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CONTENTS

GWENLLIAN V. JONES

Gwenllian with members of the Association in the Hollybush Inn car park, Draethen, on Saturday 25 April 2009, during the visit to Ruperra Castle.
(Photo: Pat Jones-Jenkins)

Gwenllian Vaughan Jones, M.A. F.S.A., died on December 8th 2009 after a long illness. She had been Secretary of this Association since 1986, when she succeeded Mrs Judith V.L. Leslie. In its 160 year history, the Association has had only nine secretaries, the first being its founder, John Edward Lee. Gwenllian did much to illuminate Lee's life and work and re-discovered his portrait, a copy of which now hangs in the Caerleon Legionary Museum. She described Lee's life and work in two articles published in our journal. Firstly, in Volume XIII (of 1997) she recounted every aspect of his life in 'John Edward Lee: A Monmouthshire Antiquary', and she appended a select bibliography of Lee's publications. Secondly, in Volume XVII (the special Caerleon Museum collection of papers in 2001), Gwenllian more specifically addressed, 'John Edward Lee and Antiquarianism in Nineteenth-Century Caerleon'. Further, as Secretary, she was responsible for the list of our members which appears annually in the journal.

I first became aware of Gwenllian in the car park of the Red Lion at Avebury. Professor Richard Atkinson had just conducted the Association around Avebury. Though Judy Leslie, then our Secretary, had a considerable knowledge of archaeological field monuments, the centrepiece of our excursions at that time was always 'The House'- a stately home. Archaeology tended to be fitted in around it. Richard Atkinson offered to take us up to West Kennet long barrow- a spectacular site shown us by one of Britain's most distinguished prehistorians, who had excavated it. Gwenllian, then quite a new member, said the unthinkable, 'I don't want to see the house. I want Professor Atkinson to show us West Kennet'. It says a great deal for both women that far from this causing ill will they became good friends, and Gwenllian Judy's understudy and successor.

It is fitting here to record the tribute paid to Gwenllian in our 2001 volume by the late Sheila Thorneycroft, in relating her own years of membership of the Association. She wrote: 'Since Judy's "reign" the Association has been very fortunate in her successor as Secretary, Mrs. Gwenllian V. Jones, M.A. An able and meticulous organiser, she has followed in the tradition of excellent outings, all personally visited in advance, so ensuring that arrangements and timings run smoothly'.

Gwenllian was born to a Welsh speaking family from north Wales in 1935, her father being a Methodist minister in Birkenhead. On leaving school, she read modern languages in Manchester University and spent a year in Strasbourg. On her return, she married David, whom she had known since her school days, the two families attending the same chapel. They first settled in the Merthyr valley, where David was in medical practice, and then in Swansea. Gwenllian retained a deep affection for Gower. When I told her after a meeting that I was returning to Gower her eyes would light up, and her account of the Association's field trip to Gower included a very favourable mention of the quality of the ham in the King's Head at Llangennith.

In about 1975 the couple moved to Newport when David was appointed to a post as Consultant Anaesthetist. Their arrival was an immense gain to many organizations in the county. Gwenllian returned to University, taking a degree in archaeology in Cardiff, took part in a number of excavations and went on to complete an M.A. She later organised a dinner in J.E. Lee's home, the Priory at Caerleon, now the Priory Hotel, on the exact 150th anniversary of the meeting there of 'friends to the formation of a Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon', which resolved that 'a society be formed, to be called the Caerleon Antiquarian Association'. Our 150th birthday was celebrated in style. The guests included the Lord Lieutenant and the Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of London and the Cambrian Archaeological Association, Lord Raglan making the main speech.

Apart from her indefatigable work for this Association, latterly carried out with heroic fortitude during her illness, she was involved in a number of other societies. She became secretary of the Gwent County History Association on its foundation in 1998. Three volumes of the Gwent County History have been published under the editorship of Professor Ralph Griffiths and the final two await publication. Gwenllian's contribution was immense, as the liaison between editors, publishers and the members. One committee member wrote 'without her hard work and dedication, it is difficult to imagine how the work could have been completed.'

Gwenllian was also involved with the Gwent Local History Council, the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust, the Gwent Historic Gardens Trust - which she served as secretary, and the Ruperra Castle Preservation Trust (as the photograph shows) - promoting awareness of Ruperra's importance. Last year she was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London for her work on nineteenth century antiquarians and her contribution to the County History. Her passing leaves a huge gap. The Association hope to commemorate her by the planting of a tree or shrub in the gardens of the Roman Legionary Museum, with which she was so closely associated.

Jeremy K. Knight

The Honorary Assistant Editor writes:

I shall remember Gwenllian and David's warm welcome whenever I visited their home, even when on one occasion they had only just returned from a cruise! We will all have many happy memories of Gwenllian, and for me not least will be the great effort she made, although clearly very ill, to be present in Llangatwg Lingoed church when I spoke to members of the Association there on 1 October last. It was a very kind gesture of support on her part. The next issue of this journal, in 2011, will be an edition in memory and honour of Gwenllian, a *festschrift*, containing scholarly papers written by those who were associated with her work and/or reflecting her interests.

David H. Williams

A *TIME TEAM* EVALUATION AT HAROLD'S HOUSE, PORTSKEWETT

By Steve Thompson and Vaughan Birbeck

Summary

An archaeological evaluation was undertaken by Channel 4's *Time Team* at the site of 'Harold's House', Portskewett, Monmouthshire (NGR 349800 187900), to investigate earthworks traditionally believed to be the site of a hunting lodge belonging to Harold Godwinson, later King Harold II of England, and ascertain whether there was any evidence for the putative hunting lodge or whether the remains belonged to a later medieval manorial complex. The nature of a now infilled tidal inlet and a dam or causeway was also investigated. The evaluation comprised six trial trenches, combined with geophysical, landscape and geoarchaeological (auger) surveys.

No evidence for the pre-Norman conquest hunting lodge was identified, but the earthworks were revealed as probably belonging to the manorial complex of the Deneband family. Although some traces of structures survived, much of the stratigraphic sequence comprised rubble layers relating to demolition of the manorial buildings, probably late in the medieval period. Very little cultural material was found *in situ*, but late twelfth/thirteenth-century pottery from a possible quarry pit which pre-dated the structures suggests a *terminus post quem* for the initial construction.

Examination of the tidal inlet indicated a navigable waterway into the medieval period, and that the sandy beach at the northern end of the inlet could have served as a harbour. The dam seems to have been put in place while the inlet was still experiencing inundation from seasonal flooding. At some point in the medieval period, possibly coinciding with the construction of the manorial complex, the boundary between the wetter land of the inlet and the drier, raised ground on which the manor was located appears to have been enhanced by the construction of a revetment.

Introduction

In March 2007 geophysical, geoarchaeological and earthwork surveys and evaluation trenching were undertaken at Harold's House, Portskewett, Monmouthshire, by Channel 4's *Time Team* programme, assisted by local archaeologists (Wessex Archaeology, 2007). The site is located on open ground at 10m. OD approximately 1km. from the River Severn and 7km. south-west of Chepstow *(Fig. 1)*. The underlying geology is sandstone with some overlying estuarine alluvium (British Geological Survey, 1981). The site, a Scheduled Ancient Monument (No. MM029), known locally as 'Harold's Field' and listed in the South Wales Scheduling entry as 'Harold's House' is owned by Monmouthshire County Council and leased to Portskewett Community Council who currently use it as a public recreation area. It lies on a slight spur of raised ground which contains a series of earthworks located immediately south-west of St Mary's Church.

There is limited archaeological evidence for occupation of the area in the early and later medieval periods but Portskewett is mentioned in a number of early medieval documents, often referred to as a port (Edwards and Lane, 1988, 108-9). There is documentary evidence for the existence of a pre-Norman *llys* of the Kings of Gwent (Redknap, 2003), and it has been suggested that Portskewett was the site of a royal court (Knight, 1982). The most famous reference to Portskewett comes from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which records that Harold Godwinson (later King Harold II of England) started building a hunting lodge at Portskewett, following the conquest of southern Gwent in 1063, but the building was destroyed by Caradog ap Gruffudd in 1065 (Swanton, 1997). Following the attack by Caradog, this area of Monmouthshire remained under English control and is one of the few manors in Wales recorded in *Domesday.*

The earthworks are thought to be the remains of the medieval manor house possibly associated with the Deneband family who were recorded as holding the manor of Portskewett by the time of the Wentworth survey of AD 1270 (Redknap, 2003). The manor later passed from the Deneband family to John Bowles of Penhow, and then to a number of other families in the following centuries (Bradney, 1994, 97-100). The date for the construction of the manor buildings and its subsequent demolition is unknown, though there is a house named Manor Farm in Portskewett. This building dates from the sixteenth to seventeenth century and therefore a pre-sixteenth-century demolition date for the manor can be inferred. The project aimed to recover evidence for any pre-Norman activity, either structural or artefactual, as well as to identify any surviving remains of Harold's hunting lodge (Videotext Communications, 2007, 6). The project also aimed to assess whether the now infilled tidal inlet could have been used as a harbour and thus potentially the origin of the 'port' in Portskewett, and to investigate its relationship with the dam or causeway which cut off the northern end of the inlet.

This note summarises the main findings of the archaeological investigation; a fuller account may be found in the evaluation report (Wessex Archaeology, 2007).

Earthwork Survey

The earthworks, situated on and around a slight spur of high ground in the field to the west of St Mary's Church, were examined. The spur is formed by two former river channels, one to the north and one to the east *(Fig. 1)*. Environmental work indicated that the lower basin to the west was formerly tidal. The course of these streams and tidal channel can be traced south in a sinuous shallow valley to the coastline. The lack of medieval ridge and furrow ploughing in the valley compared to the surrounding landscape suggests that this channel may have remained wet and boggy until relatively late. Consequently, it may have been possible to bring a shallow-draft boat up to Portskewett at least into the medieval period.

To the south-west of the churchyard boundary, an area of raised earthworks marks the site of what is known locally as 'Harold's House'. These earthworks, roughly covering an area 15m. by 8m, clearly define the collapsed remains of a rectangular stone building, possibly a tower-house although these are relatively rare in Wales (Pounds, 1994, 279). Prior to the major changes of the nineteenth century this field was named 'Tower Hay' on the 1765 estate map drawn by John Aram which may record the former location of a tower.

To the south, low banks define an enclosed yard or the remains of a further building. There are also a number of low banks and platforms, which define the remains of a rectilinear courtyard and compartments to the east and north. To the south, shallow terraces mark the site of what were probably gardens or orchards and paddocks. A ditch and external bank can be traced northwards beyond the dam but road construction has removed any further evidence for it *(Fig. 1)*. The indications are that the ditch formerly surrounded most of the spur, but its form has been altered significantly over time. Other earthworks include a hollow way to the south of the churchyard, which appears to be late in date as it cuts through some of the other earthworks.

To the west, there was an east-west aligned flat-topped bank which crossed the former tidal basin, connecting the higher ground and the spur. This dam or causeway was constructed after Portskewett ceased functioning as a port or landing. It seems to have been designed to hold back a fresh water pond to the north. A pond and spring are shown on the nineteenth-century tithe map (1859). The earthworks of this dam clearly overlie the ditch and have cut through the earthwork remains of the north side of the possible tower house and adjacent courtyard. Thus, the construction of the dam is probably later in date than the collapse of the house, although this in itself does not preclude a late medieval date for the dam.

Geoarchaeological Survey

A series of eight cores was taken, six across the palaeochannel in the south-west of the site and three to the north of the possible dam or causeway *(Fig. 1)*. Whilst much of the fill of the palaeochannel was blue/grey clays characteristic of the Wentlooge Formation (Allen and Scaife, 2002, 13-14), it contained several substantial bands of molluscs, which appear to be predominantly composed of the estuarine species *Hydrobia* spp, and medium to coarse-grained sands. This indicates active inundation of the creek network by faster flowing waters, possibly storm surges, than is usually experienced in a typical creek environment of slowly moving waters. It is noteworthy that these bands are not present in the stratigraphy north of the dam, indicating their deposition after its construction and the subsequent control of water flow beyond the dam.

The extensive palaeochannel at Portskewett is characteristic of many similar features identified across the Gwent Levels, for example at Redwick to the south-west (Allen and Bell, 1999). This feature would once have formed a significant drainage channel in a network of brackish, creeks subject to daily inundation by the waters of the estuary. Allen and Bell (1999) suggest that the Redwick palaeochannel formed during the 1st millennium BC. It is possible, but unproven, that the extensive feature at Portskewett was contemporary with that at Redwick.

The historic evidence coupled with archaeological and geoarchaeological study enables us to conclude that the palaeochannel was navigable for much of its extent, as far as the dryland edge at Portskewett. The palaeochannel remained open for navigation probably into the medieval period and possibly beyond. Sedimentary evidence supports the hypothesis that the area north of the dam could have been used as a harbour. It can also be suggested that the dam, used to constrain the former harbour, was probably constructed prior to infilling and sedimentation within the palaeochannel.

Geophysical Survey

Both the resistance and gradiometer surveys produced evidence for the remains of the putative hunting lodge, indicating wall foundations and a spread of rubble, but neither technique has really assisted with a more detailed interpretation of the site or to define any clear building plan. Other potential structures have been identified in the resistance data but these were not tested by excavation (GSB, 2007). The results of the geophysical survey are somewhat disappointing but not totally unexpected given the nature of the site and the type of archaeological remains.

Evaluation Trenches

Trench 1 was located across the series of earthworks on the summit of the raised area of land at the centre of the site *(Fig. 2)*. The earliest phase of archaeology identified within trench 1 related to a large, irregular feature, possibly a quarry pit for the removal of stone but its full extent was not established. Over 100 sherds of late twelfth- to late thirteenth-century pottery were recovered from this feature. The upper fill of this feature was sealed below a deposit of rubble, probably a levelling layer on which later buildings were constructed.

Evidence for two buildings was recorded within trench 1; in the south of the trench were two parallel dry-stone wall foundations, which appear to represent a north-south aligned building with an internal width of *c.* 5.3m. (*Fig. 2*, southern building). Between the two walls was a north-south aligned stone pathway constructed from mixed stone blocks with a kerb of smaller stones. This structure formed a slightly raised walkway in the centre of the building. There were few finds from these layers perhaps indicating that the building may have been used for stabling or stock keeping. Following the abandonment of the building, it appears that the stone floor was removed; the building burnt down and was subsequently demolished.

In the north of the trench was the entrance of a substantial building, represented by a large stone threshold, of Sudbrook stone, which was bonded into a substantial east-west aligned wall (*Fig. 2*, northern building). This was built of roughly hewn masonry with a rubble core bonded with sandy mortar, and survived to a height of 1m. Beyond the threshold there was a stone flagged floor. The overlying rubble demolition deposits contained abundant stone roof tiles and glazed ridge tiles with finials, suggesting a well-appointed, high status building (*cf.* Papazian, 1990, 23), possibly a tower house. Evidence for a third building was identified in the form of a possible collapsed wall; from the angle of the pitched stones which comprised this deposit, it was clear that it represented the remains of a structure located to the east of the trench.

The remains of ditches surrounding the western side of the earthworks were found cutting into the palaeochannel fills at the base of the slope in trench 2 *(Figs 1-2)*. The earliest, which was visible as an earthwork extending around the base of the spur of land on which the manor was situated, was a wide, flat bottomed ditch, 4.1m. wide and 0.60m. deep, which may have also been dug to provide material for a possible earth and stone revetment immediately to the east. A small assemblage of late eleventh- or early twelfth-century pottery recovered from the revetment material may indicate the date of its construction whilst thirteenth-century pottery, primarily consisting of local Gwent Penhow ware, but also including imported Saintonge Monochrome ware, from the fills of the ditch suggest that it had silted up by this period.

The revetment material was cut by a later, though otherwise undated, ditch, approximately 0.70m. wide and 0.45m. deep. A further ditch and gully, also dated to the eleventh-thirteenth century on pottery evidence and possibly serving a drainage function, were recorded in trench 4, to the south, where they cut into the fills of the southern palaeochannel. Relatively large quantities of cereal remains (wheat, rye, oats and barley) that probably derive from a number of different crops grown on different soil types were recovered from the trench 4 ditch.

Trenches 3 and 6, to the east of the earthworks, were targeted on geophysical anomalies and located a single north-south aligned ditch, 2.4m wide and 0.9m deep in trench 3 and a possible continuation of this ditch was recorded in trench 6, where it turned sharply to the west, with a second ditch recorded approximately parallel to it. Only a very small assemblage of pottery, broadly datable to the earlier medieval period, was recovered from the trench 6 ditches and no datable finds were recovered from trench 3. These ditches appear to define the eastern extent of the manorial complex represented by the earthworks.

The earthwork thought to represent a dam across the northern palaeochannel was investigated in trench 2, where it was seen to overly both ditches and the revetment material. The probable dam comprised various deposits of local stone and clay, from which late eleventh- to early twelfth-century pottery was recovered, however, the heavily abraded nature of the sherds indicate that it is probably residual.

Discussion

The project was only partially successful in achieving its aims as no evidence for pre-Norman *llys* of the Kings of Gwent or the hunting lodge of Harold Godwinson was identified either through structural remains or artefacts. The finds assemblage contained nothing to prove a pre-conquest origin of the site; there is a possibility of activity during the later eleventh/early-twelfth centuries but no evidence to confirm the existence of a hunting lodge. The extent, however, and condition of survival of the underlying archaeology was established and a relative chronology of activity was established through the stratified remains and datable finds.

The structures revealed beneath the earthworks at the centre of the site are likely to be associated with the manorial complex of the Deneband family (recorded as holding the manor in 1270). The

manor declined during the later medieval period and was eventually demolished, possibly sometime during the fifteenth century.

No evidence for earlier buildings was identified below the remains of the Deneband manorial complex, which may be due to the levelling and landscaping prior to construction. The possible quarry containing late twelfth- to thirteenth-century pottery shows that part of the manorial complex at least was constructed sometime during or shortly after this time. The levelling layer seems to have been an attempt to consolidate the area prior to the construction of the southern building.

Due to the constraints of the evaluation trenches interpretation of the structures can only be surmised; one building may have been for animals and the second for human habitation. The northern building was considerably more substantial than the southern and appears to represent a tower although the evidence is limited, presumably the structure which gave rise to the field 'Tower Hay' on a late eighteenth-century map. Further investigation of the site may provide additional evidence to support this interpretation.

The manorial complex was located with a certain degree of defence in mind, as the tidal inlet would have provided defence in a similar way to a moat and the elevated position on the outcrop would have provided a good view out towards the Severn. The complex was surrounded on its eastern side by a large ditch (identified in trenches 3 and 6), which was certainly deep and wide enough to have provided a degree of defence. The landscape and earthwork study identified a ditch running around the base of the spur of land on which the manor was situated, and this was recorded in trench 2. The ditch provided material to enhance the boundary between the wet and dry land and would thus provide a further degree of protection.

The systematic demolition of the structures within the site is evident from the numerous mortar-rich deposits. There was some evidence for the cleaning of stone for reuse. The date of this demolition remains unclear, but the scarcity of pottery dating later than fourteenth century suggests that it may have taken place late in the medieval period.

The geoarchaeological survey was able to show that the tidal creek was navigable for much of its length, probably into the medieval period. The nearby sandy beach would have been suitable as a harbour. The addition of the dam or causeway cutting off the northern limit of the tidal inlet was a later addition of unknown construction date. Small abraded residual sherds of late eleventh or twelfth century date were recovered from the make-up deposits. The make-up layers sealed, and thus post-date, the probable revetment structures. A construction date for the dam sometime in the late medieval period is likely. It had been assumed that the dam had been constructed following the silting of the tidal inlet, but coring was able to identify that the bands of molluscs observed in the soil sequence to the south of the dam were deposited as a result of fast flowing water. These were not evident to the north of the dam, which implies that it was put in place to prevent the movement of water further up the creek.

Acknowledgements.

Post-excavation assessment and production of this note was funded by Videotext Communications Ltd. The geophysical survey was undertaken by John Gater, Ian Wilkins and Emma Wood (GSB Prospection). The field and topographic survey was undertaken by Henry Chapman (University of Birmingham). Rick Turner (Cadw) identified the two areas for the auger survey, which was undertaken by Emma Tetlow (Birmingham University). The landscape survey and map regression was undertaken by Stewart Ainsworth (English Heritage). The excavation strategy was devised by Mick Aston (Bristol University). The on-site recording was co-ordinated by Steve Thompson assisted by Laura Catlin (Wessex Archaeology), who also coordinated the on-site finds processing.

The excavations were undertaken by *Time Team's* retained archaeologists, Phil Harding (Wessex Archaeology), Kerry Ely, Brigid Gallagher, Ian Powlesland, Raksha Dave, Tracey Smith and Matt Williams with assistance from Steve Clarke, Felicity Taylor, Colin Harris, Stuart Wilson, Gary Jenkins and Phil Riche. On-site pottery identification was carried out by Steve Clarke, with small finds identification by Helen Geake (Cambridge University).

The report was edited by Philippa Bradley and the illustrations were drawn by Elizabeth James. Julie Gardiner and Lorraine Mepham commented on an early draft of the report.

Thanks are extended to Cadw, Monmouthshire County Council, Portskewett Community Council, Kate Smith and the villagers of Portskewett for inviting *Time Team* and allowing access to the site. Jeremy Knight, Rick Turner (Cadw) and Neil Maylan (Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust) are thanked for on site discussions.

The project archive is currently held at the offices of Wessex Archaeology under the site code HHP07 and project code 65301. It will in due course be transferred to Caldicot Castle Museum or Chepstow Museum.

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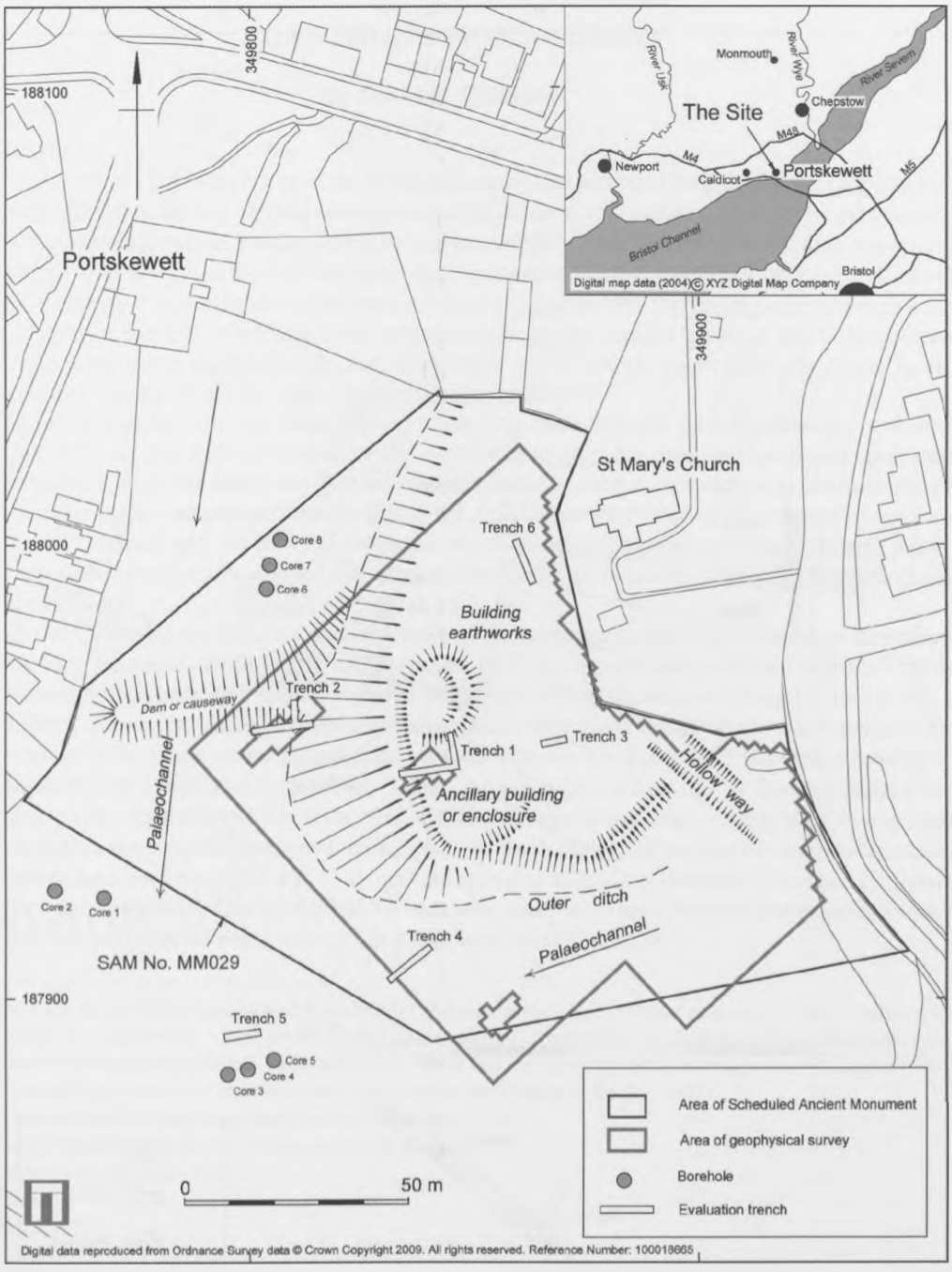

Fig. 1: Harold's House, Portskewett: site location and plan of archaeological investigations.

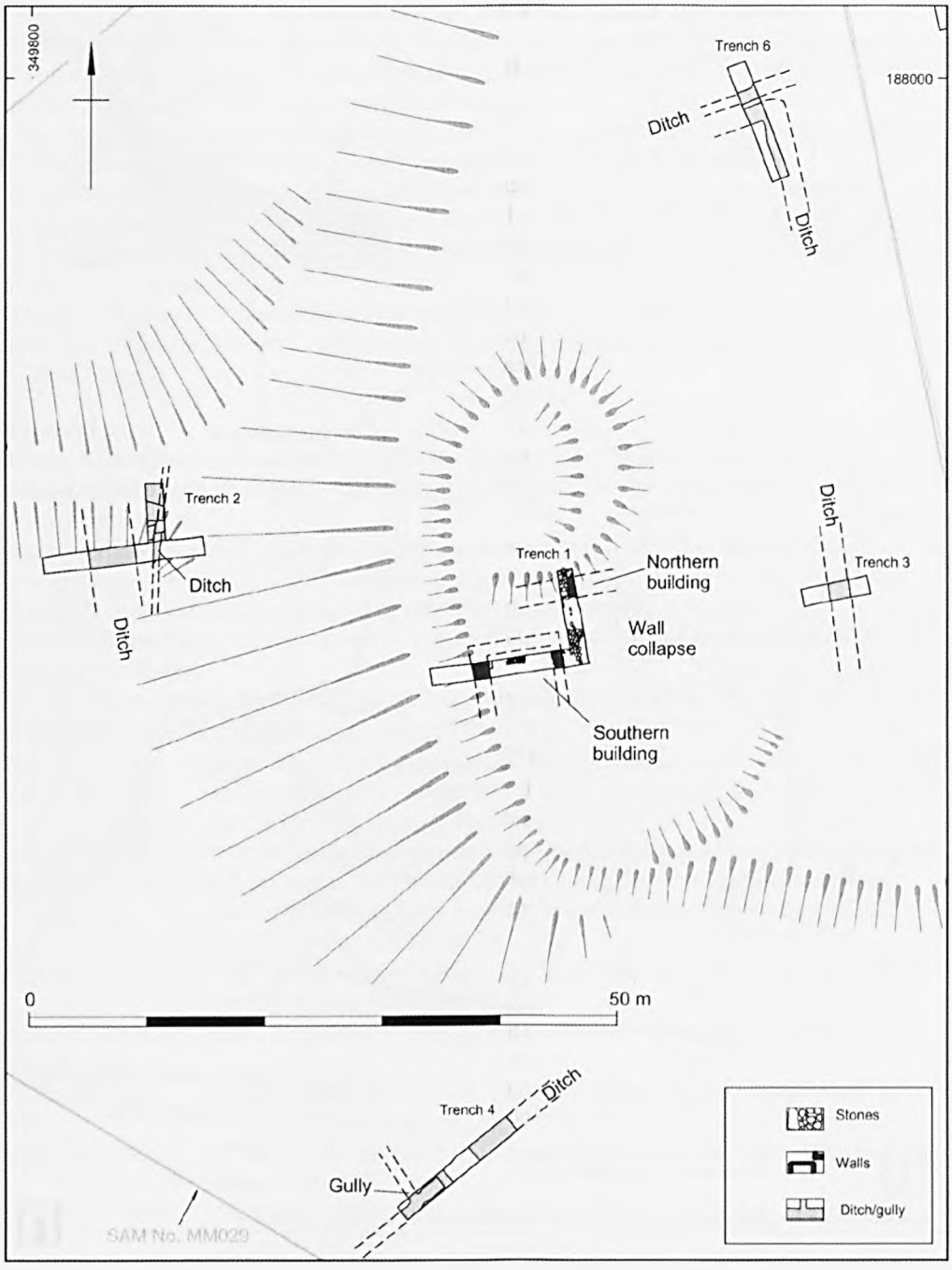

Figure 2: Plan of the northern and southern buildings.

LLANTHONY PRIMA PRIORY[1]

By David H. Williams

Background

The presence of Llanthony Priory in the Black Mountains can be traced back to efforts in the eleventh-century Church to correct clerical shortcomings and achieve new vigour and life. One proponent of reform was Hildebrand of Tuscany (later to be Pope Gregory VII);[2] a guide to more than one pontiff, it was at a time when his influence was considerable as archdeacon of Rome that the Lateran Councils of 1059 and 1063 encouraged secular clergy to lead a common life. The feeling was that such a step would counter abuses in the Church like simony, nepotism and clerical marriage. By 1100 a number of clergy were living out such a life, and following a way of life or 'rule'; hence they were termed 'the regular canons' (from the Latin *regula* meaning 'rule').[3]

The most popular 'rule' was that attributed to St Augustine of Hippo (*d.*430), although he himself did not write it; 'the Rule of St Augustine' evolved long after his time, though based upon three documents attributed to him.[4] The canons' vocation could be seen as 'a middle way between the life of a secular priest and monasticism proper',[5] for the canons were intended to engage in apostolic work. In England and Wales 'the monastic element predominated, and they became hardly distinguishable from orders who led full monastic lives'.[6] Those at remote Llanthony had little choice to be otherwise.

The Augustinian movement came belatedly to Britain, encouraged by Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury. It spread rapidly under the patronage of King Henry I and his Queen Matilda.[7] Of the forty-three houses of regular canons founded in England during the reign of Henry I [1100-1135], at least thirty-three were 'founded or substantially endowed by members of the royal entourage'.[8] The first Augustinian monasteries settled were at at Colchester (St Botolph's; 1104/06; probably by incorporation of a secular college), Holy Trinity, Aldgate (founded *c.*1107 by Queen Matilda), and Merton (1114 – founded by Gilbert the sheriff).[9] The last two monasteries were to play an important rôle in further Augustinian settlement in England.[10] In south Wales, the coming of Augustinian canons to Carmarthen between 1125 and 1131 was perhaps due to Bishop Bernard of St David's former position as a chaplain to Queen Matilda.[11] Much later, there were to be Augustinian priories founded in Haverfordwest and at Llangynfarch (St Kingsmark) near Chepstow.[12]

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[1] In revising this article I have gained from helpful comments made by Dr David Robinson. There is no mention of the architectural history of the priory, as this has been fully covered by D.H. Evans and his colleagues in two previous volumes of this journal (1978 and 1983), while there is comprehensive coverage also by Craster (1963) and, brought up to date, by John Newman, *Monmouthshire* (Penguin Books, 2000).

[2] He lent his name to the Gregorian Reform of the age.

[3] Abram 59-62, Burton 41-42, Dickinson 26-39, Robinson 7.

[4] Abram 60-61, Burton 43-44.

[5] Abram 61.

[6] Robinson 7.

[7] Dickinson 126-28, Nicholas 55.

[8] Dickinson 128.

[9] Burton 45-47; Robinson 14, 18: the Augustinian settlement well preceded the coming of the Cistercians.

[10] Dickinson 129, Robinson 43.

[11] Burton 48, Cowley 32-33.

[12] Robinson 28.

The Foundation History

Practically all that is known of twelfth-century Llanthony comes from a late-thirteenth century copy held in the British Library of an anonymous late-twelfth/early-thirteenth Latin compilation, *The History of the Foundation and Translation of the Monastery of Lanthony*.[13] The chronicle is prefaced by a prologue in which the author states that he laid aside other important work, preferring to write this 'scholastic history'.[14] The main section, describing the priory's history down to the death of Prior Clement around 1170, shows that the author was an unnamed canon of Llanthony Prima (rather than the later Gloucestershire house), and that he was 'a son, and the most devout admirer' of that prior. He did not rely entirely on his own memory, for writing in the late-twelfth century, he tells that for information he sought out knowledge from Prior Clement's contemporaries, 'his familiars'.[15] Who wrote this section? Prior Roger of Norwich has been suggested as its author.[16]

The last folios of the chronicle are clearly an addition to the earlier work, describe Prior Roger's time, and close with the election in 1191 of Prior Geoffey de Henlawe, later to become bishop of St David's. It has been suggested that this epilogue may have been composed around 1205 - at the time of the separation of Llanthony Prima and Secunda.[17]

Giraldus Cambrsnsis who knew Llanthony priory well, staying there on perhaps a number of occasions, drew heavily in his writings on earlier recensions of this foundation history. That is apparent in his *Itinerary through Wales* where, apart from using the history to illuminate his own experience and knowledge,[18] his etymological description of the derivation of the place-name 'Llanthony', is almost a verbatim parallel to that given in the history.[19] In his *Speculum Ecclesie* ('the Mirror of the Church') Gerald recounts, again in identical terms, the visit Prior Roger of Norwich once made to Canterbury,[20] while he also drew on the history when writing his *Topography of Ireland*.[21]

Several modern sources have published the main portion of this foundation history, but none the complete work – mostly preferring to omit the prologue, the chapter headings and the epilogue.[22] Fortunately, these sections have been transcribed and published more latterly.[23] For the modern monastic historian, like many a chronicle based perhaps on earlier documents, perhaps on tradition handed down by word of mouth over several generations, the foundation history at certain points will contain errors of fact. It also displays a degree of hagiographical embellishment.

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[13] BL, Cotton Julius D. x, ff. 30v-53v.

[14] Richter 127; at least three copyists were involved in preparing the British Library manuscript – there being changes of hand at folios 47r and 50v.

[15] Roberts 60, 62-63.

[16] Richter 123.

[17] *Ibid.* 125.

[18] *Itin.* 34-38.

[19] Richter 121, *Cf.* Fisher 64-66.

[20] Dew 78, Hunt 193, Richter 123-24.

[21] Richter 124.

[22] Atkyns I, 502-14; Roberts (1847) 47-63 (copied from Atkyns), Monasticon (1846 edn.) VI, Part 1, 128-34; Wharton II, 321-22, gives a synopsis of the epilogue; Hunt 193 and Richter 119, for comment.

[23] Richter 128-31.

The Early Years

The foundation history relates that about the close of the eleventh century, William de Lacy, a knight and kinsman of Hugh de Lacy, lord of Ewyas, had a spiritual experience whilst out hunting in the Honddu valley. Espying a small seemingly disused chapel dedicated to St David, he vowed there and then, with a few companions, to embrace the life of a hermit at that spot. Knowledge of his holy life spread and in 1103 another hermit joined him; Ernisius, formerly a chaplain to Queen Matilda, who lived in isolation at Edgarsley near Cannock Forest.[24] Supported by Hugh de Lacy, they built a church dedicated to St John the Baptist which was jointly consecrated in 1108 by two bishops: Urban of Llandaff and Reinhelm of Hereford,[25] though a date of 1118 has been argued.[26] The precise day was 4 July.[27] Their life there was such that, after visiting this incipient community, Bishop Roger of Salisbury carried glowing accounts of it to the royal court.[28]

It was a time when smaller religious orders – including groups of hermits, sought to join one of the reformist Orders appearing in the Church – as the Cistercians, but also the Augustinian canons. Apart from Llanthony, Augustinian houses in England which derived directly from hermitages included Nostell priory.[29] The hand of Queen Matilda and perhaps of Henry I,[30] as well as the advice of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, has been seen in favouring the request of William and Ernisius for their hermitage to become an Augustinian monastery.[31] She had founded the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, London, in 1107, and showed interest in the canons of Merton, Surrey, which she visited at least twice.[32] From these two priories, and from St Botolph's, Colchester, canons came to Llanthony to instruct the hermits in the Augustinian way of life, and to form its new community. Ernisius was elected its first prior.[33]

The foundation history does not tell whether the forty or so canons came to Llanthony at the same time, or in batches over several years. St Botolph's, became Augustinian about 1105, Aldgate was not founded until 1107, and Merton not until 1114 nor finding its final location until 1117. They were hardly in a position to send many canons to Wales immediately.[34] The probability is that Llanthony as an Augustinian priory evolved somewhere between 1110 and 1120. Prior Ernisius died around 1121.[35] As for the debatable influence of Archbishop Anselm, now long dead, it may be that the priory 'though mooted or begun in Anselm's time, was not finally accomplished until about 1118.'[36]

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[24] Cowley 30, Roberts 49-51; Lovegrove 217, suggested Eardisley near Hay.
[25] Cowley 30; the dedication to St John 'was thought proper for that wilderness': Dickinson 111-12, Roberts 52, Lovegrove 219.
[26] Evans (1983) 52.
[27] Bennett 258.
[28] Cowley 31.
[29] Robinson 36; see pages 33-41 for a comprehensive account..
[30] Henry I offered the two hermits 'the whole country of Berkeley', but they declined it (Baddeley 214).
[31] Burton 50, Dickinson 112, Roberts 53-54.
[32] In 1114 and 1117: Lovegrove 219.
[33] Roberts 53.
[34] Burton 50-51.
[35] Burton 50, Cowley 30, Lovegrove 218-20.
[36] Dickinson 112.

The Priory Site

Lying at 238m. [785ft.] O.D., on a terrace of red glacial clay,[37] Llanthony had by far the highest Augustinian site in England and Wales, where forty-eight houses of the canons lay below 50ft in altitude, with a further thirty-seven under 100 ft.[38] Its remote location in the deep glaciated valley of the Honddu was, Giraldus Cambrensis pointed out, 'a place truly fitted for contemplation', and he referred to 'the deep vale of Ewyas, about an arrow-shot broad, encircled on all sides by lofty mountains'.[39] Bishop Roger of Salisbury told of 'the cloister of mountains by which the church is on every side surrounded'.[40] *The History of the Foundation* spoke of 'the middle of the valley being sunk as it were into a narrow deep abyss'.[41] Giraldus also wrote of the bishop of St David's [who was staying at the priory] as being 'buried away in the remote valleys of Llanthony'.[42] Giraldus (and archbishops of Armagh)[43] found the priory a place of 'refuge from the turmoil of life', as he did also Strata Florida.[44] An outlaw, Peter de Marinis, was sheltered at Llanthony by 1284, but Edward I accepted that the canons did not know of his outlawry.[45] Llanthony's site was 'a marked contrast from the urban sites such as Holy Trinity, Aldgate, or lowland open settlements like Merton'.[46]

Routeways lay not so much down the valley, but along the hill-tops: the ridgeways mentioned in Walter de Lacy's charter,[47] and field survey has demonstrated the remains of stone tracks leading from the priory towards the hill summits.[48] When Prior Robert de Bethune was nominated as bishop of Hereford, and sadly had to leave Llanthony, the foundation history tells how 'when he had reached the top of Hatterrall mountain, and looked back, he could no longer refrain from tears and sobbing'. He had come over Hatterrall when he sought to become a canon of the priory, 'pausing to rest by an upright cross fixed on top of the mountain'.[49] Isolated at first it may have been, but by the mid-thirteenth century the priory was easily approached; a deed of 1276 referring to "the king's way leading from the town of Monmouth to Llanthony Prima".[50]

The priory site was one of economic potential. Even the mountains had their uses: Giraldus told of the fine free-stone they provided for building the priory church, as well as of 'herds of wild deer feeding on the summits'.[51] The vestiges of stone quarries are still evident on Hatterrall Hill.[52] The foundation history commented on the abundance of woodland covering the mountain slopes. The valley floor 'had rich meadows for feeding of cattle, and made amends of the want of corn'. Further, the river Honddu, had 'great plenty of variety of fishes'.[53]

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[37] Evans (1978) 6.
[38] Robinson 60.
[39] *Itin.* 34.
[40] Lovegrove 219.
[41] Roberts (1847) 48.
[42] *Speculum Duorum* 212-13.
[43] Cowley 208.
[44] Richter 122.
[45] *Close* 1284, 498.
[46] Robinson 29.
[47] NLW, Baker-Gabb Deed 137.
[48] Procter 117-28.
[49] Roberts 86, 92.
[50] University of Kansas, Spencer Research Library, MS 191: 14 (in the Abbey Dore collection).
[51] *Itin.* 36.
[52] Procter (2007).
[53] *Itin.* 39; Roberts 48; in 1546 the immediate demesne was reckoned at 207 acres of land and pasture, 152 acres of mountain land, and 25 acres of meadow: *LP* XXXI: Pt. 1, 576 [47].

It was the river, and the early chapel dedicated to St David, located here, that gave the site its name: Llanddewi Nant Hodni, corrupted and anglicised today as Llanthony.[54] The priory lay more or less on the English-Welsh frontier - which was to cause it difficulties. As Archbishop Albert of Armagh noted the priory lay 'in the midst of two warring nations'.[55] It was positioned, politically, in some senses in a no-man's land; one deed of 1323/24 referring to the priory as 'in the land of Ewyas in franchise outside of a county'.[56] It lay in the diocese of St David's, but frequently the remoteness of the see cathedral meant that its religious received ordination at the hands of the bishops of Hereford, and occasionally of Worcester. The bishop of St David's in 1271, Richard de Carew, stipulated that Llanthony Prima should supply each year twenty pounds of wax for the lighting of the cathedral church, or else ten shillings in lieu.[57]

Llanthony Secunda – the Parting of the Ways

After the passing of Prior Ernisius, Robert de Béthune was elected in his stead, and in his time the priory flourished. It was then, Giraldus said, 'as celebrated for her affluence as for her sanctity'.[58] The prior did much to amplify the religious life, 'fusing it by degrees with the primitive uses'.[59] The foundation history praises Prior Robert highly, as a discerning spiritual counsellor to his canons, and one who was 'so bright a character, so beautiful in morals, so ornamented with virtues'.[60] High praise indeed, and little wonder that Robert was in 1131 appointed bishop of Hereford, on the recommendation to Henry I by two of Llanthony's benefactors, Miles of Gloucester and Payn fitzJohn.[61] He was succeeded as prior by Robert de Braci, also a theologian of note, and one recorded as being 'fervent in religion and zealous for the rules of his Order'.[62]

Unfortunately, at the close of 1135 Llanthony lost its royal backing and protection with the death that December of Henry I. In the unsettled times that followed the Welshry took advantage of a new political situation to harass the canons severely, so that some, though not all, fled to refuge in generous accommodation provided them in Hereford by its bishop, their second prior.[63] The ownership of certain of the priory's Herefordshire properties dates from this time.

It was in this period that a Welshman of some standing sought refuge at Llanthony from his enemies, and brought his whole household with him. They commandeered the monastic refectory and the chronicler recorded that their womenfolk 'were not ashamed to profane the refectory'.[64] Hardly a canon of known Welsh extraction formed part of the community at Llanthony; indeed, its chronicler saw the Welshry as 'savage, without any religion, vagabonds, and delighted in stealth'.[65] The exceptions were two fourteenth-century canons who stemmed from Abergavenny and Caerleon.

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[54] Fisher 64-66, Giraldus said that the priory was built where the humble chapel of St David's had stood (Roberts 226).
[55] Cowley 208.
[56] TNA, SC 8/56/270.
[57] BM MSS II, 239 [428]; Rhodes (2002) 111 [284].
[58] *Itin.* 37.
[59] Dickinson 172, quoting the foundation history.
[60] Roberts 54, 88, 90-91.
[61] J.S. Barrow (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300; VIII : Hereford* (London, 2002) 3.
[62] Cowley 151, Roberts 55-56.
[63] Roberts 57, 102-03.
[64] Roberts 56-57.
[65] Cowley 43-44.

After some months of sojourn in Hereford, Miles the Constable, earl of Hereford (son of Walter the Constable who had become a canon at Llanthony)[66] gave the canons in May 1136 a site for a new priory at a place known as the Hyde on the outskirts of Gloucester, and near friends - for the Benedictine abbot of St Peter's, Gloucester, was Walter de Lacy, a brother of Hugh de Lacy, their founder.[67] The new priory was dedicated on 10 September 1137 by the bishops of Hereford and of Worcester, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St John the Baptist..[68] Hence there would be until 1205 two communities governed by the same prior; one in England and one in Wales. Both popes Lucius II (1144-45) and Eugenius III (1145-53) confirmed the status of the Gloucestershire Llanthony *Secunda* as a cell of Monmouthshire's Llanthony *Prima*.[69]

When the time came for many of the canons to return to Wales, it is thought some twenty did so, Milo having insisted that the conventional number of thirteen canons (representing Christ and the twelve apostles) remained to serve the Gloucester monastery, and these he insisted were to be 'the choicest of the whole fraternity'.[70] Not all the canons wished to reside at Llanthony, as Prior Clement found when he required the canons to reside with him there for part of every year.[71] Moreover, the priory still appeared to have its enemies, and so at the request of Bishop Robert, Innocent II in 1142 took it under his protection; how far that was effective is a different matter.[72]

Giraldus Cambrensis was disparaging of Llanthony Secunda saying that he 'sincerely wished she had never been produced'. He went on to contrast the spirituality of the two priories, denigrating the daughter-house: 'Let the active reside there, the contemplative here; there the concourse of men, here the presence of angels; there the powerful of the world be entertained, here let the poor of Christ be relieved.'[73] In time the daughter-house outstripped in many ways its mother, and the separation was not conducive to the later good of the Welsh priory, while the foundation history records that henceforth 'the old, weak and useless' and fractious canons were assigned to it.[74] If that were so, it was a recipe for trouble.[75] The munificence shown to Llanthony Prima by Walter de Lacy, in both England and Ireland, has been credited with ensuring its survival after the separation from Llanthony Secunda.[76]

Around 1204 Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, a descendant of Milo the Constable, lobbied for the daughter-house to become fully independent, and his steward played a part in the necessary arbitration – which was led at first by Gilbert Glanville, the bishop of Rochester, and then by the bishops of Worcester, St David's and Hereford.[77] In all three of their dioceses, Llanthony held substantial possessions. The agreement of 1205 provided that neither priory would be subject to the other, and that each would receive an equal portions in all divisions of property. The sole exception was to be in Ireland, where the income from the church of Duleek (which was to become a possession of Llanthony Secunda) was to be devoted for twelve years towards the completion of the building

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[66] Baddeley 215, Roberts 54-55.
[67] Roberts 52, 57, 63; Hogan 87.
[68] Baddeley 218.
[69] Roberts 59; *Cf. Victoria History of Gloucestershire* II, 87-91.
[70] Lovegrove 225.
[71] Roberts 62.
[72] Holtzmann 252-53.
[73] *Itin.* 38-39.
[74] Roberts 60, Cowley 31 [many religious houses banished wrongdoers to a distant monastery].
[75] Page 88; The chronicler told how he had heard some of the canons say that 'they wished each stone of the mother church was a hare, and others that they longed for the earth to open and swallow it up'].
[76] Burton 50-51.
[77] Hogan 88-95, gives a detailed account of the arrangements made for the separation.

of the monastery church in Wales.[78] In practice at home, Llanthony Prima received ownership of the priory's possessions in Wales, Herefordshire and Shropshire; Llanthony Secunda took control of those in Gloucestershire, but the mother-house retained a moiety of the holdings in the town of Gloucester itself. In 1251 it granted these to its former daughter-house in return for an annual payment of eight marks sterling.[79]

In a charter which can, perhaps, be dated to around 1212, perhaps subsequent to and consequent upon, the separation of the 'two Llanthonys', Walter de Lacy, as lord of Ewyas, confirmed to the canons of Llanthony Prima 'the ancient custom' by which when a vacancy occurred they elected a new prior for their monastery without any recourse to or interference from himself, or his heirs and successors, as patrons. Walter also forbade any meddling with the priory's possessions during any vacation in the priorship.[80] A century later, the canons had to assert these rights confirmed by Walter [whom they mistakenly said was 'their founder'], and Edward II upheld them.[81]

The Later Twelfth-Century Priors

Robert de Braci was succeeded by *William of Wycombe* (1137-*c.*1150) who had been close to Prior Robert de Béthune, wrote his biography and accompanied him as his chaplain when Robert moved to Hereford. Back at Llanthony, now as prior, William was not entirely popular. The foundation history put it that William was 'a man adorned with many virtues, but a little too austere'.[82] Giraldus Cambrensis, at a time when he was somewhat jaundiced towards Llanthony, remarked that William 'first despoiled the priory of its herds and storehouses, [was] deposed by the fraternity, [and] forfeited his right of sepulture amongst the priors'.[83] William did indeed resign as prior around 1150, and went to live on the priory's property at Canon Frome, with one other canon as a companion.[84]

His canons were only able to dispense with their prior's services because William deeply offended Earl Roger of Hereford by writing a booklet which denigrated his father, Milo the Constable, The treatise was entitled: 'The whole tyranny and malicious proceedings of the Earl, and his excommunication from the Flock of Christ', for Bishop Robert de Béthune had excommunicated Milo, and whilst still in that state Milo was killed whilst hunting.[85] It was a situation which the canons, not liking their prior's 'excessive austerity' took advantage of to secure his removal.

A different picture of Prior William, seeing him as a man 'of large sympathies, cultured and tolerant' comes in a letter addressed to the prior from Ralph, an unknown monk who lived at some distance from Llanthony but had visited it. In comments that refer perhaps to Llanthony Secunda rather than Llanthony Prima, he tells of William's character and of his charity to the poor, and his beautification of the priory church. He refers to 'the pleasant meadows and streams, gardens, orchards and vineyards' at Llanthony, and of the nobles who constantly came to Llanthony for hospitality.[86]

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[78] TNA, C115/75, ff. 247-48.

[79] TNA, C115/75, ff. 247, 249d.

[80] NLW, Baker-Gabb Deed 137 (where Walter styles himself 'late lord' of Mide [Meath]); *Inq. Misc.* II, 128 [522].

[81] Cowley 201, Close 1322, 590; this privilege was also confirmed by Roger de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore and of Trym, in 1313 [BL, Lansdowne MS 229, f.11b].

[82] Roberts 59.

[83] *Itin.* 36.

[84] Roberts 116; the chronicle is slightly sub-standard at this point, leading early authors to talk of 'Fience' rather than 'Frome'.

[85] Page 88, Roberts 61-62.

[86] Talbot 62-64.

William of Wycombe was succeeded by Prior *Clement* (noted above) who was to be a shining ornament of his house. Giraldus recorded that Clement, formerly sub-prior, seemed 'to like this place [Llanthony Prima] of study and prayer'. A scholar and writer and, the foundation history asserts, 'powerful in preaching and diligent in all the duties of a spiritual life', but Giraldus told that Clement 'after the example of Eli the priest, neither reproved nor restrained his brethren from plunder and other offences'. Dying from a paralytic stroke, he was buried at Llanthony Secunda.[87]

Clement was succeeded in turn by his sub-prior, *Roger of Norwich*; it was in his time Giraldus alleged, that 'books, ornaments and privileges' were carried away from Llanthony Prima – but was this not perhaps simply to ensure safe-keeping when faced with a hostile Welshry?[88] When seized with paralysis in his old age, Prior Roger obtained the services of a Bristol cleric and medic, *Geoffrey* of *Henlawe*, whom he 'enriched with very large gifts, keeping near him till the day of his death, and upon his death-bed nominated him as his successor.'[89]

This was hardly canonical but, after overseeing Llanthony for a dozen or more years (*c.*1189-1203), Geoffrey was promoted to the bishopric of St David's (1203-14), the second Llanthony canon to be elevated to the episcopacy. The reason for this may have been the medical services Geoffrey had afforded to Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury. [90] St David's was the see Giraldus had long sought, and his failure to obtain it must have soured his relations with the priory. As has been noted, Bishop Geoffrey found his old priory a suitable retreat on more than one occasion.

The priors of Llanthony Prima, in common with other religious superiors, were frequently delegated by a monarch or diocesan bishop to undertake a variety of commissions and tasks. In 1186, Prior Geoffrey and the abbot of Cirencester overstepped the mark when they confirmed an agreement concerning the prebend of Berkeley made between Gloucester and Bristol abbeys. The pact was only meant to be provisional, and the bishop of Hereford had withdrawn his consent to the concord, to the extent that he had broken his episcopal seal attesting it. He wrote to both commissioners expressing surprise at their action.[91]

The Writings of its Priors, and the Library at Llanthony[92]

Twelfth-century Llanthony was a significant centre of book production, but as before 1205 the priors and some of the canons appear to have spent part of every year in each of the two houses – Prima and Secunda, it is uncertain where the known Llanthony works were written or copied.

The first prior known to have had a substantial literary output was *Robert de Béthune*, formerly a French schoolmaster and learned scholar who had studied under, amongst others, Anselm of Laon. Above all a biblical scholar, none of his scriptural works are now extant, but the Llanthony catalogue referred to later includes his *Excepione Epistolarum Roberti de Betonis Herefordensis episcopi*, leaving open the possibility that he composed this after leaving Llanthony Prima. Did he, when prior, also write a volume later held in Llanthony Secunda's library and entitled *Expositio Roberti prioris, mediocre volumen*; or was this the work of Robert of Bridlington?[93] If the latter it may evidence a link between the Llanthony and Bridlington monasteries, later also witnessed when a statue of St John of Bridlington was erected in Llanthony Prima's church at Llanwarne, Herefs.

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[87] *Itin.* 37, Roberts 62.

[88] *Itin.* 37.

[89] Wharton II, 322, Cowley 206-07, Roberts 28.

[90] Cowley 206-07.

[91] *HCA* 1387.

[92] A treatise held in the conservation department of the National Archives [call number: 686.300941], is entitled *A comparative study of library and archive bindings on books from Llanthony by Gloucester.*

[93] Crampin 27, Bennett 258, the latter work is now BL. Royal MS 8D, viii.

Robert de Braci, Llanthony's third prior, compiled a collection of theology, *Exceptiones Robert de Bracii*, including extracts from the works of, and complete tracts by, such theologians as St Anelm of Canterbury and St Ivo of Chartres. He may also have written a revised text of *De humanibus moribus* known as *Similitudines Anselmi*.[94]

Robert's successor, *William of Wycombe*, wrote the life of Robert de Béthune (to whom he was close); of this more than one copy exists, one being in the Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, at the University of Toronto,[95] while that held in the British Library[96] is followed by the foundation history (described before) of Llanthony Prima and Secunda. William also wrote the account detailed above of a quarrel between Bishop Robert and Earl Milo of Gloucester.[97]

Prior *Clement* was the most prolific Llanthony author. Of him it has been said that Robert de Bethune 'brought together what he had been able to seek out relating to the religious life and order', and that Clement 'with judicious management, added certain things for the greater perfecting of others, and he also collected some to the excellence of others'. The foundation history tells that Prior Clement was 'extremely learned, as appears in the great volumes he has writ in the study of divinity in a plain yet eloquent style'. Copies of his biblical and theological commentaries became dispersed through England and Wales. One of his tracts was entitled *De sex alis cherubim*.[98] The only other Llanthony author whose name is known was *John*, a twelfth-century sub-prior, who wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse (the Book of Revelation).[99]

A mid-fourteenth century catalogue of the books in the library of Llanthony Secunda lists 508 volumes, and includes almost certainly several which were brought from Llanthony Prima, either for safe-keeping or (as was normal) books donated by a mother house to its daughter cell. It is undoubted that the library of Llanthony Prima was depleted in some measure, but it also seems that copies were made of some books taken away and sent back to the Welsh monastery. One probable example was the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great.[100]

Of the ten books which seem likely to have been linked to Llanthony Prima, seven are held in Lambeth Palace Library.[101] Two of these bear *ex libris* inscriptions, but not prominently nor as is usual in bold letters on a title page. One, on a folio of a volume which includes a litany of the saints and Distinctions on the Psalms, is in part indistinct.[102] Another, in a work of miscellaneous theological treatises, records the name of Walter de Haya as prior.[103] The third, tells that while the volume (containing Homilies of St Gregory on the Gospels) remained the property of the priory it had been lent to the dean of Hereford.[104] A fourth volume, a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon* now in Corpus Christi College library, Oxford, bears the name of William Amourley, a canon of Llanthony Prima who was ordained priest in 1458.[105]

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[94] Crampin 60-61.
[95] Bennett 257.
[96] BL, Cotton Julius MS D. x, ff.2-28.
[97] Crampin 61-63.
[98] Crampin 29, 63-64; Roberts 62.
[99] Ibid. 66; for a translation of the *Life*, see Roberts 79-116..
[100] Ibid. 53-54.
[101] Bennett 258.
[102] James 317; Lambeth Palace 200, f.114b. The litany includes the names of St David and St Kyneburga (the latter associated with Llanthony Secunda).
[103] Bennett 258; Lambeth Palace MS 431, f.1v. (Perhaps theWalter who was prior in 1265/67).
[104] James 159; Lambeth Palace MS 96.
[105] Bennett 258; Corpus Christi MS 83, f.182v..

The canons of Llanthony Prima and Secunda also compiled genealogies[106] and, like other monasteries, they drew up their 'cartularies' or 'registers' or 'ledger books'; those of the Welsh house were in the hands of Lord Scudamore in the eighteenth century, and the volumes relating to the Irish lands found their way into the Duchess of Norfolk's MSS and thence to the National Archives.[107]

Relations with the Dean and Chapter of Hereford

Generally harmony reigned between the canons of this English-orientated monastery in the Welsh Marches, and the clergy of the cathedral church of a city where it had substantial lands in the suburbs. There was a note of discord when – in common with efforts by Dore Abbey at the time – the canons of Llanthony sought to maximise their income by attracting persons from outside their parishes for burial. This very probably would have brought in to the monastery at least a small bequest. In 1203 the canons carried off from Hereford the body of one Hugh Potte, a parishioner of Hereford, for burial. This was not locally appreciated, and the priory undertook never to do it again, unless the dean and chapter gave leave.[108]

On at least two occasions), the prior of Llanthony was delegated by papal mandate to support the local clergy. In 1250, the priors of Llanthony and Leominster were instructed to prohibit the Dominican friars from establishing a cell in Hereford as, the dean and chapter protested, the Franciscan friars there, and the clergy of the churches of Hereford, were already struggling to exist on slender resources and a further religious house would be greatly to their detriment.[109]

Five years later, the prior was delegated the task, at the petition of the dean and chapter, of 'recalling to the ownership of the church of Hereford, tithes and rents unlawfully alienated'.[110] The background is unknown. A similar task saw the prior appointed in 1328, together with the abbots of Dore and Evesham, 'to do justice' to the property of the bishops of Hereford which, taken into the king's hands during a vacancy in see following the translation of bishop Adam de Orleton to Worcester, had been 'lessened in value - by neglect of the secular power and malice of ministers'.[111]

For one reason or another and on more than one occasion, the priory acknowledged its indebtedness to the dean and chapter. In 1315, it had borrowed £15 and gave an embroidered cope of red samite as a pledge of repayment; in 1316, the dean and chapter acknowledged receipt from the priory of seven marks as part payment of a bond in the sum of fifteen pounds.[112]

As a result of benefactions made to it, Llanthony priory supported a chantry chaplain celebrating at St Richard's altar in Hereford cathedral [Walter Helyon, on a £2 stipend, held the post in 1402], and in the church of St Nicholas in the city [William Hamme, paid yearly £2-10-0, also in 1402].[113] The former duty may explain (though not certainly) the claim in 1387 of a priest, Adam Feltwell, chaplain of a chantry in the cathedral 'for the soul of Roger de Kaukeberge, late canon of Hereford', against Llanthony for a rent of 40s, unpaid for some time.[114]

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[106] Cowley 196, *n.*9; for them *in extenso* see Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* VI, 134-36, and Roberts 116 et seq.

[107] NM MSS II, 401 [5869].

[108] *HCA* 1971.

[109] *HCA* 1330.

[110] *HCA* 2526.

[111] *Reg. Adam de Orleton* xliii.

[112] *HCA* 2661, 2676, respectively.

[113] TNA, SC6/1108/6.

[114] *Close* 1387, 337.

Either of these chantry duties *may* be explained by a deed whereby Llanthony allowed in 1316 one Hugh de Brehousa to assign to a chaplain who was to celebrate divine service for his soul, nine acres of arable in the Mora near Hereford which Hugh had bought of John Pryde and Roger de Ledbury, citizens of Hereford.'[115]; or by a grant of William Godeknave, a leading citizen, in 1329, giving Llanthony fifty acres of land in the suburbs of Hereford to sustain a chaplain in the priory church.[116] Another chantry duty in the priory was endowed by the father of Walter de Caple, on whose behest Bishop Swinfield of Hereford in 1283 required the priory to admit as a canon a priest to fulfil that obligation.[117] A final note, *vis-a-vis* the dean and chapter, came in 1479 when the priory gave the chapter the right of distraint on its lands to secure payment of an annual fee of 60s customarily received from the manor of Widemarsh Moor near Hereford, and to meet the arrears now due and all expenses.[118]

Harassment from Neighbours

Little else is on record concerning Llanthony in the thirteenth century until its latter decades, when clearly the priory was experiencing difficulties. No less than three of the canons [Nicholas de Feckenham, Leonard de Llanthony and John de Ros] were said in 1274 to have fled the monastery.[119] In 1276 a royal clerk was appointed to look after the temporal affairs of the monastery as it was 'in debt',[120] but that support did not stop the tribulations of which the canons complained to the Crown in the ensuing years; trials which came not usually from the Welshry but from local lords of Anglo-Norman descent. Moreover, the priory was frequently in debt for one reason or another, owing monies to Agnes Aubrey (£46 in 1280),[121] Henry le Tyeis (£6 in 1281),[122] and to William le Brun (£24 in 1290);[123] but it also had its debtors – as John de Erdeshope, clerk (owing Llanthony 60 marks in 1287), and Peter Gylemin of Ludlow (indebted to the priory that year in the sum of 105 marks).[124]

In 1265, the priory alleged breaches of the peace against Adam Kelfigin and others, probably relating to trespass.[125] In 1277, the priory alleged that the servants of Reynold fitz Peter, lord of Blaenllynfi, including William Gethin, constable of Dinas [a manor in Talgarth], distrained cattle on several occasions from its Olrewas manor, after a woman, Agnes Aubrey of Brecon, promised him a share in the twenty-five sacks of wool she said the priory owed her. They also detained for three days in Blaenllyfni castle Philip Mon, keeper of the prior's stud at Olrewas.[126]

There followed a long protracted dispute, with claim and counter-claim, against Theobald de Verdun, lord of Ewyas, the canons alleging that he had caused cattle 'as well of the plough as others', to be driven to his castle of Ewyas from their manors of Oldcastle and Redcastle. There some died of hunger before the priory redeemed them. Worse still, his men had come to Newton manor by night,

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[115] HCA 1169.
[116] TNA, C143/78/21.
[117] *Reg. R. Swinfield* 22.
[118] *HCA* 729.
[119] *Patent* 1274, 49.
[120] Cowley 220; *Patent* 1276, 232..
[121] *Close* 1280, 47.
[122] *Close* 1281, 137.
[123] Cowley 231; *Close* 1290, 121..
[124] *Close* 1287, 485-86.
[125] *Close* 1265, 117.
[126] Cowley 224; *Inq. Misc.* I, 337-38 [1127]; Olrewas is absent from later valuations of priory property; the place-name no longer exists, but the manor perhaps lay in the western portion of Ewyas Lacy.

broken into houses, wounded the prior and some of his men, killing two of the canons in the process. It was not until the Abergavenny Parliament of 1292 that Nicholas de Verdun was adjudged guilty and forfeited his lordship of Ewyas.[127] Despite this suffering, the priory had been able to loan money to John and Hugh of Craswall and John Oldacre; in 1293, they acknowledged their indebtedness to the priory in 11 marks, 8 shillings and 3 pence.[128]

In the meanwhile, the priory also had to bring writs against the abbot of Dore (1279) for infringing its common of pasture,[129] and sue Grono ap Modewith [*al.* Gruffydd ap Modnet] and others (1280/81), who in court agreed that they had no common in the lands of Llanthony, nor should they cut wood nor fish there.[130] In 1294, letters of protection were granted to the prior in the execution of his duties.[131] The century closed with further harassment when (in 1299) Gilbert de Bohun and his men came from Crickhowell, invaded the priory lands, and rustled a large number of beasts.[132] Gilbert was the brother of the recently deceased Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Essex, and lord of Brecknock. Theobald de Verdun was also once again proving a problem. It was perhaps all too much for two priors: Nicholas who was atruck with paralysis by 1295,[133] and his successor, Thomas of Gloucester, who tried to abandon the religious life.[134]

A Community in Need of Reform

When Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury held a metropolitical visitation of south Wales in the summer of 1284, he was clearly not well pleased with what he found at Llanthony, neither in the management of the priory's temporal affairs, nor in the lifestyle of some of its canons. His prescriptions for reform were recorded in his register, and have been superbly described by that fine monastic historian, Dr F.G. Cowley, and his relevant passages are repeated here, by his permission:[135]

> Pecham diagnosed that one of the causes of Llanthony's troubles lay in mismanagement of the priory's resources. He urged that a central treasury should be established and an audit held three times a year. A layman was to be appointed as a steward of all the goods of the church, and with him was to be associated a canon of the priory as external cellarer.[136] When the prior thought fit or was away on business, both officials were to make provision for the necessities of the house and manage its property jointly, not individually, and always with the advice and consent of the prior.

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[127] *Welsh Assize* 91-92, 110, 119, 184, 325, 329, 332, 337, 339; *Close* 1281, 190; Cowley 224, 227; there was a longstanding connection as Thomas de Furnivall, son-in-law of Theobald de Verdun, was due a moiety of the advowson of Llanthony Primaa (*Calendar of Inquisitions* VII, 4988 [710, of 1335; *Close* 1344, 277-78, 345).

[128] TNA, C241/23/96.

[129] *Welsh Assize* 293.

[130] *Welsh Assize* 184, 219, 281, 312.

[131] *Patent* 1294, 97.

[132] Cowley 224, 227; *Patent* 1299, 465-66.

[133] *Patent* 1295, 141.

[134] Cowley 134; Patent 1296, 205-06; Reg. Robt. Winchelsey II, 732-33, 744.

[135] Cowley, 104-06.

[136] A cellarer was the business manager of a community. Gerald of Wales in his *Speculum Ecclesie* noted a cellarer of an Augustinian house 'on the Welsh border' who had put his priory's affairs in good order, only to be dismissed by a new prior and passed over for a friend of the prior. The probability is that the unnamed monastery was Llanthony Prima; the sacked cellarer had been elected to his office 'by the unanimous vote of the brethren' (Dew 253-55).

The external cellarer was to have no power of alienating the goods of the church and was to receive his expenses either from the treasurers or from the custodians of manors by tally. When engaged in business outside the priory, he should be content with the company of one layman or canon and whenever possible should return to the house for meals.

The prior was humbly to discuss all the business of the house with the convent. Business of a more secret nature might be discussed with at least four of the senior canons. Without the latter's advice no obedientiaries or servants were to be appointed or dismissed. Their counsel was also to be taken when any important gift was made in the name of the prior and convent. A general audit of the accounts of the cellarer, the reeves and bailiffs, was to be made in October in the presence of the prior, the two treasurers and three or four senior canons.

Pecham drew up a carefully defined scale of punishments for faults committed by the canons. The whole tone of the injunctions here suggests that Pecham was legislating for an autocratic prior and for a dissident and rebellious community rarely at peace with its superior.

No one was to be imprisoned unless for an outrageous and manifest crime, such as theft, immodest behaviour, violence, conspiracy and sedition against the prior, disobedience, apostasy or attempted apostasy. These faults were to be punished by imprisonment and the guilty parties could only be absolved by the prior. Those guilty of lesser faults might be absolved by the sub-prior and one other senior canon appointed by the prior as common penitentiary. Those imprisoned could be released after a sufficient show of penitence. The prison cells were to be strong but as airy as security would allow. Pecham then proceeded to lay down a scale of punishments for the daily faults of omission and commission. These included breaking silence, unbridled talkativeness, unbecoming behaviour, dissolute laughter, lateness, missing a canonical hour, murmuring, abuse, lying, spreading rumours, leaving the cloister without licence, and immoderate drinking.

These faults were to be punished by withdrawing the guilty party's pittance,[137] by restricting him to drinking water or making him sit last at table, chapter and choir. In cases of growing insolence, the guilty canon was to be made to sit on the floor during meal times, was to be beaten in chapter and was to lie prostrate on the threshold of the chapter house for the community to walk over him.

If he still remained obdurate, he should be separated from the community and remain locked in a room alone until he showed signs of penitence. If even this failed, he was to be imprisoned and chained until the diocesan (bishop) was consulted as to whether it would be expedience to eject the brother form the order, or incarcerate him for a longer period or for ever.

With an eye to present and possible future discord in the house, Pecham urged the prior to study to be loved by his sons: 'Look with pleasant countenance on those you think less faithful to you, and in choir, chapter and refectory so show them that you are really a prior that your sheep may follow you with joy'.

In concluding his injunctions, Pecham briefly laid down a procedure for the election of a sub-prior.[138] Almost as an after-thought, Pecham added that the prior and those responsible should provide such food and medicine for infirm canons as they themselves, in similar circumstances, would wish to receive.

Whether all of the archbishop's prescriptions for reform were paralleled by shortcomings which he observed, or whether some might have been included to safeguard the future well-being of the priory, the visitation clearly showed that by no means was all well at Llanthony. It must be said that, in part at least, the dismal catalogue of failings may well reflect the lack of a true God-given vocation to the religious life on the part of some of the canons: men who entered, or were placed in, the priory for the wrong reasons, and who subsequently became, in effect, square pegs in a round hole. In any event, Llanthony apparently no longer exhibited the influence of its early years.

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[137] A supplementary dish afforded on some feast-days and obits.

[138] Cowley, 106.

The Fourteenth Century

The fourteenth century did not open on a very auspicious note. The archbishop of Canterbury sought of the bishop of St David's in 1301 the recall to Llanthony of its former prior, Thomas of Gloucester, who had resigned and was 'wandering at large with the connivance of the bishop'.[139] This seems scandalous, but could it be that Thomas was in fact now employed on the bishop's service? The remainder of the century, until 1362, may have been a period of quiescence for the priory, for only two happenings of discord are known, and (like modern newspapers) in medieval documentation the isolated incidents loom large while the great mass of good news goes by unnoticed. These decades were, however, not a period of growth: twelve canons were ascribed to the priory in 1379,[140] and only seven were listed in a clerical taxation list four years later.[141]

The two known erring canons were John of Hereford who, in 1330, was convicted of theft by the earl of Hereford's court and lodged in the bishop of Hereford's prison, until he had made his 'purgation' and there had been public proclamation of it.[142] More happily, in 1354, Thomas de Crudewell who had absconded from the priory now wished to be reconciled to the religious life. The papal mandate 'to carry out the ordinances touching apostates' was addressed to the dean of Chichester and the chancellor of Salisbury, suggesting that Crudewell had removed to the south of England.[143]

If the allegations in 1362 of one Adam Esegar, clerk, are trustworthy then the monastery appears to have had considerable control over its tenants. Adam obtained that year the grant of a commission to enquire into his complaint that Prior Adam of Llanthony Prima, together with two of his canons – John de Orleton and Walter Stephens – and 'a great multitude of Welshmen', invaded houses in his manor of Holme Lacy, carried away goods, broke down a newly erected weir and the sluices of his mill, and 'cut the timber of the sluices into little pieces'.[144] The earlier part of the century saw the canons not only seek royal ratification of their charters, but also an emphasis that they might employ 'those rights and privileges' that had not hitherto taken advantage of. What these were is unclear.[145]

An Unfortunate Happening

Conventual life was not always free from turbulence. Such was the case when, probably on 4 August 1373, the prior Nicholas Trinley (*al.* Trilley/Trinbey) being accused by one of his brethren, John de Welyngton, of having 'injured him and wasted the goods of the priory', was set upon by Welyngton and two fellow-canons, Robert Bolter and John Poding (*al.* Potter). They, Nicholas asserted, 'whilst he was saying the office of the dead, threw him to the ground, and tore out both his eyes'. They also killed his brother, a layman, John de Trinley. In November, describing Nicholas as 'the prior and spiritual father of the house', he (or his successor) and allegedly the remaining canons sought secular aid to apprehend the three malefactors, now said to be excommunicated apostates and vagabonds, and to ensure they made 'competent satisfaction'. [146]

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[139] Cowley 134; *Reg. R. Winchelsey* II, 732, 734.

[140] Russell 329, *n.*28; TNA, E179/21/3 (the individual names are not given, but each was taxed at 1s 8d).

[141] TNA, E179/21/8: they were Ralph (sub-prior – the Latin is *obprior*, Walter Crok, John Mara, John Abergavenny, Nicholas Caerleon, Robert Wynter and John Loudon; there were also three secular chaplains serving the Ewyas deanery churches – like Clodock and Cwm-iou: Robert [no surname given], John Elvael and Rise ap Henry.

[142] *Reg. T. de Charlton* 3.

[143] *CPL* 1354, 522.

[144] *Patent* 1362, 283; Craster 7.

[145] TNA, C143/180/9.

[146] TNA, C81/1789, f. 19.

Somewhat later Prior Nicholas fled the monastery in fear, and appealed to the Holy See for remedy.[147] He perhaps found refuge at Llanthony Secunda, for on 6 April 1376 Llanthony Prima excused the Gloucester house from the eight mark payment it paid it annually for as long as former prior Nicholas lived; this sum to be devoted towards his maintenance.[148] The papal letter addressed to three commissioners [the bishop of Worcester, the abbot of Cirencester, and the prior of Stodeley] charged with holding an investigation into the matter, described Trinley as having 'ruled the priory well for eleven years or thereabouts'. It ordered the election of a new prior – with a pension being assigned to Trinley, whilst the miscreants, if found worthy of excommunication by the commissioners, might not be absolved until they had made satisfaction and repaired to the Holy See for absolution – the pope being then at Avignon. A mention of the affair in a fragment of a chronicle kept by the Augustinian canons of Wigmore criticises Prior Nicholas in no uncertain terms, and referred to his 'detestable life'.[149]

Nothing more is heard of Poding, though much later, in 1398, Bolter was given permission to choose a confessor – seemingly a technical procedure in paving the way for one's ultimate exit from this world.[150] Meanwhile, Welyngton confessed his guilt, and acknowledged that he had 'laid violent hands upon' and 'deprived of his sight' the former prior, blaming his actions partly on his youth at the time. He made the required journey to the apostolic see, and there received absolution. The papal letter of 13 March 1391 recounting this perhaps refers to contrition some years before, but now, from Rome, granted Welyngton 'rehabilitation and dispensation', allowing him to become prior of Llanthony himself.[151]

It might be that the loan in 1367 to Thomas Thurgrim, a citizen of Hereford, of £45 [£16,000 in modern equivalent] by the priory under Trinley's leadership, and perhaps other such acts, had led to a certain disaffection for him within the community.[152] It was Prior Nicholas also who (in September 1374 and not for the first time in the priory's history) fearing trouble obtained the promise of 'a safe place' at Llanthony Secunda 'for books, vestments and other goods'.[153] In March 1380, Nicholas, now styling himself as 'late prior of Llanthony Prima', acknowledged that he had delivered to, and received back from, the prior of Llanthony Secunda 'a great leather hamper containing cartularies and silver plate, together with a silver gilt cross with a silver staff made in two parts and a silver base; a small statue of silver made in the likeness of a regular canon, and also two small chests, locked and sealed'.[154]

That month, John de Yatton, now prior of Llanthony Prima, acquitted the prior of Llanthony Secunda from any manner of actions he might have against him, saying that Nicholas had removed himself with the hamper to the Gloucester house with his consent. [155] What eventually happened to all these objects, and indeed to former prior Nicholas, is unknown, but the interest lies in their content, not least the fact that there were in existence silver statuettes moulded to portray canons of the Augustinian movement.

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[147] *CPL* 1376, 223; the *Chronicle of Wigmore* suggests that Prior Nicholas was deposed on 4 August 1373, but this does not match the papal mandate to receive his resignation of 8 February 1376 (Smith 413).

[148] TNA, C115/78, f.54d.

[149] Taylor (1964) 92.

[150] *CPL* 1398, 148.

[151] *CPL* 1391, 355.

[152] TNA, C 241/149/120.

[153] TNA, C115/82, f. 86d; Prior Nicholas was promised 'access, ingress and regress to them whenever he pleased'..

[154] TNA, C115/78, f.55r.

[155] Graham 44-45, based on TNA, C115/78, f.55r..

Prior John Welyngton and the Glyn Dŵr Revolt

If not in 1391, then certainly by 1396 the rehabilitated John Welyngton was prior of Llanthony. It was somewhat ironic, given his own chequered history, that in 1397 he had to request secular assistance in apprehending one of his canons (William Thurgrim, ordained in 1392) who had abandoned the monastic life.[156]

Like other priors, Welyngton made occasional visits to the priory's possessions in Ireland, seeking first royal leave. When he travelled there in 1402, he appointed as his attorneys back in England and Wales, Hugh Harper (chaplain) and William Harper.[157] [Hugh features in the solitary medieval account roll, of Welyngton's time, now extant *(Appendix 5).*] Welyngton's period as prior saw the opening years of the Glyn Dŵr Revolt, and Crown officers suspected him as being 'a rebel and adherent of Glyn Dŵr', and on that supposition took into Crown hands the possessions of the priory in Ireland. The king restored them, in 1404, noting that Welyngton was 'a loyal subject',[158] and that year Llanthony had lent (as other religious houses) money (£13 in the priory's case) to the monarch 'for resisting the Welsh rebels'.[159].

The monastery assets were certainly badly affected at this time, Henry IV noting in 1405 that 'the priory is situated among the Welsh rebels and is much destroyed and wasted by them'. He gave leave for the canons to obtain a burgage in Hereford to store their valuables.[160] Forty years later, in 1448, the Crown exempted the prior and his successors from being collectors of tenths and subsidies 'they having declared that their lands and possessions are wasted by the wars of Henry IV in Wales'. There were other contributory factors: 'deceases of tenants, other mishaps, and impositions and charges'. The result, the canons alleged, was that they 'cannot support divine service'. [161]

The Collection of Tenths and Subsidies

Welyngton performed the external duties intermittently sought of priors of monasteries. One of these, in 1402, was his appointment by the bishop of St David's to a commission of enquiry hearing a case of alleged perjury by Wenllyan ap Ieuan Gutta and John ap Ieuan Gutta.[162] He was cited to attend Convocation in 1399,[163] but the more burdensome lay in the collections of tenths and subsidies granted by the clergy to the Crown or the Holy See. This could be problematic when Welsh clerics might not be minded to pay up, for if a superior failed to deliver the required amount to the Crown, distraint of his monastery's goods might follow. In 1386 the prior of Llanthony was one of some thirty defaulters whose committal to prison was ordered until they produced four moieties of tenths granted the king in 1383 and 1383.[16]

Prior Welyngton was the collector of a tenth in the archdeaconry of Brecon in 1403, the bishop – despite the problems caused by the Glyn Dŵr Revolt - 'threatening Llanthony Prima with a penalty of his own as well as the king's indignation if they failed to get in the money'.[16] Similar tasks befell

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156 TNA, C81/1789, f.20.

157 Patent 1402, 38.

158 Patent 1404, 455; Griffiths 88.

159 Close 1404, 395.

160 Patent 1405, 53. [The house was being granted the canons by Hugh Harper, clerk, John ap Gruffydd, chaplain, and William Harper of Welyngton; the Harpers appear to have come from the same place as the prior.]

161 Patent 1448/116.

162 *EPD* II, 289.

163 *EPD* I, 128-29.

164 Langston 101.

165 *EPD* I, 86.

the priors of 1292 (when the king had 'evident and urgent need' of cash;[166] 1295 ('to aid the present war');[167] 1304 (when money was needed 'for the speedy ending of the war in Scotland');[168] 1306 (a papal subsidy in aid of the Holy Land but, the pontiff dying, the king claimed the money);[169] 1341 (when the money collected was to be taken to the Tower of London 'with all speed');[170] and 1386 (when the prior was one of many defaulters).[171]

Collection of such monies was difficult enough, their safe-keeping at Llanthony could be another potential problem; as in 1294 when the prior ordered to collect a tenth was instructed by the Crown to have the money 'kept in a safe place ready for payment when required'.[172] A series of receipts for monies paid in by Llanthony Prima as collector in the archdeaconry of Brecon or for the deaneries of Brecon and Ewyas, exist mostly for the reigns of Henry IV, V and Henry VI. The amounts varied, but included £36 in 1407, £73 in 1415 and £54 in 1483. [173] The latter sum in modern equivalent comes to nearly £23,000; an indication of the scale of the task and the security needed. Payment was generally made at St Paul's cathedral in London by the attorneys of the priory; these included William Harper (1403), John ap Meurig (1433) and John Barton (1446).[174]

The burden of being a collector was doubled for the priors of Llanthony in that, having spiritual property in the diocese of Hereford, they had to perform like tasks there – as in 1378,[175] 1410,[176] 1421,[177] and 1450.[178] An occasional receipt for the sum rendered by an individual cleric survives, as when in 1411 the prior of Llanthony acknowledged the receipt from one John Saunders of 8s. for the church of 'Lyntoun'.[179] Another duty to befall a prior was safeguarding the property of Aconbury priory – the buildings of which were in a very dilapidated state (1406).[180] Another obligation of the prior of Llanthony Prima, from time to time and as in 1329 and 1371, was to be an official Visitor at other priories of the Augustinians in the dioceses of Hereford, Worcester and St David's.[181]

The Union of the Two Priories

In 1467 a bright young monk and Oxford graduate, Henry Deane,[182] became prior of Llanthony Secunda, and was destined to reach high office: chancellor of Ireland in 1494, bishop of Bangor from 1495, of Salisbury from 1500, and then archbishop of Canterbury from 1501 until his death two years later. He was a canon highly thought of but perhaps manipulative for in 1481, alleging that the possessions of Llanthony Prima had been devastated, that the prior John Adams had wasted its possessions, and that there were only the prior and four canons resident, Deane paid Edward IV the

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166 *Close* 1294, 396-97.
167 *Patent* 1295, 173.
168 *Close* 1304, 124
169 *Close* 1306, 383.
170 Close 1341, 611-12.
171 *Close* 1386, 149.
172 *Patent* 1294, 89.
173 TNA, E179/21/19, 34, 62, respectively.
174 TNA, E179/21/19, 72, 80, respectively.
175 *Reg. Jn. Gilbert 4-5.*
176 Reg. R. Mascall 112-13.
177 *Reg. Th. Poltone* 8.
178 *Reg. R. Beauchamp* 11.
179 *HCA* 2804.
180 *Reg. R. Mascall*27.
181 Salter 69 [41], 153-54 [68].
182 Langston 122.

sum of 300 marks [£80,000 in to-day's currency] to effect the union and subordination of what had been originally its mother-house and its possessions to Llanthony Secunda.[183]

Henceforth, a prior dative [appointed by Llanthony Secunda] and four canons were maintained at Llanthony Prima 'to celebrate masses and other divine offices'. The Welsh priory had lost its independence but did not gain any extra personnel, which puts a question mark over the reasons cited for the union. The subjugation of the Welsh house was confirmed by Sixtus IV in 1482[184] and by the bishop and chapter of St David's in 1483.[185] Sixtus IV permitted one of the canons, John Adonis, 'to receive and retain for life any benefice'.[186] Did Adonis want to leave because the changes were not to his liking, or is the name a mistranscription in the papal registers for the erstwhile prior, John Adams, and a means of giving him some recompense? As for Deane, a future pope, Alexander VI, allowed him once a bishop to continue to hold his priorship *in commendam*.[187]

The union took effect on 10 May 1481, and in October that year, the Crown referring to the fact that the former prior, John Adams, had been a collector in 1472 of a tenth in the archdeaconries of Brecon and Carmarthen, granted that tenth to Llanthony Secunda.[188] From 1481 any appointments to the churches formerly held by Llanthony Prima were made by the prior of Llanthony Secunda as, for instance, when a new vicar was presented in 1505 to Cusop.[189] The priors of Llanthony Secunda, like Edmund Forest, jealously guarded their new-found authority. When, in 1515, the bishop of St David's cited the prior of Llanthony Prima to attend the convocation of Canterbury in November that year, Forest sent him a sturdy rejoinder:[190]

> That prior is obedient unto me and [is] one of my canons and not perpetual prior there … but always removable at my pleasure as other of his brethren there be. And that house with all that belongeth to it is appropriated unto this poor priory where I am master, and so the nature of that house is changed.

The union brought complications; as in 1503 when George Traheren sitting as royal escheator at Weobley, took into Crown hands the possessions of Llanthony (whether simply those at Weobley is unclear), on the grounds that the priory had been vacant since the death in 1469 of Prior John Pembridge. This was patently untrue as John Adams had succeeded him, and on appeal the Crown restored Llanthony Prima to Llanthony Secunda, but only on the payment of a further 100 marks.[191] The union was an expensive affair, and the disparity between the two priories was clear when in 1522 in an assessment of money to be raised for the king's projected expenses in France, Llanthony Secunda was expected to make a loan of £200 but Llanthony Prima of only £20.[192] Despite this, and its annexation, in a listing of 1531 the prior of Llanthony Prima was included amongst 'the names of divers lords marchers in Wales'.[193]

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[183] *Patent* 1481, 282; for full transcriptions, see: *Monasticon* VI, 139 ; Roberts 77-79. .

[184] *Papal* 1481, 912; XIII, 2, 912; *Cf. Close* 1504, 173; *Cal. Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 2nd Ser. III, Appx. 1, 602 (No. 199) –re right of election and presentation to the joint priorship.

[185] Rhodes (2002) 53.

[186] *Papal* XIII: 2, 746.

[187] *Papal* XVII, 2390-91 [442].

[188] *Patent* 1481, 246.

[189] Rhodes (2002) 64 [133].

[190] Ibid. 129 [332]; nevertheless, the prior of the Welsh house was again summoned to Convocation in 1529 (*LP* IV, Pt. 3, 2701..

[191] Ibid. 82-84 [215].

[192] *LP* III, Pt. 2, 1047-48 [2483].

[193] *LP* V, 193 [390].

The ecclesiastical valuation of 1535, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, shows that despite the union a number of properties in Wales and the Border continued to be administered directly from Llanthony Prima. Others were managed by Llanthony Secunda, including the possessions at Bishop and Canon Frome, Llanwarne, Monkton, Mordiford, Painswick, Stanton Lacy, Ullingswick and Weobley. The Welsh house also continued to its last days its ancient work of charity, in that alms to the value of 6s 8d. [about £100 in modern equivalent] were distributed to the poor each Maundy Thursday.[194]

The Suppression

When the canons of Llanthony Prima subscribed their signatures to a deed acknowledging the royal supremacy; it was said [as was normal] to have been given 'given in our chapter-house', but as the space for the date is unfilled and the seal appended is that of Llanthony Secunda, there must be some doubt as to when and where it was signed. The signatories were the prior, John Ambrose, and four canons: John Newland, William Alvington, Gerard Aylburton and William Worcester.[195]

When Henry VIII in 1536 confiscated the lands in Ireland belonging to English monasteries, Llanthony Secunda's income fell considerably. Prior Richard, therefore, wrote on 4 March 1537 to Thomas Cromwell asking 'for the dissolving of my cell in Wales, so that the profit might be put to the use of the house of Llanthony here'. This did not happen, and an air of mystery was given by the prior asking the chancellor for 'his favour and credence to the bearer, Mr Porter, to whom I have disclosed my whole mind'.[196] The prior's wish was perhaps prompted by the net value of Llanthony Prima recorded in 1535 as being £112, almost half of which derived from the rectorial ltithes and other emoluments of its remaining churches.[197]

The surrender of Llanthony Secunda and Prima took place jointly in 10 March 1538; the signatories of the deed included David, 'prior of the cell in Wales' and his four canons.[198] He was David Kempe *alias* Matthew. The deed of surrender and a pension list of May 1539, shows that by the time of the dissolution the prior John Ambrose, William Worcester, and John Newland, had returned to Llanthony Secunda; the latter becoming sacristran there. They had been replaced at Llanthony Prima by David Kempe, William Baryngton (or Brayngton) and John Hempsted. David Kempe was awarded an annual pension of £8 (a small fraction of what the prior of Llanthony Secunda received).[199] Might he have been the same David Kempe who in his will described himself as 'an unworthy minister of God's holy word'? At the time of his death in 1582 his wife was 'growing into age', and he was a grandfather and resident in Gloucester Cathedral close.[200]

The priory of Llanthony Prima and all its English and Welsh property was granted to Nicholas Arnold, a member of the royal household. This had been projected for some time, and was confirmed in August 1541.[201] It was on 17 March 1538 that the Crown visitors [Dr Tregowell, Dr Petre and John Freman] were able to write to Cromwell that 'we have taken the surrender of Llanthony priory [but] have deferred surveying the demesne of the priory and the cell in Wales, because Mr Porter and Mr

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[194] *VE* II, 423, 431.

[195] TNA, E25/74. (Alvington and Aylburton were intertwined Gloucestershire manors of Llanthony Secunda).

[196] *LP* XII, Pt. 1, 264 [569]; Arthur Porter was later named as particular-receiver for the Crown of the lands of Llanthony Secunda (LP XV, 539 [1032] of 12 August 1539); see also: Rhodes (2002) xxxi-xxxii.

[197] *VE* II, 431.

[198] *LP* XIII, Pt. 1, 176 [482]; *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1847), Appx. II, p. 167.

[199] *LP* XIV : Ot. 1, 596 [1355]; *cf.* TNA, E314/20/11, p. 3r; Kemp and Hempsted were canons at Llanthony Secunda in 1534 (*Seventh Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record*; 1846, Appx. II, p. 290.

[200] Gloucestershire Record Office, Wills 1582/17.

[201] *LP* XVI, 720-21 [1500].

Nicholas Arnold said Cromwell was contented that they should have both according to the value certified for the payments of the tenths'. Dr Petre also wrote a separate letter in which he said that they had taken 'the surrender of the priory quietly'. [202]

Nicholas Arnold did not find all his new tenants compliant; Thomas Baskerville and others withheld their tithes for 'now the priory is dissolved, they know not why they should pay to any farmer'; Henry ap John David ap Howell took over Cwm-iou mill saying that he held it by copy of court roll dating from monastic times; William Herbert of Abergavenny refused to pay corn rent for 'a farm called Cwm-iou' which Nicholas's wife, Margaret, had sold him; while Richard Lewis, bailiff of Abergavenny, extorted toll from his tenants although Llanthony Prima had, Arnold pointed out, been 'free and discharged of all manner of toll for all the things they bought and sold by charters granted to it'[203]

The Lay Community and Officers

As the centuries passed monastic business increasingly passed into the hands of a priory's officials. David ap Gwilym Morgan, Steward of the Honddu valley lands when Llanthony Prima and Secunda were united in 1481, remained in office until 1524. He would oversee the manorial courts on behalf the priory.[204] In 1513, Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, and his son Henry, were granted the reversion of the office of steward, but they could only act in anything they did (like assigning lands or imposing fines on felons) with the prior's consent. [205] The steward's deputy appointed in 1514 was Thomas Herbert of Abergavenny, but he also was not to impose fines without consent.[206]

When William Phelipps was appointed the priory's janitor (porter) on 9 December in 1511, he was perhaps an import from Llanthony Secunda, where a person of his name witnessed a deed a few days earlier. His emoluments of office included half-a-mark a year, a gown annually or 5s. at the discretion of the proctor, and seven quarts of conventual (i.e. the better) ale every week from the priory cellarer.[207] The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (*Appendix 6*) names the then officers in 1535 together with the amount of their stipends. Certain claims were disallowed, perhaps because they were felt by Crown officials to be superfluous, or else because their appointments had been made after notice of the survey was given.

Charters and Lands.

While it was Hugh de Lacy who was the founder of Llanthony Prima, no charter of his survives. Innocent II, in 1131, however, at the request of Bishop Robert, the former prior, confirmed Hugh's grant of 'sufficient territory in the valley around the monastery to serve the needs of the monks.' He also affirmed the substantial grants made by Payn FitzJohn, the sheriff of Salop and Hereford who, in the right of his wife, Sybil, niece of Hugh, held for a time the lordship of Ewyas. Payn gave the canons 'Rumenau, in the same valley', and also 'Cunnou' (Cwm-iou), 'Rederessu' (?Redcastle), Oldcastle and, further afield, Llanwarne and Little Frome, as well as other lands which later passed to Llanthony Secunda. The pontiff also confirmed "the land at St Michael's" (territory in Llanfihangel Crucornau) given by Brian FitzCount, lord of Abergavenny from 1114 to 1142.[208]

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[202] *LP* XIII, Pt. 1, 197 [530-31].

[203] Augm. 137-39.

[204] Procter 44.

[205] Rhodes (2002) 108-09 [269].

[206] Rhodes (2002) 119 [309].

[207] Rhodes (2002) 100 [239], 103 [251]; TNA, C115/85, f.51..

[208] Holtzmann 239-40 [16]; a further confirmation, by Eugenius III in 1146, gives the place names as 'Rexwernou, Conuouir, Redressauc and vetus castellum': Holtzmann 267 [35].

Much later, Walter de Lacy, a great-great-nephew of the founder, and lord of Meath as well as of Ewyas, gave the canons a comprehensive charter to which they referred in later appeals.[209] His charter, dated to around 1214, must incorporate substantial grants by the founder, now amplified by Walter. Several of the place-names denoting the bounds are now unrecognisable, but the recital of the canons' privileges are worthy of note. Walter gave:

> All the valley in which the church is situated, on one side by Keven Tassett and Asharesway, and by Ruggeway *[ridgeway]* unto Antesin, and on the side of Hatterall *(ridge south-east of the priory)* from the land of Seisil the son of Gilbert, by Ruggesway to the bound of Talgarhg *[the lordship of Talgarth lying immediately west of the Honddu valley]* .. they may have all hunting and free warren within the bounds of their lands … to seize and bring *[malefactors]* before their own court … full common of pasture in Wrguen *[Grwyne]*, and haybote and houseboot therein .. common in my wood of Mascoit *[Maescoed – eastwards in Herefordshire]* for their swine, free and quit from pannage and toll …jurisdiction of assaults, murder and shedding of blood and breach of peace and treasure found … all pleas of theft, manslaughter, rapes and burnings … and all other pleas which can *[would normally be]* tried in the court of Ewyas .. held before the canons or their bailiff .. they shall have a gallows to belong to their court of justice .. and to do justice .. as they shall think fit.

This is the charter whose confirmation the priory sought in the reign of Edward II, saying then that they had not used hitherto all the privileges it had granted. Another charter of perhaps 1216/20, from Reginald de Braose (newly restored to his estates as lord of Brecon, Abergavenny, and other Marcher lordships), shows that Brian FitzCount (alluded to above) granted the priory the village of Stanton ('Stanton in Went'). Reginald confirmed this gift to the priory, and made generous grants of his own:[210]

> … all the alms which Brian FitzCount gave to them, that is to say: 'the land of Roger of St Michael, and the land of Hugh of Merchelay, and the land Pebeys, and the Edge, that is the side of the mountain Bryngarw, as far as the top of the same, and the village of Stanton in Went .. and the land of … the carpenter between the Way and the Water; I have also granted the canons to have acorns for their own swine, with my swine, wheresoever I shall have any acorns .. I have granted the canons a mansion house, out of the town of Abergavenny near the Pool, which Thomas le Malyere held, and a certain cottage in the market place, near the church of St John Evangelist, next the dwelling place of the shut-up *[recluse]* nuns,[211] and certain lands which Geoffrey of the Long Field gave to the canons in Badenege, near Borchult .. the canons and their men may pass and repass through my forests and lands without any hindrance; moreover they may have all things from my grove at Lyncoyt (for) the building of their own edifices. I grant them a mansion house in Abergavenny; two days and two nights fishing every week in the pools of Breconshire, which fishery William le Braose, my father, gave them .. common of pasture through all my lands, at the Hay, Talgarth and Abergavenny, for all manner of their cattle and that they may pass without interupption .. *[he also confirms]* … the grant of John fitz Reginald of peaceable depasturing of their horses in all his lands except his park already inclosed and of taking fish in the Mere *(Llangorse Lake)*.

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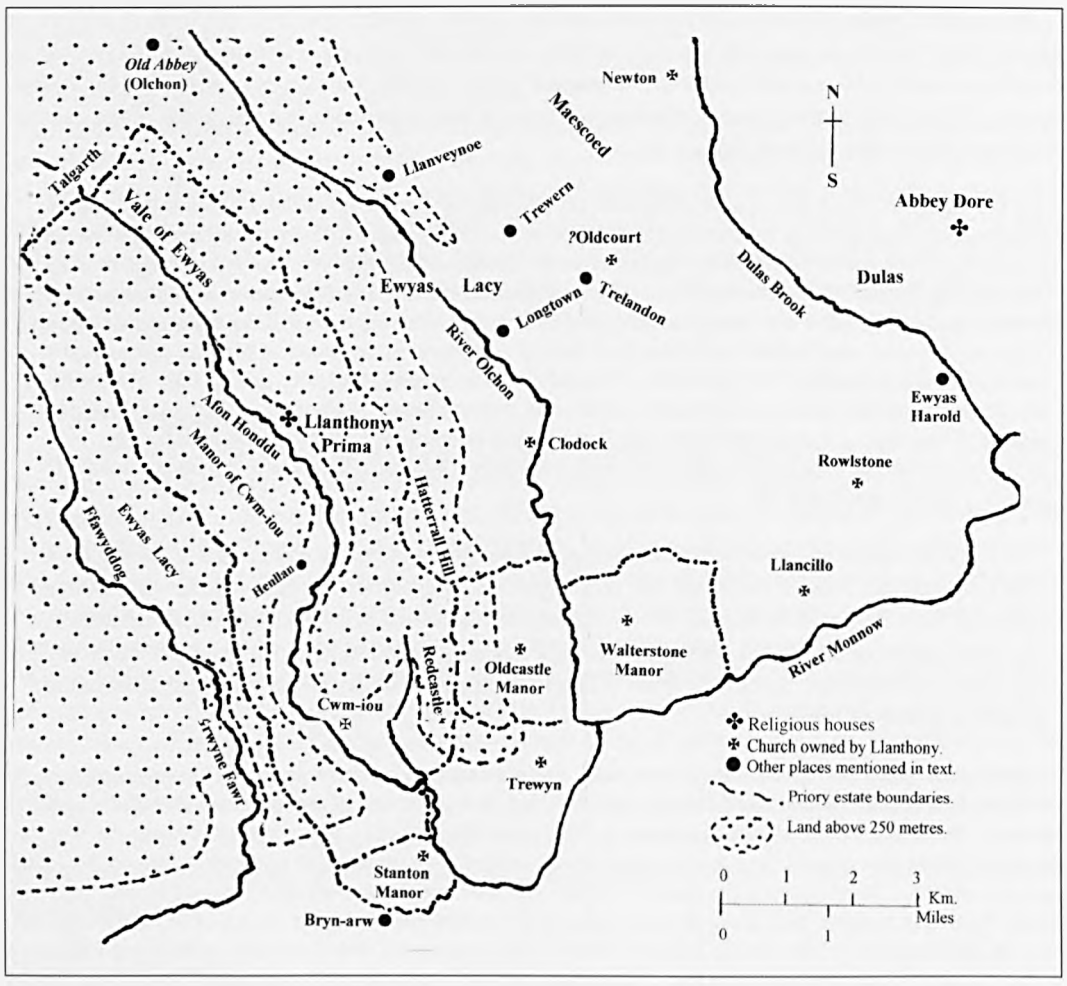
[209] NLW, Baker-Gabb Deed 137.

[210] NLW, Baker-Gabb Deed 133; *cf.* Gardner (1915) 249; this charter was confirmed in 1293 by Edward I under his seal as Earl of March [BL, Lansdowne MS 269, f. 124].

[211] This reference is paralleled at Monmouth by 'the anchorites of St Thomas' at Overmonnow in 1256: Roderick A.J. and Rees, W. 9eds.), 'The Account of the Ministers for the Lordships of Abergavenny, Grosmont and White Castle', *South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society Publication* No. 4 (1957) 17.



Llanthony Priory in its Setting.

These charters received confirmation, for a fee, from successive monarchs down to the reign of Henry VII. Religious houses sometimes found it expedient to gain confirmatory charters early in a king's reign, Llanthony thus obtained royal affirmation in 1379 (the second year of Richard II) and 1400 (the first year of Henry IV).[212] Members of the Mortimer family, earls of the March, descendants of the de Lacys through marriage, also affirmed the priory's possessions.[213] Three pontiffs [Innocent II, Lucius II, and Eugenius III] all confirmed the priory's possessions; the first charter of the last-named being especially comprehensive.[214]

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[212] *Patent* 1379, 325; 1400, 283, 288.
[213] BL, Lansdowne MS 229, f. 11b.; Gardner (1915) 349-50,
[214] Holtzmann 241 [17], 252-53 [26], 267-70 [35], 273-74 [39].

The Monmouthshire Lands

In Monmouthshire, the priory owned the manors of Cwm-iou (which included the abbey site), Stanton, Oldcastle and Redcastle.[215] The *home grang*e at the priory possessed a mill, three fishponds and a semi-subterranean dovecot,[216] with a twelve acre garden and orchard, the latter perhaps within the inner court. The outer court was bounded in part by a substantial stone wall, with large yew trees marking points on the boundary. The site of the medieval barn is marked by a rectangular earthwork platform; it had a stone-tiled roof.[217] At *Cwm-iou* was a further mill together with fish-weirs in the Honddu river, as well as the church of St Martin.[218] The manor of *Stanton* had its own church – traces of which are yet visible,[219] while the priory also owned the tithes of the church of St Martin at nearby *Trewyn*, though not the manor there.[220] Further churches belonging to the priory were at *Oldcastle* (dedicated to St John Baptist)[221] and at *Redcastle* (sometimes called Red Camp).[222] Further fishing rights were those granted (westward in Breconshire) at *Llangorse* Lake,[223] while the property in *Abergavenny* was described at the dissolution as being 'a messuage situated in the northern gate'.[224] In *Llanfihangel Crucorney* the priory held two holdings called Le Gongk.[225]

At *Hadnock,* Monmouth, the fishery was given to the priory by Payn FitzJohn before 1131,[226] and the canons enlarged their holding there with a gift around 1200 from John of Hodenack, and a little later by his daughter, Margaret, who confirmed to the canons all her father's lands there.[227] Another John de Hodenack in 1283 granted his lands there in return for 'a decent dwelling within or without the priory,' as well as grants of clothing, food, heating and attendance.[228] At Hadnock, on the river Wye and close to the hospital of St Michael, the canons thus came to have a mill and a fishery. In 1446, the priory demised part of its property but the lessee had to allow 'a right of way for repair of the weir and of timber for the same, and a piece of land for the fishermen and custodian of the weir'.[229] A moiety of Ash Weir (on the Wye near Tintern) was granted the priory by the founder, together with substantial lands in *Tidenham* and fisheries at 'Hamme'; given by Payn FitzJohn, confirmed by Innocent II (1131) and Eugenius III (1146),[230] and included in an extent of 1338.[231] Giraldus

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[215] The site of Redcastle was on the eastern side of the Cwm-iou valley – where the 1851 Census located Redcastle Cottage, and the 1st edn. OS 6" map placed Castle House.

[216] Gardner (1909) 157-60, (1916) 56-57, 62-63.

[217] Procter 49-53; he suggests Old Abbey at the head of the Olchon valley as a priory grange, pp. 93-94; Gardner (1916) 62.

[218] Ibid. 72-78.

[219] Ibid. 18, 87-89.

[220] Ibid. 16, 59-70.

[221] Ibid. 80-83; *cf.* Rhodes (2002) 118-19 [308].

[222] Procter 84-86.

[223] NLW, Baker-Gabb Deed 133; confirmed by Eugenius III in 1146: Holtzmann 268 [35].

[224] *LP* XXXI: Pt. 1, 576 [47].

[225] NLW, Badminton Manorial 1527 (deed of 1439); these may have derived from land given by Brian FitzCount.and confirmed in 1146 by Eugenius III: Holtzmann 268 [35].

[226] Holtzmann 239-40.

[227] MSS in BM III, 682 [1218, 1220].

[228] Ibid. III, 669 [1191]; he, and Margaret his wife, were granted *inter alia* 'two decent robes each year, or 20s; at Michaelmas .. livery as for two canons, and one boy or maid serving them every day; two loaves [daily] of conventual bread with three gallons of conventual beer …'[BL, Additional Charter 6709].

[229] Ibid. III, III, 683 [1221], *cf.* III, 669-70 [1190]; Gloucestershire Record Office D1799/T50.

[230] Holtzmann 239-40, 266-67. Eugenius III ascribes the land at Tidenham [1 hide] to a grant by one Reginald Pilate, and also mentions a further gift of land there by Roger de Chandos, lord of Llebenydd.

Cambrensis told how the Cistercians (of Tintern presumably), in his time, were in dispute with Llanthony regarding the latter's Gloucestershire properties.[232] The confirmatory charter of Eugenius III also mentions a salt-pit/salt-house in Cemais (Pembrokeshire) granted the canons by Robert FitzMartin, Lord of Cemais.

The English Lands

Llanthony Prima in time gained ten manors as well as lesser lands across the Welsh border; mostly these were in Herefordshire, but the most lucrative, *Stanton Lacy*, lay in Shropshire. That manor accounted in 1402 for almost one-seventh of the priory's income from its non-Irish lands,[233] and seemingly was a foundation gift from Hugh de Lacy. The property which perhaps meant most to the canons lay at *Weobley*, whose castle was early the De Lacy stronghold. Here, on land he gave them at the point of death, Hugh de Lacy was buried. In the lifetime of the first prior, Ernisius, the canons determined to have a cell at Weobley, and Robert de Bethune was sent there to make the necessary arrangements. On the death of Ernisius, with Robert returning to Llanthony to become prior himself, the idea of having 'a place of religion' at Weobley came to an end.[234]

The other English manors comprised Burghill, Canons Frome, Clodock, Fawley in Fownhope (given by Roger Chandos and his son Robert), Foxley in Yazor, Monkton in Llanwarne, Newton, and Widemarsh Moor in Hereford.[235] Lesser lands were also held, *inter alia*, at Ballingham, Bishop's Frome, Mordiford and Ordesley. Mills formed part of the priory's perquisites at Fawley (the Carynmill),[236] Hereford,[237] Maescoed,[238] and at Mordiford (two mills here, one was the Ree Mill). One of the duties of its miller was 'to scour the watercourse'.[239] At each manor the priory had a resident bailiff or reeve responsible for collecting the rents from the tenants; these were accounted for at the priory by the canon-cellarer. Other income came from local sales, as of oats and cattle.[240]

The lands at Newton were gifted (or augmented) to the canons in the mid-thirteenth century by Walter Caudecot, and included substantial acreages in Maescoed , with permission to 'make a pond and a mill above the water of Dulas, with pannage for their swine and free chase for their animals'.[241] In the suburbs of Hereford, at Widemarsh Moor, the manor of the canons derived from a grant by Bishop Robert at the time of refuge of the canons in Hereford in 1135.[242] There are several allusions known to the priory's tenants in Widemarsh, as Alice Rokulf who held there of the canons 6¾ acres in 1322.[243] An earlier tenant had been Ralph Albon, but when he was outlawed for felony the lands he held of the priory in Widemarsh passed, as was usual, for one year and a day to the Crown, before

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[231] Rhodes (2002) 132-33 [338-39]; this is surprising as all Gloucestershire lands supposedly passed to Llanthony Secunda in 1205.

[232] Dew 218.

[233] TNA, SC6/1108/6.

[234] Roberts 88.

[235] Rhodes (1989) 18 , (2002) xxx; Holtzmann 252-53 [26]. Robert de Chandos founded Goldcliff Priory.

[236] TNA, SC6/1108/6. When in the hands later of Llanthony Secunda it was known as the Carey Mill [Rhodes (2002) 81 [207].

[237] TNA, SC6/HENVIII/2509.

[238] The right to erect a mill here was given by Walter Caudecot: *HCA* 3238.

[239] Rhodes (2002) 64 [135], 131 [337, and fn.5].

[240] TNA, SC 6/1108/6.

[241] HCA 3238.

[242] Holtzmann 273 [39] – confirmation in 1147 by Eugenius III.

[243] *Inq. Misc.* VI, 216 [358].

their restoration in 1292 to the monastery.[244] In 1340 William Godeknave augmented the canons' lands there with a gift of fifty acres in return for chantry services.[245] The post-dissolution grants mention Widemarsh Mill as being formerly in the canons' hands.[246]

Churches and Tithes

It has been noted that for the Augustinians the ownership of churches was a significant asset, and that in England and Wales spiritualities afforded an average of forty per cent of the income of their houses.[247] This was certainly true of Llanthony Prima where, apart from its Irish revenues, rectorial tithes and emoluments (like rents from church lands) derived from some nineteen churches, and from other parishes where it possessed a portion of the tithes. It was because of its appropriation of churches within his diocese that Prior Walter de Langley in 1303, perhaps on assuming office, professed obedience to Bishop Richard Swinfield of Hereford.[248] Like other Augustinian churches, those of the priory were not exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and visitation, as will become apparent. For all its churches the priory, as rector, appointed the vicar and had the duty of maintaining the chancel in good repair – an obligation which, if the priory demised the rectorial tithes, was incumbent upon the lessee.

It is difficult to give a precise enumeration of Llanthony Prima's churches because the medieval valuations differ somewhat in the facts they convey. Regarding Monmouthshire there is no problem; the priory was the rector of Cwm-iou, Oldcastle and Redcastle, and held the chapel of Trewyn.[249] In Herefordshire, the priory was ascribed at various times with ownership of the churches of Bishop Frome (given by Bishop Robert)[250] and Canon Frome, Burghill (with Tillington chapel), Clodock, Erdesley, Llanwarne (given by Hugh de Lacy and/or Payn FitzJohn),[251] Kenderchurch, Newton, Netherland and Overland, Orcop (given by Randulph de Baskerville),[252] Llancillo and Rowlstone, Stretton Sugwas, Weobley, Yazor and, in Shropshire, Stanton Lacy. Portions of the rectorial tithes were held in the Ffawyddog, Trelandon and Trewern ares of Ewyas Lacy, as well as in Brinsop, Nethersfield, Olchon (in Llanveynoe),[253] Penpark Snodhill (in Peterchurch) and, in Shropshire, at Stokesay.[254]

Not all the priory's churches were held uncontested. The advowson of the church of Pencumbe (now Pencombe) was presented to Llanthony Prima by William Torel and allegedly confirmed by King John. Walter Biset, Torel's nephew, persistently claimed the church from his youth upwards, and may have succeeded.[255] Richard de Baskerville in 1293 challenged Llanthony's claim to the advowson

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[244] *Close* 1292, 218.

[245] TNA, C143/78/21.

[246] TNA, SC6/HENVIII/2509.

[247] Burton 247; for the background to the Augustinian possession of churches,.see also: Dickinson, 224-41; Robinson, 196-272.

[248] *Reg. R. Swinfield* 391.

[249] The provision of a chaplain to serve St Martin's, Trewyn, lapsed for several years after the dissolution of the monastery: TNA, SC6/HENVIII/ 2509.

[250] Holtzmann 268 [35].

[251] Holtzmann 267 [35]; papal confirmation in 1146.

[252] As also were Erdesley and Stretton churches: Holtzmann 252 [26], 268 [35].

[253] Procter 90-92 wonders whether Llanthony had a grange in the Olchon valley perpetuated in the place-name of 'old abbey'.

[254] Rhodes (1989) 18.

[255] *Cal. Curia Regis Rolls* IV, 88, 254; X, 149 [746], 364 [1828].

of Stretton Sugwas, but the Crown backed the priory.[256] As for Stretton, as also Canon Frome, Stanton Lacy and Weobley, portions of the tithes belonged to the priory of St Guthlac, Hereford, but were demised to Llanthony.[257] In his time, Giraldus Cambrensis told how the canons surrendered to the bishop of Hereford a valuable church, given them by one of his predecessors, to ensure the prelate supported them in claims made on their pasture-lands by the monks of Dore.[258]

The early concept of the Augustinian canons seems to have been one of living a common life, but being of service to the community and the Church at large. There is no *evidence* at Llanthony of its canons actually serving its parish churches, but that does not preclude the possibility that, perhaps in its earlier history, some did. There are, however, in the priory's later history, many known instances of the community nominating clerics to the diocesan bishop for presentation to its churches. In the case of Weobley several were Welshmen, as John ap Iorwerth (1396), John ap Eynon (1421) and John ap Richard (1451).[259] Some of the presentees were not yet ordained to the priesthood – as Richard de Trinley, appointed to Llanwarne in 1349 whilst only an acolyte;[260] this presentation may reflect the clergy shortage posed by the Black Death. He was perhaps of the same family as the later Prior Nicholas Trinley. In 1410, Llanthony appointed deacon John Smyth to the vicarage of Eardesley; the next year he resigned on the priory giving him the parish of Canon Frome.[261]

On several occasions, the reigning pope – through a mandate addressed to the bishop of Hereford – required one of Llanthony's parishes to be given to 'a poor priest'. Such papal commands were issued in favour of Thomas de Ladelowe (1317), Richard of Pembridge (1330), Reginald Page (1345) and Robert Freeman (1353), though there is no evidence that those clergy were so appointed.[262] It may be that before one of the priory's livings fell vacant, they found positions elsewhere. The priory, like other religious houses, also presented candidates to a diocesan bishop on the 'title' of a chaplaincy or living in its gift. Having a 'title', the assurance of the means to subsist, was a necessary prerequisite on entering a life of ministry. In one instance the presentee, Thomas de Newnham (1347) came from the Salisbury diocese, though his name suggests a Gloucestershire birth.[263] Candidates for ordination might well hail from one of the priory's parishes or one where it held lands, as Richard Barres of Falley (Fawley), made subdeacon in 1349.[264]

On appointing an incumbent to one of its churches, the priory was expected to make proper provision for his maintenance. Llanthony in 1283, for example, came to an agreement with Bishop Swinfield of Hereford regarding the remuneration of the vicar of Burghill.[265] What one of its vicars might expect came in 1511, thirty years after the church had passed to Llanthony Secunda, with respect to a new vicar of Weobley. He was to have altarage (oblations and surplice fees), the lesser tithes (including wool, lambs, piglets, chickens, eggs, flax and hemp), a dwelling by "the canons' yardland", and each year two packhorse loads of wheat and one of oats from the Canons' Barn there.[266]

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[256] *Reg. R. Swinfield* 302.

[257] TNA, SC6/1108/6; *Herefordshire County Archives*: microfilm of the Cartulary of St Guthlac's Priory, paras. 256-58.

[258] Dew 216-17.

[259] *Reg. J. Trefnant* 181, *Reg. T. Poltone* 15, *Reg. R. Boulers* 22, respectively.

[260] *Reg. Reg. J. de Trillek* 377; he was perhaps of the same family as the later Prior Nicholas.de Trinley.

[261] *Reg. R. Mascall* 175-77.

[262] *Reg. A. Orleton* 7-8, *Reg. T. Charlton* 4, *Reg. J. Trillek* 54, 182, respectively.

[263] *Reg. J. Trillek* 466-67.

[264] *Reg. J. Trillek* 491.

[265] *Reg. R. Swinfield* 9.

[266] Rhodes (2002) 94 [228].

Very occasionally there was criticism of the running of one or another of the priory's parishes – either allegedly the fault of the canons or of their appointed incumbent. Bishop Orleton of Hereford in 1318 drew attention to the neglect by the priory of the cure of souls in Orcop: it was, he said, not served by a suitable priest and, in especial, the sick did not always have the sacraments made available to them.[267] The priory itself was, in 1385, in dispute with its vicar of Burghill, Philip Baret, who allegedly refused to appoint a chaplain to officiate there daily. The following year, Baret exchanged his living for that of Llanymynech, Powys.[268]

In 1453, Henry Oldcastle, son of the rebel Sir John Oldcastle, and lord of the manor of Tillington in Burghill, claimed that the canons of Llanthony neglected the chantry chapel at Tillington. They were, he said, responsible for finding a priest to serve the chapel on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays; the priest 'bringing with him bread, wine and wax' The depositions made included the information that 'the chantry land is not so much worth now as it was sometime, nor priests as cheap as they were of old time'.[269]

The known demises of rectorial tithes formerly appertaining to Llanthony Prima and after the union with Llanthony Secunda, give contractual details of interest. When in 1522 the rectorial tithes of Yazor and Foxley were demised (now by Llanthony Secunda) the recipient had to pay in kind: fixed yearly amounts of threshed and winnowed wheat and of grey and green peas. He was also to repair the chancel of Yazor church when necessary, and to provide food, hay and straw, beds, provender and stabling, for the priory servants and their horses when they came to carry away the wheat and peas.[270] Amongst the duties of a lessee of Weobley church was the provision of straw for strewing the church there.[271]

As for Llanwarne church, the priory in 1275 gave a portion of the rectorial tithes to Hugh de Redcliff;[272] the portioner in 1402 was Philip ap Rees, clerk.[273] Llanthony presented William Brooke to the vicarage of Llanwarne in 1404,[274] and the canons were probably responsible for the erection there the following year of an image of the newly-canonised Augustinian saint, John of Bridlington.[275]

All the priory parishes were subject to canonical visitation by the diocesan bishop. The household accounts of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford tell of his arriving at Stanton Lacy on 24 April 1290, where the rectorial tithes were worth £36-13-4 to the priory, the vicar being allotted an £11 yearly stipend.[276] On coming to Weobley on 29 May, the bishop found that the porter had prepared his lodgings, but he had to hire stabling, though the prior provided a gift of oats and hay.[277]

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[267] *Reg. A. Orleton* 62.
[268] *Reg. J. Gilbert* 62, 125.
[269] Rhodes (2002) 91-94 [226].
[270] Rhodes (2002) 167 [448].
[271] Rhodes (2002) 68 [163].
[272] *Reg. T. Cantilupe* 27, 29.
[273] TNA, SC6/1108/6.
[274] *Reg. J. Trefnant* 187.
[275] *Reg. R. Mascall* iv.
[276] Webb clxxxvi.
[277] *Ibid.* ccxix..

The Irish Lands and Churches

An extent of perhaps the 1330s shows no less than fourteen churches in Ireland (mostly in the dioceses of Armagh and of Meath) as pertaining to Llanthony Prima.[278] They reflected the equal division of the Irish property between Llanthony Prima and Llanthony Secunda made in 1211, and modified slightly in the immediately following years.[279] These churches, with their associated lands, accounted in 1403 for over one-fifth [22.6%] of the priory's annual income from all sources.[280] Mostly these fourteen churches were granted in the period between 1177 and 1210, and were subsequent to the return to Ireland as chief governor of Hugh de Lacy II, who had earlier been rewarded with large territories in Meath as a reward for his military achievements, returned to Ireland as chief governor).[281] The churches which belonged to Llanthony Prima were (in the order given in the inventory): Colpe, Stamullen, Kilsharven, Ardcath, Julianstown, Clonalvy, Naul, Rathbeggan, Kilmessan, Kilcooly, Killua, Delvin, Drogheda St Peter, and Dunany; additionally, the priory owned a portion of the church of Dunboyne – the latter alone rendered the priory almost one-fifth of its income from these Irish spiritualities.[282]

A charter of Walter de Lacy, Hugh's son, in the early thirteenth century, ascribes the gift of most of these churches to his father.[283] In reality, a number were granted by vassals and knights of Hugh de Lacy,[284] undoubtedly with his blessing and perhaps on his initiative. Amongst these were William Breton (177/78) who gave the church of Rathbeggan,[285] and Herbert de Rushbury (1202/10) who granted the church of Ardcath.[286] William Messet (1177/91) in giving the church of Kilcooly also gave land for the canons to build a house for themselves there;[287] a canon-in-residence was seemingly envisaged. When William Peter (1205/10) gave the church of Dunboyne, he expected two canons to take up residence and for divine service also to be conducted in the chapel of Dunboyne castle.[288] Initially, Llanthony Prima had sent canons to serve its church of St Peter in Drogheda, but by 1260 the archbishop of Armagh absolved them from this duty.[289]

The value of these Irish possessions was somewhat lessened by the intermittent litigation necessarily undertaken by its proctors in Ireland to defend the priory's assets. Whilst in general (knowing the hospitality that they received back in Wales at the mother-house), the archbishops of Armagh had good relations with the canons of Llanthony, the same was not always true of the bishops of Meath.[290] A newly elected bishop, Richard le Corner, complained in 1233 that the possession by the priory of so many churches in his diocese was 'to the grave prejudice of the church of Meath … by justice and by right their fruits should have been devoted to the needs of the poor parishioners of the diocese'.[291]

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[278] Hogan 302.
[279] Hogan 100-01.
[280] TNA, SC6/1108/6.
[281] Hogan 45-47, Procter 42.
[282] Hogan 139-40, 211, 302-04: arbitration in 1233 awarded Dunboyne to the Augustinian canons of Mullingar, but they had to pay compensation of twenty marks annually to Llanthony Prima.
[283] Hogan XXX [LXVIII].
[284] Hogan 51.
[285] Hogan 53.
[286] Hogan 69.
[287] Hogan 58.
[288] Hogan 56.
[289] Cowley 188-89.
[290] Hogan 161-62.
[291] Cowley 177, Hogan 155-57.

In 1326, the Crown (which for years denied Llanthony Prima the possession of the church of Ardcath),[292] sought a valuation of the benefices of both Llanthony Prima and Secunda in the dioceses of Armagh and Meath, the intention being to devote their income to the needs of the archbishop of Armagh who was reportedly 'reduced to poverty and burdened with debt'.[293] In the archdiocese of Armagh (1411)[294] and the diocese of Meath (1442) the canons felt that their churches were being unfairly taxed. In the latter year, the bishop of Meath aided by some of his clergy and laity was alleged to have caused 'serious trouble and damage' to Llanthony Prima's cell at Colpe.[295] A further irritant came from the Holy See occasionally requiring certain livings, of which the priory and the bishop of Meath were joint patrons, to receive as incumbents papal nominees.[296]

The two pivotal assets of Llanthony Prima in Ireland were its grange and cell at Colpe and, but three kilometres distant, its harbour in the port of Drogheda. The church of Colpe, granted to the priory in the later twelfth century, had extensive tracts of land granted it in the early thirteenth by Alice Belejambe, lady of the manor. Other grants included some twelve acres (about 1206) from Ralph Whiterell, given on the occasion of the dedication of St Columba's, the parish church, with a further four acres to extend the cemetery. In 1233 Roger Beuver granted six acres to the canons 'to increase their hospitality and maintain the poor'.[297] The cell of Colpe became the administrative centre for the one or two resident canon-proctors of the priory. The cartulary of Llanthony Prima's lands in Ireland drawn up in 1408 may have been maintained here, and there is some evidence of a library at Colpe.[298] The site of the cell is marked today by earthworks and a disused church.[299]

In Drogheda, by the river Uriel, and in addition to the church of St Peter, Llanthony Prima was possessed of St Saviour's Chapel, beneath which were two cellars used perhaps for the storage and export of wheat and fish from its own private quay. In the later centuries these cellars were rented out to merchants. The Welsh house was given additional land here in 1218 by Geoffrey de Marisco, justiciar of Ireland, while a mill built by Walter de Lacy by Drogheda bridge was a useful source of income for the canons. [300] The annual eight-day fair in Drogheda (from 1222 on) also gave the priory further opportunities for trade. In the thirteenth century the priory also owned a leper chapel at the hospital of St Mary d'Urso outside the eastern gate of Drogheda.[301] Lastly it has been suggested that when, in 1202, Meiler fitzHenry established the independent priory of Connell (Greatconnell today), canons from Llanthony Prima formed the founding community.[302]

The links with Ireland of both Llanthony Prima and Secunda were illustrated when, in about 1320, John Hendemon 'of Ireland', who had been wounded in the king's service there, petitioned the monarch for a corrody (residential maintenance) in either priory. He was a carpenter, and as in fighting he had lost a hand, he could no longer pursue his trade. The outcome is unknown.[303]

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[292] *Patent* 1336, 675; TNA, SC8/123/6148.
[293] *CPL* 1326, 255.
[294] *CPL* 1411, 291.
[295] *CPL* XVII, 291 [442].
[296] *CPL* 1404, 614; 1414, 398.
[297] Hogan 72-73, 206-07, 213, 380-81; Simms 305-06.
[298] Hogan 41.
[299] Bradley 324-25, Simms 305.
[300] Hogan 111, 114; XXX, 211 (Llanthony Secunda possessed St Mary's church in Drogheda, south of the Boyne). The holdings of Llanthony Prima in Drogheda were not free of substantial initial payments and annual ground rent [Hogan 142].
[301] Hogan 118-20. (Hogan 122, gives a plan of medieval Drogheda).
[302] Hogan 64.
[303] TNA, SC8/83/4115.

The Procurators

Whilst there is evidence that (as in 1363, 1379 and 1393) priors of Llanthony Prima visited its Irish possessions from time to time,[304] one or two, perhaps mostly two, canons of the monastery were stationed in relays at the cell of Colpe,[305] in order to administer the priory's Irish properties, and to act as attorneys in Ireland for their superior back in Wales. They included Hugh de Stanton in 1253,[306] Nicholas of Caerleon in 1385,[307] and Richard Dyschwall in 1448.[308] One long-serving procurator was Adam Elmeley who held the position from 1378[309] to 1415, when he became vicar of Llanthony's church, St Peter's, Drogheda.[310]

The procurators had to be canons with a business acumen. William Temset, a procurator (with Elmeley) in 1408,[311] had previously been the priory's cellarer in Wales. As he gave up that position on 22 February 1403, it is possible that he went to Ireland then.[312] He was succeeded as cellarer by William Atteforton who had been a procurator in Ireland in 1398.[313] William Temset, and to a lesser part, Adam Elmeley, drew up in 1408 the fine cartulary of the priory's lands in Ireland now preserved in the National Archives; probably as a response to real or perceived challenges to its possessions, possibly by not only Irish ecclesiastics and officials, but also by its erstwhile daughter-house of Llanthony Secunda.[314]

An experienced layman was frequently nominated as an 'attorney' along with one of the canons of the priory; presumably to assist in the frequent litigation in which the priory found itself embroiled. One such official in Ireland was Hugh of Ewyas who accompanied Adam Elmeley in Ireland for perhaps much of the period between 1383 and 1396.[315] The need for proper representation in Ireland was reinforced by the 'statute of absentees' or 'ordinances as to non-residence' of 1351. This required of absentee Irish landowners a contribution towards defence, and of permission from the Crown for attorneys (procurators) to take their place in Ireland and attend to their business there.[316] The priors of Llanthony were themselves non-resident with the consequence that in 1382 the prior was permitted to appoint two of his canons as his proctors in Ireland.[317] This permission was reiterated in 1384 and 1400,[318] and accounts for the priors seeking, every one, two or three years, royal leave to appoint the procurators. In 1413 leave was given [and no further individual applications were necessary] for twenty years; renewed for a further twenty years in 1432, and finally in 1449 for eighty years.[319]

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[304] Patent 1363, 307; 1379, 318; 1393, 315.
[305] Patent 1413, 94.
[306] Brooks 55.
[307] Brooks 149.
[308] Hogan 221; he was probably a native of Weobley, Herefs., where Llanthony had property (*cf. Close 1407, 345;* Salt 1953, 93*)*.
[309] Brooks 67; for other references to Elmeley, see his entry in Appendix 2..
[310] Hogan 213.
[311] Hogan 213.
[312] TNA, SC6/1`108/6.
[313] Patent 1398, 430.
[314] Hogan 28-35; for the cartulary: TNA, C115/80..
[315] Patent 1383, 267; 1388, 434; 1396, 32.
[316] Hardman 68, Hogan 210; the 1367 Statute of Kilkenny in spirit, though not in letter, reinforced the 1351 statute of non-residence..
[317] Patent 1382, 101.
[318] Patent 1384, 415; 1400, 308.
[319] Patent 1413, 94-95; 1432, 206; 1449, 331.

Conclusion

Llanthony Prima in its remoteness and at its high altitude, and for a time with hostile neighbours, had intermittent periods of difficulty which cannot have been conducive to a wholesome conventual life. During the opening decades of its life the priory gained a great reputation, certainly in royal circles, for its austerity as well as prosperity, and it became a centre of study and of book copying. The various trials it then endured, and the creation of its daughter-house as a separate entity, meant a progressive diminution in numbers if not also in spiritual fervour. It is noteworthy that, unlike almost all the other religious houses of south Wales, no knowledge exists of any wills making bequests in the priory's favour. On the other hand it must be remembered that, just as in the modern media only bad news hits the headlines, there can have been periods of spiritual growth and times of holy men at Llanthony Prima of which we can have no knowledge.

Appendix 1 : **Priors of Llanthony.**[320]

c.1103-1121, Ernisius *(1st Prior)*; **-1131, Robert de Béthune** *(2nd)*; **1131-36, Robert de Braci** *(3rd)*, **1137-c.50, William of Wycombe** *(4th)*; **c.1150-69** or later, **Clement, D.D.** *(5th; (Williams 2008, 196)*; **c.1174-89, Roger of Norwich** *(6th)*; **c.1189-1203, Geoffrey of Henlawe** *(7th;* 'the physician'; *Rhodes 21 [36])*; **c.1203-05, Martin** *(8th)*; **c.1205-13, Roger (?De Godestre***; 9th)* , prior at the time of the division of the Irish lands *(Brooks 261, Hogan 268)*; **1217, William** *(Hogan 101, 277)*; **1224-27, Walter** *(10th)*; **Stephen** *(11th)*; **1236, Philip** *(12th)*; **1241-42, David** *(13th*; Hogan 139); **1251, Thomas** *(14th)*; **1253, Simon**; ***c.*1258/59, Bartholomew**; **1266-67, Walter** *(?***De Haya)** *(Brooks 125-29; Close 1267, 382)*; **1276-95, Nicholas** *(St John Brooks 130; Patent 1279, 350; 1284, 132; 1287, 280; 1288, 300; 1295, 141* – when struck with paralysis, *Dugdale VI, Pt.1, 570,* gives **Walter** as prior in December 1279; Brooks 237, Hogan 150, 326, gives. **W.** as prior in 1281/82; it does seem Nicholas was prior in two separate periods; **1296-1301, Thomas of Gloucester:** resigned by 1301 *(Cowley 134; Patent 1296, 205-06; Reg. Robt. Winchelsey II, 732-33, 744)*; **1303-14, Walter de Langele (Langley):** *(Reg. R. Swinfield 394-95; Patent 1296, 301; 1305, 391; 1314, 200)*; **1316, John of Kingston***(HCA 1169)*, followed by a voidance; **1321-?38, John of Rufford:** (*Patent 1321, 574; 1327, 140; 108 1329, 67; 1331, 108* - a relative, Robert Rufford, acted as one of his attorneys*; 1332, 232, 266; 373; 1334, 542; 394);* 'late prior', 1348 *(Patent 1348, 1), Close 1375/151*; **1338-57, John of Gloucester** *(CPL III, 493; Patent 1340, 428; 1342, 356; 1352, 351; 1357, 621; Close 1375/151* when 'late prior'*);* **1362, Adam** *(?* Adam Wyzir *infra; Patent 1362, 283)*; **1363-73/76, Nicholas de Trinley (*alias* Trilley/Trillek, Trynley, Treuley, Tryelle, Trinbey):** *sd.* 1345, *d.* 1345 (dio. Heref., on St David's *l.d., Reg. Jn. Trillek 415, 440; Patent 1363, 307* (for his journey to Ireland)*; 1367, 385; Papal III, 492; TNA, C115/82, f. 86d; C241/149/120)*; *CPL III, 492),* prior, *c.*1365 – 1373/76, when attacked by three of his canons (*CPL* IV, 223); 'sometime prior' in 1380 *(TNA, C115/78, f. 55r);*. by **1376-91, John (de) Yatton:** *(Patent 1376, 261; 1400, 283; Brooks 67; Hogan 344)*; visited the priory's Irish possessions in 1379 *(Patent 1379, 318, 403)*..Not listed in 1381 taxation; **1395-1404, John (de) Welyngton:** *ac* 1351 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trillek 557; Papal V, 148; Patent 1396, 2, 32; 1399, 7; 1402, 38),* secured the services of John ap Jerward, rector of Bryngwyn (? Radnorshire) for one year in 1398; John having exchanged his living at Weobley (Llanthony Prima was the patron) for Bryngwyn *(EPD I, 79, 8187).*travelled to Ireland in 1402 *(Patent 1402/38);* **1409-17, William Crumpe (Crompe):** 'received first tonsure', and *l.d.* (St David's) to seek ordination elsewhere, 1402 *(EPD I, 285; Dugdale VI: Pt. 1, 570.);* 1415 *(Pugh 54)*; a family member, John Crumpe, was presented by the priory to its church of Bishop's Frome in 1406 *(Reg. R. Mascall 170)*; **1447-69, John Pembruge (Penbrugh):** *d.* and *p.*1419 (dio. Heref.)., dies 1469 *(Reg. Edm. Lacy 105; Rhodes 82-83 [No. 215]; Patent 1447, 116; 1448, 116)*; died 8 August 1469 *(TNA< C142/23/199);* **?1469-81, John Adams (ap Adam):** *d.* 1451 (dio. Heref; *Reg. R. Boulers 20*), prior until the union with Llanthony Secunda in 1481, when his 'ill-government' of the priory was alleged, though perhaps this was a pretext to effect the union *(Rhodes 51 [No. 107]; 82-83 [No. 215]); BL, Addit. Charter 7023; Patent 1481, 246, 282).*

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[320] The most reliable lists of priors are those given by Knowles (2001 edn.), Smith (2001 and 2008).

After the Union (Priors Dative):

1504, John Chester *(Williams [1962] 395)*; **1514, Thomas Lyliston** *(TNA, REQ 2/25/280)*; **1524, ? John Abyndon** *(Reg. C. Bothe 318)*; **1527, Richard** *(TNA, E 118/1/70)*; **1534, John Ambrose (Ambrus):** signed the oath of Supremacy in 1534 *(TNA, E25/74)*, later returned to Llanthony Secunda; **1538, David Kempe (*al.* Mathewe;** *LP XIII: Pt. 1, 176 (No. 482); XIV: Pt. 1, 596; TNA, E314/20/11, p.3r)*. **Henry Wydon**, listed as prior in 1537, was in fact prior of Llantarnam Abbey *(kind info. Dr M. Gray)*.

Appendix 2 : Other Known Canons of Llanthony.

Abergavenny, John: listed in taxation of 1381 *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Adonis, John:** dispensation to receive and retain for life any benefice, 27-06-1482 *(Papal L. XIII : 2, 746.)*; **Alexander:** *sd.* 31 March 1280, Ledbury. *(Reg. Th. Cantilupe 310)*; **Alvington/Alvyntone, William:** *p.* 1513 *(Reg. R. Mayew 262)*; as William Allnywen 1534/35 *(TNA, E25/74). Signed oath of supremacy.* (TNA, E314/20/11, p. 3r) - ? at dissolution or pension; **Amburley/Amourley, William:** *d.* and *p.* 1458 (dio. Heref.; *Reg. J. Stanbury* 143-44); ?1463, his name inscribed on a priory book *(Bennett 258)*; **Attefortone, William:** *sd.* 1394, *d.* 1395, *p.* 1396 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 209, 212, 217)*; procurator in Ireland, 1398 *(Patent 1398, 430)*; cellarer, 1403- *(TNA, SC6/1108/6)*; **Aylburton (Elberton), Gerrard:** 1534/35 *(TNA, E25/74).* Signed oath of supremacy (TNA, E314/20/11,p.3r.); **Aylmor (n), Thomas:** *p.* 1472 (dio. Heref., *Reg. J. Stanbury* 168); **Bolte(r), Robert:** one of three canons to attack and blind their prior, 1376 (*CPL* IV, 223); given licence to choose a confessor, 1398 (*CPL* V, 148); **Blakebache/Blakeluche, Roger:** *d.* 1382 (Reg. Jn. Gillbert 151); procurator (attorney) in Ireland, 1392 *(Patent 1392, 197)*; **Brayngton, William:** (TNA, E314/20/11,p.3r.); **Brockworth, John:** *p.* 1506 (dio. Heref; *Reg. R. Mayew 245*); **Browne, John:** *d.* and *p.* 1458 (dio. Heref.; *Reg. J. Stanbury* 143-44); **Brugge (*?* Bridgnorth), John de:** *d.* 1329, *p.* 1330 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Th. Charlton 110, 116)*; **Bultibroke, William se:** *d.* 1330 (Heref. Dio.); not certain a canon, register says 'of Llanthony Prima'; *Reg. Th. de Charlton 114*); **Caerleon, Nicholas:** *d.* 1363 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 97)*; proctor in Ireland, 1385 (Patent 1385, 579); 1401 *(Brooks 149; Hogan 272-73, 372)*; listed in 1381 taxation *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Crock, Walter:** listed in 1381 taxation *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Crudewell, Thomas de:** apostate, and wished to be reconciled to Order, 1353 *(CPL III, 522).* **Culne, William de:** proctor in Ireland, *c.*1233-1239, by 1251 had become chancellor of St Patrick's cathedral, Dublin 1236 *(Hogan 171, 221, 306)*; **Dishewall [Dyschwall], Richard:** 'received first tonsure', l.d. (St David's) to seek ordination elsewhere, 1402 *(EPD I, 285)*; procurator in Ireland, 1448 *(Hogan 303)*; **Dorgrewe, William:** *sd.* 1390 *(Reg. J. Trefnant 195)*; **Elmeley, Adam:** *ac.* 1363; *d.* 1364; *p.* 1365 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 83, 92, 95)*; procurator in Ireland and superior of Colpe cell, 1378-1413 *Brooks 67, 138-39, 148-49, 152, 161, 165-66, 170, 172, 177; Hogan 206, 272-73, 344; Patent 1383, 267; 1388, 434; 1396, 32; 1398, 430; 1399, 7; 1400, 280; 1410, 234; Patent 1413,94-95, 102* In 1415 Adam became vicar of Llanthony's church of St Peter, Drogheda); **Elmeley (Olmeley), Nicholas:** *d.* 1424 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Th. Spofford 295).*; *p.* 1425 (dio. Worcester; *Reg. Ph. Morgan* 209); **Feckenham, Nicholas de:** apostate canon, 1274 *(Patent 1274/49)*; **Florens, John:** sd. 1411, *p.* 1415 (Heref. Dio.; *Reg. R. Mascall 151, 165)*; **Gloucester, John:** prior, 1353, when indult to choose confessor, etc/ *(CPL III, 493)*; **Gloucester, Thomas:** *sd., d., p.* 1490 (St David's dio; *EPD II, 580, 582, 593)*; **Gloucester, William:** 'received first tonsure', l.d. (St David's) to seek ordination elsewhere, 1402 *(EPD I, 285)*; appeared for the prior at the Chepstow Assize in 1415 *(Pugh 54)*; **Hampton, Edmund:** sd. 1411 (Heref. Dio.; *Reg. R. Mascall 151)*; **Hempsted, John:** 1538 (TNA, E314/20/11,p.3r.); **Hereford, John of:** 1330, convicted of theft before Earl of Hereford's court, lodged in the Bishop's prison *(Reg. Th. Charlton 5)*; **Hereford, Thomas de:** proctor in Ireland, 1295-96 (Patent 1295, 141; 1296, 206); **Hereford, Thomas:** *sd.* 1411 *(Reg. R. Mascall 151)*; **Hereford, William de:** *d.* 1364 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 93)*; **Heytone, John:** *p.* 1372 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Wm. Courtenay 38)*; **Hunfrid/Humphrey:** *c.*,1202 *(Brooks 55, Hogan 249-50)*; **Ireland (Hibernia), Edmund of:** *sd.* 1354, *d.* 1355 *(Reg. John de Trillek, p. 611, 613)*; **John:** surname not recorded; *d.* 1365 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 98)*; **Kervere, John:** *d.* 1458 (dio. Heref.; *(Reg. J. Stanbury* 143); **Langdon, William de:** proctor in Ireland, *c.*1212 *(Hogan 99)*; **Leghton/Laytone/Leythtone, John:** *ac.* 1363, *d.* 1364; *p.* 1365 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 83, 92, 95)*; proctor in Ireland, 1370 (Close 1370, 131); **Leintwardine, Roger:** *p.* 1394 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 210)*; **Llanthony, Leonard de:** apostate canon, 1274 *(Patent 1274/49)*; **Lodelowe, Thomas de:** *?* of Llanthony Prima; *ac.* 1353 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trillek 603)*; **Lodelawe, William:** *p.* 1395 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 213)*; **London/Loundon, John:** *ac.* and *sd.* 1373 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Wm. Courtenay 47-48)*; listed in 1381 taxation

(TNA, E179/21/8; **Malmesbury, Ralph de:** *d.* 1329 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Th. Charlton 110)*; **Malmesbury, Thomas de:** *p.* 1340 (Heref. Dio). *(Reg. Th. Charlton 184)*; **Mara, John:** listed in 1381 taxation *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Monynton, William:** *ac.* 1363 (*Reg. L. de Charlton 86)*; **Moos, John:** *ac.* 1390 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 195)*; **Morbs (*al.* Morte), John:** *ac.* 1390, *p. c.*1392 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 195, 199)*; **Newenham, William de:** canon of Llanthony by Gloucester, sent to the Welsh house to mend his ways, undated but late 14th C *(PRO, C 115/78, f. 41)*; **Newland, John:** 1534/35 *(TNA, E25/74)*;. signed oath of supremacy; **Orleton, John de:** 1362 *(Patent 1362, 283)*; **Painswick, Robert:** *sd.* and *d.* 1511 (dio. Heref., *Reg. R. Mayew 254-55*; at Llanthony Secunda by 1536 *(F.O.R. 64)*; **Parfet (Perfet), William: :** *sd.* 1345, *d.* and *p.* 1346 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trillek 415, 428, 443)*; **Passe, Richard:** *? c.*1380 *(PRO, C. 115/78, f. 50)*; **Peirson, Humphrey:** not certain a canon; *sd.* 1363 *(Reg. L. de Charlton* 83); **Peitwyne, Hugh:** *d.* 1465 (dio. Heref., *(Reg. J. Stanbury* 156); **Philip:** proctor in Ireland , *c.*1233/44 *(Hogan 139)*; **Poding, John:** one of three canons to attack and blind their prior, 1376 (*CPL* IV, 223); **Pore, John;** *sd.* 1363 *(Reg. L. de Charlton 87)*; **Ragone/Ragun, Henry:** *p.* 1333 *Reg. Th. de Charlton 138);* cited in 1408 as having been a procurator in Ireland some time, perhaps some considerable time, beforehand *(Brooks 193)*; **Ralph:** sub-prior *('obprior')*, 1381 *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Robert:** 'sub-prior to the proctor general in Ireland', *c.*1215 *(Hogan 273-74)*; **Ros, John de:** apostate canon, 1274 *(Patent 1274/49)*; **Ros, Nicholas de:** one of two attorneys in Ireland *(Patent 1280/371)*; **Russ(s)hok, John:** *ac.* 1373, *sd.* 1375 (dio. Heref; *Reg. W. Courtenay 47, 54)*; *p.* 1379 *(Reg. J. Gilbert 143)*; **Sothall, William:** *p.* 1497 (St David's dio; *EPD II, 719)*; **Stanton, Hugh de:** procurator in Ireland, 1253 *(Brooks 55)*; **Stephens, Walter:** XX 1362 (XXXX); 283; **Stokes, Thomas:** proctor in Ireland, 1470 *(Hogan 144, 303)*; **Stratford, John:** *d.* 1451 (dio. Heref; *Reg. R. Boulers 20*); **Symond, Hugh:** *d.* 1465 (dio. Heref., *(Reg. J. Stanbury* 156); **Temset, William:** cellarer in Wales, until 22 Febr. 1403; a procurator in Ireland by 1408 *(see text)*; **Tewkesbury, Adam de:** attorney in England and Wales on the prior going to Ireland in 1363 *(Patent 1363, 307)*; **Thorghrym (*al.* Thurgrym), William:** *ac.* 1390, *p. c.*1392 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Jn. Trefnant 195, 199)*; **Wigmore, Walter:** *d.* 1382 *(Reg. Jn. Gilbert 151);* **William**: *c.*1202 *(Hogan 150, 249-50)*; **Worcester, John de:** *d.* 1329, *p.* 1330 (dio. Heref., *Reg. Th. Charlton 110, 116)*; **Worcester, William:** *p.* 1526 *(Reg. C. Bothe 322);* 1534/35 *(TNA, E25/74). Signed oath of supremacy*; **Wynter, Robert:** listed in 1381 taxation *(TNA, E179/21/8)*; **Wyzir, Adam:** 1353 *(CPL III, 492).*

Appendix 3: **The Common Seal.**

When Craster's guide-book to Llanthony Prima was published in 1963, it portrayed on its cover the common seal of the priory at Llanthony Secunda. This happened undoubtedly because that was the seal employed by both priories after the union when signing their deeds of surrender in 1538, and very probably because the existennce of the true common seal of Llanthony Prima was unknown.

The seal portrays the patron saint of the priory church, John the Baptist, baptising Christ in the heaped up waters of the river Jordan; an angel lends support, and the Holy Spirit descends in the form of a dove.

The matrix was engraved early in the thirteenth century, and this the only known impression was appended in 1316 in brown wax.

✚ SIGILLVM : .....E : SCI
..... DE LANThONIA
(Lombardic Capitals).
(Hereford Cathedral Archive 1169).
Reproduced by kind permission of the
Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral.

***Appendix 4: Taxatio Ecclesiastica,* 1291.**

(There is no entire Llanthony entry; rather its assets occur at several different points and, further, there is no mention of its lands in Ewyas)

Diocese of Hereford.

page 170b.

Fabylye (Fawley):	
2 carucates of land, each priced at 13s 4d:	£1 – 6 – 8;
8 acres of meadow, each priced at 6d:	4 - 0;
rents:	3 – 0 - 0
mill	3 – 0 - 0
Frome.	
3 carucates of land, each priced at £1	3 – 0 - 0
rents and customary services	6 – 0 - 0
mill	1 – 0 - 0
dove-cot	2 - 0
fines and perquisites	10 - 0
Weobley.	
Rents	6 - 6
From a pension there	3 - 0
Monkton.	
4 carucates of land, each priced at 12s. 6d.	2 – 10 - 0
rents	3 – 13 – 4
two water-mills, each priced at £1. 5s.	2 – 10 - 0
6 acres pasture, each priced at 6d.	3 - 0
Hodenak.	
1 fishery.	2 – 0 - 0
Erdesley.	
Rents	2 – 0 - 0
Hereford.	
1 mill outside Hereford at 'la Mare'	13 - 4
rents	1 - 0
profits from a certain weir at Hodenak	13 – 6 - 8
	45 – 9 - 0
tenth =	4 – 10 - 10½

page 173b.

issues from fifty 'hogetos' (pigs of the second year)	8 - 4

Diocese of St David's.

Page 273b-274.

Spiritualities.

Church of St Cladoco	20 – 0 - 0	(tenth = £2)
Church of Cwmiou	2 - 0 - 0	(4s)
Landesylion	2 - 0 - 0	(4s)
Newton	1 - 0 - 0	(2s)
Villa Rad	2 – 13 – 4	(5s 4d)
St Michael's	8 - 0 - 0	(16s)

Page 274b.

Temporalities and stock *(animalibus)*		
in the archdeaconry of Brecon	13 – 15 - 4	(£1-7-6½)

Diocese of Llandaff.

Page 283.

Rents at Abergavenny, 5s; 1 pound of pepper, 1s.	6 - 0

(With the Irish lands and churches, Cowley gives a total assessment of £233-7-0).

Appendix 5: **The Cellarer's Account for 1402-1403 (summarised). [TNA, SC6/1108/6].**
The account of William Temset, cellarer and receiver of monies, from the feast of St Michael [29 September] 1402 until the feast of the Chair of St Peter next following [22 February 1403], and of Walter Atteforton, cellarer after the said William, until the feast of St Michael, 1403.

Receipts.

Arrears	£45-8-4	from the last year's account.
Cwmiou	£15-16-8	from John ap James/Jack, reeve there.[321]
Oldcastle	£3 -4 -9	by John ap James/Jack, reeve there, by the hands of divers men.
Stanton	Nil.	because there is no account.
Clodock	£5-6-8	from Gruffydd ap Harry for farm of the rectory of Clodock.
Newton	£2-11-9	rents received from David ap Philip Gough, collector there.
Monkton	£21-2-4	rents received from Richard Trebayo, bailiff there.
Llanwarne	£6-13-4	from Philip ap Rees, clerk, for a portion of the rectorial tithes.
Fawley	£15-0-0	for farm of the manor , with water-mill there called the Carynmill, demised to John Welynton, prior of Llanthony for 11 years.
Mordiford	8-0	for rent of 1 meadow and 1 weir demised to John P(ar)ker for term of his life.
Canon Frome	£16-3-8	rents received from Thomas Taylor, bailiff there.
Bishops Frome	£10-13-4 43s. 8d.	for 1 carucate of land demised to Henry le Brande for 12 years, this being the 5th year; and of £8 for the tithes of the church demised to Thomas Deneros for 8 years, this being the 4th year.
Ullingswick	13-4	for the farm of a portion of the tithes there demised to the vicar of Felton.
Agilton	£4-0-0-	for one portion of the tithes there demised to John Clerke of Okele.
Burghill	£5-1-5 63s	received of Philip Nicholas, bailiff, for 11 loads/measures of oats sold; 2s. received of the said Philip from a certain pension from the Master of Dinmore; 36s 5d from Robert Straunge, bailiff there after Philip.[322]
Foxley	£7-4-1	rents received from Walter Morell, reeve there.
Weobley	£7-2-5	rents received from John Bolt, bailiff there.
Ordesley	£3-10-0	rents received from Nicholas Wylly, bailiff there.
Staunton Lacy	£39-8-4	rents received from William Roberts, bailiff there.
Widemarsh Moor	£2-0-0 40s.	from William Harper for farm of demesne there; £10 of the same rent being paid to the Prior of Sr Guthlac, Hereford, for divers portions of tithes at Frome Canonicorum, Weobley, Stretton and Staunton Lacy, conceded to the prior and convent,[323] and by them conceded to the said William for 12 12 years, this being the 6th year.
Ballingham	16-8	for farm of 30 acres of land demised to Stephen Gam for life.
Hadnock	£1-10-0	lease to David Vaghan, land and weir, for 20 years, this the 7th year.
Ireland	£86-13-4	from Adam Elmeley, procurator and superior of the cell of Colpe, brought by John Sendett at three times in the year.
Pension.	10-0	received from the abbey of Dore for a pension for tithes within the lordship of
Sales	£11-2-8 £8-16-0	for 116 oxen sold to divers men; £2-6-8 for 8 steers/bullocks sold to Richard Lucas.
(torn)	£47– 0-0	for the expenses of the hospice of the lord: £20 from Howell Elnett, chaplain, £5 from Walter Mibbe; £2 from Henry Hampton, and £20 from Hugh Harper for tithes of the King.

[321] Redcastle and Trewyn chapel are probably included in this amount.
[322] The lands at Burghill find mention in Herefordshire Record Office, Hereford City Records Deed 43.
[323] For this concession – in the early thirteenth century – see on microfilm the Cartulary of St. Guthlac's Priory at the Herefordshire Record Office, folios xlvi(d)-xlvii ®, Nos. 256-58.

(torn)	2-0-0	Received of John ap Jor' for his maintenance for ¾ of the preceding year.
(torn)	16-10-0	£6-13-4 received from tithes collected in the deanery of Brecon; £7-6-8 received of David Daykyn for freedom *(manumission)* made to him; £2-10-0 received from Thomas Hampton for the maintenance of *?* his wife charged to the hospice of the lord.
(torn)	6-0-0	From the profits and expenses of the manor of Monkton, which William Temset received.

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Summary.

£87-14-9	Received of William Temset, cellarer in the beginning.
£290- 7-3	From Walter Atteforton, cellarer after William.
£1-10-0	Pension from the abbey of Dore.
£2-13-4	Received from John Millward, lately bailiff of Mora.

£383-5-4.

Expenses.

(The left hand section of this portion is wanting).

£7-10-0	£3 procuration to the dean and chapter of Hereford; £2 pension to Walter Helyon, chaplain, celebrating at the altar of St Richard in Hereford Cathedral; £2-10-0 to William Hamme, chaplain, celebrating in the church of St Nicholas, Hereford.
£10-13-4	paid to the bishop of Hereford at visitations this year.
11-0	paid for 'gross' iron bought for the repair of the fabric and for sustenance of the workers.
£18-4-11	£5-16-2½, expenses of the lord's hospice; 4s 6d., repair of houses; 2d. repair of a church chancel; £12-13-1, for various necessary expenses, whether for the hospice or various household expenses *['hosband'].*

(The document is incomplete.).

Appendix 6: **Staff Payments to Officers, Bailiffs and Chaplains made by Llanthony Prima in 1535** (*Valor Ecclesiasticus* II, 431). The Crown surveyors did not accept as lawful all the payments a monastery claimed to make; those disallowed are printed in italics.

William Vaughan, steward, 40s., *Robert Wynston, locum-tenens*; Thomas Lewis, clerk of the court, 13s. 4d; *Thomas ap Rosser, master-sergeant, 10s; David Rosser and Henry Thomas, sub-janitors, 26s 8d;* Thomas ap Hywel, constable of the castle and the gaol, 6s. 8d; Jacob Nichols, collector of rents in Hotheny Slade, 20s; Thomas ap Rosser, collector of rents and sheaves in Ewyas, 13s 4d; Philip Hoggs, collector in Foxley, 6s 3d; Thomas Jenkins, collector in Newton, 6s 8d; Robert Philip, collector at Stanton [in Went], 3s 4d; *Philip Hassard, forester of the king at Talgarth, 3s 4d;* Richard Barett, chaplain in Hereford cathedral, 40s; chaplain in the church of St Nicholas, 50s;

Abbreviations.

BL :	The British Library.
NLW :	The National Library of Wales.
TNA :	The National Archives (Public Record Office).

Arch. Camb. :	Archaeologia Cambrensis.
BGAS :	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaaeological Society.
HCA :	Hereford Cathedral Archives.
Monm. Antiq. :	The Monmouthshire Antiquary.

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GWENT SEALS XI:

The Seal of Madan, son of Ithel.

By David H. Williams.

1. Obverse of the Matrix. **2. Reverse image.** **3. Reverse of the matrix.**

(Plates 1 and 3 kindly supplied by Mr Oliver Blackmore of Newport Museum, No. 2 by Dr Mark Redknap of the National Museum of Wales, and No. 4 by Dr Elizabeth New, of the University of Aberystwyth..

In 2009 Mr Arthur Reynolds discovered, using a metal detector, a lead seal of early-thirteenth century date in the parish of Llanfrechfa. The reverse bears the perforated handle by which the seal could be both used and secured (tied to one's belt). The matrix weighs 22.44 gms, and measures 38mm x 24mm x 11mm.[1]

The legend, of early Lombardic capital script, suggests a date before 1250. The legend reads 'S' MADANO FIL' ITHEL'. Madan was not a common name, but in 1346 a Hywel de Madano was a layman – perhaps of northern Gwent – who gave a title to a newly ordained cleric, presumably as his private chaplain.[2] In 1616 a property in Llangatwg Lingoed was known as 'Tir Madano' ("Madan's Place").[3] A canon of Lichfield in 1814 was one Spencer Madan,[4] and the vicar of Polesworth, Warwickshire, in 1869 was Nigel Madan.[5]

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[1] Information of Mr Oliver Blackmore, Curator of Newport Museum and Art Gallery.
[2] *Register of John Trefnant*, ed. W.W. Capes (Cantilupe Soc. Hereford, 1914) 457.
[3] NLW, Cwrt Mawr Deed 1,550.
[4] NLW, Nevill Deed 813.
[5] NLW, Voelas Estate Deed 1178.

The image depicted is of a hand, wearing a tasselled glove – perhaps with one finger ringed - stretching out to grasp a lance or spear which bears a patterned banner. That should not however be seen as true heraldry.[6] The owner of the seal must have been a person of some substance, perhaps a lowly Welsh knight or fairly prosperous foot-soldier, to justify his having such a seal. The appearance of a lance/spear, ornamented as it is, may suggest an individual prepared to engage in battle.

4: Seal of Espus ap Caradog Du. **5. Portion of the Seal of Espus ap Iorwerth.**

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

Similar imagery is found on several seals in the Penrice and Margam charters held in the National Library of Wales. That of Espus ap Caradog Du of Corneli, Glamorgan, of c.1200-15, shows a dexter hand and arm holding a lance flag.[7] The seal of Espus ap Iorwerth of Afan, Glamorgan, also of the early thirteenth century, shows a banner charged with a chevron-like pattern, but no lance or spear is displayed.[8] An almost identical seal (save that the direction of the banner is reversed) was employed by his brothers, Madog, Iorwerth vachan and William.[9]

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[6] Personal communication, Dr Michael Siddons, F.S.A., Wales Herald Extraordinary.

[7] National Library of Wales, Penrice and Margam Charter 2037 (red wax, 48 x 29mm., fine example); lesser impressions are attached to Charters 15 and 2038-39.

[8] *Ibid.* Charter 128 (Seal 3)..

[9] *Ibid.* Charter 128 (Seals 2, 4 and 1, respectively).

A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF MEDIEVAL NEWPORT

By Bob Trett

Introduction

This article is based on a survey of surviving physical and documentary evidence of medieval Newport. This was undertaken in 2007 on behalf of the Newport Medieval Ship Project. Since then further information has been discovered and has been included.

There are numerous misconceptions about medieval Newport, many of which can be attributed to (or are repeated by) the Newport historian James Matthews, although his history of Newport remains an invaluable source of information.[1] Fortunately other important documentary evidence for early Newport does survive, and in particular the published works of A.C. Reeves, T.B. Pugh and William Rees provide invaluable references, especially for the later medieval period. [2]

In 2002/3 a large medieval ship, now known as the Newport Medieval Ship, was excavated close to the riverfront.[3] However apart from the ship excavation there have been no major archaeological excavations in Newport and only a handful of lesser investigations. Very few medieval buildings or structures survive in the town. These include part of Newport Castle and part of St Woolos Church (which was just outside the medieval boundaries). One early post-medieval house (the Murenger House) survives and there is some evidence for others.

As a result our knowledge of the topography of medieval Newport is limited, and is largely dependent on written evidence and on eighteenth and nineteenth century maps. Even so, it is possible to deduce much about the possible layout of the medieval town, but more archaeological investigation is vital if the topography is to be fully confirmed.

An outline history of medieval Newport

The first settlement which led to the foundation of modern Newport appears to have been on the top of Stow Hill, where by tradition St Gwynllyw (St Woolos) established a church in the fifth or sixth century. It is possible that the large hillfort on the other end of the ridge leading from Stow Hill, now called The Gaer or Tredegar Camp, could have been used as a stronghold for the sub-kingdom (cantref) of Gwynllŵg. The cantref's boundaries appear to have stretched from the mouth of the River Usk in the east, to Rumney in the west, and from the sea to the border of the later Breconshire.

There is little evidence of the early history of Gwynllŵg. In the sixth century it was part of the kingdom of Glywysing (later to known as Morgannŵg). By the tenth century it appears to have been a separate kingdom, lying between the kingdom of Gwent in the east and the kingdom of Morgannŵg in the west, but by the time of the Norman Conquest it had re-united with Morgannŵg. Later, a division or commote of Gwynllŵg, consisting of the area next to the coast, became known as Wentloog (a corruption of Gwynllŵg).

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[1] Matthews, J., *Historic Newport* (Newport 1910).

[2] Reeves, A.C., 'Newport' in Griffiths, R.A. (editor) *Boroughs of Medieval Wales* 188-217 (Cardiff 1978); *Ibid. Newport Lordship 1317-1536* (Newport Museum and Art Gallery 1979); Pugh T.B., *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales 1415-1536* (Cardiff 1963); Rees, W., *The Charters of the Borough of Newport in Gwynllwg* (Newport Public Libraries Committee 1951).

[3] Nayling, N., 'Newport Medieval Ship' in *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* XIX (2003) 153-154; Trett, R., 'The Newport Medieval Ship: Historical Background', *Monm. Antiq.* XXI (2005) 103-106.

The name Stow is an Old English word, usually interpreted as a 'place of assembly' or 'holy place', and there is some evidence of a Saxon presence in the area. The *Brut Y Tywysogion* records that about 971 AD 'Edgar, king of the Saxons collected a very great fleet at Caerleon upon Usk'[4]. In addition the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that around 1049 AD Viking ships from Ireland raided up the River Usk, and that, aided by Gruffydd, the Welsh King, they defeated the Saxon bishop Ealdred. [5] Another reference, in the *Vita Gundlei* (Life of St Gwynllyw) refers to Saxon merchants having to pay tolls at the mouth of the Usk and to a raid by Harold Godwinson in 1063, after a dispute over tolls. Harold is said to have laid waste to the region and to have ransacked the church of St Woolos but then to have made restitution for the attack and to have given an offering at the altar of the church.[6]

After the Norman invasion, in the early 1090's, Robert fitz Hamon, earl of Gloucester, began the conquest of the lowland areas of Gwynllŵg and Morgannŵg, and there also appears to have been a punitive raid against the Welsh by William Rufus. Robert de la Haye controlled the land in southern Gwynllŵg as a fief from fitz Hamon, and it was likely that either Robert de la Haye or William Rufus had a motte (castle mound) built on Stow Hill. Sometime between 1094 and 1104 Robert de la Haye granted (or re-granted) the church of St Woolos to Gloucester Abbey. [7]

A charter of 1132 by Robert the Consul, earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry I, gifted land in Malpas to Montacute Priory. In it is a reference to the *Novo Burgo* (i.e. the New Borough of Newport). [8] An important reason for establishing this new borough would have been to control the river crossing. The town also became a centre for trade and as the chief market town for the area would be useful to the lord in the collection of tolls. Newport Castle became the administrative centre for the Norman lordship created from the former cantref of Gwynllŵg. The lordship of Newport was a 'Marcher Lordship', enjoying many of the rights and privileges of the former Welsh rulers.

In 1198 the lordship passed into the hands of Prince John through his wife Isabel. John became king in 1199 and soon after divorced Isabel, but retained her lands until 1214, when she remarried. The lordship passed to the important de Clare family in 1217 and remained with the de Clares until the death of the then lord, Gilbert de Clare III, in 1314 at the Battle of Bannockburn.

Newport suffered in the unrest involving the Welsh princes and the English barons. During a conflict in 1265 Simon de Montfort devastated the area and 'spared neither women nor children'. [9] Again in 1296, 66 of the town's 256 burgages were laid waste during warfare involving the Welsh lord Morgan ap Maredudd ap Llywelyn. [10] In 1316 there was further destruction during the rebellion of Llywelyn Bren. [11]

In 1317 the de Clare lands were split between Gilbert de Clare's three sisters. The second sister, Margaret, received the marcher lordship of *Gwynllŵg* which became known as the lordship of Newport. She had married Hugh Audley, an important knight at the court of Edward II. However the elder de Clare sister, Eleanor, had married Hugh Despenser the Younger and he seized control of Gwynllŵg and Newport. Disputes over the territorial ambitions of Hugh Despenser led to conflict

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[4] Williams Ab Ithel, J. (tr.), *Brut Y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales* (London, 1860) 27.

[5] Garmonsway, G.N., (tr., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Dent: Everyman's Library 1953) 170.

[6] Wade-Evans A. (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff 1944) 185-87.

[7] Coplestone-Crowe, B., 'Robert De La Haye and the Lordship of Gwynllwg', *Gwent Local History* **85** (Autumn 1998) 3.

[8] Patterson, R.B., (ed.), *Earldom of Gloucester Charters* (Oxford 1973) 146.

[9] Laud, H.R., (ed.), *Flores Historiarum per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem* III (1890) 3.

[10] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem* III (Edward I) 247 [371].

[11] Reeves (1979) 53.

between leading barons and Edward II, and in 1321 Hugh Audley, together with his other brother-in-law, Roger Damory, besieged Newport Castle with a large force.

Following the defeat of Hugh Audley and other barons at the Battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, Hugh Despenser re-acquired his lands including the Lordship of Newport. In 1324 Despenser secured many privileges (including freedom from tolls and other customary dues) for seven Welsh boroughs, one of which was Newport. In 1327 Edward II was deposed and Hugh Despenser was executed, and Hugh Audley re-acquired the Lordship of Newport.

Hugh Audley was succeeded in 1347 by his son-in-law Ralph Stafford, first earl of Stafford. Staffords remained lords of Newport until 1521, when Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, was executed. However there were long periods when the lords were minors, and Stafford lands were 'farmed out' by the king until the lord became of age.

Hugh, second earl of Stafford, gave Newport its first charter in 1385. Edmund, fifth earl of Stafford, was killed at the Battle of Shrewsbury in July 1403. In the same year Newport and Newport Castle were devastated during the rebellion of Owain Glyndŵr. Afterwards the Lordship of Newport was said to have no value to the lord because all was burnt, destroyed and wasted. [1]

Humphrey Stafford was created first duke of Buckingham in 1444. He died at the Battle of Northampton in 1460 and was succeeded by his grandson, Henry Stafford, who was a minor The custody of Stafford estates was again farmed out. It was originally granted to Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, but in 1462 the farm was transferred to Sir William Herbert of Raglan Castle. Herbert was killed in July 1469 after the Battle of Edgecote. His lands, including the Stafford estates in South Wales, were seized by the earl of Warwick. It was Warwick who authorised in November 1469 payments for the 'making of the ship at Newport'. Warwick was killed at the Battle of Barnet in 1471, and in 1473 Henry Stafford, second duke of Buckingham came into his inheritance.

The second duke was executed by Richard III in 1483. During the minority of his son, Edward Stafford, third duke of Buckingham, the lordship of Newport came into the hands of Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford, who in 1485 married Katherine Wydevill, the widow of the second duke of Buckingham The third duke of Buckingham came into his inheritance in 1498. In 1521 the duke was executed for treason and his lands then were seized by the crown.

The population of medieval Newport is not known. There were over 250 burgages (units of land held by the burgesses), but not all of them would have had houses, and not all dwellings were on burgage plots. This figure compared favourably with other Gwent towns. In the early fourteenth century Chepstow had 308 burgages, Newport 296 burgages, Trelech 275 burgages and Abergavenny 233 burgages. [13] The size of population must have fallen during the Black Death, and after attacks such as the Glyndŵr destruction of the town in 1403. Possibly there would have been a population of 1000 -2000 in more stable times.

The Borough Boundaries

The town of Newport appears to have been carved out of lands that previously formed part of the manor of Stowe, centred on Stow Hill. The earliest known map of Newport, dated circa 1750 *(Fig. 6)*, shows the borough's boundaries cutting through existing fields. [14] The charter of Humphrey earl of Stafford, 3rd April 1427, gives an account of the medieval boundary and it is still possible to identify it today:

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[12] *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem 1-6 Henry IV. 1399-1405*, 272.

[13] Hopkins, T., 'The Towns', in Griffiths, R.A. (general editor), The Gwent County History, Volume 2*: The Age of the Marcher Lords, c 1070-1536* (Cardiff 2008) 121.

[14] 'Map of the town and borough of Newport: copied from an ancient map (about 1750)', National Library of Wales Tredegar Plans 919 140/1/1 (of 1834).

> From the graveyard of St Gwynllwg to the native lands of the lord formerly of Robert Houlot and John Dawe, the lands called Brendekyrgh, the croft called Corteyscroft there, and the croft of Margery Watte thereto annexed, the lands formerly of Roger the Clerk called Coumicheshull, thence by the road as far as the chapel of St Thomas so that the entire road there be within the bounds of the town aforesaid, And thence along the road as far as Bryngelond so that the entire road be within the bounds of the aforesaid town, and so along the ditch between the lands and burgages of the Burgesses and the said Bryngelond by descending to the water course of the mill of the lord, and so by the croft of the said Bryngelond and of other lands as far as the fishpond of Kemell, so that the entire water-course there be within the bounds of the aforesaid town, and so by the said fishpond as far as the stone called the Rock opposite the house of John ap Adam, thence beyond the road as far as the lands of the said John and of David ap Ieuan ap David, the lands called the Halys and the meadow called Crinde and so along the river to the Parkpull as far as Groundesende within our lordship and by the land as far as Crokeslonde, Mullond land, Kingshill and the lands of the Abbey of Gloucester as far as the said graveyard. [15]

From combining this description with the earliest maps of Newport it can be seen that the borough's original boundary started from the graveyard north of the church of St. Gwynllwg (St Woolos), but with the church itself remaining outside. The boundary ran downhill, north beyond the graveyard (and what is now a small park just to the east of Clifton Place), and then went through a field to the west of what is now North Street, leaving the original Baneswell within the boundary. It continued uphill to the north, crossing the former Mill Street (now Pentonville), and then joined the present Queen's Hill near the junction with the present Lucas Street. The boundary then ran downhill to join Crindau Pill which it followed as far as the River Usk.

The boundary continued south along the Usk, until it went inland by what is now Usk Way, along the line of a former stream or pill. This pill may be what is referred to in the charter as 'Parkpull' (possibly originally 'Park Pill'), near the later Cross Lane. The boundary reached as far as what was to become the present Commercial Street, and then looped to the south towards the east end of the present Cardiff Road (near the modern Police Headquarters) before it returned north, going uphill back to St Woolos. Bishopstow (referred to by its earlier name of Kingshill in the charter) lay within the boundary of the medieval borough.

The street and road pattern

John Leland writing sometime between 1536 and 1539 states that *the fairest of the toun is al yn one streate.* [16] Maps and early surveys make clear that this one street is the present High Street, leading from the bridge (on the site of the present Town Bridge) and up the road now called Stow Hill, and then to the south side of St Woolos Church. A clue to the antiquity of Stow Hill may be that it is now a partly sunken road with raised pavements. The main town was partly protected by marshes to the north and south, by the river Usk to the east, and possibly by defensive structures to the west.

In the Middle Ages the road route across South Wales leading from Chepstow to Cardiff would cross over Newport Bridge through the town and past St Woolos Church (now the cathedral). To the west of St Woolos this road branched, with the south branch descending on to the Wentloog Levels going towards Cardiff, and the north branch going towards Bassaleg and Caerphilly.

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[15] Rees, W. (ed.), *The Charters of the Borough of Newport in Gwynllwg* (Newport Public Library, 1951).

[16] Toulmin Smith, L., (ed.) *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539* (London, 1906) 14.

Newport was therefore a convenient location for markets and fairs, and for the collection of rents and tolls associated with them. The income derived from these rents and tolls was no doubt the reason for the lord granting the privileges enjoyed by the burgesses. The market place was in the present High Street and this road still widens out in the vicinity of the Murenger House. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a market house stood in the middle of the road.

A survey of rents in 1570 is particularly useful in identifying where streets and properties were located. [17] Modern road names can still be identified. Apart from the High Street they include Corn Street (formerly Cornes lane but now this street is on a slightly different alignment), Skinner Street (formerly Skynners lane), and a lane leading to Baneswell (formerly Paynes well).

The 1750 map also shows that, on the east side of High Street, Griffin Street (then Griffin Lane), Market Street (then called Cross Keys Lane) and what is now the Carpenters Arms Lane (but was once known as St Lawrence's Lane) were in existence in the eighteenth century. These are all likely to be medieval in origin. On the west side of High Street a road called (St.) Thomas Street *(Fig. 13)* was in existence until the twentieth century. This led to the original Mill Street, which in turn led to a water mill close to the river. A road (including the later Pentonville) headed from the west from Bassaleg via Ridgeway, in the direction of the bridge. It would have joined the middle of Thomas Street where Thomas Street widened out. This Bassaleg/Ridgeway road may predate the later medieval castle and street layout, which obstruct a direct line to the bridge.

The town was split in two by the Town Pill. This pill went from the River Usk a little way south of the castle and bridge, following a line between Skinner Street and Griffin Street at least as far as the High Street where there may have been a bridge over the pill. The area to the north of the pill as far as the castle was called the Great Bailey, and the area to the south of the pill as far as the present Riverfront theatre (where the Newport Ship was discovered) was called the Small Bailey.

How far you can call Newport a planned town is debateable, since it straddles a main thoroughfare that must have come about after the construction of the bridge, and may just have evolved over a period of time. However its significance as a market town appears to have developed early on, and there may well have been inducements to new settlers by the Norman lords of Gwynllŵg.

The walls of Newport

Historians have never agreed whether or not Newport had a town wall. A fuller account of Newport from John Leland's 'Itinerary in Wales' mentioned above recorded that:

> Newport is a bigge towne wherof that parte where the paroche chirch is, stondith on a hille. The chirch is S. Guntle (Woolos), Olave in Englisch.
> Ther is a great stone gate by the bridge at the este ende of the toun, a nother yn the middle of the town as in the High strete to passe thorough, and the third at the west end of the toune : and hard without it is the paroche chirch. The fairest of the toun is al yn one streate. The toun is yn ruine. Ther was a house of religion by the key beneth the bridg. The castelle is on the este side of the toun above the bridge.

Later in the same account he said:

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[17] 'Survey of the rents due to the earl of Pembroke 13 September 1570', National Library of Wales MS 17008D, published in Bradney, J.A., (Gray, M, editor) *A History of Monmouthshire*, Volume 5: *The Hundred of Newport* (Cardiff & Aberystwyth 1993) 32-35.

> Newport is in Wentlugh (Gwynllŵg) a myle and more by foote path from Cairlion, and standeth on (the river) Uske, having a prety stronge town; but I marked not whyther yt were waulled or no.[1]

No other visitor to Newport has recorded seeing a town wall either, although many have claimed there was one there once. In 1801, for example, William Coxe claimed that 'Newport was once surrounded by walls, though no vestiges at present remain.[19] The Newport historian, James Matthews, however, stated that:

> That extravagant and unwarrantable statement: "Walls of considerable strength surrounded Newport (!) in the palmy days of the Castle" ought to be dismissed from the mind of every intelligent person, as there is not an atom of evidence that can be brought forward in support of such a recital [20]

Since then most historians have been circumspect on the issue, although the presence of gates into the town has never been challenged. One of the gates mentioned by Leland is the East Gate by the bridge. An engraving of Newport Castle published in 1732, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck *(Fig. 7)*, shows a stone gate with a pointed arch across the west end of a wooden bridge. William Coxe recorded that 'the pivots belonging to the hinges of the east gate, near the bridge, are discernible in the walls.[21]

The West Gate *(Fig. 15)* is still commemorated by the Westgate Hotel building and it would have crossed the road between High Street and Stow Hill. Commercial Street was not constructed until the nineteenth century. A previous gate may have been nearer to Skinner Street, because a restriction in the width of High Street just at the junction with Skinner Street can be seen on early maps of the town. This first gate may be one mentioned in a deed of 1444 which refers to:

> A tenement in the small bailey near the gate of the aforesaid town, where the hundred house was built above. [22]

The second gate, which contained a gaol, but presumably no longer the Hundred House, is probably fifteenth century and could have been built soon after 1476. A charter of that year gave the burgesses the right to build a gaol within the town. [23] This gate was demolished in 1799. It was replaced with a hotel, and this in turn was replaced by the present building in 1884. The proprietor of the Westgate Hotel at that time was Mr Samuel Dean. He recorded that:

> In excavating underneath the old (former) Westgate Hotel, preparing the foundations of the present building, the workmen came across an old spiral stairway, and at the bottom a stone porch, forming the entrance into a subterraneous passage or subway, was discovered, leading under the road (Stow Hill).[24]

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[18] Toulmin Smith (1906) 45.
[19] Coxe (1801)48.
[20] Mathews (1910) 94.
[21] Coxe, (1801) 48.
[22] National Library of Wales Tredegar Muniments 62/29.
[23] Rees (1951) 53.
[24] Matthews (1910) 108; see also: *The Monmouthshire Merlin,* July 11 1884.

In the 1570 survey of rents in Newport owed to the Earl of Pembroke, there is a reference to 'Crooks Gate'.[25] This appears to be the West Gate, and probably refers to the gaol in the gate. In 1801 William Coxe referred to the West Gate as having been used as the town prison, and that it had lately been taken down. He called it an ancient structure in the gothic style, built of red grit stone, with a shield charged with a chevron on each side. The shield was probably from the coat of arms of the earls of Stafford, later dukes of Buckingham, and lords of Newport from 1347 until 1521.

The location of the Middle Gate cannot be identified from Coxe's account, and it has been suggested that it stood in the middle of the High Street. The 1884 Ordnance Survey map identifies it as being close to the Murenger House. However a logical position would have been in Thomas Street. This street used to go from alongside the old Post Office building in High Street, opposite the Kings Head Hotel, providing access to the mill and to the north of the town.

In addition to these three gates there appear to have been other gates. Newport Castle had both a north and south gate in its curtain wall, and there are records of a Paynes Gate, which gave access to Baneswell and a gate between the Austin Friars and the town wharf. Of course these gates may not have been defensive structures, and James Matthews even refers to the old West Gate as a toll booth.

There is also the present public house called the Murenger House at 53 High Street *(Fig. 10)*. It has been claimed by tradition that it belonged to the Murenger (an official responsible for town walls and for collecting money for their maintenance in the Middle Ages). In fact the Murenger House has a mainly modern timber framed frontage, with three upper stories under the gable. The first floor front room has a plasterwork ceiling decorated with a Tudor roses and floral pinecone finials. It appears to be Tudor, or, according to John Newman, early-seventeenth century in date,[26] and therefore after any town wall would have been in use. However the thickness of the side and rear wall may indicate these were built of stone, and they could be considerably older than the frontage. The building is only referred to in local directories as 'The Murenger House' after 1880.

There are earlier references to another Murenger House, with a shield and arms carved over the front door. In 1801 William Coxe refers to the Murenger's House as being 'an old spacious building, with an ornamented front, and a coat of arms, carved in stone, over the door', and it appears this building was demolished in 1816. It stood on the corner of High Street and the modern Bridge Street, on the site now occupied by the NatWest Bank. In 1750 it was referred to as 'The Great House' and in 1553 was the house of George ap Morgan and was described as 'the strongest place in all the town'. [27]

There is at least some limited documentary evidence to suggest that Newport had town walls. A twelfth century charter by William, earl of Gloucester, refers to granting the Priory of Goldcliff property 'outside the walls in Newport'. [28] A deed dated 1433 exists in which Humphrey, earl of Stafford, granted John of Newport the right to erect and maintain a tenement 'situated on the walls of the town adjacent to Gervey's Gowte'. The origin of 'Gervey' is probably the personal name Gervais, but 'Gowte' means gate, often associated with sluice gates used in drainage. [29] This is little to go on, but there are many references to the Great Bailey and the Small Bailey of the town.

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[25] Bradney (1993) 33.

[26] Newman, J., 'Buildings in the Landscape', in Griffiths, R.A. (general editor) *The Gwent County History,* Volume 3, *The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (Cardiff, 2009) 347.

[27] For a fuller description see my article, 'The Two Murenger Houses of Newport', *Gwent Local History* **106** (2009) 20 – 31.

[28] Patterson (1973) Charter no 280 (93a).

[29] Gwent Record Office, D.43.5458.

The term 'bailey' usually refers to the area inside the circuit walls of a castle or town. In the case of Newport these baileys contain most of the town burgage plots, which in the 1570 survey were still paying rents to the lord. As mentioned earlier, the Great Bailey covered the area from the castle to the town pill, and included most of High Street. The Small Bailey included an area from the West Gate to the river downstream from the town pill, but excluding the site of the Austin Friars. The properties on Stow Hill and Mill Street would also have been outside the town baileys.

There is one clear record that shows that the Great Bailey had a wall. In 1444 John Seyntey sold various properties in Newport to Thomas Leny. These properties included:

> A tenement ... in the great bailey in length along the highway at the front and up to the wall of the aforesaid bailey at the back ...
> Seven unbuilt tenements, five of which lie together in the great bailey on the south side of the highway of the aforesaid town at the front, up to the wall of the aforesaid bailey at the back.[30]

Newport Castle also had a curtain wall that once stood behind the surviving frontage. This was noted by William Coxe and a small part of the castle's north curtain wall was standing until 1970 when it was removed during road widening. In 1885 the antiquarian Octavius Morgan produced a plan of the castle. The ward within the curtain wall was sub-rectangular. The south curtain wall was at a right angle to the main castle range alongside the river, but the north curtain wall was at an odd angle, slanting slightly to the south. From looking at a map called the 'Trigonometrical Survey of Newport', which was published in the 1850s *Fig. 12)*,[31] it is possible to line up the north curtain wall of the castle with old property boundaries, now mostly gone. These property boundaries continued to the rear of premises facing on to the west side of High Street.

It is known that the west side of the moat of the castle and some nearby properties were destroyed during the building of the Monmouthshire Canal in 1792. However there are surviving property boundaries on the far side of the canal, but on the same line as the north curtain wall of the castle. They crossed Thomas Street where this street is shown as widening out.

The point where Thomas Street widens out is a likely position for a Middle Gate, set in a town wall. In 1907 there is an account of early walls being discovered during the construction of the Savoy Hotel next to Thomas Street *(Fig. 13)*. It is possible that these walls could be connected with the town wall or the East Gate.[32] This would mean that part of the town wall would have been re-utilised as the north curtain wall of the castle. The present stone castle is thought to have been built and altered in the thirteenth or fourteenth and in the fifteenth century – so a town wall would have been there already. If the castle north curtain wall was originally part of the town wall this would certainly explain the odd angle

With a few gaps, a line of property boundaries associated with the possible wall continued west from the castle north curtain wall, then curved around the back of High Street and continued to the vicinity of the West Gate. To the east of the West Gate, by the junction with Skinner Street, these property boundaries continued in a curve towards the river. Near the river the boundaries were again obliterated by the construction of the Monmouthshire Canal at the end of the eighteenth century.

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[30] National Library of Wales, Tredegar Muniments 62/29. It is curious that the five tenements were on the south side of the highway, since if they had the wall of the Great Bailey at the back they should be on the north of west side of the Bailey. Possibly this is a mistake in the deed or the translation or possibly the bailey wall formed a circuit. This reference was pointed out to me by Tony Hopkins

[31] Newport Museum and Art Gallery (no reference number)

[32] Information from Haydn Davis referring to an article in the *South Wales Argus* in 1907

This line of property boundaries finished close to where it is now thought that there was an old pill or inlet (on the site of the present Riverfront Theatre) running into the River Usk. This inlet contained the medieval ship that was excavated in 2002. The inlet could be associated with a medieval town wall or defences, and with the former Austin Friars lying just outside.

Another clear line of property boundaries, however, continued beyond the West Gate, up Stow Hill, along the edge of a sloping ridge of land containing former burgage plots.. This line of property boundaries finished close to the church of St Woolos. It seems likely that an earlier defensive ditch existed, before any town wall was built. In the eighteenth century a ditch still survived. It was known as the Town Ditch, and ran from the top of Stow Hill, and then possibly curved to join on to the line of a medieval town wall near Baneswell.[33]

Part of a town ditch running between the Westgate and Newport Castle could also have been replaced by a stone wall, with another section of wall running from the West Gate to the river. A survey of 1570 refers to 'Hirstingeste Ditch' in the area of Baneswell, and this could be a reference to the Town Ditch still existing on Stow Hill. Alternatively it could relate to the Town Pill.[34]

There is much more that could be said for or against there being a town wall around Newport. One criticism is that it would appear that no physical evidence of a strong stone defensive wall has ever been discovered. However only a handful of medieval objects have been discovered from the whole of Newport – at least until the Newport Ship was excavated.

In Newport Museum the few medieval finds from the town include a small quantity of late medieval or Tudor pottery from Newport Castle, some fourteenth century pottery from the National Provincial Bank (now NatWest) opposite the Westgate Hotel, and the Tudor and later pottery from the Murenger House at 53 High Street. There are also two medieval tiles from St Woolos Church (outside the medieval borough) and part of a thirteenth century stone cross found in the river near the Town Bridge. With the nineteenth and twentieth century expansion of Newport little was saved, and most of the medieval town was obliterated without record.

Another possible clue to the existence of a town wall is that in 1447-1448 the north curtain wall of the castle was raised by 3 feet.[35] It is interesting to speculate whether this was the old town wall being improved in order to match the rest of the curtain wall of the castle. The west and south wall would have been newer in date and purpose built for the castle. More possible evidence for a town wall can be seen in the cellars of High Street.

***The Cellars in High Street** (Fig. 16).*

As part of a continuing investigation into the possibility that there had been a town wall around Newport a number of cellars surviving under buildings between High Street and Cambrian Road, Newport were inspected in 1997 and 2007.[36]

On 6th August 1997 the cellars of the former Tredegar Arms Inn (ST 33098 18832) were inspected, at that time being converted into Yates Wine Bar. The building stands on the corner of High Street and Station Approach and incorporates a former bank building. The cellars covered the whole of the area under the ground floor of the original Tredegar Arms section of the building and part of these were being converted to toilets. During this work three stone plaques were noticed in the partition

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[33] Jones, B.P., *From Elizabeth I to Victoria. Newport Monmouthshire 1550 – 1850* (Newport, 1957) 63. The eighteenth century ordinances of the Borough of Newport refer to the Town Ditch running from near the Church to Baneswell.

[34] Bradney (1993) 33

[35] Pugh (1963) 233.

[36] Unpublished report by Bob Trett in Newport Museum and Art Gallery.

wall separating the cellars from the adjacent Murenger House Inn. The stone plaques were positioned in the wall and appear to have been reset in the wall from somewhere else.

Two stone plaques were at 'waist height'. One depicted a heraldic shield with two or three chevrons (possibly the arms of the Clare family, once lords of the lordship of Newport). The chevrons had been painted red but were not inverted – as on the arms for the Borough of Newport). Another stone plaque consisted of an armorial stag's head, the crest used by the Morgans of Tredegar House, and with an obvious relationship to the Tredegar Arms Inn. Some gold and red paint survived on the stag's head. The third stone plaque was at 'head height' and had on it the date '1685' in gothic script.

The walls consisted mainly of irregular blocks of stone, mortared together. The cellar floor consisted of stone flags. There was some indication of more possible heraldic plaques at floor level in the cellar. Other stone walls were at that time visible in the maze of small rooms, and particularly in recesses adjacent to the present road called Station Approach, and there was a more substantial stone wall, running parallel with High Street and therefore on a line with the suggested town wall. The plaques may possibly have been removed from a building such as the former Market House in the High Street, in which case it would give a date of 1685 for its building, reconstruction or alteration. However the Market House is traditionally dated to 1585 and there is some evidence for a market house in 1619/20.[37]

On 8th August 2007 two more properties were visited by the author in the company of Richard Frame and Mike Buckingham. The cellars at 38b High Street (ST 33102 18821) were accessed through a trap door in a small store room. They consisted of two older cellars, at the front of the building, approximately 5.5 metres wide, with a total length of 12 metres, and of a smaller, more modern looking cellar at the rear. The floors of the two older cellars were stone slabs, and the walls mainly of stone rubble mortared together. There was some dressed stone and on the northern end of the front cellar there were quoins (a vertical line of dressed stones forming an edge), possibly the side of a filled-in door. The north side also had a rotten wooden lintel inserted in the wall. There also appeared to have been a filled-in small opening in the wall of the middle cellar. Whilst clearly of great age these walls would have been inside the suggested town wall.

A café at 36 Cambrian Road (ST 33097 18826) gave access to a series of cellars through a trap door. The cellar immediately underneath the cafe had been decorated with modern stone cladding, and therefore it was not possible to see the original walls. However from this room there were doorways leading to a whole series of cellars of different shapes and sizes (possibly 30 plus rooms), which appeared to stretch under a number of different properties between High Street and Cambrian Road. None of these cellars had been used in recent times except in places for fitting pipes servicing the rooms above. The cellars generally had stone flagged floors, with stone rubble mortared walls, but with some dressed stone in places, and also brickwork in other places. Time and the conditions did not allow more than a preliminary look, but there was evidence of early light fittings (1930s?). There were some brick roofed barrel vaults, wine-cellar type storage shelves, an iron grill across one door, and also a blocked-in stone staircase going up.

Only in one cellar was an original wall observed on the line of the projected town wall. The cellar under 34 Cambrian Road (ST 33097 18825) had three lines of squared dressed stone blocks, near the floor, facing the east side of Cambrian Road. The higher part of the wall was stone rubble or brick. If there was a medieval town wall along the line of Cambrian Road these lower courses of dressed stone would be in the right position to be part of this wall.

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[37] Jones (1957) 6 (*n.*31).

This is still not definitive proof that a stone town wall did exist, but without proper archaeological investigation we may never know.

Newport Castle (Sites and Monuments Reference 93389. ST 33115 18845; *Figs. 7, 8, 12).*
A detailed description of the castle is given by Jeremy Knight in *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* for 1991, so only a brief summary is given here. The castle surviving today consists of the east range which faced the river. Originally there would have been a curtain wall, roughly rectangular in plan, running behind the east range. There would also have been a surrounding moat with presumably drawbridges for entrances that were on the north and south sides. The surviving stone castle was greatly altered in the twentieth century.

The east range consists of three towers linked by straight walls, the main hall, a water gate, a vaulted audience chamber, and a kitchen block. The north tower has two stories on a solid square base, and is thought to have been the quarters of the constable or steward of the castle. This tower was attached to the hall which stood at first floor level over a vaulted cellar or undercroft. There was a chamber between the hall and the central tower, with a spiral staircase attached to the corner of the tower.

The central tower is the largest tower. It contained an impressive vaulted chamber over a water-gate allowing ships direct access to the castle. Above the vaulted chamber there may have once been a chapel. To the south of the central tower was a smaller room, probably the withdrawing room for the lord, as a gallery then leads to the south tower, which is where the lord of Newport would have stayed on his visits to Newport. The kitchens are thought to have been behind the gallery.

The castle was the administrative centre for the lordship of Newport and in its heyday it would have dominated the town and the river crossing. However there is uncertainty about when the earliest castle in the borough was built, and whether this earlier castle was on the same site as the present castle.

Knight's view was that the date of the foundation of the present stone –built castle must lie in the bracket 1327-1386. However a recent survey by Cadw suggests there were a series of building periods, dating back to the Clare lordship in the thirteenth century.[38] Knight would have been unaware that the north curtain wall may have been earlier in date than the rest of the castle.

A Norman motte on Stow Hill is discussed elsewhere, but what is in question is whether there was once another castle, predating the thirteenth century, somewhere near the present castle.
It is recorded in the Welsh *Brut Y Tywysogion* that in about 1172 AD King Henry II visited *Castell Newyd ar Uysc* (New Castle on the River Usk). In 1185 the king's accounts show that six pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence were spent on repairs to the castle of Novi Burgi (i.e. Newport) and its buildings and bridge. This does not sound like the motte on Stow Hill, which was outside the borough's boundaries away from the river and with no view of medieval Newport - since it faced towards the Severn Estuary and the mouth of the River Usk. Further it is unclear how the bridge or town could have been properly defended if there was no castle close to it.

There are various references in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to Newport Castle and town, including details of a siege in 1321 by Hugh Audley and other lords. The damage was so bad that in 1322 an order was given for 300 oaks 'fit for timber' to be felled to repair and construct the houses and fortalices (outworks) within the castle.[39] This would seem to suggest that at this time the castle may have been constructed of timber, but the reference does not specifically refer to the main castle itself, where presumably the structure survived the assault.

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[38] Forthcoming report for Cadw by Will Davies, Christopher Phillpotts and Bob Trett.
[39] *Calendar of Close Rolls 15 Edward II : 1318-1323*, 440.

The oldest plan of the castle and its original curtain wall is shown on the town map of 1750. The moat is not shown and the main buildings on the riverfront are shown out of the correct alignment. A plan for William Coxe's *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* in 1801 appears to have been based on this earlier plan since it shows the same mistake regarding the building range, but it does show a moat. In 1885 Octavius Morgan published a surveyed plan of what then existed in *Archaeologia Cambrensis,* and up to date plans were published by Jeremy Knight in 1991.

The archaeological evidence largely consists of a coin of Edward III excavated in 1845,[40] and some roofing slate and some fifteenth or sixteenth century pottery excavated in 1970. Architecturally the surviving castle does not appear to be any earlier than the thirteenth century, but it is clear that the present castle is partly the same castle that was severely damaged by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403. Possibly a a later castle replaced an earlier castle in the same vicinity.

Other documentary evidence to the surrounds of the castle include a building called 'the long stables' outside the castle gate in 1452, the rabbit warren in 1484, and various references to the castle green which appears to have been on the north, west and south side of the curtain walls. By the end of the fifteenth century the castle appears to have been neglected and a survey of 1522 refers to 'a fair hall, proper lodgings after the waterside, and many houses of offices; howbeit, in manner, all is decayed in coverings and floors, especially of timber work.' The later history of the castle is outside the scope of this survey.

Newport Bridge (SMR 21459. ST 33125 18843; *Plate XX*)

Newport Bridge has stood on approximately the same site (next to Newport Castle) since a bridge was first built, probably in the twelfth century. The original bridge would have been built largely of timber – there was no proper stone bridge until 1800 AD, when William Coxe noted it was under construction.

Before the bridge was built there may have been a ferry crossing - but the depth of tidal mud almost certainly precludes the possibility of there having ever been a ford. The lowest point down river where it is now possible to ford the river at low tide with any degree of safety is to the north of Caerleon Bridge.

Apart from the discovery of late Roman coins found on the site of the castle there is no evidence that the main Roman road across South Wales (later referred to as the Julia Strata) ever crossed the river at the site of Newport Bridge, and the obvious route was for this road to cross the river by the bridge at Caerleon.

The river level and the river course have fluctuated over the centuries, but there is a narrowing of the Usk valley at Newport Bridge, so that the river would have always remained fixed at this point. When a bridge was built at Newport it would have been a better route to travel across South Wales than to use the ford or bridge at Caerleon.

To the east of Newport Bridge a ridge of land from the direction of Christchurch village slopes down to the river. A Roman road from Caerwent to Caerleon would have left this ridge on the east side of Christchurch. After the building of Newport Bridge in the Middle Ages the road through Christchurch would have been an important route across South Wales between Chepstow, Newport and on to Cardiff and the west. To the west of Newport Bridge the land gradually rises along Newport High Street, and rises more steeply up Stow Hill.

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[40] *Monmouth Merlin and South Wales Advertiser*, 27 September 1845. The report also refers to coins ' "of the Henries" and several base coins of the age of Constantine, but too corroded to decipher'. What the significance is of the Roman coins is impossible to say without any further archaeological evidence.

The earliest record relating to Newport Bridge is possibly in a grant of 20 acres near the bridge of Novi Burgi (Newport) and near the River Usk, to the monastery of St Peter at Gloucester. This grant was made sometime between 1072 and 1104 AD.[41] There is also a reference to a bridge at Newport in 1185 AD when the Pipe Rolls (the annual audited accounts of the king) have a reference to repairs of a bridge at Novi Burgi. After that there are a number of references to the bridge, and in 1418 AD Bishop Edmund Lacy of Hereford was offering an indulgence (i.e. remission of punishment due for sin) for anyone who contributed towards the repair of the fabric of the bridge.[42]

In 1486/7 there was a ferry across the river whilst a new bridge was being built and John Leland, around 1538, mentions the wooden bridge over the river. Twenty shillings towards the repair of the bridge were diverted by the Crown in 1550 (during the reign of Edward VI) from the income of the Newport charities.[43] In 1550 An Act of Parliament in 1580/81 authorised repairs 'to a greate Bridge of Tymber called Newporte Bridge' and 'is of late fallen to greate ruyn and decay and likely dayly (not repayred) to become not passable'.[44] Thomas Churchyard in 1587 referred to the renovated structure as 'a right strong bridge of timber new'.[45]

Newport Bridge was the key to controlling traffic up the river and travelling through south Wales. It would have limited the size of ships going to Caerleon – ultimately ensuring Newport's pre-eminence in the area.

Newport Quay (SMR 00197g; ST 33125 18822) ***and the Port of Newport in the fifteenth century***

In the fifteenth century Newport was not a customs port, and information on its early maritime history is scarce.

The core of the medieval town was split in two by the town pill, and a map of 1752 by Thomas Thorpe shows the 'key' at the entrance of the pill, on its south bank. The pill may even have been navigable for small boats up to the High Street, since in 1928 part of what were thought to be a rudder and a rib from a barge, together with fourteenth century pottery were found during building work for the National Provincial Bank (now NatWest).[46]

The River Usk has a large tidal variation and ships would have moored at the town quay on the town pill (or by the riverbank or in the tidal creeks) on the high tide. There they would remain stranded until the following high tide. The Usk served not only the port of Newport but also the medieval port of Caerleon, four miles upriver. The Cistercian Abbey at Llantarnam also had its own landing stage at Pill Mawr, between Newport and Caerleon, where it could export wool or other goods. At one time the river was navigable beyond the town of Usk and as late as 1801 William Coxe refers to the tide flowing to Tredunnoc, where timber was conveyed in barges to Caerleon and Newport.

Much more is known about medieval maritime trade in South Wales as a whole. Trade in the Severn would have been dominated by Bristol. Many of the Welsh ports, including Newport and Caerleon, sent wool, hides and cloth to Bristol in small boats. 'Staple ports' such as Bristol and Carmarthen were responsible for the collection of custom dues on the export of certain goods, including wool. These goods were known as 'staples'. The Abbot of Tintern was a member of the staple in Bristol and 'Welsh cloth' provided russet for poor folk in Bristol. Chepstow was included in the headport of Bristol from September 1346 and Chepstow merchants exported cloth to Spain and Portugal during the reign of Richard II. In 1386 wheat from Newport, Bristol and Chepstow was

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[41] Reeves (1979) 113.
[42] Ibid. 115.
[43] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI: 1549-1551*, 416-17.
[44] 39 Elizabeth I. c.23.
[45] Gray (1993) 35.
[46] Newport Museum accession number NPTMG 1984.34.

exported 'in a Spanish ship' to support John of Gaunt in an expedition to Castille. The major import during the autumn was the wine trade from Bordeaux and Gascony. However with the loss of Bordeaux as an English possession in 1453 this trade suffered severely.[47]

For the rest of South Wales, apart from Chepstow, the staple port for the collection of customs was at Carmarthen, which was made the sole staple for Wales in 1353. In 1397 John Banham, burgess of Newport-on-Usk, was shipping wool through the Carmarthen staple. Some Newport ships are known. In 1440 a ship called 'the Swan' had its home port at Newport. In 1461 'the Trinity' of Newport was taking cloth from Bristol to Ireland, and in 1480 'the Christopher' of Newport was carrying fish from Ireland to Bristol.[48]

Jeremy Knight refers to the accounts for the repairs to Newport Castle. In 1447 stone was shipped to Newport from Bristol and Penarth. The accounts show that the stone was landed at 'the south end of the Shirehall'. The location of the medieval Shirehall may have been near the town quay, although as already mentioned the Hundred House is described as being built above the West Gate in 1444.

There are other references to the 'Cinderhill', and Cinderhill Wharf was still in existence in the twentieth century, close to where the medieval quay once was. Iron slag was found on the river bed beneath the Newport Medieval Ship. This ship has been discussed elsewhere, but there is no evidence it ever traded with Newport, and it was probably towed to Newport in 1468/9 for an attempted repair.[49]

The Austin Friars (SMR 00196g ST 33123 18806; *Figs. 17, 18*)

A house of the Friars Eremites of St Augustine (Austin Friars) was founded in Newport by Hugh, second earl of Stafford, in 1377. Stafford died in 1386 at Rhodes, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The Austin Friars claimed to have been originally founded by St Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century and were organised as an order in 1245. The friary at Newport appears to have been the only Augustinian friary in Wales, and to have been established on the site of a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas. The first prior was Thomas Leche, who probably came from a house of friars in Staffordshire. When appointed he promised 'to promote the welfare of the Stafford souls, and to pay a pension of one mark yearly to the vicar of the parish church (St Woolos) as compensation for revenue lost through the establishment of a friary'. It was endowed with 31 burgages (land holdings) and one 'free place' (probably a chapel) in Newport. It later received more burgages, bringing the total to sixty,[5] but the friary was always a small establishment and was destroyed by Owain Glyndŵr in 1403 though it was rebuilt by the duke of Buckingham in the middle of the fifteenth century.[51]

Very few records of the friary survive. In 1495 Jasper Tudor bequeathed 20 shillings to the Austin Friars at Newport. In about 1535 John Leland refers to 'a house of religion by the key beneath the bridge'. The last prior, Richard Batte, surrendered the friary to the agent of Henry VIII on 8 September 1538, during the Dissolution of the monastic houses in England and Wales.

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[47] Carus-Wilson, E., 'The Overseas Trade of Bristol' ,in Power, E. and Postan, M.M. (ed.), *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1933) gives a general summary. See also Reeves (1979) for further references.

[48] Carus-Wilson, E., *The Overseas Trade of Bristol In the later Middle Ages* (Bristol, 1937) 209, 256.

[49] Trett (2005).

[50] Wakeman, T., *The Monastery of Austin Friars at Newport* (Newport, 1859) 7.

[51] Gray (1993) 46.

Considerable confusion has arisen between the House of the Austin Friars (near the river) and "The Friars" (SMR reference 00159g ST 3308 1872) of Stow Hill (at the top of Belle Vue Park). In 1859 Thomas Wakeman claimed that a Priory of Friar Preachers or Black Friars granted to Sir Edward Carne in AD 1543 was on the site of 'The Friars'. This is also shown on Ordnance Survey maps as the site of a Friary and is recorded on the Sites and Monuments records for Newport as the site of a friary of the White (*sic*) Friars. This reference to the White Friars comes from a mistake by William Coxe who in 1801 wrote:

> There was another religious house for white friars, near the church of St Woolos, on the left of the lower road leading to Tredegar. No vestige at present exists, and a private house occupies the original site, which in memorial of its ancient state, is still called the Friars.[52]

The original confusion seems to have been caused by another mistake, in the first financial accounts for the Newport Austin Friars after the suppression. These accounts refer to 'The House Late of the Black Friars of Newport' instead of the Austin Friars. In 1538-39 Morice Baker held one house, with two rooms, one hall, a kitchen and a garden, together with 6 acres of arable land for a total rent of 13 shillings and 6 pence.[53] There appears to be no further evidence for a second friary in Newport apart from the name 'The Friars'. It is not known why the Tudor scribes made a mistake. Clearly it was no longer a matter of concern after the Reformation what the Friary site had been previously called. It may be that the Augustinian Friars were confused with the Austin Canons, also known as the Black Canons, who were another, separate order.

In 1801 William Coxe also refers to the site of the Austin Friars, near the banks of the Usk, below the bridge, and refers to:

> several detached buildings containing comfortable apartments, and a spacious hall, with gothic windows, neatly finished in freestone; the body of the church is dilapidated; but the northern transept is a small elegant specimen of gothic architecture. It is now occupied by a cider mill, and the press is placed in a small recess which once was a chapel, separated from the transept by a bold and lofty arch. The gardens are enclosed within the original walls.[54]

The friary stood in a field called Friars Field, which is clearly marked on eighteenth century maps of Newport. The friary itself stood in the area that is now Newport Bus Station. Friars Field stretched down to the river and the northern edge ended by an inlet where the Riverfront Theatre now is and where the Newport Ship was discovered in 2002.

The friary building survived into the nineteenth century and there is a fine engraving of it published in 1859. A watercolour by Joshua Gosselin dated 28 July 1784, is wrongly accredited to the 'Blackfriars', but is in fact the Austin Friars. The turret on the north corner of the tower of St Woolos church shows that the buildings depicted are to the north of the church, not on the site of 'The Friars' by Belle Vue Park. Also close examination of the watercolour with the 1859 engraving of the Austin Friars shows that they are the same buildings.[55]

The Austin Friars are described on the Ordnance Survey maps as a Friary and a Friars Refectory. In 1860 the Newport Corporation purchased the site and razed the building to the ground. The Monmouthshire Building Society had their offices on the site and, during the redevelopment of John

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[52] Coxe (1801) 57.

[53] Randall, H.J., & Rees, W. (ed.). 'The Houses of the Friars at Cardiff and Newport. First Financial Accounts after the Suppression' in *South Wales and Monmouth Record Society Publication* **4** (1957) 56.

[54] Coxe, W. (1801) 56

[55] Mitchell, J. , 'Joshua Gosselin in Monmouthshire', *Monm. Antiq.* XIX (2003) 105.

Frost Square in the 1960s, removed a Victorian stone plaque depicting the friary to their new premises. A stone lintel from the friary building is in the collections of Newport Museum.

The Hospital

The only evidence for a hospital in Newport are a couple of documentary references A survey of 1567 refers to the 'spittelhouse' or hospital which stood in the neighbourhood of Corn Lane.[56] A rental of 1570 refers to gardens 'near the Spittelhouse'.[57]

The House of Refuge or School (ST 33104 18780; *Fig. 11)*

This building once stood at 69 Stow Hill, where there is now a car park. It can be seen in an old photograph of Stow Hill in Newport Museum and Art Gallery.[58] According to J.M. Scott writing in 1847:

> The present House of Refuge on Stow Hill, a broad, high building, was built by the Earl of Pembroke in 1410, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, and made an institution for the education and support of the poor children of the town. He gave to maintain it, certain lands, which, however, now belong to the baronial estate of Tredegar. Above the entrance doorway to this day stands the Pembroke coat of arms, which has suffered in common with other reliques of the past. The building still maintains its charitable character, for it now feeds the hungry, and gives rest and comfort to the homeless.[59]

The photograph shows the left end of the building, with a triangular stone containing a coat of arms above a door. There are two storeys with further dormer windows in the roof. The walls appear to be of stone rubble and a ground-floor mullioned window appears to have been blocked in and then replaced by a smaller square window. There are stress relieving arches over the downstairs window and the door. The doorway has a Tudor type arch.

Next to this building, on the left side, is a much smaller cottage which would have been 67 Stow Hill, although both have been demolished. However the outline of the roof of 67 Stow Hill can still be seen on the side wall of 65 Stow Hill.

The minute book for the Overseers of the Poor records that on October 31 1774 the overseers were ordered:

> to execute ... a Warrant on Distress to levy, the same for rent due on a tenement belonging to the Freemen of the Town of Newport, commonly called the Free Schools.

In 1775 Francis Grose noted:

> Passed by a public Grammar School adorned with the arms of some peer or the royal ones, it is now in ruins.[60]

On December 16th 1783 the Overseers of the Poor agreed to the:

> repair and fitting the Free School ... into a Workhouse for keeping to work and maintain the poor.[61]

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[56] Rees (1951) xx.
[57] Gray (1993) 34.
[58] Newport Museum and Art Gallery accession number NPTMG 56.119.
[59] Scott, J.M. *The Ancient and Modern History of Newport* (Newport, 1847) 52.
[60] Information from Julian Mitchell from a forthcoming article on the travel journal of Francis Grose.

It seems likely that this is the same building as the House of Refuge, which was rebuilt in 1892, and this new building was still used as a House of Refuge in 1901.

A date of 1410 for the original building does not look possible, and at that time there was no earl of Pembroke. Later on the Herbert family were earls of Pembroke and lords of Newport. William Herbert was made first earl of Pembroke (of the second creation) in 1551. The coat of arms of the Herberts used three lions rampant. The coat of arms visible on the photograph of the House of Refuge is unclear, but it may include only one lion rampant.

One of the early aldermen of the Borough, William Williams, however, conveyed certain properties in trust to his fellow aldermen to endow a Free School on 8th June 1607. These properties included land at Kingshill, adjacent to the school. He is the probable benefactor and founder of the Free School at 69 Stow Hill.[62]

Newport Mill (SMR 00193g ST 33113 18854)

In the Newport Charter of 1427 (confirming the charter of 1385) there is a reference in a description of the borough's boundaries to 'the water course of the mill of the lord.' In 1441 there were two water-mills at Newport recorded in the accounts of the lordship.[63] A water mill is shown on a 1750 map of Newport, together with the millpond, the mill mead (meadow) and a water course. The mill was on a river inlet or pill to the north of Newport Castle, close to where the present Sainsbury's Store now is. Nothing now remains but the mill is shown on the 1883 Ordnance Survey map of Newport as a flour mill at the head of an inlet.

In 1859 Thomas Wakeman, in his account of *The Monastery of Austin Friars at Newport*, mentioned that:

> in the gable end of a building, now forming the flour mill in Mill Street, are the traces of a large gothic window, which from its size and form was apparently of the fourteenth century. [64]

He concluded that this might be part of the chapel of St Lawrence – but in view of other documentary evidence this seems unlikely.

St Lawrence Chapel (SMR 00185g, possibly ST 33108 18830)

St Lawrence's Chapel was of medieval date and it can be no co-incidence that the town fair began on the Vigil of St Lawrence (9th August). In 1525 a grant was made of two tenements, 'between the Chapel of St Lawrence on the west, abutting on the High Street going through the town on one side and the other abutting upon St Lawrence Lane'.[65] A further reference to 'St Laurence Lane' in 1545 says it is within the Great Bailey.[66] Again in 1550 a grant to Sir William Herbert refers to 'the late chantry called St Lawrence Chapel in the Great Bailey within the town of Newport'.[67] Further references appear for St Lawrence Lane in 1570 and St Lawrence Churchyard in 1604, 1668 and 1671.[68] St Lawrence Lane was what is now known as Carpenters Arms Lane. The entrance is between the Kings Hotel and the Carpenters Arms Inn. Possibly the chapel stood opposite the present Newport Provisions Market. Another possible location for the chapel and churchyard is a large square of land

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[61] Warner, J., Article published in the *South Wales Argus*, April 18th 1932.
[62] Jones (1957) 194-195, *n.*8.
[63] Reeves (1979) 63.
[64] Wakeman (1859) 9.
[65] Gwent Record Office, D43. 457.
[66] National Library of Wales, Tredegar Muniments 58/34.
[67] *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI 1549-1551*, 416.
[68] National Library of Wales Tredegar Muniments 62/83, 7/10 and 29/11, respectively.

marked '99' on the 1750 map of Newport, and belonging to 'The Honourable Morgan Esq. Ruperra'. It is recorded as a 'storehouse and garden' on Thomas Thorpe's map of 1752. This is approximately at the east entrance to Newport Provisions Market.

St Thomas Chapel (SMR 08362g and 00205g, possibly ST 33081 18859)
St Thomas Chapel is mentioned in the charter of 1427 in a description of the boundaries of the borough, so presumably it was close to the boundary, somewhere near the later road called Queens Hill. Little more is known about this chapel except that there may be a connection with Thomas Street (now no longer existing) which was the probable position of the Middle Gate into the town, and where there was a well in the middle of the road, just outside the gate.

Baneswell (SMR 00206g, ST 33090 18805)
The 1570 survey of Newport refers to *Paynes well* as being outside *Hirstingeste dyke* and also to *Paynes yate* (Paynes gate). The 1750 map of Newport refers to the well as *Beans Well*. It is depicted as standing in a small space, roughly rectangular in shape, surrounded by fields with a lane leading back to Stow Hill. It seems likely that in the Middle Ages Baneswell was used as a water supply by people living on Stow Hill. It is also possible there may have been access through the town wall, near or at the earliest west gate to the town. It is interesting that the name still survives in the names 'Baneswell' and 'Pump Street'.

Stow Hill *(Fig. 2):*

St Woolos Church (SMR references 220468 & 08205g ST 33090 18760; *Fig. 14)*
According to the early 13th century manuscript 'The Life of S. Gundleus'[69] and other early accounts, the church of St Gwynllyw (later corrupted to Woolos) was founded by the Welsh ruler St. Gwynllyw in the fifth or sixth century, after his conversion to Christianity. A chapel dedicated to his wife, Gwladys, allegedly stood by the crossing of the Ebbw River, on the southern slopes of Stow Hill. These accounts were written centuries after the events they describe, and rely mostly on the oral tradition passed down the generations by Welsh bards. They are also contradictory at times,but it is clear that the name Gwynllyw gave its name to the Welsh cantref known later as Wentloog. (Gwynllŵg).

There are many other published descriptions of the church and its contents, so these are not repeated here.[7] The earliest surviving parts of the church (the present St Woolos Cathedral) date to the Norman period. The decorated archway in St Mary's Chapel with its naively carved capitals, together with the five-bay nave of the main church, are twelfth century, with the walls of the chapel believed to be thirteenth century, and the tower late fifteenth century. The statue of a knight on the tower is thought to be the then lord of Newport, Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke and duke of Bedford. It was once thought to represent St Gwynllyw himself, but a Tudor rose and other designs under the parapet of the tower suggest it could be Jasper. Other parts of the present cathedral are post-medieval or modern.

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[69] British Library MS. Cotton. Vespasian D..xxii.

[70] Knight, J.K. and Wood, R. 'St Gwynllyw's Cathedral, Newport: the Romanesque archway.', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* **155** (2006) 163-185, gives an excellent descriptions of the medieval remains and the documentary sources. The claim that the Romanesque archway is supported on reused Roman columns is disputed. A report is in preparation by B. Trett, M. Lewis and J. Allen, suggesting the alternative view that the columns are contemporary in date with the rest of the archway.

The church suffered badly during the Puritan period after the Civil War, when much was lost. It is interesting to note that a decorated stone arch (ogee) and other foliate carvings have been reused in a garden wall in the nearby house called Bishopstow (Fig. 4).

After the establishment of the new borough (Newport) the church remained just outside, within the manor of Stow. The 1427 charter given to Newport identifies the graveyard of St Woolos as being on the boundary of Newport. At the end of the eleventh century the church was given to the monastery of St Peter at Gloucester by Robert de Haye. The church was at times the centre of disputes over its rights, but it remained the parish church for the borough.

The road from Newport Bridge through Newport High Street and Stow Hill split just above St Woolos Church. One road (now Friars Road) was the former way to Cardiff, whilst the other road along Stow Hill went to Bassaleg. This was a probable second route to Cardiff as well as to the north of the lordship via the Ebbw Valley, and also to Caerphilly.

Stow Hill Motte (SMR reference 00157g ST 33048 18743; *Fig. 2*)
A mound used to stand in the grounds of what is now the Springfield Day Centre of St Woolos Hospital, and in what used to be the grounds of the Springfield House. This site overlooks The Severn, on the southern side of Stow Hill. In 1772 William Harris noted 'a lofty tumulus upon which trees were growing standing by St Gwynllyw's church and that earthworks associated with it seemed to surround the church'.[71] In view of the distance it would appear highly unlikely that these earthworks by the church had a direct link with the mound. The mound is clearly shown on the 1845 tithe map, standing alone in the middle of a field.

According to Octavius Morgan the mound was traditionally believed to be the burial place of St Gwynllyw, and was covered by spoil from the railway tunnel which runs underneath. The summit of the mound was flat and exactly 50 feet in diameter.[72] Other eighteenth century writers, including William Coxe, refer to it as the 'barrow called *Twyn Gwnlliw*'. It is probable that the mound was not a barrow but a castle motte, probably twelfth century. This motte was possibly the precursor of the present Newport Castle by the river. It would have had a timber keep on top of the mound, and possibly a bailey with a timber palisade.

The Tithe Barn (SMR reference 00157g ST 33087 18756; *Fig. 2*)
Around the south side of the church was a small cluster of houses including the tithe barn which is on the site of offices currently belonging to Kier Western. A building south of the church and probably the tithe barn, is shown on a Survey of Newport in 1752 by Thomas Thorpe. The barn is again shown on the tithe map of 1845 and is described in the apportionment as the 'Rectorial Tithe Barn and Yard, 24 perches in size, occupier William Jones'. It is also marked on the 1/500 Ordnance Survey map surveyed in 1881. A wall of stone rubble with some partly dressed stone blocks can still be seen from the road facing the church. Some of the stone work seems to be almost a crude chequer pattern of grey and red sandstone, although recent building improvements make this less obvious.

In the twentieth century Fred Hando gave this description of the tithe barn:

> Little of interest survives in the barn. Two old doorways blocked in; two windows with wooden frames cut in imitation, probably, of the original stone mullions and tracery; roof timbers hidden above

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[71] Coplestone-Crow (1998) 33.
[72] Morgan, C.O.S. 'History and Descent of the Lordship of Wentllwch', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1885) 261-62.

> modern casing; a chimney-breast in the east wall which contains some interesting and massive mouldings and one corbel – that is all.[73]

Disputes over tithes are mentioned in documents in 1146, 1239 and 1255. In 1321 Hugh Audley is said to have burnt some barns at Newport, although it is not known whether these included the tithe barn.[74]

It is also possible that another substantial building was adjacent to the tithe barn. M.G.R. Morris, in an article on Kingshill, Newport shows a watercolour of Stow Hill, looking from the south and dating to around 1830.[75] Close examination of the watercolour shows one or possibly two buildings, with a red roof on the right half and a grey-roof on the left half. There is a chimney on the right (red-roofed) gable-end wall. The wall fronting this part of the building has a number of square windows, a possible door and also a low red-roofed lean-to. There appears to be a small single storey cottage or other building behind the main building.

In front of the red-roofed building is a tower-like projecting wing of two storeys containing mullioned windows, and possibly a lean-to or steps on the left side of the projection, running to the first-floor. There is a chimney attached to the side of the projection and it has a pitched roof at right-angles to the roof of the main building. This projecting wing appears similar to the one on the surviving late medieval hall of Tredegar House.

Although the red-roof may appear to be attached to the grey roof, it seems likely that the grey-roofed section is the tithe barn, and a separate building. It is also evident that the eaves of the left grey-roof section are lower than the right red-roofed section, although the ridge of both roofs is at the same height in the picture and appears continuous.

The grey-roofed section (the possible tithe barn) has another chimney on its gable-end wall. This building also has a large doorway with a semi-circular arch. This arch is directly beneath another mullioned window. On the left of this doorway is a second, large doorway with a depressed arch. The gable end of further buildings can be seen to the left of the complex.

If the watercolour is at all accurate this must have been an important complex of buildings. Their location is not clear but a possible position for the red-roofed building is on or near the site of the vicarage, the later deanery (ST 33092 18755). The vicarage was built in 1845 as testified by a date stone on the wall. It was also stands on a terrace, similar to the one depicted on the painting.

In 1800 William Coxe was staying with the vicar of St. Woolos at Caerau House, some way away, and the 1845 tithe map shows the site of the 1845 vicarage as an empty field (number 305 on the map). Nevertheless the apportionment refers to this field as the 'vicarial glebe' and 'the site of Glebe House'. It is therefore possible that the painting does portray an earlier vicarage (glebe house) with the tithe barn behind it.

The Stow Manor Pound (ST 33082 18759)

This is shown on a map of 1752 by Thomas Thorpe, copied in 1835 by William Jones, of the lands of the earl of Powis in Newport and district[76] where it is located to the west of the tower of St Woolos Church, just outside the churchyard. Presumably because of an extension to the churchyard the pound had been moved by 1845. The 1845 tithe map shows it much further to the west of Stow Hill and just beyond St Woolos Church (at ST 33041 18755). This later pound is marked as 'Manor Pound 1½ perches, owner Sir Charles Morgan Baronet'.

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[73] Barber, C. (ed.), *Hando's Gwent* II (Abergavenny, 1968) 144.

[74] Reeves (1979) 19.

[75] Morris, M.R.G., 'Kingshill, Newport', *Monm. Antiq.* XXI (2005) 92.

[76] Newport Reference Library pxM 160 (912).

'Ancient Remains' (ST 3308 1878 approx.)
The first Ordnance Survey map of 1833 shows a large double-banked rectangular feature marked 'Ancient Remains' to the north of Stow Hill, approximately at the junction of the present St Woolos Road and Jones Street. The site is marked on an 1837 map of Newport (showing proposed changes to the municipal boundaries of Newport) as an oval shaped mound.[77] These 'Ancient Remains' are outside the earlier boundary of Newport and are in the Manor of Stow. A field shown on a map entitled 'Plan of Newport from actual Survey 1836' shows a kink in its boundary corner at the same location. The 1845 tithe map of the area shows this location to be at the junction of four fields, with the most northern field (marked 297) having a protuberance on its boundary at the spot. No function can be attributed to this feature.

The Manor House.
William Rees states: 'The manor of Stowe had its manor-house with barn, ox-house, pigeon cotes and fishpond. The lord's share of the arable land here was about 150 acres; it was not a large manor'.[78] However no site for this has yet been identified. Possibly the 'Ancient Remains' could be the location. It is unlikely that the manor house was next to the tithe barn as this was glebe land not demesne land.

Stone Quarry (SMR 00168g ST 330900 187700)
The accounts for repairing Newport Castle in 1447/8 refer to a payment to Thomas Galett for the digging and carriage of 'wall-stone' from the ground of the lord near Stowe, formerly of the Abbot of Keynsham.[79] This has been assumed to be 'Church Field', later to be the burial ground for St Woolos Church, and now a small park. It is likely that most of the sandstone used in the buildings of medieval Newport was quarried from Stow Hill and other surrounding hills.

The Wayside Cross (SMR 00209g ST 33101 18789; *Fig. 3*).
The base of a medieval cross stood on Stow Hill on the north corner of Havelock Street. The base has now been removed to the churchyard of St Woolos Cathedral. It has probably wrongly been associated with the ornate head of a fifteenth century cross found in the River Usk near Newport Bridge in 1925. This cross head represents the Crucifixion with what appear to be the Virgin Mary, St John, St Catherine and St Margaret. The head is now in Newport Museum, with a modern replica of the cross standing in Newport High Street.[80]

Surviving place names.
A number of medieval place names survived in Newport into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The following are examples:

Newport*:* referred to as *Novi Burgi circa* 1085, and *Newporte* in 1265.
Stow*:* referred to as *Stowe* in 1281
St Woolos*:* referred to as *St Gundlei* in circa 1100, *St Gonlei* in 1444, *St Guntle* in circa 1536 and *St Wooloes* in 1653.

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[77] The map, by R.K. Dawson, is at Newport Reference Library pfm 160 (352).
[78] Rees, W., 'Medieval Gwent', *Jnl. British Archaeological Association* **35** (1930) 204.
[79] Pugh (1973) 227, 229.
[80] Gray, M., 2004., 'Wayside Crosses in Monmouthshire', *Monm. Antiq.* XX (2004) 64.

West Gate: referred in 1444 and as *Craks yate* (Crooks Gate) in1570 (probably a reference to the prison in the Gate).
Baneswell: gate referred to as Paynesgate in 1444.
Cinderhill Wharf: probably the site referred to as *le Synderhull* in 1447
Corn Street: referred to as *Corneis lane* in 1543 and *Corneslane* in 1570 (the present Corn Street is now on a different alignment).
Crindau: referred to as *Crinde* in 1385
High Street: referred to as the high street in a deed of 1525 and shown as High Street on the map of 1750.
Kingshill: referred to as *Kyngeshull* in 1427
Mendalgief: referred to as *Mendelgif* in 1239 and *Myndylgyffe* in 1447.
Skinner Street: referred to as *Skynners lane* in 1570 (the name suggests tanning took place there).
The Mill: referred to in the charter of 1427.

Acknowledgements
Whilst I take the responsibility for any mistakes in this article I have been greatly helped by a number of people and organisations. Nigel Young prepared the conjectural maps of medieval Newport and Stow Hill for me. Robin Hawkins of Newport Museum and Art Gallery pointed out the painting of the "tithe barn/house" on Stow Hill, and the photograph of the "House of Refuge". Tony Hopkins of the Gwent Record Office proof read the article and provided all sorts of invaluable help and encouragement. Among the other people who helped were Haydn Davis, Richard Frame, Dr Ray Howell, Sue Hughes, Anne Leaver, the late Geoff Mein, Neil Maylan, Julian Mitchell, Ian Stewart, Frances Thomas, the staff of the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, the Gwent Record Office, Newport Museum and Art Gallery, Newport Reference Library, the National Library of Wales, and the National Museum of Wales. The Friends of the Newport Ship and the Newport Medieval Ship Project (Newport City Council) both assisted with funding. I am also exceedingly grateful to Annette Burton and David Williams for their patience, advice and practical help in changing my manuscript from a number of ad hoc articles into a more logical and organised account.

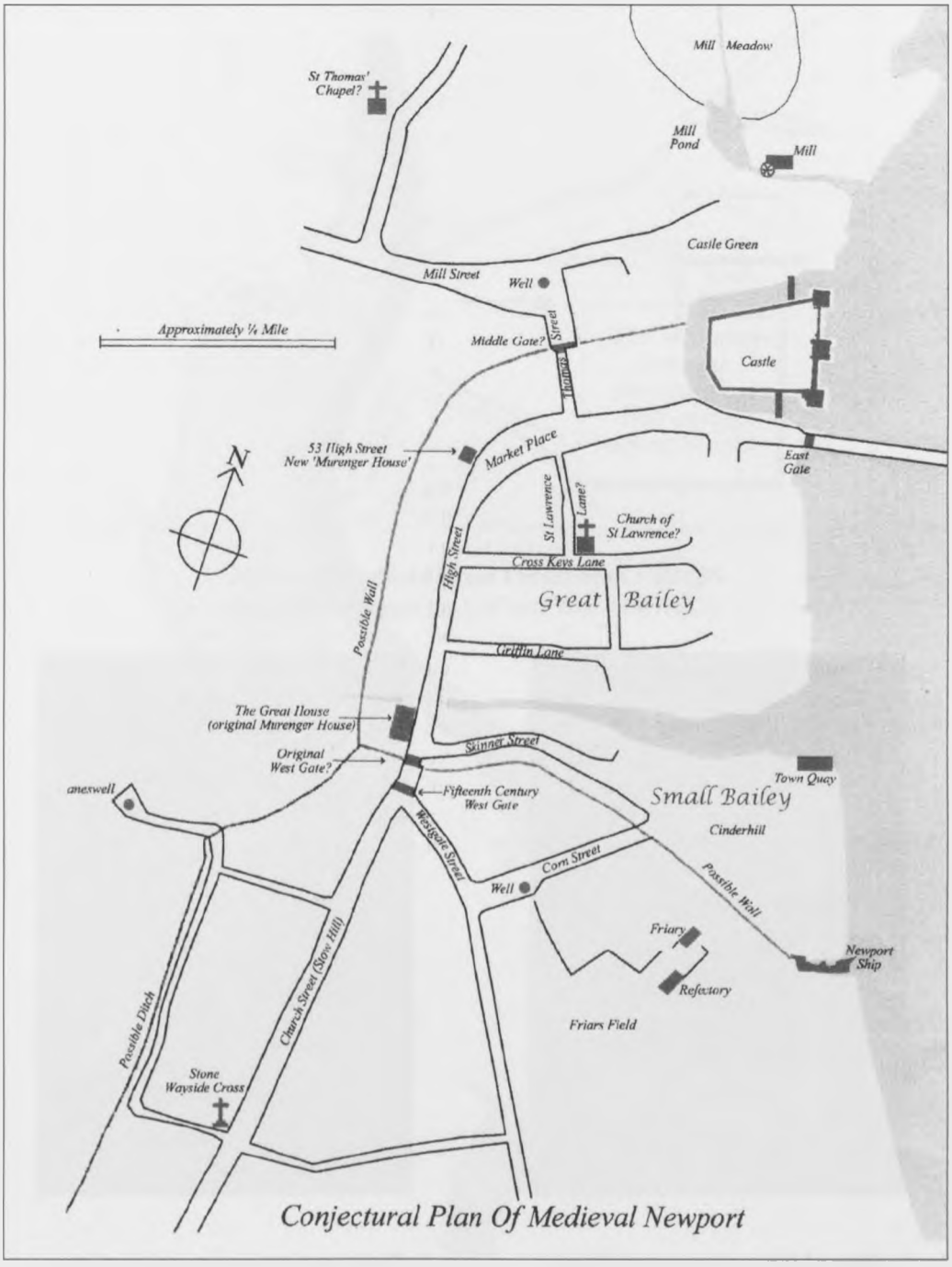

Fig. 1: Conjectural Plan of Medieval Newport.
(Copyright: Bob Trett and www.newportpast.com)

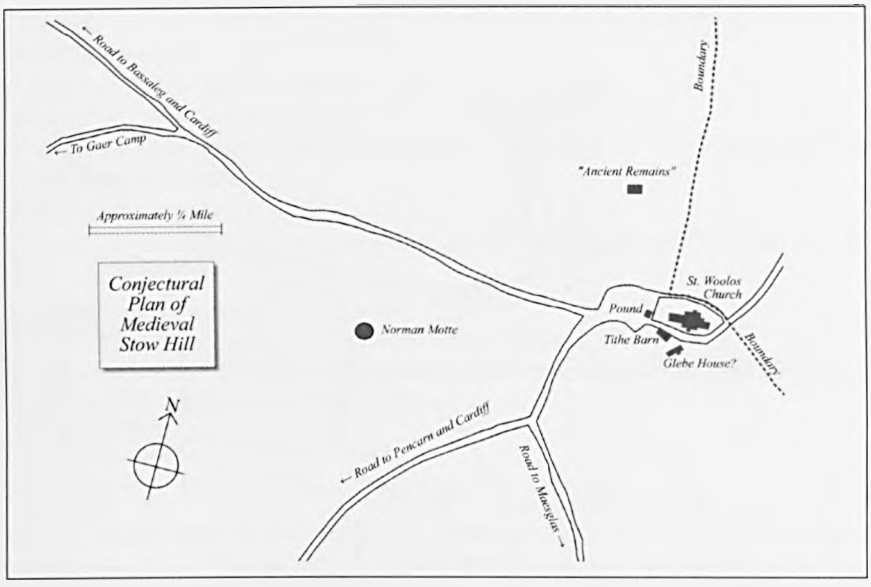

Fig. 2: **Conjectural Plan of Medieval Stow Hill.**
(*Copyright:* Bob Trett and www.newportpast.com)

Fig. 3: **Base of the wayside cross from Stow Hill** (*Copyright:* Bob Trett).

Fig. 4: **Photograph of an ogee and other decorated fragments in the garden of Bishopstow (Kingshill).**
(*Copyright:* Bob Trett).

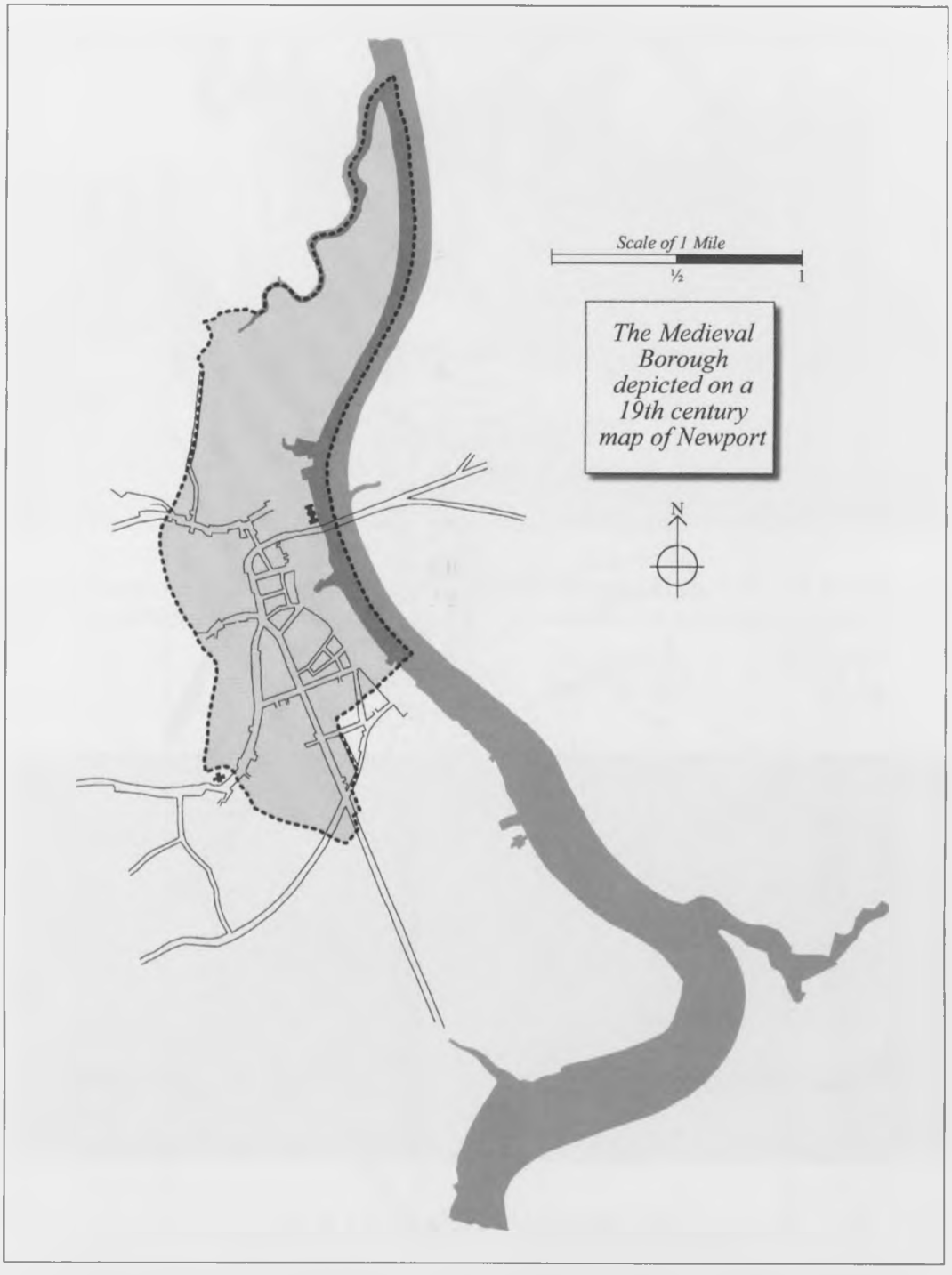

Fig. 5: **Plan showing the boundary of the Medieval Borough of Newport.**
(*Copyright:* Bob Trett and www.newportpast.com)

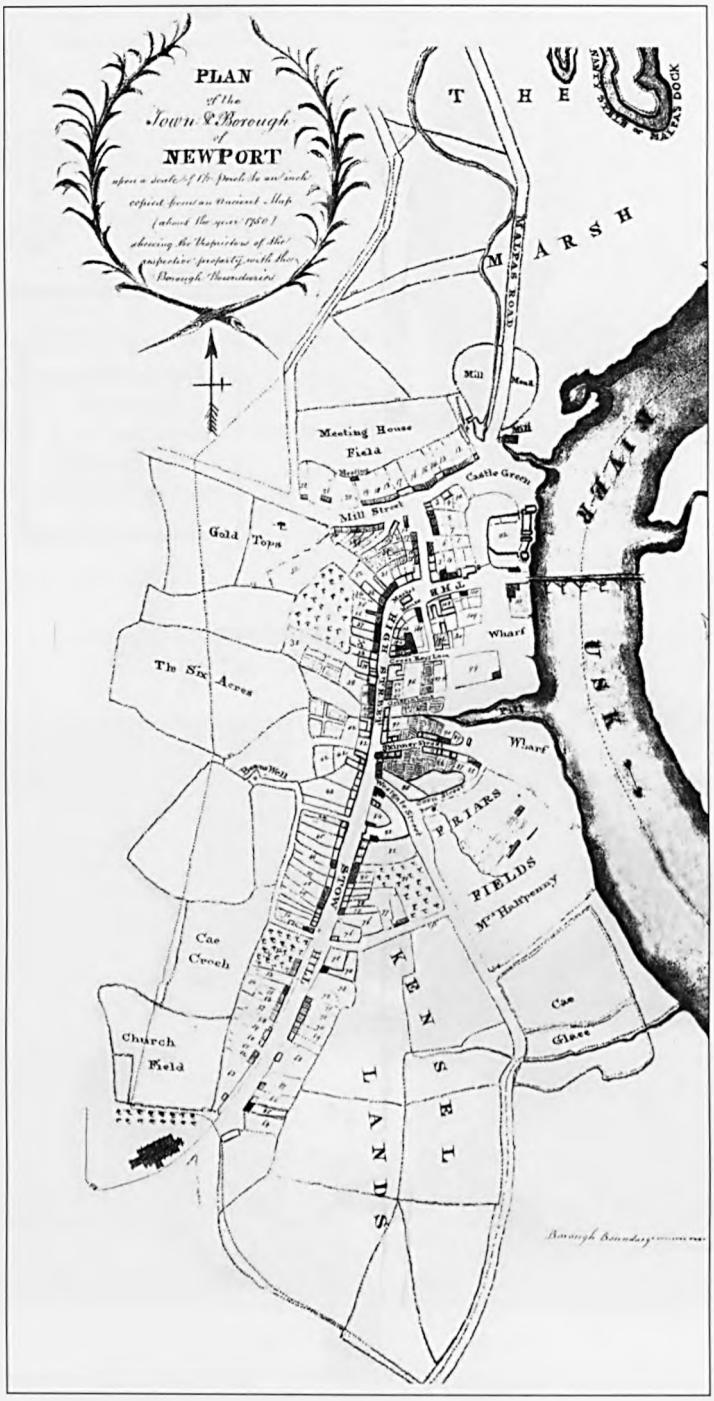

Fig. 6: **Plan of the Town and Borough of Newport copied from an ancient plan of *c.*1750.**
(By kind permission of Llyfrygell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales).

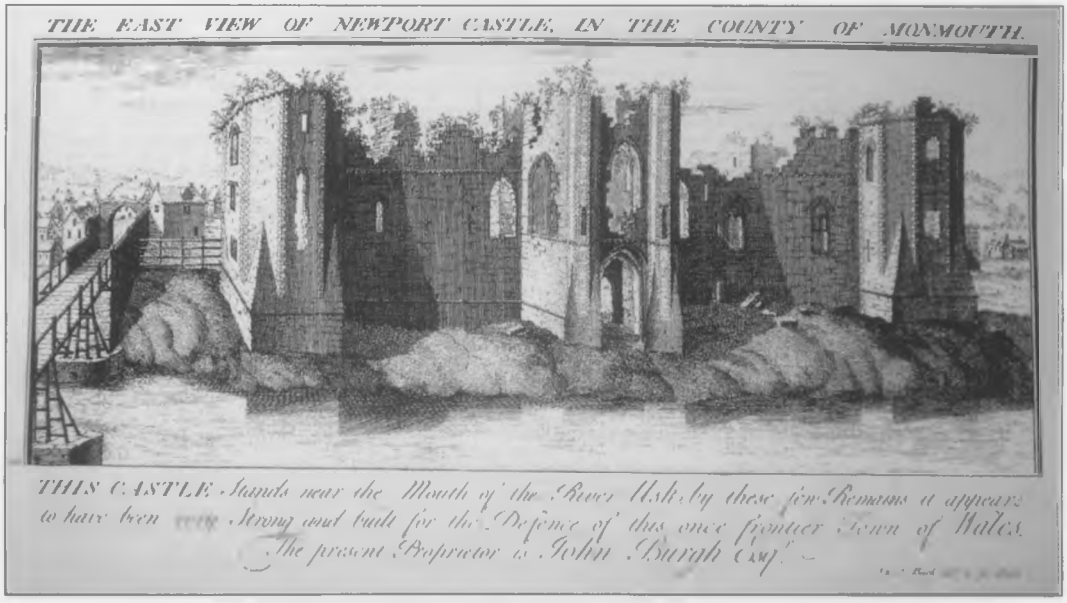

Fig. 7: **Engraving of Newport Castle by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1732. The East Gate by the bridge can be clearly seen.** *(By kind permission of* www.newportpast.com)

Fig. 8: **Close-up View of Newport Castle, from the water-colour by Anthony Devis, 1729-1816.**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery).

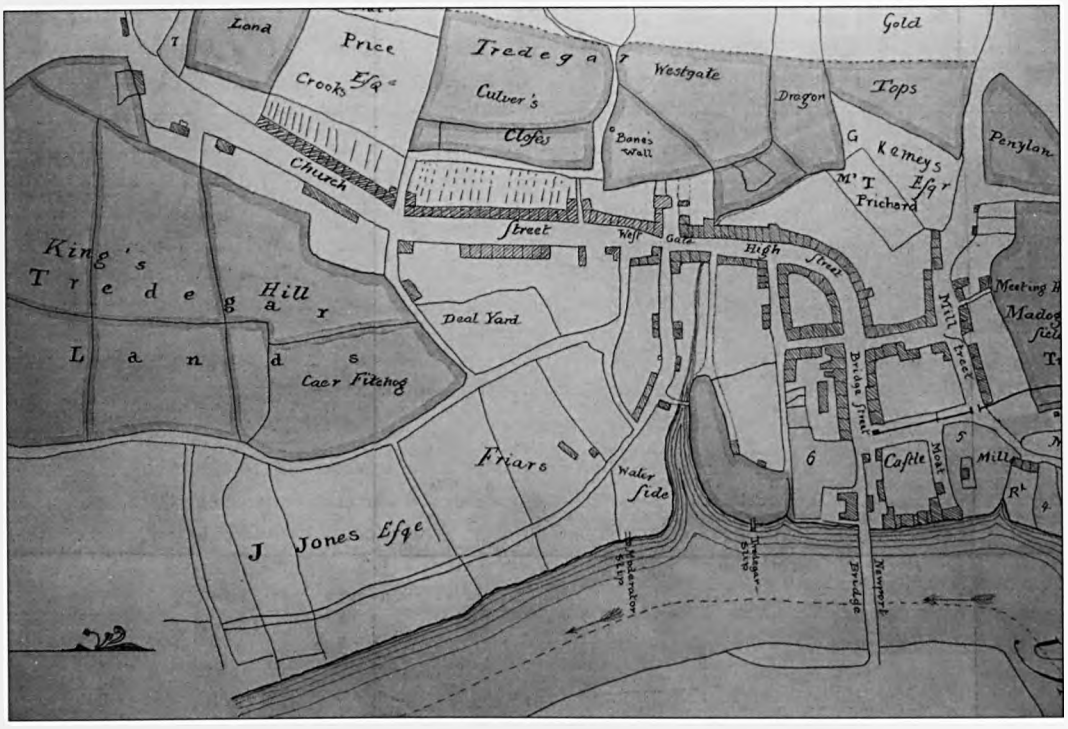

Fig. 9: **A Plan of the Town and Liberties of Newport, 1794.**
(By kind permission of Newport Community Learning and Libraries).

Fig. 10: **The Murenger House.**
(from *The Newport Pictorial, 1906).*

Fig. 11: **The House of Refuge.**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery).

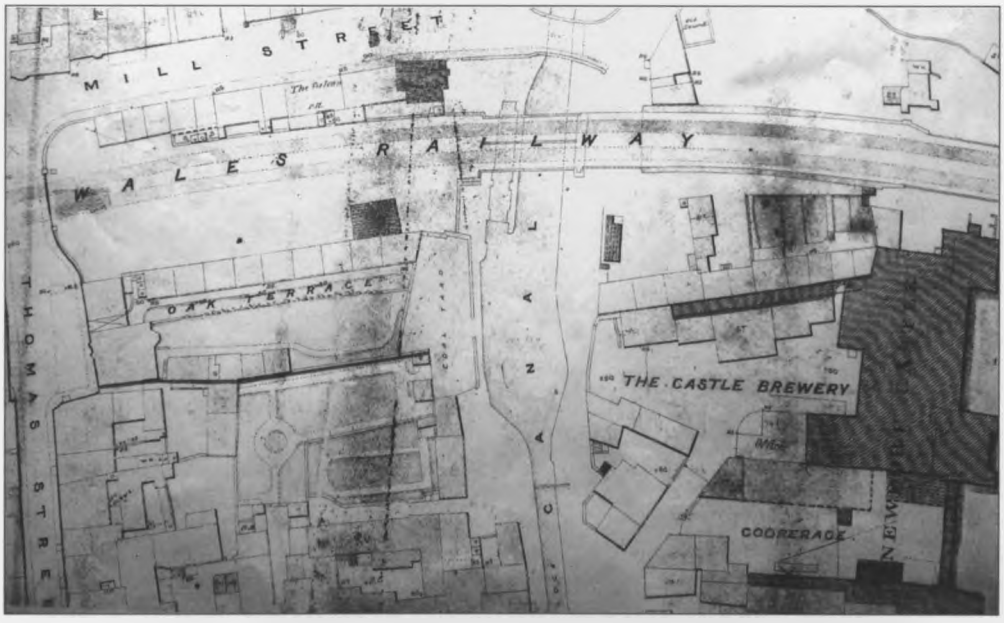

Fig. 12: **Detail showing Newport Castle from a Trigonometrical Survey, *c.*1853.**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery).
On both plans a thick line indicates the possible line of a town wall.

Fig. 13: **Detail showing Thomas Street from a Trigonometrical Survey, *c.*1853.**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery).

Fig. 14: **Engraving of St Woolos Church in 1800 by Sir R. Colt Hoare.**
(by kind permission of www.newportpast.com)

Fig. 15: **Photograph of the Remains of the old Westgate, discovered in 1884.**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery).

Fig. 16: **Photograph showing the foundations of a stone wall in the cellars of Cambrian Road, Newport.**
(Copyright: Richard Frame).

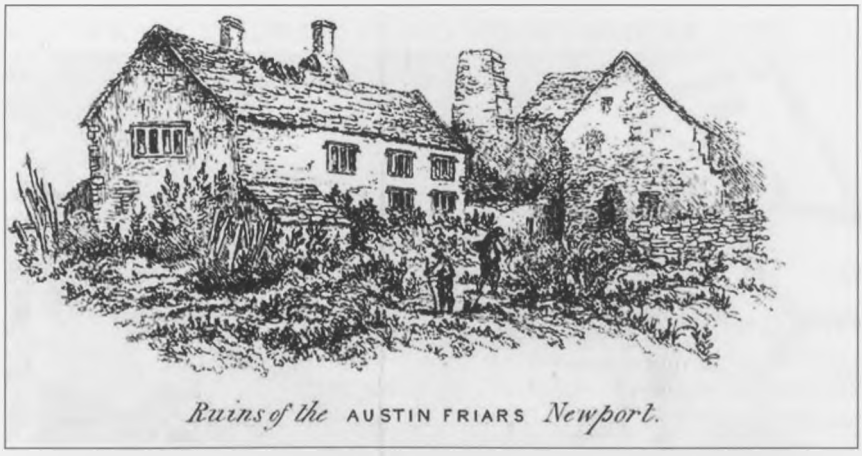

Fig. 17: **Engraving by John Edward Lee of the Austin Friars, Newport, *c.*1859.**

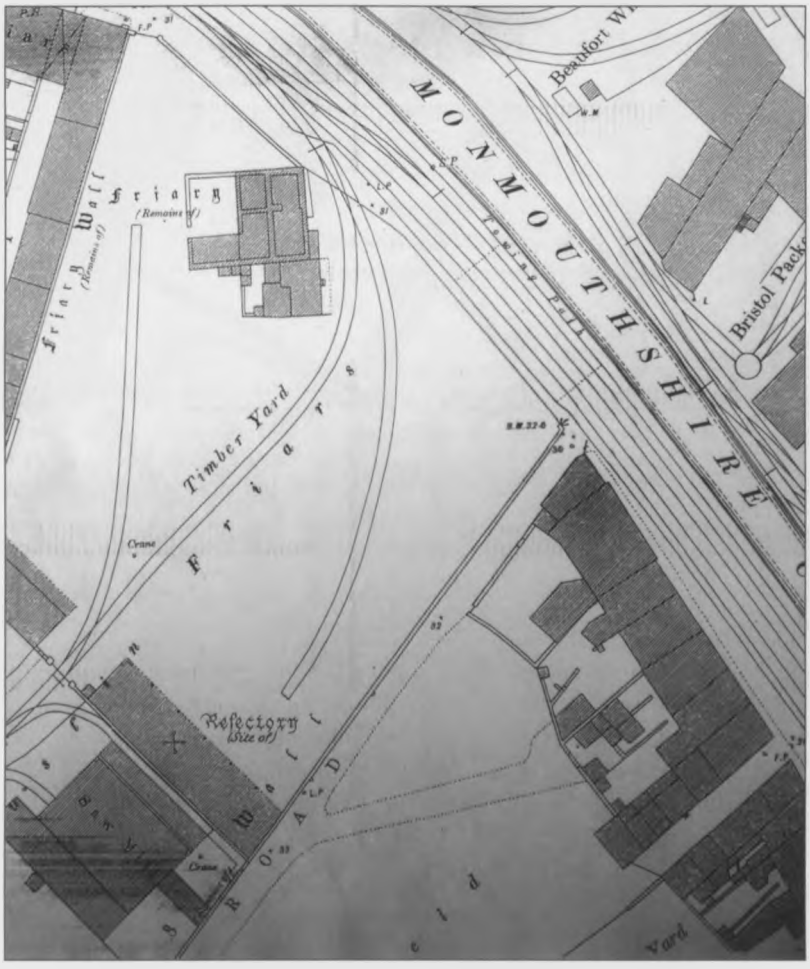

Fig. 18: **The Site of the Austin Friars, Ordnance Survey Map, 1884.**

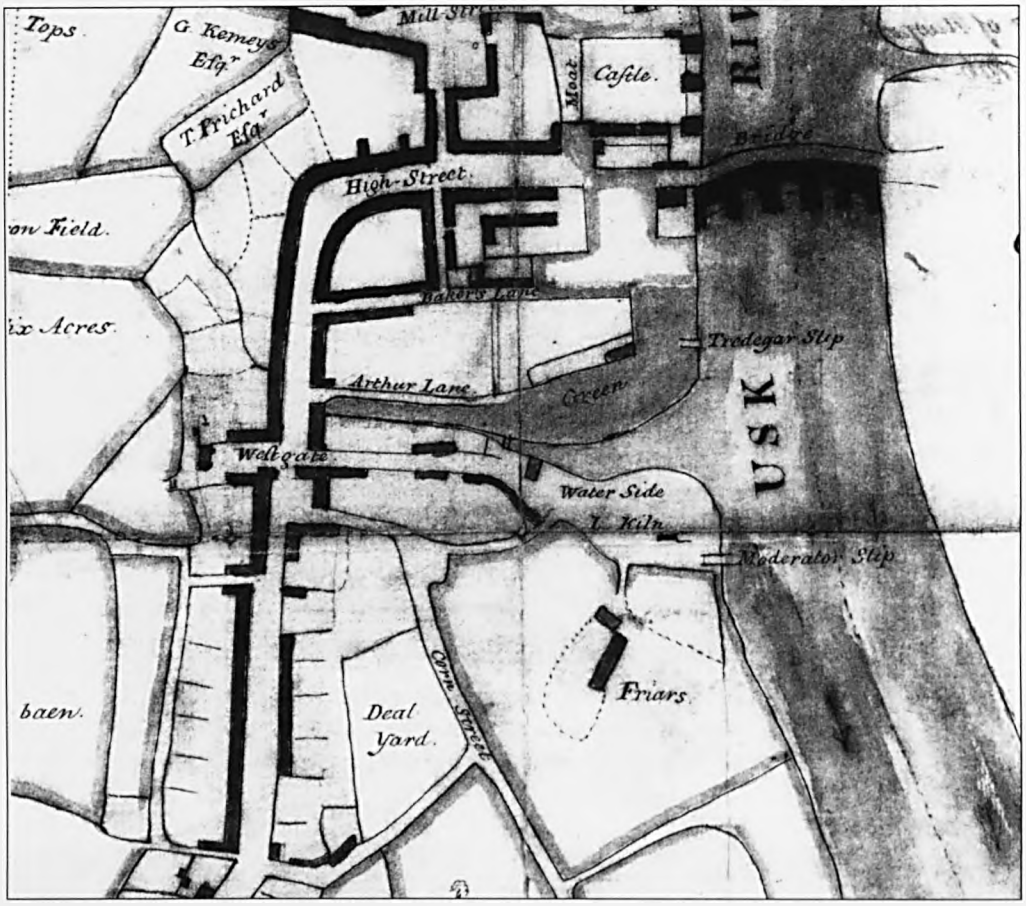

Fig. 19: Newport in 1796, showing the position of the West Gate.
(NLW, Tredegar Plan 923).
Reproduced by permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales

FRANCIS GROSE IN MONMOUTHSHIRE, 1775
Extracts from his journal

By Julian Mitchell

Francis Grose: chalk portrait by Nathaniel Dance (1787). *By permission of the National Galleries of Scotland.*

Introduction.

The life and work of Francis Grose (1731-91) have been described in admirable detail by John H. Farrant in two articles: 'The Travels and Travails of Francis Grose, F.S.A.', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 75 (1995) 365ff, and 'Francis Grose' in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, and this article does not attempt to add materially to them. Its object is to make known the unpublished parts of Grose's travel journal of the summer of 1775 relevant to Monmouthshire, which are contained in British Library Additional MS 17,398. The manuscript measures 210x165mm, bound and labelled on the spine "Grose's Itinerary Ms". It has 137 folios, of which the South Wales sections are in ff 50-81, headed "No 3, 1775", and ff 82-102, headed "from Cardiff to Abergavenny, No 4". The Glamorgan section, edited by T.J. Hopkins, was published in *Glamorgan Historian*, (ed. Stewart Williams, 1, 1963, 158-170.)

Francis Grose was the eldest son of Francis Jacob Grose, an immigrant Swiss jeweller. The older Grose did so well in the city of London that he became naturalised, moved out to Richmond, became a Justice of the Peace for Surrey, and collected over seven thousand Old Master prints and drawings, as well as other treasures. Francis's education is not known; it is said to have been classical, but he did not go to Oxford or Cambridge. As a very young man he had a brief military career, leaving the army at the age of twenty to marry the daughter of a Canterbury wine merchant. He may have been in the wine business himself for a while, but his main interests were already antiquarian, and in 1755 his father bought him the place of Richmond Herald for eight hundred guineas.

Francis had, however, no great taste for heraldry, preferring to take lessons in drawing and etching and start on his life's work of recording churches, castles and ruined abbeys. He returned to the army in 1759 as a lieutenant in the Surrey Militia, which had been embodied for the Seven Years War. He acted as adjutant and paymaster, and took advantage of his battalion's movements around the country to draw antiquarian subjects. When it was disembodied in 1762, Grose remained as adjutant for the peacetime regiment.[1] He was promoted to captain in 1765, the title by which he was often known thereafter.

By then he had sold his Herald's place for six hundred guineas and was spending his whole time drawing. Though by no means a major artist, he started showing pictures at the Society of Artists in 1767, and from 1769 at the Royal Academy. That same year his father died, leaving him comfortably off. Among his exact contemporaries were John Inigo Richards and Paul Sandby, both of whom were significant contributors to his major work – the publication of *The Antiquities of England and Wales* (1772-6, with two supplementary volumes 1777-1787). Later he added *The Antiquities of Scotland* (1789-91) and was working on those of *Ireland* (1791-94) when he died. He was also involved in *The Antiquarian Repository* (1775-86) and published much else beside, including an entertaining *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785).

The Antiquities was a part-work, issued monthly, and consisting of engravings of castles, abbeys and other buildings of antiquarian interest, with – an innovation in such publication – an accompanying historical text which Grose wrote himself. The first part was issued in late February or early March 1772, and each normally consisted of six plates and cost three shillings, or sixpence a plate. Grose himself contributed roughly two thirds of the drawings on which the engravings were based, which implies a great deal of travelling and sketching.

The Antiquities was an immediate success. *The Gentleman's Magazine* was ecstatic: "a more perfect work in all its parts, where so many artists are necessarily to be employed in the execution, has been seldom seen to come from the press in any country ; the paper is just what it should be; the prints are well drawn, well engraved, and well printed ; and the letter-press does credit to the printer."[2] But both drawings and texts were criticized by the more scholarly antiquaries, such as Horace Walpole, who found the former inaccurate and the latter "dull and silly".

It is true that Grose got the material for his texts almost entirely from existing sources, such as Leland and Camden, though he did consult locally as well. The text of the first print of Tintern abbey (1773), based on a drawing by Eyre, Junior, was written before he had visited the site himself. He corrected it in the second print (1776), based on the drawing he made there on August 29th 1775, described in the journal below. But sometimes, as with the print of Usk Castle (1786), he simply says he has no information at all. The Rev. William Cole called *The Antiquities* a mere picture book full of old women's tales and vulgar traditions, and such people, with their university educations and more rigorous approach to the past, saw Grose as no more than a commercial populariser.

Grose was not ashamed: "The Author does not pretend herein to inform the Veteran Antiquary", he said in his preface, "but has drawn up these Accounts solely for the use of such as are desirous of having, without much trouble, a general Knowledge of the Subjects treated in this Publication." No sooner had he finished the first four volumes than he started on the supplementary ones, though these were interrupted for five years when the Militia was again embodied at the time of the American War of Independence, and Grose had to spend his summer months training "awkward and vicious boobies" when he would rather have been going round the country sketching new views.

Before *The Antiquities*, general knowledge of the richness of British architectural remains came only from the engravings of the brothers Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, aimed at an upper-class clientele. The Bucks published 428 views between 1726 and 1742, along with 31 townscapes, with no historical accompaniment to speak of. Grose, in his various publications and republications, produced over a thousand and did not, like them, include many gentlemen's seats. His success shows that people had a great hunger for information, both visual and historical, about their own country. This hunger can be seen as part of the steady growth in national pride and self-consciousness throughout the eighteenth century, in which the beginnings of home tourism, largely middle class

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[1] Keith Kissack gives a very entertaining account of what Grose could have expected in this role in his *Life in the Militia*, Monmouth, nd [? 1990], np.

[2] *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 43 (1773), 507-509.

unlike the Grand Tour taken by the upper, played a significant part. Though rival part-work publications followed *The Antiquities*, notably Thomas Hearne's *The Antiquities of Great Britain* (1778), whose title must have been deliberately chosen to confuse buyers, and Sandby's *Virtuosi's Museum* (1778-1781), neither was on the same scale and both suffered for their approval by the loftier antiquaries by being more expensive.[3]

Apart from the Bucks' views, there were very few Monmouthshire scenes available before Grose's *Antiquities*, and most were very inferior in quality. In the first edition of his *A Tour through Monmouthshire and Wales* (1774), Henry Penruddock Wyndham said he had been hampered by "the little intelligence he could learn from former publications", but in the second (1781), intended for "the general traveller" and illustrated by Samuel Hieronymus Grimm, he did not include engravings of Chepstow, Tintern and some other places "because they have been so frequently published, and are too well known to be again repeated". It is very probable that Wyndham was referring to Grose, and his remark may imply an aristocratic disdain for the populariser. If so, he would have been irritated to know that Grose was almost certainly using his first edition as a guide when he went to Glamorgan in 1775. Whatever Wyndham may have thought of *The Antiquities*, his comment was at least an acknowledgement of its popularity, even if in a backhanded way.

In order to gather views Grose travelled all over the British Isles, and in June 1775 he came to South Wales, stopping at Oxford and Gloucester on the way from London, and the Society of Antiquaries has several of the size-for-size watercolour drawings he later made from his sketches for the etchers to copy, four of which are reproduced here. While at Oxford he went to Godstow and saw "several water parties", some of whom had come up the Thames in a houseboat from Guildford, and in Gloucester he made a sketch of a punt-like houseboat in the journal before coming on to Ross-on-Wye. Grose had not, apparently, been in South Wales before; the first engravings of Chepstow and Tintern in *The Antiquities* are from drawings by John Inigo Richards and Eyre, Junior, in 1773.[4] He had local friends, however, among them Major Hayman Rooke, nephew of James Rooke of Bigsweir who had recently died.

Grose may have met the Major in the army, where Rooke was at the Army Signal School. There were no properly surveyed maps in those days, so accurate sketches in the field were very important, with drawing a basic part of officers' training [5], and Rooke contributed to both *The Antiquities* and *The Antiquarian Repository*. Grose sponsored him for the Society of Antiquaries this same year, when he was described in the Society's minutes as "a lover of antiquities and also an able draughtsman; and certified to be a gentleman in every way worthy of the honour." [6] He and Grose remained friends, and were corresponding about the Society's business in 1790, just before Grose died.[7]

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[3] A cheaper edition of *The Antiquities* was issued between 1783 and 1787 in 168 fortnightly parts of four plates with the letterpress on separate sheets, at 1s. 6d. a part.

[4] Edward Eyre is credited with three other views in *The Antiquities*, so this is probably someone else: H.L. Mallalieu, *The Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920*, Vol 1, 2nd edn., (1986) 123.

[5] Paul Sandby, who contributed to *The Antiquities*, had been chief drawing master at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich since 1768, and remained there till 1796, introducing "a wide range of the sons of the aristocracy and gentry to the practice and appreciation of landscape drawing." By 1818 The Royal Military College had thirty-one professors and masters in the subject for 400 cadets [John H. Farrant, 'Francis Grose', in the *ODNB* ; and J.C. Wood, 'William Delamotte', *Apollo*, March 1966, 205-207.]

[6] Rooke drew Knapp castle in Sussex in *The Antiquities*, and Pontypridd bridge and Trellech stones in *The Antiquarian Repository*. See also A.G. Sherratt, 'Hayman Rooke, FSA – An Eighteenth Century Nottinghamshire Antiquary' in *The Transactions of the Thoroton Society*, Vol 69-70, 1965-66, pp 4-18.

[7] Gloucestershire Archives D.1833, F.2.

Both coming and going Grose stayed with the Major's aunt at Newland, a few miles from Monmouth in the Forest of Dean. 1775 was the year Jane Austen was born, and Newland had the "3 or 4 families in a Country Village", which she considered "the very thing to work on". There were many connections between them. The principal Newland family were the Probyns of Newland House, who had been tanners for many years, but had just given up working the tannery themselves. Hayman Rooke's second cousin Eleanor would later marry an Edmund Probyn. His first cousin Jane was married to Thomas Birt, the lecturer at William Jones's almshouses, and her sister Eleanor to Charles Wyndham of nearby Clearwell Court, the earliest gothic revival castle in England. (Built by Thomas Wyndham in 1727-28, Grose admired its solidity and the beauty of its park).[8]

Acquaintance with Wyndham, who had property in Glamorgan,[9], led to an invitation for Grose to stay at Dunraven later that month, though his guide was hopeless and he was nearly benighted on the way.[10] Grose entered with vigour into the busy local social life, with dinner a movable feast between the various houses, and he joined in an expedition to Monmouth for a long evening's entertainment first at Vauxhall, then at the theatre. Next morning he and the Major went drawing together in the town.

A very corpulent man (he was said to weigh 22 stone towards the end of his life and to lament that he was too fat to ride a horse and too poor to keep a carriage), Grose was a rather nervous traveller, usually dismounting before going down steep hills – though it has to be said that local roads had long been notorious. He had a servant with him, perhaps called William, who looked after his portmanteau. He seems to have been happy enough to put up with the food and beds of the local inns – on one occasion having to sleep at a saddler's next door – though he did object to being taken advantage of, as he felt he was at Abergavenny, and even more to the scandalous behaviour of the boatmen who ran the cross-channel ferries to Bristol.

Grose also complained at being kept awake by drunken singing. His description of a bad night at the Old Angel, Abergavenny, gives a vivid idea of the night-life of a coaching inn, with carousing followed by the noise of passengers being woken to go off in the middle of the night as the coach came through. (Night travel was essential for speed; Richard Fenton passed through Monmouthshire without seeing it at all.)[11]

As a traveller in search of the picturesque – which in his case meant looking for suitable buildings for antiquarian engravings – Grose stopped frequently to make drawings, and he made four in Monmouthshire on this tour (Newport castle, Tintern abbey, and two of Abergavenny castle), and five in Herefordshire (two of Goodrich castle, two of Blackfriars and one of the Chapter House in Hereford), which became engravings in the second volume of *The Antiquities* and two more (Monnow bridge and Raglan castle) in the first volume of the *Supplement*. He also made brief drawings in his journal, though these are more scribbles than sketches.

Grose had the great advantage of writing before the publication in 1783 of William Gilpin's *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales &c, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, so he is not constricted, as so many later travellers were, by worries about whether his views were or were not "correctly" picturesque. His aesthetic vocabulary was limited, and he used the word

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[8] J.A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol II, Part II, *The Hundred of Trelech* (London, 1913) 211; David Verey and Alan Brooks, *The Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean* (3rd edn., London, 2002) 310.

[9] *VCH, Gloucestershire*, Vol. 5 (1996) 211.

[10] 'Francis Grose's Tour in Glamorgan, 1775', ed. T.J. Hopkins, *Glamorgan Historian*, Vol. 1, 163.

[11] Richard Fenton, *A Tour in Quest of Genealogy*, London, 1811.

to mean not much more than "pretty". Prospects were usually extensive, delightful, enchanting or pleasant, towns tolerable, and houses handsome (or not). Like Gilpin, he disliked the overuse of whitewash. He was very interested in local dialect and customs, later writing books about them. Though these do not figure in the Monmouthshire part of the tour, they do in the Glamorgan section, where he was told about bid ales, when newly married couples danced in the churchyard and people gave them money. A Monmouth couple, said his informant, had once collected £28 like this.[12]

British Library, Additional Manuscript 17,398.

The extracts that follow include everything Grose wrote about Monmouthshire, and descriptions of places in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire on what was to become the regular Wye tour, though he himself did not take it. On the one occasion he travelled by water, it was by barge from Hudnalls to Tintern, and though he mentions tourists, they have come from Bath and Bristol, not down the river from Ross. His capitalisation and punctuation seem completely random, so those, and his spelling, have been modernised and his contractions expanded.

Grose started by coach from London on Monday 26th of June 1775, and proceeded through Oxford, Whitney, Northleach and Gloucester from which he took a post chaise[13] to Ross on the evening of the 29th. He went by "roads narrow and bad", and "in many places through holloways where even a horse could not pass by a carriage". He put up at the Swan.

(f.53r) "The church and part of the town stand on a steep rock and command a delightful prospect of the river Wye which twists about its adjacent meadows in a beautiful manner. This river is subject to floods. At the entry into both this town and Hereford are causeways elevated considerably above the common road, having on the sides posts marked with feet and inches to show the depth of the water. A house here called the Man of Ross's house.

(f.53v) 30th. In the morning took a post chaise for Goodrich, which by the turnings we were obliged to make could not be less than six miles off. It stands on a hill on the banks of the river Wye and is surrounded by trees in the ditch and on the counterscarp which on the [blank] side is formed by the solid rock but perpendicularly down.

This castle is a kind of square built with reddish grit stone. At every angle it has a tower, and on its east side a bridge consisting of one very pointed arch and half a circular one. [sketch] The whole building is so surrounded with rocks, [and] steep banks of trees, that it is impossible to draw a near view of it without being too near and as it were quite under it. The figure hereunder drawn will serve to give a kind of idea of it. [sketch] This building within the walls measures 52 feet by 45. Ditch about 20 feet. [sketch of keep] *(f.54r)* The keep is somewhat like Rochester castle and round one of the mouldings has the zigzag ornament.

In the chapel there is a place for holy water and some niches for saints. Over it was a room with a fireplace, and beneath it a cellar, the brackets for support of the floors above and below are still remaining in the walls. The east window appears to have been more ornamented than the rest.

In the inner part of the castle is a window of this shape. The gateway leading over the bridge is not very different, the way under cover pretty long. [sketch]

The trees planted by the Man of Ross in the churchyard [at Ross] cut down by the present Rector.

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[12] Hopkins, op.cit., 167.

[13] A post chaise was a sort of taxi ; you could travel in your own carriage and rent horses for it, or hire both horses and carriage, with a postillion, as Grose did.

(f.54v) In our way to and from Goodrich castle saw at a small distance from the bridge and close to the westernmost bank of the river Wilton castle, on the side of which a new house has been built. Some round towers of the outer walls are left standing which being very rugged and of a dirty reddish stone, harmonize very ill with the house which is white and of the trimmest sort. After dinner set out for Hereford."

He spent four days in Hereford, made several drawings and went to the races, returning to Monmouth on July 5th.

(f.58r) "Distance really but 17 miles and a half, though 15s is demanded for the chaise, the road hilly and very stony, so that we were more than three hours coming. In many places the views were delightful, the country being both well wooded and cultivated. We saw few cottages on the road but the few we observed appeared comfortable. Saw very few orchards either here or about Hereford, also very few hops. The plantations I saw were polled with remarkably small poles. This I am told is the case in general. *(f.58v)* The entrance into Monmouth bespeaks one's good opinion of the place, there being several very handsome houses all belonging to attorneys, who are almost the sole possessors of the property in most country towns.

Inn at the Kings Head a very good house.

The stage coach to this town belonging to one Turner has (as my servant was informed) been overturned near ten times this summer owing to its being too high and overloaded. Surely Government should make some laws to [restrict ?] the avarice of these people. Here appears to be a handsome church and market house both lately erected. The market place stands on a descent by which means it is very clean.

6th. Thursday. It rained so hard this morning that I did not stir from the inn. After dinner took chaise for Newland. Distant 5 Miles. The road exceeding hilly, and at every step affording most picturesque prospects. In those nearest the town of Monmouth the river Wye makes a very interesting part. *(f.59r)* Passed by High Meadow the seat of Lord G[age][14], a large but not very handsome house, situated on top of a naked hill, which gives it a kind of desolate appearance, though from thence the prospect is beautiful in every direction, the Welsh hills terminating the view to the N. west. Arrived at Newland, a pleasant village blessed with a most agreeable neighbourhood.
The church of Newland is a large building with a handsome spire in the churchyard. On the North East side are some very remarkable monuments of which I made draughts.

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[14] William Lord Gage, 2nd Viscount, was made Baron Gage of High Meadow in 1790, the year before he died. He was already Baron Gage of Firle in Sussex. His father was Verderer of the Forest of Dean. High Meadow House was "an exceptionally important proto-Baroque building", but had become little used by the time of Gage's death and was demolished early in the 19th century. It is illustrated in *VCH Gloucestershire*, op.cit., plate 5. See also Burke's *Peerage*; Verey and Brooks, op.cit., 322.

7th. Drew Jenkin Worall etc.[15] Dined with Mrs Rooke.[16] Drank tea at Mr Probyn's[17].

(f.59v) Saturday. Walked to Clearwell the seat of Windham Esquire[18], a house built about 40 years ago but according to the Gothic style, and with all the solidity of an ancient castle, and founded on a solid rock. The park extremely beautiful; as indeed every part of the country — - Only one good picture, a landscape by Ruisdael here. Two antique heads and a good library of printed books. Dined at Mr Howell's in Newland.[19]

Sunday. I went to church. [This is in large letters and underlined as though an unusual event]. Afterwards dined with Mr Probyn, in company with Mr Jones[20] whose sister was cruelly murdered. Walked in the afternoon to High Meadow, but did not go in. That house appears to have nothing remarkable about it.

Monday. Walked to Clearwell where we dined in company with Messrs Jones, Probyn, Howell, their wives, etc. Returned in the evening to Newland.

(f.60r). Tuesday. Messrs Windham, Probyn and family, Ball[21] and Jones and family, Mr Howell, Mr Bonner[22] etc dined at Mr Rooke's. Supped ditto. Saw Newland church in which are many ancient monuments.

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[15] This may refer to the tomb of John Wyrall (d.1457), now in Newland church, but then in the churchyard. Worralls and Rookes were later intermarried. *VCH Gloucestershire*, op.cit., 262-263.

[16] James Rooke, by his marriage in 1735 to Jane Catchmay, had inherited the Bigsweir estate, with much property in and around St Briavels, Llandogo, Newland and elsewhere in Gloucestershire and Monmouthshire. Hayman Rooke was the eldest son of James's brother Brudenel Rice Rooke, and he and his three brothers who survived infancy, were all army officers, like their father. James had died in 1773, and his widow, according to the genealogy in Bradney, was the only Mrs Rooke that Hayman could claim as an aunt. Grose describes Bigsweir House as "Mrs Rooke's" (see below, July 19th), but he does not seem to have gone in, and perhaps she had already moved out. Her son (also James) married in 1777. Bradney, op.cit., 211.

[17] Edmund Probyn of Newland House: *VCH, Gloucestershire*, op.cit.,Vol 5, 214.

[18] Charles Wyndham of Clearwell Court, married to Eleanor Rooke, Hayman Rooke's first cousin.

[19] John Howell was Edmund Probyn's grandfather. He died aged 90 in August 1778. Ralph Bigland, *Historical, Monumental and Genealogical Collections relative to the county of Gloucester* (1792), *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* (1992) Part III, 260.

[20] Possibly Robert Jones, the Monmouth surgeon, who was married to one of the Catchmayd family. Bradney, op.cit, 218.

[21] The Rev. Peregrine Ball was vicar of Newland from 1746-1794. He was also vicar of Trellech. He owned the cradle in which Henry V was supposed to have been rocked as a baby. Samuel Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire*, Cirencester, 1779, 566 ; Bradney, op.cit., 165.

[22] Possibly Thomas Bonnor, in which case Grose had a rival topographer in the parish. Bonnor (c.1743-c.1810) had been drawing and engraving houses for Rudder's *Gloucestershire* since 1770 (see above), and was to go on doing so to the end of the decade. Though briefly imprisoned for debt in 1781, he illustrated other county collections, notably John Collinson's of Somerset and Richard Polwhele's of Devonshire. In 1793 he designed the ticket for the Gloucestershire Society's London dinner, at which Thomas Wyndham, son of Charles of Clearwell Court, was one of the Stewards, *ODNB*. Grose did not employ him on *The Antiquities*. His plate of Newland is rather poorly reproduced in Bigland, op.cit., 914.

Wednesday. Drew the great tree[23] and New Meadow House. Dined at Mrs Rooke's.

Thursday. Walked to Clearwell and drew that house and park and was catched in the rain. Dined and supped at Mrs Rooke's.

Friday. Rode to Simons Gate, called Simons Yatch, an insulated rock overlooking the river Wye, and rising above the high ridge of rock which is wooded to the water's edge. The prospect from this place is extremely extensive in commanding a view over nine or ten counties, the horizon skirted in many places by the Welsh hills, and to the north is seen Goodrich church and castle, the church of Ross and the whole county of Hereford and Courtfield the seat of [John] Vaughan Esqr.* *Mr Vaughan's father had a huntsman who could by fixing his eyes on any deer so fascinate him that the deer remained [illegible] till he had killed him. This fact is incontestably proved by the testimony of many persons yet living. [end of note] The river Wye seems to surround this spot. The roughness and badness of the roads hereabouts, particularly a hill descending to the bottom of the cliff, is inexpressible, the every step seeming to threaten immediate death. Nevertheless the horses of this country pick out the way with great safety to the rider. Simons Yatch is distant from Newland about five miles. *(f.60v)* The area of the top of this rock is circular measuring about ten or twelve yards diameter. A hunted stag it is said once jumped from this precipice, but was killed by the fall. The height of the precipice above the water level is at least 150 feet, though this is estimated only by guess.

Saturday. Drew several monuments in Newland church. Particularly one sculpture on a stone near Lord Grey's pew, representing a pair of bellows supposed to have belonged to one employed in the forges....[his dots] Saw a stone with the date 1465. Walked in the afternoon to see the prospect from the Rookery[24].

Sunday. Went to church, in the afternoon walked with Mr Probyn to see a view of Monmouth from some fields above the Rookery.

Monday [July 17th]. This day in company with Major Rooke, Mr Probyn and sons, rode to the Buckstone, a large rock near Staunton. The roads steep and stony. This stone has some appearance of a druidical sepulchre, though at the same time it must be confessed it may have been formed *(f.61r)* by the earth having been washed away by some great shower of rain, or rather by the repeated efforts of many showers.

The Buckstone stands on the western side of a steep woody precipice about 2 miles west of Newland. A large piece of naked rock, of which there are many sticking out of the sides of the hill, serves as a kind of pedestal, the figure of which is an irregular square whose dimensions are as follows. S.E. side 12 feet, north side 14 feet 9 inches, west side 21 feet 5 inches and the south side 14 feet. The stone shelf appears entirely separated from the rock on which it stands and is of that sort of which millstones are made, being grit interspersed with small pebbles. It is nearly

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[23] The celebrated Newland oak was one of the largest trees recorded in England, with a circumference of 43 ft 6 in at 5 ft foot from the ground in 1906. It collapsed in a storm in 1955. *VCH Gloucestershire*, op.cit, 199.

[24] Rookery Farm was on the south east of the village. Rookery Lane connected Newland and St Briavels.

in figure an irregular square pyramid poised on its point, which where it touches the pedestal is not above two feet square. It is said to be moveable. Its height is above ten feet, its S.E. side measures 19 feet five inches, north side 17 feet, S. west 8 feet and south side 12 feet. A small distance east of it is a rock scooped into a kind of basin, with a channel to let out the water after it is filled to a certain height, whether this is the work of art or nature seems doubtful. *(f.61v)* This spot affords a most extensive and delightful view over the country, the Malvern hills terminating the prospect towards the north.[25]

Tuesday. Drew a view of the village of Newland from the Rookery. In the afternoon walked to see an extensive view from the old hill, from which saw a vast tract of country, the Welsh hills and particularly the Black Mountain. Drank tea and supped with Mr Probyn.

Wednesday [July 19th]. Drew a view of Newland church. Drank tea with Mr Windham in company with Major Rooke, Miss Bell and Miss Griffiths.[26]

Set out from Newland on horseback for Bigsweir at 8 o'clock in company with Miss Rooke, the Rev Mr Ball and Mr George Bond.[27] The computed distance only four miles, though was it measured it would undoubtedly exceed six. The way after leaving Clearwell narrow, steep and rocky and full of rolling stones, in a word such as can only be passed with fear and trembling. Arrived at Bigsweir at ten safe, a wondrous token of Heaven's kind care, with limbs unbroken. *(f. 62r)* Bigsweir [is] in the Parish of St Briavels whose ruined castle I saw on a hill at some distance. Mrs Rooke's house, which is a good one, is the only house hereabouts – there are indeed above two or three hovels which are offices to it.[28] It is however one of the most romantic situations conceivable. Close to it runs the river Wye, and surrounded with lofty woody steeps, and opposed to it on the other side of the River, is Llandogo, a small village on the side of an almost perpendicular slope, whose houses seem deposited by accident and whose small church is of a piece with and does not shame the rest of the buildings. The hill is covered with a most beautiful verdure. On it is a gulley formed by floods and in rainy season there is a sort of waterfall.[29] The side of this hill is so steep that millstones are used to be slid down a path. A remarkable story is told of the effects of one of them which in its descent overthrew a horse. Nothing can be more romantic than the coup d'oeil here. The lofty hills and sloping banks are wooded to the water's edge, but as they are everywhere *(f.62v)* equally covered, the eye is fatigued with a continued sameness of the trees which are mostly underwood and close together. When viewed at any distance [they] seem scarcely more than fern or plantations of box. Embarked at the entrance of the wood called Hudnalls on board a barge-like kind of boat navigated by two men with large oars which they rowed standing. In navigating the Wye one meets with many sharp descents of water called

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[25] A watercolour of the Buckstone by Grose is in Bodleian Library, MS Top. Gen. e. 70, 6.

[26] Bell may be a mis-spelling of Ball, in which case this lady may be a sister or daughter of the vicar ; Miss Griffiths has not been identified.

[27] George Bond died in December 1777 aged 49; his monument is in Newland church. T.D. Fosbroke refers to the "ancient and opulent family of Bond, of Newland", *Ariconensia* (1821) 167. They were generous to local charities. There were Bond families at Lower Redbrook farm, and Wyeseal on the river. *VCH Gloucestershire*, op.cit., 213, 220 and 224 ; Bigland, op.cit., Part III, 263.

[28] See fn.16. James Rooke rebuilt the house in 1755. Bradney, op.cit., 211 ; Verey and Brooks, op.cit., 661 ; *VCH, Gloucestershire*, op.cit., 262.

[29] Cleddon Shoots.

weirs over which there is scarcely water enough to carry a boat without touching, and as there are a great many large stones or sunken rocks the boats are obliged to be proportionately strong.

Passed by Brockweir which has several houses and to which large vessels called trows come up from hence to Tintern where the church, the remains of a castellated mansion, some adjoining cottages, with the turn of the river and the neighbouring impending hills, form a most picturesque appearance which I should have been glad to have put on paper but time and tide, which are not to be prevailed on *(f.63r)* to stop, prevented me, although we had landed in order to lighten the boat which otherwise could not have got over the weir till flood.

At Abbey, as it is emphatically called hereabouts [30], we landed near a gate which seems to have been part of the monastery, of which scarcely any part but the church remains, which is beautiful and tolerably preserved and now by the orders of the duke of Beaufort kept under lock and key, the showing of it being given to an old woman who picks up a livelihood by the parties which constantly come hither from Bath and Bristol.[31] Here too a parcel of beggars attend as in Ireland; four of them demanded charity of us, in the literal sense of the word.

This monastery, though fine, wants that gloomy solemnity which is so very essential to religious ruins, and which is to be met with in Netley and Kirkstall abbeys in particular. *(f.63v)* One cast of the eye shows the whole of this building and leaves the spectator nothing to guess or to explore. The fragments of the pieces of sculpture which have fallen are piled up with a commendable care, though not with much taste, being regularly dispersed at equal distances near the columns in the centre aisle. Many of these fragments exhibit specimens of elegant sculpture. Among the most remarkable [are] the bust of a monk [and] part of the body of a knight said to be William Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, and some foliage, the last in an exceeding good taste and well executed. The west window is entire and rich ——— From Abbey to Piercefield, the seat of Mr Morris, the river keeps the same appearance, but here some naked rocks appear and vary the scene, though little or no marks of cultivation appear to persons navigating the river. *(f.64r)* Some of these rocks on the Piercefield side have particular names, such as Peter's Thumb etc.

We did not arrive at Chepstow till near six o'clock, a strong wind having blown right against us all the way, though so little of it was visible on the tops of the hills that the trees were scarcely agitated. Our boat was of the barge kind navigated with two clumsy oars, with which two watermen rowed standing, whilst a third steered. Inned at the 3 Cranes. Paid 15 shillings for the Boat. [? Memo?] Another very good house, the Beaufort Arms. The river Wye near Chepstow rises near 60 feet in spring tides, and at low water leaves large and disagreeable banks of mud and slime. Large vessels come up to the key [quay] here which when left by the tide have a very odd appearance to persons [passing?] in boats, seeming as if set up for

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[30] Tintern, at the time, was what is now called Tintern Parva ; Abbey was the area round the abbey, in the parish of Chapel Hill.

[31] The old woman may have been the one whom Gilpin encountered in 1770. The regular parties from Bath and Bristol show that the Wye Tour from Ross was not then, or later, the only way by which people came to visit the lower river and its sights.

show on a shelf or cupboard head thus. *(f.64v)* [Sketch of ship on mud bank] The water is always dirty and discoloured. Nothing can be more picturesque and striking than the castle, which stands frowning over the river, mounted on a perpendicular limestone rock variegated with green and other coloured shrubs and mosses. Towards the south the ivy has been suffered to cover it almost entirely, which takes greatly from its beauty. On that side it is surrounded by a deep ditch.

The area or site of the castle is said to occupy five acres of ground. It consists of three courts, the second converted into a kitchen garden. Here are several buildings, particularly the chapel which was once very large and much ornamented and had three storeys as is evident by the remains of the marks of joists *(f.65r)* and floors. In the uppermost are the remains of a third place. —- A room is shown in a building near the gate in which Marten the regicide was confined.

Great attention seems to have been bestowed in fortifying the entrance, which is through two lofty round towers on the east side, for besides a strong door latticed and the grating pinned with iron bolts within and covered on the outside with iron plates, there was a portcullis whose groove is still to be seen, and two large round tunnels in the top of the arch for the pouring down melted lead or scalding water, and also a machicolated or projecting arch beyond all, and a chink on a small projection on the south side of the gate about the height of a man. [Sketch] *(f.65v)* Several tiles with which the chapel was paved are kept as rarities ; they are the same as those described at Gloucester [Netley ?] and Hereford.

The town of Chepstow stands on a declivity facing the north. It has many very neat houses, almost all of them whitewashed over, and two or three good inns. Its bridge, which is of wood and kept in repair by the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth, is now in a ruinous state; the people of Monmouthshire are about building their part with stone. The strata of the rock below the bridge and opposite the town runs very oblique to the plane of the horizon and is in many parts extremely red. The Church, though now disfigured by whitewash and plaster, appears by its circular arches and zigzag ornaments to be very ancient. It formerly belonged to the abbey of [blank].

Friday. The day being rainy both before and after dinner, had much difficulty to draw two views of the inside of the castle. —- At our inn saw Mr Thomas Bathurst [32], Mr Davis *(f.66r)* and Mr Fydell, the wine merchant [33].

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[32] Of Lydney. Grose stayed with him on his way back to London, and made several drawings, now in Bodleian Library, MS Top. Gen. e. 70.

[33] Davis was probably Edward Davies, the pluralist vicar of Mathern and other southern Monmouthshire parishes, who mentions Fydell in his scatological poem *Chepstow, A Poem in Six Cantos* (1784). Willett, in his edition of the poem (1811), noted "Mr Richard Fidell, commonly called Dick Fidell, by his friends and neighbours, an eminent wine merchant in Chepstow, noted for selling excellent red port." He had cellars under the almshouses at the top of Bridge Street: Ivor Waters, *The Wine Trade of the Port of Chepstow* (nd), np.

Saturday. Arose in the morning at 7, and after breakfast walked over Chepstow bridge to draw the castle, of which I made three views. We found it very difficult to get along the riverside, the mud and ooze being extremely slippery. After we had finished our drawing, walked into a private garden on the S east side of the bridge where a zigzag path is cut into the rock, by which it is ascended with ease. From it is a very pleasing prospect.

After dinner set out for Newport, in a post chaise, distance 15 miles. The road tolerably good and very pleasant. The way out of the town is up a steep hill, which continues for some distance. On gaining the summit the prospect of the junction of the Wye and Severn offers itself. *(f.66v)* At about two miles from the town, pass by the seat of Mr Lewis of St Pierre, which seems an ancient mansion and the grounds and park about it appear freshly wooded, and stand on the summit of a hill.

At 4 miles go through Crick, a small neat village where there is an ancient mansion now seemingly inhabited by a farmer[34].

Near the ten mile stone there is a fine prospect of the Severn with the islands of Steep and Flat Holmes and the coast of Somerset and, in the valley beneath, the seat of Mr Van, which seems to be a large and handsome building.[35] This prospect continued till we descended into Newport. [Sketch of Holmes]

On our right at about 4 or five miles from Newport and about 2 from the road, had a slight view of Caerleon.

The entrance into Newport is over a long high wooden bridge like that at Chepstow. Close on our right and to the river stand the remains of the castle, among whose ruined walls a large *(f.67r)* assembly of country fellows were congregated to see some players at fives.[36]

The church stands on an eminence and the whole town has an ascent from the bridge, quite to the church. From the churchyard there is a delightful prospect.
The river appears much like the Wye, having steep and muddy banks, on which some small ships were hoisted as described at Chepstow.
Towards the latter part of this day's journey, that is within four or five miles of Newport, the Welsh mountains appeared full in our front, and to the right the Sugar Loaf at Abergavenny was very conspicuous.
Hitherto there is very little appearance of either different manners or language, very few of the people speaking Welsh. We saw a few slide cars [37], such as are used in Ireland but these [are] not uncommon in Gloucestershire.

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[34] Crick Manor, next to the road.

[35] Llanwern House was of seven bays. Charles Van died the following year: Bradney, op.cit., Vol. IV, Part II, 1932, 249-251.

[36] Fives was very popular. James Parry played it with "battle-boards" in Ross churchyard. He also played it while in prison at Monmouth. (*The True Anti-Pamela* (1741), 80 and 242). Tintern abbey was also used as a fives court till the duke of Beaufort stopped it, and so was Raglan castle, see below.

[37] Sledges.

Plate 1: **Conjectural View of Medieval Newport after the arrival of the Newport Medieval Ship.** *(Copyright: Anne Leaver)*

Plate 2: **Approaching Newport from Christchurch Hill; water colour by Anthony Devis, 1729 - 1816** *(Copyright: Newport Museum and Art Gallery)*

Plate 3: **Newport Castle and Bridge; water-colour by Paul Sandby, 1725-1809**
(By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery)

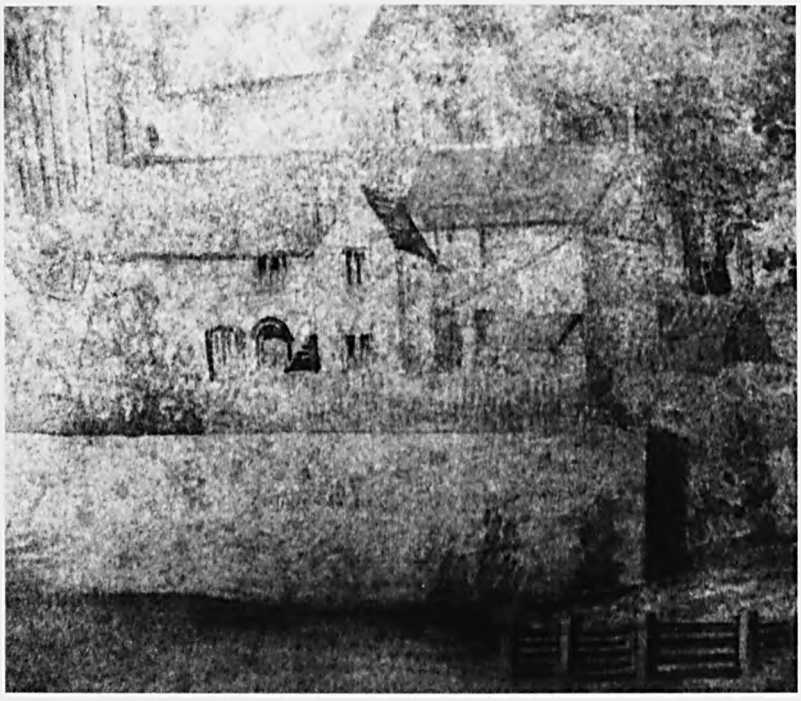

Plate 4: **Possible Tithe Barn, and other buildings on Stow Hill; water-colour by unknown artist, c. 1830-45**
(By kind permission of the Bishop of Monmouth)

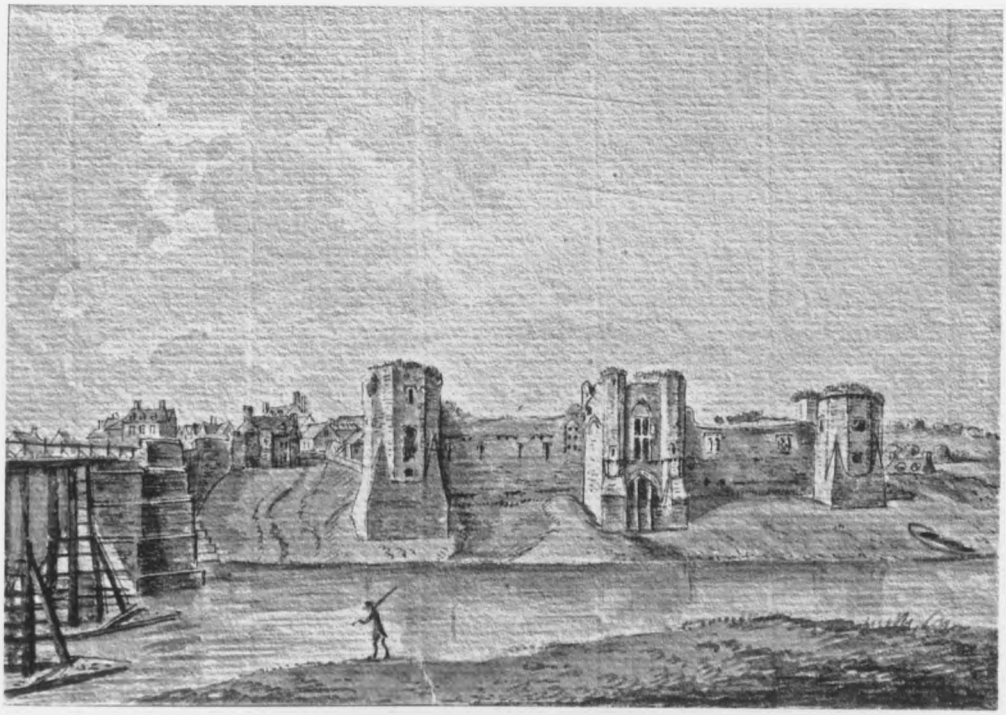

Plate 5: **Newport Castle**
(Society of Antiquaries of London)

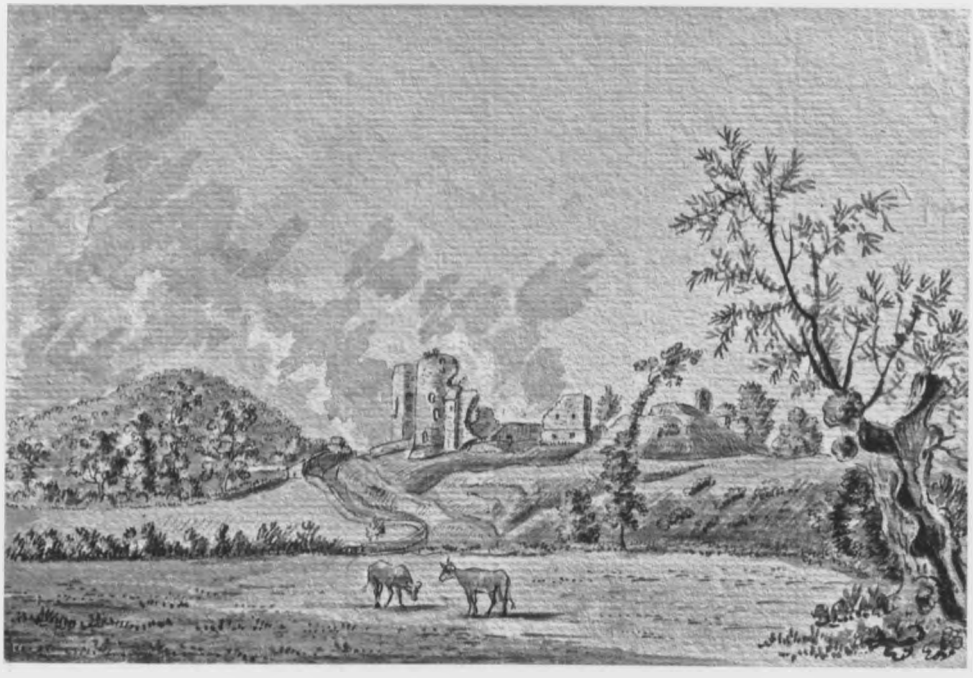

Plate 6: **Abergavenny Castle**
(Society of Antiquaries of London)

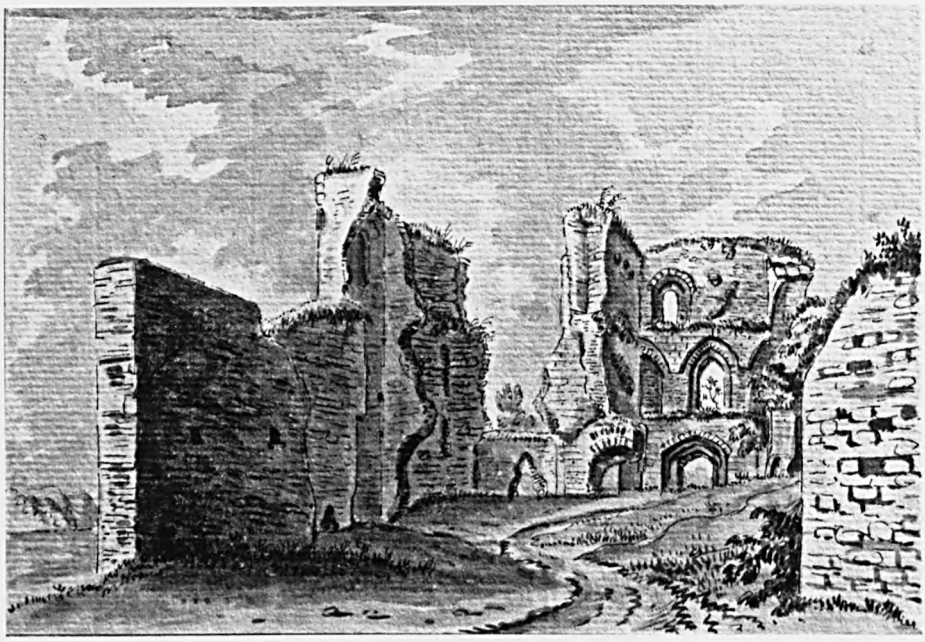

Plate 7: **Abergavenny Castle**
(Society of Antiquaries of London)

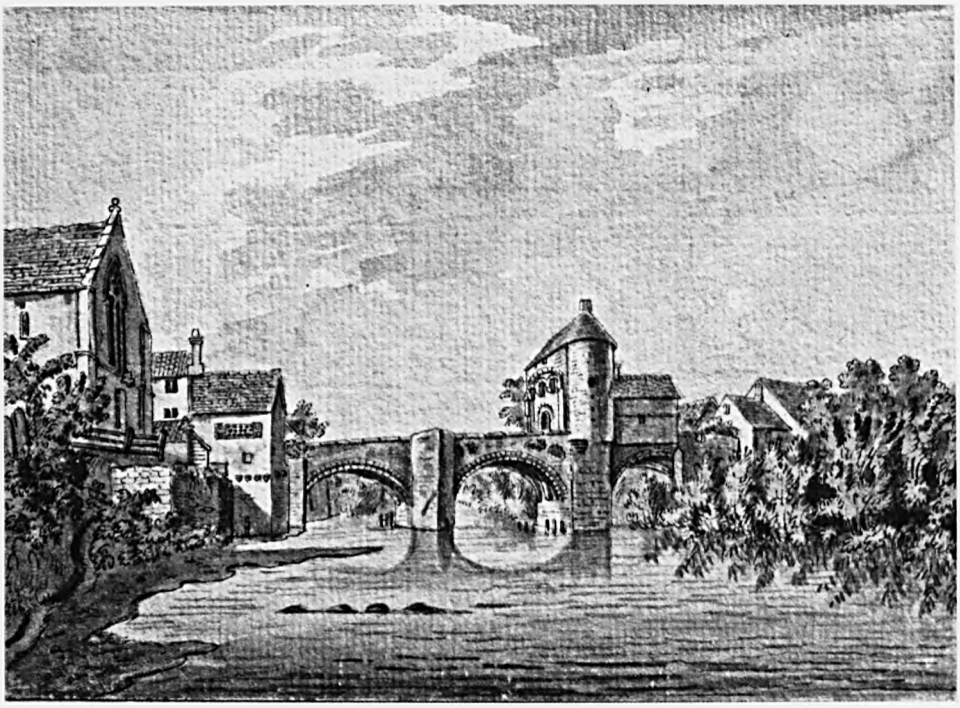

Plate 8: **Monnow Bridge, Monmouth**
(Society of Antiquaries of London)

Houses covered with stone in general, though here and there with slates and tiles.

(f.67v) Sunday. Walked over the bridge and drew a view of Newport castle from a field near the road (Plate 1). Newport bridge stands half on rocks such as those at Chepstow and has starlings [38] like those at London bridge. The other half next the town has stone piers with cutwaters in the form under drawn. The railing is [sketch] fastened to the floor of the bridge by iron chains, which mutually brace and strengthen both.

The castle is a rectangled parallelogram having three towers on the side next the river but no appearance of any other angle or side. This makes it evident the defence of the bridge or ford was the sole cause of its erection. It seems to have been handsomely ornamented and the windows, many of which are of the gothic sort, neatly decorated. At present it is converted into a farmyard. Its inside area measures by estimation *(f.68r)* about 45 yards by 30, the greatest length running nearly from the south, or in a direction at right angles to the river. It is built with small stones but coigned with squared ones. Passed by a public Grammar School adorned with the arms of some peer or the royal ones, it is now in ruins. [In margin : NB. The Grammar School uninhabited and propped up, once a tolerable building.][39]

After dinner walked to the church along the street which is one continued ascent for above half a mile. The church is a large and handsome building surrounded with trees, the stumps of some very large beeches, one remaining, and one large tree. From the churchyard there is a very extensive view commanding the Severn and hills beyond it, with the two Holmes, and going a little further. In the bottom about two miles off is seen Tredegar the seat of Mr Morgan, it does not seem a very fine house; a view of it is hereunder. [Sketch of house and offices]
The country to the left marshy but near Tredegar well wooded, particularly the park.
The houses in Newport very small but all neat and fresh whitewashed.
The town paved, particularly the footway on the right hand, which lies several feet above the level of the horse road, and not being railed off may be fatal to some drunken fellows. About half way up the street is a gate, seemingly a prison, which shows the town was once walled.

(f.68v) In front of the market house in the street opposite our inn, was an iron staple and ring placed in a large stone of the pavement probably intended for bull baiting.[40] — —-

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[38] An outwork of piles, projecting in front of the lower part of the pier of a bridge, so as to form a protection for the pier against the force of the stream or to secure it from damage by the impact of vessels or floating objects: *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*.

[39] The arms were those of the earl of Pembroke, who founded the grammar school in 1410. Later the building became a House of Refuge. J.M. Scott, *The Ancient and Modern History of Newport* (1847) 52.

[40] "It was a law in those times... that the bull should not be slaughtered until it had undergone the little amusement of baiting, not only, we suppose, for the gratification of the sense of seeing, which the ancients keenly possessed, but also for that of taste, which was not one whit less keen." It was believed that baiting improved the quality and flavour of the beef, and the relevant town ordinance was passed in 1711. After the practice was abolished, the existence of the ring (to which the bull was tethered) was forgotten till excavations in 1847 for the first High Street Post Office, when it was discovered embedded in a large flat stone: J.M. Scott, op.cit., 47 ; and Haydn Davis, *The History of the Borough of Newport* (Newport, 1998) 81-82.

Whilst we were at the inn the maid brought us news that a terrible accident had happened. On enquiry we found a drunken mason in attempting to bathe in a small creek, called here a pill, had been suffocated with the mud. Every attempt to bring him to life was in vain tried by two surgeons who made use of the methods prescribed by the society for the recovery of drowned persons.[41]

Set out in a chaise and pair about ½ after eight for Caerphilly, Pontypridd and Cardiff, which was by our landlady reckoned altogether 36 miles and we paid accordingly. She made it out thus, to Caerphilly 14 miles, to Pontypridd 10, to Cardiff 12.
We passed Tredegar Park which is walled in, and over one or two bridges, with another now building. Tredegar Church is pleasantly situated.[42]

At about 3 miles from Newport the road to Cardiff turns off to the left but we proceeded straight *(f.69r)* forward, the road becoming more narrow and stony. After descending a hill, came in sight of some of the demesnes of Ruperra[43], and in ascending another, which was very steep and dirty, we were stuck fast and obliged to get out and push on the chaise, which notwithstanding every effort made by our horses and postillion would otherwise have remained in statu quo. Here we found that one of our horses was stone blind, a discovery which, considering the rough and stony roads we were to expect, gave us no great satisfaction. At ten miles, the country extremely rich, the view being diversified with woods, cottages, cornfields and other signs of cultivation.
We now came to the banks of the river Rhymney, at present almost dry. This river separates the county of Glamorganshire from that of Monmouth. We now began to have a sight of Caerphilly castle, which at a distance looks extremely black and dismal, and was pointed out to us by our guide with the epithet of that black thing yonder."

Grose then passed into Glamorgan *(f.69v-f.81v)*. He returned to Monmouthshire from Cardiff on August 2nd. The second part of the tour is entitled: No 4, From Cardiff to Abergavenny.

(f.82r) "The road from Cardiff good. At three miles to the right a large tract of marsh land ; to the left a view of a distant country terminated by hills. Pass a bridge on the river Rodney [Rhymney] and enter Monmouthshire. At four miles from Cardiff an extensive view all round. On the left at a considerable distance see the seat of Sir Charles Kemeys Tynte [Cefn Mably] – and over it the summer house of Ruperra, terminated by high hills. On the right the Severn, and in front the Gloucestershire and Malvern hills. Pass through St Milans [St Mellons] whose church is pleasantly situated upon an eminence on the right of the road. —- A little farther to the left of the front, or on what a sailor would call the larboard bow, see Ruperra *(f.82v)* which from hence has the appearance of being a better house than Tredegar.

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[41] The Society for the Recovery of Persons Apparently Drowned had been founded the previous year by Drs William Hawes and Thomas Cogan. This shows how quickly their methods had been adopted.

[42] He presumably meant Bassaleg.

[43] Grose always spells this Rupella.

At about six miles from Cardiff the new and old road part, the former keeping the right and the latter turning a little to the left, but in a few yards they meet again.
At about two miles from Newport, pass Tredegar Park which seems finely planted with firs, a tree not often occurring in this tour. Pass a bridge, near which in the park a tolerable waterfall. It may be necessary to observe that the roads from Cowbridge to this place [Newport] are what is here called good, nay even fine, being hard and stony, having many steep hills. They are however at least safe. One general fault they have in common with the Irish roads, being thrown up so round that their base occupies a considerable breadth. *(f.83r)* The road itself scarce yields room for a single carriage. In going on the side to make room one risks an overturn.
In Glamorganshire they have some particular customs relative to their tillage and method of haymaking and harvest; one of which is that in haymaking they never use forks, but load, pitch and move the hay with their hands. Their rakes have a double row of teeth like a comb. In Monmouthshire forks are used. In reaping they make their sheaves of the following form [sketch] placing the ears downwards. In ploughing with oxen a boy drives the oxen with a remarkable long stick, singing all the while a dismal tune.

Arrived in the evening at our inn, the Kings Head and slept there. —-

Thursday [August 3rd.] We set out for Abergavenny, distant 21 miles. Leaving Newport, see before us a distant mountain cultivated to the very top and divided by innumerable *(f.83v)* enclosures, affording the richest prospect conceivable. On the right of the road is a substantial mansion seemingly now inhabited by a farmer.[44]
Ascend. —- Roads narrow – pass by Llantarnam Church on the right, adjoining to which is a handsome ale-house with a bas relief over the door representing in almost shapeless effigy three persons carousing, under it is a Welsh inscription informing the passenger that cwrw and cider are sold there.[45]
Cross Llantarnam bridge and soon after mount a very steep hill and come to the turnpike five miles from Newport where the road begins to be tolerable. Our postillion to save a mile brought us by these indifferent roads, and also prevented our seeing Caerleon, a place of great antiquity but now a miserable market town. *(f.84r)* The following accident happened at that place above two years ago. The river, being flooded by some great showers of rain, carried away the bridge which was a wooden one like that of Newport and Chepstow, just at the time that an old woman with a candle and lanthorn was passing over it. The impetuosity of the stream took them down below Newport bridge, where the cries of the woman and the sight of her lanthorn, brought a fisherman to her assistance who took her off and brought her safe to land not without great difficulty and even danger.[46]

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[44] The mountain was almost certainly Twm Barlwm, and the mansion Crindau, owned first by Herberts of St Julians, then Morgans, who allowed it to become run down. It was bought and rebuilt by a local brewer named Gregory, and is now partly a social club and partly a house, completely hemmed in by modern houses. Only the fine stone doorway survives. Haydn Davis, op.cit., 69. I'm most grateful to Bob Trett for identifying Crindau and suggesting that the postillion probably chose an indirect route in order to avoid paying tolls at Caerleon and Ponthir.

[45] The sign, dated 1719, is still there at what was Ty Gwyrdd and is now the Greenhouse, but there are only two, not three drinkers.

[46] This was Mrs Williams, who, in the longer and more dramatic version of this story in William Coxe's *An Historical Tour of Monmouthshire* (1801), was no longer old but the pregnant wife of a Caerleon brazier.

A quarter of a mile from the turnpike we passed on the left a plantation of fir trees which does not seem to have thrived, being very shabby and stunted though apparently not lately planted.
Pass by Mr Hanbury's trial ground, where his hunters are trained.[47] *(f.84v)* See Pontypool, which we left on the left. It stands on the side and bottom of a hill. See also Mr Hanbury's house situated as appears in the sketch.[48] It seems an elegant building [sketch] covered and skirted by hanging woods.
At the top of the hill on the right we turn off where the road forms a T, the left leading to Pontypool.
At another turning keep the left, under the hill, which is beautifully enclosed and here and there sprinkled with churches and cottages.
Mount a hill, and pass on the right by a church on the top of it. In the churchyard are three remarkable *(f.85r)* fine yew trees.[49]
Leave the hill to the left near its termination and after gaining the next eminence see one of the conical or Sugar Loaf mountains which overlook Abergavenny. Another of them a little farther on appears to the left of the town.
A few yards before we came to the turnpike at Landellin [Llanellen], see an enchanting prospect. The river being flooded we turned off to the left. The town being in view, which appears to the greatest advantage at a distance, see the mountain called Skirrid Vawr, which the old women hereabouts pretend was rent at the time of the crucifixion of Christ. Naturalists think it shows marks of a volcano. The figure is as underviewed near the entrance into the town and on the right hand. [Sketch]
(f.85v) Passed a bridge into the town, the entrance and environs of which are extremely picturesque.
Abergavenny is a tolerable town. It has two churches and two good inns, but having been recommended by Dr Pringle[50] as a wholesome spot and as having a particular salubrity in the herbage on which its goats feed, the milk of these animals was by him prescribed as extremely beneficial in consumptions and decays. This has occasioned many persons to resort hither and caused the innkeepers to consider it on the footing of Bath or Brighthelmstone [Brighton], their bills are accordingly as we experienced just double those of their brethren at any of the adjacent towns.[51] We inned at the Old Angel kept by one Saunders, an old talkative, but not uncivil landlord. One of the churches seems very ancient. *(f.86r)* Here too are the remains of a castle, of which I made three drawings, though often put to flight by showers of rain, which pestered us all the day (Plates 2 and 3). [Sketch : Eye plan of the castle.]
In the afternoon we walked out towards the Skirrid Vawr of which I made a sketch, but was overtaken by a violent shower of rain where, notwithstanding the friendly shelter of a large oak tree near the mill, we were wet through.

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[47] John Hanbury was a keen racing man, who built the Pontypool Folly Tower (1762) so he could watch his horses being exercised. TI owe this information was kindly supplied byto Sir Richard Hanbury-Tenison.

[48] This is crossed out in pencil.

[49] Mamhilad. Up to here, the old road is lost in development, but from here on, at least to Llanover, apart from its surface, it remains very much as it was.

[50] There was a celebrated Dr John Pringle in this period, a Scot whose career was made in the army. He does not seem to have any connection with Abergavenny.

[51] According to Coxe [op. cit. 169], they had gone out of fashion by 1801, but "numerous invalids still repair every summer to Abergavenny, for the mildness and salubrity of the air."

I will not say we slept here, but rather that we in vain endeavoured and attempted it. A variety of impediments prevented us. From eleven to two we were kept awake by a jolly company who amused themselves with what I suppose they were pleased to think singing. *(f.86v)* Among them was a fellow with a stentorian voice louder than a trumpet marine, which he constantly exerted to its utmost powers, seeming to think that good singing consisted in roaring and bellowing. The north and south points of the compass are not more different or opposite than he was from the tune. His performance however was constantly applauded by his companions who testified their approbation by thumping their fists against the table. This company breaking up, we flattered ourselves we were going to enjoy a little repose, when, unluckily, in passing through the street, they met a large southern hound to whom they yelped and hallowed in a language known to them all and which the dog answered by giving his tongue. To this noise succeeded the notes of the chamberlain[52] calling up the stage passengers, the chattering of the barmaid, the swearing of the coachman and the calling of the guests, so that it was really seven o'clock before the house was quiet.

[Friday August 4th] *(f.87r)* After then about 2 hours sleep we roused and hoped to get off, but though we had ordered our chaise the night before, it was now to be greased, which being done with that deliberate indifference with which a Welshman always works, after waiting about an hour and a half beyond our time, we set off for Raglan. Distant from Abergavenny ten miles. On first leaving the town on the right there is a fine prospect of a mountain divided by hedges and showing signs of cultivation to its very summit [Blorenge]. The river Usk runs below it in the bottom.
To the left the gentle rise of a woody hill near the road shuts in the prospect.
At one mile stone, turn to the left and pass the seat of Hanbury Williams Esq, seemingly an ancient mansion modernised. It has a park.[53]
2 miles prospect still fine on the right.
3 miles and ½ pass by an old gothic-like building on the left.[54] Prospect to the right as before *(f.87v)* and confined to the left.
5 miles come close to the river, hills lower and prospect less interesting.
6 on the left a handsome brick house not finished, remarkably full of windows and those each distant from the other less than their breadth. It belongs to Lee Esq.[55]
Ascend a steep hill.
Keep right forwards by the Chepstow road, that leading to Monmouth inclining to the left. Country here enclosed and having no remarkable hills.
Came to Raglan, which is a small village having a house (the Red Lion, I think)[56] where post chaises are let. Ordered one to be got ready for Newland which is 11 miles, and to take us up at the castle which was about a quarter of a mile farther on. Went the field way, which is very dirty, and after many circumambulations passed through a farm *(f.88r)* yard to the ruins.

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[52] An attendant at an inn, in charge of the bedchambers: *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary.*
[53] Coldbrook. Grose was returning along what was the old A 40, the main road from Gloucester to Brecon and west Wales.
[54] Probably what is now Llangattock Court.
[55] Llansantffraed. The house was let, and Richard Lee did not actually buy it till early in the 19th century: Bradney, op.cit., Vol. I: Part 2, 318.
[56] More likely the Beaufort Arms.

This castle has two large courts and a fine fives court. In the latter is a coat of arms encompassed by the garter. The windows of the grand apartment are in the style of Elizabeth or James the first being square and extremely large. It seems to have been highly finished, but the ruins are not so extensive as I had been taught to expect.
In the second court, high up against the wall on the remains (I believe) of a chimney piece, are two figures, one [of] which seems a man with his arms crossed. He is dressed in a kind of tie-wig coming over his left shoulder and a chain-like ornament over his body, his legs covered with a loose sort of drapery somewhat resembling very large and loose boots. See them in the next page, their height from the ground prevented my making a more accurate drawing of them. The rain which was almost incessant prevented my making more than one drawing of this building.

[The next page, *f.88v*, is blank. There is no promised sketch.]

(f.89r) From Ragland an enclosed country. On the left see the country about Abergavenny. Within about four miles of Monmouth pass by the house formerly belonging to Mr Richard Jones on whom the song of Happy Dick was made.—-[57] The house seems rather comfortable than fine and has a good look out southward from it.
2 miles from Monmouth mount a steep hill, after which gradually descend into the town and pass through a picturesque gate close to the River Wye.[58]
Monmouth a melancholy indifferent town.[59]
See on leaving it, on the right, Troy House belonging to the duke of Beaufort, the horse course lies [?] close to the river and is so subject to floods, as sometimes to yield a more proper spot for showing the activity of ducks than horses.
Ascend a very steep hill and pass some copper and iron works, the walls of which are coped with the scoria of the metal cast into cubes or brick-like forms.

(f.89v) See at a distance the village of Redbrook which affords a most delightful and picturesque prospect.
Arrive at ½ after two at Newland.

Saturday. Finished some of the outlines at Mrs Rooke's. The Reverend Mr Hoskins, his wife and Mr Kedgwin Hoskins dined with us.[60]
Sunday. Dined at Mrs Rooke's and did not go to church.

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[57] Dingestow Court, already much reduced from its original splendour. There are various versions of the song, which Charles Heath says was frequently sung at convivial meetings in Monmouth. He attributes it to one Gwyn, second master of the Monmouth Free Grammar School, and says that no man enjoyed singing it more than Jones himself – who left his wife the day after his marriage. Heath's version goes : "How comes it, neighbour Dick,/ That you, with taste uncommon, / Have served the girls this trick / And wedded an old woman ? / Happy, happy Dick !" and so on for another thirteen verses. Charles Heath, *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Ancient and Present State of Ragland Castle* (Monmouth, nd. ? 1792) 13-15.

[58] From Raglan he was taking the road via Dingestow and Wonastow.

[59] This is very different from his opinion both earlier and later in the tour. Perhaps the rain was getting him down.

[60] The Hoskins family, many of whom were called Kedgwin, lived at Platwell House, Clearwell. *VCH, Gloucestershire*, op.cit., 204, 260.

Monday. Stayed at home (ie) Mrs Rooke's, and finished some outlines. Drank tea with Miss Bell [? Ball ?] and walked in the afternoon to High Meadow House, the seat of Lord Gage. Went into it, but it being almost dark could not well distinguish objects. It however seems but indifferently furnished, but has two or three good family pictures; is convenient, but dismal, the floors many of them being rubbed and almost black. The hall is hanged with stags' heads and the staircase on the first storey with Indian implements of war.
Tuesday. Walked to Redbridge [Redbrook], distant from Newland by the shortest way about a mile and a half. The way lies down an irregular rocky hill, making an angle with *(f.90r)* the plane of the horizon, of 30 degrees at least. The path is as rough as can be conceived by sharp rocks which everywhere like steps project out of the ground. It is besides narrow and slippery. The name of this delightful road is the Trench Lane. Bad as it is, it is said some obstinate Welsh servants once drove a wagon down it though overturned every third step. Proceeded to the oak in the meadow near the two mile stone from Monmouth, drew a view, returned by the hill.

Wednesday. Dined with Mr Howell.

Thursday. Dine at Clearwell, Mrs Perkins[61], Master and Miss, Mrs Burt and son[62], Mr Mason of Wadham College, Oxford, Mr Rogers of Christchurch[63], Mrs Rooke, the Probyns, Fanny and Peggy Probyn etc etc. Returned by moonlight.

[Rest of page blank. Diary resumes on Monday August 14th.]

(f.90v) Monday morning. Dined at 2 o'clock, went after dinner in a post chaise to Monmouth with Mrs Rooke, the Major and Miss Jenny Rooke, the two last on horseback. The rest of the Newland families, viz Mr Probyn, Mr Thomas Ball with Miss Wyndham[64] and Son, Birt Jnr, Mason, Rogers, travelling also by different carriages in order to see a play bespoke by Mrs Probyn. NB. It was The West Indian with the entertainment of The Padlock.[65]

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[61] Possibly one of the Pilstone family.

[62] William Jones had founded a lectureship at Newland, attached to his almshouses, in 1615. James Birt, who was married to Hayman Rooke's first cousin Jane, served as lecturer from 1734, his son Thomas succeeding him in 1801. VCH, Gloucestershire, op.cit. 223 and 226-227; Bradney, op.cit., 211.

[63] Though he would have been 89 in 1775, this is probably Thomas Mason, son of Hugh Mason of Treowen, near Monmouth, who matriculated on December 14th 1705: R.B. Gardiner, ed., The Registers of Wadham College, Oxford (Oxford, 1889) Vol. I, 425. Of several possible Rogerses of Christchurch, the most likely is John, who also matriculated in 1705. A John Howell of Jesus College, Oxford, is listed in Alumni Oxonienses as taking his MA in 1712, which would make him about the same age. If he was the same as Edmund Probyn's grandfather, who was 87 in 1775, then the three men were, in both senses, old friends; (See fn. 19): Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1891, Vol. I, 756 and 1275, and Vol. II, 1220; VCH, *Gloucestershire*, op.cit., 95 and 220.

[64] Presumably the son of the vicar, and the daughter of Charles Wyndham.

[65] *The West Indian*, by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), had been a tremendous hit at Drury Lane in 1771. Directed by David Garrick it had a run of twenty-eight performances, and was acted in America as well as Britain. Its eponymous character is an amiable but innocent white West Indian, a sort of middle class noble savage, who falls in love at first sight and narrowly escapes the machinations of sophisticated London villains. The play may have had particular local resonance, with Valentine Morris having recently left Piercefield to seek to recover himself from his debts in the West Indies from which he originally came. The Padlock had been an equal success for Garrick in 1768. It was an almost plotless musical with a libretto by Isaac Bickerstaff and music by Charles Dibdin, who blacked up to play the role of the comic slave Mungo to enormous applause: ODNB.

Arrived at Monmouth about 5 and went to the house of Mrs Halfpenny, mother to Miss Kitty Durham, opposite the castle, that lady having accompanied us on horseback from Newland.[66] Very little of the castle is now remaining, except one or two of the towers of the outworks and some pieces of walls and fragments of an arch. It stood upon an eminence overlooking the river. A mansion house has been erected on the site of the keep, now let for a girls' boarding school. By the date in a square tablet over the door, it appears it was built anno 1673 so that it is now 102 years old.

(f.91r) After sending for Miss Jenny Rooke and some other young ladies from the school, we went over a bridge and through some fields to a kind of Vauxhall, called the farm, kept by one Tibbs. Here we saw several of the Monmouth beauties, at least goods reputed such. Among them were Miss Davis, Miss Bullock[67] , also Mrs Powell[68] and a Mr Griffin, son of Admiral Griffin, who though not otherwise corpulent has a pair of legs far exceeding in size those of Bright of Maldon. It is said to be occasioned by a scorbutic humour.[69]

The prospect from the farm is delightful, and the day being fine and the wheat in shock, standing on the ground, the ladies dancing on the turf, and the music, one of them a Welsh harp, playing al fresco, exhibited a truly pastoral scene. From this place there is a fine view of the town of Monmouth, the castle and bridge, with that of the hill which overlooks it. The price of this entertainment is two shillings to strangers for which they have tea, coffee and music. The town is literally what it is called, but enclosed by a clipped hedge with borders in which are a variety of flowers, some turf and gravel walks, *(f.91v)* and after rainy weather, if the miller pleases, a cascade is made at the bottom of the walk by the spare water. Here the ladies danced till 1/2 after seven when we repaired to the theatre, a miserable hovel decorated with shocking scenes and lighted with farthing candles and train oil.[70] Here we met Dr Cameron, Col Fleming, Miss

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[66] Catherine Halfpenny (d.1815) was the daughter of John Blewett of Llantarnam Abbey. Her first husband was William Durham, father of Kitty (d. 1824), her second Charles Halfpenny, town clerk of Monmouth from 1732-1775: Bradney, op.cit., Vol. I, Part I, 3 and 12.

[67] Miss Bullock may have been the daughter of the current Monmouth vicar, Miss Davis either that of the preceding one, or of Joseph Davis, the headmaster of Bell's Grammar school at Newland. Bradney, op.cit., Vol I, Part I, 2 ; Rev. David J.F. Addison, *All Saints Church Newland* (1998) 8.

[68] There were many Powells in the town, including the surgeon William Powell and one J. Powell, liquor merchant.

[69] Thomas Griffin was a barrister, one of the family who lived across the river at Hadnock. He died in 1788, aged 49: Bradney, op.cit., Vol I, Part I, 24. Edward Bright of Maldon (1721-50) was a postboy, then a candle manufacturer and grocer. He was 5'9" tall, 5'6" round the chest and 6'11" round the stomach. He weighed more than 584 pounds and his "corpulency so overpowered his strength that life was a burthen and his death a deliverance": I am most grateful to Andrew Helme for this information.

[70] A shed in what had been the Priory orchard "served for a Theatre, to Mr Masterman's company, in their theatrical circuit, but is now used as a storehouse for timber, by Mr Maddox, architect." (Heath, *Monmouth*, 1804, np.) The touring company Grose saw was almost certainly that of Roger Kemble, father of Sarah Siddons, whose daughter had left for greater stages the previous year. Henry Masterman, a not particularly good actor in the company, but "an honest and pleasant man", took over the Welsh part of Kemble's circuit in 1781 and ran it till his death in Chepstow in June 1803, where he was buried (Cecil Price, *The Professional Theatre in Wales*, 1984, 9-11 ; David Boorman, *The Brighton of Wales*, 1986, 29-31 ; Ivor Waters, 'Theatres' in *Chepstow Miscellany*, 1958, 81.) I have been very much helped with this footnote by Bernard Morris, to whom my grateful thanks.

Maule, Mrs Rosser.[71] The play was not finished till 12, and after a slight supper at the Kings Head where we inned, we retired to rest about two.[72]
Tuesday [22nd.] At about 11, after breakfasting at our inn, the Major and I walked to draw Monnow bridge (plate 4). Near it is a very ancient chapel, whose arches are circular and decorated with zizag mouldings [St Thomas's Overmonnow]. Saw Mrs Rosser and Miss Bourke or Bourg.[73] Returned in a post chaise to Newland by ½ after three."

(ff.91v-94r) On the Wednesday he went to Lydney and Thomas Bathurst, returning to Newland on the Saturday to finish more drawings. During this visit he went to St Briavels and made two drawings, one of which he published in Volume I of *The Antiquities*.

(f.94r) "Tuesday 29th. Off this Day at 11 from Newland for Abbey. Major Rooke did not accompany me on account of his aunt's sickness. The road as far as Bigsweir I have before described. From Bigsweir by a narrow but good track through a wood and afterwards through meadows by the riverside to Brockweir.
From Brockweir ascend through a wood to Abbey ferry. At the top of the hill I alighted, the *(f.94v)* road being not only excessive steep and rocky, but full of rolling stone. Here I found the man waiting of whom my servant had hired a horse to carry him and the portmanteau. I rode the mare I had purchased of Mr Probyn. The distance from Newland to Abbey is called only seven miles, but would measure at least nine.

I sent my horse over before me and drew a north view of the abbey and another of the ruined house at Tintern, but from the station where I took it could not see the river. It formerly, according to Mr Morris, belonged to Rhys Mawr or the Great, afterwards to Mr Fielding, and is at present as my landlord informed me the property of —- Kerr Esq, who married a descendent of Fielding.[74] Inned at the Beaufort Arms, where nothing was to be had but eggs, of which however I made a good dinner. Although their fare was not excellent their bed was far from bad. Out of the window where I spent the evening, and which was a very tolerable room, I saw a kind of fireworks occasioned by the sparks which ascended from the forges which, having a high dark mountain for a background and the height *(f.95r)* being rather cloudy, exhibited a pleasing appearance. A continual din of hammers is to be heard here, a very considerable iron work being carried on by a Mr Tanner. When they have water sufficient they work night and day. This iron work was lately rented by a Mr Jordan.

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[71] Cameron was a Monmouth surgeon. Miss Maule may have been the daughter of Thomas Maule, late Governor of Goree, whose wife Sarah died in 1782 and was buried at Dixton: Bradney, op.cit.,Vol. I, Part I, 27. I have not been able to identify the others.

[72] The King's Head was a coaching inn, so Grose may have been as disturbed here as he was at Abergavenny.

[73] More probably Burgh, and perhaps a descendant of Henry Burgh, who had been the Duke of Beaufort's steward earlier in the century. Burgh had five children of each sex who survived to adulthoughod, and in 1779 his granddaughter Maria, the heiress of Park Lettice, married Thomas Johnes of Hafod, but she died in 1782: Bradney, op.cit., Vol . I, Part I, 80 and 340 ; Heath, *Monmouth* (1804) np ; and Elisabeth Inglis-Jones, *Peacocks in Paradise* (London, 1950) 72-75 and 80-82.

[74] John Curre of Rogerstone Grange: Bradney, op.cit., Vol II, Part II, 251. This building, sometimes known as the Abbot's House (which it was not), and which drawings suggest was probably Elizabethan or Jacobean, gradually disappeared during the nineteenth century. Charles Heath does not mention it in his earlier editions, but in the later ones firmly says it had nothing to do with the novelist Henry Fielding as others had claimed: Charles Heath, *The Excursion down the Wye*, (6th edn., Monmouth, 1815) np.

30th. Arose at six and after breakfast walked to Tintern in order to draw another view of the ruined house there. Nothing can be more pleasing than the walk thither, it being along the banks of the river, and close by a variety of picturesque cottages and mills.—- Crossed the little churchyard [at Tintern Parva]. The church appears to be ancient, but has been lately repaired ; in size somewhat resembles the pocket cathedral in the Isle of Wight near Steephill [near Ventnor]. After finishing this view, walked to the abbey where I drew an inside view of the east window.—- The way into the abbey from the inn lies through a ruined gate nearly south west of the ruins, close to which are some buildings, though now patched up for dwelling houses for poor people, yet have indisputable marks of having once been part of the monastery, *(f.95v)* the wall of which extends a considerable distance to the west of the church. —- Drew also some of the capitals and monuments piled up in the aisles.

At 12 sent my servant to Chepstow, distant 5 miles, for a post chaise, but at ½ after two he returned with a horse to carry the portmanteau, all the post chaises at Chepstow being engaged.

Mounted immediately. Ascend a very steep and long hill, the small stones, loose and lying on a solid rock, make it both tiresome and dangerous. This hill is through a wood, the track being scarcely wide enough for a chaise, though they do make shift to pass it.[75]
As soon as we got on the top of the hill, saw a most delightful and extensive prospect, to the left, the delightful gardens of Piercefield, with the town of Chepstow before us, the Severn and the country beyond it.
Pass'd by Mr Morris's which lies on the left.[76] A milestone at the gate informs passengers it is only one mile distance from Chepstow. *(f.96r)* The house seems but indifferent. —- Arrived at the Three Cranes, dined there. —- Distance from Abbey to Chepstow five miles. The house being full I slept at a saddler's next door to the inn.

31st. Rose at seven and mounted my horse. Rode to the passage house, which is only three miles off and the road very good. The way lies over Chepstow bridge, after which ascend a steep hill, from whence and all along the road we had a most pleasant prospect of Piercefield and of the town of Chepstow, the influx of the river Wye and the Severn. Chepstow church is a very handsome building but disguised by the barbarous method of whitewashing which so universally prevails here and all over Wales.
The Passage House is a large handsome building, well calculated to entertain a number of guests. It stands on an eminence or cliff close to the sea, at the extremity of a small village and has a very pleasant look-out. Here I dismissed the two horses I had hired from Chepstow for my servant and guide.

On my arrival I was informed we should pass a little after ten, but it being Bristol fair time and the house full of Welsh people, the boatmen chose to detain them to dine, and at one o'clock, when I left the house, there *(f.96v)* was no sign of setting off, although there was then more men and horses than the boat could carry, the greatest number they can transport in their two boats

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[75] Grose came up what is now part of the Wye Valley walk behind the Beaufort Arms to Porthcasseg and St Arvans.

[76] Presumably he did not visit the walks because he was only interested in buildings, and the house was "indifferent".

being about 24 horses, and I suppose twice the number of men. It is not uncommon at fair times, when a number of people want to go over, for the Welsh to fight for preference. Fearful of some mischief to my mare from the great number of horses, and understanding we must load on a slippery rock, I altered my route and resolved to return to Chepstow. It would have been very easy for the boatmen, as soon as a sufficient freight arrived (which was before ten), to have put off.

It is really a national reproach that every petty boatman, ferryman and stage coachman is left to prey upon travellers at discretion, nay even to put them to the risk of their lives with impunity, by taking twice as many passengers as their boats or coaches ought to carry, and setting off drunk and at improper times. I know it is said that interfering in these matters would be a kind of encroachment on the liberties of the subject, but as it is such encroachment has been made in the cases of the Gravesend boats, London watermen and Hackney coachmen, [and] I see no reason why it should not be carried further, or why the liberty of country watermen is more sacred *(f.97r)* than that of those residing in London. Besides, as ferrymen in particular are a kind of monopoly, the interest of the public ought to be strictly guarded.[77]

Having resolved to return, I endeavoured to procure a chaise but was told I could not get one, none being at home, though I saw afterwards in passing one standing in the yard. I however determined to walk, and my servant taking my cloak bag before him, we proceeded. After walking a mile he dismounted and I took his seat, he carrying the baggage on his head to Chepstow. On my arrival there found a chaise ready to set off for Newnham, so stopped the boy, and leaving my servant to refresh himself after his walk, set off for Newnham. Distant 16 miles.

I again passed the bridge and mounted the same hill by which I went to the Passage House. The road for two miles was extremely pleasant..."

So, calming down, he finally left Monmouthshire, and went on to Lydney, Gloucester, Oxford, and London.

Acknowledgements.
I am most grateful to the British Library for permission to publish these extracts from BL Add MS 17,398, and to the Society of Antiquaries for allowing me to illustrate them with watercolours in its possession. John H. Farrant knows more about Grose than anyone else living, and has been extremely generous in giving me help. I must also thank Jonathan Badham, Clifford S.L. Davies, John Evans, Elizabeth Friendship, Sir Richard Hanbury-Tenison, Andrew Helme, Ned Heywood, Bernard Morris, Frank Olding, Anne Rainsbury and Bob Trett for assisting me with their specialist knowledge. All errors are, alas, my own.

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[77] There were frequent accidents in crossing the channel, and boatmen came in for much criticism for endangering their passengers. John Britton, in his *Autobiography* (London, 1851), recounts how his writing-desk and £20 went overboard. He called the ferrymen "two human brutes" with "the heartless stolidity of animals, miscalled men."

'A MAN FULL OF CRAFT AND SUBTLETY': SIR TREVOR WILLIAMS OF LLANGIBBY *c.* 1623- 1692

By Jeremy K. Knight

Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby played a central rôle in civil war Monmouthshire. In doing so he earned a reputation as an unscrupulous opportunist, equally distrusted by the King and by Cromwell. Nor has his posthumous reputation been helped by his involvement with John Arnold in the latter's priest hunting activities at the time of the so-called Popish Plot. To Cromwell he was 'A man full of craft and subtlety, very bold and resolute' and a 'blustering blade',[1] to Henry Marquis of Worcester a 'creature of the house of Pembroke' and 'the same extravagant false man that he ever was'.[2] Stephen Roberts has described him as ' a complex character, whose motives in 1645-6 remain unclear.'[3]

Yet his career is central to understanding the influential 'moderates' among the county gentry, linked by kinship and marriage, who stood between the 'ultra' Raglan royalists on the one hand and the open parliamentarians on the other.[4] Initially royalists, and well represented among the county Commissioners of Array, most were, by the later stages of the war, neutralists or parliamentarians.[5] Williams's clandestine negotiations with Parliament and his shadowy involvement with the Monmouthshire Clubmen and the Glamorganshire Peaceable Army may provide a key towards understanding the collapse of royal power in south Wales that preceded its military conquest. His later career as Whig politician, well studied elsewhere, may also show how this grouping was continued in post-Restoration politics.[6]

Father and Son 1623-1642

Trevor Williams was the son of Sir Charles Williams of Llangibby (1592-1642). The family owed its rise to the acquisition of lands of Usk Priory, property dealing and the patronage of the earls of Pembroke, whose grant by Edward VI of the lordships of Usk and Trellech had created a rival, protestant, power base within the county to that of the catholic Earls of Worcester at Raglan.[7] Monmouthshire's large catholic population alarmed many protestants and Lord Eure noted in the time of James I that 'few causes arise in the shire which are not made a question between the Protestant and the Recusant'.[8]

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[1] Abbott, W.C., *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Harvard University Press) I (1937) 615-17; McClain, M., *Beaufort, the Duke and the Duchess, 1657-1715* (Yale U.P., 2001) 127.

[2] McClain 128.

[3] Roberts, S.K., 'How the west was won: Parliamentary politics, religion and the military in south Wales, 1642-9', *Welsh History Review* **21**: Part 4 (December 2003), 655.

[4] The terms 'moderates' and 'ultras' are borrowed from Jenkins, P., 'The origins of anti-popery in the Welsh Marches in the seventeenth century', *Historical Journal* **23** (1980) 275-93.

[5] Knight, J.K., 'Taking sides : Royalist Commissioners of Array in Civil War Monmouthshire', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* **22** (2006) 3-18.

[6] Mitchell, J., 'Politics and Power, 1660-1702', in Gray, M. and Morgan, P (eds.), *The Gwent Local History*, Vol. 3, *The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (Cardiff, 2009) 109-23; McClain 97-98.

[7] Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire : The Hundred of Usk*, Vol. 3, Part I (London, 1921; reprinted by Academy Books, London, 1993) 101; Siddons, M.P., *Visitations by the Heralds in Wales* (Harleian Society, London, 1996) N.S. 14, 177-79.

[8] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1603-1610* (London, 1857) 553.

Trevor Williams's great-grandfather Roger and grandfather, Rowland Williams, both served as High Sheriffs (in 1561 and 1604-05), an expensive and often uncongenial chore, but one which served to cement their family's position among the leading gentry of the county.[9] It has been noted in a number of counties, including Herefordshire, that the post tended to be held by newcomers to the county élite. Roger's father, William ap John (*alias* William Jones), a lawyer ('clerk') and steward of the king's chamber, had been appointed keeper of the royal park of Caerleon, a Pembroke town, in 1532. Roger, later described as 'of London, servant of the Earl of Pembroke,' was in 1549 granted the churches and chapels formerly belonging to Usk Priory by Pembroke, followed in 1554 by a further grant of the remaining lands of the priory.[10] In the following year he bought the manor of Tregrug, including the ruins of Llangibby castle and built himself a large house in Usk, now known as 'Great House'.[11] By his will in 1585 he left his wife a choice of his 'chief house' in Usk or his 'manor place' at Llangybi.[12]

The family's move to wider horizons came when Trevor's father, Charles Williams, was elected to the Parliament of 1621-22. Three months after it sat, in April 1621, he was knighted by James I. In 1626, he was high sheriff. Parliament would have brought him into contact with similar minded men, including the Trevors of Plas-Teg in Flintshire, a family well represented in the Commons over several generations.[13] It was about this time that he married, as his second wife, Ann Trevor, daughter of Sir John Trevor I of Plas-Teg. Their eldest son, Trevor Williams, who took his Christian name from his mother's family, was born in 1622 or 1623. A second son, John and third son, Edward, who was to play an active role as a royalist officer in the civil war, were followed by two daughters, Magdalene and Anne. Magdalene married Sir George Probert of Trellech and their son, Henry Probert, was involved with Trevor Williams in the events leading up to the Popish Plot.[14]

Sir Charles Williams was again member for the county in the Long Parliament from 1640, though illness prevented him from playing an effective rôle. He was similarly unable to exercise his rôle as Captain of the county militia for Usk Hundred, either through illness or because of his parliamentary duties. Thomas Morgan of Machen, whose daughter (and heiress) Trevor Williams was to marry, acted as serving Captain.[15] Sir Charles Williams's involvement in the opposition politics which were to so exercise his son is shown in the survival among the Tredegar Park papers of a working copy of the bill to abolish the Council in the Marches of Wales, deriving from Sir Charles. Much of the

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[9] Hanbury Tenison, (Sir) R., *The High Sheriffs of Monmouthshire and Gwent* (privately printed, 2008); Wolfe, M., *Gentry Leaders in Peace and War: The Gentry Governors of Devon in the early seventeenth century* (Exeter, 1997) 224.

[10] Bradney, Vol. 3: Part 1, 97-98.

[11] Mein, G., 'Some Buildings of Usk', in Knight, J.K. and Johnson, A. (eds.), *Usk Castle, Priory and Town* (Logaston Press, 2008) 123-24.

[12] Jones, J(udith; ed.), *Monmouthshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1560-1601* (South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society; Cardiff, 1997) 131 [71].

[13] Dodd, A.H (ed.), *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (London; Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion, 1959) 980-83.

[14] Siddons, *Visitations*, 178-79. Their eldest son was named Trevor Probert after his uncle. A draft marriage post-nuptial settlement with Anne Trevor survives in East Sussex Record Office, Glynde Place Archives GLY/689. Her marriage portion was £200. Williams's future ally, Bussey Mansell, similarly took his Christian name from a family connection with a Lincolnshire family, the Busseys [Johnson, A.M., 'Bussey Mansell (1623-1699): political survivalist', *Morgannwg* **20** (1976) 9-36]

[15] Gwent County Record Office, Cwmbrân Miscellaneous MS 648, f.10 [Letter book of Richard Herbert].

opposition to the Council came from common law lawyers, and his involvement may reflect the family's legal background as much as Welsh or local factors.[16]

In 1634 Trevor Williams entered Gray's Inn. The Inns of Court provided a young man with a knowledge of the law useful to his later rôle as landowner and magistrate and introduced him to metropolitan society and politics. Gray's Inn was particularly favoured by Monmouthshire gentry and was regarded as the 'Welsh' Inn, rather as Jesus College Oxford was the Welsh college. Of Monmouthshire royalists, Sir George Probert, Sir Charles Kemeys and the lawyer Edmund Jones all attended there. His father's membership of Parliament would also have served to introduce Trevor Williams to his Trevor cousins. His links with the Trevors were to recur at several critical points of his career.

In 1632, Sir Charles Williams presented a carved pulpit to Caerwent church , bearing his arms, the text ' Woe Bee To Me If I Preach Not the Gospel', and shields bearing the source of the text and a view of Llandaff cathedral.[17] He also presented an oak communion table to Llangibby church. Despite the puritan tone of the text, the view of Llandaff cathedral probably reflects his religious views more accurately. He has been described as an outspoken defender of the Church of England. The vicar of Caerwent in 1632 was John Dowle, treasurer of Llandaff cathedral. Williams had no particular links with Caerwent and his gift must reflect his allegiance to the established church, and possibly a personal friendship (both men had links to Jesus College, Oxford). In the Long Parliament Williams defended episcopacy and was even brought to the bar of the House for his opposition to puritan reformers. He gave £250 to Jesus College for additions to its chapel.[18]

Going to the Wars 1642-1646

At the outbreak of war in 1642 Trevor Williams was nineteen or twenty years old, and probably recently down from Gray's Inn. His father had died that March, and in 1640 he had married Elizabeth Morgan, grand-daughter of William Morgan of Tredegar and daughter of Thomas Morgan of Machen. Elizabeth's mother, Rachel, was the eldest daughter of the future royalist commander Ralph, Lord Hopton. These marriage connections were to have important financial implications for Williams. Elizabeth's marriage portion was £3,000. This was not paid at once. Williams used it as a sort of bank account, drawing sums of between £50 and £200 at intervals from William Morgan throughout the war. This no doubt helped to finance his military activities.[19] After the war, he was also involved, regarding Elizabeth's claims to a portion, in the partitioning of Hopton's estate.[20] .

In May, together with Edward Morgan of Llantarnam and Sir Nicholas Kemeys, Williams was created a baronet by Charles I, who may have wished to ensure the loyalty of three of the main county families.[21] In August, 1642, the month in which the king raised his standard at Nottingham, Commissions of Array were sent to Monmouthshire gentlemen likely to support the king. Many of these were Captains of Militia for their hundreds, and Trevor Williams may have replaced his

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[16] NLW, Tredegar Park Muniments 70/376; Bowen, Ll., 'Dismantling prerogative government: The Council in the Marches and the Long Parliament', *English Historical Review* **122**: No. 499 (December 2007) 1258-86; *Commons Journal* **2** (1802) 131-32, 486-89.

[17] Illustrated in Knight, J.K., *Civil War and Restoration in Monmouthshire* (Logaston Press, 2005) 36-37.

[18] Ingham, J., *Memorials of Oxford* (Oxford 1837) II [Jesus College Chapter] 13.

[19] NLW, Tredegar Park Muniments 22/64-84, 112/22-23..

[20] NLW, Tredegar Muniments 25/147 [19 January 1664], and see below.

[21] Matthews, R., 'Civil War and Interregnum, 1642-60', in *Gwent County History* **3**, op. cit., 97; Guillim, J., *A Display of Heraldry* (London, 1679) 98; I am grateful to Keith Underwood for this reference.

deceased father in Usk hundred. In September Williams was among six Monmouthshire gentlemen, all save one militia captains, 'sent for' by parliament as 'delinquents', for executing the Commission of Array and disarming 'the well affected.'[22]

Divisions in the county were apparent from the outset of hostilities. Sir Trevor's father-in-law, Thomas Morgan of Machen, refused to serve under Worcester's catholic son, the earl of Glamorgan, the royalist commander, probably on religious grounds. Sir Trevor Williams apparently had no military experience, save perhaps in the county militia. Nevertheless, he served in the Highnam campaign of March 1643 as a royalist colonel of infantry, perhaps as a supernumerary. Never backward in pressing his claims, he may have had sufficient influence among the protestant gentry of Monmouthshire, many of whom may have been unenthusiastic about the war, to ensure that his claims to military rank were not overlooked. His lack of military experience was not a problem.

The horse was also commanded by a 'maiden soldier', Lord John Somerset. Captured at Highnam, Williams was taken to Bristol and exchanged.[23] On 12 June the king, attempting to rebuild royalist forces in the area, commissioned Sir Trevor Williams and the Herefordshire royalist Sir Henry Lingen, to raise 1,000 foot each under Sir William Vavasour.[24] These men would have served in Vavasour's field army, but the following year Williams received a second commission and garrisoned the medieval castle at Llangibby with a force of sixty men.[25] Later, he appeared seventh in a list of Monmouthshire gentlemen in a ' Commission of Impress', for raising one hundred recruits each.[26]

Until the spring of 1645, Trevor Williams was, to all outward appearances, loyal to the king. On 18 March 1645, however, the Parliamentary Committee of Both Kingdoms were informed that Sir Trevor Williams and Captain Anthony Morgan, alleging a 'dislike of popery', had offered, through a Mrs Morgan, to deliver Monmouthshire and Glamorgan, with their garrisons, to Parliament. They asked for 'present assistance...to countenance that work'. In addition, Morgan asked for command of a regiment of horse, and Sir Trevor for 'some command of honour and trust in those counties, when they shall be reduced'.[27] This offer of betrayal raises a series of problems - Williams's motives, the timing of his offer, the mechanism by which someone in royalist territory could negotiate with a parliamentary committee in Westminster and, not least, how he could offer to deliver not only his own county, but Glamorganshire also.

Williams's prime motive was undoubtedly self-preservation and the protection of his estates from sequestration by a victorious parliament, an outcome which the progress of the war made all too probable. He favoured a negotiated peace with the king. There was also the anti-catholicism which runs like a thread through Williams's career, linked to hostility towards the catholic earl of Glamorgan. Though gentry rivalry was commonplace in English counties, pre-war quarrels among factions in Monmouthshire were notorious, as Clarendon noted several times. Glamorgan's appointment to military command in 1643 gave 'opportunity and excuse to many persons of quality.... between whom and that lord's family there had been perpetual feuds and animosities to

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[22] *Commons Journal* 2 (1802) 786; Knight (2006) 3.

[23] *The Victorious and Fortunate Proceedings of Sir William Waller and His Forces in Wales* (London; 17 April 1643) non-paginated.

[24] Hutton, R., *The Royalist War Effort, 1642-1646* (2nd edn., London, 2003) 112.

[25] Long, C.E (ed.), *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army During the Great Civil War: Kept by Richard Symonds*, Camden Society Publn. LXXIV (1859; Camden Classic Reprints 3 (1997; ed. I. Roy) 205.

[26] British Library, Harleian MS 6804, f.107.

[27] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1644-45* (London, 1890) 356.

lessen their zeal to the king's cause' on religious grounds, whilst ' the emulations and dissentions between families' (in Monmouthshire) 'was general and notorious'.[28]

Thomas Morgan of Machen refused to serve under Glamorgan, and when Sir William Waller invaded Monmouthshire after Highnam there were rumours that a number of Monmouthshire gentlemen, including a son of Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, were about to declare for Parliament.[29] This was either Thomas Morgan of Machen or his half brother Anthony Morgan of Kilfeigan, Llanbadoc, a near neighbour of Sir Trevor Williams. Anthony Morgan was the son of Sir William Morgan's second wife, Bridget, widow of Anthony Morgan of Llanfihangel Crucorney, a family with recusant links.[30] Anthony Morgan was a popular family name at this time (about eight with Monmouthshire connections are known), which can create problems with sources where the place of residence is not stated.

Anthony Morgan of Kilfeigan, however, laid claim to an estate in Sussex belonging to Elizabeth Mansfield, a catholic widow. She may be the mysterious 'Mrs Morgan', since it was common for widows to be known under their maiden name. His claim to this estate, in parliamentarian territory, might have been a motive for his offer of betrayal.[31] Similarly, access to the Committee of Both Kingdoms would not have been a problem for Sir Trevor Williams, since his cousin John Trevor II, a spokesman for Welsh matters in the Long Parliament, and later a post-war beneficiary of the Raglan estate, was a prominent member.[32]

The timing of his offer was determined by the progress of the war. The royalist defeats at Marston Moor and Montgomery in the summer of 1644 shook the confidence of the Welsh gentry. Royalist commanders commented on the effect of the latter on their morale and loyalty. Sir Michael Ernley wrote to Rupert that 'since the disaster at Montgomery, the edge of the gentry is very much blunted.....they begin to warp to the enemy's party',[33] and Sir Michael Woodhouse grumbled that 'the malignancy which has lain in many men's hearts has now (after Montgomery) burst forward to a manifest expression'.[34] On 26 September, a week after Montgomery, Monmouth was taken by Sir Edward Massey. Gentry who had contemplated changing sides after Highnam must again have been nervous . The county commissioners met at Caerleon and dispatched a letter to Rupert asking for men and ammunition 'in this our great and urgent necessity'. The first signature was that of Sir Trevor Williams.[35] In the event, Monmouth was retaken by the royalists, but the episode may have led Williams to re-consider his position.

The winter of 1644-45 saw the abortive Uxbridge treaty between king and parliament. Williams favoured a negotiated peace, as his outburst to Sir Jacob Astley the following August showed. He told Astley that his friends were 'for both king and parliament, and not to divide between them as they perceived his intention was'. Astley wrote despairingly to Lord Digby that the Commissioners of the South Welsh counties, ' most of them false', were in touch with parliament *via* the parliamentary

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[28] Clarendon, E.H., *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (ed. W.D. Macray; Oxford reprint, 1958) VI, 287, 289.

[29] Corbet, J., *A True and Impartial Account of the Militarie Government of the Citie of Gloucester*, Somers Tract V, 314; Hutton (2003) 55.

[30] Bradney, *op. cit.* **5** : *Hundred of Newport* (ed. M. Gray; South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society (Cardiff/Aberystwyth, 1993) 69.

[31] Green, M.A.E., *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding, &, 1642-1660* (London, 1889-93) **3**, 2123.

[32] Dodd (1959) 982.

[33] BL, Addit. MS 18981, f. 299; Warburton, E., *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers* (London, 1849) I, 517.

[34] BL, Addit. MS 18981, f.152; *Cf.* Warburton (1849) I, 526.

[35] BL, Addit. MS 18981, f.237.

fleet in the Bristol Channel. Those in Glamorgan refused to garrison Cardiff, claiming that 'the common people would not suffer them to do it'. When Astley called a meeting at Abergavenny to discuss the Scots siege of Hereford, only some Monmouthshire men turned up 'and those not considerable'.[36] W illiams's change of side in 1645 was hardly mysterious, however underhand his way of going about it.

One event would have influenced Williams had he been aware of it. In the same month that the Committee of Both Kingdoms were considering Williams's offer, the earl of Glamorgan left Raglan on his quixotic mission to raise an army of Irish catholics for the king. This did not become public knowledge until later that summer, but possibly rumours had been circulating in Monmouthshire earlier.[37] The royalist situation was desperate. The king admitted in a letter to Rupert that in military terms his position was hopeless.[38] There are modern European parallels for men drawn into a war and facing ruin as a result plotting against a leader whose intransigence in the face of certain defeat promises universal disaster.

Sir Trevor Williams finally declared for Parliament after the fall of Bristol on 10 September 1645. The day after Bristol fell, but before the news had arrived, the king summoned Williams and four other Monmouthshire gentlemen before him at Abergavenny on charges of hindering his efforts to raise the siege of Hereford. The rest were imprisoned, but Williams, in tears, pleaded that they were 'accused by some contrary faction....on old grudges'.[39] His outburst before Astley was enough to discredit this defence, but surprisingly Sir Charles Somerset intervened on his behalf and Williams was bailed. At the same time, the king, 'from his court at Abergavenny ', terminated the commission as Colonel General in South Wales of the Glamorgan royalist Bussey Mansell, who like Williams was involved with Clubmen and the Peaceable Army.[40]

The importance of Bristol to South Wales was such that when it changed hands, whether to the royalists in July 1643 or to parliament in September 1645, it was the signal for Monmouthshire gentry to change sides. Clarendon noted that ' parliament being possessed of Bristol (had) such an influence upon the trade and livelihood of that people by their absolute control of the Severn.'[41] The fall of Bristol also resulted in the cashiering of Prince Rupert (who by this time also favoured a negotiated peace) by the king. There were many Welsh officers in his garrison at Bristol, and many of these now left the king's service. Among them was Sir Trevor Williams's brother, Major Edward Williams, who had served in Sir Richard Herbert's Regiment of Foot, taking part in Rupert's capture of Bristol, and later in Rupert's Lifeguard of Horse. This was disbanded after Rupert's dismissal and Edward Williams crossed the Bristol Channel and joined his brother, who had now declared for Parliament, at Llangibby.[42]

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[36] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1645-1647*, 96-97; Webb, J.W. and T.W., *Memorials of the Civil War between King Charles I and the Parliament of England as it affected Herefordshire ...* (London, 1879) II, 214.

[37] Lowe, J., 'The Glamorgan mission to Ireland, 1645-6', *Studia Hibernica* **4** (1964) 161-66; Knight (2005) 104-06.

[38] Clarendon (1958) IX, 70; Rushworth, J., *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (1680-1701) IV: Part 1, 132.

[39] Symonds (1859) 233, 238.

[40] Johnson (1976) 11. [On Clubmen and the Peaceable Army, see: Knight (2005) 89-90, 97-98, and Stoyle, M., *Soldiers and Strangers, An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (Yale U.P., 2005) 166-71.

[41] Clarendon (1958) VI, 288.

[42] Newman, P.R., *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642-1660* (London/New York, 1981) 188 [719], 413 [1579] – noting the problem of duplication of names; Reid, S., *Officers and Regiments of the Royalist Army* (Leigh-on-Sea, undated) **2**, 94; **4**, 151-52.

Williams's later letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons gave his version of events since he had 'engaged in the Parliament's service and … undertook the reducing of those parts'. Williams allied himself with the Monmouthshire Clubmen. It was 'work as … could not have been effected but by those that made rendevouses in the countrie', - 'raised by me' he quickly added. Despite his claim, this was a piece of pure opportunism. His family had earlier been the subject of prolonged protests over their clearance of local woodland, and there is no reason to think that the successors of these protesters would have placed themselves under his leadership had he attempted to instigate such 'rendezvouses'. Rather, he had jumped on an already moving bandwagon, and now tried to claim the credit for doing so.

Initially, he claimed, 'the inclination of most men (was) averse and a malignant party very predominant'. He marched on Chepstow 'long oppressed by a rabble of papists' (the castle garrison) at the end of September with his Llangibby regiment, took the town after four days and laid siege to the castle.[43] Sir Thomas Morgan, the Monmouthshire-born parliamentary governor of Gloucester then intervened and both men later published their versions of what followed, claiming the credit. According to Morgan 'having heard that there was some risinge in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth, under the command of Sir Trevor Williams and Collonell Matthews, with some shewes of being for the Parliament', he took 500 horse and 400 foot from Gloucester and marched on Chepstow, where he took charge of the siege operations.[44] Williams's version was that only when he heard that a large royalist relief force was approaching was he 'necessitated to desire the Governor of Gloucester's assistance in maintaining the siege', whilst his own troops drove off the relief force.

By the time of the surrender of Chepstow on 11 October, Williams had been sidelined by Morgan. Later that month, with 'two hundred Monmouthshire men, well armed', and Robert Kyrle's troop of horse he and Morgan took Monmouth.[45] In December, with Chepstow and Monmouth safe in parliamentarian hands, the Commons were informed *post facto* of Williams's and Anthony Morgan's offer to betray the county. Later, the latter turned up at Fairfax's headquarters seeking his promised command of a regiment of horse.[46]

Trevor Williams worked with the Glamorgan neutralist 'Peaceable Army', whose aim was to protect local people from royalist exactions. Sir Thomas Morgan saw the attack on Chepstow as part of a rising led by Williams in Monmouthshire and Colonel Humphrey Matthew in Glamorgan. In January 1646 a newly raised parliamentary force under Bussey Mansell and Sir Trevor Williams, in winter quarters at Caerleon, was routed by the Raglan horse. Williams claimed that this happened whilst he was away in Cardiff raising money for pay.[47] When the Caerleon-based customs officer John Byrd (a Pembroke tenant) used his boats to run guns from the parliamentarian navy to the Peaceable Army they were consigned to a Monmouthshire commander in touch with the latter, almost certainly Sir Trevor Williams.[48]

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[43] Bodleian Library, Oxford; Tanner MS 60, ff.440-41.

[44] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1645-1647*, 200, 204.

[45] *Two Letters from an Officer in Monmouthshire to a Gentleman in London*, Society of Antiquaries of London, Wakeman Collection 790/5.

[46] *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligence*, 28 October 1645.

[47] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1645-1647*, 248, 259, 311-13.; *Mercurius Britannicus*, 2 March 1646; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *13th Report, Appendix 1*, Portland MS 1, 345; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Tanner MS 60, f.441 [f.440 is a letter sent from Chepstow by Williams to Speaker Lenthall].

[48] Roberts, S., 'Office holding and allegiance in Glamorgan in the Civil War and after : the case of John Byrd', *Morgannwg* **44** (2000) 18.

Williams's Llangibby garrison was hardly enough for decisive intervention on its own and was augmented by local irregulars. The attack on Monmouth involved two hundred well armed local men, plus 'many Clubmen' and miners from the Forest of Dean.[49] After its fall, many irregulars deserted and returned home since 'they had not come to keep garrisons', but after the Restoration a dozen indigent former officers claimed to have served in his regiments of foot and horse, suggesting that this had been considerably augmented, for a short period at least. Presumably the Llangibby garrison acted as a core for these 'short service' recruits.[50]

Cromwell admitted that Williams enjoyed considerable local support, and that his neighbours might attempt his forcible rescue if he was arrested. The forest edge areas of central Monmouthshire had a long tradition of combining in forcible resistance to enclosures and dis-afforestation, in one long running case against the Williams family itself.[51] By the later stages of the war, this resistance had re-asserted itself. Colonel Samuel Tuke complained to Rupert that local gentry were 'niggling traitors' whose tenants 'rise, disarm and wound the men for coming to quarters assigned to them'. They attacked royalist requisition parties and the gentry, including some county commissioners, refused to intervene. In these circumstances, Williams's locally raised Llangibby garrison might well ally itself with Clubmen and other militant neutralists.[52] Who the actual leaders of the Clubmen were is unknown.

In February 1646 Williams was involved in raising the siege of Cardiff castle, where the parliamentarian junta had been besieged by the royalists Edward Carne of Ewenni and Sir Charles Kemeys. The royalist force included many Clubmen and Anglican gentry and clergy alarmed by Parliament's religious reforms and 'fearing both for their souls and their estates'. After the rising, Parliament appointed Williams commander in Monmouthshire, fulfilling earlier promises, though he was not long to remain in post. By May he had been replaced by the parliamentary Colonel and M.P., Henry Herbert of Coldbrook. Once again, his ambitions had been thwarted. [53]

In April, Williams, with horse and foot from Llangibby, Pencoed Castle and Chepstow, occupied Usk as a preliminary to attempting Raglan. Many Monmouthshire gentry were by now 'coming in' to parliament and Williams's troops seem to have included many former royalists. One unfortunate lieutenant, captured by the Raglan horse during an attempt to dislodge Williams's men, was shot by the royalists as a deserter. London newsletters attempted to blame this on the (non-existent) 'Irish part' of the Raglan garrison.[54] Sir Trevor's brother, Major Edward Williams, now Lieutenant-Colonel of his brother's regiment, was wounded in the arm in the same battle.[55] There is no need to describe Sir Trevor's role in the subsequent siege of Raglan. Until the arrival of Fairfax with a detachment of the New Model Army, the siege was largely conducted by two Monmouthshire gentlemen, Sir Trevor Williams and Sir Thomas Morgan of the Gloucester garrison, though the latter had long been non-resident.

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[49] *Two Letters from Colonel Morgan ... relating the taking ... of the town and castle of Monmouth* (London, 1645); Historical Manuscripts Commission, op. cit. *Portland MSS* I, 295; *Mercurius Veridicus* **18** [25 October 1645].

[50] C.W., *A Full Relation of the desperate design of the Malignants for the Betraying of Monmouth town and castle. With the particular manner of the discovery thereof by Sir Trevor Williams* ...(London, 1645); Reid (n.d.) **4**, 188.

[51] Owen, G.D., *Wales in the Reign of James I* (Woodbridge, 1988) 123-24; Knight (2995) 36-37, 160.

[52] BL, Addit. MS 18981, f.285.

[53] *Great Overthrow given to the King's forces in Wales ... by Lieutenant Colonel Laugharne, Colonell Morgan and Sir Trevor Williams ...* (London, 26 February 1646); Roberts (2003) 665-66.

[54] *Moderate Intelligencer*, 27 May 1646; *Perfect Occurances*, 29 May 1646.

[55] M(ore) P(ye), *The Gallant Siege of Parliament's Forces before Ragland Castle* (Lomdon, 30 May 1646).

Playing with Both Hands, 1646-1660

Late that year, with the war concluded, the perennially ambitious Williams, still in his early twenties, set his mind on entering the House of Commons in the elections for Monmouth Borough, but not unlike Welsh boroughs Monmouth only returned a single member. He put much effort into canvassing those who might be of use to him. He made gifts of horses to the Presbyterian John Glynne and Thomas Pury, M.P. for Gloucester, and sought the support of Michael Oldisworth, the earl of Pembroke's influential secretary. In November he wrote to his uncle, John Trevor, a Member of Parliament, complaining that although people like Henry Herbert of Coldbrook were friendly, he could not count on their active support. In the event, his lack of patronage and perhaps of trust meant that he was pushed aside by Thomas Pury the younger.[56] This disappointment may have played a part in persuading Williams to join the royalist plotters of May 1648. His fears of catholicism and of Irish catholics were seen again that winter when Richard Fitzgerald arrived in Usk to collect taxes for the English army in Ireland. He met passive resistance from local gentry, including the county committee and Henry Herbert 'who commands in chief now in that county'. His only support came from Sir Trevor Williams.[57]

Williams's disillusionment with his new allies between 1646 and 1648 was shared by many moderate parliamentarians, alarmed by the post-war near anarchy of 1647, the rising power of Cromwell and the army radicals and the unpopular activities of the parliamentary county committees. The 'Committee in Usk' consisted of minor gentry from the forest edge areas of central Monmouthshire, who pre-war were of insufficient rank for the county bench of magistrates. There is little evidence that Sir Trevor Williams played any significant rôle. This, like his failure to obtain a parliamentary seat, may have added to his frustration. He was still active on parliament's behalf, however, in the early months of 1648, appearing second or third in lists of commissioners for assessments for the army in Ireland and for the Militia Act.[58]

Sir Nicholas Kemeys, excluded from pardon under the terms of the Uxbridge treaty, had been in prison in London since May 1646 and possibly in touch with royalist plotters there. The Usk committee believed that the rising had been plotted from the Tower of London by another imprisoned royalist, Judge David Jenkins.[59] In the spring of 1648 Kemeys obtained Parliament's permission to visit Bath for his health. He crossed the Bristol Channel and joined with other plotters, including Trevor Williams. With Monmouth disgarrisoned and Raglan in ruins, Chepstow and Llangibby were the only defended castles in the county. Sir Nicholas's son, Charles Kemeys, was among those who seized Pembroke Castle. A simultaneous rising in Glamorgan was intended to neutralise Cardiff Castle, which had so nearly fallen to the royalists in 1646.

Stephen Roberts has noted another defector from Parliament at this time, Rowland Laugharne, who still adhered to the conservative 'principles of 1642', a pre-Laudian church and peace with the king.[60] Williams also favoured peace with the king and, like the Glamorgan 'prayer book' rebels of 1647, retained his father's attachment to the church by law established, now threatened by the political and religious radicals in the army. He had, however, characteristically waited at Llangibby to see how matters would turn out. It is an interesting speculation as to how he would have reacted had Cromwell

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[56] Roberts (2003) 656, citing East Sussex Record Office GLY/554.

[57] Historical Manuscripts Commission **63**, Lomas S.C. (ed.), *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont* I, Part 2 (1905) 344, 350-51, 410-11.

[58] Firth, C. H. and Rait, E.S. (eds.), *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1911) I, 1087 (Febr. 1648), 1136 (May 1648).

[59] *A Letter from the Committee in Usk*, in Leech, F., *A Full Relating of the whole proceedings of the late Rising* ...(London; 2 July 1647).

[60] Roberts (2000) 19, (2003) 655, 661-64, 669-71.

masked Chepstow with troops and marched direct on Cardiff *via* Llangibby and Newport, instead of advancing down the Wye Valley to Chepstow.

The royalists who seized Chepstow on 10 May were probably unaware that Cromwell was close at hand in Monmouth, on his way to put down the rising in Pembrokeshire. When Chepstow Castle was recaptured, papers were found which Cromwell claimed were 'plain discoveries' that 'Sir Trevor Williams ... was the malignant that set on foot the plot'.[61] Thus far, Sir Trevor's main motives had been self preservation and the preservation of his estate. He would have approved of Talleyrand's famous reply to the question as to what had he done in the French Revolution- 'I survived'.

Why should this hard headed opportunist now not only join a daring conspiracy but, if Cromwell is to be believed, take a leading role in its instigation? The 'papers' have not survived, but may have been letters from Williams to other plotters. If the rising was in fact hatched in London by Sir Charles Kemeys and other Welsh royalists, Williams may have acted as their go-between with Monmouthshire dissidents. The death of Nicholas Kemeys in the siege and the subsequent loss of the 'papers' make further speculation impossible.

Cromwell ordered Williams's arrest.[62] He was 'a man full of craft and subtlety, very bold and resolute (with) a house at Llangibby well stored with arms and very strong, his neighbours about him very malignant and much for him, who are apt to rescue him if apprehended... He is full of jealousy, partly out of guilt, but much more because he doubts [suspects] that some which were in the business have discovered [informed on]) him, which indeed they have'.[63] Two informers, a servant and a minister, had denounced Williams, who was to be brought before Cromwell under guard. We do not know who the minister was, but Sir Trevor evidently had enemies among local religious Independents.

Williams seems to have been released fairly soon - by now he was practised at talking his way out of trouble, but was deeply distrusted by the new régime. In February 1649, he was excluded from pardon under the Sequestration of South Wales and Monmouthshire Act, but contrived to hang on to his estate, which in 1652 was discharged from sequestration.[64] Some years later, Major-General Berry warned Thurloe of 'these inconstant people, who have played with both hands' and went on to warn that Sir Trevor Williams 'will visite you, who though he may have something to plead for himselfe with strangers, yet with those that know him he hath no argument that will prevail'.[65] This was his petition to Cromwell for pardon for his 'delinquency', which Cromwell referred to the Council of State.[66]

Trevor Williams's career remained in eclipse under the Commonwealth. The uncertainty following the abdication of Richard Cromwell, however, offered Williams the opportunity to mend his fortunes. The first royalist contact with South Wales, shortly before Cromwell's death, was that of Thomas Stradling with Bussey Mansell, whose career, unlike Williams's, had flourished in the Interregnum. Bussey's wife, Catherine, was the widow of the royalist Sir Edward Stradling. On 30 June 1659,

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[61] Abbott (1937) I, 616.

[62] NLW, 105/196, of 17 June 1648; Letter of Oliver Cromwell to Major Saunders of Derbyshire. He was also to arrest "Mr Morgan, High Sheriff of Monmouthshire".

[63] Abbott (1937) I, 615-17; McClain (2001) 127.

[64] Firth and Rait (1911) **2**, 15.

[65] Bodleian Library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS A.35, f.172 (Berry to Thurloe, 19 Febr. 1656); Birch, T. (ed.), *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (London, 1742) IV, 545-46; Berry, J. and Lee, S.G., *A Cromwellian Major General : The Career of Colonel James Berry* (Oxford, 1938) 158-59.

[66] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1655-1656*, 308.

Charles II wrote that Williams 'would endeavour with all his friends and interest to advance the royal service'.[67]

In Monmouthshire, in the following month, the Commissioners for the Militia Act saw the old parliamentarians still in charge- Thomas Pury, junior; James Berry, the former Major General; John Nicholas, his deputy and Governor of Chepstow Castle, and their allies from the old county committee.[68] After Monck's armed intervention in January 1660 these were replaced. On 26 January, the list of commissioners for assessments for the county was headed by Sir Trevor Williams and his father-in-law, Thomas Morgan of Machen. On 12 March, they headed the list of commissioners for the militia after a couple of titled *ex officio* grandees.[69] The previous month, Sir Trevor had been restored to the Commission of the Peace and made colonel of the county militia, with his old ally Bussey Mansell, as colonel of the Glamorgan militia. Both militias rapidly declared for the king. With his brother-in-law, the Gloucestershire royalist Baynham Throckmorton, Williams disarmed radicals in Dean likely to oppose the Restoration, and was given powers to raise men in South Wales and disarm enemies of the state.[70]

Restoration -1660- 1667

At the Restoration Williams sued for pardon under the Great Seal and that April finally achieved his ambition of entering Parliament, as member for Monmouth Borough in the Convention Parliament.[71] The pre-war 'moderate' party in south Wales, including the Glamorgan Mansells, Trevor Williams and the Morgans of Tredegar, still occupied the middle ground between 'cavaliers' and 'roundheads'. Williams proved an assiduous committee man and was even involved in drafting the form of thanksgiving for the Restoration, and the prayers for the king.[72] He retained his father's concern for the church by law established and moved that the religious settlement should not only be based on the Old and New Testaments, 'which all Christianity profess', but also on the Thirty Nine Articles. His stay in parliament was brief. When the Cavalier Parliament met the following year he lost his seat to his brother-in-law, the royalist Sir George Probert. The next decade was to bring as much frustration as fulfilment.[73]

Williams was also concerned with his estates. During the Interregnum he had purchased land around St Mellons seized from former royalists, and within a month of the Restoration was petitioning the House of Lords regarding land at Ewyas Lacy in Herefordshire which he claimed in respect of his wife's uncle, the royalist commander Lord Hopton. Hopton's estates had been sequestrated by

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[67] Johnson (1976) 20 [March 1658], Siddons (1996) 179; Henning, B..D., *The History of Parliament : The House of Commons, 1660-1690* (London, 1983) III, 728.

[68] Firth and Rait (1911) II, 1320.

[69] *Ibid.* II, 1374, 1437.

[70] Hutton, R., *The Restoration, A Political and Religious History of England and Wales* (Oxford, 1985) 68-84; Jenkins, P., *The Making of a Ruling Class: The Glamorgan Gentry, 1640-1750* (Cambridge, 2002) 120-21; Underdown, D., *Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649-1660* (Yale U.P., 1960) 204; Lomas, S.C. (ed.), Historical Manuscripts Commission **51** (Norwich, 1879), Appendix to the 12th Report, *Leyborne-Popam MSS* 170.D.

[71] For Williams's parliamentary career, see: Henning (1983) III, 727-31.

[72] *Commons Journal* **8** (1802) 14-16; Jenkins (2002) 120-21.

[73] Henning (1983) III, 728; McClain 127. [The memorial stone of Sir George Probert (1616-1677) in Northolt church, Middlesex, cites his services in the Civil War. His wife, Magdalene (responsible for the remarkable sundial in Trelech church) refers to herself on her husband's memorial as 'daughter of the most illustrious Sir Charles Williams of the castle called Llangibby in the county of Monmouth, destroyed by rebels in the late revolt'. There is no mention of her brother.]

parliament and purchased by the regicides Thomas Harrison and John Okey, who had made 'very large sums of money' by asset stripping the standing timber. Hopton died in exile in 1652 as did his only male heir, his uncle Sir Arthur Hopton. His estates now passed to his four sisters, but Sir Arthur's son Richard Hopton disputed their claim. The case rumbled on in Chancery until the House of Lords finally decided in favour of the sisters in 1672.[74]

.Williams was also involved, with the other heirs, in litigation with Lord Berkeley in respect of a bond for £1,000 relating to money raised at the outbreak of the civil war in 1642 to equip the army of Lord Hopton as royalist commander in the western counties, and which Lord Berkeley was attempting to claim from Lord Hopton's heirs.[75]

Williams's anti-catholicism continued unabated. John Cragge, the Anglican vicar of Llantilio Pertholey and 'Dispenser of the Gospel there', had been a protagonist in the 1652 public debate on infant baptism in Abergavenny Priory. In 1661 Cragge, one of whose patrons was Sir Trevor Williams, published a lengthy anti-catholic tract, purporting to attack both nonconformity and catholicism, though it barely mentioned the former. Philip Jenkins has shown how the old 'moderate' royalists continued as a middle party after the Restoration, standing for tolerance of nonconformists and anti-catholicism. Tragically, this concern for religious toleration was to transmute into the malign paranoia of the ' Popish Plot'. [76]

Parliament Man, 1667-1692

In 1667 Edward, Marquis of Worcester, former earl of Glamorgan, died. His son Henry was elevated to the Lords. His nominee, James Herbert of Coldbrook, lost the ensuing by-election for the county seat to Sir Trevor Williams, despite the efforts of Worcester to overawe electors with files of musketeers from the Chepstow garrison. Worcester removed Williams from the county bench, replacing him with his allies, including John Arnold of Llanfihangel Crucorney, at that stage a Worcester ally and friend of the future Jesuit martyr David Lewis.[77]

The new Marquis was a protestant. This frustrated the anti-papists, since, though (as they thought) a crypto-catholic, he was now out of reach of anti-catholic legislation. Worcester became virtually the king's viceroy in Wales and the Marches, Lord Lieutenant of the Welsh counties, Gloucestershire and other border shires, and from 1672 Lord President of the revived Council in the Marches of Wales. Williams showed his anti-catholic zeal from the outset. In April 1668 he used such violent language in arguing that the Conventicles Bill, aimed against non-conformists, should be applied to catholics that he was almost summoned to the bar of the house. The following year Worcester retaliated by having Williams summoned before the Treasury Board for alleged local tax arrears of £600, caused by William Morgan, a servant of Williams. When Morgan was arrested at Caerleon fair a few years later, Williams had him sent up to London in custody.[78] In March 1670 Parliament set up a committee under the chairmanship of Williams's cousin, Sir John Trevor, 'to prevent the growth and increase of popery'. Williams took over the chairmanship of this the following year and drew the House's attention to the Jesuit college at the Cwm, but a proposal for an address to the king was rejected by the Commons.[79]

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[74] *Journal of the House of Lords* **11**, 51-53 (4 June 1660); NLW, Llangibby Castle Deed C. 933.

[75] National Library of Wales, Llangibby Castle Deed C. 1081.

[76] Cragge, J., *The Royal Prerogative vindicated in the converted recusant* (London, 1661); Jenkins (1980) 282.

[77] Jenkins (1980) 282-88, McClain (2001) 97-98, Mitchell (2009) 112.

[78] *Calendar of Treasury Books* III, Part 2 (1908) 382, 384. [At the same time he was being pursued for £451 local tax, which he was alleged to have failed to forward to London; *Ibid.* 349, 523].

[79] *Commons Journal* **9**, 207-08, 215; Henning (1983) III, 728; McClain 154.

Anti-papist alarm greatly increased in 1673 with the exposure of James Duke of York, the king's brother and heir, as a catholic and his marriage to the catholic Mary of Modena. The possibility of a catholic dynasty alarmed many protestants and in the autumn an opposition 'country party' formed in the Commons, anti-court and anti-French. Williams was involved in a bill to prevent the growth of popery (as well as another on Sunday observance). He was perhaps the first Member of Parliament to attack the Duke of York openly on the floor of the House.[80]

Williams also intervened in a debate on a Conventicles Act aimed against nonconformists, to press instead for the laws against catholics to be enforced and fresh anti-catholic legislation introduced. The religious Test Acts, previously applied to dissenters, should, he said, be used against catholics, they should be barred from all civil or military office and prohibited from coming within five miles of the Court - a particular slight to the Duke of York.

Andrew Marvell, poet and Member of Parliament, wrote similarly that 'there has now for diverse years been a design carried on to change the lawful government of England into an absolute tyranny, and to convert the established Protestant religion into downright Popery'.[81] In 1678 a private Act of Parliament to settle Williams's estate was refused royal assent, at the behest of Worcester or the Duke of York, despite having passed both houses of Parliament. Worcester's aggressive harassment and imprisonment of any who dared oppose him may account for Williams's attacks in the Commons on unjust imprisonment and vexatious legal suits.[82]

The previous year George Probert, M.P. for Monmouth Borough, had died. His son Henry was passed over in favour of Worcester's son. Henry Probert resented this and joined forces with John Arnold, who had now fallen out with Worcester, and joined the opposition. Worcester had these two 'notoriously obnoxious' individuals removed from the county bench, for alleged misdemeanours in office and affronts to the Duke of York.[83] The removal of Justices of the Peace was a routine political gambit at this time in most counties, and was not peculiar to the Marquis of Worcester.

Trevor Williams's campaign against Worcester in the Commons continued. In 1678 he proposed that Chepstow castle should be disgarrisoned and demolished, 'it having always been in ill hands'. He claimed that the garrison were papists, and depositions by Chepstow people alleged a catalogue of wrongdoings by the Deputy Governor, Captain Francis Spaulding.[84] Eventually, the Duke was forced to publish a pamphlet rebutting this and other charges, though Spaulding was replaced by William Wolseley, whom Beaufort quickly elevated to the county bench .[85]

It has been noted, by A.H. Dodd, that Charles II's first parliament, having opened in fury against Presbyterians and Cromwellians, ended in fury against Catholics.[86] On 27 March 1678, Williams

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[80] *Commons Journal* **9**, 261, 263-68; Henning (1983) III, 729.

[81] *Commons Journal* **9**, 297, 300, 377; McClain (2001) 109, quoting: Marvell, A., *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitery Governement* (Amsterdam, 1677; reprinted – Farnborough, 1971).

[82] 30 Charles II, c.10. [Sir Trevor Williams's estate: rectifying an omission in the settlement on the marriage of his eldest son and enabling eldest son to make a jointure for a second wife : *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1679-80*, 21. The Bill finally passed in an amended form in July 1678: *Commons Journal* **9**, 296-97 (21 Jan. 1674); 366-67 (3 Nov. 1675); Rogers, N., *Memoirs of Monmouth-Shire* (1708; reprinted Chepstow, 1983).

[83] Jenkins (1980) 282, McClain (2001) 140; Lomas, S.C. (ed.), Historical Manuscripts Commission **71**, *Finch Manuscripts* (1922) II, 43-44.

[84] Knight (2005) 162, McClain (2001) 140-45.

[85] Somerset, H., *Letter from a Gentleman in Gloucestershire* (London, 1679), quoted by McClain, 145 (who notes a draft in the duke's hand at Badminton); *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1679-1680*, 21.

[86] Dodd (1959) 980-83.

informed the Commons that 'Mass is publicly said in several places within the county of Monmouthshire and.....one Mr Arnold is at the door ready to make the same out.' The lengthy accusation, made by Arnold and John Scudamore in the Speaker's chamber on April 12, made detailed charges against individual catholic priests, gentry and local officials. At first, Parliament was sceptical, but when it resumed in October, the full scale Popish Plot ignited.[87]

Despite Williams's anti-catholicism and his introduction of John Arnold (not an M.P.) to the Commons, his involvement in the latter's priest hunting activities during the 'Popish Plot' was relatively minor. Arnold had a rather different background to Williams.[88] At times, he seems like a character invented by Charles Dickens. His father had got into heavy debt and was forced to lease his estates around Llanthony to the Hopton family. John Arnold was born and brought up in Southwark, south London, where his father was in the King's Bench prison for debt and died there 'to defeat his creditors' as one sardonic observer put it. Arnold seems to have served in the Civil War as a parliamentary officer and post-war was personal assistant to the Sergeant at Arms in Charles I's trial. He regained his estates,and became a client of the Marquess of Worcester, who made him deputy Lord Lieutenant, Justice of the Peace, and captain in the county militia.

At this stage, Arnold was a friend of David Lewis, the Jesuit martyr, who wrote of his arrest by 'Mr John Arnold and Mr Charles Price, until then my two very good friends and acquaintances' and that Arnold had once 'shown a friendly disposition' towards him.[89]. In 1677 Arnold fell out with Worcester over the by-election following the death of Sir George Probert. His anti-catholic depositions to the House of Commons followed in the next year. He briefly became M.P for Monmouth in 1680-81 after a disputed election. When he finally managed to re-enter parliament in 1689, it was for Southwark. From his election in 1667 until 1679 Williams was a very active Member of Parliament, chairing the Committee on the Suppression of Popery. It was a time of agricultural depression and he was concerned with the wool and cloth trades and with banning the import of Irish cattle to England. He also supported the Severn fisheries. In 1674 he was nominated to a committee to consider the state of Ireland, and at one time or another served on 273 other committees.[90]

For the Parliament which sat in March 1679, Worcester tried to replace Sir Trevor Williams with his own son, but the other county member, William Morgan of Tredegar, was unwilling to see Williams excluded. Worcester's son then contested Monmouth Borough but lost to Arnold. The following year Worcester set about purging the county bench yet again of his enemies. At the end of July someone calling himself 'Cambro-Briton' (presumably Worcester) wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins that in Monmouthshire he found 'the hearts of most in the county... infatuated with fanatical instructions ... from Sir Trevor Williams ,who continues a firebrand '. The youth of the county were 'at his command to attend the drinking of barrels of ale'. Needy and indebted, he had been making unlawful parliamentary stirs unheard of since the Wars of the Roses and might behave 'as he did at

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[87] *An Abstract of several examinations and taken upon oath, in the Counties of Monmouth and Hereford and delivered unto the Honourable House of Commons, reported by Sir John Trevor* (London, 1680); McClain, 128-31, 137-41; Knight (2005) 160-61, 163-71; *Cf.* Kenyon, J.P., *The Popish Plot* (Penguin Books, 1972) 244-45.

[88] Henning (1983) I, 545-47.

[89] Kelsey, S., 'Staging the trial of Charles I', in Peacey, J.T. (ed), *Regicides and the Execution of Charles I* (Basingstoke, 2001) 78; McClain 160-62.

[90] McClain 127; *Commons Journal* **9**, 310, 439, 489-90, 494 (wool); 406-07, 414-15, 647 (Irish and Scotch cattle); 308, 493-94 (Severn fisheries).

Bergavenny in the presence of his late Majesty'. The other disturber of the county was John Arnold 'who I hope in time may suffer for his heinous proceedings'.[91]

Williams and others were excluded yet again from the Commission of Peace and replaced by Beaufort allies. In December 1680, however, Williams was chosen to carry the bill for the abolition of the court of the Council in the Marches of Wales to the House of Lords - at once a riposte to Worcester, as Lord President, and the continuation of a cause going back to the time of his father in the 1630s.[92]

Williams's final years were as turbulent as the rest of his career. Shaftesbury's fall in 1681 and the royal counter-attack on his supporters left Arnold and Williams dangerously exposed. This did not stop Arnold making attacks on the king and on Worcester (Duke of Beaufort from December 1682) which were virtually treason. He called the king a Papist and was alleged to have said 'you shall see this kingdom brought into a republic, for we shall bring the king's head to the block as the fool, the ass his father was'. Beaufort was a papist, 'as deeply concerned in the Popish Plot and as guilty of endeavouring to introduce Popery.... as any of the Jesuits that justly suffered for it.'[93]

Men had gone to the scaffold for saying less, and some have wondered whether Arnold was wholly sane by this stage. In November 1683 Beaufort struck back, and sued Williams and Arnold for *scandalum magnatum* - libelling a peer - an obsolete medieval statute revived by the House of Lords in 1676 to use against their opponents. Both were fined over £ 10,000 plus costs and, unable to pay, were sent to the King's Bench prison. The following year Beaufort's ally, the Duke of York, obtained £100,000 damages against Titus Oates on the same charge. Whilst he was imprisoned, Williams's eldest son, also Trevor Williams, died in 1686 at the age of twenty-seven.[94]

When a group of Monmouthshire gentry met at Tredegar House in August 1688 to choose candidates for the forthcoming Convention Parliament, Sir Trevor Williams (still in prison) and Thomas Morgan of Tredegar were proposed for the county seat, and John Arnold for Monmouth, but it was feared that Williams's election would trigger a lengthy dispute in the Commons, and that a 'voice on the great matter' (the Williamite settlement) would be lost. The meeting preferred a safe pair of hands. There were even stronger objections to Arnold, and Sir Charles Kemeys was suggested. Arnold had to be content with election as M.P. for Southwark.[95] In the event, both Sir Trevor and his eldest surviving son John Williams of Pontrilas sat. Williams seems to have been released from custody by early in 1689, for he was active in the Commons from April onwards. That November, a Bill was introduced to reverse the judgement given against him. Beaufort was forced to pardon him (but not Arnold) formally, but both Sir Trevor and his son lost their seats when William III dissolved parliament in 1690.

On 1 July 1692, Sir Trevor Williams 'sick in body, but of sound and perfect mind' made his will.[96] He died that December and was buried in the chancel at Llangibby church.[97] He had earlier founded a school in Llangibby village.[98]

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[91] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1680-1681*, 381 (30 July 1681).

[92] Dodd, A.H., 'Tuning the Welsh bench, 1680', *National Library of Wales Journal* **6** (1949-50) 249-59; *Commons Journal* **9**, 683; McClain 159.

[93] Henning (1983) I, 546.

[94] Historical Manuscripts Commission, 12th Report; *Marquess of Worcester's Papers* IX, 88; McClain 160-62; Kenyon (1972) 246, *Commons Journal* **10**, 292 [The fines were £10,000 (Williams) and £10,100 (Arnold). With costs the total may have been in the region of £20,000, as given in some sources.]

[95] NLW, Kemeys Tynte Deed **2**, C.131 (ending 'burn this letter').

[96] NLW, Will LL 1693-93.

[97] For his memorial inscription, and that of his wife Elizabeth, see Bradney, *op. cit.* Vol. 3 : Part 1 (*Hundred of Usk*) 110-11.

Post Mortem

Was Sir Trevor Williams's posthumous reputation as an unscrupulous weathercock deserved? His devious and histrionic personality and reputation for underhand dealing earned him an impressive collection of adverse reports, but his wartime career can best be understood by comparison with those of some of his allies. Johnson's title 'Bussey Mansell ... political survivalist', and comment that 'Mansell's principal concern was ... political survival' are equally applicable to Williams.[99] His Herefordshire ally Robert Kyrle was originally a parliamentarian, probably because of his links with Gloucester, where his father was resident. He changed sides twice, once betraying Monmouth by an elaborate plot in the process [100]

It is possible though to see some consistency in Williams's views. He was one of a group of moderate loyalists who favoured a negotiated settlement with the king. He also retained his father's loyalty to a pre-Laudian reformed Anglican church. Judith Maltby has shown how 'prayer book protestants', those who were committed to the reformed liturgy and episcopacy out of sincere belief and not as a matter of political expediency, have been marginalized or ignored by modern historians.[101] Whilst both catholic recusants and puritan divines generated bodies of source material for sympathetic historians, similar material on the established church can be surprisingly scarce in areas like South Wales where early parish records are scanty.

Williams's family had spent three generations establishing themselves in the county, but their position was far from secure in the face of the dominant Worcester catholic faction on the one hand, and local religious radicals and their Gloucester allies on the other. Ronald Hutton's verdict on Williams and his kind is a just one: 'They acted as individuals, to salvage their fortunes from the collapse of the royal cause. But they also acted as leaders, to protect their communities from the demands of men who would waste their resources in prolonging a fruitless war and from the destruction consequent upon a hopeless resistance'.[102]

Trevor Williams's post-Restoration career was mainly concerned with national politics, but the same constants can be seen. His estates were now secure, and he was a respected member of the House of Commons, chosen for example by his fellow members for the vote of thanks to the preacher of a sermon to the House on the anniversary of the execution of Charles I.[103] Sadly, his demons were still there, anti-catholic, anti-Irish, anti-Worcester. The Popish Plot was not wholly of his making, but the Iago-like figure of Arnold involved them both in ruin once their protector Shaftesbury fell.

Abbreviations:

BL: British Library.
NLW: National Library of Wales.

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[98] Jones, J.G., 'Language, literature and education', *Gwent County History*, op. cit. **3**, 301.

[99] Johnson (1976) 9.

[100] Newman (1981) 219 [845], Knight (2005) 78.

[101] Maltby, J., *Prayer Book and People in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1998) 1-19.

[102] Hutton (2003) 189.

[103] *Commons Journal* **9**, 301.

CASTLE STREET CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY, 1697-1760.

By Noel Gibbard.

Before the monarchy was restored in 1660, William Wroth (1576-1641) and Walter Cradock (1610?-1659), had established Puritanism in Gwent.[1] They had formed the first Puritan cause at Llanvaches in 1639, the first of many gathered churches that sprang up from 1639 until 1660, established, as the Puritans claimed, on the New Testament pattern. The work prospered so much that Walter Cradock was able to say in 1646:

> I have observed and seen in the mountains of Wales the most glorious work that ever I saw in Britain, unless it were in London; the Gospel has run over the mountains between Brecknockshire and Monmouthshire, as the fire in the thatch.[2]

When Charles II came to the throne a year after Cradock's death, the authority of the monarch and Book of Common Prayer was restored, and the hopes of the Puritans were shattered. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, demanded commitment to everything in the Book of Common Prayer. The Act imposed an impossible condition on the conscience of the vast majority of the Puritan clergy. The Puritans faced a crisis, because they knew that disobedience meant ejection. The list of the ejected included those who had been ejected before 1662, because the Act was the culmination of two years opposition to the Puritans. Eight from Gwent were ejected before 1662, and two for that year. As a result of the Ejection, Puritanism developed into Nonconformity.

The Act of Toleration was followed by two other significant acts. The Conventicle Act of 1664 made it illegal for five or more person to meet for worship that was not in accordance with the liturgy of the Church of England. The Five Mile Act, of 1665, was aimed at the ejected clergy. If any of them refused to take an oath of obedience to church and state, they were not allowed to come within five miles of any place in which they had ministered. This was an attempt to separate the ministers from their people.

Ministers and their people continued to worship. One of the ejected, Thomas Barnes, a Congregationalist/Independent developed the work in Llanvaches-Magor-Newport area, while Henry Walter, another Congregationalist, and one of the ejected, concentrated on the Mynyddislwyn area.[3] Llanwenarth was an important Baptist centre. During the period from 1662 to 1689, many of the Baptists and Independents in Gwent, worshipped together. That was the case in Mynyddislwyn and Llanvaches districts, but the Baptists at Llanwenarth were divided regarding this matter. For a brief period in 1672, with the introduction of the Declaration of Indulgence, licenses were granted to

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[1] For William Wroth and Walter Cradock, *see* Lloyd, J.E. and Jenkins, R. (eds.), *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, London, 1959) hereafter *DWB*. For Cradock, *see* also Nuttall, G.F., *The Welsh Saints* (Cardiff, 1957), Jones, R.T., 'Pulpud Llanfaches', *Y Cofiadur* (1990) and Gibbard, N., *A New Testament Saint* (Evangelical Library of Wales Lecture, 1976).

[2] Charles, T., *The Works of the late Rev. Walter Cradock* (Chester, 1800) 380-1.

[3] For the ten, *see* Jones, R.T., Owens, B.G. and Barnes, T., 'Angydffurfwyr Cymru', *Y Cofiadur* (1962) 11-2. For the spread of Nonconformity in Monmouthshire, *see* Rees, T., *History of Protestant Nonconformity* (London, 1883) 189-90. Nicholas Billingsley, ejected from Webley, taught a free school in Abergavenny for a brief period. *See* Palmer, *Nonconformist Memorial* (1775) 38.

ministers and nonconformist gatherings, and the only license granted to Independents in the Abergavenny area was the one to worship in the house of John Watkins, in Llanwenarth, the Baptist stronghold.[4]

It is known that Henry Maurice was in Abergavenny in 1672, the year that licenses were granted. He had, initially conformed, but joined the Nonconformists before 1671, when he was rector of Church Stretton. He became pastor to the Breconshire church, with members scattered all over the county. He also visited Merthyr Tydvil, and the group of Abergavenny area, were regarded as a branch of the church in Breconshire. Henry Maurice is also mentioned in connection with Abergavenny in 1681. On 5 October 1681, the church at Broadmead, Bristol, received a member from Abergavenny 'by letter from the church under the care of Mr. Hen. Maurice'.[5]

This is significant, because Broadmead was a Baptist cause, and reveals Henry Maurice's readiness to acknowledge the Baptists as brothers. It is a reminder of the close link between the Nonconformists of southeast Wales and Bristol, and provides confirmation that the Independents still worshipped in Abergavenny in the early eighties of the seventeenth century. Henry Maurice died in 1682, and was buried in St Mary's Church, Abergavenny.[6] As a result of the Toleration Act of 1689, it was possible to build chapels, but the Nonconformists were reluctant to do so.

Thomas Rees quotes Edmund Jones, of the Tranch, Gwent, who wrote in 1742, over fifty years after the toleration Act:

> 'In Monmnouthshire, which is the county I was born and live in, we have seven congregations, and about twenty places in which to preach and six Anabaptist congregations, and most of these meetings are in the western side of the county.'[7]

He also added that there were Methodist societies in the county. The reference to 'congregations' could mean that they had chapel buildings, but, most probably the 'places to preach' would be in homes of members or friends. Bradney gives the date of the first Independent chapel at Abergavenny as 1688.[8] It was in Cross Street, on the corner of Monk Street, and according to him the worshippers moved to a building in Castle Street in 1692, but the date 1688 would be before the act of Toleration came into force.

Bradney claims that 'this continued as such until 1792 when the present chapel was built'.[9] Another source gives the date of the first chapel as 1690, and Castle Street as 1707. A later minister of the church says, 'It was built in the year 1705 by John Bonner a private Christian of this place'.[10]

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[4] Turner, G.L., *Original Records of Nonconformity* (1911) vol. 2, 1220. The Baptists had three places registered in Abergavenny (*ibid.*, 1226).

[5] Davies, I., 'Dyddiau Cynnar Annibyniaeth ym Mrycheiniog a Maesyfed', *Y Cofiadur* (1946) 62 and Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints*, 8-12. Thomas Richards deals with Henry Maurice's diary of 1775 in *Wales under the Indulgence* (National Eisteddfod Association, 1928) chap. 13.

[6] Gwent Record Office (hereafter GRO), Abergavenny parish register: 'Henricus Morriss. Sepult fuit in templo secundo die Augusti 1682'.

[7] Rees (1883) 362; They did not spring up rapidly as claimed by Clark, A., *The Story of Monmouthshire* (Llandybie, 1962) vol. 1, 169.

[8] Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 2a The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 1)* (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1906, reprinted by Academy Books, 1991) 174.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Rees, T., *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru* (Liverpool, 1871) vol. 1, 41 gives the date as 1707, as does Owen, E.V., *250 Years, The Story of Castle Street Congregational Church, Abergavenny* (Abergavenny, n.d.) 7. A later minister gives the date as 1705 in *Y Cofiadur* (1982) 20.

Ministers

The first settled minister at Abergavenny was *Roger Griffith(s)*. He received financial aid from London funds to be educated at Bethnal Green, England and Utrecht, and he also received grants during his ministry at Abergavenny. The last recorded grant was for 1701-2, so it seems that he did not leave Abergavenny in 1699, as suggested by Bradney.[11] Three future Nonconformist Academy tutors, received their education with Roger Griffith, Samuel Jones (Tewksebury); William Evans, partly educated with Griffith (Carmarthen), and Thomas Perrott Carmarthen).[12] During 1698-9, Roger Griffith revealed his sympathy with the Church of England, and eventually conformed. At the time of his leaving, the church had suffered numerically. There were only fourteen persons present at his last communion service; two mentioned by name, were Samuel Rogers and Charles Morgan; two from the town; five students, and five soldiers.[13]

A *Mr Evans* ministered to the church for an unknown period of time, and much help was also received from John Weaver, Hereford, who was one of the ejected clergy. Like Walter Cradock, Vavasor Powell, and others, he had great kindness shown him by the Harley family of Brampton Bryan.[14] *Thomas Cole* was an Englishman, and ministered to a congregation that contained a few monoglot Welshmen.[15] Early, therefore, in the eighteenth century, the town, Abergavenny, like Carmarthen in West Wales, had to grapple with the language problem. The first entry by Thomas Cole in the church registers is in 1712, and the last in 1718. He moved to Gloucester, where the young George Whitfield used to hear him preaching. When he emerged as a revivalist he gained the support of Thomas Cole.[16]

Dr May was another Englishman that ministered at Abergavenny. The call to the church was extended to him, 24 August 1718, and he was ordained in 1719. In 1720-1, he received a grant from the Presbyterian Board because of the 'Difficulties the congregation,' but no further explanation was given. His last baptism was on 20 October 1722. Dr May, High Street, died 17 March 1722/3 and was buried at St Mary's Church.[17]

Fowler Walker was a minister at Bridgenorth when called to Abergavenny, and was the third Englishman to minister to the Congregationalists/Independents in the town. His call was dated 3 November 1723, but he did not commence his ministry until 1724. He died in 1753 and not in 1751 as claimed by some authorities.[18] One of his sons recorded the date of his father's death, 'Died at Aby

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[11] Bradney, *The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 1)* 174 says that Griffith left in 1699, but he received a grant from the Presbyterian Board for 1701-2 (Dr Williams's Library, London, Presbyterian Board, f. 98; MS 54/1/15 and 18). *See* also Davies, D.E., *Hoff Ddysgedig Nyth* (Swansea, 1976) 19-20 and Owen, G.D., *Ysgolion a Cholegau yr Annibynwyr* (Undeb yr Annibynwyr Cymraeg, 1939) 9-10.

[12] Dr Williams's Library, Wilson MSS.

[13] Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, vol. 1, 42. Jenkins, G.H, *Religion, Literature and Society*, 248-9 refers to Samuel Rogers as a bookseller and Presbyterian. Roger Griffith was made archdeacon of Brecon. He died in 1708, and was buried in St Mary's Church, Abergavenny (*DWB*).

[14] *Y Cofiadur* (1962) 87-9; Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints*, 8-12; GRO RG/4/1241; Dr Williams's Library, Presbyterian Board, f. 6, 382. [The microfilm in the Gwent Record Office is a copy of that in the National Archives, Kew].

[15] Thomas Cole was a 'candidate for the ministry' in 1702 (Dr Williams's Library, Congregational Fund, 6 July 1702); Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, 48.

[16] Dallimore, A., *George Whitfield* (Banner of Truth, 1970), vol. 1, 49, 374.

[17] GRO, RG/4/1241; Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, vol. 1, 48; Abergavenny parish register.

[18] It was in his time that, in 1744, Jenkin Morgan, chandler, of Abergavenny, gave the interest on property he held at Llanigon, Breconshire, in trust 'to the dissenting Minister of Abergavenny Meeting House' [National Library of Wales, Minor Deposit 606B].

Friday 2 feby 1753 1/2past 4 p.m.' An entry in the burial register of St Mary's reads, 2 February 1753, 'Died Mr Fowler Walker Rother street and he was buried on the 8th of that month'.[19]

The church gave a call to *David Jardine*, Denbigh, at the beginning of 1752.[20] He was the son of James Jardine, minister at Denbigh, north Wales, and his mother was the daughter of Thomas Baddy, a former minister in that town. David Jardine married the daughter of Lewis Jones, a Nonconformist minister at Bridgend, Glamorgan. David Jardine became the president of the newly formed nonconformist academy at Abergavenny in 1757, but continued his ministry in the church until his death in 1766.[21]

Families

A number of well-to-do families belonged to the Congregational church. John Bonner has already been mentioned in connection with the building of the church in 1705. Other early members of the church were Elizabeth Bonner, 7 October 1721; Ann Bonner, 10 February 1724/5, and Mrs Katherine Bonner, 12 July 1728. There are references also to another daughter of John Bonner, Emma, and son, John, as members.[22]

Fowler Walker, the minister, married into the Bonner family. His first wife was Martha, the daughter of James Grier, Linen Draper, Birmingham. She died in April 1724, and Fowler Walker married Anne Bonner, daughter of John Bonner, mercer, 1 October 1728. She was descended on her maternal side from George Gunter, the Priory, Abergavenny. The minister and his first wife, lost three of their children in infancy (probably all their children). There were ten children from the second marriage, five of whom died in infancy.[23]

The five that lived were Anne, Fowler, Elizabeth, Thomas and John. Fowler Walker, the father, benefited socially and financially by his marriage, and owned some property at Tir-y-graig, parish Goytre(Goetre). Fowler, the son, was an attorney, and both John and Thomas travelled overseas. John died abroad, and Thomas died at sea during a voyage from Barbados. Many of the children benefited from the wills of some of the Bonner family.[24] Fowler Walker, and one of his friends, also benefited from the wills of the husband and wife, James and Ann Jones, members of the congregation. The two inherited livestock, corn grain, 'Implements of Husbandry' and 'Also all my Tools, Utensills and Implements belonging to my Trade of Hair Bleacher'; certain specified items in the Star and Garter were to be sold and debts paid.[25]

Other early members were William and Jane Dinwoodie. They are included in Thomas Cole's list of members in 1712, and their names are found until William's death in 1736 and that of Jane in

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[19] The date 1751 is wrongly given by Bradney, *The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 1)* 174 and Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, vol. 1, 48, followed by Owen, *250 Years*, 11. The date 1753 is given by his son (GRO, D.43.3480, 3943) and in Abergavenny parish register.

[20] GRO, RG/4/1241; Stephens, T., *Album Aberhonddu* (Merthyr, 1898) 8; Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, vol. 1, 49. For details of his background in Denbigh, *see* Jones, R.T., 'Gweinidogion Ymneilltuol Dinbych yn y Ddeunawed Ganrif', *Y Cofiadur* (1957).

[21] Rees, *Hanes Eglwysi Annibynol Cymru*, vol. 1, 49.

[22] GRO, RG/4/1241; D43.3480, 3482.

[23] *Ibid.*, D43.3480, 3943. Fowler Walker, jun., refers to the death of his mother: 'January 1 1789 My Mother departed this life suddenly being as well that Day as Usal in the 88 year of her age was Buryd the 6 in my Fathers grave the shock to me was great' (D43.3943).

[24] *Ibid.*, D43/46/15 and 16, will of Elizabeth Bonner, widow, made in 1753, proved in 1763; wills of Catherine Bonner, 1784 and Eunice Bonner, 1782 (D.43.3474).

[25] *Ibid.*, Gabb collection, D.591.17.11.

1741.[26] Two of the children, Jane and John, were baptized by Thomas Cole, and another son, Robert, was received into membership 7 February 1728/9, but 'absented' is given to his name in 1742. William and John, the sons of Robert and Catherine Dinwoodie, were baptized by Fowler Walker.[27]

William Dinwoodie was of Tŷ Du, Llantilio Pertholey (Llandeilo Bertholau), 'gent'. His social standing is evident from his will, summarized below:[28]

> Mess[uage] Cross Street, Butcher Street with the brewhouse, stable (to wife Jane); Ty Du, Llantilio Pertholey, 'in our tenure', Angel Inn, Abergavenny, with malthouse, stable (to son Robert). Mess. Parish Gwer[ne]s[n]ey: leasehold mess. from Chapter Llandaff near Caerwent (to sons Robert and John).
> Estates p[arish] Llangatock, made over to John Dinwoodie and mortgage of £60 due on them to Charles Hawkins, to be paid by John.
> Household goods were divided between the children.

Robert, the son, is described as a 'Doctor of Physick'. He married Katherine Shipway, parish Redburrough, Gloucestershire. They moved to Whitchurch, Salop, and the son and heir was William Dinwoodie, 'gent', Gloucester.[29] When the Dissenting Deputies wanted a correspondent in Wales, they chose Robert Dinwoodie.[30] Other well-known families were the Bagehotts and the Listers, who were prominent in the church before 1712. Robert Lister is described as a 'gent'. John Watkins, grocer, married Jane, the daughter of William and Jane Dinwoodie. John Watkins was one of the leaders in the church. There were a few 'gents' in the church, some 'yeomen' and a sprinkling of artisans, such as 'smith', 'shoemaker', 'tanner' and 'hatter'.[31]

Church life and witness

The first three ministers were English speaking, and even David Jardine, although born in Denbigh, had very little Welsh. All the ministers, apart from Dr May, were supported by the congregation. It is very difficult to estimate the membership of the church. John Evans, c.1715, gives the number as 280, but the list in the church register for 1715 is 54. Possibly, John Evans was referring to Abergavenny and district, including the centres for preaching. And, also, there were regular hearers, who were not members, and John Evans could have included them. The figures should be treated with care, bearing in mind also, that they were corrected during a period of roughly ten years.[32]

During Fowler Walker's ministry, there was a marked increase in Baptisms and the work made considerable advance. The practice of infant baptism made the children an integral part of the church. As they grew up they would be regularly catechized, and not the children only, but those that were much older. One list of catechists is made up of young ones from seven to twenty years of age.

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[26] *Ibid.*, RG/4/1241. A clock, still seen in the church, was 'presented by William Dinwoodie, Esq., 1709', *see* Owen, *250 Years*, 8.

[27] *Ibid.*, RG/4/1241.

[28] The National Archives (Public Record Office) hereafter TNA (PRO) PROB 11/682; GRO, D.591.46.82.

[29] GRO, Gabb collection, D.591.46/80, 81, 87.

[30] Guildhall Library, London, Dissenting Deputies' minutes, 1 Sept. 1738. The deputies were made up of 21 members, representing Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists from London. They had representatives in the country. Their main work was to promote the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. For a detailed study, *see* Manning, Lord B., *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (Cambridge, 1952).

[31] GRO, RG/4/1241. It is possible that John Watkins, mentioned in the list, was the person whose home was licensed for worship in 1672.

[32] GRO, RG/4/1241; John Evans List, 'Monmouth', microfilm, Dr Williams's Library.

Probably Fowler Walker catechized in English, and he used Isaac Watts's Catechism. A Welsh version was published in 1741, but it is not known whether it was used in the church.[33]

Membership was taken seriously. When received into the church, a person would be examined concerning his spiritual experience, belief and willingness to be committed to the church. When Catherine Bonner was accepted as a member, she was asked eleven questions. The questions included the following: [question 2] 'What reasons have you to hope that a work of Grace is begun in your soul & by what means whare you first awaken'd to a sence of Duty'. [question 9] 'Have you any scruple in your mind with Respect to the Validity of that Baptism you received in Infancy.' Question 2, and one or two others, are quite personal. It is evident that not all the dissenters could be described as dry. They could emphasize the experiential aspect of religion.

Question 9 safeguarded one of the denominators of the Congregationalists. The questions are set in a Trinitarian context. A note was pinned to the list of questions, 'Many More were added in Regard of Discipline they are lost the Questions are plain to the wekest.' (sic)[34]

When a person from another congregational church applied for membership, that person had to produce a letter of commendation. If the receiving church were unhappy, the application would be postponed. Such was the case with a Richard Davids:

> May.6.1713. And wheras also A letter of Mr Roger Williams recomending Richard Davids to the Comunion of our Church was this day read in in the presence of the Church, It was agreed by the brethren of the Church that (Considering some Reasons taken from Richard Davids being so long a stranger to Mr Williams (as he acknowledged in his said letter) and also being willing to enquire farther into his Caracter, for the Security and honour of the Gospell) the Reception of the said Richard Davids shall be for a while delay'd.[35]

There was a further inquiry and the applicant was not accepted.

There are references to the congregation supporting the ministers, and there were some wealthy members in the church. It is a surprise, therefore, to read of financial support being received from outside. Fowler Walker, even, was supported by three funds. He received £25 from the Congregational Fund from 1738 until 1752; over 50 from the Presbyterian Board, and two gifts of 3 from Lewin's Mead. It was the policy of the Presbyterian Board not to give grants to ministers who earned 30 pounds or more p.a.[36] Many of the Fowler family travelled in Britain and overseas. John Walker died at sea in 1761, but nothing is known of his financial situation. There is information concerning Thomas Fowler who died in Barbadoes in 1784. He provided substantial sums of money for his mother, Ann, his brother Fowler, and his sisters, Ann Smith, and Elizabeth Fowler. The residue and remainder of his estate were divided equally between his brother and sisters.[37]

Other members of the family received grants from different funds, including Anne Walker, widow of Fowler Walker. A Mary Walker is also mentioned, listed in Abergavenny, once, Radnorshire, once, and Walsall a number of times. Fowler Walker was born in Walsall, but, in spite of the references to Abergavenny and Walsall, it is not possible to clearly identify Mary Walker.[38] John and Thomas

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[33] There is a list for 1743, but there is a reference to catechizing in 1714.

[34] GRO, D.43.3943.

[35] *Ibid.* RG/4/1241.

[36] Congregational fund, vol. 4: Presbyterian Board, vol. 3; Lewin's Mead, Bristol Archives, 6687 (3); 'General rules settled', vol. 3.

[37] GRO, D.43.3486. Fowler Walker, jun., travelled for the sake of his health and visited the 'Hot wels' at Bath (D.43.3943).

Walker were allowed £10 each to enable them to be apprenticed to sea captains, but the money could not be applied because both of them were away at the time:[39]

> Whereas as the sd Jno Walker & Thos Walker have been putt out as apprentices to Sea Captains & the sd mo^{r} & apprentices are all now in Foreign parts by reason thereof the sd Indrs of apprenticeship cannot now be produced. It is therefore ordered that the Treasurer pay the sd £20 so Mead ordered to be pd for the putting out of apprentices the sd Jno & Thos Walker to their mother upon her retr.

Discipline

Matters of Church discipline were dealt with in the church meeting, 'the Church assembled together.' Cases of discipline included 'drunkenness','absenting from services without sufficient reason', 'irregular marriage' and disorderly walking.'[40] First of all, the offender would be visited by a deacon or church member, and if the response was unsatisfactory, the matter would be taken to the church. Offenders were dealt with firmly and yet graciously.

When there were urgent needs, the church would be called together for a day of prayer and fasting. The reasons for such a call included 'afflictive circumstances of a member', 'the sins of the nation' and the needs of 'the Youth of the Nation.' During Queen Anne's reign, the Dissenters were afraid that they would lose some of the privileges granted to them by the Act of Toleration. The Church at Abergavenny arranged a day of prayer, 31 August 1713, for 'The preservation of the Truth and power of Religion and peace in these Nations, & to that End, God's overRuling the present Election for the Ensuing Parliament, and directing their Counsells when the shall meet'.[41]

The Schism Act of 1714 prohibited Dissenters from being schoolmasters and teachers, but the Queen died on 1 August of that year, the day that the Act was to be enforced. It was a Sunday, and there was much rejoicing in Dissenting congregations throughout the land. The Whigs came into power and finally buried the Act in 1719.

Wider issues

It was not always easy to settle matters internally. This was especially true if legal procedures were involved. A William David left one hundred pounds for the church, but the heir at law refused to pay the sum to the trustees. Fowler Walker appealed for help to the Dissenting Deputies, well known to him and Robert Dinwoodie, one of their country representatives. The Deputies made it clear that the heir at law was obliged to pay the money, and if he did not, an approach would be made to the Attorney General. Another letter stated that the case was within 'the statute of Mortmain', 'which case was sent down to Mr Walker with advice to compromise ye affair in ye best manner that could be which by a Ltre since receed from Mr Walker appears to know about.'[42]

There were strong feelings in Gwent concerning the doctrine of baptism. Miles Harries, Blaenau, was a staunch Baptist, while Edmund Jones, Pontypool, was an equally staunch paedobaptist.[43] Such was the zeal on both sides that a meeting was arranged to discuss the doctrine. It was agreed that they

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[38] Dr Williams's Library, Dr Williams's trustees, general meetings, 11 Jan. 1755; 'Society for the Relief of the Widows and Children of poor Dissenting Ministers', OD3, contains the first reference to Anne and Mary Walker, 4 April 1753. It is the only reference to Anne Walker, the other references are to Mary Walker.

[39] Dr Williams's Library, OD3, 7 April 1756.

[40] GRO, RG/4/124.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Guildhall Library, London, Dissenting deputies' minutes, 30 Oct. 1745, 284.

[43] Miles Harries (Miles Harri) was a Baptist minister and kept a preparatory school at Trosnant. *See* Thomas, J., *Hanes y Bedyddwyr* (Carmarthen, 1778) 241, 243. For Edmund Jones (1702-93) *see DWB*.

should be more careful in criticizing each other, that they should preserve each other's reputation and give the glory to God.[44] Five ministers attested the agreement.[45] The first on the list of witnesses is Fowler Walker, but it was Walker himself that troubled the waters in 1732. He published a work, *A Defence of Infant Baptism Wherein Arguments For it from Scripture, Reason, and Antiquity are briefly offer'd.* A member of Walker's congregation translated the work into Welsh. David Rees, Limehouse, London, responded in a letter to Fowler Walker that was published in 1734, *Infant Baptism, No Institution of Christ.*[46]

There were tensions also between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It is true that 'In Restoration Wales Roman Catholicism entered its sunset years', but many gentry in Gwent 'resolutely sustained the old faith.'[47] None of the burgesses of Abergavenny signed the Oath of Allegiance in 1689, because, probably, of the influence of the Gunters, and the Vaughans near by.[48] Events of 1715 and 1745 renewed fears of Roman Catholicism, religiously and politically. The Dissenting Deputies arranged for.[49]

> Dr Avery to purchase as many books exposing popery as he shall think fitt and send them into the country where he thinks they may do good. Mr Walker of Abergavenny having intimated in a Ltre to the Dr of the usefulness of such Books in the Country particularly in Monmouthshire.
> No further details were given

The Congregational church at Abergavenny was glad to welcome the nonconformist academy to the town in 1757. There had been much trouble at the Carmarthen Academy because of matters of discipline and doctrine.[50] The result was the opening of another academy at Abergavenny, more orthodox doctrinally than the academy at Carmarthen. A committee had recommended him to the Congregational Board, and David Jardine was appointed president. A minute of 28 February 1757 reads:[51]

> Nem con to the Report of the Committee that Mr Jardine be Tutor of an Academy in Wales & that Mr Hall be desired to acquaint him of it. Ordered Mr Jardine Tutor in Wales 12mo £10.

Three students moved from Carmarthen to Abergavenny, and in March 1757, each of the five students there received a grant of eight pounds. From 1757 until Jardine's death in 1766, about thirty students were educated at the Academy. The curriculum was basically the same as that in Carmarthen, with

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[44] Rees, T., *HPN*, 271; Thomas, J., *Hanes y Bedyddwyr*, 239-40. The Baptist group consisted of Morgan Griffiths, Hengoed, and John Harry and Miles Harri, both of Blaenau Gwent. The Paedobaptists were David Williams, Daniel Rogers and Edmund Jones, all from Pen-y-main, and James Davies, Evan John and Jenkin Lewis, all from Merthyr.

[45] The were: Thomas Morgan, Llanwrtyd; Rees Davies, Hanover; Rice Proteroe, Cardiff, and Thomas Lewis, later of Llanharan.

[46] Matthews, H., 'David Rees, Limehouse', *Trafodion Cymdeithas Hanes Bedyddwyr Cymru* (1983).

[47] Jenkins, G.H., *Literature, Religion and Society in Wales, 1660-1730* (Cardiff, 1978) 189. For Wales in general see section 5 of Jones, E.G., *Cymru a'r Hen Ffydd* (Cardiff, 1951) 70.

[48] Richards, T., *Piwritaniaeth a Pholitics* (Wrexham, 1927) 15-6.

[49] Dissenting Deputies Minutes, 30 Oct. 1745, 284. Later, in 1678, they were ugly scenes as Protestants and Roman Catholics clashed. *See* Jenkins, G.H., *The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642-1780* (Oxford University Press, 1993) 143-4.

[50] Owen, G.D., *Ysgolion a Cholegau yr Annibynwyr*, 31-6; Thomas, I., 'Y Gronfa Gynulleidfaol a Chymru', *Y Cofiadur* (1958). This gives the correct date (1757), but Davies, D.E., *Hoff Ddysgedig Nyth*, 69, still gives 1754.

[51] Dissenting Deputies Minutes, 7 March 1957

an emphasis on the classics, theology, sermon preparation, history of religion and astronomy. Some of the students had to be helped with their English because they were monoglot Welshmen.[52] The church benefited much from the presence of the students, and other areas in the county were also helped by their visits. Furthermore, the town and county benefited from the annual day of the Academy, when they were given an opportunity to hear the most prominent preachers in Wales. When Jardine died, his assistant, Benjamin Davies, became president.[53]

Appendix 1: **Selections from the Church Records held on microfilm in the National Archives and the Gwent Record Office (as RG4/1241).**

The Names of those that have joined themselves to the Church, Either at, or since it's Constitution drawn up apr: [April] 16th 1762.

Wm Harrison mort [dead]
Tho: Steevens
Robt. Bagehot m
Willm. Upton m
David David
John Bonner
John Evans m
David Rees
Magd. Williams
Sarah Steevens
Mary Bagehott m
Margtt. Bagehott m
Isabel Rogers
Kater. Waters m
Eliz. Waters now Jones
Mary waters m
Joan waters
Winifred vertey
Alice Price m
Ann Jenkins
Frances Arnold
Ann Devereux
Susan Bage
Mary Edwards
Mary Powel
Eliz: Edwards
John Edwards
Jane Dinwoody
Wm. Dinwoody
Robt Lister

Tabitha Taylor
m Philip Williams. Admitted July 13. 1712
Richard Morgan adm: Aug. 1712
William Beck adm: Sept. 1712
Thomas Bagehot all ad. Janry the 10/1712
Mary Price
m David Frew
Elizabeth Bonner adm: May 9. 1713
Margett Lewis adm: Novr. 14. 1713
Hannah Morgan adm: Novr. 14. 1713
Eliza: Cole adm: Novr. 14. 1713
Morgan adm:
Tho: Rogers adm: May 8th . 1714
Joshua Jones adm: Decr 1714
Marke McGeorge:
Jno. Evans Jno. Roberts
Tho: Evans Eliz: Stevens No 54

Members admitted by Dr. H. May
Eliza: Rogers Decemr: 17: 1718
Wm Jenkins Decemr: 17: 1718
Eliza: Tanner May 2 1719

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[52] Owen, *Ysgolion a Cholegau yr Annibynwyr*, 98-9.
[53] For Benjamin Davies (?1739-1817) *see DWB*.

Jane Lister
Tho: David
Joseph Bowcher
Richard Roberts
Ann Tanner
Jonath. Taylor m
Tho: Brown
Anne Edwards No. 38

Appendix 2: **Church Discipline : Examples of Charges brought against members.**
The three charges brought against Richard David, reveal some of the deep concerns of the church. They were, drunkenness, dishonesty in dealing with the world, and attending the Church of England:

Aprill.12.1713. Notice being given yesterday to the Xch assembled that our Sister Mary Edwards would this day appear before the Xch, to answer to whatever should by any of the Church be alledg'd against her in order to Continue her Suspension from the Lord's Supper, she accordingly appear'd this day before the Xch, and no body undertaking to Exhibit a Charge against her she now Stands Clear.
May ye 9th.1713. Brother Joseph Boucher being charg'd with his Irregular Marriage, made a Confession of his Sin therein, and profest his hearty humiliation and Repentance for it, to ye Satisfaction of the Church, notwithstanding he was desir'd to abstain from sitting down at the Lord's Table too morrow, for ye vindicating the honour of the Gospell
July 11th.1713. Richd David this Day appeared at our meeting appointed before the Lord's Supper, the Assembly consisting of the Pastor, Brother Lister, David David, Dav'd Frew, Thomas David Richard Morgan, & the Sisters. Richard David was informed of these following reports concerning him,
First that he was given to drinking, so as to be overcome in Drink.
Secondly, that he was not Square & upright in his Dealings in the World.
Thirdly, that being askt by Sister Tanner, why he had in some Instance, con- formed to the Church of England, he had said to her, that he must also have suffered Persecution. [there were further questions, and]: In conclusion it has now been signifyed to Richd David, that he cannot be received into our comunion, till further Enquiry be made into his case as above represented, wch Conclusion, has been now signifyed to him

Appendix 3: **Day of Fasting.**
May 20th 1725 was appointed a Fast for the humbling ourselves before God for our National, Family, Personal & Church sins & to implore the Divine Favour that God might be intreated to bless his own ordinances, that he wou'd affor'd his Presence with & give success to Prayer, reading, Preaching, Catechising & the sacraments that They may be useful to all those good ends for which he hath appointed Them, that conversion work may be restor'd, the rising Generation wrought upon, those under conviction may be savingly enlightened and chang'd, those that have given Themselves up to God may walk closely with him watch more carrefully over Themselves & one another, that Those who are drawnback may be made sensible of their sins, humbled and reform'd, & that the church may br God directed how to carry it towards Them, as also that a spirit of Love & Peace may dwell in thje Hearts of all the members, & that all God' Providences towards this church may work together for Good, & be so improv'd that God may delight to do us Good. It was agreed to by the Brethren that the Fast which hath heretofore been kep't Quarterly shall henceforth be kept Monthly.

***Appendix IV: B*aptisms of the Children of Fowler and Ann Walker .**
[From the microfilm of the church register unless otherwise stated]

Feby ye 6th.1729-30. Mr Siddon of Hereford baptiz'd John the son of Anne & Fowler Walker born Janry ye 9th at ? past twelve at night died April ye 12th 1730

[Fowler Walker, junior, gives birth as Jany 10th 1729/30 Twenty Minutes before one in the morning, [RO, D43.3480]

Novr 28th 1730 Anne ye Daughter of Fowler Walker & Anne Walker was born about a quarter before nine in the morning, baptiz'd by Mr Siddon of Hereford Decr ye 17 following.

March ye 10th 1731/32 I Baptiz'd my Son Fowler second Son of Fowler & Anne fowler, born Febry ye 18th at ten Minutes past one in the Morning.

March ye 2d. 1732/3. Elizabeth Walker 2d. Daughter of Fowler & Anne Walker was born about ten in the evening baptiz'd Aprill ye 13th by her Father.

[Fowler Walker, junior, gives birth as '3 Minutes past nine at night, GRO, D43. 3480]

March 27th 1734 Mary 3d Daughter of Fowler & Anne Walker was born about half and Hour after six in the Morning baptiz'd Aprill ye 11th by the Revd Mr. Rice Price of Tinton in Glamorganshire. dy'd Octr 13th following.

March 17th 1734-5. Eunice fourth Daughter of Fowler & Anne Walker was born about three a clock in the Afternoon was baptiz'd by her Father Aprill the 9th 1735. dy'd June the 3d following.

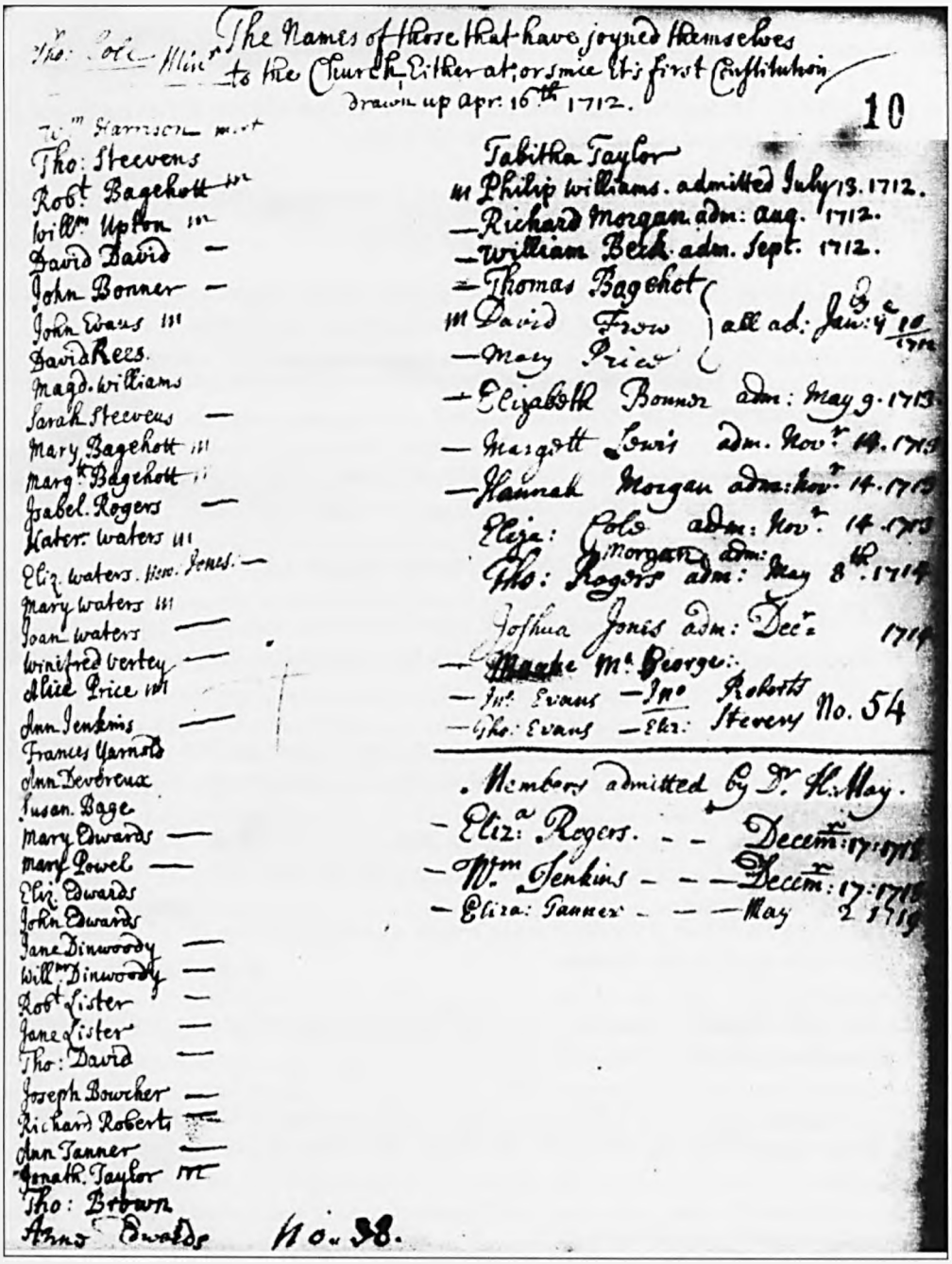
May 29th 1736. Thomas 3d Son of Fowler & Anne Walker was born about 3.Qurs after 7. in the Morning baptiz'd by his Father June 17th. Following, dy'd 24th of June 1736.

June 8th. Baptiz'd John 4th Son of Fowler & Anne Walker who was born May 15th 1738. About twenty Minutes past four a clock in the afternoon.

Septemr. 21st 1739. Baptiz'd Thomas the 5th Son of Fowler & Anne Walker who was born Augt. 27th about half and Hour after Six a clock in the Morning.

Aprill 6th 1741 about half an Hour before one in the Morning was born William the 6th son of Fowler & Anne Walker, baptis'd by his Father the 24th Instant. dy'd May 6th betwixt Six & Seven in the Morning.

(Overleaf is a facsimile copy of Appendix 1).


The Names of those that have joyned themselves to the Church Either at or since its first Constitution drawn up Apr: 16th 1712.

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Tho: Stevens
Robt Bagehott
Will.m Upton
David David
John Bonner
John Wans
David Rees
Magd. Williams
Sarah Steevens
Mary Bagehott
Marg.t Bagehott
Isabel. Rogers
Mater. Waters
Eliz. Waters. Hen. Jones.
Mary Waters
Joan Waters
Winifred Bertey
Alice Price
Jan Jenkins
Frances Yarnold
Ann Devereux
Susan. Page
Mary Edwards
Mary Powel
Eliz. Edwards
John Edwards
Jane Dinwoody
Will.m Dinwoody
Robt Lister
Jane Lister
Tho: David
Joseph Bowcher
Richard Roberts
Jan Tanner
Jonath. Taylor
Tho: Brown
Ann Ewalds

No. 38.

Tabitha Taylor
Philip Williams. admitted July 13. 1712.
Richard Morgan adm: aug. 1712.
William Beck. adm. Sept. 1712.
Thomas Bagehot
David Frow
Mary Price
all ad: Jan: 4 10 1712
Elizabeth Bonnor adm: May 9. 1713
Margett Lewis adm. Nov.r 14. 1713
Hannah Morgan adm: Nov.r 14. 1713
Eliza: Cole adm: Nov.r 14. 1713
Tho: Rogers adm: May 8th. 1714
Joshua Jones adm: Dec.r 1714
Marke M.c George.
Jn.o Evans — Jn.o Roberts
Tho: Evans — Eliz: Stevens

No. 54

Members admitted by Mr. H. May.
Eliz.a Rogers. — Decem.r 17: 1713
Wm Jenkins — Decem: 17: 1713
Eliza: Tanner — May 2 1715

Fig. 1: **The original of Appendix 1** (TNA, RG4/1241).

JAMES DAVIES : A VILLAGE SCHOOLMASTER

By **David H. Williams**

Introduction

Much of what is known regarding James Davies was written in detail in the mid-nineteenth century by the Revd. James Ashe Gabb[1] and Sir Thomas Phillips (mayor of Newport at the time of the 1839 Chartist demonstration, a governor of King's College, London, and author of a noted work on the Welsh).[2] This present article is intended to bring a summary of the fruits of their endeavours to a wider audience, and to introduce such further evidence as has become available. The book of the latter author is now available in its entirety from Googlebooks.

Early Life and Character

There was born in the parish of Grosmont, undoubtedly in his father's farm-house of Blaen-trothy, on 23rd August 1765, a child who was to leave an indelible mark upon the educational history of Monmouthshire. Surprisingly, he was not given his name at baptism in church until the 10th of February the following year. The baby was James Davies, the son of a tenant-farmer, Edward Davies and his wife Judith (née Davis), and was the fourth of their children. It is his mother who is credited with giving him a sound religious upbringing, which stood him in good stead all his life.

After James Davies' death, his surviving sister asserted that her brothers had gone to the school at Grosmont kept by a retired excise-man, but there is some evidence that James himself attended a school kept in Llangatwg Lingoed by Thomas Evans, 'a decayed farmer'. Certainly he must have received a reasonable elementary education, for whilst he was hardly in his teens his father placed him as a clerk in the Abergavenny office of his cousin, Barnard Davies, a solicitor with a large practice. Tradition has it that James Davies did not find this employment congenial, and that a family acquaintance meeting him in the street insisted that 'no lawyer goes to heaven'.

What-ever the reason James Davies left his office job, and ran away for three weeks to Bristol. Aged now not even fourteen, he returned home to Blaen-trothy where he became sick with scarlet fever. He survived, but not so his father who died intestate in July 1779. His elder brother, Edward, took over the farm; his mother, taking James and his youngest sister with her, removed to a small farm, Little Campston. Edward did not act entirely uprightly in the disposal of his father's effects and money, and so mother and children had difficult years.

Not long after his father's death, James Davies apprenticed himself to John Jacob, a Grosmont weaver, and for fifteen years he worked at the loom, first as an apprentice and then as a journey-man. In 1788, when twenty-two years old he received the sacrament of confirmation which left a very definite impression upon him.[3] In 1795, his mother having moved to Skenfrith to live with his younger sister, Sarah, now married to Robert Thorley; James Davies rented part of a cottage owned by one Elizabeth Roberts, who gained her livelihood by baking and selling ginger-bread.

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[1] *A brief memoir of James Davies, Master of the National School on Devauden-Hill, Monmouthshire*. The details of this book, and that of Sir Thomas Phillips, are outlined in the concluding paragraphs of this article.

[2] *The Life of James Davies, a Village-Schoolmaster*.

[3] On this occasion, all confirmed received from Bishop Richard Watson a small tract entitled *An Address to Young Persons after Confirmation* [Phillips 13].

On 16 August the following year, he wedded Elizabeth; he signing the register, she making her mark. It was a short-lived marriage for his wife died early in 1801, and it was far from a happy one. He is said to have been absent from home for long periods, while Elizabeth is known to have complained of her husband's conduct to a neighbouring magistrate. The latter, remonstrating with James Davies, was apparently assured by him that 'women are full of deceit!' James Davies himself was probably not free from all blame for the marriage break-up, for in those years and well on in life, he had a hasty temper. Man of God, as he certainly later proved to be, he was perhaps at this time not an easy person to live with. .

Schoolmaster in Usk

After his wife's death, James Davies removed to the town of Usk from where he toured the surrounding countryside as a pedlar. In particular, he collected rags which he sold to paper mills, like those along the Mounton brook, earning himself the nickname, "Jemmy the Rag".[4] His health (always very poor) improved, and after a few years as an itinerant salesman he ran his own shop in Usk. Amongst the commodities he sold were corn-flour and rice, affording them to the poor at less than the normal market price. He managed during the great scarcity and high price of corn in the summer of 1810 to lay in a store of flour. He sold of this at least 1200 bushels at twenty-two shillings per bushel, while the market price ranged from twenty-five to thirty. As Thomas Phillips pointed out, in this way 'he conferred inestimable benefit on the poor'.

The experience of his confirmation is believed to have inspired James Davies with thoughts of bringing up young people in the ways of godliness. Certainly, he had a strong affection for the young, and assisted some boys even when carrying on his work as a pedlar and later as a shop-keeper in Usk. He took one lad from his parents and supported him whilst at school. The boy later became a farm bailiff and when around fifty said that 'he supposed he had been a wicked boy, because the old man often chastised him roughly'. He was not James Davies' only protegé, for he brought up two boys who lived with him in Usk, and who were apprenticed by him; one to a shoemaker, the other to a shopkeeper.

When, in 1812, it was resolved to establish a school in Usk to assist the education of the poor, James Davies was the obvious choice as its first master, and was appointed to that position at an annual salary of £30. . After training in Bristol, and later in Abergavenny - where he first met his first biographer, the Revd. James Ashe Gabb, James Davies opened the Usk school sometime in the summer of 1813. He earned himself high praise from the Usk School Committee, who noted 'his care, diligence and attention' (27 October 1813), presented him with an inscribed prayer book 'as a token of approval of his conduct in the management of the schoool' (6 July 1814), and when he had left repeated these sentiments (1 August 1815). James Ashe Gabb noted that his work in Usk had been 'to the evident improvement of the poor, both parents and children'.

James Davies 'made himself master of the Lancastrian system'.[5] Propagated by a teacher with religious zeal, Joseph Lancaster, this meant having a monitorial system where older children helped teach the younger. It also practised unusual methods of punishment – such as hoisting erring children upwards in a basket suspended from the ceiling.[6] To-day it would be deemed cruel, and the master almost certainly prosecuted, but such was their affection for him that when, in 1815, James Davies left Usk for Devauden, 'his pupils accompanied their kind master on his journey; and their separation from each other took place on the public road, where he kissed and blessed those little ones'. There, after a time, he gave up the use of the hoisted basket.

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[4] Ivor Waters, 'James Davies of Devauden', *Presenting Monmouthshire* 20 (Autumn 1965) 31.

[5] *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11 November 1848. [Lancaster died in 1838].

[6] He carried on this practice for a time at Devauden but, as it made the children feel sick, he discontinued it.

To the Devauden

James Davies' removal to the Devauden may have been occasioned by his travels in these parts selling the rags he had collected to the local paper-mills. He was inspired to do something to ameliorate the bad reputation of some of the growing population in Devauden, and the Fedw to the east, of small-holders, quarrymen, wood-cutters and colliers, mule drivers, and labourers in the Angidy valley wire works, and to instil into their children good morals and learning. Further, whilst Devauden lay in the parish of Newchurch, some of its people attended the monthly service held at the small church at Cilgwrwg which lay in a state of semi-ruin, and even of mis-use. There was much in the area to excite James Davies' concern for those he saw to be in moral and spiritual need.

He was not alone in this. A zealous pastor, the Revd. William Jones (later vicar of St Arvan's), had been appointed curate of Cilgwrwg in 1811 and also of Newchurch in 1813. The two men knew each other; indeed James Davies had sometimes walked several miles from Usk to attend services at Cilgwrwg. After initial difficulties, at Michaelmas 1815 the duke of Beaufort leased to trustees (who included the parson and the master) a plot of land sufficient for a school-room and a garden,[7] and here James Davies 'long instructed rude, ragged and boisterous mountain children'.[8] Phillips asserts the numbers taught could rise to above eighty, and sometimes be supplemented by adult scholars. On Sundays, they were all required to attend Sunday School.

For James Davies, his new situation might have been precarious, and he was now fifty years old. His salary could fall to under £15 a year; a half-that he received in Usk, though later it was fixed at £20 per annum. 'He lived in the school-room by day, and in his chamber at night.'[9] He was generous out of his slender resources: giving a breakfast to children arriving hungry at school, and constantly visiting in their homes and relieving the needs of the sick and poor. James Davies had very much a social conscience in Devauden as he had in Usk.

His old mentor, the Revd. James Ashe Gabb, (formerly Superintendent of the Abergavenny National School,[10] curate of Newchurch until 1828, and then rector of Shirenewton) awakened in James Davies an interest in the foreign missions, and he set about from 1820 onwards collecting subscriptions for the Church Missionary Society. Thomas Phillips tells that at the end of the first year of this activity, he had raised 20s. subscribed by the children of his school, 15s. collected from neighbours, and himself contributed 12s. He also financially supported the Moravian Missions (one was in Brockweir), and the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

One of his lasting memorials at this time lay in his reparation of Cilgwrwg church, giving no less that £30 of his own money in this endeavour. Phillips tells us that James Davies, with local assistance, 'provided an appropriate covering of velvet for the table of the Lord, enclosed it with a suitable railing, resting on a flooring of Painswick stone, inserted in the east wall a larger window, provided benches for every vacant space in the body of the church, and erected a gallery which was carried across the west end'.[11] There was further restoration in 1871 and 1989/90.[12]

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[7] NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 2, No. 9696. [Sir Digby Mackworth referring in 1839, in a speech to the British Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, to the work of James Davies, described Devauden as being earlier 'a place inhabited by charcoal burners': *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 20 September 1839].

[8] Phillips 31.

[9] Phillips 31.

[10] National Schools were the church schools, with distinct Anglican ethos, supported financially by the National Society for Promoting Religious Education founded in 1811 – hence their name.

[11] Phillips 36.

[12] Newman, J. (ed.), *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire*, University of Wales Press, 2000) 262 . (2000) 262.

Apart from teaching and visiting the sick and poor, James Davies cultivated himself the one and a quarter acres of school land, and an additional half acre which he purchased privately. Clearing the ground of stones and rubble, he grew potatoes, vegetables, wheat and barley. He thus supported his piggery, and once again sold flour to the poor at reasonable prices. He had no servant, but cared for his own needs; his diet was simple in the extreme. His effect on the manners and the reading ability of the children was lasting, as the Revd. James Ashe Gabb remarked after visiting the school, and remarking that 'he won them only by affection'.

A New Church

Despite all his efforts, James Davies remained troubled by the character of many residents of the Devauden, particularly in the frequent profanation of the sabbath-day. The wish to hold divine service in the Devauden school-room was mooted in 1827, but its reality only came with the accession of Bishop Copleston to the see of Llandaff in 1828, and the ordination in 1828 and then licensing of Joseph Camplin Prosser as perpetual curate (vicar) of Newchurch in 1829. Prosser was also appointed curate of Cilgwrwg and Itton, becoming rector of Itton in 1832. He remained at Newchurch until his death in 1870.[13] He was also an educationalist; educated at the Usk Divinity School, in the 1830s he kept a clerical cramming school at Newchurch.[14]

Joseph Prosser gave a free lecture each Sunday evening in the school-room, which was licensed by the bishop for divine service, and opened on 11 March 1829. Much of the credit must go to the Reverend William Jones who preached the sermon at the crowded first service, on the text: 'I was glad when they said unto me, "Let us go into the house of the Lord" ' *(Psalm 122, v. 1)*. James Ashe Gabb recorded that 'the preacher's heart was full, and the tears which trickled down his face indicated the depth of his emotions'. Upwards of two hundred people were present, 'most of them poor cottagers, many of them halt, maimed and decrepit'.[15]

The entire expense of the conversion was borne by James Davies, but unhappily for him the school-room was broken into on the evening of 15 July, and the sum of seven pounds in silver stolen from his desk. The *Monmouthshire Merlin*, deprecating this, remarked that 'the poor families in the immediate vicinity are under the deepest obligations to Mr Davies in a temporal and spiritual point of view, (yet) some or other of those families are suspected of being implicated in the theft'.[16]

James Davies wanted the school-room to be set aside exclusively for religious worship, so a cottage was built for the master with funds raised by William Jones and his friends. James Davies traversed the neighbourhood raising funds for a new school-room adjoining his cottage, and this opened in June 1830. The chapel was enlarged by adding a chancel, vestry, porch, and bell turret; the duke of Beaufort granting timber to assist.[17] A Christian philanthropist, the Revd. Dr S.W. Warneford, LL.D., a generous benefactor to Queen's College and Hospital, Birmingham, 'supplied the kneeling benches, a handsome gate for the new porch, and 100 guineas for the sole use of James Davies' – of the latter more later. The architect was T.H. Wyatt.[18]

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[13] At Newchurch he succeeded his non-resident father, William Prosser, who was headmaster of Tewkesbury Free Grammar School (NLW, LL/RES/269, LL/O/625, LL/P/1740-41).

[14] Brown, R.L., (ed.), *The Letters of Edward Coplestone, Bishop of Llandaff* (Publns. South Wales Record Society, 17) 305. By 1844 he was heavily in debt, and his living was sequestered (NLW, LL/S/ 280).

[15] Gabb (1833) 30.

[16] *Monmouthshire Merlin* 25 July 1829.

[17] *The Times*, 17-11-1836, quoting *The Merthyr Guardian*.

[18] *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 22 September 1838. For Wyatt, see: Newman (2000) 56-57.

The Duke of Beaufort conveyed the site for religious purposes on 13 June 1836.[19] The gift of nominating a minister for the chapel lay with the vicar of Newchurch. The first nominee was the Revd. David Jones, appointed in 1838 he only resigned in 1874.[20] A new school-room with adjoining master's cottage was built and over six acres of additional common land was granted by the duke on a lease for three lives in trust. Funds were raised for a £700 endowment of the chapel, and £461 for the school. This was assisted by a public meeting in Usk Town Hall (31 January 1833) chaired by Sir Digby Mackworth.. There were over seven hundred subscribers.[21] Sales of J.A. Gabb's *Memoir* raised £1400. The school, referred to in 1834 as Devauden Charity School and Chapel,[22] was later thought of as being a National School, but that is uncertain.

At the time that Devauden Chapel was made ready to be consecrated, not all was harmonious in the background. In a letter to his vicar-general, Bruce Knight (26 April 1836) Bishop Copleston of Llandaff commented that, 'I do not think that Prosser has been quite fairly treated by the Trustees of the Chapel. There is an unfriendly feeling towards him, and a disposition to act without consulting his wishes.' The bishop mentioned that Prosser had served Devauden Chapel gratuitously 'for many years', and that Peter Gunning, one of Prosser's pupils, might after ordination serve Devauden Chapel for a time, in return for his board and instruction. It is not known whether this arrangement took place.[23]

Bishop Copleston was a busy man, and as Dean of St Paul's cathedral he resided for a major part of each year in London. Whether it was on that account, or because sufficient endowment had not been raised, the actual service of consecration did not take place until 18 September 1838. [24] Nearly four hundred people attended, coming from many miles around. The *Monmouthshire Beacon* correspondent wrote of James Davies, rhat 'we saw the worthy old schoolmaster, and gave him a hearty shake of his hand'.[25]

With many clergy present, the vicar presented the bishop with the petition for consecration, following which the bishop and clergy proceeded to the west door and processed up the chapel reciting Psalm 24 ('The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is …'). The Revd. James Ashe Gabb then presented the deed of conveyance and the endowment of £700. The Revd. William Jones read the sentence of consecration, which the bishop then signed. Morning Prayer was then led by the vicar, kneeling beneath him as clerk was 'the old schoolmaster, overpowered by feelings of joy and thankfulness'.[26] The Revd. T. Williams, rector of Llanfapley and later to be archdeacon of Llandaff preached an inspiring sermon based on the text: 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God'. Shortly afterwards, the sermon was published by the Beacon Office, Monmouth, in aid of the endowment fund. The collection, in aid of the endowment fund, amounted to £43.

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[19] NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 2, No. 9696. (The duke had also been a benefactor in 1831).

[20] NLW, LL/P/1010, 1012; LL/RES/172. He was also perpetual curate of Penteri from 1848 (NLW, LL/P/1011), while a namesake (if not he) was from 1833-58, vicar of Wolvesnewton (Brown 300).

[21] Gabb (4th edn. 1834).

[22] *The Cambrian*, 15 March 1834, when Mrs Turle of Bristol donated £10.

[23] Brown (2003) 211 [269]. The trustees who signed the 1836 agreement with the duke of Beaufort were Prosser himself, and Revd. William Jones, Revd. James Ashe Gabb, Iltyd Nichol and Thomas Reece, esquires – both of Usk, and James Davies, the master.

[24] Consecration of Devauden Chapel, drafts of petition and sentence only (NLW, LL/C/88). It was initially intended that the site the duke gave would also be 'sufficient for a burying-ground'): *The Times*, 17-11-1836, quoting *The Merthyr Guardian*.

[25] *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 22 September 1838 – where an extended account.

[26] As clerk he rang the bell and led the responses: *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 28 October 1848.

As usual at church consecrations, a Eucharist followed (celebrated by the vicar and the Revd. James Ashe Gabb, as the fatigued bishop retired to the vestry, receiving Communion there), at which was used for the first time the complete set of communion plate presented by Gabb to the chapel. A cold collation followed, served in the school-room. A special six-verse hymn was composed by the vicar, the Revd. J.C. Prosser, for the occasion.[27] The first verse ran:

> Almighty God, at whose dread feet
> Archangels cast their crowns of gold;
> Whom – throned on the eternal seat,
> The heaven of heavens cannot hold.

James Davies officiated as bell-ringer and clerk for the rest of his years at Devauden, he spent much time in catechising in the Sunday School, and he supplied not only his scholars but many others with religious books. Amongst the works he circulated were (in 1837) a large number of copies of *Persuausives to Early Piety*, and (in 1839) two hundred copies of *Parental Care*. Both were apt choices. He gave every farm servant in Newchurch parish a Bible. He was though dismissive of the good he had done for writing, twenty-one years after coming to the Devauden, he said: 'I fear little good has been done, and what has been attempted for their good in the school had been undone at home. It is with much difficulty that I can prevail part of the population to send their children to school and church on Sunday.'

After James Davies' death, an octagonal stone font was placed in the church as a memorial of him. The brass plate on its cover was inscribed, (the birth year is seemingly incorrect) :[28]

> "To the glory of God alone. This font is placed here as a memorial to the late James Davies, who for 33 years was the faithful and diligent master of the Devauden school, and mainly instrumental in obtaining the consecration of this Chapel, and thus securing for this neighbourhood the right and due administration of God's holy word and sacraments. He was born August 23, 1768, and died October 2, 1849'.

James Davies' last decade at the Devauden showed him as resilient as ever. He walked long distances, especially to the repository in Chepstow of the S.P.C.K. in order to purchase books and tracts for his pupils and others, and therefore returned carrying a heavy burden. Occasionally, he journeyed as far afield as Hereford, to visit the widow of his friend and former pastor, the Revd William Jones. He was still assiduous in visiting the sick, and still prone to charitable giving, aiding the building of a new church at Llanfair Cilgoed (1843) and the rebuilding of that at Llangwm-isaf (1848), as well as overseas missionary work in which he took great interest. .

The letters James Davies wrote at this period show how deeply spiritual a man he had become. He urged his sister that her life 'may be given up and devoted to the service of Almighty God' (27 May 1842), but in the same letter he tells that been 'very poorly part of the two last winters from taking cold'.[29] To his niece he wrote: 'It was very kind of you to send me an account of my sister's illness. I have done everything I could to impress upon her mind the necessity of true religion, of faith in Christ Jesus, and the necessity of being born again'.[30] James Davies also kept a copy book in which he wrote out lengthy passages from spiritual authors, including Luther.[31]

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[27] Phillips 47.
[28] Phillips 83.
[29] Phillips 65.
[30] Phillips 75.
[31] Phillips 76-80 (gives selected passages).

William James

James Davies was helpful to any he met who were in need, and this applied especially to young people older than his own pupils. As Thomas Phillips wrote: 'Often, when he discovered a poor youth thirsting for knowledge, his home had been open to receive him'. One boy with a particularly saintly character whom James Davies encouraged, was seemingly and strangely not one of his pupils. This was William James, the son of Thomas (an agricultural labourer) and Alice James, who lived at Glen Hobi [now restored as Chapel Cottage] close to Zion Chapel on the borders of Cilgwrwg parish. At the time of the 1841 Census both their young sons had died, but still alive were their two daughters, Harriett (aged nine) and Mary (six).

James Davies wrote his own account of *The Last Days of William James*,[32] which he published privately in 1843; it had earlier appeared in two editions of James Ashe Gabb's biography of him. He tells how from about the age of ten young William came frequently to church at Cilgwrwg by himself, sometimes accompanied by his young brother. This in itself was surprising since his father rarely came to church, and his mother was a chapel-goer. The lad told James Davies that when twelve years old 'he actually felt the power of religion', and when around fifteen 'his religious feelings were greatly deepened' by a sermon preached by a visiting clergyman.

William was but a labourer, but from this time on, in what remained of his life, he gave himself over to prayer; 'sometimes in a wood, at other times under a hedge, or in some private place, where he thought no eye would see him but the eye of God'. Some people did notice, and for a time he was ridiculed by other boys. His father saw him as 'a most dutiful, humble, harmless, and inoffensive child during his whole life'. That life was to be cut short, because in the summer of 1838 he succumbed to tuberculosis ('consumption'). James Davies related:[33]

> Three weeks before his death his father came to me and said he had a favour to ask me, for his son was dangerously ill, and desired very much to see me. I went directly and found poor William lying in bed reduced almost to skin and bones. He shook my hand, and seemed very glad to see me. After talking to him a little, I asked him if he rested all his hopes of pardon and salvation on Jesus Christ alone; he said he did, indeed; and never from that time did I see his faith stagger or fail'.

Apart from two evenings, James Davies then sat up with the boy every night until his passing. The young man, now seventeen, suffered greatly from fever and thirst. He never complained, but frequently utter short ejaculations as 'Lord, help me!', 'Lord, create in me a clean heart', and 'Praise God'. In his last fortnight he may have been granted supernatural visions. About a fortnight before his death, he said to his mother: 'Mother, mother, I have heard music, and I have seen three or four companies in white'. Shortly before he passed on, raising an arm, he said: 'Father, there! There is the Lord Jesus Christ! Help me to go to him!' His last words were, 'Yonder, they be come'. It was seven o'clock on the 9th October 1838. It was a holy death, and no wonder that James Davies wrote: 'Poor fellow, I shall never forget him'.

William was buried in Newchurch churchyard, but James Davies retained William's "smock frock and small red waistcoat", and eleven years on they were to support his head in his own coffin. He also paid for William's inscribed gravestone, still to be seen there.

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[32] Gabb (1849, 1851) 69–78; Phillips 85–95.

[33] Gabb (1834) 69-78.

Later History of Devauden School

James Davies did not forget Devauden School. He approached Squire Williams of Llangybi who promised to help fund funds to augment the new teacher's salary. He was not happy that the vicar of Newchurch insisted on appointing in his stead at Devauden 'no person but a woman'. This lady, whom James Davies thought to be 'by no means capable',[34] was the thirty-five year old Mrs Amelia Horton, a native of Llangwm, who may have had teaching experience in Chepstow and Wolvesnewton. She lived at the school-house with her four children; the census of 1851 makes no mention of her husband. On 22 October 1878, because they were unable to maintain it, the managers surrendered the Devauden school room and house (though not the chapel and its land) to the Duke of Beaufort.[35] The school was then rebuilt as a Board School (that is, without formal church affiliation), with house for the master, at a cost of about £500.[36] It closed in 1985/86.

The James Davies Educational Charity[37]

When the church school trustees handed over the school building and master's house to the new Board, they withheld the school endowment of £461, much to the board's displeasure. They took this action because they said, quite rightly, the money had been intended for 'the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Religion of the Realm' but, they pointed out, the board school gave no religious instruction at all. The trustees also retained the cottage and lands.

The Charity Commissioners supported the trustees and, in 1890, issued a scheme for the 'James Davies Educational Charity', which intended continued provision for the Sunday School and for annual treats and prizes for the children. The yearly income of the charity came to £20, nearly £1200 in modern reckoning, and was to be applied:

> 'either to teachers, or by way of prizes or rewards to children, or otherwise, for the promotion of the instruction in religious knowledge in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England of children bonâ fide resident in the parish of Newchurch and attending some Public Elementary School, whether such instruction be given at such school or elsewhere, or failing such children, of children bonâ fide resident within a radius of two miles and a half from the existing Board School at Devauden.'

A notice of the proposed scheme appeared, as was required, in the *Chepstow Weekly Advertiser* for 21 December 1889.

The 1890 scheme reflected local opinion for feelings were running high. Perhaps unaware that the scheme had just been finalised, the Revd. G.P. Dew, rector of Wolvesnewton, and chairman and treasurer of the Newchurch, Wolvesnewton and Kilgwrrwg School Board, addressed two letters (in May and June 1890) to the Charity Commissioners emphasising the need for more local trustees – one longstanding trustee lived in the Forest of Dean! The scheme did in fact lay down that all new trustees were to be resident in, or have a business within, the parish of Newchurch, but when all the trusteeships came up for renewal in 1904, this stipulation was all but disregarded.

In his letters, the Revd. G.P. Dew pointed out that the income from the charity had not been deployed for several years, a deplorable situation, he said, given that 'poor James Davies lived a most laborious, self-denying life to promote the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England'. This was a fine tribute to the founder forty years after he had left Devauden. Dew also

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[34] Phillips 120.

[35] NLW, Badminton Deed, Group 2, 9697.

[36] *Kelly's Directory of Monmouthshire, 1901.*

[37] TNA, ED 49/10191 *passim.*

remarked that the income could properly be applied to the Sunday School he himself had established in the new Board School of Newchurch West, and to that which he was about to start in Devauden School. He also asserted that the vicar of Newchurch had 'an absolute right over the Devauden School on the Sunday'.

Dew was very critical of the trustees, but helpfully he became one himself in March 1891. About that time money was sought from the James Davies Charity to erect in Devauden an iron building for Sunday School purposes. Whether this plan came to fruition is unknown. A further problem of those years lay in prolonged bad relations between the vicar of Newchurch and the trustees. This was compounded by the fact that he could potentially lose control over the appointment of the Sunday School teachers in his own parish.

Early History of Llangatwg Lingoed School[38]

Every harvest season, when his Devauden school was closed, James Davies travelled on foot some distances to supply gratuitously Bibles, Testaments, Prayer books, and religious tracts to cottages and farm-houses, spending several pounds a year in this work of Christian charity. So it was that, in the late August of 1847, he came back to his native surroundings, to Llangatwg where 'he had worshipped in early life in the parish church, received within its walls some school learning, and had played when a boy in the churchyard'.[39] On his return to Devauden, he wrote to his sister (Mrs Marshall, 9 September 1847) describing his visit to Llangatwg, and adding:

> "All your old acquaintances are gone. Only Jack Pritchard, of all the old standards, is living. The public house has been rebuilt, and my brother Edward's grandson owns it, and lives in it; and, by some means, he has a considerable property. He is single, and rents what James Price used to rent. He keeps seven cows, and has bought several places in Llangattock; he is Nelly's son, and his name is James Jones. I slept two nights in his house; he was useful to me, helping me to give the books away. Ransley House is all in ruins, and I am very sorry for it. It was an old family mansion belonging to our family".[40]

Two months later, he explained his reasons for deciding to leave Devauden; first in a letter to his niece, Judith Thorley (18 November 1847),[41] and then in a letter to the Revd. J.C. Prosser, vicar of Newchurch (30 November 1847), who James Davies said had been 'much offended':

> "You wish to know why I should have a desire to leave Devauden, and most gladly will I acquaint you with every circumstances respecting it. I was at Llangattock Lingoed the beginning of last September with Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer Books, to give to the poor cottagers of that parish, and very much was I distressed to see the destitute state of that place – no minister living in the parish, nor any person of fortune or education – no school – no Sunday School – no schoolmaster, to teach the poor children to know the Saviour, nor impress on their minds their duty to Almighty God."[42]

It was, he wrote, no easy decision: "I shall be very sorry to part with several kind affectionate children, and I shall put myself out of the way of many kind friends, … and I am persuaded that my leaving Devauden will make room for some person with better abilities and better educated than I

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[38] Where not otherwise attributed, the following paragraphs are based upon National Society file NS/7/2/586.
[39] Phillips 98.
[40] Phillips 99-100.
[41] Phillips 101.
[42] Phillips 102-04; originally printed in the Appeal Letter of the autumn of 1847, and contained in the National Society file; *Cf. Monmouthshire Merlin*, 20 November 1847.

am". He was convinced that his future task lay in Llangatwg. One 'little fellow' who turned up before he left Devauden, was typical of the others. He said to James Davies: 'You must not go away; I don't want you to go'. The same newspaper account tells how, at Devauden, the school-master found 'cabins of mud, but left cottages of stone'.[43]

James Davies had the full support of the Hon. William Powell Rodney of Llanfihangel Court; his brother, the Hon. and Revd. Henry Rodney, who was vicar of Llangatwg, Archdeacon Crawley of Monmouth, and Sir Thomas Phillips. Writing to the latter, the archdeacon (who lived in Bryngwyn rectory) explained how he had met with James Davies three times between 30 August and 24 September that summer, listened to his arguments, and now sought Sir Thomas's financial assistance. The archdeacon, clearly impressed by the eighty-two year old James Davies, wrote that 'the energy of this truly Christian character is as remarkable, as the self-denial by which he is enabled to do more with his single talent than others with their ten.'[44]

The Hon. W.P. Rodney acted as treasurer of the appeal fund, and before the public appeal was made twelve individuals had given a total of no less than £75 (in modern equivalent around £3,400). Further to this, Mr Rodney promised to give 'as much timber as will be wanting to build a school and a house', whilst his brother, the vicar, gave an acre of the glebe land as a site for both school and house. In their early application for a grant from the National Society – which gave £20 initially, Archdeacon Crawley and the Hon. W.P. Rodney envisaged a school-room capable of holding about thirty-five children, whilst the house ought to comprise a 'small kitchen and back kitchen with two bed chambers'. The school was to be known as James Davies's School.[45]

Writing a little later, to his niece, James Davies said that his letter to the vicar of Newchurch had been printed and circulated as part of the Appeal, and the fund amounted to upwards of £300. (This included grants of £75 made by the National Society, the Committee of the Council on Education, and the Board of Education for the Archdeaconry of Monmouth). During 1838 £325 was invested in 1838 with the trustees of the Abergavenny District of Turnpike Roads. In 1885 this was paid over to the school managers by rhe Charity Commissioners; that year the school endowment came to £405, and included £100 bequeathed by the Hon. W.P. Rodney on his death around 1878. Worth £4,400 today, this sum came to be known as "Rodney's Charity"[46].

As for his own needs, James Davies wrote that 'a gentleman gave me £100 which I have upon interest, and that I suppose may be enough to support me as long as I shall want a support, and enable me to buy books for the school, and books to lend and give to the inhabitants'.[47] This was important, for James Davies intended to take no salary, but his sister was highly critical of his plans.[48] James Davies, characteristically, lent this money to a needy farmer, reducing himself for a time almost to penury, and the loan was seemingly never fully repaid when James Davies died.[49]

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[43] *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 11 November 1848.

[44] Phillips 105-06.

[45] Phillips 110; on 17 January 1848, the estimated cost of the building was around £250, of which £170 had so far been raised or expected – this included the value of the acre of glebe donated (£20) and material promised in kind (£20): National Society file, NS/7/2/586.

[46] TNA, ED 49/10169.

[47] Phillips 107-08; the books he distributed were bought at the Chepstow depository of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge'. The 'gentleman' was Dr Warneford referred to before.

[48] As revealed in a letter he wrote to her, whilst still at Devauden, on 15 September 1848 (Phillips 113-14). In it he refers obliquely to the usefulness of family bibles in recording people's dates of birth in an age before birth certificates were issued (from 1837). James Davies wrote: 'I should think Robert Thorley has our father's bible, but I believe I can tell you your age'.

[49] Phillips 126-27. (The gift from Dr Warneford was made about 1843).

James Davies paid another visit to Llangatwg that winter, laden with his religious books. At the advanced age of eighty-two, on his return journey to Devauden he was stranded at night when a wheel gave way of a carriage provided for him by Archdeacon Williams of Llandaff, who resided at Llanfapley. He then 'walked alone in darkness for nearly an hour, and discerned a faint light'. It was coming from a lonely cottage, the home of a poor woman who took him in, and put him up for the rest of that night. The next morning he walked on to Bryngwyn, where Archdeacon Crawley provided transport to take him home. James Davies did not forget the kindness shown: on his next visit to Chepstow he purchased a New Testament, in large type, for the widow'.[50]

On the 13th March 1848, the vicar, having obtained the written consent of Bishop Coplestone of Llandaff, conveyed to Archdeacon Crawley 'a site for a National School in Llangattock Lingoed', and the relevant Trust Deed was dated 22nd March.[51] The site granted consisted of 'all that piece or parcel of land containing by admeasurement one acre, being a portion of the Glebe, and by the Parish Road leading from Llanvihangel Crugcorney and Campstone Hill on all or the most part and sides thereof' *(Fig. 14)* The founding management committee consisted of the Hon. W.P. Rodney, James Davies himself, Lt. Col. H. M. Clifford, M.P., Sir Thomas Phillips (now of Llanelen) and Archdeacon Crawley. It was no light-weight executive!

The school was united to the National Society on 1 December 1848, at the petition of the vicar and the other school managers.[52] This meant that masters and mistresses were to be members of the Church of England, the children were to receive instruction 'in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Established Church', under the superintendence of the parochial clergyman, and they were to be regularly assembled to attend Divine Service. Any dispute between the clergy and the managers was to be referred to the bishop.

The foundation stone of the new school was laid by James Davies himself on the Wednesday after Easter, 26 April 1848, in the presence of many local residents and several neighbouring clergy. The proceedings commenced with morning prayer in the church led by the curate, the Revd. John Price. An apposite sermon was preached by Archdeacon Crawley based on the Exodus text: "Take this child away and nurse it for me, and I will give thee thy wages".[53] The company then processed to the school site where the minister and the people said alternately the verses of Psalm 127: "Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it".

James Davies laid the stone, and Thomas Phillips wrote: 'No one who was present can forget the picture of the venerable disciple of his Lord and Master, as with head uncovered, his few remaining hairs waving in the wind, he knelt upon the ground; nor the affecting tone with which he uttered these words: 'To the honour of Almighty God, I lay the foundation-stone of this school, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' " The ceremony then finished with closing prayers recited by the curate, and by all present singing verses 1, 2, 4 and 9 of 'the new version' of the eighth psalm: "O Lord, our governor, how excellent is thy Name in all the world."[54]

The school room and master's house were completed that autumn at a cost of almost £255 [some £13,000 in modern equivalent]. £306 had been raised, much of it by voluntary subscriptions, with grants totalling £75 as outlined above. A small sum was raised by 'selling old materials'. The contractor was a Mr H. Evins, the walls were 13ft. high and the ridge 19ft. from the floor, local stone

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[50] Phillips 108-10.

[51] National Society file, NS/7/2/586. [The deed was examined and witnessed by the Revds. F.C. Steele, rector of Llanfetherine, and rural dean; William Price, vicar of Llanarth, and rural dean, and David Davies, vicar of Llantilio Crossenny].

[52] The certificate was received on 10 February 1849.

[53] Exodus 2, v. 9.

[54] Phillips 110-13.

was hauled to the site, the timber work was of oak and deal, the roof was slated, and air circulation provided by ventilators in the gables and in the floor.[55] Over the entrance door of the school was placed a stone inscribed with a cross, the date of 1848 and the name of James Davies. James Davies arrived at Llangatwg on the 28rh October and opened the school on 6 November, some forty children attending on average.

In the intervening days he spent two nights away at Bryngwyn Rectory, in order to go with Archdeacon Crawley to Llangybi, where on 1 November he, James Davies, laid the foundation stone of a chapel-of-ease for that parish which is now Christchurch, Coed-y-paen, being entertained to lunch afterwards at Llangbyi Castle by Squire Williams. It was with difficulty that the humble James Davies was persuaded to enter the squire's dining room, but he later remarked to the archdeacon that 'he had seldom passed a happier day'. He added, however, that 'now he had seen how the great people lived, he thanked God the more that he was a man of low estate'.[56]

When James Davies arrived at Llangatwg, the walls of the master's house were found to be damp, so he lodged in the parsonage which was let to a Mr and Mrs Richard Evans who farmed a few acres of land. They cared for him, and on 2 December, he was able to write to a friend, Mr Church: 'I am now very comfortably settled, and everything goes on very happily. I have kindness shown me from every quarter; the children are more manageable than at Devauden.'[57]. He asked Mr Church to send him 'two dozen of your large steel pens, and a dozen of the hymn-nooks, and six copies of the "Golden Sayings of the Wise King" '. To another elderly friend, Mrs Sarah Jones of Barton, Hereford, he wrote (2 April 1849) that he had 'very little strength to do the work', but that he had planted an orchard of about one hundred trees, 'under the impression that, in time to come, they will help to support the school'. The school orchard was to prove useful in other ways.

By this time the fruits of his short labours at Llangatwg were becoming evident. Commiserating with his sister on the death of her daughter (19 March 1849), he was able to say: 'I had yesterday thirty-five children at our Sunday-school and at church; and such a thing as a Sunday-school, and so many children at church, was never known at Llangattock'. Writing to a younger friend, Miss Matthews (27 April 1849), he confided that 'so far it is well, and I wish I could say that most of the children truly fear God'. He remained concerned too for the general spiritual health of the parish, and was grieved by those who 'carried guns and killed game on the Lord's day'. He was also deeply offended by the drinking habits and lack of church-going of his great-nephew who ran the village inn. [58] A deeply spiritual man, James Davies reminded him in a letter (apparently anonymous and only found after his death) of 'Christ Jesus who groaned, bled and died for you', and asked, 'is this the return you make for all his love and pity?'

At the school, no fees were charged and James Davies took no salary, but provided books and other school necessaries at his own cost. Sir Thomas Phillips' description of the school-day at Llangatwg is worth quoting in full:[59]

> "The school was opened at nine o'clock, when a suitable prayer was read, followed by a chapter of the Bible, which he explained as he proceeded, in the plainest manner ...The school-hours, on week-days, were from 9 to 12 am., and from 2 to 5 pm; and as the school was a mixed one, the girls were sent on alternate afternoons to the vicarage, where they were taught sewing by Mrs Evans.

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[55] TNA, ED 103/4 (pp. 135-41).
[56] Phillips 120-22; Bradney, *Hundred of Usk, Part 1, 111*..
[57] Phillips 117.
[58] Phillips 127-30.
[59] Phillips 136.

> The Lord's-day service in the church was on the morning of one Sunday, and on the afternoon of the next. The children always assembled on that day in the school-room at 9.am., and were dismissed to their homes immediately after the church service, when that was in the afternoon; but when the service was in the morning, they returned to school after dinner, and were not dismissed until five o'clock.
>
> The Sunday-school was attended by farm-house lads and others who were not daily scholars, but the week-day scholars were required to be always present on Sundays. The rule of the school visited the neglect of Sunday attendance, by the exclusion of the offender from the day-school, for the whole of the following week."

The austere and energetic life James Davies followed at this time was remarkable for a man of his age. Rising early, he worked in the school-house garden. His breakfast at eight o'clock consisted of tea. Then he led family prayers for Mr and Mrs Evans and their young daughter. Before dinner he would spend a quarter of an hour in silent prayer. On two days of the week his dinner consisted of bread and cheese, on the other days he ate meat. He always declined a pudding. On Wednesdays in Lent (a day when divine service was held in the church) he ate nothing at lunch-time. His supper was of but bread and milk, and at nine o'clock, after again leading family prayers, he retired to bed. On week-day evenings he frequently visited the sick; Sunday evenings were employed in visiting and instructing the poor. By any standard, in his closing years James Davies was a holy man.

The Passing of James Davies[60]

In the late summer of 1849, James Davies paid a final visit to Mrs Jones, an old friend in Hereford, walking all the way there and back, a return journey of some forty miles. Whilst at Hereford he met a gentleman (whose name is not on record), and asked him to supply him with 'a few of the common hymn tunes in use in our churches here'. On 23 September he partook of holy communion for the last time. On 29 September he left on his slate a letter for a Miss Matthews, in which he wrote that he was 'very well in health, and very happy', but by this time he had also written a lengthy spiritual testimony in which he realised that 'I am now on the very edge of the grave and on the borders of the eternal world'.[61] On Sunday 30 September he indicated to the household that when he died, he wanted upon his grave 'a plain stone, with the two letters of my name, my age, and the year of my death'.

On the next morning, Monday 1 October, at family prayers he read the closing chapter of the Book of Revelation, repeating several times verse 20: "He which testifieth these things saith, Surely, I come quickly; Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus'. This was a reading which proved apposite, as also did words from the third chapter of the Letter to the Philippians which he read a little later at school prayers: "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ".

After his dinner of stewed meat that day he felt unwell with severe stomach pain, and at his request Mrs Evans went to the school-room to send the children home. He went to bed but declined to see a doctor, though in pain rhroughout the afternoon and evening. About midnight he complained of much pain at the shoulder and back of his neck. This did not improve, and he died shortly after two o'clock on the morning of Tuesday 2 October. Thomas Phillips wrote: 'He was sensible to the last, and having solicited the prayers of his kind attendants, repeated the words, "God Almighty pity me!", and he fell asleep in Jesus.'

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[60] Phillips 140-49.
[61] Phillips 139-40.

The *Monmouthshire Merlin* asserted that James Davies passed away because of a severe attack of dysentery, but his death certificate simply attributes his passing to 'natural decay'. He was 84 years old. He died, of course, not in school house but in his lodgings at the parsonage; Mr and Mrs Evans clearly looked after him well, and it was the husband, George Evans, who registered his death. James Davies was a man very close to his Saviour, and in the pocket of the waistcoat he last wore were found the following lines:

> "Washed, saved, redeemed by God's eternal Son,
> His latest moments proved the victory won;
> Joyful His spirit soared from earth, to raise
> Unceasing anthems to his Saviour's praise'.

The *Monmouthshire Merlin* (13 October 1849) paid James Davies fulsome tribute:

> 'This well-known and good old man, so universally respected, has paid the debt of nature. It was augured by his friends in this neighbourhood, that when he left the scene of his unwearied labours at the Devauden, he would not long survive: this has proved to be true. He had left his school there, barely twelve months, to teach a neglected race of children at a village called Llangattock-Lingoed, between Abergavenny and Hereford. About two months since, he was seen in Chepstow, having walked the whole distance (more than twenty-five miles) from his house; he then seemed in perfect health. He was in attendance at his school-room on Monday evening *(a slip here)*, the 1st inst.., but, in the course of the night, he was attacked with dysentery, which increased with such violence that he sank under it, and expired on Tuesday morning. His memory will be cherished by all who were acquainted with him; he furnished a bright example of the great good to be achieved by a single individual, when steadily and perseveringly engaged in promoting the welfare of his fellow-creatures, by training up children in the fear and love of God.'

Mrs Evans, who had cared for him to the last, also gave a glowing appreciation of James Davies:

> "His whole delight was in doing good – visiting the poor, and relieving their wants in food, clothes and money. To some of them he even gave his shirts to be cut up for their children, at the same time supplying money to purchase for them shoes, in order that they might come to school. Even out of his limited income, he clothed some who were of age to go to service,[62] and provided food to enable the poor to go out to glean. It may be truly said of him, 'he made the widow's heart to sing for joy'. Indeed his charity was unbounded".[63]

Had he lived, James Davies would have expected to meet on 4 October Bishop Copleston of Llandaff at a meeting in Usk of the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The bishop had been one of James Davies' chiefest patrons, and had caused his portrait to be painted and hung in his residence at Hardwick House. Once, whilst James Davies was soliciting funds for the erection of Devauden church, he travelled to London, where the Bishop Coplestone introduced him to the bench of bishops.[64]

After that church was completed, the bishop gave James Davies a prayer-book inscribed by himself: 'To Mr James Davies, the principal instrument and coadjutor of the Rev. William Jones, the founder

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[62] By this of course is meant not divine service, but domestic service.

[63] Phillips 146.

[64] *The Usk Gleaner*, No. 2 (not dated).

of Devauden Chapel and Devauden School'. This further meeting was not to be: James Davies had died, whilst the bishop lay on his sick-bed and died on the 14th October.[65]

On the morning of the funeral (Saturday 6 October), the school-children viewed his remains before the coffin of James Davies was closed. Within it, under his head, were placed the smock-frock and small red waistcoat of William James, and the coffin lid plate bore the inscription: *James Davies, died Oct. 2nd, 1849, aged 84 years".* The sun shone when the curate, the Revd. John Price, met the cortège at the churchyard entrance. Four farmers carried the bier whilst, for a man of 'low estate', great names were pall-bearers: the Hon. W.P. Rodney, Sir Thomas Phillips, Iltyd Nicholl, esq., and Archdeacon Crawley. Ten other clergy were among the mourners and, 'while there were few of the trappings of mourning, there were evidences of real grief'.[66]

As was often the custom then, the whole service was held at the graveside, though a week later (Sunday 14 October) the curate preached a funeral sermon in church, based on the apposite text: 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do' (St John 17, v. 4). In course of time, a fine slab was placed over his grave (which lies on the north side of the church, at a spot he had himself selected), bearing the inscription:

HERE LIE THE REMAINS OF
JAMES DAVIES
FORMERLY OF THE DEVAUDEN
AND AFTERWARDS OF THIS PARISH
SCHOOLMASTER
WHO DIED OCTOBER 2ND 1849
AGED 84 YEARS
'LORD, NOW LETTEST THOU THY SERVANT
DEPART IN PEACE
ACCORDING TO THY WORD'

In the church, his memory is perpetuated on a brass plate fixed to the wall north of the altar.

Llangatwg Lingoed School in the Later Nineteenth Century[67]

On the 20th August, James Davies had made his will, appointing the Hon. W.P. Rodney as his executor,[68] and bequeathing his entire small estate to the benefit of his school. Immediately after the funeral a meeting was held in the school-room to make arrangements to raise funds for the endowment of the school; this was especially necessary as James Davies had drawn no salary, and a new teacher needed to be appointed. There remained £51-12-6 in the building fund, James Davies' estate realised £74-6-9, the Hon. W.P. Rodney gave £100, and other subscribers £179. Even so, the yearly interest which would accrue from this total of £405 raised shortly after James Davies' death was insufficient to secure the services of a good teacher. A further public appeal was therefore launched, with the Hon. W.P. Rodney again acting as treasurer.

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[65] *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 20 October 1849; he had attended a meeting, at which the bishop was present, of the Chepstow Bible Society in the National School, Chepstow, on 7 October 1847, where 'his presence was viewed with much interest', *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 16 October 1847..

[66] *Monmouthshire Beacon*, 13 October 1849.

[67] Based on Gwent Record Office, CE. B15/1 (School Log-Book).

[68] A copy of the will is held at the National Library of Wales [WILLS/LL/1849/186wx.]; it was proved by the Hon. W.P. Rodney.

This was successful, for by 1851 Anne Evans was the school mistress, by 1861 Elizabeth Rogers occupied this position, and by 1871 until after 1881 Sarah Powell was in charge.[69] The school was passed as efficient in 1871, subsequent to the terms of the 1870 Education Act; the accommodation capacity remained at thirty-four pupils.[70] Ten years later, the now vicar, the Revd. J. Duncan, saying that 'we are in need of lots of things, and we are so poor', sought a further grant from the National Society, as the certification of the school would not be renewed unless items (not named) recommended by HM Inspector were purchased.

Academic standards certainly seem to have slipped by the auspicious year of 1883. Fortunately on 6 August that summer a new master took over the school, Mr John William Robinson, who kept a log-book from the outset. He is on record as being 'a competent catechist' who, whilst master, took 'a high class in the Archbishop's Scriptural Examination, 1885'. Five weeks later on 10 September 1883, the school closed for half-a-day on the occasion of a visit by the Bishop of Llandaff to institute the new rector, the Revd. Owen Bowen Price, who made it his business to 'attend and catechise the senior classes every morning from 9 to 10'.[71] The Vicar saw Mr Robinson as 'doing excellent work', and as 'a young energetic fellow', and pointed out that most of the neighbouring schools were under the care of mistresses. This combination of new master and new rector was to prove greatly beneficial; the former raised academic standards and attendance, the latter saw to the enlargement of the school building.

The number of pupils which could at a stretch be accommodated in the school-room was only thirty-four – though in 1866 the attendance was sometimes sixty – some children coming 'from hamlets of neighbouring parishes', and it had become necessary to use a room in the school-house as an additional classroom, whilst 'during the summer months school was frequently held under the apple tree in the school orchard'. This was clearly unsatisfactory, but some feared that the enlargement of the school would make it more competitive *vis-à-vis* neighbouring church schools. Archdeacon Conybeare Bruce commented that 'incumbents in the neighbourhood may welcome the gradual absorption of their schools by a more vigorous educationalist – but this seems a perilous policy?'

The vicar had an uphill struggle in raising funds for the school extension because, he said, the chief landowner was a Roman Catholic, and most parishioners were small farmers and cottagers.. Mr Crawshay Bailey promised support but went abroad before this was forthcoming. At a concert held to raise funds, the rector made an appeal, but the response was slow – save from individuals like Mr Reginald Vaughan of Glen Trothy, who donated all the building stone from his quarry at Crossways Farm. The National Society promised £18, but the Monmouthshire Education Board only gave a grant of £5 'after a long continued and vexatious correspondence'. Subscriptions raised £28-10-0, and there was a deficit on the new building of £8-10-0. The rector persevered, with the consequence that after the service held in church on 22 June, 1887, to mark Queen Victoria's Jubilee, the foundation stone of the school extension was laid. 'The same order was observed and the same prayers said by the Rev. O. Bowen Price, on June the 2nd, 1887, as on the 26th April, 1848', and there were a few old persons present who had witnessed the laying of the first foundation stone almost forty years previously.[72] There followed a party for the school-children under the trees in the orchard, 'with games of every kind'.[73]

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[69] For a full list of the head teachers, go to Llangattock Lingoed on the web, and click on the ancestry site – there too are several photographs of former pupil groups.

[70] The National Archives (TNA hereafter) ED 21/22919.

[71] *The Abergavenny Chronicle and Monmouthshire Advertiser*, Friday, 14 .October 1887.

[72] There must be an error in the *Chronicle*; Friday was the 7th.

[73] *Ibid.* Friday 1 July, 1887.

The building work was planned and superintended by the rector, and undertaken by Mr Phillips, a mason, of Campstone Hill, 'who worked incessantly, both early and late,' from Monday 8 August to Wednesday 14 September, when the building was finished. The *Abergavenny Chronicle* was able to report:

> "The work has been most substantially and excellently done. The additional wing, together with the old room, form a handsome and useful room, presenting a neat ecclesiastical appearance, and well lighted, In the pine end, which is surmounted by a cross, a large, fine window, given by the rector, has been placed. Above this window, on the inside, is fixed a piece of Bath-stone with the inscription (carved by the rector): "HELAETHWYD 1887 IWBILI Y FRENHINES VICTORIA". The school-house, which is attached to the school-room, has also been altered and much improved ... into a comfortable and pleasant little residence."

The formal re-opening of the school took place on Friday 4th October , with a concert and farce, under the patronage of Sir Henry and Lady Mather Jackson of Llantilio Court and other distinguished guests. 'The room was packed with a most appreciative audience. Perfect order and most respectful behaviour were maintained to the end'. The farce, 'Protectors of the Peace', was played as a kitchen scene, with the master and his wife among the actors. Mr Robinson, it was said, 'treads on the boards like a born actor'. There followed a piano recital (the instrument being provided by Messrs Heins of Abergavenny and Hereford), and some twenty songs –the children leading with the singing of "Tramp, tramp, tramp". Amongst the other soloists were Mr Mardon ('Hammer and Tongs' and 'Dutch Dog'), Mr Vaughan ('Eggs for your Breakfast' and 'Joshua'); and Miss E. Miles ('Soldier and his lass'). Several of the songs were encored.

It was intended from the outset that the extended building should be used for community activities as well as the children's education. There was a small debt on the extension, and a series of concerts were planned to cover that. The next was on Friday 25 November, after which the *Abergavenny Chronicle* praised the master, Mr Robinson, very highly for his local leadership in song and drama.[74] The combination of the buildings as school and community centre was to lead (in 1921) to potential tension between the then vicar, the Revd. John Griffith, and the other mangers, as to whether he could refuse consent to the school being used for all-night dancing.[75]

When Mr Robinson took over he found that at first he could give no grammar or geography lessons, 'as the children are so backward in elementary subjects'. Matters did improve considerably, and an interesting feature of school life was the learning of songs which, in 1883, included 'The Farmer Boy', 'High in the Belfry', and Poor Old Joe'. Attendances at first were frequently poor, but could rise to thirty-three. In winter heavy snow could preclude attendance, as some of the pupils walked long distances to school. .An outbreak of measles closed the school for three weeks in May 1902. It was, however, the harvest which annually caused very poor attendances; for two whole weeks in the summer of 1889 no children at all came to school

Despite the improvements and extension made in 1886/87, the HM Inspector's report for 1893 was critical. It referred to 'the smallness of the window panes, unsatisfactory ventilation, and draughts,' and to deficiencies in heating, cloakroom accommodation and the closets. Further, there was a need for the approaches to the boys and girls closets to be completely separated.

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[74] *Ibid.* Friday 2 December, 1887.

[75] National Society file, NS/7/2/586.

It fell to the new vicar, the Revd. G.B. Jones, who took up office in March 1894, to immediately submit plans to the Education Department,[76] and to approach the National Society for a further grant; this he did early that October. By then, it seems, the necessary works were almost complete, for when the Inspector next came in mid-November he 'expressed his entire approval of the alterations'. It is not known when Mr Robinson ceased to be the master but by 1891 a Mr and Mrs Edward Brindley ran the school. The new vicar commented in his letter to the National Society that Mr Brindley had left in April (1894), and that a mistress had taken over for a few months. He said that a new master had been appointed 'who is likely to carry on the school efficiently'. The mistress was G.S. Webber, the new master G.R. Rumbol. He did not serve long; in 1895 Jonathan and Rosina Badcock took over, with Eva Davies as sewing mistress.

The Twentieth Century

A full history of Llangatwg School deserves to be written. In this essay, there is but room to bring to light some of the sources available, mostly pre-War inspectors reports[77] and applications for grant aid to the National Society. These make intermittent mention of remedial structural improvements. A new boys cloakroom, planned by 1902 – together with a new large window in the schoolroom and the purchase of new desks, was in place by 1905. In 1928, dry rot in the teacher's house was found to be a serious cause for concern. In 1941 there was another critical report: there was loose brickwork in the chimneys, damp was affecting one of the classrooms, the rain water tank had perished, and the premises were in need of redecoration. By the time of the inspector's visit in 1942 all these concerns had been satisfactorily resolved, save the last.

An ongoing cause for criticism were the school playing facilities. It was recorded, in 1938, that the playground surface was not suitable for all kinds of physical activity. The inspector also noted that 'the school has a small playing field – *[was this the orchard James Davies planted?]* – which is not kept in a satisfactory condition; an effort should be made to make it suitable for organised games'. In 1941, the inspector noted that the playing field was still 'badly kept', but he did acknowledge in 1942 that to drain it 'would be a costly proposition'. He also realised that it had not been impossible to tarmac the play- ground (which was 156 square yards in extent) 'because of the difficulty in obtaining bitumen and tarmac'. These were after all the war-years!

Despite these criticisms, in the inter-war years there were several good over-all inspection reports, as in 1922 – 'owing much to the late headmistress who left last Christmas after three-and-a-half years [Mary Ellen Thomas]; 1926 - 'this school has an excellent tone and attendance', and 1938 – probably due to the long-serving head teacher, appointed in 1922 and still in office [Mrs Warren]. Pupil numbers varied; a report of 1911 called attendance low on account of the school's inaccessibility; the average attendance in 1933 was forty-five, in 1938 but thirty-six. As for the curriculum there was concern in 1938 that 'no provision is made for the older pupils in woodwork, gardening and domestic subjects'. In 1909 and 1912 weakness in map-reading was stressed, and in 1922 a lack of geographical equipment. In 1938, it was noted that 'about twenty bring their lunches to school and hot drinks are provided'.

Whatever the shortcomings, James Davies' foresight had borne fruit, and it must have been a sad day when, in July 1963, after serving several generations of Llangatwg and district children, the school closed. The last head-teacher was Mrs M.G. Prout.

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[76] TNA, ED 21/22919.

[77] TNA, ED 21/22919, 46751, 67075,

Conclusion

The name of James Davies will long linger in the educational annals of Monmouthshire. Even in his early days at Devauden his character and his work were so greatly appreciated that, in 1832, the Revd. James Ashe Gabb (Rector of Shirenewton, and formerly Superintendent of the National School at Abergavenny) wrote his *Brief Memoir of James Davies*. Published that year in Bristol, the first edition soon ran out; two further editions quickly appeared (priced 1s. 6d.), both printed in Abergavenny. A fourth edition appeared in 1833 and the fifth edition in 1834. All were prefaced by a letter of dedication to Bishop Coplestone.

The *Monmouthshire Merlin*, after the publication of the first edition said that 'We cannot speak too highly of this work',[78] and that its object was 'not only to record, but also to perpetuate the invaluable benefits which the worthy master has conferred on the poor inhabitants of that part of the county'.[79] The engraving of James Davies in the book was probably the 'very good likeness' taken by Mr Essex, 'a promising Monmouth artist.'[80]

There were further reprints in 1841 and 1849 by S.P.C.K., the latter being edited by the Revd. J. Endell Tyler. They had appended not only an account of the consecration of Devauden church, but also James Davies' own biography of William James. Gabb's *Memoir* eventually raised £1,400 for Devauden School.[81] The advertisement for the second edition of 1832 indicated that the author wished 'to address the extensive good conferred on the community by an individual in humble life.'[82]

In 1850, the year after James Davies' death and when his work could be viewed with hindsight and in its totality, Sir Thomas Phillips had published in London his comprehensive *Life of James Davies, a Village Schoolmaster*. The *Usk Gleaner* reported that 'this was much appreciated and met with a ready sale'. A second edition was printed in 1852. In the later nineteenth century, a biography of James Davies, with an emphasis on his life prior to becoming a schoolmaster, appeared in the *Usk Gleaner*.[83] In 1880, the *Border Counties Worthies* remarked that James Davies life 'from the time he became a village schoolmaster to his death is a living tribute to the service of a good, upright and useful man'.[84] A perceptive biography was written by Ivor Waters for *Presenting Monmouthshire*.[85] All this attention gives the measure of the man.

So does the epitaph on his memorial brass on the north side of the church sanctuary:[86]

> 'In memory of James Davies to whom GOD gave length of days and grace to employ them in his service. After labouring 33 years as Schoolmaster at the Devauden, and seeing mainly through the weight of his own character a Church and School built and endowed in that place to supply the wants which had first drawn him thither. He removed at the age of 83 to this Parish near where he was born to begin again a fresh work of love in a School built at his desire and called by his name. Here he passed as he himself would have wished from labour into rest'.

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[78] 10 March 1832.

[79] 17 December 1831.

[80] *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 17 December 1831.

[81] Waters 33.

[82] *The Cambrian*, 8 September 1832.

[83] No. 2 (undated), kindly drawn to my attention by Mr Tony Hopkins of Gwent Record Office.

[84] 1st Series (London/Oswestry), ed. E.G. Salisbury, 36-37.

[85] No. 20 (Autumn, 1965) 31-34.

[86] Evans, E. and Prosser, J., *A Country Church* (Llangattock Lingoed, 2006) 21.

Fig. 1: James Davies
(after Ashe Gabb, 1832).

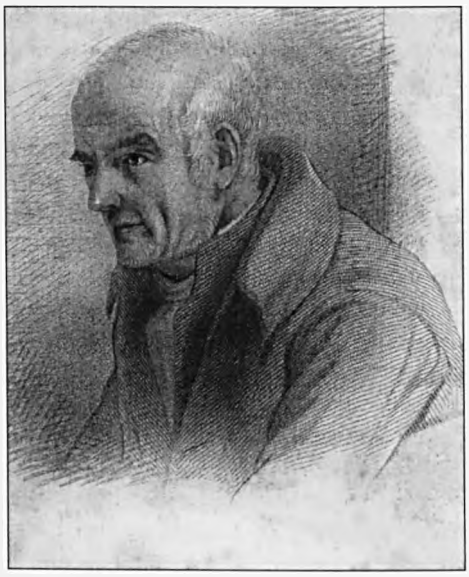

Fig. 2: James Davies
(after Phillips, 1850).

Fig. 3: Memorial Font in Devauden Church.
(*Photo:* Mrs Penny J. Davies).

Fig. 4: James Davies in Devauden School.
(after Phillips, 1850).

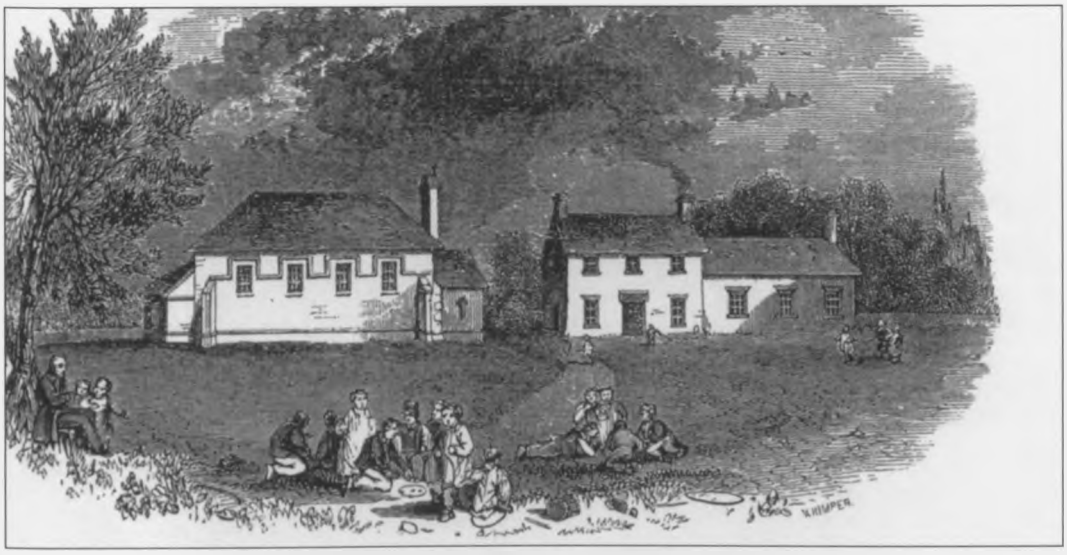

Fig. 5: Devauden Church and School, *c.*1839 *(after Whimper).*
James Davies is seated far left.

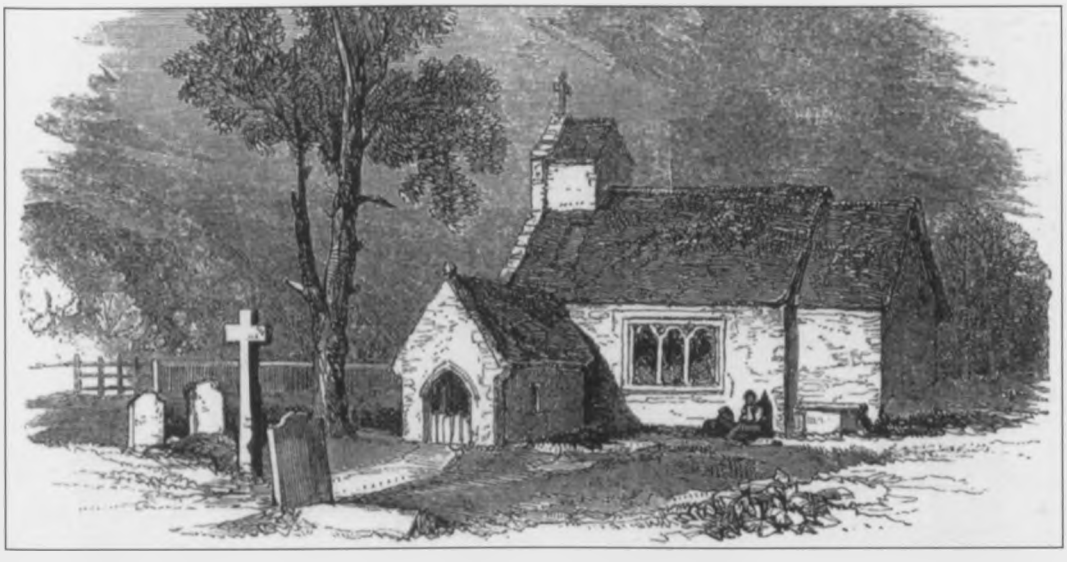

Fig. 6: Cilgwrwg Church subsequent to the restoration inspired by James Davies
(after Phillips, 1850)

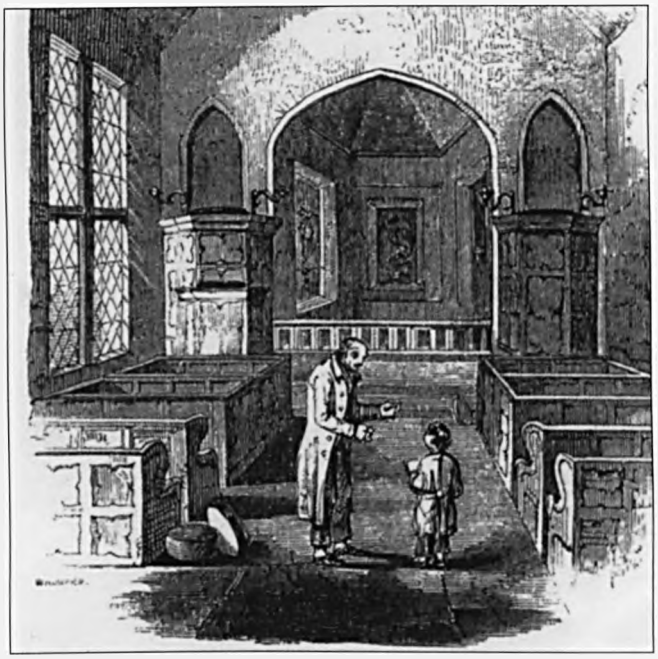

Fig. 7: seemingly James Davies in Devauden Church with a pupil. *(Phillips 1850).*

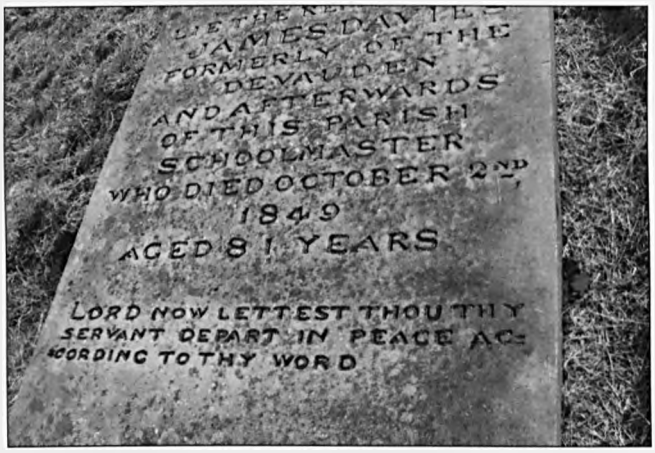

Fig. 8: The Grave of James Davies.
(Photo: the Revd. Dr Jean Prosser).

Fig. 10: James Davies School, Llangatwg Lingoed.
A mother and her son walk in the driveway. *(Phillips 1850).*

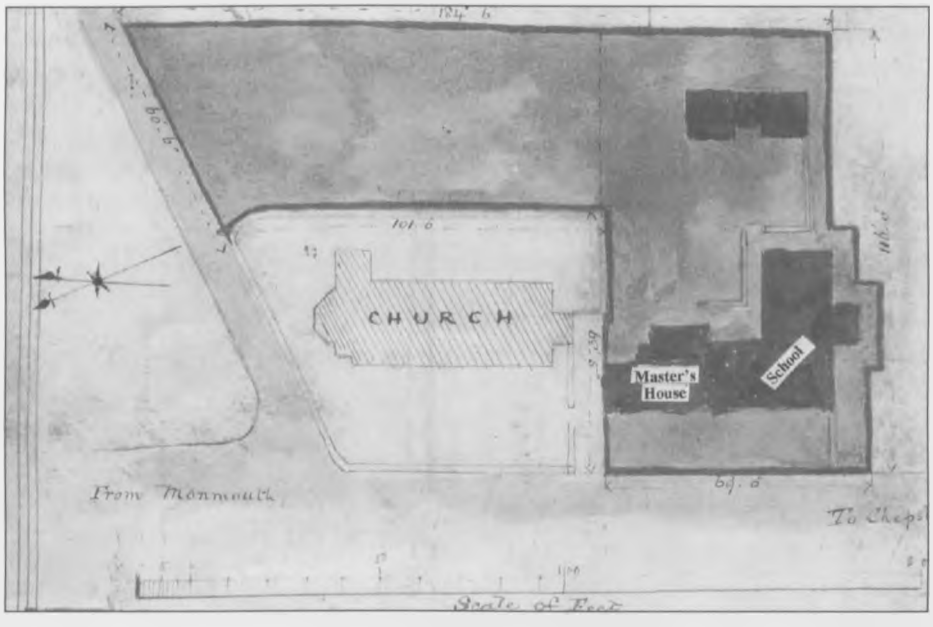

Fig. 13: Devauden School curtilage in 1878, when it ceased to be a church school. *(NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 2, No. 9,697).* (By permission of the National Library of Wales / Trwy ganiatâd Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru).

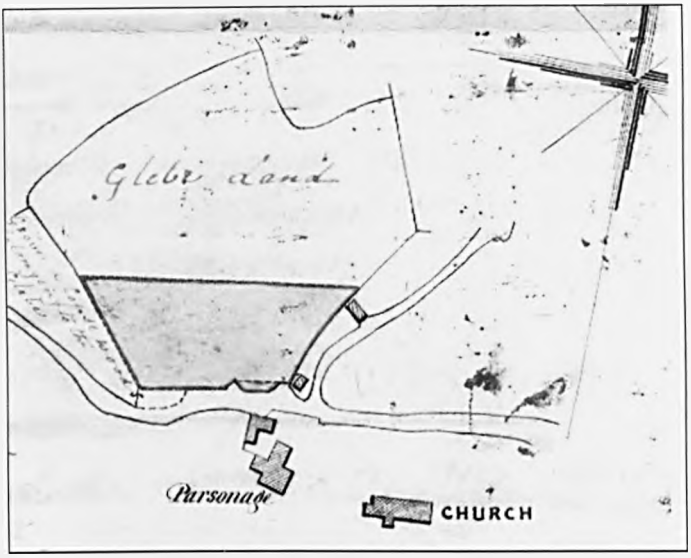

Fig. 14: Llangatwg school site (shaded) as donated in 1848.
(By permission of Mr Ken Prandy).

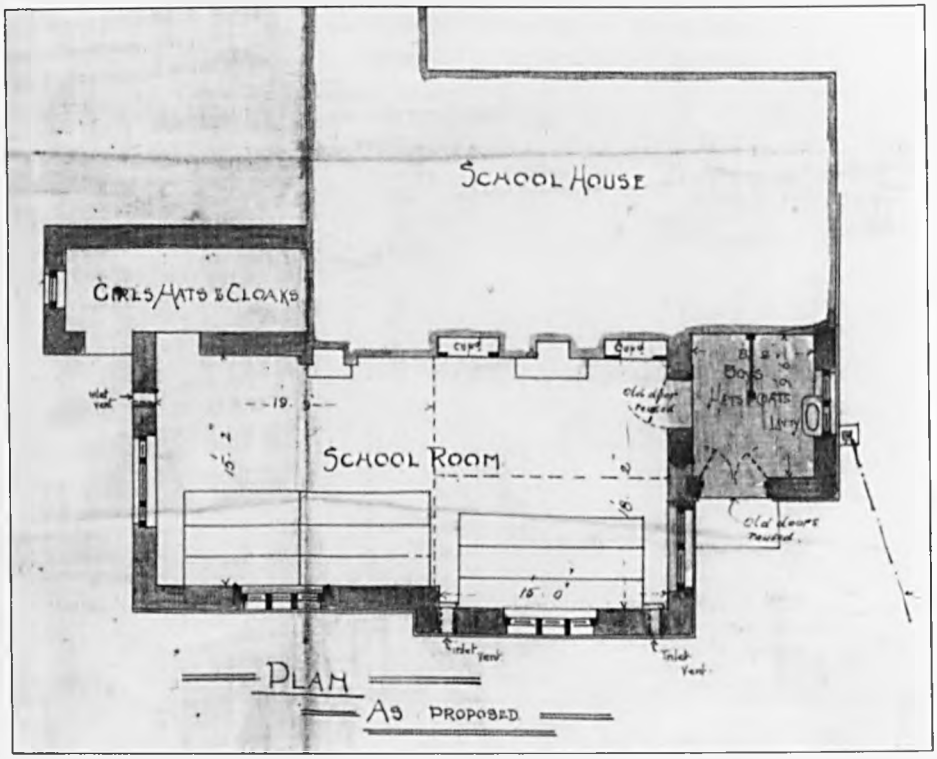

Fig. 15: Llangatwg School, c.1905.
(By permission of Gwent County Record Office; ref. D/Pa 103/32).

A FAMILY WEDDING, OCTOBER 1884:
A Personal Reminiscence

By Anna Tribe

The Naval Temple on the Kymin above Monmouth was built between 1800 and 1801 and is one of the most important monuments erected to the British Navy. There are the names of sixteen British admirals commemorated on it, and there is also a marble tablet on one side to show that it is dedicated to the fifth duchess of Beaufort who was the daughter of Admiral Boscawen,[1] who defeated the French at Lagos in 1759. Her husband was the local landowner and had arranged for there to be a road up to the temple from the Staunton road, a road which is no longer there. The tablet reads 'This Naval Temple was erected to perpetuate the names of those noble admirals who distinguished themselves by their glorious victories for England in the last and present wars and is respectively dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Beaufort. Daughter of Admiral Boscawen'.

When the duchess looked at this in 1801, she probably did not think that one day her great-grandson would marry the great grand-daughter of the admiral whose name was on the top of the temple - Horatio Nelson. This shows the connection between the two families. The fifth duke and duchess of Beaufort had seven living sons. Henry who was the eldest became the sixth duke, the second son, Charles, became a governor of the Cape of Good Hope, the next, Edward, led the Household Cavalry at Waterloo and the fourth son, Arthur's, family lived in the Isle of Wight. William took holy orders and became the vicar of Tormarton in Gloucestershire. He also had fourteen other livings with some in Wales and as a result learnt a certain amount of Welsh. I still have his Bible with which he studied the language. His son was also ordained and was the vicar of Woolaston in Gloucestershire to which, from 1711 to 1932 was annexed the parish of Lancaut.[2]

He seems to have been a great character, as I found out when I met a group of teachers from Woolaston on holiday in Majorca. I asked where they came from, and when I told them that my great-grandfather had been the vicar there in the 1860s, they with one accord said 'Not old Somerset - there are stories about him still going around'. The story that I know relates to a day when he was out shooting when he suddenly remembered that he should be at a christening. He had a brace of pheasants in his belt but he forgot about them. He dashed to the church pulling his cassock on as he went. He was just in time, but halfway through the service, one of the pheasants fell out. I wonder what he said.[3] There used to be an old lady in Raglan who was the last baby that he had christened. My father was very thrilled to meet her and every time that we drove down the Chepstow road out of the village and passed her house, he always used to remind us of this fact. The house had been an old mill and my father had caught his first trout there in the millpond. The water has long since gone, but those two memories are firmly entrenched in my memory.

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[1] See 'The Somerset Pedigree' in Durant, H., *Henry 1st Duke of Beaufort and his Duchess, Mary* (The Griffin Press, Pontypool, 1973)

[2] *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester* X (London, 1972) 115.

[3] William Somerset, son of Lord William Somerset, was rector of Woolaston, 1859-1902. He held the degree of LL.B. His financial difficulties created problems for his successor as rector, W.F.A. Lambert; *Victoria History, op. cit.* 116.

William's son was my grandfather who I have already mentioned. The next son after William was John, who served on the staff of the prince of Orange at Waterloo and who gave him a length of Brussels lace for his new baby to wear at his christening. I still have the much mended robe. The youngest of the family was FitzRoy, who eventually became Lord Raglan and was aide-de-camp to the duke of Wellington. His family have lived at Cefntilla Court, Llandenny for many years. That is also the house where the treaty was drawn up and signed after the fall of Raglan castle.

My grandfather, the son of the Revd William Somerset of Woolaston, was called Raglan Somerset after one of his godfathers. He was born in 1858 at Ewenni in Glamorgan where his father was vicar to the Turberville family. They had then moved to Woolaston, where he was one of a large family. His father's first wife had died and then he had married again so there were many children. My aunt, Horatia Durant,[4] well-remembered going over to Woolaston and meeting her Aunt Edith, who in a very Victorian manner said 'I am your Aunt Edith. You will find me strict but kind'. My aunt was about five at the time but she never forgot it.

In 1880, Raglan had met the daughter of the vicar of Radstock in Somerset, the Revd Horatio Nelson Ward. Her name was Elizabeth Horatia Anne and they wanted to get married. She was the great-granddaughter of Horatio Nelson and Emma Hamilton. There were two big problems. They had no money and he had no job. He thought that perhaps his cousin the eighth duke might possibly have some work and he discovered that he was staying at Troy so he walked over the hills to Monmouth, knocked on the door and asked to see the duke. He told him who he was and said that he needed some work.

The duke was very kind and asked what he could do. He replied that he was good with his hands and could do carpentry. He was asked if he would like to learn how to look after a castle as the warden, now a custodian, of Raglan castle had died the week before.[5] On the strength of that they got married in October 1884. First they lived at Llangynidr near Talybont and took rooms near the church. Every day he would ride on a pony over the mountain to Beaufort where the office was, to learn what needed to be done. My grand-parents moved to Raglan and rented a house and he started his new job at the castle. My father, another Raglan Somerset, was born in August 1885 and they moved house to where I still live at the end of that year.

In the 1890s, they held pageants at the castle with teas for visitors[6] and they even had one splendid occasion when Queen Mary's mother, the duchess of Teck came. My aunt could remember my father being drilled to make his bow to her but not to say anything as they were afraid what a rather tactless little boy of about eight might say, as she was a very large lady. All was well, he made his bow, and only when she was out of earshot did he said 'She's enormous!'

Raglan Somerset wrote a guide book and encouraged people to come to the castle. He used to take the money under the first archway that you come to at the approach to the castle. Whenever we came to stay, we used to spend a lot of time there and there was a very large old elm tree which had a table round it and he used to go down to his office on a ladder to boil a kettle and bring it up the ladder again to make the tea. It was all great fun. After the winter of 1947, a sprig grew out of the tree but that was its last offering and some years later it was taken down.

The eighth duke continued to be kind to his young protégée and they used to be invited to stay at Badminton. I have a letter to her mother from my grandmother describing her stay there with delight, a rather new experience for the daughter of the Radstock vicarage. Raglan carved a mantelpiece for

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[4] Also author of *The Somerset Sequence* (Hughes & Son Ltd, Pontypool, 1976).

[5] He held the posiion for 53 years: *The T imes*, 4 June 1938.

[6] *The Times*, 6 July 1886.

our house with the family motto on it – '*Mutare vel timere sperno*' ('I scorn to change or fear') - and also their initials underneath it. The motto was chosen for the family by William, third earl of Worcester who loved being at Raglan. It was engraved under the coat of arms in the great hall. The weather has gradually effaced it, but I can remember seeing it. They also used to be invited over to The Hendre by Lady Llangattock[7] and I suppose she was rather pleased to be entertaining a living relic, because she was already collecting Nelsoniana. There used to be a saddle of hers in the old Museum.[8]

I know from family letters that there was a great worry that the castle job would not give them enough to live on, but somehow they managed and he was very enterprising. They kept a cow in the paddock and he had his carpentry workshop. He even started a small business making soda siphons with the family crest of a portcullis as a trademark, one of which I still have. Other earthenware containers turn up from time to time in the garden next door. They joined the Raglan Archery Club at the castle, and they used to play tennis up there as well. They both became members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, so I am carrying on a family tradition. Of course there were none of the luxuries that are now regarded a necessities such as heating and electricity, and the fires smoked and the oil lamps flickered until 1950.

My grandmother died in 1929, and my grandfather in 1938. Then the Office of Works looked after the castle and the custodian was a meek little lady called Ada James who was given a very smart uniform. Her father and mother were Mr and Mrs Joe James who had always helped my grandfather. My grandfather, Raglan, became a magistrate and a churchwarden at Raglan church, and Lily as she was known (my grandmother) started the Mothers Union. There are still people living in Raglan today who remember them and I only discovered last year that it was Lily who played the mandolin that I have. They are both buried in Raglan churchyard as are my parents and my late husband.

[7] For a history of The Hendre, and pedigree of the Rolls family, *see* Bradney, Sir J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. 1: Part 1, *The Hundred of Skenfrith* (reprinted by Academy Books, 1991) 48-9.
[8] In Glendower St., Monmouth.

FOR THE RECORD

A Note on Usk Priory

The book, *Usk Castle, Priory and Town*, reviewed later in this journal, tells that when in 1374 Roger, the son and heir of the lord of Usk, Edmund Mortimer, was baptised, the prioress (alas, she is not named) was his godmother. It was an occasion which saw the presence of two bishops and their retinue in Usk, and which had theological implications for the pre-Reformation Church.

A little known extract from a chronicle compiled undoubtedly by canons of Wigmore Abbey, Herefordshire, tells of the birth of Roger on 11 April, 1374, and of the christening delayed until the next Sunday 16 April when the bishop of Hereford, William Courtenay, baptised the child, and the bishop of Llandaff, Roger Cradock, confirmed him. The godfathers were the bishop of Llandaff and the abbot of Gloucester, Thomas Horton, who held the baby at the font.[9]

The religious significance of the occasion lies in the juxtaposition of baptism and confirmation which since the times of the early Church had, for practical reasons, were very often become separated but retained as an ideal – as is still the custom of the Orthodox Churches today. As late as 1533, the later Elizabeth I was both baptised and confirmed when only three days old.

When, in 1376, the second son, also named Edmund like his father, was born at Ludlow, the abbot of Wigmore baptised the boy; John Swaffham, the new bishop of Bangor whose arrival had been awaited, failing to appear.

A Note on the Welsh Language in Eastern Gwent

A series of deeds held in the Badminton collections at the National Library of Wales, and stretching in date from 1580 to 1615, shed some light on the linguiistic map of Gwent in those years. The deeds mostly relate to properties to property transactions in the parishes of Cilgwrwg, Cwmcarfan, Llanfihangel Tor-y-Mynydd, Llangofen, Newchurch and Wolvesnewton.

In each instance the deed was not only signed and sealed, but its contents were read aloud to the assembled witnesses, both in English and in Welsh. Clearly, there was a marked degree of bilingualism in the area, and there may well have been a number of monoglot Welsh speakers.[10]

Extracts from a Letter written by R.C. Poulter to* The Times *of 3 April, 1890 – ten years before Tintern Abbey was teken into state guardianship

'Sir,- On a recent visit [to Tintern Abbey] I found several labourers "tidying up" in anticipation of Easter visitors. Fancying that they were merely mowing the grass and sweeping up leaves, I paid no attention to them, till, attracted by shouts of "Look out below", followed by heavy thuds, I found to my horror that they were removing from the walls such loose stones as could be reached from above with a long punt pole, thus completing the ruin begun by other dilapidating agencies. ... such a delicate operation as the removal of loose stones or of ivy which has taken a strong hold of ruinous walls should not be intreated entirely to labourers. ... the safety of visitors is not sufficiently cared for, the authorities ... giving access (by a dangerous staircase) to lofty walls. If, as I was told, no accident has happened lately, except to one drunken man, such fortunate immunity cannot continue unless greater precaution is taken ... '.

David H. Williams

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[9] Taylor, J.(ed.), 'A Wigmore Chronicle, 1355-77', *Proc. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society : Literary and Historical Section* XI : Part C (November, 1964) 93, citing Trinity College, Dublin, MS E.2.25.

[10] NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 1, 135, 186, 266, 275-78, 388-89, 393, 399, 401, 475, 486-87, 498, 509-11, 745, 833, 835-36, 1209, 1322, 1465, 1567, 1704, 1706-07, 1838,

REVIEWS

Griffiths, Ralph A., Hopkins, Tony, and Howell, Ray (editors), *The Gwent County History*, Vol. 2, *The Age of the Marcher Lords. C.1070-1536*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press on behalf of the Gwent County History Association, 2008. ISBN: 978-0-7083-2072-3. Hardback, 253 x 191mm, xx + 366 pages, 46 figs., 12 maps. £65.

The second of the projected five volumes of the Gwent County History is notably successful. In less than four hundred pages it covers most aspects of the region's development over nearly five hundred years. The editors have assembled a very strong team of contributors, whose blend of enthusiasm and skill makes for a book that is never dull and is often of absorbing interest.

The fifteen chapters are generally self-contained and can be read as individual essays. But for the reader seeking an outline political history of Gwent a number of chapters together constitute a survey of developments from the arrival of the Normans to the eve of the Acts of Union. Into this category comes David Crouch, describing the transformation of medieval Gwent from a land subject to Welsh kingship to one in which by the later thirteenth century native rule had been all but eradicated and replaced by the dominance of 'English' marcher lords. This is supplemented by Paul Courtney's analytical survey of the development of the marcher lordships. Rees Davies, in a chapter on 'Plague and Revolt' probes the cataclysmic events of the generations after 1348 – the age of the Black Death and of Glyn Dŵr. Ralph Griffiths discusses the challenges and opportunities of the post-Glyn Dŵr century in 'Lordship and Society', and W.R.B. Robinson surveys the final phase of marcher lordships in his chapter on 'The Early Tudors'.

The ecclesiastical history of the region is largely covered in three chapters: Jeremy Knight surveys the development of the parish churches, David Williams contributes a study of the religious orders, and Madeleine Gray probes the strengths and weaknesses of the pre-Reformation Church. Read together these chapters give us valuable glimpses of the tantalising elusive spiritual life of the medieval centuries.

Socio-economic development – discussed in some of the chapters already noticed, particularly in that by Rees Davies – is treated in Jonathan Kissock's chapter on 'Settlement and Society', and by those of Tony Hopkins on 'The Towns' and Robert Weeks on 'Markets, Trade and Industry' - to which is added a note on the recently-discovered Newport medieval ship.

The most spectacular and enduring secular architectural achievements of the middle ages are discussed by John R. Kenyon in his chapter on 'Masonry Castles and Castle-building', whilst a most notable contribution to Gwent's cultural history is provided by Dylan Foster Evans in a chapter on the Welsh language and its literature in the middle ages. This last is a *tour de force* that avoids treating its subject in thematic isolation, and sets it instead in the context of many of the other contributions to the volume.

Indeed, one of the benefits of a work by so many hands is that several chapters will often contribute in their different ways to our understanding of a particular topic. The impact on Gwent of the Glyn Dŵr rising is a case in point. The chapter by Rees Davies, of course, focuses significantly on this, and does so with consummate skill, but it is supplemented by the comments of Ralph Griffiths in his discussion of Welsh/English relations in the fifteenth century, by Tony Hopkins' description of the devastation that the rising brought to the towns, and by David Williams' brief but effective treatment of its impact on the religious houses. Perhaps the most dramatic comment on the rising is that of Jonathan Kissock, who suggests that 'In terms of settlement, the Glyn Dŵr rebellion arguably marked the end of medieval Gwent'.

The Herbert ascendancy of the fifteenth century is explored very fully by Ralph Griffiths, and more briefly by W.R.B. Robinson, but their work is fruitfully supplemented by the perspectives of John R. Kenyon and Dylan Foster Evans; and in a very different field of study Jonathan Kissock's careful analysis of settlement patterns can be augmented by the sensitive evocations of the later medieval landscape in the opening section of the chapters by Rees Davies and Ralph Griffiths.

Perhaps most striking amongst the many aspects of Gwent's medieval history that are illuminated in this volume is the region's great diversity. Paul Courtney emphasises the great differences between various lordships, from upland Abergavenny, almost entirely Welsh and characterised by a 'largely unreformed, native Welsh landscape' with a majority of the knights' fees in the early fourteenth century in Welsh hands, to lowland Chepstow, where much land was settled by English peasantry – probably in the course of extensive marshland reclamation – and where by 1306 only one of twelve knights' fees was held by a Welsh tenant. Jonathan Kissock's study of rural settlement points to the essentially dispersed settlement pattern of northern Gwent, contrasting with the village structures, whether 'linear' or 'agglomerated' of central and southern (coastal) Gwent.

From another perspective David Williams points to the distinctions between Tintern Abbey, which in terms of racial composition was very much Anglicised, and as such typical of several of the region's religious houses, and the obviously 'French' alien priories such as Goldcliff, or the abbey of Llantarnam, the only Gwent house to have been founded by a Welsh ruler and where most of the identifiable monks were clearly Welsh. Llantarnam was certainly the only Gwent house to provide real active support for Glyn Dŵr, in whose cause its abbot was killed. Indeed, Llantarnam's place in the region's history may benefit from further consideration: its continuing Welshness, long after the elimination of the last major lordship headed by a native ruling house, may suggest that the 'transformation' of medieval /Gwent was more superficial than is sometimes assumed.

Perhaps the most striking manifestation of medieval Gwent's diversity lies in the variety of definitions of its very extent. This is entertainingly and perceptively demonstrated by Dylan Foster Evans, the title of whose chapter 'Talm o Wentoedd' ('a multitude of Gwents') sets out the nature of the problem The poets might on occasion refer to two Gwents and sometimes to three Gwents; areas such as Euas/Ewyas might or might not have been seen as parts of Gwent', and 'The mental maps of the poets and the administrators could be subtly different.' This raises, as Dylan Foster Evans recognises, the issue of whether there was a Gwentian identity. The poets might have agreed on 'the existence and continuing relevance of the name and concept of Gwent', but how far this reflected or stimulated a concept of Gwentian identity in the broader – predominantly Welsh-speaking – society of the region remains a moot point.*

David Stephenson

* This review should ideally be read in conjunction wioth the present writer's comments on the same volume in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* **57**, 2009, pp. 92-96.

Gray, Madeleine, and Morgan, Prys (eds.), *The Gwent County History, Volume 3: The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536–1780.* Published by the University of Wales Press on behalf of the Gwent County History Association, Cardiff, 2009. General editor Ralph A. Griffiths. xviii + 408 pp. with 41 figs, 4 colour plates, 23 tables, 8 maps. ISBN: 9780708321980/0708321984. Price: £65.

The third volume in the outstanding Gwent county history series covers 'the making of Monmouthshire, 1536–1780'. The new shire of Monmouth was created by the 1536 Act of Union and lasted 438 years until abolition in an ill-considered fit of administrative modernisation in 1974. The old county has gone but is not forgotten and continues to define some activities, not least this county history. The opening chapter by Rees Robinson and Madeleine Gray sets the scene by discussing the context of the Act of Union, and explaining some of the quirks of the geographical definition of the new shire and the choice of Monmouth (not the largest settlement) as the shire town. Monmouthshire was something of an Anglo-Welsh administrative hybrid. As with other Welsh counties, Monmouthshire's boroughs elected an MP. Judicially, the shire was attached to the Oxford circuit rather than the Brecknock circuit and the Monmouthshire assizes lacked the autonomy of the Welsh courts of great session. Culturally, Monmouthshire was more Welsh than English, as Gwynfor Jones amply demonstrates, although the boundaries between English and Welsh were ever changing.

Madeleine Gray and Prys Morgan have met the editorial challenge presented by the need to consider the many facets of early-modern history. Professional historians cannot be experts in everything and it is refreshing that so many 'independent scholars' have contributed substantially to this book. The 18 chapters of the volume are in effect arranged in three parts. Parts 1 and 2 are chronological covering religion and politics between the periods 1530–1660 and 1660–1780 with contributions from Stephen Roberts, Madeleine Gray, Robert Matthews, Julian Mitchell, Peter Thomas, and John Morgan-Guy. Their essays are always competent and sometimes outstanding, notably the review of local, regional and national politics by Roberts which deals sensibly with the politics of Catholicism. The third part is thematic, covering important aspects of social and economic history. There are some unavoidable absences. The loss of judicial records means that the history of crime and social control cannot be written, although Howell's work on the surviving 1577 assize roll is acknowledged.

Most of the contributions are based on new research. There are original essays on transport and communications by Robert Weeks, and the poor law (all too brief) by Richard Allen. The collaborative chapter (by Brinley Jones and Colin Thomas with Madeleine Gray) on population breaks new ground and is based on a careful analysis of parish registers. Lay subsidy and hearth-tax returns await analysis. Agriculture (a difficult brief) is deftly dealt with by Paul Courtney in an original chapter on 'a landscape of improvement', although readers will still need to consult *The Agrarian History of England and Wales* for the general picture. Courtney's further chapter on towns is of outstanding interest with much new material. John Evans's discussion of early industrial development and Mitchell's well-written account of the Wye Tour look forward to themes in the next volume. One way or another most chapters deal with the gentry as brokers between the state and their localities, competing for power—sometimes violently—amongst themselves. On the evidence presented here, there was little effective challenge to the power of the gentry and the town oligarchs, although the Wentwood enclosure, a cause célèbre briefly discussed by Courtney, shows that real social tensions existed.

John Newman contributes an elegant overview of post-medieval buildings, and his chapter is agreeably complemented by Judith Jones on the patterns of everyday life. Newman's emphasis is on the houses of the leading families. As he explains, urban survivals are few, and, even after sixty

years, Fox and Raglan provide the essential overview of farmhouses and cottages. When Newman deals with the adaptation of medieval houses one realises that a discussion of cruck-framed hall-houses is missing and has somehow slipped between volumes II and III of the county history. This is a pity because Monmouthshire has been a classic locale for the discussion of the late-medieval house and a reassessment of Part I of *Monmouthshire Houses*, especially in the light of recent tree-ring dating, would have been illuminating.

Various engaging and not-so-engaging personalities flit across the pages. John Callice, the pirate, apparently originally from Tintern, makes an appearance although Henry Morgan, Monmouthshire's own semi-mythical buccaneer, is disappointingly absent. Religious figures range from Father Augustine Baker to Rev. Edmund Jones, the latter still awaiting a modern biography. I particularly appreciated the reference to John (the) Juggler (p. 54; not indexed), a rare glimpse of a C16th entertainer in trouble. Notable events included the plague (obliquely mentioned in 1639) and the 1607 flood which, according to the inscription reproduced on p. 48, caused losses of £5000 in Goldcliff alone 'besides' the drowning of 22 people. Robert Matthews provides a detailed account of the events and personalities of Civil War and Interregnum.

This book has some fifty illustrations, including several colour plates, but I felt, perhaps ungratefully, that readers could do with more visual treats; as we all know, a single picture can be worth a thousand words. In particular, more maps are needed. The six hundreds of the new shire and their constituent parishes are not mapped. The chapter on communications certainly requires a map of principal roads and bridges. The discussion of towns demands copies of Speed's bird's-eye view of Monmouth and Millerd's 1687 map of Chepstow. These show at a glance the townscapes of market-places, rows, and extensive gardens, among other features. Early estate maps are rare but they include the stunning late-Elizabethan Duchy of Lancaster map of Grosmont showing buildings in perspective, the subject of an article in the current volume of *Vernacular Architecture* (2009). Several contributors rather tantalisingly refer to the Badminton pictures of Troy House, Raglan and Chepstow, and readers need to know that these later C17th paintings are reproduced and discussed in Peter Lord's *Imaging the Nation* (2000).

This handsome, literate, informative, and often entertaining book has been impeccably edited. It is a pleasure to peruse a volume by many hands without the distractions of erratic punctuation, inconsistent spelling, and slipshod references. The contributors have been allowed extensive endnotes for references, which make for rewarding browsing, and there is a serviceable index. Congratulations are due to the editors, the contributors, and the Gwent County History Association for achieving so much relatively quickly. All readers—and there will be many—will enjoy this volume and look forward eagerly to Volumes IV & V.

Richard Suggett

Wakelin, A.P. and Griffiths, R.A. (editors), *Hidden Histories: Discovering the Heritage of Wales*; Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru / Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2008; ISBN: 978-1-871184-35-8 (English version), 978-1-871184-36-5 (Welsh version, *Trysorau Cudd*). Hardback, 248 x 276mm, 328 pages, 500 images – many in full colour; £24-95 (inclusive of postage).

This extremely fine volume commemorates the centenary of the foundation of the Royal Commission in 1908, and draws extensively for its illustrations and information upon its voluminous archive. The title of the book is the same as that of the concurrent BBC television series, and it is apt therefore that the BBC veteran, Huw Edwards, should have been invited to write the Foreword. He does more than that for he also gives an account of a chapel dear to him, Capel Als, Llanelli, and rightly reminds us that 'many of our best chapels are at risk'. The opening pages also contain an interior view of Newport Synagogue.

In the editorial Introduction, Peter Wakelin, currently Secretary of the Commission, points out that the volume 'explores not only Wales' most famous monuments, but also highlights treasures not so well known'. This is a valuable asset of the book which, to parallel the Commission's first hundred years, contains one hundred sections ranging from Welsh prehistory down to post-War Wales. Before these accounts, David Browne and Ralph A. Griffiths, in 'One Hundred Years of Investigation', give a detailed history of the work of the Commission, the first commissioners themselves, and the early inventories published. The National Library and the National Museum of Wales, they point out, were both founded in 1907 - one year earlier than the Commission, and were to be 'closely connected with it', while 'the early commissioners were notable figures in Welsh cultural life'. Amongst them was the Monmouthshire historian, Lt. Col. J.A. (later Sir Joseph) Bradney, a commissioner from 1916 to 1933.

The Commission's aerial photographer, Toby Driver, introduces the section on The Prehistory of Wales, and includes views only discernible from the air of concentric ditches at Flemingston and of Bronze Age barrows close to St Donat's, both in the Vale of Glamorgan. Case studies in this section include David Leighton's account of Paviland Cave now on the coast of Gower, but originally some 100 kilometres inland when our sea-level was much lower. Toby Driver co-operates with Stephen Briggs, Frances Lynch and Chris Musson, to provide accounts of the Neolithic Chambered Tombs and Henge Monuments and the Stone Circles of Wales. In so doing, the work of earlier excavators like Colt Hoare (1804), W.F. Grimes (1938), Hubert Savory (1949) and, from the air, of J.K.S. St Joseph, is not forgotten. Attention is drawn to the 'handful of timber circles in Wales', the best-known being that at Sarn y Bryn Caled, close to Welshpool.

A volume such as this cannot be an inventory including detailed descriptions of each and every monument in Wales, but Monmouthshire readers will be disappointed at the absence of any mention of the Neolithic chambered tomb at Gaer-llwyd, so comprehensively described in the last number of this journal by Ian McFarlane and Neil Phillips.

Toby Driver with David Browne introduces the section regarding Iron Age and Roman Wales, in which there there is much mention of Caerleon and Caerwent, as well as of lesser Gwent features as a circular stone temple at Gwehelog. Our committee member, Richard Brewer, the acknowledged authority on the site, describes the results of excavations at Caerwent from 1899 to 1913 and 1981 to 1995, as showing it to have been 'a bustling market town with shops, houses, baths, temples and a market-place and civic hall'. A statue inscription (illustrated) shows that the Silures tribal council used Caerwent as its meeting-place. The account of Iron Age hill-forts reminds us of the occurrence of the place-name 'Gaer' in Gwent (though not mentioned here), as Gaer Fawr in Llangwm Uchaf, the largest hill-fort in the county. Your reviewer remembers, as a boy, clambering over a stile to walk on Newport's Gaer.

The section relating to Early Medieval Wales, introduced by David Browne and Mark Redknap, contains a wealth of finely illustrated detail regarding Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Sculpture, before passing on to R. J. Silvester's consideration of the 'mysterious dykes' of the period – mentioning the early work of Cyril and Aileen Fox, and Mark Redknap's listing of finds at Llangors Crannog – a site where he has been heavily involved.

The pages devoted to The Middle Ages include consideration of bridges – where Anthony Carr asserts the bridge at Monmouth across the Monnow to be 'the only surviving medieval fortified bridge in Britain'; castles – Susan Fielding describes Grosmont and Raglan castles; churches – Christopher Nicholas rightly includes the medieval rood screen at Partrishow, but ignores that at Llangwm; monasteries – where Peter White includes one of the earliest photographs in the National Monuments Record, depicting Valle Crucis abbey; and ports – Deanna Groom describes the Magor Pill boat found in 1994 and the Newport ship unearthed in 2002.

The medieval section also includes consideration of the Jesse and Herbert tombs in the priory church at Abergavenny. There is a fine colour study of a wall-painting of St Christopher in Llanynys church, Denbighshire, but no allusion to that of St George recently uncovered at Llangatwg Lingoed. Dealing with The Humane Landscape, David Leighton both points to the new Anglo-Norman planned villages – like Rosemarket, Pembrokeshire, and notes deserted settlements, not least Runston , a little north of Crick – of which a fine aerial photograph.

A sad omission from the medieval section is anything but a passing reference to the Cistercian model farms or granges, of which there were some two hundred in Wales. There could have been the fine aerial view of Neath's Monknash grange, or the late Richard E. Kay's plan of Dore's grange at Llanfair Cilgoed. Kay's sterling manuscript studies, although deposited with the Commission, find no place in this volume. Holy wells, too, have no mention.

In the section regarding Early Modern Wales, introduced by Richard Suggett – who refers to the enormous work undertaken on houses by Peter Smith, Monmouthshire readers will find a mention and photograph of the great stable at Tredegar House, and a fine illustration of the Creed cartouche in Llangybi church. The county comes into its own in the account of The First Industrial Nation, introduced by Stephen Hughes and Peter Wakelin, where Blaenafon takes pride of place. There is a copy of Colt Hoare's fine engraving of the Blaenafon Ironworks, a colour photograph of the course taken by Hill's tramroad which conveyed iron from the works, as well as a complete resumé of Blaenafon as an iron town – with a view of Stack Square. There is no mention of Big Pit, but there is a photograph of the concomitant Workingmen's Hall and Institute. One of the two defensive towers at Nantyglo is illustrated, built to protect the iron-masters in case of industrial unrest.

Brain Malaws introduces the review of Early Twentieth Century Wales with a consideration of industrial and transport developments in the period. There is mention and an illustration of Newport Transporter Bridge opened in 1906, and of the Senghenydd, Glamorgan, colliery explosion in 1913 – but not of that at Six Bells, Abertillery, in 1960. In the paragraphs describing our national institutions, there is a fine aerial view of Cathays Park, Cardiff. Richard Suggett includes that at Oakdale in his account of the Garden Village Movement. He also introduces the important section dealing with Post-War Wales, where he includes photographs of the illegally partly-demolished Stelvio House in Newport, and of Bettws High School – closed after a short life in 2008. The last substantial and very fine contribution to Monmouthshire's architectural history comes with the description by Richard Suggestt, John Newman and Iain Wright, of The Newport Prefabs.

The whole work is an exceptionally fine volume, which will surely find a place on many a Monmouthshire bookshelf.

David H. Williams

Williams, David H. *Medieval and Tudor Gwent Clergy (to 1563)*, Aberystwyth, 2009. A4, 93pp, reproduced from typescript, 1 fig., card cover with simple binding. £8-00, or £15-00 in superior binding (postage included).

In this little volume, David Williams continues to cut a swathe through the intractable evidence for the medieval church in Gwent, making the crooked straight and the rough places plain. After the religious houses, the probate records and the ecclesiastical geography, he has turned to the personnel of the church, providing a list which goes beyond the Welsh volume of Le Neve's *Fasti* and identifies as many as possible of the parish clergy, curates, chaplains and chantry priests. In the absence of any diocesan archive material this is a daunting task: indeed, not the least contribution which this volume makes is the range of documents the author has trawled through and the guide it provides to the many places where others must look for information.

There are other problems which David Williams has had to deal with. Patronymics, diminutive nicknames, mistranscriptions by English scribes and modern editors add to the traditional monotony of Welsh Christian names to make it difficult if not impossible to identify incumbents for some parishes. No less than ten John Williamses are named in the 1563 survey of the county's clergy (plus one John Gwilym) – even in an age of pluralism they cannot all be the same! There are bound to be disagreements over some of David Williams's conclusions. It is hard, for example, to believe that the John Williamses who served the huge mountain parishes of Bedwellty, Mynyddislwyn and Llanhileth were the same; the parishes adjoin but they contain over 30 square miles of some of the most challenging terrain in the county. (It is a pity that, as the first two are described as curates, we do not have the earlier 1560 survey to help us.)

There are similar problems with place names. David Williams is suitably cautious about the potential for confusion between the Monmouthshire Llantrisaint and the Glamorgan Llantrisant. It is difficult, though, to see why he suggests that 'Lammayse' could be Llanfaches rather than the more likely Llanmaes in the Vale of Glamorgan. (Augusta Rayer-Jenkins clearly identified one of the 'Lammayse' priests, Henry Wegge, as coming from the Glamorgan parish, as his will mentioned place names in that area.) Modern editors have contributed to the problem. D. S. Chambers' catalogue of the Faculty Office Registers recording dispensations to former monks to become secular priests persistently confuses Llantarnam and Llanthony, so that the prior Henry Wydon and at least one monk (John Lingow) need to be moved from the Llanthony list to Llantarnam.

However, these are minor quibbles in a work of this scale. With characteristic modesty David Williams has described this as a preliminary publication and he has asked for corrections and supplementary material in order to enable him to produce a second edition in a more lasting format in 2013. As it stands, though, the book provides us with raw material for many detailed studies of the church in medieval Gwent in its social context. There is evidence for clerical marriage, disputes over land and tithes, and the impact of the religious changes of the sixteenth century. 'Lost' chapelries and even churches are identified as living communities. We are reminded, for example, that Llanthomas was staffed into the sixteenth century and that Man-moel still had a priest in 1349. The mere lists of names illuminate periods of crisis and rapid turnover – the Black Death, the swings of religious policy in the 1540s and 1550s. At only £8 for the simple binding, it will be an invaluable guide for all of us who are interested in the medieval history of our county.

Madeleine Gray

Knight, Jeremy & Johnson, Andy (eds.) *Usk Castle, Priory and Town* (Logaston Press, Little Logaston, 2008). Paperback: ISBN 978 1 906663 025; hardback: 978-1-90663-01-8; 26 x 21cm; 182 pp, 23 col. pl., 149 figs; £12.95 (paperback), £17-50 (hardback).

This book is a welcome addition to the corpus of local history studies with a wide-ranging selection of well-informed and interesting accounts of Usk. The volume was originally to be edited by Jeremy Knight and Geoff Mein. Geoff's sudden death saw Andy Johnson of Logaston Press step in to take on the co-editing taks. In a forward to the book, the editors express the hope that the volume will be a fitting memorial. There can be little doubt that it is exactly that.

There is a chronological dimension to the book with Frank Olding examining the prehistory of the region as a prelude to two Roman chapters by William Manning. Geoff Mein completed several contributions before his death with chapters on the development of the Norman town and a look at "some buildings of Usk". The latter is an interesting review of standing structures which show that a number of buildings, like Mulberry House and the King's Head, are much older than their current exteriors suggest.

Geoff Mein also contributes an interesting account of the hospitals and alms houses of medieval and later Usk. He places the hospice for travellers at the site of The Rhadyr at Coleg Gwent and the leper hospital where the modern Usk Bridge Mews now stand.

The medieval section of the book is particularly interesting with two chapters by Jeremy Knight on "Welsh space and Norman invaders" which examines the castle from 1136 to 1245 and on "Usk castle from Gilbert de Clare to the Herberts" which takes the story through the later Middle Ages. These chapters have a very good use of illustrations and comparative analysis.

Another very well informed and well presented chapter deals with the medieval priory and its community. Maddy Gray and Siân Rees provide a number of insights into the history of the priory including an account of the chapel dedicated to the Merovingian St. Radegund.

Later medieval themes are also well articulated in a chapter on Adam of Usk and Owain Glyndŵr by Chris Given Wilson. There could hardly have been a better choice of author; the chapter is written by the professor of Late Medieval History at St. Andrews who is also author of *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421.*

More modern periods are covered by chapters addressing some innovative and at times unexpected topics. A particularly welcome one is an account of the garden at Usk castle by Rosemary Humphries. Rosemary and Henry have made a huge contribution in sustaining public access to the castle and this chapter chronicles the earlier contributions of Rudge Humphries who was born in the castle in 1911.

Jan Barrow provides an interesting assessment of the eighteenth century market town and husband John Barrow, Hon. Sec. of the Usk Civic Society, considers the future of the town in the final chapter.

A slightly surprising but riveting chapter recounts the story of "Usk's Secret Army", the wartime auxiliary units, by Peter Rennie and Henry Humphries. There were eight patrols, each with a Biblical code name. Usk was Esau and, perhaps appropriately given the close proximity of the Royal Ordnance Factory, Glascoed was Lucifer!

The entire book is well illustrated with an appealing colour photo section in the middle. The editors and contributors should be congratulated on a welcome addition to local history studies. This is a book which can be recommended to anyone with an interest in Usk and its environs.

Ray Howell

Hopkins, Tony (ed.), *Men at Arms – Musters in Monmouthshire, 1539 and 1601-2* (Publications of the South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society, No. 21; Newport, 2009). ISBN: 0-9553387-1-9; hardback, 21.5 x 16cm., 193 pp., 9 black and white plates. £17-50.

A direct consequence of the Act of Supremacy in the early parts of the sixteenth and then the seventeenth centuries was that England had to treat the possibility of an all-out war, or even invasion from the Catholic countries of Europe, very seriously indeed. It also had to be prepared to send men overseas for active service. As the title of this publication suggests, this is a book about fighting men from Monmouthshire.

The information within it has been sourced from the National Archives and the National Library of Wales. Usually we are just given the reference number for the original archive documents, but in this book we are treated to a detailed history and description of the actual documents themselves – a very rare treat in the "internet savvy" environment of several current historical publications that rely far too much on ignoring the importance of reference to primary sources.

Although the book does give a history of the Lordships and Hundreds, I feel that it could have been extended to include more material from outside the county. That is, however, just a minor point. This book lists – in exhaustive detail – the names of the thousands of men, and their clothing, weaponry and equipment. The lists are given by Lordships and Hundreds, subdivided into settlements.

For the family/local historian, - like me – who have an interest in the history and the techniques and weaponry of warfare, it is a valuable reference work to be treasured. A great credit to those who compiled it.

Medwyn Parry

Edwards, Arthur J., *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool, Radical Puritan, A Biography*. Apecs Press, Caerleon, 2009; ISBN: 978 0954 8940 47 (hardback); £9-99; 978 0954 8940 85 (paperback) £8-99. 23.5 x 14.5 cm., 164 pp., 28 photographs, mainly black and white photographs. Select Bibliography, Glossary of Theological Terms and Appendices.

This is a book with differences. First, unlike most Nonconformist works, which are chapel histories, it is the biography of that great cynosure of nineteenth century Welsh nonconformist divines, Thomas Thomas. Second, most chapel histories are written, for better or worse, by nonconformists – usually to celebrate chapel anniversaries. It is therefore difficult for most authors to avoid the criticism of being the proverbial shoemaker who says that "there is nothing like leather".

Canon Edwards falls into a different category of author for two reasons. He is one of the increasingly rare breed of scholarly vicars, as he became a professional historian before deciding to take holy orders. He read history at Queen Mary College, London University, later being awarded there an M. Phil., studying under that distinguished Tudor historian, S.T. Bindoff. Arthur subsequently undertook work for the History of Parliament Trust. In my view, Canon Edwards's historical expertise and his experience as a priest for forty years in a different church – the disestablished Church in Wales – has given him both the depth and independence to undertake groundbreaking work on such a major subject.

Thomas Thomas was a true "all rounder". Not only was he the pastor for many years at the Grove Street Baptist Chapel, Pontypool, but he was principal of the Baptist College, which moved to its new building at Penygarn, Pontypool, in 1837. The work load involved in leading the institution responsible for the training of Baptist ministers in south Wales and in running a nonconformist chapel

must have been formidable. Nonconformist chapels had to survive by their own independent exertions, and in Thomas's own words, 'This church has always rested on the broad basis of Christian democracy, and has always been governed by universal suffrage, including that of the female members.' If any pastor lacked the charisma to deliver powerful sermons, or the administrative ability to be a very capable pastoral worker, then the individual chapel would decline or even fail. This book contains copious evidence of Thomas Thomas being both a charismatic "pulpit prince", and an exceptionally methodical and industrious pastoral worker.

Thomas Thomas was, in essence, typical of his age. He was a conventional puritan in the same sense always readily understood from the late-sixteenth century onwards. He was a firm supporter of temperance, and Edwards tells that at Crane Street ' ... the deacons accepted from Thomas the gift of one dozen bottles of Wright's "unfermented" Communion Wine (crushed grapes) for use at the Lord's Supper ... '. In the opinion of this reviewer, the most valuable contribution made by Thomas, as the leading nonconformist minister in south Wales in the Victorian era, was through his work as a radical. It must be remembered, however, that the congregation of Crane Street was essentially middle class, comprising skilled tradesmen, "the shopocracy", and professional people such as teachers.

In his radical approach to Victorian society, Thomas Thomas was ahead of his time. In November 1839 he delivered a sermon on Chartism in which he supported constitutional civil authority and he rejected any violence which might have been attributed to Chartism. He had a degree of sympathy, however, with the demands of the Charter and the condition of the poor. He also felt that 'the most pressing cause of distress at this time was the operation of the Corn Laws, which grind the faces of the poor'.

It has been stated, truthfully, that the nonconformist churches, where they had clear political affiliations in the Victorian era, were the Liberal Party at prayer. Thomas Thomas addressed meetings supporting the Liberal Party at Pontypool Town Hall in 1868, and on behalf of a Liberal candidate in Brecon. His external religious activities were also ahead of their time. He worked closely with the vicar of Trevethin or the rector of Panteg on causes of mutual interest, such as the Pontypool Scripture Readers' Association and the Pontymoile Working Mens' Institute. He was an early ecumenical divine. Finally, he led on the emerging issue of the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales, which did happen, but forty years after his death.

Thomas Thomas was a man of broad horizons. He encouraged those chapels which met the needs of Baptist immigrants to Monmouthshire, largely from Bristol and Somerset, who were solely English speaking. His wider interests included involvement in the Monmouthshire English Baptist Association of which he was first president in 1857, and subsequently in 1866 and 1877. His wider career culminated in his election as President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. He became a national figure.

This is a very readable and fascinating book. To add to its wide appeal the footnotes, on the advice of the publisher, have not been incorporated in this volume, although they will be included in a later publication. Moreover, there are several appendices of great interest 'A Glossary of Theological Terms', a 'List of Publications by Thomas Thomas, 1835-1877', 'Letters from Thomas Thomas to Thomas Henry Thomas, and Mary Thomas to Thomas Henry Thomas, 8 May 1857, 23 February 1864'; 'Extract from the Annual Report for 1877 of the Baptist Theological Institution, Pontypool', and 'The Conway Family Tree'.

Canon Edwards's book is about an exceptional man, whose work and interests bridged the religious and secular worlds of Wales and Great Britain as a whole. I warmly recommend it to everyone who has an interest in nineteenth century history.

David Rimmer

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES 2008

Day Outings

We enjoyed a very successful mid-week coach outing to Hereford in July. Our first stop was at Mortimer's Cross, to see the rare, one-man operated eighteenth-century watermill, now in part-working order and owned by our guide, Mr Partington.

After lunch in Hereford, we met Mr David Whitehead for a tour of the Cathedral, followed by a walk, in perfect weather, around the 'secret gardens,' the immaculate private gardens of the cathedral clergy. After an excellent Herefordshire cream tea in the magnificent College Hall, some of the members accompanied Mr Whitehead on a walk to see the site of Hereford Castle.

Evening Visits

We enjoyed an excellent and varied programme of events during the spring and summer, marred only by the necessary cancellation in March, through lack of sufficient support, of a private lecture and exhibition viewing at the National Museum Wales in Cardiff.

Our first visit, in May, was to the secret bunkers of the World War II British Resistance Organisation - Jonah Patrol, at Coed-y-Caerau. Thanks to the expertise of Sally Mogford and Richard Frame, we learnt of the history and location of these fascinating reminders of our wartime history without losing a single member through the rather shaky roofs of the underground bunkers.

In June, we visited a survival from the early-twentieth century in Stow Park Circle, Newport, namely part of the gardens designed for Stelvio House, long demolished, by James Pulman. We saw rock gardens, part of the extensive water gardens and a delightful grotto, all made from Pulhamite stone. Afterwards, over a glass of wine, we saw the original garden plans laid out for us by our hosts, Professor and Mrs Brian Peeling.

In July, the weather let us down badly, affecting the numbers who came to view the excavations inside the Roman fortress at Caerleon. Seven doughty members were shown around by Dr Andy Young in pouring rain. We also saw, under cover, some of the impressive finds. Later in July, we were invited by Mr Iori Harries to visit Trivor, St Maughans, a very handsome house dating from around 1630, a Catholic house with chapel and priest hole.

In August, we visited Tabernacle Chapel, Llanvaches and Llanfair Discoed Church, with Mark Lewis. Tabernacle is the home of the oldest non-conformist congregation in Wales, established in 1639 by William Wroth. He and Walter Cradock were active in their ministry in the area in the early-seventeenth century. In September, by way of contrast, we visited the Roman Catholic Church of Our Ladye and St Michael in Abergavenny, where Father Regan spoke of the history of the church, its chantry chapel, statue and portrait of St David Lewis and showed us some of the ancient medieval vestments still in use. He even modelled one for us to see!

Annual General Meeting, 19 April 2008

After the business meeting, at the Endowed Junior School, Caerleon, Dr Peter Guest of Cardiff University lectured on *Mapping Isca: recent research on the site of the legionary fortress at Caerleon,* afterwards inviting members of the Association to visit the excavations later in the year.

Day School, 11 October 2008

A highly successful meeting was held in Usk, in conjunction with the Friends of Usk Castle, on the theme of *The Towns of Medieval Monmouthshire.* All the speakers were members of the Association and we also gained several new members.

Gwenllian V. Jones

2009

[It has already been said that Gwenllian will be greatly missed, but it must be recorded that she worked assiduously, particularly in organising an engaging and extending programme of excursions. This report incorporates her own notes].

The *Annual General Meeting* took place on **Saturday 18 April** at the Endowed Junior School, Caerleon. After the business meeting, Dr Joshua Pollard from the Department of Archaeology, Bristol University, spoke on "New Light on Stonehenge : the Results of the Stonehenge Riverside Project". It was discouraging and disappointing that not more members attended to hear this interesting talk.

On **Wednesday 27 May** we visited Coed Craig Ruperra, to be guided by Pat Jones-Jenkins (Moseley) and Tony McGurk of the Ruperra Castle and Conservation Trusts. The controversial and vulnerable site includes the "pageant" castle of *c.*1624, built for Sir Thomas Morgan of Tredegar Park. The threat to its architectural and historical integrity has been recently removed, albeit perhaps temporarily, by the refusal to allow a potentially disastrous development of the site. Pat Jones-Jenkins is to be complimented on her relentless fight to achieve this goal. During the visit she concentrated on Gwenllian, to ensure that she might see as much as possible of the work involved. Other members saw more of the woodland, with the view of the castle through the restored seventeenth century "lights", and the Norman motte – within which around 1918 had sat a thatched summer-house. It will be a daunting project, but we await with interest to see its fulfilment.

On **Saturday 27 June** members had a wonderful day in the Vale of Glamorgan, first visiting Llancarvan's church of St Cadfan, the site of a Celtic "minster". It was astonishing to see the recently restored mediaeval wall paintings, the most complete cycle to have survived, depicting the life of St George. Thanks are due to Jeremy Knight, Mark Lewis – and Ian Fell, who welcomed us to the church. We went next to Old Beaupré (Bewper) Castle, in fact a magnificent sixteenth-century mansion, and the seat of the Bassett family until the marriage of an heiress to Sir Rice Mansell. The three-storey entrance porch is spectacular – a true "tower of the Orders" (Doric, Ionic and Corinthian). It is the finest work of the Elizabethan Renaissance in Wales. The old fourteenth-century manor survives, and is still inhabited.

Jeremy Knight then guided us around St Illtud's church at Llantwit Major; founded about 500A.D., it is the largest parish church in Glamorgan. The present building dates largely from the twelfth century, and contains the fifteenth-century Ragland family chantry chapel, and many wall paintings. Of especially interest were the ninth- and tenth-century carved stones. Unfortunately, we did not have time to visit the Tinkinswood neolithic chambered tomb, but might well remedy this on another occasion.

On the evening of **Wednesday 7 July** we were lucky to have a break in the poor weather when we visited Mathern. At St Tewdric's church Mark Lewis gave us one of his excellent talks, this time on the church's history and on the bishops of Llandaff – whose former palace nearby we were unable to see properly. Bishop Francis Godwin in 1610 exhumed the body of St Tewdrig and reburied it in the chancel. Most of the church dates from the thirteenth century, but in the late-fifteenth Bishop John Marshall "grandiosely" enlarged the building, leaving heraldic clues to his work. The famous spring was not particularly impressive, and it was difficult to understand how a log could travel between it and the sea at very high tides (*Cf.* Bradney, J.A., *History of Monmouthshire* 4, Pl. p. 50).

On the same evening it was encouraging to hear at Moynes Court that the new owners were still restoring their part of the house. In an upstairs fireplace is an iron fireback dated 1648, and bearing the initials of Thomas Hughes, the Parliamentary governor of Chepstow Castle at the time of the

great siege of that date. The fourteenth century gatehouse still has dateable features, but was remodelled by Godwin.

On **Wednesday 26 August** two of our own "Time Team", Ray Howell and Steve Clarke, took us to Llangibby Castle. The visit was by kind permission of Mr David Addams-Williams, a descendant of Sir Trevor Williams who had occupied the castle with a garrison of sixty men in 1645 – for the Parliament, and again in 1647 – for the King! An earlier motte still stands, but the enormous fourteenth century castle of Tregrug lies in the hill-top, hidden in dense woodland. A huge, roughly rectangular enclosure has its really strong fortifications at the north-west corner, where the Lord's Tower and the Gatehouse appear to have been designed in the tradition of Gilbert de Clare's Caerphilly Castle, but on a more elaborate and sophisticated level. Cathcart King and Clifford Perks (*Archaeologia Cambrensis* **105** [1956]) explained why, in their view, the castle 'never made its mark in history'. The real Time Team's programme, covering their dig here and filmed in 2009, will be shown from mid-March this year.

In **Tuesday 22 September** we gathered in St Mary's Cathlic church in Monmouth, to hear Mr David Powell give a talk based on the book he had written about the church. Built as early as 1793, following the Catholic Relief Act of 1778, to meet the regulations then in force it was set back inconspicuously form the road, behind a row of cottages. Only the east end of this huilding now survives. The church was remodelled in 1837; in 1871 the cottages were demolished and Benjamin Robert Bucknall was engaged to extend the church towards the street. The unfinished Catholic mansion of Woodchester Park is also largely his work. Curiously a descendant, Stephen Bucknall who died recently in his nineties, taught for many years at Monmouth School.

The talk itself was marred by the acoustics of the church, but the evenings had its high points. Of especial interest was the late-fifteenth century chasuble and maniple, reputed to have been a gift from Elizabeth of York, perhaps to Sir Walter Herbert who entertained her at Raglan in 1502. In a recusant county it was preserved secretly until coming into the possession of this church. The presence of beautifully embroidered white roses seems to point to a Yorkist provenance. Also in the church is an altar with relics of the martyr, Father John Kemble, who was executed at Hereford on 22 August 22 1679.

On the evening of **Thursday 2 October** members gathered at Llangattock Lingoed church to mark the 160th anniversary of the death of James Davies. We were welcomed by the rector, the Revd.. Dr Jean Prosser (awarded the M.B.E. in the 2010 New Year's Honours List 'for services to conservation and the community in Monmouthshire'), after which the Revd. Dr David Williams spoke on James Davies' life – an account of which appears in this journal. James Davies was born at nearby Blaen Trothy in 1765. At about the age of fifteen he rejected the prospect of being articled to a kinsman attorney in Abergavenny, and was apprenticed to a weaver in Grosmont. Later he took to the road as a pedlar but was appointed in 1812 to be schoolmaster in Usk. After three years he moved Devauden where he established a model school, and thirty-three years later did the same at Llangattock, supported unreservedly by the local gentry. Members saw the brass plate in his memory on the sanctuary wall, and viewed his tombstone in the churchyard. It bears the words of the Nunc Dimittis, and so the evening closed with the recitation of that canticle.

The Association was very well represented at the funeral service for Mrs Gwenllian Jones held at Glasllwch Trinity Methodist church on the morning of **Friday 18 December**, and later in the Legionary Museum, Caerleon, when Richard Brewer and Jeremy Knight spoke in appreciation of Gwenllian. The service and the meeting were a fitting tribute to her.

Keith Underwood

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Vaughan Birbeck is a Senior Archaeologist at Wessex Archaeology, and formerly served both the Birmingham University Field Unit and the Museum of London. In these rôles he worked on a variety of both rural and urban archaeological sites including both Fenchurch Street and Gresham Street in the City of London. He has published widely, and has, additionally, undertaken standing building surveys, and evaluations (including the Stonehenge World World Heritage Area and St Mary's Stadium, Southampton), as well as scheduled monument recording.

Noel Gibbard hails from the Gwendraeth valley. Educated at Bala-Bangor Independent College and the University of North Wales, Bangor (now the University of Bangor), he served for nearly twenty years as a Congregational minister. Now retired, he had charge, in turn, of Congregational churches at Dowlais and Bynea, and Llanelli. He has been a Lecturer in Church History at the Evangelical Theological College of Wales (now the Wales Evangelical School of Theology).

Madeleine Gray is Reader in History in the University of Wales, Newport, and one of the editors of the recently-published third volume of the Gwent County History, *The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780*. She has a long-standing interest in pilgrimages and saints' cults and in the visual imagery of medieval religion, and she chairs the National Museum of Wales advisory committee on the wall paintings at the reconstructed Llandeilo Talybont church.

Ray Howell is Director of the South Wales Centre for Historical and Interdisciplinary Research in Newport, President of the South Wales Record Society, and Chairman of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust. He was volume editor for the first two volumes in the five-part Gwent County History, and is Archaeology and Art Editor of *Studia Celtica*. His latest book, *Searching for the Silures, an Iron Age Tribe in Southeast Wales*, was reprinted by the History Press in 2009.

Jeremy Knight was born in Caerleon, and read archaeology at University College, Cardiff. For over thirty years he was an inspector of ancient monuments, whose wide area of responsibility included Monmouthshire. He has undertaken a major excavation at Montgomery castle; written many guidebooks to monuments; and has published numerous articles. A major work, *The End of Antiquity*, was published in 2000 (2nd. revised edition, 2007), whilst another book, *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire*, was published in 2005. He has recently co-edited, with Andy Johnson, *Usk Castle, Priory and Town* (reviewed in this journal).

Julian Mitchell read History at Oxford and lives at Llansoy. Playright, novelist and television scriptwriter as well as local historian, he contributed two chapters to Volume 3 of *The Gwent County History*. Recently elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, he has curated and written the catalogue of the exhibition "The Wye Tours and its Artists", which runs at Chepstow Museum from May to September 2010, and is the author of its fully illustrated catalogue.

Medwyn Parry is a native of Anglesey and has worked for the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales since 1984. Now specialising in the study of 19th & 20th Century Military Archaeology, he presents lectures on the subject all over Wales – and beyond. He was the Area Co-ordinator (Wales) for the highly successful CBA Defence of Britain Project which ran from 1995 to 2002.

David Rimmer read history at Manchester University, and trained as an archivist at Liverpool University. He was City Archivist of Coventry from 1974 to 1993, and County Archivist of Gwent from 1993 until his retirement in 2008. Whilst at Coventry, he published a researched history of Warwick Road Congregational, later United Reformed, Church. He has also written articles and contributed book reviews to professional journals. He was made an Honorary Research Fellow of the Coventry Lanchester Polytechnic, now Coventry University, in 1983.

David Stephenson is Honorary Research Fellow in the School of History, Welsh History and Archaeology, Bangor University. His books include *The Governance of Gwynedd* (Cardiff, 1984), and he has contributed to *The Welsh King and His Court* (Cardiff, 2000) and *The Impact of the Edwardian Castles on Wales* (Oxbow, 2009). He has published widely on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Powys and the March, and on the construction of the medieval Welsh chronicles. He is writing a history of medieval Powys.

Richard Suggett has been a staff member of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments in Wales since 1984, and is currently head of the emergency recording team. His contributions to the Commission's publications include a study of John Nash the architect (1995), and *Houses and History in the March of Wales* (2005). His *History of Witchcraft and Magic in Wales* has recently been published (2008). He is an honorary fellow of the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, and has been a recipient of the Cambrian Archaeological Association's G.T. Clark prize.

Steve Thompson began his archaeological career in 1990 as a volunteer for Morecambe Bay Archaeological Research Society, after which he studied at Winchester College. He also worked for Historic Scotland on the Bostadh Beach Pictish settlement excavations on the Isle of Lewis. He has taken part in excavations at Zeugma and Catal Hoyuk, in Turkey, for the Oxford Archaeological Unit. Steve has, since 2003, worked for *Time Team* at over fifty sites. Currently an archaeologist with Wessex Archaeology, his interests include early Christianity in Scotland and surfing.

Bob Trett has had a long career in museums. He is a former curator of Chertsey Museum, then of King's Lynn Museum, and finally of Newport Museum and Art Gallery. He retired in 2000, and since then has been actively involved in historical tours and lectures on the history and archaeology of Gwent. His research interests include early Caerleon and Newport, and in particular the Newport medieval ship.

Keith Underwood was educated at Monmouth School, before studying painting under Tom Rathmell and sculpture under Hubert Dalwood, at Newport School of Art. Foregoing a place at the Royal College of Art, he studied for a year in France on a Leverhulme Research Award in Fine Art. After military service, he took his Dip. Ed. at the West of England College of Art, Bristol University, and has spent over thirty years freelancing as a painter and tutor. He is a guide at both Tintern Abbey (in the habit of a monk) and Chepstow Castle (wearing Norman dress).

David H. Williams read geography at Cambridge, specialising in historical geography. One of his inspirational lecturers was the late Jean Mitchell, who referred to him as 'the man from Monmouthshire'. Editor of this journal from 1990 to 2000, he is pleased to have been able to produce this issue on behalf of Annette Burton.