 penalty imposed on Henry, earl of Worcester in 1528, and the total of £107-9s.-0d., due from the burgesses of Monmouthshire for fines and amercements imposed in the Great Sessions in September 1533. Whitney continued to make deliveries of money to the duchy officers at Westminster until shortly before his death, but the sums delivered fluctuated more widely than they had done when Sir William Herbert held the receivership, falling well below £200 in some years. The reasons for this are unclear, and would probably remain so even if a more complete series of accounts had survived. After Whitney's death, he was succeeded in the receivership by his younger half-brother, Charles Herbert of Troy, who had held office in the lordship for some years as deputy steward under Henry, earl of

⁶³ PRO, *Lists and Indexes* no. 9 (London, 1908) 83. Hugh Huntley was appointed clerk of the peace and clerk of the Crown in Monmouthshire on 27 July 1540 (*LP* 15 no. 942 (116)).

⁶⁴ PRO E 371/313 mm. 21-2. For later commissions of the peace for Monmouthshire, see Phillips, J.R.S., *The Justices of the Peace in Wales and Monmouthshire 1541-1698* (Cardiff, 1975) 344-69.

⁶⁵ PRO E 199/29/1. The justices who were parties to the indenture were Rowland Morgan, William John Thomas, John ap Harry, William Johns, clerk, John Gunter, Charles Herbert, Thomas Herbert, John Smyth, clerk, William Herbert and Walter Herbert. John Waters, clerk of the peace, was also a party.

⁶⁶ 27 Henry VIII, cap. 26, section 4. For the implementation of these provisions see Robinson, *Early Tudor Gwent* 55, and the references cited in notes 55 and 57 relating to that page.

Worcester. By the 1530s, Herbert clearly had good contacts at court, where his mother, Blanche, was a gentlewoman in royal service.⁶⁷ He was one of the select group who joined the prestigious corps of gentlemen pensioners on its establishment late in 1539.⁶⁸ As the royal standard bearer during Henry VIII's campaign in France in 1544, he evidently won the king's favour,⁶⁹ and when he claimed his fees for the receivership on assuming the office after Whitney's death, he maintained that he held it by the king's oral grant.⁷⁰ Over two years passed before he was granted the receivership of Monmouth and other associated lands by letters patent of 29 November 1547 under the duchy seal,⁷¹ and by that date, it was already clear that his failure to perform his duties was proving disastrous for the duchy. He made no deliveries of any of the money due from him for the year ending Michaelmas 1547,⁷² and his continued failure to meet his obligations eventually led to his dismissal from office.

The forgoing broadly chronological account of the administration of the lordship of Monmouth has omitted reference to some recurrent problems which claimed the attention of the duchy Council during Henry VIII's reign, and merit separate discussion. These include the difficulties experienced by some office-holders who had responsibility for the custody of prisoners at Monmouth. The imposition of a penalty of £200 on Henry, earl of Worcester, in 1528, for the escape of two prisoners had already been discussed, but escapes that occurred at Monmouth early in Henry VIII's reign, also led to penalties. In December 1509, the two burgesses of Monmouth then serving as the town's bailiffs, Walter Baker and John Hoskyn, arrested two men on suspicion of felony and committed them to the king's gaol in their charge.⁷³ According to a complaint which Hoskyn made in chancery after leaving office, he and Baker had previously agreed that each in turn should take sole charge of the gaol and prisoners during alternate weeks, and that in the event of an escape, the bailiff then in charge should discharge the other of any responsibility.⁷⁴ Hoskyn claimed that during a week when Baker was in charge, the two suspects escaped, 'hou god knoweth', and according to a later duchy order, they then took the privilege of sanctuary of St John. Hoskyn maintained that whereas he had kept the prisoners nightly in the stocks, Baker had not done so, and sent them two pieces of canvas with which they made towels and escaped, later describing Baker as a 'gentill yoman', and Hoskyn as a churl.

Having been informed of the escape, the duchy Council in May 1510, instructed William Herbert of Troy and Edmund Wibly to make inquiry and, if they found the bailiffs at fault, to order them to pay a forfeiture of £10 to two royal servants, John Bunting and John Rokys.⁷⁵ Bunting, a

⁶⁷ References to Blanche Herbert in this capacity include *LP* 10 no. 1257, 9; 11 no. 117; 12 pt. 1, p. 320; 13 pt. 2 no. 1280 f. 55; 16 no. 380 f. 110, no. 1489 f. 166b. She was granted an annuity of £6-8s.-10½d. in 1544 (*LP* 19 pt. 1 no. 141 (46)). In the exchange of New Year gifts on 1 Jan. 1534, the king gave Lady Herbert a gilt cruise with a cover and she gave the king a piece of fine cambric (*PRO E* 101/421/13 ff. 2,5).

⁶⁸ *LP* 14 pt. 2 no. 783; 20 pt. 2, p. 550.

⁶⁹ *LP* 19 pt. 2, p. 305. f. 72.

⁷⁰ *PRO DL* 29/620/9973, Herbert's account as receiver for year ending Mich. 1545, 'respite' section. He probably sought and obtained his oral grant from the king before the senior officers of the duchy were aware of Whitney's death.

⁷¹ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster* 651.

⁷² *PRO DL* 29/620/9977.

⁷³ *PRO DL* 42/95 f. 7.

⁷⁴ *PRO C* 1/142/34.

⁷⁵ *PRO DL* 42/95 f. 7.

yeoman of the king's vestry, was apparently a member of a Monmouth family and became one of the town's bailiffs in 1511.⁷⁶ No response to the duchy order of May 1510 is recorded, but it is clear that Hoskyn and Baker were not exonerated. The £10 penalty remained outstanding, and in Easter term 1511, they appeared before the duchy Council. Following their appearance, Bunting and Rokys informed the Council that the reason why the truth about the escape had not been found, was due to the 'berying and maintenance of certen persons' and in July 1511, the prior of Monmouth together with the mayor, were ordered to make further inquiries.⁷⁷ These failed to resolve the matter, as a further Council order, made in March 1512, blamed this 'bering and mayntenance of the meyr and other persons not well disposed' for obscuring the escapes.⁷⁸ Yet another inquiry was accordingly ordered, this time by the prior of Monmouth, William Herbert of Troy, and Edmund Wibly. In July 1512, Hoskyn and Baker were ordered either to pay the forfeiture or again appear before the Council under penalty of £40.⁷⁹ As no record of any further proceedings has been found, it seems probable that Hoskyn and Baker decided to pay the forfeiture. Their experience shows the risks that could arise from assuming municipal office, but as candidates for office were apparently always found, the penalties that occasionally arose were evidently seen as being outweighed by the benefits.

The problems mentioned above, arising from 'bering and maintenance' – the exertion of improper pressure in court proceedings and public business – is another topic meriting separate discussion. During Henry VIII's reign, the duchy Council intervened on several occasions to try to prevent local gentlemen and others from gaining control of the government of Monmouth by means of retaining and improper influence. In July 1513, the duchy Council considered complaints made on behalf of the bailiffs and burgesses, that 'certyn persounes of our [i.e. the king's] said town' intended to make 'certen gentlemen' burgesses, contrary to the town's old ordinances and customs.⁸⁰ It was claimed that if they were successful, the good order and peace of the town would be greatly subverted, as so many 'meane gentilmen' would in future 'labour to be officers and bere the rule of our said town'. The Council accordingly ordered the mayor, jointly with the bailiffs, to hold the king's court in the court house and, with the agreement of the majority of the burgesses, to proceed to the election of burgesses and borough officers according to the old ordinances and customs. Any persons not conforming to these instructions were to be reported to the Council so that further proceedings could be taken.

The action taken at Monmouth in response to this order is not recorded, but it failed to prevent further disputes about improper influence in the election of borough officers and the admission of burgesses. In Trinity term 1518, the duchy Council considered complaints by the mayor and some of the burgesses about long-standing disputes arising because certain burgesses and inhabitants had been unlawfully retained.⁸¹ These disputes had led to many great riots and affrays in the town, to the great disturbance of the inhabitants and loss of their goods. To remedy this, the Council

⁷⁶ PRO DL 29/618/9915.

⁷⁷ PRO DL 42/95 f. 17.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* f. 22.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* f. 26v.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* f. 32v.

⁸¹ PRO DL 5/5 ff. 126-127v. This decree in the Council's books of orders and decrees is undated, but is recorded among entries for Trinity term, 1518, and the text of an inspeximus of the decree made on 15 July 1518, is recorded in a book of formal Council orders for Henry VIII's reign (PRO DL 42/95 f. 55v.). Extracts from the decree, attributed to 1519, are cited in Kissack, *Monmouth* 115.

decreed that in future the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses and officers should be elected exclusively by twenty-five burgesses named in the decree, who were authorised to fill vacancies occurring in their ranks by majority vote among themselves. The decree also provided that office holders, or inhabitants retained by anyone other than the king, should be discharged from the freedom of the town and banished. The Council's intention in restricting the electorate of Monmouth to a small and self-perpetuating group of the burgesses, was to disenfranchise oppressive retainers, but the Council's confidence in the probity and impartiality of the twenty-five nominated electors may have been ill-founded. In 1521 or 1522, complaints made on behalf of the burgesses and inhabitants claimed that the decree of 1518, restricting the membership of the electorate, had been sought without the entire assent of the burgesses, and that some of the privileged twenty-five, four of them named, had recently taken bribes for their votes from the elected officers, contrary to the Council's decree.⁸² The Council accordingly instructed Sir William Herbert of Troy, the Gloucestershire knight, Sir Christopher Baynham, and William Rudhall to examine witnesses and make inquiries into the allegations concerning bribes. They were also to advise whether the Council's new grant of 1518 was prejudicial or profitable to the burgesses and which of its articles had been broken.

No record of the outcome of this inquiry has been found, but whatever action followed from it, failed to prevent the burgesses from continuing to be subject to improper influence. On 24 May 1527, the duchy Council, recalling that Monmouth was an old corporate town with many privileges, noted that nevertheless because many of the inhabitants were influenced by maintenance and retaining on the part of non-residents, justice was suborned, disorders were unpunished and all good customs violated.⁸³ The Council acknowledged that this situation was not the fault of the mayor and bailiffs 'who were or wold be of good mynd to dystrybute equally and indifferent justice of law'. To remedy this situation, the Council departed from its usual practice of instructing a few substantial local gentlemen to make inquiries and instead commissioned Bishop John Veysey, president of the Council in the Marches of Wales and the members of the Council, to devise and execute measures of reform and to punish all responsible for maintenance, retaining, riots and other offences which the mayor and bailiffs lacked the power to redress. The response of Bishop Veysey and the other members of the Council in the Marches, to these instructions is not recorded. Veysey and his colleagues were not specifically required to visit Monmouth, but the duchy Council's remit could not have been properly discharged unless some members of the Council in the Marches visited the town to make local inquiries. Although there is no record of any such visit, the decision of the duchy Council in May 1527, to appoint the president and members of the Council in the Marches to punish those responsible for riots and other offences at Monmouth, may have provided the precedent for the duchy Council to include members of the Council in the Marches among the itinerant justices who attended the Great Sessions which began at Monmouth in September 1528.⁸⁴ The members of the Council in the Marches named as being present at these Great Sessions were both prominent lawyers, namely John Salter (died 1532), chief justice of North Wales, and George Bromley (died 1533), deputy justice of Chester.

The action taken by the commissioners appointed in 1527, and the itinerant justices in the next few years, did not provide a permanent remedy for the complaints of Monmouth's burgesses.

⁸² PRO DL 42/95 f. 75v.

⁸³ *Ibid.* ff. 94v.-95v.

⁸⁴ PRO DL 29/619/9945, receiver's account for 1527-28, expenses.

In June 1537, the duchy Council noted that the mayor, bailiffs and burgesses of Monmouth were aggrieved by 'certeyn gentilmen borders ther' who had retained some burgesses and other inhabitants of the town.⁸⁵ This had prevented the burgesses from electing the mayor and other officers at the customary time, and from making judgements in the borough court. The inhabitants had been so threatened and endangered that they were afraid to do what was needed for the good rule of the town according to their old custom and the duchy Council's decree of Trinity term, 1518. The burgesses were said to be so disturbed by retainers in their elections and other affairs that many of the most substantial burgesses would be compelled to leave the town unless some remedy was found. The duchy Council accordingly instructed Bishop Rowland Lee, then president of the Council in the Marches, and Sir Thomas Englefield (died 28 September 1537), one of the justices of the common pleas, and the other members of the Council in the Marches 'to helpe to see' that the reported misdemeanours were reformed, the duchy Council's earlier order fully executed, and the burgesses and inhabitants enabled to live in quietness and rest. As with earlier orders concerning retaining at Monmouth, no record of any response to this order has been found.

A remarkable feature of the allegations concerning improper influence in elections at Monmouth is the absence of specific details about the events which gave rise to these complaints and the identity of the principal offenders. No bills of complaint submitted by serving mayors and bailiffs have survived, and no elucidation is provided by non-duchy sources. The main thrust of the complaints was that certain gentlemen were bringing pressure through retainers, bribery or other means to secure the election of their own nominees as burgesses and borough officers, and that their actions, which were evidently resisted, led to affrays and disorder. The reason why the gentlemen responsible for these misdemeanours were not named in complaints brought to the duchy Council was presumably because the gentlemen concerned lived in the neighbourhood, and the burgesses were afraid of retaliation. The complaints do not indicate what specific advantages the gentlemen who sought to secure control of the borough would gain if they were successful, but they and their adherents would clearly benefit financially through control of the borough revenues and borough courts. Conversely, the exploitation of borough revenues and court proceedings by a dominant faction would be detrimental to the majority of the burgesses and to the town's prosperity. The presence of retainers in the town's streets and alehouses would also endanger the safety of townspeople and visitors.

The records of the duchy do not name the gentlemen allegedly responsible for threatening the liberties of the borough, but there can be little doubt that the Herberts of Troy and their adherents were the main offenders. The fine of £6 imposed on Charles Herbert of Troy in 1528 or 1529 for illegal retaining is the only penalty for this offence found in the duchy's records relating to the lordship, and was probably imposed by the itinerant justices because of the prominence of Herbert retainers at the Great Sessions.⁸⁶ No direct evidence of retaining by Sir William Herbert (died 1524) of Troy is available, but he and his son, Charles, like most leading Welshmen of the period, may confidently be assumed to have had many retainers in their service. It may also be assumed that Herbert retainers, and members of the Herbert family, were sometimes involved in affrays. Charles Herbert's younger brother, Thomas, and Walter Whitney, probably a half-brother, were among a group of lesser Welsh gentlemen found guilty of publicly attacking and killing a former

⁸⁵ PRO DL 42/95 f. 144; 'borders' is a variant of 'borderers', i.e. people living nearby.

⁸⁶ See above p. 135 and n. 45.

sheriff at Bristol on 25 July 1527.⁸⁷ The other gentry families in the lordship of Monmouth cannot be clearly ranked in order of importance, but the most prominent was probably that later known as the Jones family of Tre-Owen and Llanarth, represented at this period by John Thomas ap David (died c. 1530) and his son William John Thomas (died c. 1565).⁸⁸ It is uncertain how often substantial landowners such as these, as well as those described as 'mean gentlemen' supported or opposed the Herberts of Troy when disputes arose, or how often affrays at Monmouth were mainly between retainers and townspeople. In view of the predominance of the Herberts of Troy, it is remarkable that the majority of burgesses and inhabitants tried as strongly as they did to prevent a gentry faction, presumably usually led by the Herberts or their adherents, from gaining control over the town. It is also significant that the Herberts continued to hold their royal offices in the lordship throughout the early Tudor period, although senior duchy officers must have known that the behaviour of their retainers gave rise to recurrent complaints.

If space allowed, this article could be extended to discuss other aspects of the administration of the lordship of Monmouth, recurrently mentioned in duchy records. These include the disputes that arose when the lessees of the duchy corn-mills, supported by the duchy Council, sought to compel the tenants to observe their obligations to grind their corn exclusively at the king's mills. Another recurrent theme is the sometimes strained relationship between the duchy Council and Monmouth priory, which suffered severely from maladministration in the years before its dissolution in 1537, despite the interventions of the bishop of Hereford and the duchy Council acting on behalf of the king, the priory's patron.⁸⁹ The surviving duchy archives do not provide a complete record of the history of the lordship of Monmouth in early Tudor times, but the information they give is far from being confined to the topics discussed in this article.

⁸⁷ Gunn, S.J. and Robinson, W.R.B., 'The Early Life of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1570)', *Welsh History Review* 18 (1996-7) 509-19.

⁸⁸ For the pedigree of the Herbert or Jones family of Llanarth and Tre-Owen see Bradney, *Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 2b* 305-7. Bradney states that the grandfather of John Thomas David, namely David ap Jenkin ap Howell, had acquired Tre-Owen and half the manor of Llanarth by his marriage with Margaret Huntley, one of the two daughters and co-heiresses of John Huntley, and was also lord of the manors of Cefn-y-ddwyglwyd in Llanvetherine and of Hendre-obaith in Llanarth, which had belonged to his grandfather, Howell (*ibid.* 301-2). Bradney also notes that David ap Jenkin and his son, Thomas, resided at Tre-Owen. The latter's son, John Thomas, appears as master serjeant of the lordship of Abergavenny in deeds of 1492 and later (GRO, Newport Library deeds D43 nos. 1354, 5104, 5101), but no longer held that office in 1526 when he made a grant of land in Hendre-obaith (*ibid.* no. 5122). On 7 Aug. 1527, he (described as esquire) and his son William ap John Thomas, were parties to a deed jointly with the latter's wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Walter Herbert (*ibid.* no. 5176; Siddons, M.P. (ed.), *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales* (London, 1996) 35). No later references to him have been found, suggesting that he died within a few years of 1527. For a brief note on William John Thomas, also known as William Jones, see Robinson, W.R.B., 'The Lands of Henry, Earl of Worcester in the 1530s: Part 3: Central Monmouthshire and Herefordshire', *BBCS*, 25 (1972-4) 482 n. 9. He appears as steward of Raglan in 1530 and for many years later. It seems probable that he and his father resided mainly at Tre-Owen rather than on their lands in the lordship of Abergavenny, but evidence is lacking.

⁸⁹ PRO C 115/34 no. 1937, lists the goods sold at the dissolution of the priory on 28 Feb. 1537. Some of these are mentioned in Kissack, *Monmouth* 99-102, where the state of the priory before its dissolution is discussed. The MS does not cite the regnal year of its dissolution, but the entries relating to the priory are followed by those relating to three monastic houses in south Herefordshire, which were dissolved in early March 1537 (28 Henry VIII).

SHORT NOTES

Monmouth Priory

In 2002, Monmouth Archaeological Society carried out an archaeological watching brief during renovations at the Priory Buildings in Monmouth (NGR SO 50862 12998), on the site of the Benedictine priory originally founded c. 1080.¹ These have revealed a rich twelfth-century midden together with the first evidence of a high status Roman building in the town.

The Priory Buildings required new drains, and Monmouth archaeologists took over the site when medieval pottery was found just inches below the surface. Sealed beneath the remains of a bonfire, a remarkably well-preserved layer of pottery and bones was uncovered, the biggest closed assemblage of twelfth-century material found in the town.

The deposit came mostly from the area of the priory kitchen and gives an idea of the lifestyle of the monks, some of whom lived at the time of the world-renowned Geoffrey of Monmouth.² There are many bones including those of various fish, cows, sheep, pigs and goats together with a variety of birds. Oysters were also on the menu. The ceramic collection consists mostly of locally-made cooking pots accompanied by wares from over the English border which help to confirm the dating ascribed by the Monmouth Archaeological Society. The monks' partiality to wine is reflected in pieces of middle twelfth-century tripod pitchers made in Malvern, and in jugs from Ham Green near Bristol which were coming up the Wye during the second half of the century. There are also pieces of a twelfth-century glass vessel.

Earlier periods in the life of the priory are represented by sherds of late eleventh to early twelfth-century oolitic limestone tempered cooking pots from the Vale of Gloucester, examples of which have also been found in the first Norman houses in Monnow Street. There are two other wares from the Cotswolds - tripod pitchers from North Wiltshire, and cooking pots with highly polished quartz and oolitic limestone inclusions from Gloucester, the first time that examples of the latter have been found in Wales.

An outstanding find is that of fragments of unglazed pottery roof tile of eleventh or twelfth-century date. These are very rare anywhere in Britain, and their inclusion in the priory rubbish in a Monmouth fabric is significant.

Monmouth was the site of a large fort during the Roman invasion of southern Wales and later became the third-century *Blestium*, which seems to have been a town of wooden buildings dependent on the iron industry. As stated above, the priory rescue dig has produced the first evidence of a high status Roman building in the town: *tesserae* from a mosaic were found complete with Roman mortar and pieces of *tegula* roof tile. There is a distinct possibility that these remains came from a Roman temple, and as the seventh-century church of St Cadoc is described as being 'below' the castle of Monmouth, it could mean that this has been a religious site for some two thousand years.

¹ See Kissack, K. and Williams, David H. (eds.), *A History of the Benedictine Priory of The Blessed Virgin Mary and St Florent at Monmouth* (Vicar and Parochial Church Council of Monmouth, 2002).

² *Ibid.* 9 (Harrison, Julian, 'Geoffrey of Monmouth').

– What was thought to be the natural red clay beneath the twelfth-century levels turned out to be re-deposited, and the original Norman ground surface was found some way below. And then, by following charcoal flecks in the next 'natural' red clay deep beneath the Norman horizon, another ancient humus was discovered - presumably the Roman horizon - but that has been left for archaeologists of the future!

Stephen H. Clarke

Research excavations in the decayed medieval town of Trelech, 2002

During 2002, continuing research excavations by University of Wales College, Newport, now in their fifteenth season, investigated a number of questions relating to Trelech, one of the two largest towns in thirteenth-century Wales. A total of fourteen test pits/trenches were dug, opening over 150 square metres, in June and July 2002. A small additional excavation was carried out in September. Specific research objectives, relating both to previous excavation and findings of the expanding programme of geophysical surveys currently being conducted, were addressed.

Resistivity surveys carried out on Court Farm, east of the Methodist chapel and village car park, indicated regular rectilinear features apparently fronting onto the modern metalled farm track. This farm road is a twentieth-century construction, but the survey, as well as the 1886 Ordnance Survey map, suggest that it was laid on the line of an earlier track/road. Since the most obvious interpretation of the survey is burgage plots fronting onto a road, a view strengthened by structure revealed in a test pit dug by UWCN students in April, it was decided to place three trenches near the road. Two of the trenches targeted high resistance readings while the third investigated a low reading. The high readings proved to be structural. A 10 m x 5 m trench on a prominent platform revealed a complex series of phases with early industrial activity giving way to a sequence of at least two rectilinear structures with rounded corners. These structures were defined by stone footings which, given their width and general appearance, seem more likely to have been foundations for timber-frame buildings than a base for substantial stone walls. Artefactual evidence suggests that all three phases date to the thirteenth/early fourteenth-century. A 3 m x 3 m trench on a second high reading revealed a compacted pink clay surface best interpreted as a floor. One post-hole was cut into the surface and three rectilinear concentrations of compacted stones placed on a gravel base seem to have served as post-pads, presumably in the interior of the structure. The preponderance of sherds recovered was medieval, and all securely stratified material was thirteenth/early fourteenth-century in date.

Located between these trenches a 5 m x 3 m excavation, subsequently extended, explored a low resistance reading. A well-defined stone-filled ditch ran at right angles to the road, presumably representing a boundary ditch. A later, probably post-medieval, fence or hurdle defined by parallel rows of stake-holes was slightly offset from the ditch but respected the earlier boundary. Significant amounts of pottery, including sherds recovered from the ditch fill, were thirteenth/fourteenth-century in date.

While this work was proceeding, a 10 m x 2 m trench was opened on a platform in the Crosshands Farm field south of the modern village and near the Olwy brook. A geophysical survey

undertaken here in 1999, identified a platform some 30 m in length, and subsequent excavation confirmed seventeenth-century iron working on the site. A highly disturbed medieval horizon underlay this activity. In order to clarify our understanding of the site, new excavation explored a different part of the platform. A small building with working surfaces on either side was indicated by beam slots. Three semi-circular features with charcoal and burnt clay that had been cut into the surfaces, may have served as roasting pits, presumably associated with the bloom smithing furnaces identified in 1999. Ceramic and other evidence indicates that this was a seventeenth-century horizon.

These features were removed and the trench was sectioned, in one part being excavated to a depth of 0.7 m. A compacted surface of slag, charcoal and burnt clay contained several sherds of late thirteenth/early fourteenth-century pottery. Below this horizon, an *in situ* furnace base and associated tapped slag run was revealed, recorded and retained for further study.

Three additional trenches, 3 m x 2 m in size, were dug; two of these trenches were located in the Crosshands Farm field between the platform and the Olwy. The third trench was dug on the north side of the Olwy, south of the features on Court Farm described above. A post-hole and a beam slot suggested structure in two of the trenches and each produced medieval ceramics. Most significantly, each of the trenches contained significant concentrations of hammer scale indicating smithing in contrast to the smelting activity seen in numerous previous excavations in Trelech.

Test pitting was undertaken in other parts of Trelech while this work continued. A geophysical survey in the Middleton House paddock north of the Court Farm road had suggested structure, and contours indicated at least three platforms in this paddock. The survey also indicated a linear feature which might suggest that the road running through Trelech Farm, which was excavated in 1998, was aligned slightly differently from the modern track leading to Middleton House. A test pit on one of the platforms revealed a stone base; structures on these platforms now seem likely. A second test pit revealed a stone alignment suggesting metalling consistent with the linear feature shown by geophysics. It now seems probable that this road joined the present road through the village at the point where it was met by the east/west road now assumed on Court Farm.

In 2001, the main focus of excavation had been on large and regular structures in Church Field West. Among the buildings revealed was a particularly large and well-built structure, with metre thick stone walls, roughly west of St Nicholas's church. A wide range of finds was recovered from in and near the building; among the most significant objects was a thirteenth-century *ampulla*, an intricately decorated pilgrim's flask. Since the footings of this building had been revealed in excavation on its north, south and west range, scheduled site consent was obtained to determine the state of preservation of the structure on its east side. Two test pits were dug along the wall line suggested by geophysics, with a third test pit investigating the road to the east of the building. Both the test pits on the wall line confirmed that the metre thick footings were intact; the third pit confirmed the metalling of the road.

Scheduled site consent was also gained for work on Trelech Motte (Tump Terrett), the motte and bailey castle. Geophysics and a contour survey suggested a north-facing orientation for the castle rather than the south-facing plan generally assumed. Clearly this was important both in terms of the continuing Trelech research programme as well as the specific doctoral study of earth and tim-

ber castles in Gwent and Eryng being undertaken by Neil Phillips who conducted the surveys and acted as site supervisor for work on the castle. A 10 m x 3 m trench was dug on the bank and ditch on the north side of the castle. The ditch was rock-cut as were two large beam slots across the bank indicating trestles for a bridge linking motte and bailey. A small offset post appears to have provided a brace for the bridge. One beam slot contained material including a large, probably Tudor, pot; an iron ladle; and the pelvis and two femurs of a horse. Early assessment suggests that the ceramic assemblage from the castle excavation ranges from the twelfth-century. One medieval coin, an Edward I farthing dating from between the mid 1280s to 1307, was recovered.

Work is now underway to assess the substantial amount of evidence resulting from these excavations. The north-facing orientation of the castle is clearly significant, and the implication that the main bailey of the castle extended towards the Village Green will shape our views on the development of the town. Similarly, the evidence of structure and implied road system on Court Farm and in the Middleton House paddock is important. Work in September demonstrated that the bank and ditch partially surrounding Middleton House was an eighteenth-century construction but the other major features noted are medieval in date.

It may be highly significant that this area around Middleton House is described on the 1848 Tithe Map Apportionment as Middle Town Meadow. Our understanding of industrial activity in Trelech has also been enhanced. A coherent medieval smelting horizon on the platform in Crosshands Farm field provides compelling confirmation that the seventeenth-century bloom smithing previously demonstrated represents re-use of a medieval iron-working site. Smithing at three locations near the Olwy also balances our picture of the economy of the town. Early work in Trelech demonstrated smelting on a large scale, but evidence of smithing was conspicuous by its absence. Recent work, however, has confirmed that smithing took place at several locations as well as smelting. Also increasingly obvious is the intensity of iron working along the Olwy with furnaces and associated structures extending for some distance to the south. There is now a growing body of evidence for substantial activity both to the south and east of the castle. There was also substantial activity in Church Field West. The large building now known to be at least partially intact on all four sides is clearly of great potential interest. It is too early to identify the structure as a hospice, but that is an interpretation consistent with the evidence presently available. It is hoped to make this structure a major focus for excavation in the summer of 2003.

Raymond Howell



Plate 1: Overall view of the Newport ship during dismantling, looking towards the bow. The ceiling planks have been removed but the stringers and keelson are still *in situ*.
Copyright: Nigel Nayling.

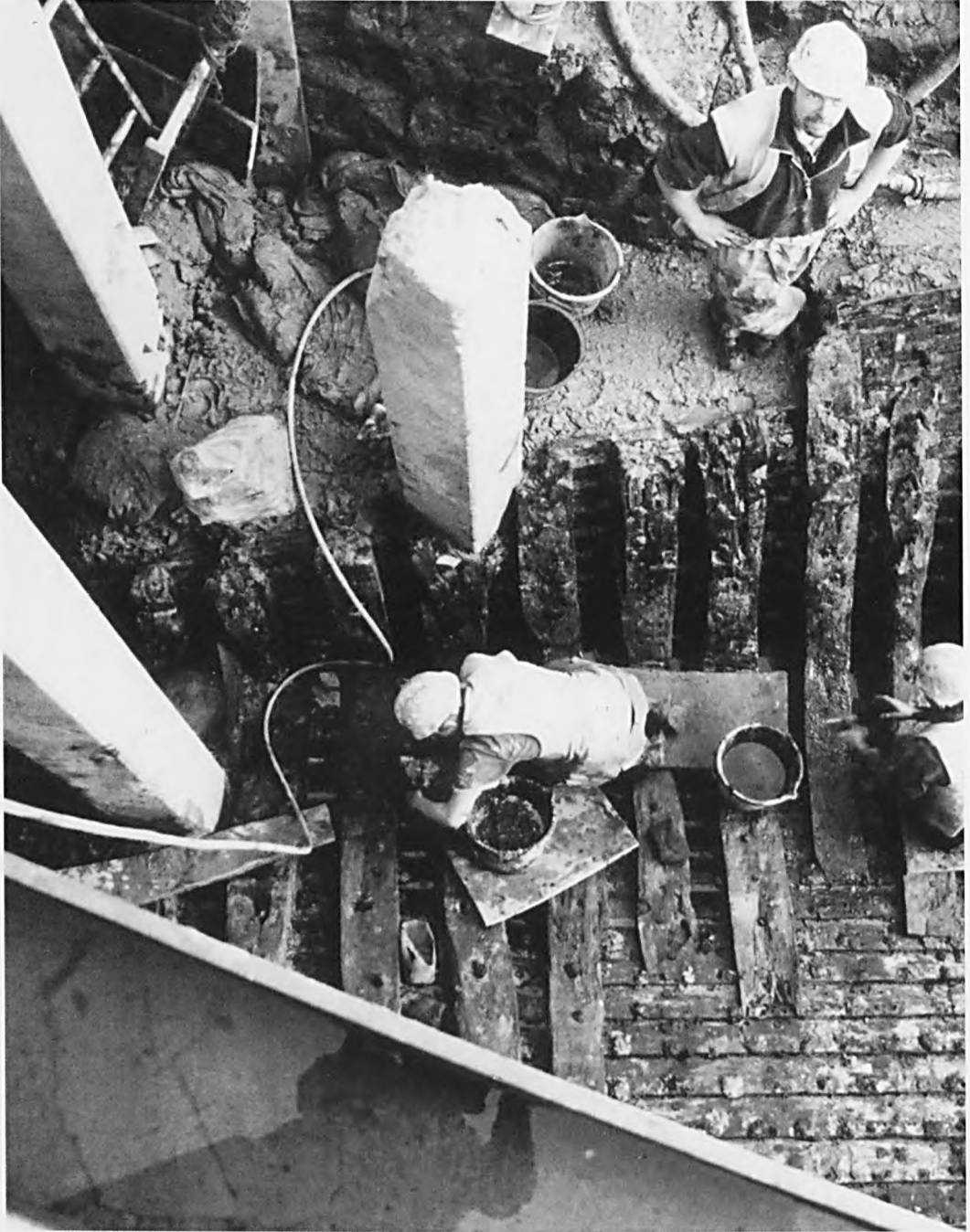


Plate 2: View near the stern with many of the framing timbers removed (except for aftmost floor timbers), showing the beech keel and the overlapping oak hull planks.

Copyright: Nigel Nayling.

Newport medieval ship

During ground works in advance of construction of a Newport theatre and arts centre on the site of Moderator Wharf on the right bank of the river Usk (NGR ST 31286 88169), wooden and other archaeological remains were noted by archaeologists from Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust (GGAT) undertaking a watching brief. Post-medieval features included a timber lined drain and the remnants of a stone slipway. The discovery of a small group of boat timbers, apparently laid out on the contemporary foreshore pointed to boat building or repair on the site. At the end of June 2002, inspection of two oak 'posts' revealed associated horizontal planking. Iron fastenings between the overlapping planks, and wooden pegs (treenails) securing the upright timbers to the planks, suggested at least part of a clinker-built vessel survived. Over the following weeks, excavation focussed on revealing the extent, nature and importance of the remains.

Numerous timbers scattered within the structure hampered progress but provided evidence for the ship's interior, decking and even rigging. The ship occupied the majority of the construction area enclosed by a cofferdam driven to allow excavation of a deep orchestra pit (Plate 1). During excavation, tree-ring dates from dislocated timbers in the late fifteenth century, along with fifteenth-century Portuguese coins recovered from within the hull, indicated a medieval date for the ship's latest use and deposition. The discovery of the substantial remains of a medieval ship (c. 21 m x 8 m), apparently built using traditional clinker construction, largely superseded from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g. the *Mary Rose*), elicited widespread academic and popular local support for its preservation and, with only days to go before a deadline for completion of excavations, funding from the National Assembly was announced. Subsequently, the ship was systematically dismantled, with individual timbers being lifted and transported to temporary storage tanks at Llanwern steelworks. Limited excavations underneath the ship indicate that a framework of roughly hewn timbers felled in the winter of AD 1467/8 had been laid out in anticipation of the vessel's arrival.

At the time of writing (January 2003), further excavation in the vicinity of the bow and stern is planned, and detailed recording and analysis of the ship timbers have yet to begin. Hence, whilst an outline description of the ship may be made, this is very much provisional. Almost 20 m of the beech keel were recovered, from the eastern face of the cofferdam to its forward end, where it was scarfed to an oak stempost. The latter has only been partially recovered, and had been damaged by the sheet piling, behind which the rest of it may be preserved. Any surviving stern also lay beyond the cofferdam, and awaits excavation.

The ship lay leaning somewhat to starboard, accentuated by post-depositional collapse/subsidence of the upper starboard side. Hence, although both sides of the ship survived to a similar level in the ground, up to thirty-four runs of hull planks (strakes) were recovered on the starboard side in contrast to the seventeen strakes on the port side. Timbers from sixty-three, closely spaced frames comprised oak floor timbers scarfed to oak side timbers, all carefully hewn in a step-wise fashion (joggled) on their undersides to fit closely onto the inboard face of the hull planks to which they were attached with oak treenails (Plate 2).

An oak keelson, fastened to the floor timbers along the ship's centreline, had a distinct swelling amidships into which a rectangular mast step had been cut, presumably to take a single mast carrying a central, square sail. The keelson was further secured by angled oak braces along both sides of the swelling, fastened to the underlying floors by square oak treenails, and butted against substantial oak stringers. These oak stringers apparently alternated with less substantial ceiling planks fastened to the framing timber with iron nails.

A major programme of post-excavation analysis including detailed recording of individual timbers, hypothetical reconstruction of the ship's original form and capabilities, palaeo-environmental and artefactual studies will need to follow completion of excavations on the site before the full potential of this internationally important nautical find is realised. The immense task of conservation and display will need to progress in parallel, informed by a growing understanding of this exceptional find.

Nigel Nayling

Two Seal Matrices from Monmouthshire: Gwent Seals X

The following seal matrices were discovered in Monmouthshire during 2001/2 and reported to the National Museums & Galleries of Wales.

1. A medieval seal matrix was found by Mr Alan Washbourne in January 2001, while searching with a metal detector at Trellech, Monmouthshire (NGR SO 498 052). It was first reported to Nigel Blackamore, Roman Legionary Museum, Caerleon, and passed to Mark Redknap for further comment. The matrix has been donated to the National Museums & Galleries of Wales (NMW acc. no. 2002.51H).

The copper alloy seal matrix is circular, with a diameter of 21.5 mm.

A shield: 3 bars wavy or nebuly. Engraved lines above shield and either side, perhaps simplified sprigs.

Vertical suspension lug on back with complex moulding, three transverse ridges between lug and shaft, which is hexagonal in cross-section. Height: 36 mm. The legend, between plain borders, reads:

***S'WILLMV:SOAREELLE or SCAREELE**

The seal of William Sorrell (?) / Scarel (?)

The three bars wavy do not correspond to a similar name in Papworth's *Ordinary*. To judge from the letter forms, the matrix is dated c.1280-1320. Though the name Sorrell/Scarel is not associated directly with Trellech, the date of this heraldic seal corresponds with its commercial peak: by 1288, the town was flourishing with a population larger than Chepstow, and at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was one of the eight largest towns in Wales (Howell, 1988, 60; Soulsby, 1983, 22,



Fig. 1. The medieval seal matrix from Trellech, Monmouthshire, and impression. Scale 2:1.
Drawing by Jacqueline Chadwick. Copyright: National Museum of Wales.



Fig. 2. Top: Lead seal matrix (left) with impression (right) from Rockfield, Monmouth.
Bottom: copper-alloy matrix (left) with impression (right) from Trellech. Scale 2:1.
Copyright: National Museum of Wales.

256-7). The manor formed part of the great lordship of Usk under Richard, earl of Gloucester and Hertford (killed at Bannockburn, 1314).

2. An incomplete lead seal matrix was reported by Mr Stuart Thomas of Abercarn while searching with a metal detector at Rockfield, Monmouth (NGR SO 47 13), in July 2002. It was subsequently reported to Mark Lodwick, the finds co-ordinator: Wales.

The lead matrix is the upper fragment of an oval matrix, now measuring 21 mm x 20 mm, but originally about 30 mm x 22 mm. The central motif is a cross with wheatsheaf terminals.

The legend, in large Lombardic letters, reads:

S. (R)VR

The seal of R..... ur

The lower part of a vertical suspension lug remains on the back.

Date: probably late 13th century.

Acknowledgements

We are most grateful to the finders for reporting their finds, and to Mr Washbourne for generously donating his find to the National Museums & Galleries; Nigel Blackmore and Mark Lodwick for information; Jacqueline Chadwick for the illustration of the Trellech seal matrix; Mary Davis for making seal impressions; and Jim Wild (NMGW) for the photographs of the impressions.

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Mark Redknap and David H. Williams

The Publications of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association

Our late Treasurer, Mr Eric Wiles, performed a signal service to the Association with his bibliography in *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, Vol. XIII (1997), of the publications and proceedings of the Association from the earliest times.

Members might like to know that, in addition to bound copies of individual nineteenth-century papers, there are two finely bound volumes held at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, containing all our papers published between 1854 and 1863 (*Castell Gorfod, Amryw 21*) and 1864 to 1882 (*Castell Gorfod, Amryw 22*), to which my attention was kindly drawn by Dr Huw Walters. Enclosed between their pages are a few loose photographs and newspaper cuttings. The latter relate to meetings of the Association, as at Goodrich and Tintern, but one tells how Octavius Morgan, our then president, had been able to procure for our Caerleon museum a number of manuscripts and seals left by Thomas Wakeman of the Graig. Also bound in the second volume is the printed report of our committee for 1881, telling of recent archaeological finds, and a letter published in *The Western Mail* (14 September 1888) from Mr John Ballinger, Chief Librarian, The Free Library, Cardiff, concerning publications relating to Monmouthshire.

The volumes also contain a number of manuscript letters fixed in securely at appropriate points. They are all addressed to Joseph Joseph, F.S.A. of Glamorgan Street, Brecon, clear proof that the volumes were once his. Letters (dated between 1856 and 1866) came from Thomas Wakeman. In one of them he outlines his family tree, in another he tells of his disappointment in being let down (regarding Monmouthshire tracts he had hoped to purchase) by one John Camden Hotten, a bookseller.

There are letters, too, (posted between 1871 and 1876), from our long-serving secretary, John Edward Lee, subsequent to his removal to Villa Syracuse, Torquay – though two are written on return visits to Monmouthshire when he stayed at The Priory, Caerleon (in 1873 – then still in his hands) and later (1876) at the Westgate Hotel, Newport. His correspondence with Joseph mostly concerned the progress of various publications of the Association, but in one letter he refers to his wife's health as the cause of their moving to Devon. Other letters (dated between 1884 and 1887) came from F.J. Mitchell of Llanfrechfa Grange, our then joint secretary, and (in 1883) from one of our members, Mr A.D. Berrington of Pant-y-Goitre, Abergavenny.

Under shelf-mark *XDA 1356 M84 (quarto)* at the National Library, is a similarly bound volume containing many of the papers published between 1859 and 1867. The spine boldly proclaims 'Vol. II', - but the Library holds no Volume I. It is clear from the letters in this remaining volume that it was the property of Octavius Morgan himself. His correspondents were: Mr Weston S. Walford of 7 Upper Seymour Street, West Connaught Square, London (1864-65), Revd N. Shafto Barthropp of Itton Rectory (1884) and Mr J.R. Cobb of Brecon (also 1884).

David H. Williams

REVIEWS

David H. Williams, *Ecclesiastical Map of Medieval Gwent*, privately printed, 2002; 520 mm x 710 mm; £10, plus £1 p. & p. (available from the author at 33 Heol Aberwennol, Borth, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion SY24 5NP).

In the Millennium issue of this journal, the then editor, Dr David Williams, published a series of maps of the ecclesiastical geography of medieval Monmouthshire. Parish churches and chapelries with their dedications, religious houses, granges, hospitals, holy wells and wayside crosses were all plotted. The wealth of information contained in these maps was staggering, but the constraints of publication in journal format meant that the county had to be divided into eight sections with considerable loss of contextualisation. David Williams has now re-published his survey on a single map suitable for framing or pinning to the wall. Some new material has been incorporated and the map is on a slightly larger scale, which makes the detail easier to read.

As well as the detailed ecclesiastical survey of the whole county, the map includes insets with more detailed treatment of the major boroughs and of the areas around Tintern and St Kingsmark. Another inset maps the main dedications of Gwent churches in the later Middle Ages. There is a gazetteer covering hospitals, Cistercian granges, wayside crosses and holy wells. Additional material has been added to all these between 2000 and 2002.

This map will provide hours of fun and years of inspiration for ecclesiastical historians of South Wales. In some cases, it raises as many questions as it answers. Who were Saints Mirgint, Cynffig, Hewi and Eruen, to whom one of the churches in Llangwm was dedicated? How did Abergavenny priory (Benedictine) manage to acquire some tithes-free land (normally a Cistercian privilege)? And how did the North Wales cults of St Winifred and her uncle St Beuno spread to the area south and west of Monmouth? There is material for a book (or a series of books) on the church dedications and related cults alone.

Inevitably, the compression of so much information into one map has resulted in some omissions and blurring of fine detail. If the map is to become the foundation for further work, what we now need is a more detailed gazetteer with full references for the identification and exact location of these sites. There is an inset panel listing the main sources consulted, but it is not always possible to link specific items of information with specific sources. Not all the dedications, for example, are to be found in *Parochiale Wallicanum*; not all the wayside crosses are in Elizabeth Harcourt Mitchell's *The Crosses of Monmouthshire*, published by the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in 1893. The notes on the earlier version of this map which David Williams himself produced for *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, Vol. XVI (2000), could be expanded and made available as a booklet.

The other crucial piece of information is the dating of dedications and of the lesser religious foundations such as hospitals and chantries. The maps cover a period of about a thousand years, from the foundation of the first churches like Bassaleg (whose name derives from the Latin *basilica*, 'great church', and represents a sixth-century linguistic shift), to the Reformation. We need to be able to peel off the layers, to distinguish first-millennium church dedications from late medieval cults. Not all the lesser chapels and chantries would have been in use at the same time. The very

complex ecclesiastical geography of Chepstow, for example, includes late foundations like the bridge chapel of St Anne and the chantry of St Catherine alongside chapels which seem to have gone out of use some time before the Reformation. This is not intended as a criticism: the chapels all need to be mapped. It is more of a plea for more of the substantiating information so that we can see what the landscape would have looked like at different periods.

In a work on this scale there are bound to be some niggles over detail. I have myself been credited by Dr Williams with identifying a Cistercian grange at Blaen Rhymney. I am not sure that it was ever an independent grange. It was a detached portion of the huge upland grange of Mynyddislwyn or Abercarn (on Dr Williams's map under its earlier name of Tref-carn). There is bound to be scope for more work as well. Not all the hospitals mapped here correspond exactly with those listed in such manuscripts as the 1291 *Taxatio*. Recently, the tantalising suggestion has been made that the substantial stone building whose ruins Ray Howell has been excavating west of the church in Trelech, may have been a hospice for pilgrims on the road from London to St David's. Nor are all the churches mentioned in *Parochiale Wallicanum* on the map. As well as St Mary's priory and the town church of St John the Evangelist, for example, Abergavenny was credited by Wade-Evans with churches dedicated to the Holy Rood and St John the Baptist. There may be good reasons for rejecting these claims: but at some stage we need to be told what they are.

David Williams's ecclesiastical geography also gives us a framework within which we can locate more studies of the spiritual life of medieval Gwent. Changes in dedication patterns, the iconology of wayside crosses and church decorations, all tell us about the devotional practices of the pre-Reformation church. Annette Burton's recent discovery of the location of the wayside cross in Llansoy, one of the additions to the map between 2000 and 2002, is another reminder of what can still be done. However small in itself, each piece of research, properly recorded, contributes to the advancement of knowledge about our county's past. Major studies like this map are not the end; they are the beginning.

Madeleine Gray

David Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, 2nd edition, Longman, London, 2002; ISBN: 0 582 77222 2; 150 mm x 230 mm; ix and 248pp.; £27.

William Marshal, a pivotal figure in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, is of special interest to members of the Association given his profound impact on the development of south east Wales. This second edition of the study by David Crouch enhances our understanding of his life and influence. The book, originally published in 1990 as *William Marshal: court, career and chivalry in the Angevin empire*, was already a standard text on the subject, and the new edition provides important new insights.

Much of what we know about the life of the Marshal is derived from an epic poem, the *History of William Marshal*, and Crouch has developed his account of the background to that work, particularly with respect to John, its author. He has also revisited the translations for quotations from this and other texts, presenting the material in a more 'user-friendly' form. There is a useful expansion of the section on Marshal's aspirations relating to unrest on the borders of Normandy in

1166. This date itself represents a refinement of the text as it appeared as 1167 in the first edition. The grant of Cartmel in Lancashire is now reported as 1186, 'and perhaps as early as Christmas 1185' rather than 1187 as in the first edition.

The new edition provides additional information on important individuals such as William de Longchamp. Reports of some military engagements have also been expanded; the battle of Lincoln in 1217 and the broader campaign of 1197 are cases in point. In the description of the latter, it is slightly sad to see the disappearance of the first edition's suggestion that at the age of fifty, Marshal was 'greyer and slower'. It seems an apt assumption. Those who still like to think of the conflict between Stephen and Matilda as the Anarchy may also be disappointed to find that while the text in the first edition described the "'Anarchy" as it is now called' the new edition refers to the "'Anarchy" as it was once called by historians'.

Among the interesting expansions of the text in the new edition is the section which provides analysis of Marshal's relations with his knights. This includes useful new information on the knight's fee in Wales. The sub section on tournaments, and Marshal's participation in them, has also been developed more fully. For Welsh readers, an area of particular importance is Marshal's role in Wales. Chepstow castle was pivotal as is made clear in the book. Also significant is the sometimes-overlooked importance of the lords of Caerleon and their impact, not only on that site and its immediate environs, but also on nearby Usk. The text provides a useful brief discussion of the lords and their relations with Marshal, particularly in the case of Morgan ap Hywel.

Altogether, this new edition is a useful and important contribution to medieval studies generally and to medieval South Wales in particular. The changes made in the second edition have made an excellent book even better. It is one which will appeal to scholars and general interest readers alike.

Raymond Howell

Robinson, W.R.B., *Early Tudor Gwent, 1485-1547*, privately printed, Welshpool, 2002; no ISBN; 150 mm x 217 mm; 98pp.; £20 including p. & p. (cheques to be made payable to 'Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association'; publication available from the author at 7 Shere Ave., Cheam, Surrey, SM2 7JU).

In the past, Gwent has been well-served by its historians, the doyen among them doubtless being J.A. Bradney, whose monumental volumes on each of its hundreds contain a mass of information and historical detail which continue to be invaluable research guides for the historian. Others have built on the foundations which he established and, using modern research techniques, have added significantly new dimensions to examine the history of Gwent, and subsequently Monmouthshire, in a more interpretative and structured manner. Eminent among them are the late T.B. Pugh and W.R.B. Robinson, both of whom have over the last half century, made the study of late medieval and early Tudor Gwent and other marcher lordships of south east Wales, their main field of study. As Robinson's appended list of articles to this volume clearly reveals, he has published an impressive number of studies, a large proportion of which relate to the Somersets, earls of Worcester (the theme of his research thesis) and the administrative history of Gwent, principally in the pre-1536 period.

The present volume, privately published by the author, dwells specifically on the government of Gwent during the half century before the Tudor legal and administrative settlement imposed on Wales in 1536-43. Despite its title, it is not a comprehensive study of Gwent, and the social and economic life of the region is not considered in its entirety. The first four chapters were intended for inclusion in the second volume of the projected county history of Gwent, but since the author realised that the appearance of new source material required a more thorough and extended examination, he decided to incorporate the studies in a separate volume. The last chapter, on the creation of the shire in the Act of Union, will, it is believed, form a chapter in the third volume of the Gwent County History, which is in the process of publication.

Needless to say, the five chapters contain references to a mass of original sources gleaned assiduously from public records and secondary material. Much of the detail derives from the wealth of facts and data found in Robinson's own publications in historical journals. Although rather short, chapter one proceeds to lay the basis of early Tudor administration in Gwent, and is a thoroughly researched account of lordships and office holders in Gwent in Henry VII's early years. This is followed by an equally short but well-documented chapter on the structure of government in Henry's reign, emphasising the contribution to administrative duties of Sir Walter Herbert of Raglan, son of William Herbert, first earl of Pembroke. Chapter three examines the role of Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, and Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the two most powerful of early Tudor magnates in Gwent, in early Tudor government. Chapters four and five respectively consider the administrative structure in the period immediately before the Acts of Union, and the impact of the Act of 1536, in law and administration, on the newly-formed shire.

It is evident that this study of Gwent, though limited in scope and approach, is an important contribution to the administrative history of the south-eastern Marches. It is thoroughly researched and fully annotated. The volume, however, is impaired by the unnecessary inclusion of seventeen empty pages intended for note taking by diligent readers. Moreover, almost one third of the entire text is devoted to copious references and a list of the author's publications to date. Indeed, the wealth of detail contained in this section forms a bibliography in itself, and is a very useful tool for further study. Genealogical charts of the principal families examined in the volume, maps of late medieval Gwent and possibly the Act of Union, and an index, are certainly omissions which cannot be excused by the delay in publication that they would have caused. It also seems inappropriate to include a chapter on Gwent and the Act of Union already commissioned for publication in volume three of the County History which will appear in due course. Notwithstanding these reservations, this volume evidently contributes richly to the historical background and interpretation of late medieval and early Tudor Gwent. It is published by a leading scholar, who provides an authoritative study of politics and administration in the region down to the Act of Union.

J. Gwynfor Jones

Rhodes, John, *A Calendar of the Registers of the Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester, 1457-1466, 1501-1525*, Gloucestershire Record Series, Volume 15 (The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 2002); ISBN: 0 900197 56 0; Hardback, 170 mm x 255 mm; xlii and 234 pp. (including Indices), 5 tables, 3 figs.; £30 (overseas £34 to include postage).

This fine and erudite volume transcribes and, where appropriate, translates from the original Latin, two of the six surviving registers of the priory of Augustinian canons at Llanthony by Gloucester. As the editor points out, the title of 'Llanthony Secunda' had no medieval usage, rather it was perhaps first coined by Archdeacon Richard Furney (1694-1753) who saw, and made notes from, the now lost register of the priory's most illustrious son, Prior Henry Deane, later a short-lived archbishop of Canterbury (1501-04). The two registers published are those of Prior John Hayward (whose father was a prominent figure in Gloucestershire), and of the Oxford-educated Prior Edmund Forest. This book will remind members of our Association of their recent excursion to Llanthony by Gloucester, led by the editor, John Rhodes.

The registers contain a great deal of interest to ecclesiastical and social historians alike. A grammar school was established (in 1512) 'within the priory for canons and boys of the house', and the lay master could accept other scholars 'provided that they do no harm'. An organ scholar was taken on in 1513, and a music master appointed in 1533. Both had to double up as servants, with the master (John Hogges *alias* Hodges) becoming organist of Hereford cathedral once the priory was no more. Other lay officials appointed included a carpenter and carver, a keeper of clock and bells and a refectorer and launderer.

There is a very detailed account of the election of Prior Hayward in 1457, with the necessary director, notary and witnesses appointed from without the community. There is no mention of any *secret* ballot. After 'Come, Holy Spirit' had been sung, 'the sub-prior chose John Hayward as prior, the other brothers confirmed his election.' There is much routine matter, like the presentation of clerks to the churches held by the priory, and occasionally of their resignations – as when Thomas Powmfray (on Christmas Eve 1522) ceded the living of Stretton Sugwas 'in the great hall of the vicars choral at Hereford'.

There were some ten recorded grants of spiritual fraternity, including one (in 1512) addressed to 'Mr Thomas Wolsey, S.T.P. the king's almoner'. Once a cardinal, Wolsey played a major role – fully detailed in this volume – in endeavouring to reform the Augustinian Order. Of Llanthony he wrote, in 1525, that he was 'reliably informed that recent priors of Llanthony have relaxed the rule, members of the community have put aside the fear of God and, both in dress and in conduct, are behaving less honourably than they should'.

A number of the agreements and transactions recorded in these two registers concern the lands and economy of the priory. There are several detailed accounts of the monastery's manors, like that of Prestbury close to Cheltenham (*Appendix 1*), where (in 1482) the tithe barn was in ruin and its repair was under way. There is a touching picture of a tenant doing homage and paying his entry fine in the chapter house of the priory on St Matthew's Eve, 1511. He kissed the prior, 'while kneeling and clasping his hands between the prior's knees'. There is also a valuable insight into the priory's trade, with considerable amounts of Irish linen cloth, and of salmon, herrings and other fish brought, in 1524, into the port of Bristol.

Monmouthshire readers will learn much about the union of Llanthony Prima with Llanthony by Gloucester in 1481, after both houses had led a more or less independent existence since 1211. The amalgamation seems to have been forced by Llanthony by Gloucester upon its former mother-house in Wales, and secured by a payment to Edward IV of 300 marks (about £80,000 in modern currency). 'Ill-governance' by the prior of the Welsh house, John Adams, was alleged. Was this a pretext? Henceforth the two monasteries were technically one, and the prior of Llanthony Prima was no longer elected but appointed. He became a dative rather than a conventual prior, with no longer ultimate responsibility for his house; a fact which Prior Forest of Llanthony by Gloucester was quick to point out, when he strongly objected to the prior of Llanthony in Wales being given, in 1515, a citation to attend a Convocation of Canterbury, implying a status that he no longer possessed.

Llanthony Secunda had the rectorial tithes of two churches in Gwent, those of Caldicot and of Llantrisant (Llantrissent), with modest holdings of land in those two parishes. After the Dissolution, the lands in the Gwent Levels were referred to as 'the manor of the Priory of Caldicot'. It was but one of four manors in that parish, and consisted of some fourteen holdings. The registers say little concerning Caldicot, but do refer to 'the rectory buildings' and to the tithes which included the 'tithes of straw, hay and other corn growing in the park or moors by Caldicot Castle'. Several years ago, the Association paid an evening visit to this manor.

At Llantrisant, the registers tell of a stone-tiled tithe barn, of 'a gate on the king's highway at *Hebll Freyngke*', of salmon caught in the adjacent river Usk, and of two pastures, 'formerly two islands, called *lez Stones* alias *Gregoise*'. Together they amounted to four acres. The members of a twelve-man jury sitting at Llantrisant in 1511, all had distinctively Welsh patronymic names, and found that 'on inspection, *Oyske* Brook is [the boundary] between the king's land called Walter's Land and the Prior of Llanthony's land of *Gregoes*'. The vicar, in 1520, was one Thomas ap Philippe.

Most, if not all, our members will have noticed at Llanthony Prima the ruins of its medieval gatehouse. This was, from 1511, the base of its new porter, William Phelipps, appointed that year with the usual livery entitlement. His stipend was but half-a-mark a year, but he also received a gown, perhaps a further five shillings, and seven quarts a week of conventual ale – a reminder that the priory had its own brew-house.

The Monmouthshire references form but a very small proportion of the great mass of contemporaneous material the registers provide, but this volume will yield a wealth of information to any student of medieval history.

David H. Williams

Roger L. Brown, *Reclaiming the Wilderness: Some Aspects of the Parochial life of the Diocese of Llandaff during the Nineteenth Century*, Welshpool: Tair Eglwys Press, 2001; ISBN: 0-948780-11-8; 135 x 210 mm; iv and 261 pp.; £15.99. (Copies available at the special price of £13.99 to members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, can be obtained from the author at Tair Eglwys Press, The Vicarage, Welshpool, Powys, SY21 7DP).

Roger Brown has been publishing monographs and articles on aspects of Welsh religious history for over twenty years and this new volume of essays follows the format of much of his previous work. As he himself states clearly in his introduction, ‘this book makes no claim to be a history of the Victorian Church in Llandaff’. In some ways this is a pity since religious historiography has moved on a great deal since E.T. Davies published his pioneering study of *Religion in the Industrial Revolution in South Wales* in 1965. What Brown has given us is a detailed study of developments in four industrial parts of the diocese – Aberdare, Nantyglo, Newport and Pontypridd – together with four studies of groups of rural parishes. The geographical balance favours Glamorgan rather than Monmouthshire. There is also an introductory essay on the man who was Llandaff’s bishop for the greater part of Queen Victoria’s reign, Alfred Ollivant. This covers the generally familiar (to church historians at least) ground of disputes between the established church and nonconformity, church rates, the financial structure of the Church of England and so on, relating these specifically to the diocese of Llandaff, but, apart from a very negative assessment of Ollivant’s proficiency in the Welsh language, has little to say about the man himself.

Unfortunately there is in this collection of essays an inability to see the wood for the trees. Brown assembles a vast amount of detailed information, much of it from original sources little-used by others, but he is much less assiduous at putting it into context. The essays in this volume all stand alone. Together they throw light on developments within the diocese in this period, but the reader has to do most of the work him or herself to paint this broader picture. A different approach, identifying unifying themes for the individual chapters, and then using a number of case studies to illustrate them, would have given a much better insight into the character of the Llandaff diocese in the nineteenth century, and would have been a more constructive step towards the fuller study of a diocese transformed by the industrialisation of the valleys, and the tension which that caused with the surviving rural oases in the Vale of Glamorgan and parts of Monmouthshire.

From the point of view of those wishing to explore further some of the issues raised in this book, the bibliography could have been better arranged. Primary printed sources are not separated from secondary ones and the listing of manuscript sources has been perfunctory. This exemplifies the author’s somewhat antiquarian approach, which fails to do justice to the significant research he has done in making available to a wider public the resources of both diocesan and parochial archives in Wales.

Nigel Yates

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Lynne Bevan is senior post-excavation manager in the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU), and a research fellow in the university's Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity.

Stephen Clarke, born in Skenfrith and now a resident of Monmouth, has progressed from being a keen amateur archaeologist to a much-respected professional, an achievement recognised by the Society of Antiquaries who elected him a fellow, and the Institute of Field Archaeologists who made him a member. He says that his M.B.E., awarded in 1996, recognises the achievements of the Monmouth Archaeological Society as a whole, especially its work in Monnow Street, Monmouth (1987). Under Steve Clarke's chairmanship, the society has won the Pitt-Rivers award twice (for the best projects by amateur archaeologists) and the coveted Silver Trowel. Steve Clarke also heads Monmouth Archaeology, the professional wing of the society.

Paul Courtney is a freelance archaeologist and historian based in Leicester. He was awarded his Ph.D. in 1984 from Cardiff University on the medieval and early modern landscape history of Gwent. In the 1980s, he excavated buildings in the Outer Court at Tintern, and he is the author of *Medieval and Later Usk* (1994).

Madeleine Gray lectures in history at the University of Wales College, Newport. She edited the final volume of Sir Joseph Bradney's *A History of Monmouthshire* for the South Wales Record Society (1993), and is one of the editors of the forthcoming Gwent County History. She is also the author of *Images of Piety*, a study of the iconography of late medieval religion in Wales and is currently editing a book on the Welsh Cistercians.

Ralph Griffiths is emeritus professor of Medieval History in the University of Wales, Swansea. His principal interests are the history of the British Isles and especially the relationship between England and Wales. His books include *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: South Wales, 1277-1536* (1972); *The Reign of Henry VI* (1981); *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (1985); *The Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy* (1988); *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (1990); *Sir Rhys ap Thomas and his Family: A Study in the Wars of the Roses and Early Tudor Politics* (1993); and *Conquerors and Conquered in Medieval Wales* (1994). He is general editor of the forthcoming Gwent County History.

Annette Hancocks is a post-excavation manager in the BUFAU.

Colin Hayfield, formerly of the University of Birmingham, is an independent archaeological consultant and pottery specialist, based in Warwickshire.

Simon Haslett, born in Caerleon and brought up in Usk, was educated at the Universities of Keele and Southampton, and obtained his doctorate from the University of Glamorgan. He is leader of the Department of Geography, Bath Spa University College, and his research specialises in Quaternary environmental reconstruction. He has published many articles and two textbooks – *Coastal Systems* (2000) and *Quaternary Environmental Micropalaeontology* (2002). He was awarded a Fulbright scholarship to undertake research at the University of San Diego, and is an elected fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and the Geological Society.

Raymond Howell is reader in History and Medieval Archaeology at the University of Wales College, Newport. For fifteen years, he has conducted annual research excavations in Trelech, a decayed medieval urban site. His publications include *A History of Gwent* (1988). More recently, with Professor Miranda Green, he was the co-author of *Celtic Wales*, published by the University of Wales Press (2000).

J. Gwynfor Jones is professor of Welsh History in the School of History and Archaeology, University of Cardiff. He specialises in early Welsh gentry society, and his many publications include *The Morgan Family of Tredegar: its Origins, Growth and Advancement, c. 1340-1674* (1995); *The Welsh Gentry, 1536-1640: Images of Status, Honour and Authority* (1998); and *Conflict, Continuity and Change in Wales c. 1500-1603: Essays and Studies* (1999).

Peter Leach was formerly one of the directors of the BUFAU, but is now an independent archaeological consultant, based in Somerset.

Julian Mitchell lives at Llansoy. He read History at Oxford, wrote about Nathan Rogers for the *Welsh History Review* and is contributing chapters on Monmouthshire in the late seventeenth century, and the Wye Tour, to the forthcoming Gwent County History. He is a well-known playwright and novelist, television and film scriptwriter. His best known stage play is *Another Country* and his films include *August* (Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* re-set in North Wales) and *Wilde*. He also wrote ten episodes of *Inspector Morse*.

Nigel Nayling lectures in nautical archaeology, and archaeological science and practice in the Department of Archaeology, University of Wales, Lampeter as well as running a tree-ring dating laboratory, and acting as a boat/ship and ancient timber specialist. Previously, he worked for the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, excavating numerous sites on the Gwent Levels including Bronze Age boats and bridges at Caldicot, the Romano-celtic boat from Barland's Farm, and the medieval wreck from the foreshore at Magor Pill. He is chair of the Severn Estuary Levels research committee (SELRC).

Mark Redknap is curator of medieval and later archaeology in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museums and Galleries of Wales, which he joined in 1988. He has directed numerous excavations, including St Columba's shrine, Iona abbey (1976); a sixteenth-century shipwreck in the Cattewater, Plymouth Sound (1977-8); and Llan-gors crannog, the semi-submerged island residence of the king of Brycheiniog in the ninth/early tenth century (1989-93).

W. Rhys B. Robinson is a native of Chepstow, who read Modern History at Oxford. In 1954, he entered the Civil Service, retiring in 1989 as an under secretary. A fellow of both the Society of Antiquaries and the Royal Historical Society, he is a distinguished historian who has published many articles in learned journals, a particular interest being the nobility and gentry of late medieval and Tudor Wales, including the Herbert and Somerset families.

David H. Williams, was born in Newport and educated at Bassaleg School and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he specialised in historical geography. Later, he was awarded his doctorate there for his published works relating to Cistercian history. An Anglican priest, he has served in Wales,

Libya and Poland, and has also acted as guest master of Caldey abbey. His interests include sigillography – he has worked in the Department of Archaeology in the National Museum and Gallery of Wales – but he is especially well-known and respected for his Cistercian scholarship, which saw the publication in 2001, of *The Welsh Cistercians* which brought together, revised, and updated much of his previous work.

Nigel Yates, a native of Swansea, has been senior research fellow in Modern Church History at the University of Wales, Lampeter since 2000, an appointment following a distinguished career as archivist and church historian. He has been an assistant archivist in the Carmarthenshire Record Office; borough archivist of North Tyneside; archivist to the city and diocese of Portsmouth; and whilst county archivist (and later head of Heritage Services) of Kent, archivist to the dioceses of Rochester and Canterbury. His publications include *The Oxford Movement and Anglican Ritualism* (1988); *Buildings, Faith and Worship: the liturgical arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900* (1991, revised edit., 2000); and *Anglican Ritualism in Victorian Britain* (1999). In 2002, he was appointed provincial archives adviser to the Church in Wales.

Notice – Cambrian Archaeological Association Conference, 13-16 April 2004

Our honorary assistant editor, Dr David Williams, is organising, on behalf of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, a mid-week residential conference based at The Hill, Y Fenni (Abergavenny) in Easter Week (*not* Holy Week) 2004, commencing in the early evening of Tuesday 13 April and concluding about tea-time on Friday 16 April. Entitled 'The Cistercian Landscape of Gwent', the conference will endeavour to place the Cistercian sites of the county within their European context, and will take account of post-war excavation and field-work by means of lectures and visits to relevant Monmouthshire sites. Full details are available from Dr Williams [dh.williams@ukonline.co.uk].

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES, 2002

Day Outing: 2 June, to Gloucester

We were joined on this very successful outing by members of the Cardiff Archaeological Society. Our first visit was to the beautiful church at Highnam, built in 1849 by Thomas Gambier-Parry in memory of his wife. We were fortunate in having as our guide Mr Tom Fenton, his descendant, who told us the history of the church, set in parkland with its parsonage, lodge and school, and explained the special process invented by Gambier-Parry for painting the beautiful frescoes, which he himself executed.

After lunch at Gloucester Docks, we congregated at Gloucester Blackfriars for an outstanding tour with Philip Moss of English Heritage. Built in the thirteenth century by Dominican friars, it survived after the Dissolution as the mansion and workshops of a wealthy cloth merchant. English Heritage is gradually acquiring the various parts of this magnificent complex of buildings and restoring them. We hope to return sometime in the future. At Llanthony Secunda, not very far away, John Rhodes showed us the remains of the Augustinian priory founded in 1134 as a daughter house of our own Llanthony abbey, away from 'molestation by Welsh raiders'. An ample tea was enjoyed at the Speech House in the Forest of Dean on the way home.

Day Outing: 14 September, to Herefordshire

On our final coach tour of the season, we visited Ledbury, Midsummer Hill and Hellen's, Much Marcle. After depositing some of our members in the town of Ledbury (I must not say 'putting down' for fear of being misunderstood!), we went on to Midsummer Hill to meet Allan Probert, who had undertaken to guide us in place of Stan Stanford, the original excavator. Here we really did have a misunderstanding, as Allan was waiting for us on the hilltop while we waited in the car park below! In his own inimitable way, Allan interpreted for us the main features of the Iron Age hill-fort, which enclosed twenty-two acres on a spur at the southern end of the Malvern Hills.

After lunch in Ledbury, we set off for Hellen's in the village of Much Marcle. Built before 1245 by Lord John de Balun, it has been lived in ever since by his descendants. It contains a wealth of period furniture and furnishings and excellent family portraits. After tea, which we enjoyed in the warm and sunny garden, we made for the church, where we enjoyed re-visiting the lovely Blanche Mortimer effigy and exploring the recently re-opened Kyrle chapel with its rich tombs.

Evening Visits

We enjoyed a wide variety of visits this season, some better attended than others. In May, we visited the neighbouring ancient churches at Llansoy and Llanfihangel Tor-y-mynydd, with Mrs Annette Burton and Dr Ray Howell respectively. As they are both experts in their field and also members of the congregation at the churches where they spoke, we had illuminating and personal presentations. A convivial supper was enjoyed afterwards at the nearby Star Inn. This might be a pattern we could repeat more often?

At Lydney Park in June, we visited the Roman temple and the private museum where the finds are displayed, under the guidance of Mrs Sylvia Jones, the curator. Our tour of the temple of Nodens turned out to be a rather strange, mystical affair, particularly as our guide could not contemplate having 'archaeologists running about all over the place', preferring to have 'a little dig around' herself every now and again!

At the Royal Navy Propellant Factory at Caerwent in July, we had our largest evening turnout ever! Your honorary secretary, in the interests of security, had to check in over seventy cars before we locked everyone in. On a wonderful evening, we toured the site under the guidance of Mr David Bassett, assisted by Dr Graham Osborne, who had worked there before the last war and who re-lived his experiences there most vividly for us. Now abandoned, the site has contained World War II explosives factories, a rocket testing station, farms and a Roman villa. A most evocative place still, it is now a haven for wild life.

Our last excursion of the season, led by Dr Maddy Gray, was a walk along part of the Cistercian way, the medieval pilgrim route going over the hills from Llantarnam abbey to the shrine at Penrhys. In retrospect, we should have planned this for earlier in the summer, as we found ourselves trudging up a wonderful medieval hollow way in the dark! Its survival in the middle of Cwmbran and a modern housing estate, is nothing short of a miracle. We must apologise to those members whom we lost in their cars *en route* – please don't bear a grudge!

Annual General Meeting: 16 March 2002

After the business meeting, an illustrated lecture on 'Island Archaeology: recent investigation of the Early Mesolithic site on Burry Holms, Gower' was delivered by Miss Elizabeth Walker, collections manager in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum and Gallery, Cardiff.

Annual October Lecture: 5 October 2002

The annual public lecture was delivered by Mr Nigel Nayling of University of Wales, Lampeter, at the Caerleon Campus of University of Wales College, Newport. His subject was 'The Newport Ship and the Maritime Archaeology of the Severn Estuary'. As Mr Nayling was the archaeologist conducting the on-going excavation of the important find of the fifteenth-century ship in the Usk mud at Newport, the subject of so much excitement and controversy in the city, the lecture was delivered to a packed audience.

Gwenllian V. Jones