

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION

PAPERS IN MEMORY OF GWENLLIAN V. JONES, M.A., F.S.A.

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and
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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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FOREWORD



Gwenllian V. Jones, M.A., F.S.A.
(Courtesy of Christabel Hutchings)

The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association is proud to dedicate this volume to the memory of Gwenllian Vaughan Jones, honorary secretary of the Association from 1986 until her untimely death in 2009.

It contains specially commissioned articles written by those who knew Gwenllian well, and with whom she was closely associated in the work of promoting research, writing and the spread of knowledge about the archaeology and history of Gwent/Monmouthshire. These articles and other contents of this journal, represent the contributors' tribute to Gwenllian, and the Association is happy to acknowledge their help in producing a volume which we are confident will be considered worthy of an incredible and talented lady.

An appreciation of Gwenllian and her work by our chairman, Jeremy Knight, has already been published in Vols XXV-XXVI for 2009-10, but if I may be permitted a personal note, I shall remember Gwenllian's stalwart support of the journal as a member of the Editorial Sub-Committee, and the kindness she showed to me, despite her own worsening health.

We shall all remember Gwenllian with affection, admiration, and sadness at the loss of so vibrant a personality. Her work for this Association was 'indefatigable': she set standards of hard work and commitment to which those who follow after her must attempt to aspire.

Annette M. Burton,
 Honorary Editor

**GWENLLIAN VAUGHAN JONES:
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE MONMOUTHSHIRE
ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION, 1986-2009**

By Christabel Hutchings

Gwenllian was only the ninth secretary in the 160 years' history of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association [MAA]. She took over from Judith V. L. Leslie, a formidable lady who had served as secretary for twenty-nine years.¹ Jeremy Knight has described how Gwenllian's strong personality probably first came to Judith Leslie's notice.² After showing the Association around Avebury, Professor Atkinson offered to take the group on to West Kennet long barrow which meant sacrificing the visit to the obligatory stately home. Gwenllian overturned Judith Leslie's plans for the day by voicing her desire to see the West Kennet long barrow in the company of such an eminent archaeologist. It must have been obvious to Judith Leslie that Gwenllian would make a suitable successor and they were to become close friends. Gwenllian's official position as secretary was ratified at the AGM in 1987 although she had taken up her duties in 1986 and had been a great support to an ailing Judith Leslie for some time.

The MAA constitution sets out the rôle of secretary. It involves keeping minutes, maintaining a list of members, dealing with correspondence and arranging meetings and excursions and presenting the annual report of the executive committee at the AGM. It allows a wide variety of activities including a free public lecture and the organisation of conferences and field trips. Gwenllian, however, accomplished more than the constitution required. The field trips were meticulously researched. She had helped Judith Leslie reconnoitre her outings and knew the importance of forward planning which involved following the route and checking that Jeff, her preferred and trusted driver, would be able to get the bus down narrow country lanes. Lunch stops and toilet stops were carefully researched and nothing was left to chance. There were, however, unforeseen circumstances. There was a gentleman who became lost in a wood leading down from a hill fort and people who failed to turn up for buses at a time when mobile phones were less universally used than today. Gwenllian took it all in her stride and always retained a sense of humour.

Gwenllian also personally joined many Gwent and Glamorgan societies and was secretary of the Monmouthshire Welsh Historic Garden's Trust, The Gwent County History Association and served on the Gwent Local History Council. She was also a member of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust and fostered the MAA's membership of the Severn Estuary Level Research Committee and was a long standing member of Cardiff Archaeological Society, Ruperra Castle Preservation Trust and Usk Castle Friends. Such links benefited the MAA profile in the county, but also allowed her to avoid the ever present horror of clashes of dates and the duplication of lectures.

Although Gwenllian served with only one president, Ian Burge, she served with three chairmen. Whereas the president provided social links in the county, the chairmen of the MAA were men of academic stature and knowledge which is vital in ensuring that the association stays in touch with historical and archaeological research in the county. Cefni Barnett, who had been director of Newport Museum from 1968, was chairman of the MAA from 1982-87, but he died shortly after Gwenllian

¹ Thorneycroft, Sheila and Boon, George C., 'Mrs J.V.L. Leslie, 1905-1987', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary: Proceedings of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association* (hereinafter *Mon. Antiq.*), 5, pt. 3 (1985-88) 65.

² Knight, Jeremy K., 'Gwenllian V. Jones', *Mon. Antiq.*, 25-26 (2009-10) 3.

officially became secretary. The National Museum of Wales [NMW] had assumed responsibility for Caerleon Museum in 1930, but the old building needed replacing and, in 1987, the new Roman Legionary Museum building was opened. Together, Gwenllian and Cefni Barnett planned the centenary celebration of the death of the MAA's founder John Edward Lee (1808-87) by unveiling a plaque to his memory at a soirée in the newly constructed museum.³

The next chairman under whom Gwenllian served was George Boon who had been president of the society from 1976-82 and chairman from 1988-94. As keeper and later curator of the Department of Archaeology at the National Museum, he 'provided a scholarly gravitas to the Association'.⁴ Gwenllian and George Boon had to deal with some difficult issues. In 1989, a shortage of funds and increasing costs of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* led to the severing of the link between the MAA and Geoff Mein's Field Research Group which was excavating at Trostrey.⁵ For Gwenllian, a dedicated and active archaeologist, this was a great sadness. Another problem soon loomed. The NMW had taken over the upkeep of the Roman Legionary Museum in 1930 setting up a trust deed which provided for a joint MAA / NMW management committee. In 1987, the NMW constructed the new museum building, but the joint committee remained in operation. In 1991, the National Museum terminated the Roman Legionary Museum's joint committee after adopting a new charter which made the joint committee redundant. The former trust deed, however, remained as a legal document and Christopher Hill, an MAA committee member and local solicitor, negotiated a new deed with the NMW which allowed the MAA to use the new building for its committee meetings and to house its reference library. Furthermore, the gift of Roman inscriptions and other artefacts to the NMW were acknowledged and free entry to the Roman Legionary Museum was allowed for members wearing an MAA badge.⁶ Before the new deed could be signed with the NMW, it was necessary for the MAA to draw up a constitution and obtain registered charity status. A reformed Caerleon Museum Committee was set up which met with the MAA annually, and although merely a vehicle for mutual discussion, it has developed into a means by which the National Roman Legion Museum [NRLM], as it is now known, can usefully disseminate information to invited historical and archaeological groups in the area. The fact that the MAA's relationship with the NRLM remains secure is in great measure due to Gwenllian's unequivocal support of museum activities, and the rapport she established with museum staff over the years. Many NMW staff sat on the MAA committee. Richard Brewer (Keeper of Archaeology and Numismatics at NMW), Bethan Lewis (former Manager of NRLM) and Dr Mark Lewis (Curator of the NRLM), were particularly supportive of Gwenllian, as was John Kenyon, Librarian of The National Museum and the Association

Gwenllian's contribution to the MAA was not merely secretarial as she had obtained a BA in Archaeology and an MA in Local History.⁷ She used her scholarship to research Edward Lee's life and provided articles for *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* as well as appending a select bibliography of Lee's publications.⁸ She had also discovered a photograph of Lee and a copy was placed in the Roman Legionary Museum together with a memorial plaque, and the cost was shared with Caerleon Civic Society. On 28 October 1997, the MAA celebrated the 150th anniversary of its foundation with

³ Boon, George C., 'Cefni Barnett, F.S.A., F.M.A., 1919-1987', *Mon. Antiq.*, 5, pt. 3 (1985-88) 66.

⁴ Brewer, Richard, 'George C. Boon F.S.A. 1927-1994', *Mon. Antiq.*, 11 (1995) 3.

⁵ Minutes of the MAA, 25 April 1889; See also Trett, Bob, 'Andrew Geoffrey Mein (1922-2008)', 24 (2008) 91-3.

⁶ Minutes of the MAA, 22 Oct. 1991; 18 Feb. 1992; 5 Jan. 1993. Museum access is now free to the public.

⁷ 'Notes on Contributors', *Mon. Antiq.*, 17 (2001) 68.

⁸ Jones, Gwenllian V., 'John Edward Lee: A Monmouthshire Antiquary', *Mon. Antiq.*, 13 (1997) 5-12; 'John Edward Lee and Antiquarianism in nineteenth-century Caerleon', *Mon. Antiq.*, 17 (2001) 3-8.

a dinner in Lee's dwelling, now *The Priory Hotel*, and as usual Gwenllian's meticulous organisational ability ensured it was a successful occasion.⁹

In 1995, Jeremy Knight was officially installed as chairman. He had been Inspector of Ancient Monuments for Cadw (retiring in 1996) and was joint editor of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* from 1980-88. Jeremy Knight is always full of ideas for outings and lectures and conferences. The bi-annual conference became a regular feature. The first conference took place in 1996, when Jeremy Knight suggested a day conference entitled 'The Civil War in Monmouthshire'.¹⁰ This heralded a sequence of memorable conferences, often held in conjunction with other societies.¹¹ Gwenllian was also secretary when the MAA's involvement in the 2010 conference 'Emperors, Usurpers, Tyrants' was first mooted.¹²

It is not possible to mention all the people to whom Gwenllian would surely have wished to pay tribute in her rôle as secretary. Ian Burge was president throughout her period as secretary and other officers were the editors of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, David Williams and Annette Burton, and treasurers Richard Brewer, the late Eric Wiles, and Richard Hutchings.¹³ As illness took its toll, she increasingly relied on Mark Lewis and Keith Underwood to help organise outings and events, but was essentially in control at all times. At Gwenllian's funeral her son, Gareth, referred to her emphasis on knowledge and understanding. Whenever you visited Gwenllian's home, one was confronted by a large stack of recently published historical and archaeological books on her coffee table which were re-organised to make space for the coffee cups, but never removed. This mound of books symbolised Gwenllian's dedication to knowledge which was reflected in her commitment to the MAA and *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* and her role as secretary of the Gwent County History Association which is creating a definitive history of the county. Appropriately, Gwenllian's academic publications and work for the County History project were recognized shortly before her death by her election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Gwenllian's twenty-two years as secretary have seen a fundamental change in the association's organisation. The society is now a registered charity with a constitution and a newly defined relationship with the NRLM. The membership has increased and the finances are on a secure footing. The MAA organises lectures and conferences, which together with *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, record and interpret the history and archaeology of the county, and increasing numbers of members take part in field excursions. This is in no small measure due to Gwenllian's commitment and guidance during her twenty-two years as secretary.

⁹ Jones, Gwenllian V., 'The 150th Anniversary Dinner', *Mon. Antiq.*, 14 (1998) 64.

¹⁰ Jones, Gwenllian V., 'Field Excursions and Lectures, 1996: October lecture: October 12th, 1996', *Mon. Antiq.*, 13 (1997) 66.

¹¹ Jones, Gwenllian V., 'Field Excursions and Other Activities. 1997: 150th Anniversary Joint Conference of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association and the Cambrian Archaeological Association: September 26th-28th, 1997', *Mon. Antiq.*, 14 (1998) 68; 'Caerleon and the Antiquarians', *Mon. Antiq.*, 17 (2001) 70, organised jointly with Cardiff University, NMW and UWCN; 'The Normans in Gwent', *Mon. Antiq.*, 20 (2004) 186, hosted by UWCN; 'Roman Caerleon Research 1850-2005', *Mon. Antiq.*, 23 (2007) 102, organised with Caerleon Research Committee; 'Towns of Medieval Monmouthshire', *Mon. Antiq.*, 25-26 (2009-10) 175, organised with Friends of Usk Castle.

¹² This successful conference took place on 30 and 31 October and was organised by Cardiff University, The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, The Roman Society and MAA.

¹³ Knight, Jeremy K., 'Obituary E.J.T. Wiles, 1929-98', *Mon. Antiq.*, 15 (1999) 65.

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY (1961-2011)

By David H. Williams and Jeremy K. Knight

Within a few years of the foundation of our Association in 1847, a series of occasional papers were published under its auspices between 1854 and 1921, many of them written by two stalwarts of Monmouthshire antiquarianism, Octavius Morgan¹ and Thomas Wakeman. It was to the former that John Edward Lee dedicated his 1862 paper, *Isca Silurum*. [It was regarding the life of John Edward Lee, that Gwennllian Jones wrote so eruditely].² Additionally, from 1893 down to 1928, eight volumes of Proceedings of the Association were printed. There then followed a gap of over thirty years in the publishing side of our activities. This bibliographical history was well recounted by our late treasurer, Eric Wiles, to mark the Association's 150th anniversary in 1997.³

A new lease of life came in 1961 when Cefni Barnett, curator of the Newport Museum and Art Gallery, founded our present journal which thus celebrates fifty years of being an important forum for the dissemination of archaeological and historical expertise regarding our county. With Cefni's production of the early issues, and the concept of the journal was 'wholly his',⁴ must be associated the influential support given him by our former Chairman, George C. Boon, who attached 'so much importance' to the journal,⁵ and the 'vital friendly interest' afforded by Lt. Col. H. Llewellyn Hughes, of the Griffin Press, Pontypool, which printed the first three volumes.⁶ All three gentlemen deserve the undying thanks of succeeding generations of our members.

Cefni was born in Carmarthen (1919) and, although being obliged to leave school at the age of fourteen, he soon rose to become Deputy Director of Carmarthen Museum, having articles published by 1936 in the *Transactions* of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society.⁷ That county journal changed its name in 1941 to *The Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, which explains the naming by Cefni of our own *Monmouthshire Antiquary*. Cefni, happily for our county, was appointed Deputy Director of Newport Museum in 1949, and then Director from 1968 until his retirement in 1981. He died in 1987. Apart from our journal, his lasting legacy is the fine museum and art gallery now in John Frost Square.

¹ Williams, David H., 'Octavius Morgan, Antiquarian and Politician', *Mon. Antiq.* 13 (1997) 13-17; 14 (1998) 62.

² 'John Edward Lee, a Monmouthshire Antiquary', *Mon. Antiq.* 13 (1997) 5-12; 14 (1998) 62-63 (portrait); John Edward Lee and Antiquarianism in Nineteenth-Century Caerleon, 17 (2001) 3-8; 19 (2003) 158 (letters).

³ *Mon. Antiq.* 13 (1997) 59-63; 14 (1998) 62; 19 (2003) 158 (supplement).

⁴ Boon, G.C.,

⁵ Brewer, R., in his obituary for George Boon, *Mon. Antiq.* 11 (1995) 3.

⁶ Boon, G.C., 'Envoi', *Mon. Antiq.* 4: 1-2 (1980) 1. [The present writer (David H. Williams) remembers with gratitude the generous help given him by Colonel Hughes in publishing his early Cistercian-orientated books.]

⁷ For his obituary, see: George C. Boon in *Mon. Antiq.* 5: 3 (1985-1988) 66. [The present writer also recalls the gracious hospitality shown him by Cefni and Pegi, especially during his time as a Chaplain of St Woolos Cathedral.]



Cefni Barnett in the field.

(Courtesy of Mr Oliver Blackmore, Newport Museum and Art Gallery)

From the outset of his Monmouthshire years, Cefni was a member of the Association, joint secretary between 1954 to 1957, and chairman from 1982 until his death. He edited the journal, his brainchild, from the first issue in 1961 down to that published in 1978. At its inception, doubts were raised, not least by the Association's then president, Lord Raglan, as to the financial viability of the project, but the success of the four parts of the first volume soon quelled any misgivings. Jeremy K. Knight, with Peter Price and, later, Adrian Babbage, co-edited the journal between 1980 and 1988. In 1990, the Revd Dr David H. Williams took over, and then in 2001, Mrs Annette Burton, formerly Glamorgan Archivist, who had previously edited the journal of the Chester Archaeological Society. Despite these changes two factors have remained constant: the grey colour of the journal's cover, and the Roman numerals employed to indicate the volume number. Long may that remain so! The grey cover depicted, whilst Cefni was editor, the heraldic bearings of three castles adopted by the Association, but more commonly now the imagery is of an object related to the contents of the issue of a particular issue, maybe a mosaic, or perhaps a seal.

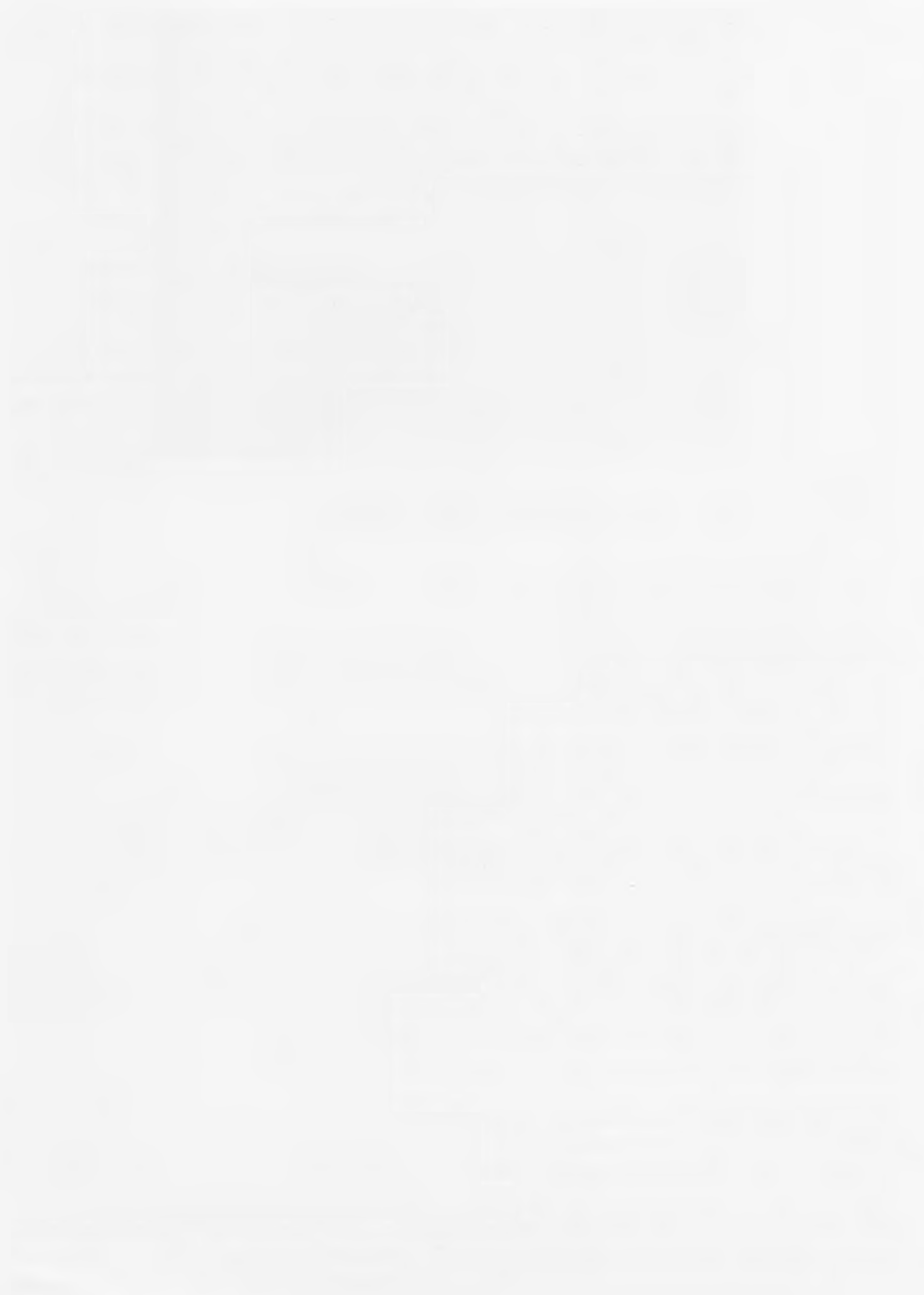
The first two parts of Volume 1 (1961 and 1962) reflected almost entirely the scholarship and pursuits of Cefni and George Boon with, for example, their thoughts respectively on 'A Newly-Discovered Medieval Tomb-Slab at Abergavenny' and 'A Roman Gold Coin from Llanelen, Abergavenny'. Lionel F. Cowley, Assistant Keeper of Zoology at the National Museum of Wales, contributed in Part 1 an account of a Neolithic human skull found at Newport. That number of the journal was a slender one of sixteen pages, but included from the outset a list of the members of the Association.

In Part 2 of Volume 1, C.B. Burgess, a researcher in the Department of Archaeology, University College, Cardiff, and later a leading authority on the British Bronze Age, described 'A Socketed Axe from Monmouthshire, while for the first time another enduring feature of the journal appeared, the Report of Meetings and Field Days. That year's journal saw our present chairman, Jeremy Knight, make his mark with 'The Goldcliff Stone, a Reconsideration', following this up in Part 3 (1963) with his account of 'The Keep of Caerleon Castle'. The next year, in Part 4, David H. Williams came on the scene with his history of Grace Dieu Abbey.

Jeremy Knight remembers well (as do I) ‘the spiral staircase which led to Cefni’s office’ in the old Dock Street Museum. He also recollects ‘the courtesy with which Cefni welcomed the boy from Caerleon who brought in uninteresting scraps of Roman roof tile’, and how Cefni introduced him to the Cambrian Archaeological Association. Jeremy also recalls how: ‘At that time, little archaeological fieldwork was being done in Monmouthshire and Cefni and I, together with Stephen Locke, later of Exeter Museum, would set off in Cefni’s car looking at sites. Cefni’s rescue work at the Caldicot Roman kiln complex was eventually published in the *Archaeological Journal*’. He published, however, much more in the journal he founded.

In recent years the journal has sometimes grown to a volume of many pages; occasionally exceeding ten-fold the size of the first issue of 1961. The largest individual volume published was the cumulative edition of 1970-78, volume 3, with its 211 pages. It would be invidious to name some of the 110 or so contributors or part-authors over the years and ignore others. Suffice it to say, that they have given the journal no less than about 260 papers or short notices with a welcome diversity of learned dissertations on topics ranging from prehistory to the present day. *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* must now rank amongst the foremost antiquarian journals published in Wales. As Jeremy Knight writes: ‘the journal which Cefni founded has continued to flourish. Long may it do so!’.

Fifty years, the golden jubilee of our journal! One thing more remains – the preparation of a comprehensive index to the wealth of historical research published in *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*. An index which could be suitably dedicated to Cefni’s memory.



CLAN AND CONTINUITY: DEVELOPMENTS IN ‘SILURIAN STUDIES’

By Ray Howell

The Roman historian Tacitus informs us that in AD 74 or 75 the governor Sextus Julius Frontinus defeated the Silures, overcoming the ‘valour of his enemies and the difficulty of the terrain’.¹ The difficult terrain was that of south-east Wales and the valorous enemy were the Iron Age inhabitants of the region who had waged a twenty-five year guerrilla campaign against the Romans in what is best described as the Silurian War.²

If not giving a blow-by-blow account, Tacitus does provide a graphic description of an extended period of conflict in which ‘battle followed battle’, many being ‘lightening strikes in woods and bogs’.³ Initial resistance had been led by the Catuvelaunian prince Caratacus who seems to have been readily accepted as a war leader by the Silures. Significantly, even after the capture of Caratacus, who saved his life with an eloquent justification of resistance delivered to the emperor himself in Rome, the ferocity of the Silures did not abate. Indeed, they seem to have become even more single-mindedly hostile to the Roman invasion. When, in AD 52, the governor Ostorius Scapula died, Tacitus put his demise down to exhaustion from the ‘anxious responsibilities’ of the Silurian War. The Silures ‘exulted that so great a general, even if not defeated in battle, had at least been eliminated by warfare.’⁴ Before a new governor could arrive, the general Manlius Valens, in a bid for personal glory, ordered a legion, probably the Twentieth, to attack the tribe. The Silures defeated the legion and, even after the new governor had arrived, ‘plundered far and wide’.⁵ The protracted and surprisingly effective guerrilla war dragged on for a quarter of a century and a case can be made for saying that the Silures caused the Romans as much difficulty as any other British tribe, arguably any other single tribe in the Western Empire.

Given this intensity of resistance, it is surprising that so few researchers have been attracted to investigation of the Silures. Huge gaps remain in our understanding of their lifestyle, social structures, hierarchies, and belief systems. Happily, however, in recent years there has been at least a limited improvement in our evidence base for south-east Wales in the Iron Age and some aspects of Silurian society have, to some extent at least, become clearer. Much of the growth in evidence has come from small finds, many entering the public domain as a result of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, allowing specialists such as Adam Gwilt and Mark Lodwick to build on their work in the National Museum which includes excavation of the multi-phase Iron Age site at Llanmaes.⁶ Excavations such as Llanmaes and investigation of the hillfort on Lodge Hill above Caerleon expand our knowledge even further by providing evidence such as ceramic finds in context.

The expanding artefact assemblages from the Silurian region are slowly changing our view of native Iron Age society in the area often seen as stretching from Wye to Tywi, in other words Gwent and Glamorgan. For example, despite distinctive local pottery forms such as decorated pots

¹ *Agricola*, xvii, 2.

² Howell, R., *Searching for the Silures: an Iron Age tribe in south-east Wales* (The History Press, Stroud, 2009) 65-74.

³ *Annals*, xii, 37-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Annals*, xii, 40.

⁶ Lodwick, M. and Gwilt, A., *Cauldrons and Consumption: Llanmaes and Llyn Fawr* (National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, 2004).

sometimes described as Llanmelin-Lydney style vessels, which have been known since excavations by Nash-Williams some eighty years ago, until fairly recently some commentaries still confidently described an aceramic Iron Age Wales.⁷ More recent excavations have confirmed that this was not the case and that there was extensive use and some production, at least in south-east Wales, in the mid and later Iron Age. A case in point is the assemblages from Lodge Hill where ceramics ranged from Malvernian slack shouldered jars with beaded rims to the coarse, but significant, briquetage associated with trade in salt.⁸ Both the Malvernian jars and the briquetage, which originated in the Droitwich area, confirm not only ceramic use but also trade.

A particularly important body of artefactual evidence consists of metalwork finds, a growing number of which relate to horses. A range of harness equipment, often with distinctive La Tène design and red enamel decoration, leaves little doubt that horses were important to the Silures. Particularly significant are a number of terrets and lynch pins. The specific function of the former is to feed reins through while the latter are used to secure wheels onto an axle. The obvious conclusion is that there was widespread use of wheeled vehicles by the Silures. For these wheeled vehicles to have functioned in the landscape of south-east Wales, roads, or at the very least improved tracks, would have been required. This is important because road construction requires a considerable degree of social cohesion, structure and organisation. The picture which is slowly emerging from all of this evidence is of a sophisticated and structured society with not only considerable mobility but also extensive trade networks.⁹

One key to developing our understanding even further must be study of hillforts. These imposing enclosed sites are our most obvious surviving Iron Age landscape features and they are widespread in many parts of Britain including the Silurian region. In south-east Wales, however, very few have been investigated. When Lodge Hill was excavated in the year 2000, it became only the fifth of nearly fifty 'Gwentian' hillforts to have been excavated to any extent at all. More worrying is that two of the five, Llanmelin above Caerwent and Sudbrook, a coastal promontory fort between today's Severn bridges, were dug during the inter-war period when narrow trenching was in vogue. As a consequence, we have very little understanding of the nature of activity/occupation in the interior of these sites. The excavation of Lodge Hill was limited and relatively small-scale. Nevertheless, it demonstrates the sorts of insights which can be gained from more modern excavation techniques. Targeting the small inner enclosure of the hillfort, excavations confirmed that today's entrance into the site was a late re-cut which excavators assigned to an 'aceramic' period. The re-cut and associated entrance ramp make a nonsense of the Iron Age defences by cutting through banks while filling in ditches. The late re-modelling may relate to other evidence obtained in the hillfort interior which shows re-occupation of the site after the Roman army abandonment of the fortress at Isca which it overlooks. The proximity to the fortress probably also accounts for collapse deposits suggesting slighting of the defences by the Legion. As has been seen, there was also evidence of trade reflected

⁷ See Spencer, B. 'Limestone-tempered pottery from South Wales in the late Iron Age and Early Roman period', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 30 (1983) 405-19; Nash-Williams, V., 'An early Iron Age hill-fort at Llanmelin near Caerwent', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 88 (1933) 237-315; and, for general discussion, Howell, 2009, 35.

⁸ Peterson, R. and Pollard, J. with Morris, E., 'Prehistoric Pottery', in Pollard, J., Howell, R., Chadwick, A. and Leaver, A., *Lodge Hill Camp Caerleon and the Hillforts of Gwent* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 407, Oxford, 2006), 33-40 and Howell, R. and Pollard, J., 'Caerleon, Lodge Wood Camp (ST3233 914)', *Archaeology in Wales*, 40 (2000) 81-3 & 97-8.

⁹ For discussion, see Howell, 2009, particularly 61-4.

in ceramic assemblages, a La Tène I iron brooch, evidence of metal working on site and structures including a large roundhouse and a smaller sub rectangular ancillary building.¹⁰

With such findings derived from relatively limited investigation, the case for additional excavation of hillforts in the Silurian region seems unequivocal. Given the expense of excavation and the present economic/resource issues facing archaeology in the region, however, this seems unlikely in the immediate future. As a consequence efforts are currently being made in the South Wales Centre for Historical and Interdisciplinary Research (SWCHIR) in Newport to explore other approaches to hillfort studies. One obvious alternative to excavation is geophysical survey. Application of techniques such as magnetometry and resistivity surveys, while never a simple substitute for excavation, can help us to better understand sites while informing future more intrusive investigations. Postgraduate research being undertaken in the Centre by Daryl Williams is a case in point with important results being obtained from sites such as Llanmelin and Coed y Caerau. Another approach which could pay dividends is comparative analysis based on mapping of the Iron Age landscape. There are problems with this approach, notably our general lack of dating evidence. For example, of the five excavated Gwent hillforts, it is perfectly possible that Coed y Bwnydd had been abandoned before work on construction of Sudbrook began.¹¹ Nevertheless, we can say with confidence that all of these sites were prominent features in the landscape at the time of the Roman invasion and, as a consequence, it seems reasonable to explore spatial relationships as a mechanism which might enhance our understanding of Iron Age social structures.

Given our present state of knowledge about the Silures and taking into account the obvious formative influence of the landscape of south-east Wales, it has been suggested that these Iron Age people are best described as a 'resilient and sophisticated clan based tribal confederation'.¹² Spatial relationships and other landscape issues may help to shed light on the extent to which that description is apt. This is why a new SWCHIR initiative has as its focus the Iron Age landscape and the spatial relationship between hillforts and other sites/finds within the Silurian region. Sophisticated computer mapping packages allow models to be tested and, with a base map based on the HER (Historic Environment Record) administered by the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, exploration of hillfort viewsheds, line of sight and other issues to be undertaken. Consequently, the author and Dr Giles Oatley of UWIC are currently engaged in a research project examining these issues. A particularly important finding is that viewshed analysis confirms clustering of hillforts in the region and it is an attractive proposition that this clustering arises from the existence of clans. Moreover, there is extensive line of sight communication, not only within clusters, but also with other clusters. A model of a clan based confederation with regional emphasis but with wider connectivity sufficient to allow the cohesion necessary to have resisted the Roman advance so effectively seems wholly appropriate (*see* our forthcoming article, 'GIS Viewsheds and Social Network Analysis for Archaeological Interpretation of Iron Age Hillforts').

Viewsheds and social network analysis raises another interesting possibility. There is a varied and relatively extensive body of evidence suggesting cultural continuity within the Silurian region. In the aftermath of the Silurian War, the Roman legions acted as an army of occupation. Eventually, however, *civitas* administration was established in the lands of the Silures. *Civitas* administration was

¹⁰ Pollard *et al.*, 2006 and Howell and Pollard, 2000.

¹¹ Nash-Williams, V., 'An early Iron Age coastal camp at Sudbrook', *Arch. Camb.*, 94 (1939) 42-79 and Babbidge, A., 'Reconnaissance excavations at Coed y Bwnydd, Betws Newydd, 1969-1979', *Mon. Antiq.*, 3 (1977) 159-78.

¹² Howell, 2009, 113.

basically a form of devolution, not with a view to improved regional government, but to relieve Roman authorities of tasks such as tax collection. The *civitas* capital, *Venta Silurum* to the Romans, was established at Caerwent and extensive excavation by Richard Brewer, keeper of archaeology in the National Museum, has shown that construction of the *basilica* and consequently presumably the establishment of the *civitas* was Hadrianic, a time when the Roman army was otherwise engaged in defining the borders of the empire.¹³ It is also a time span that would have allowed a reduction in the tensions which must have followed a twenty-five-year guerrilla war.

Establishment of a *civitas* implies a degree of Romanisation, at least among the tribal elite. The existence of the *basilica* and the establishment of an *ordo* or tribal senate suggests exactly that. A particularly impressive piece of evidence which apparently confirms an adoption of *romanitas* is the Paulinus stone, a well-cut inscription now in the church porch in Caerwent. Dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, a former legate of the Second Augustan Legion, the engraved statue pedestal proclaims that it was erected on the authority of the *ordo* of the *civitas* of the Silures (*respubl.civit.silurum*, RIB I, 311). The inscription, cut in about AD 220, appears to offer eloquent testimony to an embracing of *romanitas*. However, a measure of caution is required. It also confirms that the tribal identity was still intact in the early third century. An inscribed altar, also located in the church porch, offers even more persuasive evidence of the survival of native tradition. Its dedication is to Mars-Oculus, a literal conflation of the Roman god Mars with the native deity Ocelus, an insular deity worshipped in several parts of Britain.¹⁴ Native tradition looms even larger in other finds from Caerwent. Notable among them is the statue of a small, seated mother goddess showing few Roman characteristics. A stone head, recovered from a fourth century context, shows no Roman characteristics at all. Nevertheless, it was found in association with a raised platform which must have functioned as an altar at the end of a corridor in a building (House XI 7S) just inside the west gate of the capital.¹⁵ This object, which would sit comfortably in an Iron Age setting, was apparently venerated in Caerwent, presumably the most Romanised part of 'Roman Siluria', at the end of the Romano-British period!

The picture which emerges from the *civitas* capital is of a conflated culture where aspects of *romanitas* were readily accepted but where native tradition continued to be strong. Evidence from the surrounding countryside reinforces this view. For example, roundhouses, the typical habitation form of the Iron Age, may be taken as a good indicator of a traditional lifestyle. Excavations have revealed roundhouse occupation very near Caerwent right through the Romano-British period. An important case in point is Thornwell Farm, a site located between Chepstow and the Old Severn Bridge. Here a sequence of roundhouses dated from the late Bronze Age to the middle/late-fourth century and possibly beyond.¹⁶ With roundhouse occupation almost in the shadow of the *civitas* capital at the end of the Romano-British period, it is easy to think that romanisation may have been a relatively thin veneer amongst the people of the Silurian region.

Other evidence reinforces that view. Hillfort re-occupation, for example, may suggest similar affinities with earlier social structures. As has been proposed by the Royal Commission, an explanation for hillfort re-occupation could be that the larger sites 'retained some legal importance

¹³ Brewer, R., 'The Romans in Gwent' in Aldhouse-Green, M. and Howell, R. (eds), *Gwent County History, Volume 1, Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2004) 205-43.

¹⁴ Green, M. and Howell, R., *Celtic Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 66.

¹⁵ Howell, 2009, 30.

¹⁶ Hughes, G., *The Excavation of a Late Prehistoric and Romano British Settlement at Thornwell Farm, Chepstow, Gwent* (British Archaeological Reports, British Series 168, Oxford, 1996).

in connection with land tenure'.¹⁷ Another interesting indicator is the development of the vernacular language. Place-name and other evidence demonstrates that the emerging language, a form of early Welsh, although highly Latinised did not qualify as a Romance language. Rather, it fits comfortably into a family of languages described as 'Celtic'. Also possibly telling is the nature of kingship in early medieval society. With the ending of Roman authority, small kingdoms emerged. In south-east Wales the kingdom of Gwent developed, a kingdom which took its name from the *civitas* capital. In the vernacular, Roman *Venta* was 'rebranded'. With its high walls, it began to be described as the fortress of *Venta*, Caerwent. It was this name, in its mutated form, which led to Gwent. Interestingly, and perhaps significantly, the earliest named king of Gwent known in the historical record was Caradog Freichfas. Caradog is the Welsh version of Caratacus.¹⁸ The name of the great resistance leader at the outset of the Silurian war was not only remembered. It was a name thought appropriate for a king!

This evidence of native survival appears to open new doors for research. Additional mapping studies, for example, seem justified to explore the extent to which Iron Age land-use patterns may have survived into the early medieval period. If clan structures can be demonstrated in mapping studies of the Silurian region during the Iron Age, to what extent if any are these structures reflected in the emerging *treŷi* and *cantrefi* of the kingdom of Gwent? In October 2010, a new research project, a Ph.D. investigation being undertaken by Berwyn Thomas, began in SWCHIR to examine this and other questions relating to land-use patterns. The intention in the research centre is to extend and develop Silurian studies as fully as possible during a period in which excavation will inevitably be limited. It is hoped that clan and continuity will be important themes as SWCHIR attempts to develop 'Silurian Studies' more fully. Demonstration of hillfort clustering and line of sight communication represents a good start to the process. Continuing studies during the next two to three years will, hopefully, take this process even further allowing us to improve our understanding of these resilient but historically enigmatic people, the Silures.

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¹⁷ RCAHMW, *Glamorgan Vol. 1, Part 2: the Iron Age and Roman Occupation* (HMSO, Cardiff, 1976).

¹⁸ Howell, 2009, 105-13.

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THE ISCA PRAETORIUM RE-CONSIDERED

By Mark Lewis

As biographer of John Edward Lee¹ (the inspiration behind the formation of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association² and its Museum of Antiquities), Gwenllian V. Jones further developed her deep interest in, and commitment to, the Roman Legionary Museum of Caerleon³ and its work. Citing Lee, Gwenllian noted that ‘a society, to be useful, ought to include a number of working members’ and, whilst she did a great deal to encourage and support many of them in their pursuit of *their work*,⁴ few could claim to have worked more tirelessly than (and for as many associations as) she. This paper is presented to honour the debt the National Roman Legion Museum owes to its founder, John Edward Lee, and to Gwenllian V. Jones, who worked so tirelessly to support it in its primary objectives, namely to:

cultivate pursuits which enlighten the intellect, encourage the spirit of enquiry, impart a taste for liberal studies and preserve from the destroying hand of time the valuable relics of by-gone days....⁵

Background

In January 2008 the author was asked to attend excavation work for the construction of a disabled access ramp into the church hall situated at the north-west angle of Caerleon churchyard (Fig. 1). Trenches for footings of retaining walls for the ramp had been excavated by the builders to a depth of 500mm from the surface of the original tarmac churchyard footpath. The footings had been poured already (Figs. 2 and 3). The visible trench sections were measured to be 270-330mm. deep from the modern tarmac surface to the top of the poured concrete.

The up-cast indicated that the trenches cut mixed deposits containing 18th and 19th century pottery and glass with one piece of clay pipe waster (stem) from the Caerleon kiln(s) *circa* AD 1730-70 (Cessford, 1997 and 1998). One piece of seventeenth century brown glazed tankard and two post-medieval lead-glazed earthenware body sherds were noted (not retained). The soil was typical of dark, cultivated, recent/current garden soil containing fuel ash and coal flecks.

Roman material was scarce, suggesting that it was residual. This only comprised seven small undiagnostic brick/tile fragments and small *opus signinum* fragments, not retained (~100mm diameter), one white limestone *tessera* (matching those of the Churchyard labyrinth mosaic) and one angled, box tile (a flue tile or *voussoir* – Figs. 4 and 5) which have been retained. One piece of oyster shell and some fragments of calcined animal bone were also noted in the garden soil (the one trench was situated within a flower bed).

¹ Jones, G.V., ‘John Edward Lee: A Monmouthshire Antiquary’, *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 13 (1997) 4-12

² Originally founded as the ‘Caerleon Antiquarian Association’ in 1847, latterly the ‘Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association’ (from 1857) and the ‘Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association’ from 1979.

³ Rebranded the National Roman Legion Museum in 2005.

⁴ A debt which the author freely acknowledges with gratitude.

⁵ Bazaar at Caerleon, *The Monmouthshire Merlin*, 28 July 1849.



Fig 1: The completed church hall access ramp.



Figs 2, 3: The excavated foundation trenches with poured concrete footings on 14 January 2008.

One area of red clay-rich up-cast soil near the door of the Hall hints at a second context, beneath the garden soil already described, at this end of the trench. This soil only comprised one barrow-load and contained only one piece of brick/tile, the tessera and one of the green-glazed earthenware sherds. No stone of useable, building stone, size ($>150\text{mm}^3$) was present in the up-cast or trench sections.

The two most significant artefacts recovered, although residual, were the Roman ceramic *vousoir* (the first to be noted from Caerleon) and the hard white limestone *tessera* matching those that make up the Caerleon churchyard labyrinth mosaic.

The Voussoir

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the fragment of a tapering box tile which functioned as a hollow *voussoir* or *tubulus cuneatus* (Brodrribb, 1987: 79).



Figs 4, 5: The ceramic voussoir.

The upright, tapering, part is here termed the ‘face’, and survives to approximately half its original height. The surviving face has a crudely knife-cut lozenge shaped cut-out ‘vent’, which could have enabled air or hot gases to pass from one rib of *voussoirs* to the next. There is no evidence of mortar on the (clean) cut edges of the lozenge. The outer surface of the face of the *voussoir* was formed in a sand-lined mould and was not finished with a wire or knife. This, outer, surface retains mortar suggesting that the arch, or vault, of which this was a segment, was constructed of several ribs of *voussoirs*.

Unfortunately, the lower, outer, face of the base of the *voussoir* has been largely lost through spalling, but remaining patches suggest that the edges were trimmed with a knife whilst the central area retained the impression of the sand from a sand-lined moulding process. The outer surface of the base only exhibits a very slight curvature and this slight enough to be coincidental rather than deliberate. The interior surfaces of the *voussoir* are clearly knife-trimmed. The interior of the base is trimmed in such a way as to create a markedly arched base (*n.b.* interior only). The interior clay surfaces preserve the impressions of the knife blade used and the finger impressions of the tile-maker. The interior face and base are neither sooted, nor contaminated with any other surviving deposit. The edges, and therefore the walls of the *voussoir*, measure 21.5mm-35.5mm in thickness. The *voussoir* edges are cleanly knife-trimmed. Only very slight, and localised, traces of mortar are present on the edges of the *voussoir*. Viewed from the side, the face is at right angles to the base. The edges are very slightly angled to form the taper. The edges have not been cut perfectly, but with half of one face surviving it is possible to estimate the overall dimensions of the *voussoir*, and the arch, of which it formed a segment.

Viewed from the outer (mortar covered) face, the surviving left hand edge of the *voussoir* is virtually a right angle to the base. The right hand edge of the *voussoir* is angled at 8 degrees from the perpendicular to the base.

Assuming that the angles of the lozenge mark the middle of the *vousoir* face, the projected height of the tile would be ~368mm.

Using the formula $r = \frac{bc}{a-b}$ (Brodrigg, 1987: 79 and 1979: 147)

Where **r** is the inner radius of the arch,

a is the greater width of the *vousoir*, i.e. the width at the top (projected) = 220mm

b is the width made less by the taper, i.e. the bottom (surviving) = 178mm

c is the overall height of the tile (projected) = 368mm

r = ~1560mm i.e. ~1.56 metres giving an aperture or room width of ~3.12 metres or 9 feet 8 inches.

An arch or vault constructed from *vousoirs* of these dimensions would require twenty-one *vousoirs* for the span.

The base tapers away from the face such that this face can not be completely discounted as being a 'top' with the base becoming the face. Fortunately, this arrangement would produce an arch with a radius of only centimetres which is much less likely to require the weight-saving qualities provided by a hollow *vousoir* than an arch of the proportions suggested above.

A Possible Context for the Vousoir and Tessera

The single white limestone tessera may be indicative that the Churchyard labyrinth mosaic, or another, possibly contemporary, mosaic graced a room on or near to this site. Unless the soil from which these artefacts was recovered were brought in from elsewhere (and there is no reason to suspect this - a laborious and potentially costly exercise) they may be taken as supporting evidence for a special function or status of the building at this site. Reference to the Boon (1972) plan places the church hall access ramp over the centre of the northern end of the south-western range of a courtyard building referred to as block XVI (see Figs. 6 to 9).

The Isca Plan – Interpretations Past and Present

The interpretation plan of the fortress available until this investigation (Brewer, 2000:5; Knight, 2003:17) has this courtyard building, adjacent, and to the north-east of, the *principia* (headquarters building), interpreted as workshops, with the building to the north-west of the *principia* interpreted as the Legate's residence – the *praetorium* (Fig. 6).

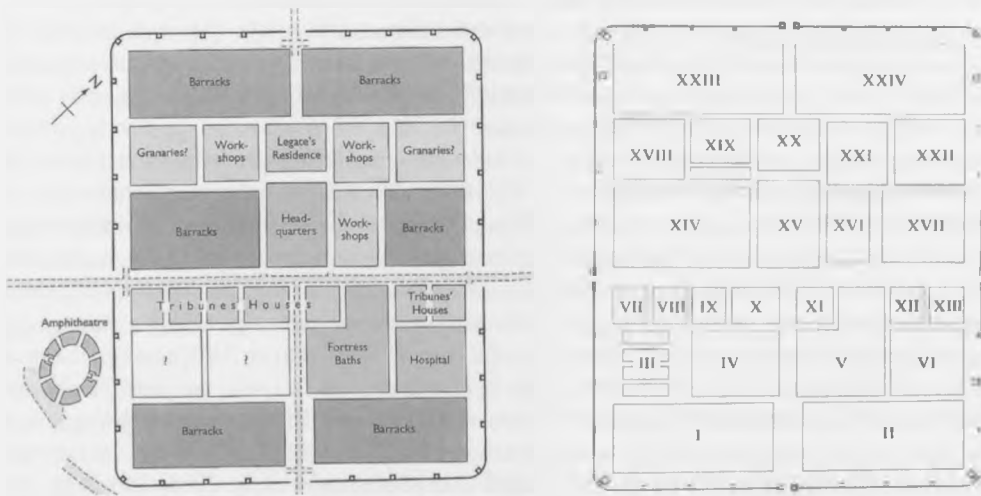
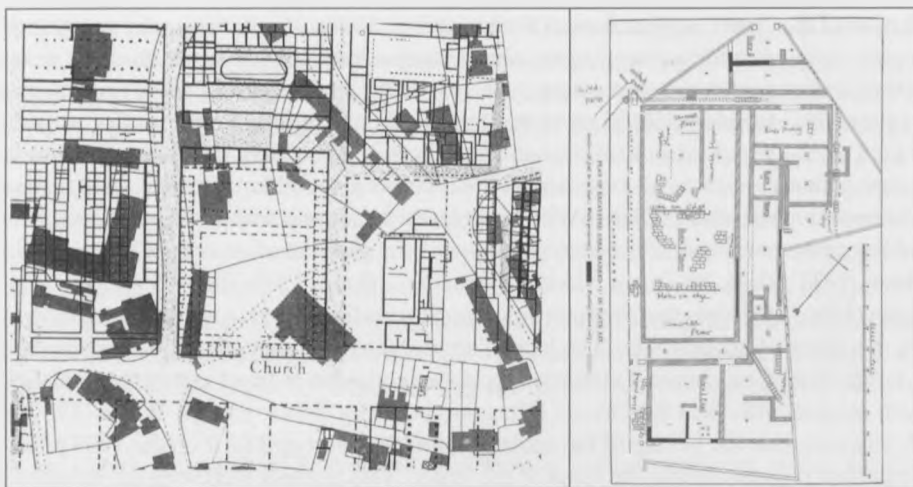


Fig 6, 7: The published interpretive fortress plan (left) with the Boon (1972) insula (block) numbering system (right). [Crown Copyright] Cadw, Welsh Assembly Government .

The excavation of the portion of block XVI that is known in plan took place in 1908 and is referred to as the 'Churchyard Extension' site because it was excavated in advance of the extension of the churchyard into this area later that year (*Arch. Camb.*, 1913: 78). The excavation report concluded that the building was clearly domestic in nature and of high status (Evelyn-White, 1909: 70-71). Evidence for ranges of rooms enclosing a courtyard, some with hypocausts, was reported (Fig. 9).



Figs 8 and 9: The location of the Churchyard Extension Excavation (left) with Roman archaeology delineated in black and modern features in grey, and Evelyn-White's published plan of the 1908 excavation (right).

By 1972 (Boon, 1972: Plan; block XVI) the interpretation of this building had changed to that of industrial activity (workshops) but certainly not stables (Boon, 1987: 54). An evaluation of the available evidence by the current author in 2003 questioned this interpretation, given the seemingly undesirable location for industrial (or equine) activity immediately adjacent to the *principia* when most other major structures with an overtly industrial plan (the *fabricae*) were apparently grouped together along the rear of the *latera praetorii*. The existing identification of the location of the *praetorium* within the “industrial zone” (Boon, 1972: Plan; area XX) was also questionable.

Evelyn-White (1909: 61) reported that in building the St. Cadoc’s Homes in Caerleon Roman foundations were discovered and that it appeared that there were ‘a number of small rooms often filled with charcoal’. Furthermore, a fragment of lead ore was discovered (notably the only object reported or retained at the time other than ‘...a few fragments of pottery including a fragment of samian (of form Dr 20)’ – evidence consistent with block XXII (Boon, 1972) having been an industrial site (*fabrica*) [see figure 10 below]. This evidence may also explain the poor geophysical data obtained in the garden of the St. Cadoc’s Homes in 2008 (Young, T. *pers. com.*). This industrial grouping has been further augmented by the confirmation of another likely *fabrica* under the Caerleon Endowed Junior School field – Boon (1972) block XVIII (Guest and Young, 2008: 266-268). The significant quantities of slag on the surface in the hedgerow to the south of the school field suggests iron-working at this site (Young, T. *pers. com.*). Excavation revealing part of the School Field basilica (Boon, 1972 block XIX) undertaken in 1986 suggested its use as a *fabrica*, having produced abundant evidence of metalworking (Zienkiewicz, 1987).

New Reconsiderations of the Evidence Presented in the 1909 Churchyard Extension Excavation Report

Two important historic archaeological discoveries from the churchyard, found in 1865, are the labyrinth mosaic and the Bath-stone *genius* torso bearing a cornucopia displayed at the National Roman Legion Museum. Since 1972 (Boon, 1972: 71-74 and Figs. 42 and 43), their find-spot has been attributed to the north-eastern range of the *principia*.

Professor Roger Ling revisited the interpretation of the location of the labyrinth mosaic during his presentation of the 2008 Caerleon Annual Lecture (Ling, 2008). His starting point was that the choice of design was suitable for a dining room, citing the *canthari* and ivy scroll borders. Secondly, he pointed out that the original report of the discovery of the mosaic during grave digging at the close of the year 1865 (Morgan, 1866: 5) noted that the mosaic was located in ‘the north-east corner of the churchyard’ of the parish church. The churchyard boundary ran very close to the north-east corner of the parish church prior to its extension in 1909 (OS Six Inch Map, 2nd edn. 1902, revised 1899-1900: Monmouthshire sheet XXIX/SW). This places the mosaic within the south-western range of the building to the north-east of the *principia* known through excavation as the Churchyard Extension site (Boon, 1972: Block XVI), not within the *principia* (Boon, 1972: Block XV).

Morgan (1866: 5) reports that the labyrinth mosaic was discovered in a room measuring 14 feet by 11 feet, at a depth of about 4 feet. The lack of stratigraphic information in the form of sections and levels in the 1909 Churchyard Extension report has not aided a direct comparison of depth of the labyrinth mosaic with the Churchyard Extension building floors. Evelyn-White (1909: 68) does record, however, that the paving of the central part of the courtyard (at 7 on the 1909 plan) was at a depth of 4 feet 6 inches below the level of the grass. This accords well with the reported depth of the labyrinth mosaic and does nothing to contradict the hypothesis that it comprised part of the same

building. Morgan (1866) makes no mention of a hypocaust beneath the labyrinth mosaic, nor any collapse which would otherwise have rendered the mosaic potentially irrecoverable.

Evelyn-White (1909: 58 [5]) refers to the 1865 mosaic discovery, and states that the exact location of the labyrinth mosaic could not be established by his excavation. He was, presumably, not able to satisfy himself of the exact location of the mosaic by word of mouth (of his eyewitnesses to its discovery), nor by the sequential use of the churchyard for burials and their subsequent memorials. He does cite an eyewitness account of the discovery which places the location of the mosaic ‘...almost due N. of the centre point of the Nave ...its exact distance from the church could not be ascertained’.

This is consistent with the mosaic having been the floor of a room near the centre of the south-western range of building XVI. Evelyn-White could not excavate the south-western range of rooms for they were already part of the churchyard. Old photographs show that this area was densely occupied by burials and memorials in Evelyn-White’s day. Unfortunately, the memorials have mostly been removed to the edge of the churchyard in more recent times to aid grass cutting and general churchyard maintenance. The few that remain north of the nave only indicate that burials took place here around 1864 and through to *circa* 1900.

Since the discovery of the labyrinth mosaic the parish church has been altered. The nave and aisle walls were reconstructed in 1867-8 and the chancel was extended eastwards during its 1932-5 restoration (Coxe, 1801; Newman, 2000: 141). Even with the above alterations to the fabric and footprint of the church taken into account, the difference between the two locations as described above only results in an uncertainty as to which of, probably three, neighbouring rooms within the south-western range of building XVI the mosaic came from. The single white *tessera* recovered from the church hall ramp site in 2008, reported here, could still be from the northernmost of these three rooms, and possibly from the labyrinth mosaic.

The Isca Praetorium – An Hypothesis

The interpretation of the Churchyard Extension as a site of potential industrial activity could be explained by the coin list provided by Evelyn-White (1909: 78-82) and the statement that the stratigraphy was badly disturbed across the site (*ibid.* p65 and p82). The coin list demonstrates an extraordinarily late bias, including some of the latest coins from Caerleon. This coin list would also be consistent with one produced by an excavation which mostly stopped at the latest identifiable masonry phases and floors.⁶ Zienkiewicz (1993), however, demonstrated that residential buildings can produce ample evidence of industrial activity in the form of domestic smithies or workshops (*ibid.* 54). Alternatively, evidence that could be interpreted as industrial activity may have come from contexts associated with construction and destruction. It may be argued that industrial waste, etc., identified at this site could be late, and therefore does not offer an explanation for the intended long-term use of this site, or the early building phases upon it, unless it relates to construction or pre-construction phases. The industrial activity may rather be indicative of a use of the site after the buildings have ceased to be used for their initial function. Zienkiewicz (*ibid.* 85) demonstrated that the nearest officer’s residence of the *scamnum tribunorum* had been demolished as early as c. AD 200 and that the site was vacant thereafter. Alternatively, the identification of industrial activity may be

⁶ The few early coins present could be regarded as potentially residual, displaced, within the disturbed stratigraphy where they are not securely placed within the early construction phase of the building (e.g. the Republican *denarius* of M. Volteius inscribed M. VOLTEI. M. F, *circa* 78 BC, depicting Hercules wearing a lion’s scalp with a wild boar reverse, deposited with another, Flavian, *As* (of AD 71 or later) bearing the legend SECVRITAS AVGVSTI (RIC² 1171-4) and an odd collection of glass counters, possibly a dedicatory (foundation) deposit (?), found ‘beneath the foundation where the partition and N. walls of Block I, North, 16 and 18 unite’).

accurate, but localised to an area dedicated to domestic smithing or a workshop. Unfortunately, it is not possible to test this using the excavation reports alone, for detailed stratigraphic data is lacking and references to industrial activity are entirely absent.

The original interpretation of the Churchyard Extension archaeology as ‘clearly residential’ by its excavator can not now be ignored. Reassessment of the available archive is supportive of the original interpretation as a high-status courtyard-type (or courtyard-like) domus. An *amphora* handle imported from Italy marked *AMINE* is just one indicator of a potentially higher status for this site than the norm. A survey of the copper alloy artefacts recovered from the site shows a distinctly high status bias (National Roman Legion Museum, accession no. 31.78). The mosaic from a dining room made from *tesserae* sourced in Devon and/or Dorset (Allen and Fulford, 2004 and Zienkiewicz, 1985, I: 342), the evidence for hypocausts (rooms 11, and 1/3),⁷ white, purple, red and yellow wall plaster, window glass (room 1) and the fine statuary in the form of a *genius* which would make a suitable addition to any shrine, dining room (where found) or (adjacent) courtyard with multi-level(?) garden/yard, all support this model. Other indicators of superior status include a quern of Andernach stone and a possible concrete bath at the north-west angle of Block I South. The building was probably serviced with flowing water judging by its impressive network of drains (beneath rooms 5 and 20, between block I and II and within the yard (Block I South).

Indeed, the complex arrangement of the multi-level courtyard with ‘curious polygonal projection’ could be consistent with the need for an auguratorial platform. Pitts and St. Joseph (1985: 129) note that the available literary evidence suggests that augury was associated with the commander (Legate) and his tent (*praetorium*). Citing Hygenus (11) ‘the altars are placed in the rear part of the praetorium and the auguratorium in the right hand part near the *via principalis*, so that the general may correctly take the augury there; in the left-hand part is placed the tribunal ...’ they note that there is no evidence to support the location of an auguratorium in the residence of a tribune [*n.b.* Hygenus describes the layout of a temporary camp where the functions of the *principia* and *praetorium* are combined within the central plot of the camp]. This is, furthermore, supported by the presence of altars in the *praetoria* of temporary camps, as at Masada. Whilst this is a possible interpretation for the courtyard arrangement of the Churchyard Extension, it is more likely that the *auguratorium* proper at *Isca* was within the *principia*, especially by the third century (Blagg, 2000: 144). The courtyard of the Churchyard Extension building could be interpreted in many other ways. The inscriptions, RIB I: 324, 327, 328 and 333, and their find spots are arguably indicative of potentially augural and similarly religious and dedicatory practices at the *principia*, albeit the closest part of the *principia* to the Churchyard Extension building - proposed here as the residence of the legionary Legate, the *praetorium*. It is possible that other inscribed fragments were taken away by the villagers for use as hearth-stones before they were known to be of value (Lee, 1845: 40 and Plate XXVII, fig. 1).

It is quite conceivable that the arrangement of the “courtyard”, as recorded following its excavation, represents a later infilling, of an originally open space, with interior partitions(?) and floors. The outline of a courtyard house with an open central garden or yard with colonnaded ambulatory (peristyle courtyard) still appears to have been the inspiration for the original plan of the building as a whole, regardless of potential contemporary or later modifications. A low stylobate wall with a lacing course of tile only two feet in height and 16 inches in width surrounded the yard and this most probably supported the columns of the peristyle around the courtyard (Evelyn-White, 1909: 66). The north side of the yard had a gutter of ordinary flanged roof tiles which ‘obviously carried off water

⁷ Although, oddly, no fragments of flue-tiles were found during these excavations (Evelyn-White, 1909: 67).

from the court into drain I'. A sandstone column drum measuring 15 inches in diameter was recovered from Block I east, room 2, and is a good match for the stylobate wall, upon which it conceivably stood.

The peristyle courtyard appears to have had an entrance at its south-west angle for, at the south west angle of the southern wing, Evelyn-White (1909: 65) reports the discovery of a Pennant stone flag, three feet nine inches in length by one foot ten inches wide, bedded on masonry work which raised it three and a half inches above the level of the pavement. This would almost certainly have been a threshold stone. Importantly,

over the large slab mentioned lay two complete and several fragmentary *voussoirs* of a small arch. They measure 1 foot $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch in length by 6 inches in width at the top by 5 inches at the bottom. They are of very light calcareous tufa, full of vegetable matter. The width of the arch must have been 5 – 6 feet. No trace of the piers of this arch existed. It was at the north end of this step, beneath the ruins of the arch that the dedication to Mercury [RIB I: 321, CSIR I.5: No. 5] was found [at a depth of five feet from the level of the grass (ibid.: 67)].

Using Brodrigg's equation for the radius of an arch based upon the measurements of its *voussoirs* (as used above), the width of the span for the tufa *voussoir* arch or vault is calculated as ten feet five inches, double that cited by Evelyn-White. In metric, this gives a tufa *voussoir* arch or vault span of ~3.17m which compares very closely to the span of ~3.12m calculated for the arch or vault utilising the ceramic *voussoir* reported here. These figures are indistinguishable given the margin of error in the method (and the extrapolation of the dimensions of the ceramic *voussoir* from its surviving half). This is noteworthy because the tufa *voussoirs* and the ceramic *voussoir* reported here were recovered from locations corresponding with the opposing ends of the same corridor or ambulatory and might be expected to have proportions of a similar magnitude and to have spanned a corresponding distance. From King's plan (Evelyn-White, 1909: Plate XV), the width of this corridor or ambulatory was not established due to the limit of Evelyn-White's excavation, but it was in excess of six feet. Its adjoining south-eastern counterpart was eight feet (2.4m) in width.

Perhaps importantly, the hollow ceramic *voussoir* was recovered from the same location as Evelyn-White noted - the possible concrete bath (i.e. the north-west angle of Block I South). Hollow *voussoirs* were commonly employed for vaults over baths where the cut-outs in the sides enabled the hot air to circulate laterally, preventing the steam rising from the hot bath water below from condensing on the under surface of the arch and dripping back onto the bather(s) (Bridrigg, 1979: 147-8).

The location of the statue of Mercury near the southern doorway of the courtyard may be cited as further potential support for the hypothesis that there was an open peristyle courtyard. Such a location would be suitable for a household shrine or *lararium*.

The multi-layered wall plaster and tile stamp evidence reported by Evelyn-White suggests that the building was modified on a number of occasions over a long period of occupation, from probable Flavian (possibly Trajanic) origins to at least the early third century (for *antoninianus* [Boon (1984) Class B] tile-stamps abound). The coin lists support an even longer interest in the site - potentially well into the fourth century (Evelyn White, 1909: 78-82). It may be noted here that the dating of the labyrinth mosaic is uncertain (Ling, 2008: 18). Civilian mosaics with similar designs can be dated to the fourth century and Ling states it is possible that the labyrinth mosaic from Caerleon churchyard is also late. It is possible that the labyrinth mosaic from Caerleon churchyard is also late. Neal (1981), however, favours a second century date and this is consistent with the use of Dorset shale and

chalk for its *tesserae* (Allen and Fulford, 2004) *c.f.* the Fortress Baths 'thyrsus' mosaic. Similar white limestone *tesserae* were recovered from late contexts (late third century) at the Prysq Field 'armamentarium' (Chapman, 2002: 40; Nash-Williams, 1931: 131, fig. 2 and Boon, 1972: 54), but these almost certainly represented a 'dump' of a stock of loose tesserae within a store. Forty-seven similar chalk *tesserae* (with fourteen grey *tesserae*) have also been recovered from top-soil at nearby August Villa, Cold Bath Road (National Roman Legion Museum, accession number 2004.65H).

Block XX

The *praetorium* is currently identified as the building immediately behind (adjacent and to the north-west of) the *principia* (Boon, 1972: Plan; Block XX). This hypothesis largely rests upon its location (its position near the centre of the fortress and its proximity to the *principia*) and its large central courtyard with central, apsidal, sunken paved yard or pool(?), paralleled at Vetera (Xanten) (Boon, 1972: 85 and reference 310, and Petrikovits, 1974: Taf. 5b: 7) where two buildings of similar plan are known, either side of its *principia*. Petrikovits (1974: Taf. 3b) agrees with this interpretation of the building but also recognises the domestic nature of the Churchyard Extension site, offering 'accommodation for the *Immunes*?' as a possible interpretation. Given the marked differences exhibited by the Caerleon Churchyard archaeology and the other accommodation that Petrikovits offers as for the *Immunes* (e.g. Inchtuthil, Taf. 1b; Chester, Taf. 2b; Noviomagus, Taf. 4b) this interpretation could be argued to be internally inconsistent from the perspective of their plans alone.

Assessment of the data presented (Petrikovits, 1974; Taf. 1b) supports the interpretation of the regimented and uniform accommodation identified at Inchtuthil and Chester etc., rather than Caerleon Churchyard, based upon status and location. Similarly, if Petrikovits' interpretation of the location of the accommodation of the *Tribunus Laticlavus* is correct (Taf. 1b and 6b), and this would appear to be likely (Zienkiewicz, 1985), the most likely candidate for the (significantly) larger, more centrally located, *domus* (Boon, 1972: Plan; area XVI) would be the Legate.

Whilst the location identified as the *praetorium* at Novaesium (Petrikovits, 1974: Taf. 6b) is adjacent to, and immediately behind, the *principia*, it exhibits the fundamental characteristics of a residential building – irregular room sizes, and layout. Although the Caerleon structure occupying the equivalent area of the fortress is of similar size, its layout is highly regular in plan. Again, the layout of the building(s) proposed for the *Immunes* at Novaesium is highly regular in plan (*op. cit.*).

Whilst the building adjacent to the *principia* of Bonna is interpreted as possible accommodation for the *Immunes* (Petrikovits, 1974: Taf. 7b, 6) its location, comparable to the Caerleon Churchyard Extension excavation, may equally support an alternative interpretation – as the *Praetorium*; in the absence of contrary evidence or alternative options currently known at Bonna. The suggested accommodation for the *Immunes* at Vindonissa is once again highly regular in plan and comprises almost square rooms in blocks, one of which has rooms arranged in a grid-like plan – a block four rooms deep by ten rooms long (Petrikovits, 1974: Taf. 8b, 11).

In their review of the locations of *praetoria* within permanent Legionary bases other than Inchtuthil, Pitts and St. Joseph (1985: 187) cite the location of the *praetorium* as behind the *principia* at Chester, Neuss, Carnuntum and possibly Haltern. They cite the location of the *praetorium* as to the right of the *principia* at Carpow and to its left at Nijmegen (both fortresses with otherwise generally irregular plans). The two *praetoria* either side of the *principia* at Vetera they see as a special case since this fortress housed two legions. They do note that the (more numerous) commanders' houses in auxiliary forts were normally built to the right (sometimes to the left) of the *principia*.

Carrington (1986) cites Jarrett (Nash-Williams, 1969: 150 & 152) in asserting that the plans of legionary fortresses are less stereotyped both in size and layout than those of auxiliary forts. Yet attempts to fill gaps in the Caerleon (and other) fortress plans through comparisons with other sites persist. If there can be any value from this approach it could be argued that the best data could be that from Isca's roughly contemporary fortresses in Britain, namely Chester, Inchtuthil and York, and its predecessor, Exeter (and Lake Farm, Dorset). Very little is known, however, of the interior arrangements at Exeter, York and Chester, and what is known supports the assertion that there is considerable variation in size and plan. Carrington (1986: 40, fig. 2.2) identifies Chester's *praetorium* as a potential candidate for the unexcavated area adjacent to the *principia*, corresponding to that occupied by block XVI (Churchyard Extension) at Caerleon. He also favours this location (although an empty plot) as the intended location for the *praetorium* at Inchtuthil (1986: 41, fig. 2.3). Although Strickland (1981: 321, fig. 26.1) identifies the Chester *praetorium* as the building adjacent but to the rear of the *principia*, he noted (*op. cit.* 425) that the poor quality of the rooms actually excavated in this building indicated that if this really was the *praetorium*, the residential quarters of the *legatus legionis* must have been situated elsewhere within the unexcavated parts of the building. Furthermore, the excavated portion he refers to comprises small cells of uniform size and plan which compare well with those of the building occupying block XX at Caerleon. Strickland concludes that the building at Chester could equally have been workshops or a store (*op. cit.* 425). Too little is known about the archaeology of central York, Exeter or Lake Farm, Dorset, to be able to offer possible sites for their *praetoria* with any satisfaction. Neither the area adjacent to, nor behind, the *principia* can presently, however, be excluded in each case. It is quite probable that analogy to Exeter or Lake Farm, Dorset, would be found to be less helpful anyway given the different political circumstances under which each fortress was founded and surveyed. Similarly, Usk currently offers no clues as to the possible location of a *praetorium* there and need not necessarily inform us as to the location of the Caerleon *praetorium* anyway, for the same reasons.

The block XX structure at Caerleon, and its unusual plan and archaeology, may be most simply identified as a building with an official, administrative, function (Nash-Williams, 1936: 321). Necessarily close to the *principia*, of suitable size and plan, and situated amidst the 'manufacturing zone' within the fortress, it would be fit for such a purpose. The administrative capacity of a legionary fortress can not be underestimated and would be unlikely to exist within the *principia* alone in a permanent base (von Schnurbein, 2000: 33). Indeed, with cohorts of ordinary foot soldiers (*miles*) likely to be engaged in activities away from the fortress regularly for most of Isca's history, the importance of the communication, supply and administrative function of the legion's permanent HQ should be expected to be reflected in the amount of space allocated to it and the nature of its buildings.

The fortress plan emerging from recent geophysical survey at Caerleon (Guest and Young, 2006, 2007, 2008 and forthcoming) and included in the proposed new interpretation presented below with the hypotheses set out in the work reported here (figure 10), demonstrates the major manufacturing and supply role of the legion's base, all of which requires administration and communication to the legion wherever it may be. Precedence for block XX may be demonstrated by its scale, and the possible *exedra* or large basilica forming the southern wing of this building (although archived notes at the National Museum suggest that a cross-wall(s) may exist within its northern 'aisle'). Precedence may also be argued on the basis of the fact that this building may have been erected on a reserved plot, for there was little evidence of antecedent occupation on its site (Grimes, 1935: 9; Boon, 1972: 30).

The slight occupation evidence from this site (Grimes, 1935: 9 & 13; Boon, 1972: 33) is equally, if not more, consistent with continuous use – as an administrative centre – than with periodic disuse or abandonment. Grimes (*op.cit.* 13) concluded that

the absence of finds and traces of domestic occupation in the form of floors strongly supports the idea that the building could never have been intended for ordinary domestic use, unless we pre-suppose that a much higher standard of general cleanliness was at all times enforced in this building than has been met with on any of the sites which have yet been excavated within the fortress.

Furthermore, he continued

The elongated round-ended courtyard ... (as far as it has been excavated)... is found, though rather varied, in the Legionary commanders' houses at Vetera. But these structures were in both cases much larger than at Caerleon, nor does the position in relation to the general planning of the fortress correspond.

and indeed, it need not.

No decoratively painted or coloured wall plaster was reported to have been found at the site, and none is preserved in the artefact assemblage deposited at the National Roman Legion Museum (Accession No.s 36.471 and 38.637). None of the floors could be described as high status, being of clay, sand and gravel, or 'rough' paving where more substantial. None of the floors were reported to have been heated by way of a hypocaust. No *tesserae* are reported from the site and, again, none are preserved in the site assemblage deposited at the National Roman Legion Museum. Sections across the site (Grimes and Nash-Williams, unpublished archive material and Grimes, 1935: 119, fig. 4) record a layer described as 'definitely destruction' comprising building debris and finally, 'humus'. Room 4 also contained a layer of charcoal beneath possible later floors and the layer of debris suggesting a possible fire or phase of industrial use? Extensive sampling may have been informative. Assessing the remaining evidence for floors and (metalled) yard surfaces, they can be satisfactorily described as utilitarian. This building was not repaired using *ANTO* brick or tile and this could indicate that it was well maintained or, more probably, that its (possibly reduced) functions may have been transferred to the *principia*, or redistributed elsewhere, later in the history of the fortress (*cf.* inscriptions from the *Principia* which had 'been ruined by age' and restored by AD 198-209 (RIB I: 333) and possibly (partially or wholly) re-dedicated on the birthday of the Legion in AD 234 (RIB I: 328) and AD 244 (RIB I: 327)). Boon (1972: 64 and note 237) argues convincingly that the stratigraphy presented by Grimes (1935) and Nash-Williams and Grimes (unpublished archives) is consistent with systematic demolition of the building occupying block XX and the levelling of the plot. This accords as well with a model where reduced administrative needs lead to the reduction in office space required (or centralised storage etc.), as it does with a model of abandonment of a Legate's residence. Interestingly, it has been argued that buildings with a probable administrative function were the ones which remained in use the longest at Chester – to the fourth century (Strickland, 1984: 34-5).

The central, oval, paved, sunken 'courtyard' could be interpreted as a pool (Boon, *op.cit.* and Grimes, *op. cit.*, fig. 3) and, potentially, a source of fish? The uniformity of the, unheated, rooms with basic floors could be consistent with a store-building (*horreum*) but more evidence of periodic resurfacing and artefact loss might be expected if that were the case. The sunken courtyard would also make vehicular access to the various parts of the building unnecessarily difficult. Furthermore,

access to the inner ‘cells’ would be significantly restricted and would require access via adjoining ‘rooms’, unless the plan reflects sleeper walls for a raised timber floor and does not represent the room layout at all. A *mansio*-like official inn or staging post could also utilise small, basic, uniform rooms for accommodation but, again, the access issues and the apparently basic, limited, finish of the (apparently unheated) rooms do not lend support to this model either.

Conclusion: Options for the Churchyard Extension building – block XVI, and block XX. Revised hypotheses (Fig. 10).

If we accept its domestic nature, we must seek candidates for the occupancy of the building on the Churchyard Extension site (block XVI) for it is larger than any of the others in the *scamnum tribunorum*. Furthermore, if we accept Zienkiewicz’s (symmetrical) interpretation of the *scamnum tribunorum* (Zienkiewicz, 1993: 72, fig. 21 and 84, fig. 26) we lack a candidate for the Churchyard Extension house other than the *legatus legionis* (Legate) for the other most senior officers may be accounted for in his model. This places the *praefectus castrorum* on the Legionary Museum site (block X) and the *tribunus laticlavus* in the corresponding sinistral plot (block XI), suitably near to the *principia* and, most conveniently close to block XVI – the churchyard extension [possibly the *praetorium*]. The apparently ‘administrative rather than residential’ block XX may well have been the *quaestorium*, as suggested by Nash-Williams (1936: 321).

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The Layout of the Fortress

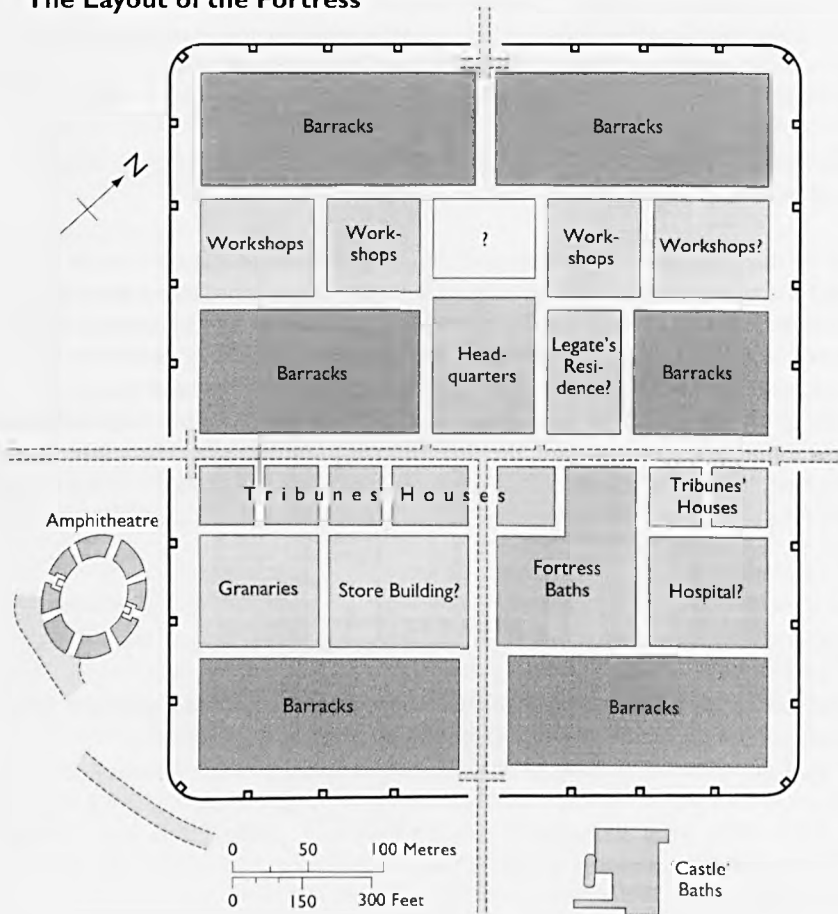


Fig. 10: A proposed fortress plan for Isca.

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A Revised Interpretive Fortress Plan

A high-status *domus* at the centre of a legionary fortress possessing a larger footprint than any of the known senior officers' houses of the *scannum tribunorum* or first cohort, and set apart from them, must be a suitable candidate for the Legate's residence (*praetorium*). With prevailing winds from the south-west and west, and with the majority of the known industrial activity inside the fortress located to the north, north-west, north-east and east of the Churchyard Extension site, this is a more suitable location for a residence than the block to the north-west of the *principia*. The model for the fortress layout at Isca proposed here (Fig. 10) presents a logically zoned base for a Legion. The periphery is occupied by the soldiery and the protected core is occupied by industrial activity (down-wind of the command and the majority of the troops). The command-centre, including administration, and senior officers are centred on the headquarters at the heart of the fortress. The granaries and stores are near to the main entrance and the known and presumed quays (Boon, 1978). The baths and hospital occupy the remaining space (adjacent to one another).

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GWENT CHURCHES IN THE BOOK OF LLANDAFF

By Jeremy K Knight

Like many members of the Association, I have happy memories of visits to churches organized, with her usual quiet efficiency, by Gwenllian Jones. Some were evening excursions to places in Gwent, others longer day visits to churches in neighbouring counties. This article is a short thank you for those memories.

Gwent churches are usually a mixture of surviving medieval features and Victorian restoration, but the question of when individual churches were first founded and when the familiar pattern of rural parish churches come into being is more difficult. Parish boundaries were first recorded on the Ordnance survey map of 1841 and on earlier tithe maps, though nearly all parish churches are recorded as such in medieval sources and the origins and growth of the parochial system has been the subject of much recent study.¹ Most parish churches began between the tenth and early twelfth centuries, but behind them lies an older pattern of a small number of mother churches, with much larger *parochiae* (minster parishes to borrow the English term)², supplemented by private estate churches founded by landowners on their properties.³ In Monmouthshire we are particularly fortunate in that we have David Williams's excellent map of the developed medieval parish system⁴ and a unique series of charters which give us some insight into earlier stages in this process.

The Book of Llandaff (*Liber Landavensis*, now National Library of Wales Ms. 17110 E) contains, among much else, 158 charters which, on internal evidence, date between the seventh and eleventh centuries and which contain the earliest known references to many places and churches in Gwent. Probably deriving from marginal entries in gospel books and the like from various early churches, the charters underwent a complex process of re-copying and were then subject to heavy creative editing in the early twelfth century in the interests of the new see of Llandaff and of bishop Urban's battles with his episcopal brothers of Hereford and St Davids for control of Archenfield and parts of west Glamorgan and Carmarthenshire. This battle was effectively lost by 1133 and bishop Urban's death in the following year.⁵ Fourteen other charters were added to the Life of St Cadog in the British

¹ Blair, J and Sharpe, R., *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester 1992). Addleshaw, G.W.O., *The Beginnings of the Parochial system, from Charlemagne to Urban II* (York, 2nd ed. 1970); Blair, J., *The Church in Anglo Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005) is now the definitive study.

² J. Blair, J (ed.) *Minsters and Parish Churches : the local church in transition 900-1200* (Oxford, 1988).

³ Knight, J.K. *The End of Antiquity: Archaeology, society and religion in western Europe* (Tempus, Stroud, 1999) 123-27.

⁴ Williams, David H 'The Church in Medieval Gwent', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 16 (2000) 2-10, also published as a single map.

⁵ The literature on the Book of Llandaff is considerable. Evans, J. G. and Rhys, J., *Text of the Book of Llan Dav* (Oxford, 1893, reprinted Aberystwyth 1979, hereafter *Liber Landavensis*) is still indispensable, as are Wendy Davies's 'Liber Landavensis: its construction and credibility,' *English Historical Review* 88 (1973); *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (Cardiff, 1978), and *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 1979). J Reuben Davies has published two important studies: 'The Book of Llandaff: a twelfth century perspective', *Anglo Norman Studies* 21 (1998) 31-46, and *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge, 2003). References below are to the number of the charter and the page numbers in Evans and Rhys.

Library manuscript Vespasian A XIV⁶, transcribed from a manuscript from Llancarfan, perhaps the 'Book of Cadog', an early gospel book said to have been written by the historian Gildas, which was one of the principal treasures of Llancarfan.⁷ The entry of charter texts in this way is a practice well attested in surviving insular books such as the Lichfield, Hereford and Bodmin Gospels. When Leofflaed, wife of Thorkil the Tall, was involved in a land transaction in the time of King Cnut 'Thorkil rode to St Aethelberht's minster (Hereford cathedral) and had it recorded in the Gospel book'- the still surviving Hereford gospels. Similarly, in one of the Llancarfan charters, Bronnoguid gave land to Llancarfan 'that his name might be written in the Book of Cadog at Nantcarfan'.⁸

The Book of Llandaff presents many problems, but the present discussion is concerned only with the topographical and historical evidence for places it names in Gwent. In one or two cases, it may be possible to suggest new identifications. I shall make no attempt to include all Gwent churches named in the Book of Llandaff, which would need far more space than is available here. Professor Wendy Davies has shown that the charters derived, by a complex process of re-copying, from nine earlier collections (A-J), from various unidentified Welsh churches. Maps showing churches named in the charters give the impression of a dense distribution from an early date. However, these are spread over five centuries and a more detailed scrutiny may show a more complex picture.

The first three charter groups (A-C) are attached to the lives of saints co-opted in the twelfth century as patrons of the new see of Llandaff- Dyfrig (Dubicrius), Teilo and Oudoceus. The Dyfrig charters (Group A)⁹ are sandwiched between the tract *De primo statu Landavensis ecclesiae* 'concerning the first state of the Church of Llandaff' and the life of Dyfrig and derive from a centre in Archenfield. The only Gwent church involved is *Lann Mocha*, St Maughans, Llanfocha in Welsh, on the Monnow above Monmouth, with a charter dated to c.860. There are indications that its original *parochia* was much larger than the present parish. It may have included Newcastle, a 'castle parish' unlikely to be earlier than the canonization of its patron, Thomas Becket, in 1173 and Rockfield. If so, the original area may have included around 3,400 acres¹⁰ St Maughans was still an important church in the eleventh century. Later, its rôle seems to have been taken over by Llangattock Feibion Afel. A document of 1186 relating to Monmouth Priory lists, 'The church of St Cadoc of Llancadoc' with its chapels of Llandiwit (Llantwit), Lanmohan (St Maughans), St Thomas of Newcastle, Panrox (Penrhos), Rokevile (Rockfield) and Guingaloc. John Blair has remarked that in England many former minsters retained their large minster parishes into medieval times. Here, the minster parish seems to have outlasted the eclipse of its former centre.¹¹

⁶ *Vita Cadoci*, chapters 55-68, in: Wade Evans, A.W., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944) 124-37 and 'The Llancarfan Charters', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 87 (1932) 151-65; Hughes, Kathleen, 'British Museum Ms Cotton Vespasian A XIV: its purpose and provenance', in Chadwick, N.K. (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958) 183-200.

⁷ *Vita Cadoci*, chapter 56 (Wade Evans, V.S.B.G.126-7).

⁸ Gameson, R 'The insular gospel book at Hereford cathedral', *Scriptorium* 56 (2002) 48-79; Jenkins, D. and Owen, Morfydd, 'The Welsh marginalia in the Lichfield Gospels', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 5 (1984) 37-66; 7 (1984) 91-120.

⁹ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 1-9, 72a to 77.

¹⁰ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 5, p. 74. Later charters include an attack on St Maughans, c.1025, and a dispute over the church's food rent, c. 1070: *Liber Landavensis*, charters 152, 157, pp.264, 272.

¹¹ Round, J.H., *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1888) 404-5; Conway Davies, J., *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to the Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272* Cardiff, 1946-48, 2 vols., (Llandaff) 203, p. 71; Blair, *Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* 450.

The seven charters of Group B, attached to the life of St Teilo, may derive from the extinct see based on Llandeilo Fawr in Carmarthenshire. Three, with notional dates as early as 600, relate to churches in upper Gwent - Llanarth ; Llandeilo Pertholau and Llandeilo Gresynni (Llantilio Crossenny).¹² However, they occur among a group of highly corrupt and even invented charters. Of the Llantilio Crossenny charter for example Wendy Davies notes 'it is not a charter, but a narrative.... It has no witness list and nothing to suggest any genuine original'.¹³ It is also doubtful if the place name element *llan* was current as early as 600. Reuben Davies has suggested that the earliest, those combined with a topographical element, like Llanwern 'church among the alders' begin in the seventh century, those compounded with saint's names belonging mainly to the eighth to tenth centuries, whilst David Petts has argued that names in *llan* are no earlier than the ninth century.¹⁴ With all these uncertainties, it is perhaps best to regard these charters, in their present form, as no earlier than the eighth or ninth century. A later charter places the household of a bishop Nudd at Llanarth c.864.¹⁵ If reliable, this suggests that Llanarth was already an episcopal holding at that date and had already lost whatever connection it had with Llandeilo Fawr.

Llantilio Crossenny is described as being 'in the middle of Crissinic', presumably a district name. We are looking at another early *parochia*, from which the later 'castle parishes' of Grosmont and Skenfrith, with their characteristic Anglo Norman dedications, St Nicholas and St Bride, were carved. If so, north-east Gwent west of the Monnow would have been divided by the ninth century at latest into the two large *parochiae* of *Crissinych* and *Lann Mocha*. Llantilio Crossenny later became a manor of the bishops of Llandaff, with the parish divided between *Llantilio Regis*, with the king's White Castle, and *Llantilio Episcopi*. All three Group B churches were later prebends of Llandaff. Prebends, introduced to Llandaff by bishop Henry of Abergavenny (1198- 1218), were mostly on sites of ancient pre-Norman foundation.¹⁶

The twenty-one charters appended to the life of St Oudoceus are mostly dated to the seventh century¹⁷ They include several Gwent churches, including Mathern, *Merthyr Tewdrig*, later a major residence of the bishops of Llandaff and a prebend. Despite the undoubted importance of Mathern from an early date, Davies notes that there is 'nothing to suggest an original charter as its base'. The story of Tewdrig's death in battle against the Saxons was probably a twelfth century invention. Mathern may have been an ancient possession of the see, though Llandaff lacked documentary proof of this; a lack which in the new circumstances of Anglo-Norman times the compilers of the Book of Llandaff had to make good. Modern concepts of forgery do not really apply.¹⁸ Llandogo, *Llanoudocui*, in the Wye Valley above Tintern was the church of St Euddogwy or Oudoceus. His twelfth century life and the charter of c.698 refer to timber traffic and to four fishing weirs on the Wye. The boundaries given in the charter were traced on the ground by Bradney. If correctly identified, they show an area with the same river frontage, of some 4 miles (7.5 kms) as the present parish, from the Cyfylchi stream to Whitebrook (*Gwenffrwd*), but stretching inland for some 2.5 miles (4 kms)

¹² *Liber Landavensis*, charters 10-12, pp. 121-124.

¹³ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 10-16, pp 121-127b.

¹⁴ Davies, John Reuben ' Saints of south Wales and the Welsh Church', in Thacker, A. and Sharpe, R (ed.), *Local saints and local churches in the early medieval west* (Oxford 2002) 392-5; Petts, D., *The Early Medieval Church in Wales* (Stroud, 2009) 23-26.

¹⁵ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 225, p. 115.

¹⁶ For a list of prebends of 1200-1210, see *Liber Landavensis*, p. 284; Davies, J. Conway., *Episcopal Acts Relating to Welsh Dioceses* (Cardiff, 1946-48), L 304, pp. 696-97.

¹⁷ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 17-37, pp. 140-159b.

¹⁸ Wendy Davies, *Early Welsh Microcosm*, 168

into the Trellech uplands, enclosing an area of some 2,100 acres.¹⁹ The fishing weirs recall the Anglo-Saxon charter of 956 from the royal manor of Tidenham, just downstream, with its references to *cytweras* 'basket weirs' and '*haecweras* ' sluice or hurdle weirs'. The former were the 'putchers' or funnel like traps of withies used until very recently at Goldcliff and elsewhere, the latter the barrier type fish traps of stakes and withies now being recognized in increasing number along the Welsh coasts.²⁰

Eighth Century Gwent: The Group F Charters

A collection of over fifty charters from Gwent and Glamorgan, with eighth century dates, are grants to four bishops, Berthwyn, Tyrchan, Cadwared and Cerennnyr.²¹ Their see seems to have included Gwent, Archenfield and Glamorgan east of the Ogmere. The charters contain a great deal of incidental information unlikely to have been fabricated by a later editor.

They list much aristocratic war and hunting gear, horses, swords, dogs and hawks, with values expressed in cows, frequently the currency of early pastoral societies, as in Ireland at this time. Horses were worth up to twelve cows, though as might be expected, their values varied a great deal. Hawks were highly valued, at between six and twelve cows. A good sword was usually worth about twelve cows. There are horns, for hunting or feasting, worth ten and fourteen cows and a trumpet valued at no less than twenty four cows. Clothing includes cloaks and red linen and there is a mysterious *scripulum* and a Saxon woman, presumably a concubine or slave. One other standard of value looks to the future. A horn was valued at six ounces of silver, a cloak given to a queen was of a similar value and a horse was worth four ounces of silver. This was probably bullion or ingots, though the small silver coins known as sceattas were certainly current in Gloucestershire in the early eighth century. It looks forward, however, to the beginnings of coin use in Gwent in the following century.

Sixteen places in Gwent can be identified. Of these, eight now contain churches dedicated to purely local saints, mostly with a unique dedication.- Mounton (St Andoenus); Llancadwaladar (Bishton, St Cadwaladr); Llansoy (St Tisoi); Llandegveth (St Tecmed); Wonastow (St Wonno); Llangofen (St Govan); Llanvaches (St Machuta); Llangiwa (St Ciwa), whilst Kilgwrrwg, *Villa Guroc*, had no known dedication until recently, when it was dedicated to the Holy Cross on episcopal initiative. In nearly all cases the second element is a personal name, presumably that of the founder, clerical or lay, of the church or, in the cases of Llanvaches (*Merthir Maches*) and Llandegveth (*Merthir Tecmed*), of the person whose grave was venerated there. In other cases, there are good grounds for suspecting later re-dedication, as at Trellech (St Nicholas) or the Benedictine nunnery of St Mary's Usk, if this is *Lisdin Borriion* ('the royal court in the fort of Borriion') from the Roman *Burrium*. These were presumably proprietary churches founded by landowners on their estates, the forerunners of medieval parish churches. Dedications to major monastic saints are absent, suggesting that this may be a later development.

There is a contrast here with conditions in England, where similar small local churches are very rare at this time, perhaps being excluded by the more powerful minsters. This contrast may also be reflected in the rarity of similar single dedications in England.²²

¹⁹ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 33, p 156; Bradney, J.A., *History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. 2, Part 2., *Hundred of Trellech* (London, 1913, reprinted 1992) 206.

²⁰ Robinson, A.J., *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1939), nos CIX, CXVII, pp. 204-6, 216-18; Hooke, D., *Landscape of Anglo Saxon England* (Leicester U.P., 1998) 179. A coin of King Alfred has recently been found at Tidenham (information from Mark Lewis).

²¹ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 56- 108, pp. 174b- 216b.

²² Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 118-21: ' The problem of local churches'.

Two Gwent Charter Groups, G and H

The three final charter groups, H-J, from Gwent sources, were collected together, possibly at Llandaff, before being entered into the prototype of the Book of Llandaff, probably in the time of Bishop Joseph (c.1022-1045), who may have been responsible for settling the bishopric of Glamorgan, whose earlier location is uncertain, at Llandaff. Group J is somewhat later than the other two, and will be discussed below. Group H is the earliest, of c.860-925 in the times of bishops Nudd and Cyfeiliog.²³ Cyfeiliog is also known from the *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*. He was captured by Vikings in Archenfield in 915, taken to their ships and ransomed by King Edward the Elder.²⁴ Apart from two final charters relating to a separate bishop Libiou in Brycheiniog and Gower, all identifiable sites lie in Gwent or Archenfield. They include an important charter for the *martyrium* of Julius and Aaron outside Caerleon and Dingestow and Llanvetherine in Upper Gwent. Of eleven identifiable sites, however, there is a significant cluster in the vicinity of Caerwent, at Tidenham, Pwllmeurig, Mathern and near Caldicot. This raises the distinct possibility that this charter group derived from St Tatheus's monastery at Caerwent, or even from an early bishopric based there. In two other cases, the accepted identification is open to question.

Monmouth, Caldicot and Tre'r Gaer

Castell Conscuit is tentatively identified with Caldicot.²⁵ The existing name, though, is a very common English one, and there is no indication of any pre-Norman settlement in the area of the medieval church and castle. The general location is guaranteed by references to landing rights at the mouth of the Troggy and to weirs, but the fortified site implied in the name and the church of St Brigit (*ecclesia Brigidae*) remain to be identified. St Bride's, Netherwent, is a possibility for the latter, but again there is no indication of pre-Norman origins at the church or at the small deserted medieval village. The charter boundaries include a number of cairns or mounds. If these were Bronze Age barrows, it implies that the few ploughed out barrows which survive in Gwent Is Coed are a poor remnant of many more which existed before medieval and modern ploughing largely eradicated them.

Llan Meiri Penn Ros and the *ecclesia Sanctae Mariae* are usually identified with Monmouth, largely on the dedication of Monmouth Priory to St Mary, and the grant has attracted attention as early evidence for the cult of the Virgin in Wales. The present dedication is that of the Norman Benedictine Priory, and Monmouth, at the junction of Wye and Monnow, appears several times elsewhere in the charters as *Aper Menei* or *Aper Mynguy*,²⁶ whilst the only pre-Norman dedication attested there is to St Cadog. The charter, of c.910, concerns the grant of *Llan Meiri* by king Brochfael ap Meurig of Gwent to his daughter, a holy virgin. After her death there was a dispute between bishop Cyfeiliog and Brochfael, who may have tried to reclaim the site as inalienable family land.²⁷ This may be Tregaer, properly Tre'r Gaer, near Raglan, a Mary dedication next to the parish of Penrhos. The dedication would be fitting for the foundation of a female recluse. Henllys Farm (SO 414101) is 500 metres west of Tregaer church, to which it is joined by a footpath. By its name, it was a former *llys* or court of the pre-Norman kings of Gwent, whilst Tre'r Gaer 'the township in the fort' might suggest that either the church or the royal court re-used a prehistoric earthwork. In medieval times Penrhos,

²³ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 115-134, pp. 225-239.

²⁴ *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, D text *sub anno* 915. A text *sub anno* 918(=917).

²⁵ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 130, p. 235b.

²⁶ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 64, 71, pp. 180a 186b.

²⁷ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 124, p. 231.

Tregaer, Bryngwyn and Henllys were a single manor, part of the demense of the lordship of Abergavenny. There is the possibility that this represented a pre-Norman royal estate.²⁸

The Class G Charters

A small group of six charters dating from the mid-tenth century is associated with two bishops, Pater and Wulfrith, the latter with an Anglo-Saxon name.²⁹ Uniquely, one bears a date of A.D. 955. A deacon, Eli, took refuge in St Arvans church after the murder of a peasant, but was seized from sanctuary by the men of king Nowy ap Gwriad. This resulted in a formal meeting at Caerwent between the king and bishop Pater, and the grant of Penterry near Tintern to the Church. Recent finds of high quality eighth century metalwork at Penterry - a gilt copper alloy book or shrine mount with Anglo-Saxon chip-carved decoration and the pin of an elaborate penannular brooch, imply the presence of a high status secular or ecclesiastical site somewhere near the isolated twelfth century church, perhaps close to the Iron Age hillfort on Gaer Hill.³⁰ The name *Pentiri*, 'fertile hill', and its alternative English name, *Barton* (*Bere-tun*. – barley farm) indicate why it was attractive to settlement.³¹

One lost Gwent church recorded in these tenth century charters is the *Villa Treficarn Pont* near Abercarn, with a charter of c.942. This small church survived to the nineteenth century, when it was drawn by the anonymous artist of the *Gwentia* albums, who described it as 'the chapel at Abercarn, alias Tregarn, now converted into a cottage and barn'.³² It stood near the confluence of the river Ebbw with the Nant Gwyddon, presumably once the Nant Carn, close to the site of the Victorian church of St Luke's, Abercarn. Its two middle elements were preserved in the name of the Cistercian grange of Llantarnam at Tref-Carn.

The Llancarfan Charters

The *Life of St Cadog* in the Vespasian A. XIV manuscript contains, apart from the life itself, genealogies and other material deriving from his monastery at Llancarfan. Among these are fourteen charters from the times of abbots Conieg, Paul and Jacob.³³ Correlation with charters in the Book of Llandaff suggests a possible date range of c. 650-720, and Wendy Davies has suggested that whilst it is impossible to date them precisely, they are probably of the seventh and eighth centuries.³⁴ Four are not charters as such. Two aim to substantiate Llancarfan's claims to the churches of Manmoel near Pontypool and Llanelli in Carmarthenshire. Their patrons, Macmoil (by his name an Irishman) and Elli, figure in the life as Cadog's leading disciples and the witness lists to the charters present Cadog and Elli as living persons.³⁵ Similarly, the grant of *Lan Hoitlan* (Hentland) in Herefordshire has

²⁸ Bradney, J.A., *History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. 2, Part 1., *Hundred of Raglan* (London, 1914; reprinted 1992) 71; Morgan, R., *Place Names of Gwent* (Llanrwst, 2005) 208.

²⁹ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 109-114, pp. 217-224.

³⁰ Redknap, M., 'Crossing boundaries : stylistic diversity and external contacts in early ', in *Boundaries : Croesi Ffinia* (Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Celtic Studies, 24-30th August 2003, University of Aberystwyth), ed. Sims Williams, Patrick, and Aled, Gruffydd, 49-50 and plate X [48-9].

³¹ Morgan, *Place Names in Gwent*, 170-71.

³² *Liber Landavensis*, charter 112, p. 222; *Gwentia: Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, Society of Antiquaries Library, London, Vol 1, 3. On this source see Mc Hardy, G., 'A note on the four volumes of *Gwentia* Eccl. Antiq.,' *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 18 (2002) 41-64.

³³ Wade Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae, Vita Cadoci*, chapters 55- 70, pp. 125-141, and 'The Llancarfan charters'.

³⁴ Davies, Wendy., *Wales In the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1982) 202.

³⁵ *Vita Cadoci*, chapters 58 and 63 [V.S.B.G. 128-9, 130-33].

Cadog and St Illtyd as witnesses, along with the virgin St Hoitlan and the Irish saint Finnian.³⁶ Grants to saints as living persons are not unknown elsewhere, and since the saint was regarded as the still living guardian and protector of his or her church, the concept of forgery, or of an attempt to create a bogus antiquity for the particular church do not apply. Llancarfan's links with these churches may have been of long standing, though they lacked the documentary proof necessary in the new Anglo-Norman situation. Similarly the final charter (no. 69) is a lengthy 'pseudo-charter' telling of Maelgwyn Gwynedd's attack on Gwynlliog.

Of the remaining ten charters, not all the lands granted can be identified, but three relate to places in western Gwent, at Pencarnov at Coedkernew outside Newport; at Caerleon and at Llandadwaladr (Bishton).³⁷ A fourth, for *Dinborrion*, possibly Usk, is one of two charters which also occur in the Book of Llandaff., the other being the Bishton grant.³⁸ The Llandaff charters for Bishton and perhaps Usk were thus originally grants to Llancarfan. Since relations between Llancarfan and the new see of Llandaff were close in Anglo-Norman times, Llandaff probably inherited the grants. It might also be an indication that the eighth century Group F charters originated from Llancarfan.

Parish Formation

The origins of the parochial system go back to the Carolingian ideal of a church in every village, combined with increasing population and settlement numbers in the improving climatic conditions of the tenth to eleventh centuries. This led to a proliferation of rural churches, and the need to define the territory of each more precisely to prevent disputes between churches over burial fees and other income, particularly tithes. Tithes had been obligatory in England since the time of Edmund (939-946) and Edgar (959-975), but do not seem to have been imposed in Wales before the Norman conquest. There was often a conflict with the rights and income of the older mother church or minster. A law of Edgar stipulated that landowners should pay a third of their tithes to their parish church, two thirds to the old minster.³⁹ In Wales, conditions were rather different due to the Anglo-Norman conquest, but Fred Cowley has traced how the proliferation of Norman settlements and castles in the area west of the Ogmere in Glamorgan in the early-twelfth century, led to the creation of a series of new parishes carved out of the territory of the pre-Norman church at Merthyr Mawr and the negotiations and litigation which this involved.⁴⁰

The final charter group, J, has several distinctive features. It has more of the form of an organized cartulary than the earlier groups, with the charters of each bishop introduced by a sort of general confirmation, listing churches owned or claimed by the see.⁴¹ It thus falls into three sections, the charters of bishops Gwgon and Bledri (135-142), Joseph (143-153) and Herewald (154-157). Joseph (c 1022-45) and Herewald (d. 1104) can be associated with Llandaff, as a concentration of charters from the Cardiff area and south-east Glamorgan and an inscription from Llandaff naming bishop Joseph show.⁴² The location of the see under Gwgon and Bledri is less certain, but an unusual charter

³⁶ *Vita Cadoci*, chapter 57, V.S.B.G. pp. 126-9.

³⁷ *Vita Cadoci*, chapters. 59, 60, 67, V.S.B.G. pp. 128-135.

³⁸ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 65, 102, pp 180b, 210b = *Vita Cadoci*, chapters 66 and 67.

³⁹ Addleshaw, *Beginnings of the Parochial System*, 4-13

⁴⁰ Cowley, F.G., 'The Church in medieval Glamorgan', in Pugh. T.B (ed.), Glamorgan County History III. *The Middle Ages* (Cardiff, 1971) 116-17.

⁴¹ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 135, 143, 155, pp. 240, 253, 269.

⁴² Redknap, Mark and Lewis, J.M., *A Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*, Vol 1: *South-East Wales and the English Border* (Cardiff, 2007), G 39, p 325.

of c.980, gifting two brothers and their property to the abbot of Llancarfan again may suggest that the links between Llancarfan and Llandaff, apparent later, might have gone back to the times of the earlier bishops of Glamorgan.⁴³

Lann Mihacgel Lichrit, 'the church of St Michael at the stony ford', subject of a charter of c.980⁴⁴ is usually tentatively identified with Llanmelin, a name now familiar as the modern name of the Iron Age hillfort. It refers, however, to the valley of the Castroggi brook west of the hill fort and is probably *Nant Melin*, 'valley of the mill'. There is no evidence whatever of a church, either at the hillfort or in the valley. The general location is confirmed by mention of the Castroggi brook as a boundary. Bradney suggested Wentwood Mill (ST 438962) as a possible location on topographical grounds, and equated it with a later holding known as Llandegelly. A large Roman coin hoard was found there in the nineteenth century, suggesting an earlier settlement. Another possibility is Dinham (ST 481923), a Domesday hardwick or dairy farm which possibly had a Michael dedication.⁴⁵

The ruins of *Lannpetyr in Henriiu*, 'St Peter's on the old (Roman) road' (ST 371891) named in a charter of c.1045 survived until the nineteenth century, when they were recorded by Morgan and Wakeman and drawn by the artist of *Gwentia*. Its site is now under the lawn of a house known as Llanbedr Hall. The name is preserved in that of Hendrew Farm, a kilometre to the north-east, the site of another large Roman coin hoard and the secular centre of this small estate. Later, Henrhiw came into the possession of the owners of Kemeys Inferior and was merged with that parish.⁴⁶

We are now in a fully historical period. The two final charters, for *Villa Tref Rita* near Llandegveth in Edlogan and for Llangwm, were issued by Caradoc ap Gruffydd, king of Gwent killed at the battle of Mynydd Carn in 1081. The Llangwm charter also refers to Roger fitz William fitz Osbern 'Count of Hereford and lord of Gwent' (1071-75) and to William the Conqueror (1066-1087).⁴⁷ The two charters emphasise, in different ways, that the pattern of rural churches in Gwent was now largely complete, save for the new Anglo-Norman foundations which lay in the future. Llangwm was a monastic foundation old enough to have acquired four 'saints' - past members of the community, whose graves were revered as places of sanctity. Tref Rita is probably Llanddewi Fach, totally rebuilt save for the Norman west door in 1857 and recently demolished.⁴⁸ It lay some 600 metres from the church of Llandegveth, *Merthir Tecmed*, in the valley of the Sôr brook. Llandegveth, with its embanked circular churchyard and grave of the 'martyr' Tegfedd, already existed by c.750. The *Villa Tref Rita* was evidently a secular estate until the time of the grant. It, and the martyrdom of Tegfedd, may have been the secular and ecclesiastical centres of a single landholding.

⁴³ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 136, p. 243.

⁴⁴ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 137, p. 244.

⁴⁵ Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire IV, Hundred of Caldicot*, Part 2 (London, 1932, reprinted 1994), 157; Farley, A (ed.), *Domesday-book* (London, 1783) Gloucestershire 162a., Dinham, see: Williams, 'Church in Medieval Gwent', Map VI; Lee, J.E., *Isca Silurum* (London, 1862) 83.

⁴⁶ *Liber Landavensis*, charter 149, p. 261; Morgan, O. and Wakeman, T., *Notes on the Ecclesiastical Remains at Runston, Sudbrook, Dinham and Llan-Bedr* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, Newport, 1858); Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire IV, Hundred of Caldicot*, Part 2, 205; Knight, J.K., 'A forgotten Roman coin hoard', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 32 (1985) 417-18.

⁴⁷ *Liber Landavensis*, charters 157-8, pp. 27275.

⁴⁸ *Gwentia Eccl. Antiq.*, Vol 2, 9 (*The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 18 (2002) plate 10) For the rebuilt church, see Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire* 3, Part 2 Hundred of Usk (London, 1923, reprinted 1993) 283-84.

DEATH, COMMEMORATION AND THE REFORMATION IN MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Madeleine Gray

One of Gwenllïan Jones's greatest legacies to her adopted county has surely been the Gwent County History. But neither she nor the editors and authors would ever want the five volumes to be treated as the last word on the county's past. We have all been acutely aware of the 'Gwent-sized hole' in histories of the region: our hope has always been that the publication of a county history would stimulate and provide frameworks for further research and exploration. It is in that light that this article is offered in her memory.

It was clear from the outset that the County History's chapters on the late medieval church and the Reformation in Monmouthshire would have to reflect the on-going debate over the Reformation in Wales. Was the late medieval church really corrupt, and how can we balance this against the overwhelming evidence for its popularity, in both wills and surviving buildings? Given that popularity, how can we account for the lack of resistance to change in the 1530s and (even more so) during the reign of Edward VI, when what was still largely a Welsh county had to cope with a prayer book in an unfamiliar vernacular? And was the process of religious change really that smooth? It is tempting to look at Thomas Jones of Llanfair Cilgedin's paean of praise for the William Morgan Bible – 'the treasure of true riches ... the perfect precious pearl-stone ... the sword of great renown ...'¹ and to assume that by 1588 all was indeed over bar a bit of recusant shouting.

Recent research by academics like Kate Olson is suggesting that it was a much more long-drawn-out process and that the extent of resistance (generally passive resistance but resistance none the less) has been underestimated.² Some light may be shed on these debates by the evidence for changing perceptions of death and commemoration, and specifically on attitudes to prayer for the dead. Attitudes to death and the dead clearly underwent radical change in the course of the Reformation. Most historians identify as the key to these changes the reformers' denial of the existence of Purgatory – described by Eamon Duffy as '*the defining doctrine of late medieval Catholicism.*'³

Purgatory was the intermediate stage between Heaven and Hell, suggested by medieval theologians as a way of dealing with sins which had been confessed and absolved but not expiated. Purgatory was thus a place of torment where souls were purged: unlike Hell it had limits, but souls in purgatory were depicted as suffering and begging for release. Time in Purgatory could be shortened by the purchase of indulgences, 'promissory notes on the Treasury of Merits' as Swanson called them,⁴ and by the prayers of the living. Indulgences could even repay the living for their prayers. The early

¹ Parry-Williams, T.H. (ed.), *Cerddi Rhydd Cynnar* (Cardiff, 1932) no. 95, 369; cf. Gray, M. and Morgan, P. (eds), *The Gwent County History Volume 3: The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2009) 67-8.

² Olson, Katherine, *Religion, Reformation and Society in Wales and the Marches, c. 1400-1603* (forthcoming).

³ Duffy, Eamon, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992) 8.

⁴ Swanson, R.N. (ed.), *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: indulgences in late medieval Europe* (Brill, Leiden, 2006); see also *idem*, *Indulgences in late medieval England: passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge UK and New York, 2007).

fourteenth-century effigy of Ann Martel at Llanfihangel Rogiet promises forty days remission of Purgatory to all who say a Paternoster and an Ave Maria for her soul.⁵

As a result, the dead were still very much part of the community of the living, the objects of charity and concern. Indeed, the main purpose behind an elaborate tomb was to ask for prayer. Some wills give very specific instructions about tombs as well as funeral rites. Charles Somerset, earl of Worcester, asked for burial in Windsor if he died nearby, but if he died elsewhere ‘to have a flatstone laid with a remembrance so that they that look upon it shall pray for his soul’.⁶ It was also well worth leaving money for prayer for one’s soul after death, and a charitable act to leave prayer for the souls of others.

The reformers challenged the Biblical authority for all of this, replacing the whole structure of intercessory prayer and post-mortem expiation with the doctrine of justification by faith. Martin Luther’s original outburst at Wittenberg attacked the purchase of indulgences for the dead as well as the living, as an irrelevance as well as an extortion: ‘The dying’, according to the thirteenth of his Ninety-five Theses, ‘are freed by death from all penalties, are already dead as far as the canon laws are concerned, and have a right to be released from them’.⁷ By the late 1520s, a number of reformers had gone even further and challenged the Biblical warrant for the existence of Purgatory itself.

Of equal importance was the reformers’ attack on the whole religious culture of intercessory prayer which led A. N. Galpern to describe late medieval Catholicism as ‘a cult of the living in the service of the dead’.⁸ If the ideas of the reformers were accepted, the dead were past all help from the prayers of the living. All that their memorials could now do was to acknowledge their virtues and respect their memory. Ralph Houlbrooke described the combined impact of these changes as ‘one of the great unchartable revolutions of English history’.⁹

The chronology of the impact of these changes on local communities, in England as well as Wales, is still the subject of extensive debate among historians. Looking specifically at money left for prayer for souls in wills, Robert Whiting has found not only a marked decline in all bequests for prayer for souls from 1530 but also an increase in explicit denials of the existence of Purgatory and the validity of masses for souls.¹⁰ However, Eamon Duffy has pointed out that official attacks on intercessory

⁵ Thanks largely to the unsparing efforts of the Caldicot History Society, the church at Llanfihangel Rogiet now been adopted by the Friends of Friendless Churches. Vehicular access is still difficult but it is now open daily and well worth the walk across the fields.

⁶ The National Archives, London, PROB 11/22, IMAGE no. 132. References to PCC wills are hereafter given simply as PROB 11/....

⁷ Grimm, Harold J. (ed.), *Luther’s Works* xxxi (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1957) 26.

⁸ ‘The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth-century Champagne’ in Trinkaus, C. with Oberman, H.O. (eds), *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Brill, Leiden, 1974) 141-76, quotation on p. 149.

⁹ Houlbrooke, ‘Death, Church and Family in England between the Late Fifteenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries’ in *idem* (ed.), *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (Routledge, London, 1989) 25-42, quote on p. 36; for further studies see Gittings, Claire, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (Croom Helm, London, 1984) and Houlbrooke, Ralph, *Death, Religion and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998).

¹⁰ Whiting, Robert. ‘Local Responses to the Henrician Reformation’ in MacCulloch, Diarmaid (ed.), *The Reign of Henry VIII: Politics, Policy and Piety* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1995) 203-26, esp. 213-5; *idem*, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 1989) graphs on 276-80 and *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1989) 72-7.

foundations (starting in the early sixteenth century with changes in government policy relating to grants in mortmain) might have led many testators to give instructions to their executors rather than making explicit bequests which might be disallowed.¹¹ Sir William Morgan of Pencoed was acutely aware of the shifts in government policy: in 1535, he had been largely responsible for the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* survey of church property in the diocese of Llandaff, a survey which included several chantry foundations.¹² In his will in 1541 he made no detailed provision for his funeral or commemoration but asked for burial at Llanmartin ‘as I have declared my mynde to my executrice’.¹³ The opening of the preamble to his will could be described as ‘Protestant’: he prayed:

‘that I may be partaker of the most blessed passion of our saviour Criste Jhu and by his redempcion only to be sayvd as my very hope and trust ys to be sayvd ... I give and bequeath my soule to the marcy of our lorde god the father the sone and the holy goost and to the merits of the passion of our sayvour Christ Jesu the sone ...’

but, he then continued, ‘to our lady Saynt Mary and to all the blessed company of hevyn ...’.

To judge by her will, his widow Florence was conservative in her inclinations. Among other things, she left a gown of crimson velvet to make a cope and chasuble for the family chapel, and her own silver pax, candlesticks and cruets for the altar there. We can probably assume therefore that Sir William’s dying instructions included provision for prayer for his soul and that she would have carried these out conscientiously. In her own will she made no specific provision for intercessions but left the residue of her goods to her son ‘to have and use them, my funeralles done, decently to use them for the wealthe of my soule’.

Barbara Harris’s study of élite female piety found that there was if anything a slight increase in the number of monuments asking for prayer for souls after the Act of Ten Articles, though the numbers are clearly affected by the number of monuments whose inscriptions asking for prayer have been defaced or removed.¹⁴ She did not correlate this with a decline in chantry foundations and bequests for intercessory prayer, but it is at least possible that testators could have chosen to leave money for a tomb asking for prayer rather than leaving money for an endowment which could then have been confiscated. Harris also found inscriptions asking for prayer during the reign of Edward VI and in the early years of Elizabeth’s reign. One example she quotes is John Scudamore of Holme Lacy, just across the border into Herefordshire, who died in 1571 and whose tomb asks onlookers to say a Paternoster and Ave for him. Scudamore was an open recusant – but the fact that such an inscription was allowed on a monument in a high-profile position in a parish church suggests a considerable measure of local collusion.

Of the Welsh counties, Monmouthshire was one of the best supplied with chantries, permanent foundations for intercessory prayer, but chantries were a relatively recent introduction to Wales and

¹¹ *The Stripping of the Altars*, 504-23; on restrictions on grants in mortmain see e.g. Kreider, Alan, *English chantries: the road to dissolution* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard, 1975) 81-6.

¹² *The Gwent County History* was never meant to be the last word, and to our embarrassment it cannot even claim to be definitive. The present writer was responsible for confusing this William Morgan with William Morgan of Tredegar in her chapter in *Volume 3* (p. 63). Fortunately this was corrected on p. 21 of the same volume by John Gwynfor Jones (referencing Robinson, W.R.B., ‘Knighted Welsh Landowners, 1485-1558: a provisional list’, *WHR*, 13 (1986-7) 320; Robinson, W.R.B., ‘Sir William Morgan of Pencoed (d. 1542) and the Morgans of Tredegar and Machen in Henry VIII’s reign’, *NLWJ*, 27 (1991-2) 405-29.

¹³ Prob/11/29/122.

¹⁴ Harris, Barbara J., ‘The Fabric of Piety: aristocratic women and care of the dead, 1450-1550’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48 (2) (April 2009) 308-35.

commonest in urban and anglicised areas.¹⁵ Our main sources for changing perceptions of death and commemoration are monuments and wills. Both are undeniably problematic. Even at Abergavenny, which has one of the best collections of late medieval alabaster tombs in the UK, post-Reformation iconoclasm and the ravages of time and weather have left a number of interpretative problems. Elsewhere damage and loss have been far worse, while Phillip Lindley has argued persuasively for the extent of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iconoclastic damage to tombs across England and Wales as a whole,¹⁶

Rhianydd Biebrach's recent research suggests that in Wales the bulk of the damage was done later by a combination of neglect, random violence and Victorian church rebuilding and restoration.¹⁷ The side chapel and tomb of Sir William Morgan of Pencoed, for example, could still be seen at Llanmartin church in 1796 but David Williams described it as 'overgrown with weeds and brambles'.¹⁸ The chapel had been built in the 1540s in accordance with Sir William's will, which left £20 for a chapel and tomb. This would hardly have covered the cost of the tomb, let alone the construction work, and he wisely allowed more to be spent 'yf the charges so requereth'.¹⁹ According to David Williams, the tomb was in the centre of the chapel. It was made of alabaster, with effigies of Sir William (in armour) and his wife. There were five figures in early Tudor dress on each side and two at the lower end, and at the head were the arms of the family supported by angels. The damage was done when John Jeffreys, who bought the Pencoed estate in 1701, took the lead off the chapel and replaced it with a tiled roof which then fell in.²⁰ Williams reported that the incumbent was proposing to demolish the chapel to mend the roads. The chapel also contained the slightly later tomb of Anne Morgan, Sir William's great-grand-daughter and heiress and her first husband Sir Walter Montagu of Houghton (Northants), who died in 1616. That too vanished during the nineteenth century. The problem here seems to have been not iconoclasm but the well-documented demographic crisis of the eighteenth-century gentry which left so many estates in the hands of newcomers with no emotional investment in the memorials of their predecessors.

We cannot assume that the incidence of iconoclasm, neglect or rebuilding was random, so it is difficult to deduce any pattern from the survival of monuments. There are certainly fewer surviving monuments in Monmouthshire than in Glamorgan, and they are in general in a far worse state of preservation.²¹ This is particularly problematic for the later medieval monuments as so many have lost their inscriptions and it is thus impossible to say who they commemorate or whether they ask for prayer. While we may suspect that the inscriptions have gone precisely because they asked for prayer for the deceased and were thus removed (possibly to forestall the destruction of the whole monument), this was not always the case. The alabaster alcove tomb of Richard Herbert of Ewyas in Abergavenny now bears the inscription: '*Hic iacet Richardus Herbert de Ewyas miles qui obiit nono die ... anno regni regis Henrici Octavi 2^o cuius a'ie propiciet' D' amen*'. Only half of this is original – but it is

¹⁵ For details, see Gray, M., 'The last days of the chantries and shrines of Monmouthshire', *Journal of Welsh Ecclesiastical History*, 8 (1991) 20-40 and Biebrach, Rhianydd 'Monuments and Commemoration in the Diocese of Llandaff, c. 1200 – c. 1540' (unpublished Swansea University Ph.D. thesis, 2010) 217-87.

¹⁶ *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship: medieval monuments in early modern England* (Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2007).

¹⁷ 'Monuments and Commemoration', 39-54.

¹⁸ Williams, David, *The History of Monmouthshire* (H. Baldwin, London, 1796) 140-1; Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 4 Part 2 The Hundred of Caldicot* (Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, London, 1932, repr. Merton Priory Press, Cardiff, 1994) 220.

¹⁹ PROB 11/29/122.

²⁰ Williams, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Biebach, thesis, esp. p. 16.

the latter half with the prayer for his soul which has survived. At some point in the past the first part of the inscription has been lost and has been replaced not in alabaster but in limestone. According to Richard Symonds, whose description of the tombs in 1645 is a crucial source for our understanding of their history, the inscription then described Richard Herbert as ‘armiger’ and gave his date of death as 12 September 1510. Lindley suggests that much of the restoration of the tombs was post-1660, and this might provide a context for an attempt by Herbert’s descendants to promote him to knighthood.²²

Most of Monmouthshire’s few surviving medieval tombs have suffered severe damage at some point in the past. Apart from Richard Herbert’s tomb, the only surviving inscriptions are on the tomb slabs of George Lewis of St Pierre and his wife Anne, both in St Pierre church. His reads ‘x here lieth george lewis x gentilman which disceased the ix day of Septem x ber in the yeare of o’ lors god m^od^ovij on whose soul god have mercy’. Hers is partly obscured by the organ but reads ‘... which deceasid the xxxi day of october in the yeare of oure lord mdxxvii on whose soul god have mercy’. The tombs of Sir John Morgan in St Woolos and Sir Thomas Morgan in Llanmartin may have had inscriptions but they have been lost and the tombs now have to be identified by heraldry and context. The tomb of Sir William ap Thomas and Gwladys Ddu in Abergavenny may also have had an inscription (there is just room for one between the effigies and the plinth), but according to Symonds the stained glass in the east window of the south chapel included the legend ‘*Orate pro a’iabus Will’i Thomas militis et Alicie [presumably recte Gl’icie] ux’is sue qui istam capellam et fenestram vitriari fecerunt*’.²³ The tomb of their younger son Richard Herbert of Coldbrook does not appear to have had an inscription – at least, it is difficult to see how one could have been fitted between the effigies and the crenellated border of the plinth. Prayers of the dead or requests for prayer are thus included on all the surviving inscriptions: but as the total number is so small we cannot be sure that they are representative.

Wills present the same problems of poor and unrepresentative survival. In the absence of diocesan probate records we are restricted to wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. In theory this limits us to the wills of the wealthiest members of local society. The scope of the sources is actually wider than that: the testators include very minor landowners, townspeople and even a husbandman, Ieuan Tanner of Redwick – though as he left a substantial landed estate and gave £5 for a priest to pray for his soul for a year, 20s to his parish church to buy banners and 20s to repair the causeway to the church, he was actually quite comfortably off.²⁴

There is now an extensive literature on the shortcomings of wills as sources for changing religious perspectives in the sixteenth century. Much of this has centred around the preambles, but there is also doubt about the weight which can be placed on bequests.²⁵ At the best they give us a minimum figure for endowments for prayer: as Burgess points out, parish records (where they survive) can give a much fuller picture.

²² Lindley, *Tomb Destruction and Scholarship*, 199-236 and esp. 214.

²³ Long, C.E. (ed.), *Richard Symonds’s Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* (Camden Classic Reprints, Cambridge, 1997) 235.

²⁴ PROB 11/30/55.

²⁵ See for example Zell, M.L., ‘The use of religious preambles as a measure of religious belief in the sixteenth century’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 50 (1977) 246-9; Burgess, Clive, ‘Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered’ in Hicks, Michael (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990) 14-33; Vines, P. ‘“In the Name of God, Amen”’: Seeking the Testator’s Authentic Voice in Research using Wills’, *Law Text Culture*, 6 (1) (2002), accessed on line at <http://ro.uow.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1085&context=ltc> (3 Jan. 2010).

Nor is it possible to say with confidence that the words of a will are the words of the actual testator. Many wills were written by the clergy, who could have supplied formulae for the preambles and encouraged bequests to the church. Thomas Harrys of Chepstow made a very generous bequest of two houses and a 'kelling' house (presumably a kiln house) in Chepstow to his parish church, so that he and his wife would be prayed for by having a lamp burning before the sacrament there for ever. He then left a frankly inadequate 6s. 8d. for an annual obit and a candle to burn for ever before the image of St Anthony. This was however nudged up later in the will: he added the lease of a house which he held from the priory and agreed that anything over the cost of his obit and the candle shall go to the chapel of St Katherine in the parish church where he will also be prayed for. The first of the witnesses of the will was Sir John Rewlar, the curate of Chepstow, and it may have been he who actually wrote the will down and negotiated the endowments for the church.

The making of a will should have been done after careful thought, but some of the surviving Monmouthshire wills are disorganised in the extreme and read as though they were dictated *in articulo mortis*. The Abergavenny burgess William ap Hywel ap Llywelyn (will dated 1529) left small sums of money to the church of the Holy Rood in Abergavenny and to Llanfihangel Crucornau parish church, and to the two friaries of Cardiff, and endowed tapers before the images of Our Lady of the Assumption in Abergavenny and St Michael in Llanfihangel Crucornau. In the main body of the will, he left nothing specifically for prayer for his soul. As an afterthought at the end, though, after the names of the witnesses (and possibly prompted by one of them, William Barry, the curate of Abergavenny) he asked his executors to find a priest to sing for a year in Abergavenny parish church for his soul, the souls of his parents and all Christian souls

There was clearly a balance to be struck between tombs and other forms of commemorative provision. Sir William Herbert of Troy, in 1524, asked for a tomb of 'marble' (probably alabaster) with effigies of his late wife Margery and his present wife Blanche as well as himself.²⁶ He was presumably thinking of an alcove tomb rather than a free-standing chest tomb as he asked for an epitaph to be set on a marble square on the wall above the tomb. It would nevertheless have been an elaborate structure, its side panels carved with saints or bedesmen, and the epitaph would presumably have included an injunction to pray for his soul. He left, however, only 20s. for prayer for his soul, to be divided between the Franciscan and Dominican friars of Hereford. He did also leave some land to endow a priest to pray for his soul and the souls of several of his kin at Monmouth, but this was only a reversionary legacy if his sons Charles and Thomas both died without issue.

Surprisingly few of the surviving wills gave such specific instructions for the design of a tomb or memorial, though some may of course have given instructions to their executors in advance. While virtually all the testators asked (as their status would suggest) for burial in their parish churches (and in some cases for burial in the chancel), there were some who asked for burial 'where it pleases God to provide', 'wheresoever my body shall rest' or simply for 'holy burial'. A few specifically requested burial in the churchyard.²⁷

Requests for burial in specific locations give us precious information about the internal layout and decoration of some of our churches, and about the spiritual values of the community. William Baker, rector of Tredynog, who died in 1514, wanted to be buried not in his own church but in the church which the townspeople of Usk shared with the community of nuns there, in front of the priory's statue

²⁶ PROB 11/21/203.

²⁷ E.g. Watkin William David of Abergavenny (d. 1548): PROB 11/32/100.

of the Virgin Mary.²⁸ The will of William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, a poignant document made between his capture at the battle of Edgecote in the summer of 1469 and his execution a few days later, left money for prayer before the Trinity at Llantilio ‘for my soule and for alle there soules slayne in this feld’.²⁹ Richard Willy of Monmouth (died 1502) asked for burial in his parish church in front of the statue of St Michael the archangel in the Trinity choir; his will also left money for prayers to be said in the chapel of the Virgin Mary called ‘le old chapell’ in Monmouth parish church.³⁰

These requests could have a political as well as a spiritual charge. When Thomas Harrys of Chepstow asked for burial in his parish church in the chapel of St Anthony,³¹ he may simply have been reflecting local devotion to the saint: but it is also worth remembering that St Anthony was one of the favourite saints of the king’s recently-deceased grandmother, the formidable Lady Margaret Beaufort. She fasted regularly on the saint’s day and had several statues of him in her chapel.³² It is at least possible that the chapel was dedicated to honour her, and that Thomas Harrys may have been expressing loyalty to the Tudor dynasty as well as devotion to the saint.

While some testators were happy to leave funeral arrangements to their executors, some had very specific requirements. James ap Gwatkin of Llanddewi Rhydderch (will dated 1541 but not proved until 1545) wanted twenty-four priests to say mass for him in his parish church on the day of his funeral and twenty-four tapers – a figure which presumably represents the twelve prophets of the Old Testament and the twelve Apostles.³³ John Walter of Redwick (died 1545) was content with six priests and 8lb of wax for his candles.³⁴ Some testators specified substantial sums for their funeral celebrations. Thomas ap John Meurig (will dated 1537, proved 1542) wanted £13 6s. 8d. to be spent ‘honestly’ on the day of his funeral;³⁵ David Morris of Trelech Grange (will proved 1545) left twenty nobles ‘to pray for my soule and to brynge me unto the earthe and for all other funerall expences and charges’. Others were more restrained: Thomas Collins of Skenfrith (died 1544) wanted to be buried in the church but left only £2 13s. 4d. for the service (though this was still roughly half the cost of the stipend of a chantry priest for a year),³⁶ and Jenkin Lloyd of Llan-ffwyst (died 1523) set aside £2 for his funeral and £5 to pay a priest for a year.³⁷ Some testators had a very clear sense of the cost of provision. Nicholas Gilbarde of Oldcastle, who died in 1525, wanted six torches priced at 46s. 8d. and twelve tapers priced at 16s. But this was not parsimony: he also left £6 for food and drink on the day of his funeral.³⁸ The funeral feast does seem to have been regarded as a sort of secular Eucharist by some testators.

Rhianydd Biebrach has pointed out the comparatively slender provision made for intercessory prayer in south-east Wales in comparison with (for example) Somerset and Gloucestershire. This is

²⁸ PROB 11/17/407.

²⁹ PROB 11/5/305.

³⁰ PROB 11/13/2266; for further references see Gray, M., ‘The Pre-Reformation Church’ in Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, Tony and Howell, Ray (eds.), *The Gwent County History Volume 2: The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070-1536* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2008) 337-45.

³¹ PROB 11/17/258.

³² Jones, Michael K. and Underwood, Malcolm G., *The King’s Mother: Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond and Derby* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992) 144.

³³ PROB 11/31/33.

³⁴ PROB 11/30/270.

³⁵ PROB 11/29/182.

³⁶ PROB 11/30/81.

³⁷ PROB 11/21/110.

³⁸ PROB 11/21/187.

partly due to deficiencies in the evidence. In his detailed studies of popular piety in Bristol, Clive Burgess has pointed out that wills give only a fraction of the information we need – but in Wales they are all we have.³⁹ Nevertheless, virtually all the Monmouthshire wills before 1530 included at least a small legacy for prayer, and some of them were both generous and complex. Sir Edmund Seymour of St Brides (d. 1422) left money to the four friaries of Bristol to celebrate for him in honour of the Evangelists, the Trinity, all apostles and saints, all confessors and martyrs, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, St Mary Magdalene and all virgins and angels.⁴⁰ In 1502, Richard Willy of Monmouth left £5 for a named priest to celebrate for a year in Monmouth church; a silver bowl to the vicar of Monmouth to celebrate a trental of masses; and land at Rundells broke to provide a priest to celebrate the mass of the Virgin Mary.⁴¹ Of thirty-one wills of Monmouth residents before 1540, eight (26%) made specific bequests for prayer, six (19%) left the residue of their estates for their soul's health (though one of these was only a reversionary bequest if the heirs all died) and fifteen (48%) did both.

Only two testators failed to make any provision for their souls. Thomas Steven, a burgess of Newport, seems to have died young and unexpectedly in London in 1529. His will was brief: he left all his property to his young son and made no provision for prayer for his soul but asked that the 20s. he had given to his parish church (presumably St Woolos) should be paid.⁴² The other was Thomas Kynylllyn, the first MP for the boroughs, who made his will in 1535 but lived until 1558. This compares with figures for the whole of Wales of 26% making specific bequests, 17% leaving the residue of the estate, 43% doing both, and 14% making no provision. For some testators the place of commemoration was as important as the place of burial. Walter Draper, an Abergavenny burgess, asked for burial in his parish church but then specified that he wanted a priest to celebrate for his soul specifically in the chapel in which he was buried.⁴³ When Richard Vaughan of Bristol made his will in 1506, he asked for a priest to pray for his soul in Aberystwith where he was christened.⁴⁴ Most simply specified an 'honest' or 'suitable' priest but Morgan ap John of Tredegar left 20s a year to Sir Thomas ap John (apparently not a relative) to pray for his soul and also asked him to 'take heed to my place' (ie his house).⁴⁵

Testators routinely asked for prayer for their own and all Christian souls, sometimes for wife, parents or benefactors. The introit and gradual of the requiem mass (and elsewhere in the office of the dead) asked 'Requiem aeternam dona *eis* Domine; et lux perpetua luceat *eis*'. However, some left money for their own souls alone or for other named individuals. Richard Herbert of St Pierre (died 1526) left nothing specific for his own soul but 40s. to Tintern Abbey to pray for soul of Richard Hatton; £20 to his son, but if his son dies his wife to spend it for all Christian souls; then the residue of his estate to his wife to spend for his soul's health.⁴⁶

There was a definite decline in provision for intercessory prayer in the early 1540s. Of thirty-nine wills made between 1540 and the death of Henry VIII in 1547, six (15%) made specific provision for prayer, thirteen (33%) left the residue of the estate, eight (21%) did both, but twelve (31%) did neither.

³⁹ Burgess, Clive, *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints, Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, Bristol, 3 vols, 1995-2004).

⁴⁰ PROB 11/2B/287.

⁴¹ PROB 11-13/2266.

⁴² PROB 11/23/108.

⁴³ PROB 11/16/50.

⁴⁴ PROB 11/15/371.

⁴⁵ PROB 11/12/22.

⁴⁶ PROB 11/23/61.

(The figures for Wales as a whole are 23%, 27%, 18% and 32%.) There were still some very complex and considered bequests: Thomas ap Hopkin of Rockfield, for example, who in 1541 left £4 to be distributed for his soul's wealth, £3 at his funeral, 10s. at his month's mind and 10s. at the year's end 'and more if required'. After detail of the disposal of his lands and cattle, he left the residue of his estate to his executors to dispose of for his soul's wealth. However, specific bequests like this became gradually less common, and more and more testators confined themselves to leaving the residue of their estates to be disposed of for their soul's health at the discretion of their executors. Even more telling, specific bequests for prayer were less likely to have pride of place at the beginning of the will and more likely to appear towards the end of the will – where they were less likely to attract attention, perhaps? Nor did absence of bequests for prayer necessarily indicate reformed convictions. In a will made in 1541, Hywel ap Thomas ap Gwilym ap Hywel of Llanfable left four nobles for repairing the churchyard cross and £10 to repair and buy church bells but nothing specifically for prayer for his soul. (He may have thought he had done enough: he was certainly confident enough to request burial in the old Easter sepulchre of the church.)⁴⁷

In parallel with this, there is a decline from the early 1540s onwards in specific provision for funeral arrangements and in requests for burial in specific locations. Some of this was the inevitable consequence of the removal of 'superstitious' images from churches – precisely those images which attracted burials. Since the arguments of the reformers tended to the conclusion that one's place of burial did not matter, one would have expected fewer testators specify a place for burial, or perhaps for more to ask for burial in the churchyard, and for the changes to parallel other evidence for reformed ideas. It is difficult to demonstrate any correlation in the mid-sixteenth century. By the reign of Elizabeth, as Judith Jones noted in her study of the later sixteenth-century wills, there was some correlation between directions for burial 'in the earth whence it was made' or 'where it happens to fall' and elaborate reformed preambles, but there were also several wills of known Catholics who gave no directions for their funerals, presumably because they had already asked for burial with Catholic rites.⁴⁸

Judith Jones also noted a revival in requests for burial in specific locations – in the porch, in a family chapel or near other family burials. Perhaps the most detailed was the will of Dr David Lewis, who asked for burial 'in the chapel of the parish church of Abergavenny where I used to kneel, in the tomb prepared'. Saints could be replaced by secular heroes: in 1561, William David Thomas of Monmouth asked for burial 'in the parish church of Monmoth against the door of King Harre's chapel'.⁴⁹ The wills also suggest an increase in provision for elaborate and expensive funerals in the later years of the century. This can probably be explained by what the sociologists would call status anxiety. Without the scope which the late medieval Catholic rites offered to articulate status and deal with grief, the outward show of the funeral provided social reassurance as well as emotional comfort. In her comparative study of Paris and London, Vanessa Harding noted the extent of continuity in funerary practice: even in London, where the ideas of the reformers gained considerable traction,

⁴⁷ Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 2a, The Hundred of Abergavenny Part 1* (London, 1906 and 1991) 293.

⁴⁸ Jones, Judith, *Monmouthshire wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1560-1601* (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff, 1997) 16-19.

⁴⁹ Jones, *Monmouthshire Wills*, 64.

funerals in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were still lavish, with doles of food and gowns given to numerous poor people who participated in funeral processions.⁵⁰

Even during Edward VI's reign, there were those who were prepared to defy government policy. The preamble to the will of Morgan Jenkin of Dingestow, who died in 1552, commended his soul 'unto the mercifull handes and power of almightie God to be saved as my faithfull trust is by his grace and the merits and passion of his only sonne Jesus Christ', but the Protestant resonance of this was contradicted by his bequests of 3s. 4d. to the vicar of Dingestow to pray for his soul and £6 13s 4d. to be spent on his funeral and distributed for his soul's health.⁵¹ Perhaps more surprising was Morgan Lloyd, rector of Llanwenarth, who also died in 1552. At first sight he too was a reformer. He had clearly anticipated the legalisation of clerical marriage in 1549: he had ten children, most of them adult, and two grandchildren. He had invested extensively in former chantry lands. At first sight his will was austere secular, with the bare minimum left to charity and the rest concerned with provision for his large family. At the end, though, he left the residue of estate to his executors 'to distribute for my soul and for all Christian souls'.⁵² Even more high-profile was the gift of Sir Charles Herbert of Troy and his wife Elizabeth to the parish church of Wonastow. A three-light window, it contained their arms and the inscription *Orate pro bono statu Caroli Herbert, Arm., et Eliz. uxoris ejus, qui hanc fenestram vitriari fecerunt*.⁵³ While this window did not explicitly ask for prayer for their souls, it implied that the prayers of others were expected to benefit them.

There were other ways of making provision for implicit or covert prayer. Before the changes of the 1530s, many testators also left money to the region's friaries – to Hereford and Cardiff as well as Newport. Swanson records numbers of indulgences granted to friaries to be offered in return for small donations.⁵⁴ Remission of forty days or less in Purgatory could be granted by episcopal authority, but in the absence of Welsh episcopal registers for the period we cannot track this. Small bequests to shrines like the Virgin Mary of Penrhys may also have been indulgenced: in the absence of episcopal registers we can only guess.

Other forms of commemoration could survive the changes of the 1530s. In earlier wills, bequests to the poor were often combined with bequests for prayer for the deceased's soul: in 1545, for example, Hywel ap John Hawkins of Grosmont left £6 13s. 4d. to be distributed among priests, clerks and poor folk at his funeral for the wealth of his soul and all Christian souls. He also left money for a priest to pray for him for a year, and an unspecified amount of land to be disposed of for his soul.⁵⁵ Later bequests to the poor need not specifically mention prayer but might do so by implication. Caroline Litzenger noted a number of charitable bequests in Edwardian Gloucestershire which she

⁵⁰ Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*. For burial in church, and for specific locations in church, see esp. pp. 55, 130-2; for the endowment of funeral doles and distribution of charity at funeral sermons, 170-1. See also *idem*, 'Choices and changes: death, burial and the English Reformation' in Gaimster and Gilchrist (eds), *The Archaeology of Reformation*, 386-98.

⁵¹ PROB 11/35/145.

⁵² PROB 11/35/133.

⁵³ Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire Volume 1 Part 1 The Hundred of Skenfrith* (London, 1907 and 1991) 41, citing an unspecified edition of Charles Heath's *Historical and descriptive accounts of the ancient and present state of Ragland Castle*. Part of the window (though apparently not the inscription) could still be seen at the beginning of the twentieth century, but Bradney recorded its removal the year before he wrote up the chapter on Wonastow.

⁵⁴ *Indulgences in late medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007) 142-8.

⁵⁵ PROB 11/30/321.

suggested might have been covert requests for prayer.⁵⁶ When in January 1546, Gladys ferch Jevan of Llanfrechfa (Mon) left five bushels of oaten malt to her sister to distribute in alms to poor people 'for my soul and all Christian souls', she did not explicitly ask for the prayers of the poor but this was clearly what she had in mind.⁵⁷ Furthermore, as David Williams has pointed out, the number of bushels was probably a coded reference to the Five Wounds of Christ, and it is worth remembering that bequests for masses of the Five Wounds were a common feature in earlier wills.⁵⁸ Concern for the poor was particularly strong in women's wills, and bequests were often couched in terms which made it clear that the testator was thinking of the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy.⁵⁹ This may also explain the absence of prayers for the dead in some of the earlier wills. And of course, as Duffy points out, the common-sense option after 1547 was to leave residuary legacies to the executors on the unwritten understanding that they would actually secure prayers for souls.

From 1547, testators were encouraged to leave money to the 'poor men's box' in their church. This was never a very successful strategy. While a number of Monmouthshire testators during Edward's reign did leave money to the poor, it was always tiny sums – usually 4*d.*, seldom more than 8*d.* Lewis Bowles of Penhow left 20*s.* to the poor in 1552 but made no mention of the parish box: this was possibly money to be distributed at and around his funeral and by implication in return for prayer.⁶⁰ Philip Morgan of Llanfair in Llandeilo Gresynni asked for money to be given immediately after his death to 120 of the poor (possibly a reference to the twelve Apostles, and certainly the kind of charity which was expected to produce prayer). He also left money for the repair of St Noye's Chapel, which had actually been closed by the time his will was proved in 1548.⁶¹

Bequests to the poor continued into Mary's reign. In January 1555, James Ashe of Nash (who asked specifically for burial in the churchyard) left 6*s.* 8*d.* to the poor of Winchcombe and Alderton (Glos), where he presumably held lands, and 3*s.* 4*d.* to the 'poore prisoners of the castell of Gloucester'. Bequests to prisoners were of course reminiscent of the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy, with their injunction to visit prisoners, and might have been geared to the encouragement of prayer. There were also testators during Elizabeth's reign who left small sums to the 'common box' or the 'poor men's box', but without the incentive of intercessory prayer this form of charitable provision was clearly quite inadequate and was eventually replaced by the parish rate. Bequests for the construction or repair of bell towers and the provision of bells were of course a common feature of late medieval wills: they were also a very visible (and audible) way of securing prayer for one's soul.⁶² In *The Buildings of Wales Gwent/Monmouthshire*, John Newman has pointed to the number of churches in

⁵⁶ Litzenberger, Caroline, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002 edit.) 79-80.

⁵⁷ PROB 11/31/75.

⁵⁸ Williams, David H., *The Five Wounds of Jesus* (Gracewing, Leominster, 2004) 22. Cf Schen, Claire S., 'Women and the London parishes, 1500-1620' in French, Katherine, Gibbs, Gary and Kumin, Beat (eds), *The Parish in English Life, 1400-1600* (Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1997) 250-68, for bequests for sermons in fives and thirties (which Schen suggests was 'a nod towards the former practice of a trental of masses': quote on p. 258).

⁵⁹ Helt, J.S.W., 'Women, memory and will-making in Elizabethan England' in Gordon and Marshall, *The Place of the Dead*, 188-205.

⁶⁰ PROB 11/35/124.

⁶¹ PROB 11/32/47.

⁶² For examples in East Anglia see Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour*, 108-10.

the county whose towers were built or rebuilt in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Many of these must have been paid for partly by bequests.⁶³ Thomas ab Iorwerth ap Hopkes, who died in 1525, left ten marks ‘for the building of a new tower or campanile’ at Cwmcarnfan, the money to be given in the next four years after the beginning of building work.⁶⁴ This has all the marks of a response to a fundraising campaign. The same might explain the bequests of Morgan John,⁶⁵ Thomas Bowles,⁶⁶ and Nicholas Gilbard.⁶⁷ The efforts which the people of Abergavenny made to raise money for their bells were mentioned in *Volume 2* of the *County History*. In the early 1540s, James ap Gwatkin of Llanddewi Rhydderch (Mon) left £2 13s. 4d. for the repair of the bells and bell-house of his parish church: this was presumably the timbered upper part of the tower, which still survives.⁶⁸

Bells were rung at the time of death and to announce the funeral and month’s mind. Some testators in other areas also asked for bells to be rung for them every day between the funeral and month’s mind. On the eve or the day of All Souls, many churches rang their bells ‘for all crystyn souls’.⁶⁹ Cranmer tried and failed to persuade Henry VIII to ban both All Souls vigils and bell-ringing, and a more sustained attack followed during Edward VI’s reign.⁷⁰ The same thinking in theory underlay the confiscation of church bells during the reign of Edward VI (though the financial motive was also apparent). However, bequests continued to be made for bells and towers: the tower at Llanarth may have been as late in date as the middle of the sixteenth century.⁷¹

Bells had always had a secular function as well – they could be rung in celebration or to warn of impending disaster. This function was of course emphasized after the Reformation. Bequests for church bells continued and it is of course possible that they retained their spiritual significance in the hearts and minds of both testators and listeners.⁷²

Explicit intercessory endowments were slow to revive during Mary’s reign. Within little more than a year of Edward’s death, and at the height of the controversy over Mary’s Spanish marriage, Roger David ap Prichard of Grosmont left £10 to be distributed for his soul and all Christian souls.⁷³ However, of fourteen wills between 1553 and 1558, only five left anything for prayer for the soul. There is some evidence to suggest that confidence took a while to recover. When Richard David Apowell Fychan, a burgess of Abergavenny, made his will in May 1555, within a year of England’s formal return to the Catholic fold, he left money for forgotten tithes and funeral expenses (and 7s. for the repair of the bridge over the Usk, at a time when bequests for repair of roads and bridges were clearly considered a spiritual duty) but nothing specifically for his soul’s health. The preamble of the will also has a faintly evangelical flavour: he left his soul to God, ‘trusting by the merytyts of Christes passion ... that I am saved’. One might therefore have assumed that his sympathies were with the Protestant rebels. In a codicil dated 3 September 1557, however, he left £5 to Sir John Howell to

⁶³ *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London and Cardiff, 2000) 24-5. For Cwmcarnfan, see the will of Thomas ab Iorwerth ap Hopkes, 7 Aug. 1525 (PROB 11/21/453).

⁶⁴ PROB 11/21/453.

⁶⁵ 100s. for the church of Basaleg to buy bells in 1500: PROB 11/12/22.

⁶⁶ 40s. for the bells of Penhow in 1511: PROB 11/17/63.

⁶⁷ 6s. 8d. for the repair of Oldcastle bells in 1524: PROB 11/21/187.

⁶⁸ PROB 11/31/33; will dated 12 Feb. 1541, proved 6 Feb. 1546.

⁶⁹ Hutton, R., *The Rise and Fall of Merry England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994) 45; Marshall, Peter, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002) 19.

⁷⁰ Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, 90-7.

⁷¹ Newman, *Buildings of Gwent/Monmouthshire*, 263.

⁷² For examples, see Jones, *Monmouthshire Wills*, 19.

⁷³ Will made 14 July 1554 (PROB 11/37/48).

pray and sing for his soul and all Christian souls for a year in the Rood church of Abergavenny.⁷⁴ Ironically, though, there were as many bequests for prayer in the early years of Elizabeth's reign as there were under Mary, a pattern which is reflected elsewhere in Wales.

Part of the problem is of course that government policy could change between the making of a will and the actual death. John ap Richard made his will during the 'phoney war' in 1531 when Henry was still trying to pressure the Pope into a settlement. By the time it was proved in 1539, the image of St Leonard before which he wanted to provide a candelabrum had probably been destroyed.⁷⁵ Perhaps the most extreme example is Thomas Kynllyn. He made his will in 1535, before his career as MP for the Monmouth borough could have been thought of. It was one of the most austere secular of the period: an almost insulting 6*d.* to Hereford Cathedral and 12*d.* to the vicar of Monmouth, and no mention at all of provision for his funeral rites or for prayer for his soul.⁷⁶ In spite of his awareness of the wider world, he seems to have seen no reason to add to these meagre bequests during Mary's reign.

To return to our original question: how popular was the late medieval church in Wales, and how can we explain the readiness of a conservative country to acquiesce in religious change? In the light of Rhianydd Biebrach's findings about the meagre provision for intercessory prayer in so many wills, we might consider Robert Lutton's phrase 'parsimonious piety'. He used this to explain the popularity of the Lollard critique of lavish provision of charity in return for prayer.⁷⁷ His research, though, was concentrated on the south-east of England, where Lollard ideas had considerable popularity. We have no evidence for Lollardy in pre-Reformation Monmouthshire, and the evidence of church building suggests that (as Burgess has argued) wills can only reflect a part of the contribution made by lay people to the life of the church. Alec Ryrie has suggested, though, that, while the beliefs and practices of late medieval religion may have been both popular and deeply rooted, the ideas of the reformers, once articulated, were surprisingly attractive.⁷⁸ The medieval doctrine of purgatory was psychologically compelling but made huge demands on the living. Thus, the reformers' argument that purgatory was a sham and a confidence trick offered not just freedom from fear but freedom from financial pressures.

It may be, though, that we are looking in the wrong place for commemoration of the dead in sixteenth-century Monmouthshire. As the chapters by of the *County History* make clear, Monmouthshire was still a largely Welsh-speaking county with a strong tradition of bardic verse,⁷⁹ and while the main purpose of tombs and funerals was to elicit prayer for the dead, the main purpose of elegaic poetry was to praise their achievements while living. The poets might ask for prayer, but many did not, and it was rarely if ever the main ostensible purpose of a *marwnad*. Lineage, leadership and valour, hospitality and service to the state were more important. Piety features in these poems but as an aspect of the behaviour appropriate for the *uchelwyr* rather than as a plea for forgiveness. Traditional Welsh praise poetry is thus surprisingly close in tone to the 'new' Renaissance cult of fame, which, Peter Sherlock suggests, 'filled the void left by the Reformation's removal of

⁷⁴ PROB 11/39/333.

⁷⁵ PROB 11/27/237.

⁷⁶ PROB 11/41/60.

⁷⁷ Lutton, Robert, *Lollardy and orthodox religion in pre-Reformation England: reconstructing piety* (Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2006) esp. pp. 95-9, 130-48. I am grateful to Alexandra Walsham for this reference and for a very useful discussion of Lutton's findings.

⁷⁸ 'Counting sheep, counting shepherds: the problem of allegiance in the English Reformation' in Marshall, Peter and Ryrie, Alec (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2002) 84-110.

⁷⁹ Dylan Foster Evans and John Gwynfor Jones in volumes 2 and 3.

intercession for the dead'.⁸⁰ Monuments which praised the lineage and reputation of the deceased, whether for piety and charity, military valour, learning or other service to community and state, became much more common after the Reformation, though they can be found in English and Welsh as well as continental churches even before that. But in Wales we already had a culture of praising the dead for lineage, piety and charity, military valour and service to the state rather than imploring passers-by to pray for forgiveness for their sins.

None of this has anything to do with the theology of Purgatory and intercessory prayer. Nevertheless, the Welsh preference for praising the dead rather than begging for prayer for their souls may have contributed to a *mentalité* in which a challenge to traditional Catholic doctrine became possible. As Ryrice points out, one did not become a committed evangelical by accepting one aspect of their ideas, for practical or cultural reasons. However, by accepting one aspect of their thinking, 'one aligned one's life with those who were preaching in defence of what you had done, and against those who had denounced it'.⁸¹ The paucity of evidence for commemorative tombs and intercessory foundations in late medieval Wales may be evidence of paucity, after all, and it may contribute to our understanding of the trajectory of the Reformation in Wales.

⁸⁰ Sherlock, Peter, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2008) 132.

⁸¹ Ryrice, 'Counting sheep', 103.

A TALE OF LOST KNIGHTS: THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MILITARY EFFIGIES IN TINTERN ABBEY

By Mark Redknap, with a contribution by Jana M. Horák

Background

The Cistercian Abbey of Tintern, founded in 1131, is one of the best-known monastic sites in the British Isles, and its ruined church continues to inspire admiration and delight, much as it did in the late eighteenth century (Coxe, 1801; Heath, 1793 and later editions). The impact of the abbey church would have been even more profound in the Middle Ages, when it housed numerous tombs of patrons and benefactors, lost during the upheavals of the Dissolution and Civil War, and now represented by a small number of unearthed slabs and fragments of sculpture:

rich piles of sculpture, sepulchral stones and mutilated figures + of monks and heroes, whose ashes repose within these walls, are scattered on the greensward, and contrast present desolation with former splendour (Coxe, 1801, 252).

Three-dimensional knight effigies are less common in medieval Monmouthshire and Glamorgan than ledger stones with floriated crosses, either incised or in relief. There are thirteenth-century knights at Ewenny (two examples), Llantwit Major, St Hilary and St Athan in the Vale of Glamorgan, Llanfihangel Rogiet near Undy¹, and later examples such as the wooden effigy of John, 2nd Baron Hastings at the Priory Church of St Mary, Abergavenny (died 1325).

This paper reviews the fragmentary evidence for three lesser known thirteenth-century knight effigies at Tintern, and their backgrounds.

Tintern 1. Knight effigy

Evidence for discovery/provenance

The mutilated effigy of a knight was ‘discovered a century ago’ (*i.e.* about 1759) at Tintern (Clark, 1859, 90; Robinson, 2011, 22). This appears to have come to light as a result of clearance work for Charles Somerset (1705-56), fourth duke of Beaufort, when ‘expectations were formed of finding some valuable relics’. In about 1756, the interior was cleared out and rubbish either thrown into the River Wye or spread over adjoining land. Some items were sold, and ‘a knight in mail’, a Virgin and Child, and the gilt stone head of an abbot were discovered at this time. Heath records that ‘before it was removed to its now situation [against a pillar in the south transept], the effigy of the knight was placed across the nave, and it served as a stop to coits’, as the nave had become the village Fives Court (Heath, 1806, unpaginated). The earliest visual record of the effigy known to the author appears on a topographical print by R. Godfrey depicting the nave interior 1775 (NMTWA 7361 [TPC 1327]; Fig. 1). This copperplate line drawing shows the figure complete with head, as a dark silhouette leaning in a picturesque manner against the south-east angle of the tower, where it had been placed against

¹ Anne Martel in fine grained limestone, and one usually identified as John Martel, limestone (oolitic limestone?), both dated about 1270. John Martel is cross-legged, and drawing his sword. Four rhyming lines of Norman French on Anne’s monument read: *ana martel gist ici / dev de sa alme eut merci / kae pater & ave pour li dirra / de pardon xl ivrs avera Amen.* (‘Ana Martel lies here/may God have mercy on her soul/ whoever will say pater and ave for her/ shall have pardon for 40 days. Amen’).

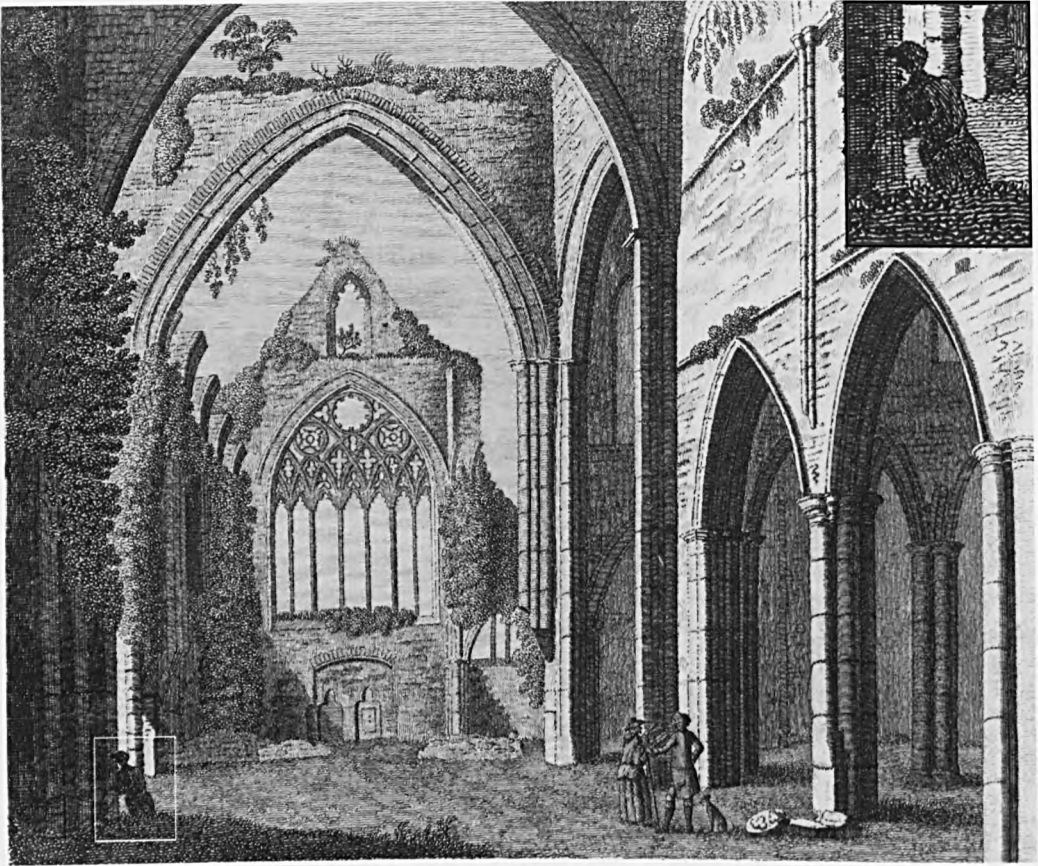


Fig. 1: Topographical print of Tintern, by R. Godfrey, published in 1775.
 (NMWA 7361 [TPC 1327]. Copyright: National Museum of Wales.

the crossing pier, for the benefit of visitors in search of the sublime and picturesque. It appeared in volume one of Francis Grose's *The Antiquarian Repertory* (1775-84, facing page 112; also Grose 1808 [2nd edn], opposite page 371, and a more detailed engraving of the effigy opposite page 372, labelled 'No. 1': Fig. 2). A watercolour, pen and ink view of the interior by P. van Lerberghe (*fl.* 1801-05) shows the effigy propped up on the south side of the crossing-pier, half hidden in shadow, and it is shown in a similar position in Agostino Aglio's painting entitled 'Tintern Abbey Interior, September, 1806' (Mitchell, 2010, nos. 56 and 51 respectively).

The sculpture was also illustrated and described by David ap Thomas Powell after 1820 (Cardiff Central Library, Phillipp's Collection; Fig. 3, see colour section), who provides more information on its original context:

1st. In ye Choir south side between the S.E. great cardinal tower pillar & the next pillar east of it on an altar only 1' 6" from the ground and about 15' 6" long, highly enrich'd along the ledge with an arabesque ornament of the sculpt. of early pt of Hen 3 or John, did lye but now is placed upright agt the great pillar the stone statue of a man of very large stature of masterly carving but most excessively mutilated...



Fig. 2: Engraving of Tintern 1, dated 1775
(from Grose 1808, opposite page 372). Copyright: National Museum of Wales.

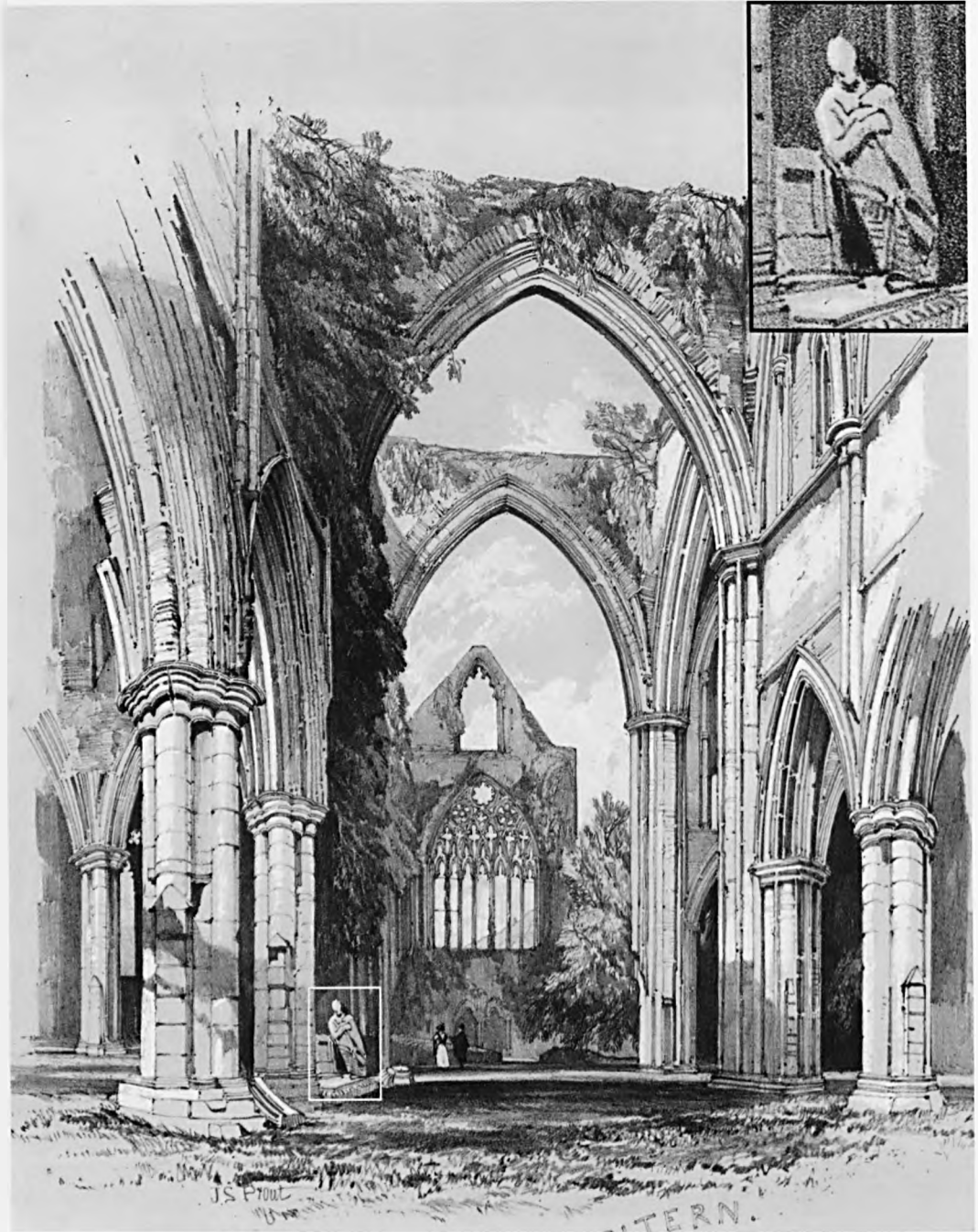


Fig. 4: Topographical print of Tintern by J. Skinner Prout, dated 1823, showing the effigy propped up, with detail in top right corner. (NMWA, A. 7169).

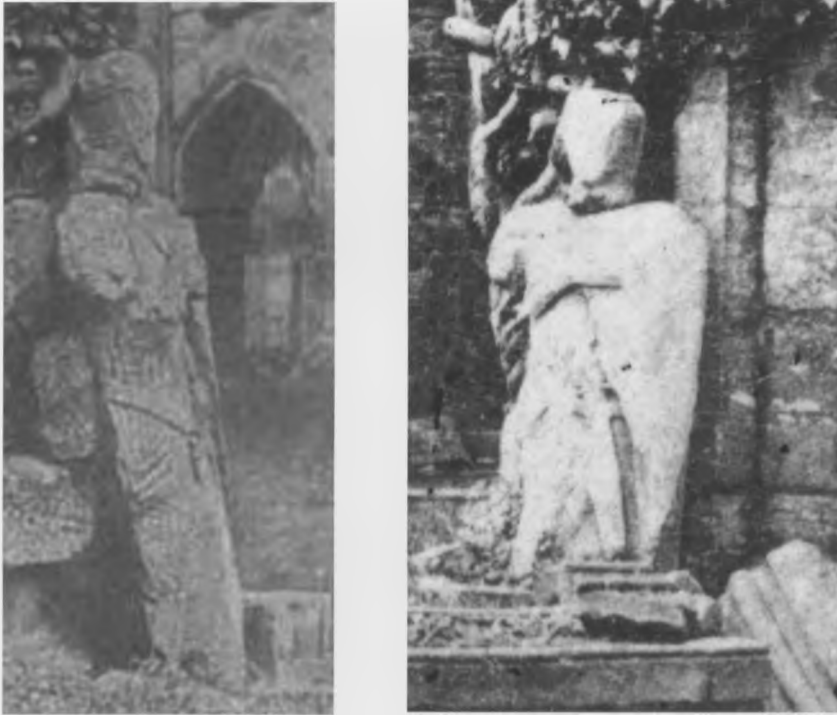


Fig. 5a (left): Detail of photograph by R. Fenton, c.1852
(courtesy of Bernard J. Shapero RareBooks).

Fig. 5b (right): Stereograph of Tintern (author's collection).

A topographical print by J. Skinner Prout, dated 1823, shows the effigy in a similar position, supported by another piece of sculptured stone (NMW A 7169; Fig. 4). The earliest known photograph of the effigy is an albumen print entitled 'Tree and Column' taken about 1852 by Roger Fenton (1819-69). This shows the knight's right side, propped up in the same position as the Prout print (source: Shapero Gallery, London, sold to a private collector about 2008, Fig. 5a). A stereophotograph entitled '2916. Tinturn Abbey Arches' in a series called 'Foreign Scenery' shows the knight in the same position (author's collection; Fig. 5b). A later photograph from the National Buildings Record, taken by T. E. Routh (active in the 1920s), shows a group of sepulchral monuments romantically stacked at Tintern Abbey, including the effigy in a better state of preservation than today (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, D12010_1112; Fig. 6). The description given below incorporates some detail from this source.

Measurements

The overall length of the surviving figure (now minus head) is 1190mm. The width across the shoulders is 560mm. The left leg projects 72mm. The height of the shield on the surviving effigy now measures 630mm.



Fig. 6 (left): Photograph of sculpture at Tintern.

(Crown copyright: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, D12010–1112).

Fig. 7 (right): The surviving torso of Knight 1.

(Copyright: National Museum of Wales).

Stone type (JH)

The sculpture is coated with a thick layer of dirt which masks some of the petrological detail. The surface of the sandstone also shows evidence of delamination with the outer surface being significantly weathered. The lithology is identifiable as a homogenous, well-sorted, medium-grained, sandstone. The composition is dominated by sub-rounded to sub-angular frosted quartz grains, subordinate orange (iron-stained) quartz grains (about 10%), unidentified greenish grains, and plates of white mica (about 5–10%) typically smaller than 750 μ m. The colour of the stone is hard to establish

as a result of the covering or dirt and the low light level in the store. It is estimated as a buff-grey. No fresh surfaces were observed.

Whilst this lithology is similar to that of the lion foot-rest (Tintern 3, below), the following points suggest that although it may have had a similar source it was not derived from the same block of stone.

- The average grain size is slightly coarser than Tintern 3.
- The mica is slightly less abundant than Tintern 3 and is not present in any mica-rich layers as seen on the base of the lion.
- The small black grains observed in the sandstone of Tintern 3 were not observed.

Present condition

The head, legs and elbow of the right arm are missing. According to David ap Thomas Powell, one Gethin, who cared for the abbey for the duke of Beaufort, told him that:

the way in which the head was severed from the body as we now see it was that an Irish collier hearing that it was Strongbow out of detestation took an opportunity with a crow bar to knock off the head & deface the face & also knock'd off the legs & immediately absconded a reward was offered for his apprehension.

What survives is very weathered. A comparison between the Phillipps drawing, the early photograph and today indicates the rate of loss, particularly in the detail of surcoat and mail. The base of the scabbard housing the sword has been lost.

Description

The now incomplete figure of the knight, dressed in a *hauberk* (long shirt of mail) with an attached *coif* (mail hood) and a surcoat, appears to have been carved from a single block of sandstone (*see* below). It has the form of crossed legs, the right hand holding shield, and head supported on a pillow (Fig. 7). The left arm is hidden by the shield. The edges of the slab on which the figure rests, which was carved in one with it, no longer survive, but may have been chamfered.

The shoulders are very broad. The legs are incomplete, but the left leg, covered by one side of the surcoat, crosses over the right thigh, the surviving mail-clad section of its calf projecting beyond the skirt, giving the figure a sense of vigour. The angle of the right leg is unclear.

The head no longer survives, but it is clear from the Powell drawing and early photographs that it had a slightly bulbous shape, indicating that it represented a mail *coif* worn over a rounded steel skull cap (*bacinet* or *cervellière*). A slight projection behind the right side of the head is all that remains of a pillow headrest (of uncertain form). The head was re-attached to the torso by an iron rod, presumably set in lead, before Powell's sketch and following the mutilation of the effigy (*see* above). Of particular interest is Powell's sketch and description of a coronet around the brow ('the coronet leaves cling to the mail'; Fig. 10). The coronet's projections were also represented in a simplified manner on the 1775 engraving by Blyth (Fig. 2). Two worn *fleur de lis* are just visible in the 1920s photograph and slightly clearer in the earlier Fenton print (Figs 5a, 6). The 'bandrier' below the coronet on the Powell sketch is threaded through grouped rings of mail, in the manner of coif edging around the face of one effigy in the Temple Church, London, traditionally identified as Gilbert Marshall (died 1241; Richardson, 1843, Plate 8).

In addition to now missing facial details such as eyes and a possible moustache, the Fenton print *appears* to show a small disc attached to a now missing section of right arm, reminiscent of small disc-

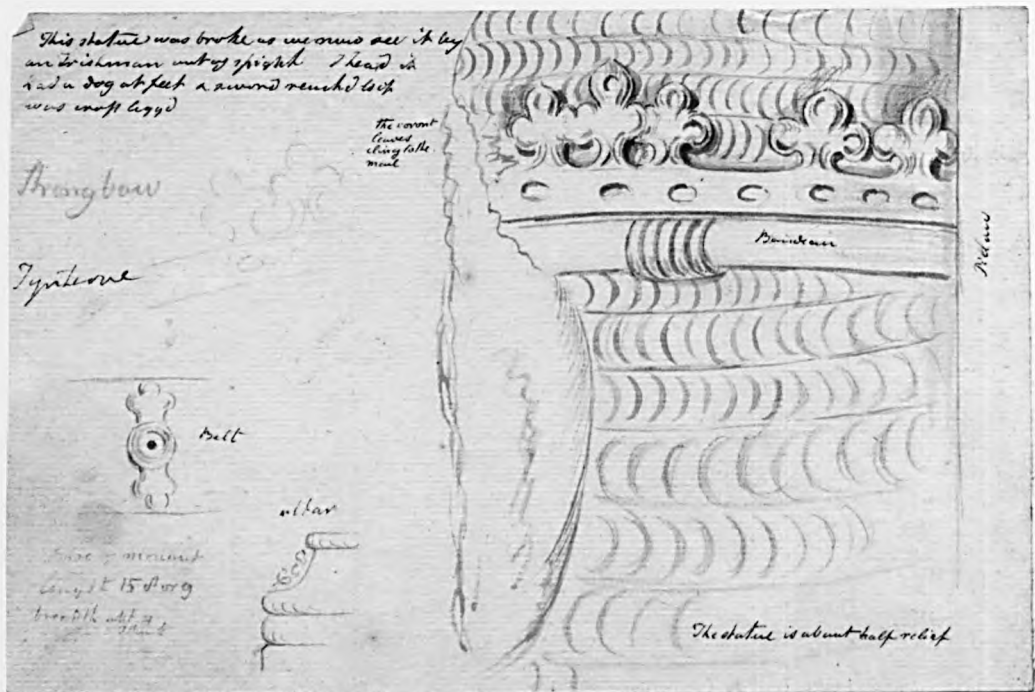


Fig. 8: Detail of the knight's head, belt and moulding on the tomb-chest, by David ap Thomas Powell, after 1820. (Cardiff Central Library, Philipps Collection, MS5.25). Copyright: Cardiff Central Library.

shaped plates known as *couters*. These were strapped to the hauberk to protect the vulnerable elbows as early as the 1260s, if not earlier. It is curious, however, that this putative roundel on the right arm of Tintern 1 was *not* described or sketched by Powell (and is also absent from the 1775 engraving), and its existence is unconfirmed. The photograph appears to show the disc held in position by a strap higher up on the arm, nearer the shoulder, an unlikely position, favouring interpretation as circular damage. A *couter* of similar diameter occurs on the elbows of the effigy of an unnamed knight at St Cadfan's Church, Tywyn, held in straps around the arms (attributed to the fourteenth century, and traditionally identified as Gruffudd ap Adda, died 1331: Gresham, 1968, no. 180).

The skirt of the loose-fitting sleeveless surcoat is slit at the front to allow for riding. The left side of the surcoat is difficult to discern, while that visible on the right side of the knight is depicted with regular, stylized V-folds, swept behind the body. The folds would make a painted blazon harder to depict on the effigy, but this possibility should not be discounted.

The mail hauberk is long-sleeved, and appears to stop just above the knee. The lower legs appear to be covered in mail protective hose (*chausses*). The surface of the right hand is heavily weathered and laminated, but the Powell sketch depicts gloves rather than a mail *muffler* (a mitten-like extension of the hauberk sleeve). This appears to be supported by faint suggestions of lines delineating fourth



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**Honorary Secretary of The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association
1987-2009**

(Courtesy of Christabel Hutchings)

The Layout of the Fortress

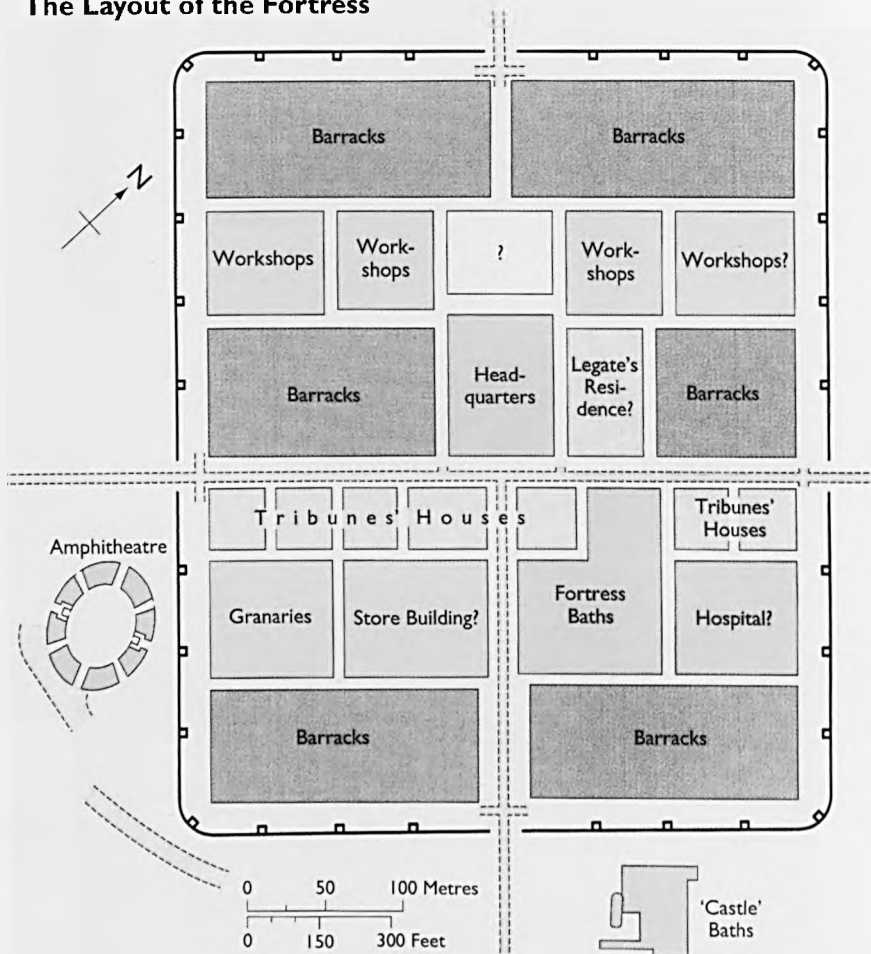


Fig. 10 (*Praetorium* article):



Figs. 4 and 5 (*The Praetorium* article). The ceramic voussoirs.



The ruins of the medieval chapel of Llanbedr, near Langstone. (*Gwent Churches* article, page 42). Water-colour of c.1845 (from *Gwentiana: Ecclesiastical Antiquities*; Copyright: Society of Antiquaries of London).



The church of St Tegfeth (Merthyr Tecmed) at Llandegfedd, seen before its rebuilding in 1875-76. (*Gwent Churches* article, page 42). Water-colour of c.1845 (from *Gwentiana: Ecclesiastical Antiquities*; Copyright: Society of Antiquaries of London). The rebuilding retained the original plan.



The church of St Oudoceus, Llandogo, prior to its total rebuilding in 1859-61.

The so-called 'Llandogo Priory' of 1838 is visible to the left.
(*Gwent Churches* article, pages 37-38). Water-colour of c.1845 (from
Gwentiana: Ecclesiastical Antiquities; Copyright:
Society of Antiquaries London).



St Arvans church, prior to its restoration and rebuilding in 1883-84.
(*Gwent Churches* article, page 40). Water-colour of c.1845 (from *Gwentiana*
Ecclesiastical Antiquities; Copyright: Society of Antiquaries of London).



Fig 3: Drawing of the Knight Effigy by David ap Thomas Powell, drawn shortly after 1820

(Copyright: Cardiff Central Library, Philipps Collection, MS 5.25).

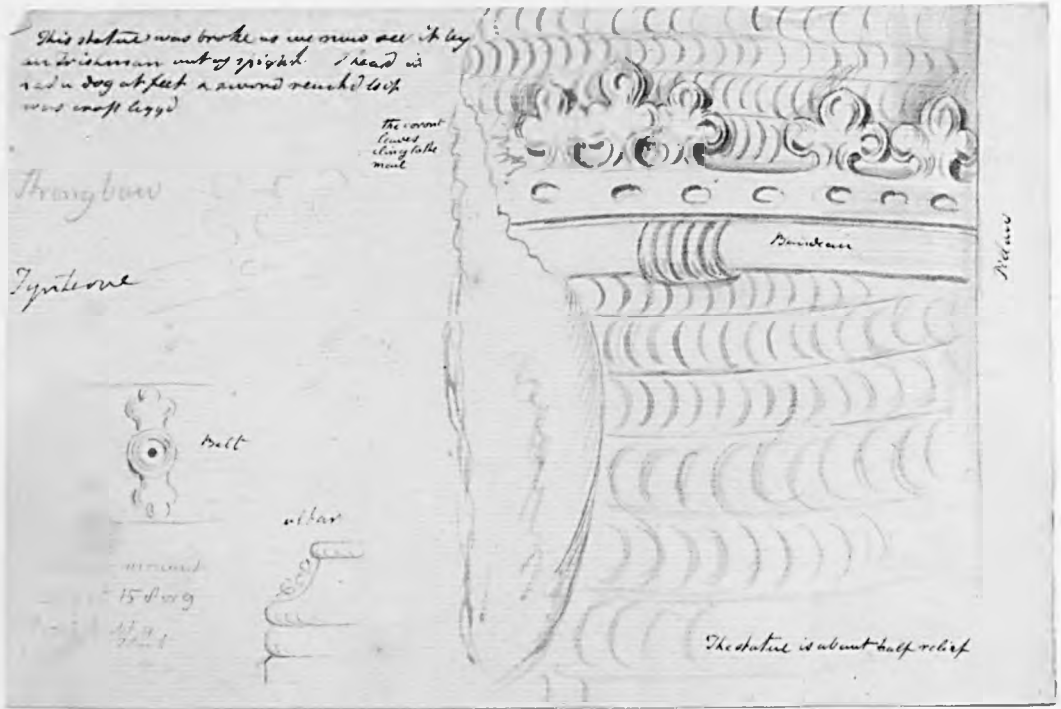
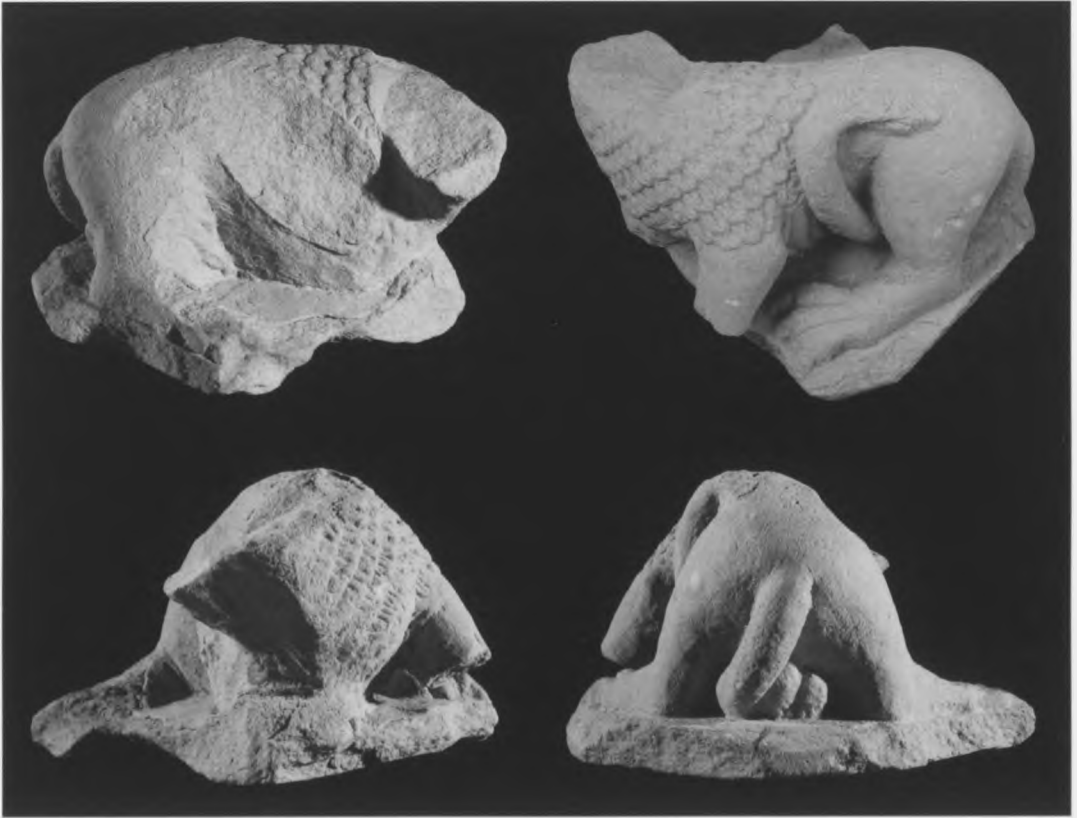


Fig. 8 (Lost Knights article): Detail of Knight I's head, belt and moulding on the tomb-chest, by David ap Thomas Powell, after 1820.
 (Copyright: Cardiff Central Library, Phillipps Collection, MS 5.25).



*Fig. 12 (Lost Knights article). The lion foot-rest from Tintern.
(Copyright: National Museum of Wales).*

and fifth fingers.² The mail is represented by regular rows (bands) of wide links.

The effigy is equipped with a flat-topped shield (pointed at the bottom), which is suspended from the left arm at the right shoulder by a strap or *guige* running diagonally across the body, and attached to the inside of the shield. The shield probably offered a field for painted heraldic display, as there is no evidence for relief.

The sword hilt is weathered, but appears to be straight and plain. Its scabbard is supported by a broad-buckled sword belt, decorated with a series of bar mounts. Their form and number are hard to discern from the Royal Commission photograph (Fig. 6), but at least two appear to have the form of bar mounts with circular perforated central lobes or expansions. The Powell drawings imply that all the bar mounts are of the same type and equidistantly spaced, though a degree of artistic licence and invention is evident. His detailed sketch of the bar mounts on the belt show trilobed terminals, weathered and unclear on the 1920s photograph (Figs 6, 8). The Powell description (*see below*) suggests that the sword may originally have been supported by the foot-rest, though this would make the sword cumbersome and over-long.

Discussion

The manuscript account of the effigy by David ap Thomas Powell provides valuable observations of features that no longer survive, such as paint on the shield, clearly discernable fingers on the right hand, and the head (Cardiff Central Library, MS 5.25: Notes & drawings of antiquities, ‘Tintern abbey, Monmouthshire’, fol. 3 (*New Monas* Vol. 5 p. 265’):

... the stone statue of a man of very large stature of masterly carving but most excessively mutilated drest in a complete suit cap a pie of oldest sort of mail the apron of which reaches below his knees, over it a drapery surcoat which seems to have been short, round his waist or buckled bandrier [French term for a girdle] studded to which hangs sword (.) on his left arm is a very large painted shield bending around a part of his body sadly hack'd his left hand gloved on mail appears coming from under the shield & grasps the hilt of the sword (.) the shield is attachd from his right shoulder across ye breast by a belt the same as the sword belt (.) his right hand (wh certainly has the appearance of 5 fingers) extends from the arms across his breast & rests open upon that part of the shield imed' [immediately] on his heart. head resting on a pillow cased in same mail with the face bare but so hack'd that no feature is discernable, but what is most curious is that round his forehead encircling the head is a coronet a little projecting from the mail, tis a narrow fillet studded with small ovals in which have been proby precious stones. from the fillet rises fleur de lis, rather irregularly placed & many in number (,) the whole having the look of a royal princes crown tho' the de lis are kept low. As a herald, I conceive this a gt curiosity affording a proof that a nobleman of the rank of an Earl wore a coronet at this early period nor do I think that so early a proof is to be aduced as this instance which is of indubitable authority. His legs are broke off a little below the knees (.) they evidently were cross'd or rather the left thigh is cross'd over the right.

Thus much for what exists. Gethin who has the care of the abbey for the D of Beaufort calls it Gilbert de Clair or Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. The people of Monmouth as well as common report call it Richard Strongbow (de Clare) Earl of Pembroke the famous conqueror of Ireland & Henry 2 who died 1176. Gough supposes it Gilbert de Clare brother of Walter the founder, others Gilbert his nephew, so that conjecture vibrates in uncertainty. Rich Strongbow has a monument in Dublin Cathedral but that

² Coxe (1801, 353), noted ‘According to Grose, his right hand has five fingers and a thumb, but the sculpture is so rude, that I could not ascertain whether it has four or five fingers’ For this reference, *see* Grose, 1849 (reprint of 1797 account), 168.

would not materially disprove that he might not have had one here also, as there are such instances of sepulchral mts & cenotaphs. this statue certainly is not much posterior to AD 1176 & I think certainly of the beginning of the 13th century, or begn of Hen 3d reign so that all things considered, I pronounce it Strongbows. Victor Hibernorum. Victor et Invictus tempus in omne manes.

Old Gethin says that he well remembers the end of the sword rested on the rump of a dog [marginal note: p a lion possibly taken for a dog] that his legs, rested on its body & were crossd. the dog was sold for 2^s 6^d. ... From the length of the altar on which this statue laid extending to the middle of the pillar about 15 long & abt 4 broad some think that two statues laid thereon.

The 'Old Gethin' referred to was George Gethin, landlord of the *Beaufort Arms* responsible for locking the site at night, and it has been suggested that he may be the figure with keys in the background of Agostino Aglio's 1806 depiction of the abbey interior (Mitchell, 2010, 116).

An assessment of the original appearance of the effigy requires some assessment of the size range of parallel examples. Slightly later knight effigies from north Wales lie on slabs that tend to be over six feet in length, while they vary considerably in width. The example from Tremeirchion, dated c. 1295, is 6' 6" long (198cm) and 1' 10" to 1' 5" wide (56 to 43cm); another from Llanarmon-yn-Iâl is 6' 10" long (208cm) and 2' 4" to 1' 5½" wide (71 to 43cm; Gresham, 1968, nos 168 and 173 respectively). These dimensions can be compared to 69" (175cm) for the length of the effigy of Robert de Vere I, third earl of Oxford (died 1221) at the church of St Mary, Hatfield (and 20" wide (51cm) at the shoulders), or the over-life-size effigy of Richard de Gyvernay (died 1329) at Limington, Somerset, which is 81" in length (206cm; Dressler, 2004, 1-2). In comparison, the slab in the Temple Church, London, bearing the effigy traditionally identified as William Marshal, the younger, fifth earl of Pembroke (about 1190-1231), has a length of 211.5cm.

The reconstruction (Fig. 9) attempts to interpret the weathered detail taking into account available evidence, but remains an approximation (and the putative *couter* has been omitted). As on the effigies in the Temple, the edge of the base probably had a small chamfer. In the case of effigies with crossed legs and single beast foot-rests facing left, the left foot may rest on the body and the right on the neck, reversed if the lion faces right. Alternatively, as the 'knight' and 'lady' of Gloucester type at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire (thought to date c. 1330), the right leg may rest on the body (over left), which touches the head of the lion (Prior and Gardner, 1912, fig. 700). In the Tintern case, key evidence for the most likely leg positions is provided by the surviving curvature *behind* the knee of the left leg, and the need for compositional balance with the right leg. A similar position occurs on the knight effigy traditionally identified as Geoffrey de Magnaville, earl of Essex, based on armorial bearings on the shield, at the Temple Church, London (died 1144, buried 1163; Stothard, 1817-32, unpaginated; Lankester, 2010, plate 59A, RCHM no. 6).

Mail hoods or *coifs*, worn over a rounded steel skull cap (*bacinet* or *cervelière*), are a feature of effigies dating to the first half of the thirteenth century. Similar skull caps appear on Somerset knight effigies at Tickenham and Shepton Mallet (Fryer, 1916, figs 4, 5). The simple way in which the fully-sheathed cruciform sword hangs on the left side from a wide sword belt buckled loosely around the waist, apparently without additional ties lower down the scabbard, may also point to a mid-thirteenth-century date. Vestigial edges in the stone indicate the position of the strap end and buckle. Similar surcoats appear on the façade of Wells Cathedral, dated c. 1240. The surcoat length is consistent with a mid-thirteenth-century date. The head mail and left arm resting on square-topped shield resemble effigy number 2 at Shepton Mallet, attributed to c. 1240 (Fryer, 1916, figs. 2, 3), although the mail on the arms shows vertical banding.

The folds of the hauberk and position of the right hand grasping the shield also occur on one of the thirteenth-century wooden effigies in the church at Danbury, Essex, usually identified as a member of



Fig. 9: Conjectural reconstruction of Knight 1, by Tony Daly.

It is possible that the slab tapered towards the feet. The coronet is not shown, as frontal detail has not survived.

(Copyright: National Museum of Wales).



Fig. 10a: Detail of the knight's head from Tintern (Copyright: National Museum of Wales).
Fig. 10b: Nineteenth-century photograph of the head, showing facial detail (Copyright: Cadw : Welsh Historic Monuments).

the St Cleere family (Essex Record Office, engraving by James Basire, 1/Mp 114/1/8).

If a mid-thirteenth-century date is correct, the first recorded location for the knight effigy within the first phase of the later Gothic Church (built between 1269-88) would be a relocation, as it was almost certainly originally in the church of the first stone monastery.

Tintern 2. Head from a knight effigy (Fig. 10)

Evidence for discovery/provenance

The earliest record of this appears to be the sketch by David ap Thomas Powell, on which he states that it was 'found 1820' (Cardiff Central Library, MS 5.25: *Notes & drawings of antiquities*, 'Tintern abbey, Monmouthshire'). The Royal Commission photograph taken in the 1920s shows it on the floor next to Tintern 1. Whether the now missing fragment of mailed arm, bent at the elbow, in the same photograph (Fig. 6) once formed part of this effigy is unclear.

Measurements

Height 220mm; maximum width 215mm.

Stone type (JH)

A cream, but yellow-weathering oolitic limestone, which is free of calcite veining or fossil debris. The ooids are typically 375-500µm. As with the torso the ooids are both eroded, producing a pitted texture and stand proud forming domes where more resilient. The limestone is very similar to that used for the figure of a saint (*see* below) and may have a similar source. This resembles a 'Bath' type oolitic limestone but cannot be attributed to Dundry as this limestone is composed of fossil debris and lacks oolites.

Present condition

The Powell sketch (Fig. 11) and the RCAHMW photograph show the head in a fair condition, although the face is severely damaged. The last ninety years have witnessed significant loss of features.

Description

Decapitated mailed head of knight effigy. In form it is similar to the head of Tintern 2, expanding to a carination at brow height, suggesting a steel skull cap beneath the mail coif; a fragment of pillow projects behind the left side of the head.



Fig. 11: Sketch by David ap Thomas Powell of Tintern 2.

(Cardiff Central Library, Phillipp's Collection, MS 5.25). Copyright: Cardiff Central Library.

Discussion

The manuscript account of the effigy by David ap Thomas Powell provides the following description:

2. The head alone of a large statue cased in the older sort of mail & a little pointed in the apex face almost obliterated in lies in the choir & no doubt is of one of the de Clairs.

The head shares features with Tintern 1, and a similar mid-thirteenth-century date appears likely.

Tintern 3. Lion foot-rest (Fig. 12, see colour section)

Evidence for discovery/provenance

In 1932, an incomplete lion foot-rest from a thirteenth-century tomb was deposited with the National Museum of Wales (NMW acc. no. 32.376/103). It is presumed to have been recovered during clearance work on the site. Nothing more is known about the circumstances of its discovery, or precise findspot within the abbey.

Measurements

The maximum surviving height is 150mm; the length of the body to the end of the tail is 260mm. The locks on the main are 12mm long and about 10mm wide. The base slab is 25mm thick.

Stone type (JH)

Worked from very well sorted, grain-supported, pale brown micaceous sandstone (Munsell 10YR 7/3-6/3 very pale brown to light yellow brown). Chips in the sculpture suggest that the unweathered colour of the stone is slightly paler.

Under the binocular microscope the sandstone is seen to be dominated by sub-angular to sub-rounded frosted quartz grains (c. 300 μm). The sandstone also contain plates of muscovite and biotite mica, 375-500 μm , flesh coloured grains of ?feldspar (250 μm) and dark, smooth but irregularly-shaped (about 300 μm) rounded grains. In addition both angular grains of a pale green colour (?tourmaline) and rarer small (187 μm) red grains (?garnet) form an accessory component to the rock.

It is likely that this lithology is either a Carboniferous sandstone, such as Grinshill Sandstone from Shropshire, or a sandstone from the Devonian sequence local to Tintern. Anglesey Grit, another commonly used freestone used for dressings and carvings, can be excluded as a source, as this lithology is devoid of mica. In addition, to date, the use of Anglesey Grit has not been reported from southern Wales. A source from the local Old Red Sandstone succession is most likely to be sandstones associated with, or even part of the Tintern Sandstone Formation. Such a conclusion is supported by the abundant presence in the Abbey fabric or similar, although typically slightly coarser grained, sandstones.

Present condition

The lion's head and left limbs have been broken off and are now missing. The carving detail and surface condition of the mane, tail and left limbs are good. Small sections of the chamfered edge of the base at foot end and right of the lion survive.

Description

The lion originally formed the foot-rest of an effigy (a function shared with dogs and other beasts). The ribs are carefully defined on the left side of the body. The back right side of the body bears the scar of a resting foot, and explains why rib cage on the right side of the body is plain, and why the hind right leg, which stretches towards the knight, has less carved detail than the rear left leg. The left hind leg is crouched under the body, and the tail passes between the hind legs to curl around on the left haunch. The front legs are incomplete, and in different positions. The front left leg is raised, with high elbow. A line of raised stone suggests that the right front leg was stretched out flat on the ground, towards the knight. Much of the lion's head is missing, but the throat remains, showing that it was also turned towards the figure.

The lion stands on a fragment of base slab which preserves two short sections of bevelled edge, and establishes that the beast was located at the bottom right corner of the effigy, and carved from the same block of stone.

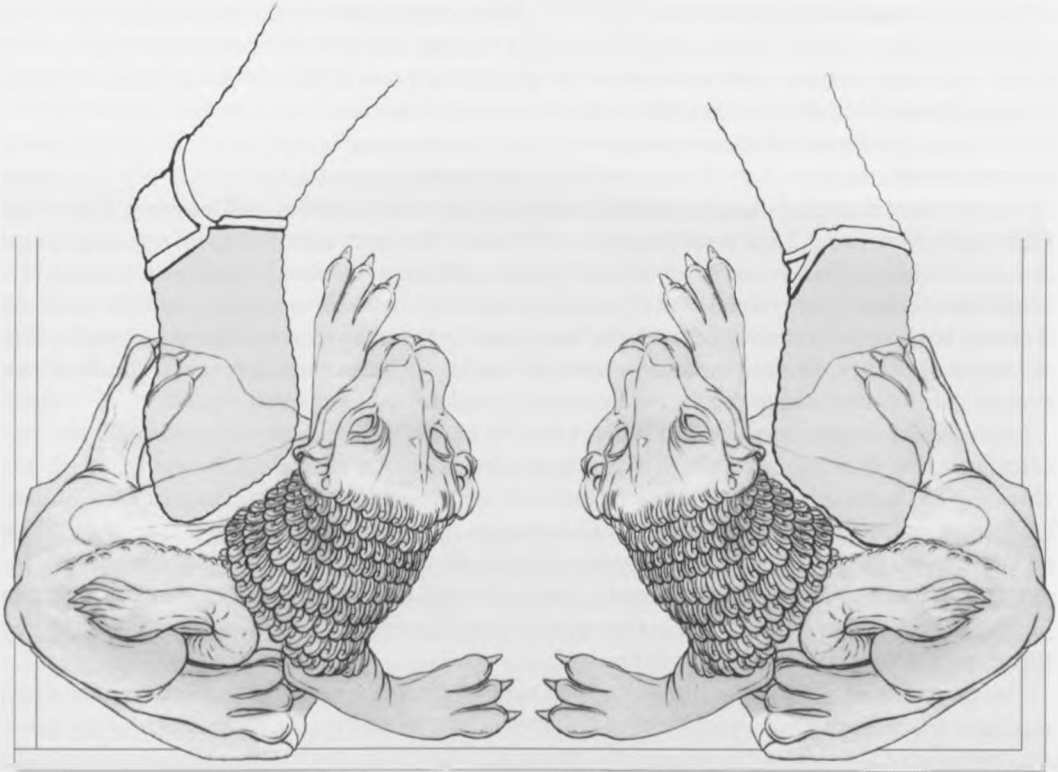


Fig. 13: Conjectural reconstruction of the original disposition of the lion foot-rest, with suggested feet positions for a knight effigy. If a lady, the legs would be straight.
(Copyright: National Museum of Wales).

Discussion

The posture of lion foot-rests usually follows a set pattern, though variations can occur. The lion's body lies across the slab at the effigy's feet, which might be side by side, or crossed. The lion's face will either look forward, or be turned to look at the knight. In the majority of cases, the legs and body are turned towards the warrior, and this appears to be the case with the Tintern example. A similar position occurs on a recently conserved mid-thirteenth-century effigy from Aquitaine, where the foot-rest is probably a dog (Block, 2001, 12, 16). However, the Tintern lion is small and clearly one of a pair of beasts, each supporting a foot (see Fig. 13 for an indication of how such a pairing might have worked). Examples are known at Georgeham (Devon), on the effigy of Lambert de Trikingham at Threkingham (Lincolnshire; c. 1310), on the effigy of Edvin Ralph (II; lion and dog), as well as the copper alloy non-military effigy of Queen Eleanor, Westminster Abbey of c.1295 (two lions, heads conjoined, turned towards the queen; Gardner, 1951, pl. 425; Downing, 1998, 18-20). Lions may also appear besides dragons. Whether the lion actually formed a foot-rest for one of the military effigies, or female effigies such as Isabel or Matilda Marshall, is not certain.

The regularity of the stylized mane, each lock carved in mail-like rows with two grooves and a turn to the right at the tip, recalls the manner in which human hair is represented on Romanesque sculpture, reflecting a regional workshop style. A good illustration is provided by the stone corbel head from Deganwy Castle, Conwy, usually considered to be a likeness of Llywelyn ab Iorwerth (ruled c.1194-1240). Similarly stylized locks also appear on the lion foot-rest for King John at Worcester (died 1216; Stothard, 1817-32, unpaginated). Artisans working in London may have had opportunities to study lions at the Tower, but those working away from London may have relied on sketches, drawings and representations in other media. Aquamaniles were sometimes in the form of lions, and a number of copper-alloy examples display similarly stylized lions' manes, bodies and legs (e.g. Barnet and Dandridge, 2006, nos 3-5 and 8, attributed to c.1200/early thirteenth century). Small regular locks are also discernible on the lion used as a foot rest for the right leg of the seated figure of Christ over the central door on the West Front of Wells Cathedral, dated c.1230-35 (Stone, 1955, plate 82). Although there are some stylistic similarities with the large single lion foot-rest on the limestone knight effigy in Dorchester Abbey, its mane is not as stylized and stiff as the Tintern example (and a late thirteenth-century date has been suggested for the Dorchester knight; Lankester, 1986, fig. 1).

Lions are the commonest beasts to support the feet of surviving military effigies, and it has been calculated that they occur on about eighty per cent of known examples (Downing, 1998, 17). Downing has summarized some of the theories circulating about the significance of lions of these effigies: as 'symbols of the resurrection', as a reflection of Psalm 91, v. 13, 'you will walk on the asp and the basilisk, and the lion and the dragon, you will trample under foot', and as a representation of evil, being trampled under foot (Downing, 1998, 17-18; Lankester, 2010, 127). At Abergavenny, Lawrence de Hastings (1340) and the other straight legged knight have dogs as foot-rests, facing left (Prior and Gardner, 1912, figs 701, 702).

The regularity of the Tintern lion's mane reflects sculptors' methods of representing defensive mail, and it is tempting to suggest that this provided an additional visual representation of the lion as the opponent of God's faithful warrior (the person represented by the military monumental effigy). Later lions, however, tend to have more naturalistic manes, and the stylization of the Tintern example reflects its mid-thirteenth-century date and workshop tradition.

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE GEOLOGY OF THE SCULPTURE

By Jana M. Horák

All percentages of minerals provided in the above entries are visual approximations by area. In addition to these identifications, an opportunity was taken to examine other sculpture at Tintern. These included the grave slab of one of the abbots (probably early fourteenth century), found on cleaning the inside of the abbey in 1756 and drawn and described by David ap Thomas Powell after 1820 (Robinson, 2011, 14; Robinson, 2006, frontispiece). This is worked from medium-grained, homogeneous, grain-supported pale grey/cream sandstone which has weathered a slightly more yellow shade. The composition is quartz-dominated, with sub-rounded to sub-angular frosted quartz grains predominating. Also present are a subordinate component of orange (iron-stained quartz?) grains, black rounded grains and greenish grains. These are similar to those observed in the knight's torso (Tintern 1) and possibly similar to those seen in the lion foot-rest (Tintern 3), although the lack of magnification precludes a firm identification. Also present are plates of white mica (500-750 µm in diameter).

The lithologies of Tintern 1 and the abbot are similar to that used in the lion (Tintern 3), and are also similar to larger pale sandstone blocks (often slightly coarser grained) used within the fabric of the buildings to the north east of the Abbey, such as the early Abbot's lodgings. These are thought to be derived from the local Devonian sequence. Further fieldwork may be able to attribute a more specific source for this lithology.

Two other examples of medieval sculpture were examined. The first is the cross slab that appears in the RCAHMW photograph (Fig. 6), worked from homogeneous, medium-grained pale pink/grey sandstone. The composition is quartz-dominated with no obvious mica content. No bedding or layering is present. This is likely to be locally derived from the Old Red Sandstone (Devonian sequence).

The second fragment of sculpture is the lower part of a robed statue, worked from a cream oolitic limestone with no evidence of veining, or shelly or fossil debris. The ooids are typically 500-750µm, in diameter. Some show weathering back to produce a pitted texture whereas other stand proud as small domes. A pale cement of calcite is present. This is not locally derived but is sourced within the Jurassic 'Bath Stone' type sequence of southern England.

DISCUSSION

Horizontal effigies rapidly evolved in England from the twelfth century, from low relief (semi-effigial) effigies set in floors (often clergy) to three-dimensional secular representations set on chests. One of its most memorable forms, the knight effigy, was developed in France, and this secular effigy form migrated to England, where the French models were transformed by local craftsmen, particularly during the period c. 1240-1330. From the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries, most military effigies set up in England and Wales appear in the recumbent cross-legged pose.

The fragments described in this paper represent at least two, and probably three knight effigies originally in the church at Tintern. As others have noted, dating effigies is often complicated by the practice of erecting monuments to some individuals long after their deaths, while some have their monuments made during their lifetimes (Stone, 1972, 114). Comparisons for stylistic details on all three examples tend to be with sculpture dated before 1260 (the dominant form of protection being the mail hauberk with attached *coif* and separate *chausses*). Support for this dating is provided by several further observations. Two of the Tintern knights are sandstone (probably local) and it is significant that this sandstone visually matches the stone selected for the chamfered banding on the early abbot's house (private apartments), constructed to the north of the Presbytery during Tintern Phase 2 (which Robinson, 2011, 29-30 suggests is centred on 1232-45).

Whether the distinctive multi-lobed sword pommel on Tintern 1 had the form of a five-pointed star shown on the Powell drawing, or was closer to the multi-lobed pommel on the thirteenth-century wooden effigy attributed to Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, or more probably the five-lobed pommel on a thirteenth-century effigy at Sullington, Sussex (Ward-Perkins, 1940, fig. 2, nos 5, 6) is now no longer clear. However, the Sullington effigy shares a number of features with Tintern 1, in the style of surcoat folds, leg and arm positions. Multi-lobed pommels are also illustrated in the Morgan Picture Bible (also known as the Cardinal Maciejowski Bible/Shah Abbas Bible/St Louis' Illustrated Bible), produced in Paris between 1244 and 1254 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 638, The Book of Kings, folios 32v and 33r; Noel and Weiss, 2002, 182-3).

Copper-alloy belt mounts similar to those on Tintern 1, have been found in late twelfth- to early fourteenth-century levels in London (Egan and Pritchard, 1991, 213, fig. 134, nos 1154 from ceramic phase 6, c.1150-1200; 1158 (with raised terminal lobes) and 1159 (with trilobed terminals) from

ceramic phase 9, c.1270-1350). Similar mounts also appear on mid-thirteenth-century French sculpture, such as a statue of King Clovis from Moutiers-Saint Jean (Côte-d'Or, Burgundy; Egan and Pritchard, 1991, fig. 139), as well as some of the Temple effigies (Lankester, 2010, nos 3, 4 and 7, Plate 56). The coronet recalls that on the effigy attributed to Robert Curthose, which has been variously dated between c.1240 and 1290, but this crown is later than the effigy in date (a later addition: Lankester, 1986, 161). Coronets may represent rank, though from Edward III onwards, coronets of various forms (some resembling a jewelled *torse*, or decorative wreath) were worn on helmets by princes, dukes, earls and knights more as a mark of gentility.

Workshops

Attempts have been made to identify regional workshops during the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds. Fryer's suggestion that 'banded' mail was an indication of a 'Bristol workshop' product or on effigies influenced by Bristol work (Fryer, 1916; 1923-4) has been rejected by Blair and Tummers, who assert that this is merely one convention for representing mail, and Dressler (2004, 19) agrees that the method of depicting mail is not a reliable indicator of date or place of production. Far more reliable is the geological analysis, which suggests a local, western workshop for Tintern 1 and 3 (Fig. 13). In contrast, contemporary military effigies in Somerset are of stone from three main sources: 1. coarse oolite from Doulling near Shepton Mallet, 2. finer quality oolite from Dundry Hill near Bristol, and 3. coarse yellow oolite from the Ham Hill quarries near Montacute, south Somerset (Fig. 14). These south-western English groups of effigies clearly point to production at or close to the quarries. This appears to be the case with Tintern 1 and 3, although the local red-green sandstone quarried from Barbadoes Hill and extensively used for many of its walls is darker than the sandstone used for the effigies, which are a slightly different colour (though probably also of local origin). Two knight effigies originally located in the chapels at Dore Abbey and traditionally identified as Robert of Ewyas and Roger de Clifford, are, like the Tintern knight effigies, made from a light calcareous sandstone local to the abbey, and Fryer considered them to be made under the influence of Bristol craftsmen (Shoemsmith and Richardson, 1997, figs 68, 69). The date attributed to the 'Robert de Ewyas' effigy (1240-50), is now considered too early, and 1250-70 has been suggested (Church Monuments Society; Tummers, 1980; Shoemsmith and Richardson, 1997). David ap Thomas Powell saw them in about 1820, and noted on one that 'I could plainly perceive the surcoat was painted (the lining) lapis laz blue' (Cardiff Central Library, MS 5.25. Phillips 29864 MS Notes on Abbeys and Monasteries). He also noted that Tintern 1 had a painted shield, but no further details were recorded.

A range of different stone types have been used on medieval stone monuments in south Wales. The tomb panels on the tomb-chest of John, 2nd Lord Hastings (died 1325) at Abergavenny Priory, have been identified as a fine-grained limestone, either Dundry stone from the south of Bristol, or Beer stone from Dorset (Blair 1994, 47). Three of the five thirteenth-century episcopal effigies at Llandaff Cathedral are made from Dundry stone (SS Teilo, Dyfrig and Euddogwy; Gray 2004, 40-44). The extensive use of Dundry stone in south Wales is well documented (used, for example, for string courses at Dinefwr Castle, and found at Strata Florida, Carmarthen Castle and Tenby Church, as well as sites in the south-east of Wales). The later knight effigy of John Martel at the church of St Michael and All Saints, Llanfihangel Rogiet (Bradney 1932, 270), is made of limestone (unprovenanced).

Can the effigies be identified? The early identification of Tintern 1 with Richard fitz Gilbert, alias Richard de Clare ('Strongbow', c.1130-76) cited by Powell was not supported by Coxe (1801, 353; Clark, 1859, 90), or the dating of the effigy. Richard did gift property at Trelleck to Tintern (Robinson, 2006, 278; *ibid.*, 2011, 11). Gough suggested that Tintern 1 might be the founder's brother, Gilbert de Clare (died 1148; Gough, 1789, 484), and this is repeated by Heath (1806). Special pleading is needed for this suggestion to be sustained.

The available evidence points to the period c.1240-60 for knights 1 and 2. The most serious contenders are two successive earls of Pembroke known to have been buried in the church, Walter and Anselm Marshal, both of whom died in 1245 (Robinson, 2006, 279). Anselm died at Striguil on 5 December 1245, and his brother Walter died shortly afterwards at Goodrich on 24 December 1245. Until 1217, Cistercian legislation prohibited secular burial, and this was circumvented by lay benefactors who were at death's door being admitted to the novitiate and clothed in the habit. Kings, queens, bishops and founders (and their families) might be buried in the abbey church (burial for others being within abbey precincts). Welsh abbeys became royal mausolea (for example, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth at Aberconwy in 1240; Owain Cyfeiliog at Strata Marcella in 1197; and princes of Deheubarth at Strata Florida between 1175 and 1249). Patronage of Tintern had passed to the Marshalls in 1189; in return for contributions from William Marshal the younger, monks maintained a lamp at the tomb of his mother Isabel, buried there in 1220. Her sons Walter and Anselm were buried there in 1245, and her daughter Matilda/Maud, who died on 27 March 1248, was carried into the church for burial by her four knight-sons (Clark, 1860, 92, 94, 190; Williams, 1998, 134). Other early interments at Tintern include Nicholas of Llandaff, thought to be the Nicholas who was treasurer of Llandaff Cathedral (c.1196–1218; Hemp, 1938, 131). He is thought to have been buried under the new church floor in the late thirteenth century (Robinson, 2002, 23).

If the proposed dating of the Tintern effigies is correct, some (if not all) of the Tintern fragments almost certainly originate from the Marshall monuments. If a later date is embraced in light of the re-dating of the military effigy from Dorchester (Lankester, 1986, 158), they may represent post-mortem monuments erected to the Marshalls after their deaths. The dating remains to some degree subjective, particularly in the light of the cautious reconsideration of the thirteenth-century effigies in the Temple Church in London, now thought to best fall somewhere between 1240 and 1280 (Armstrong, 2009; Lankester, 2010, 133).

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APPENDIX 1

Stone sources for effigies c.1240-1550: a preliminary list (key to figure 14)

All dates are approximate, being based on previous attributions, and should be used with caution. Dashed lines indicate sources, not supply routes.

Dundry Quarry (inferior oolite)

Bristol – various

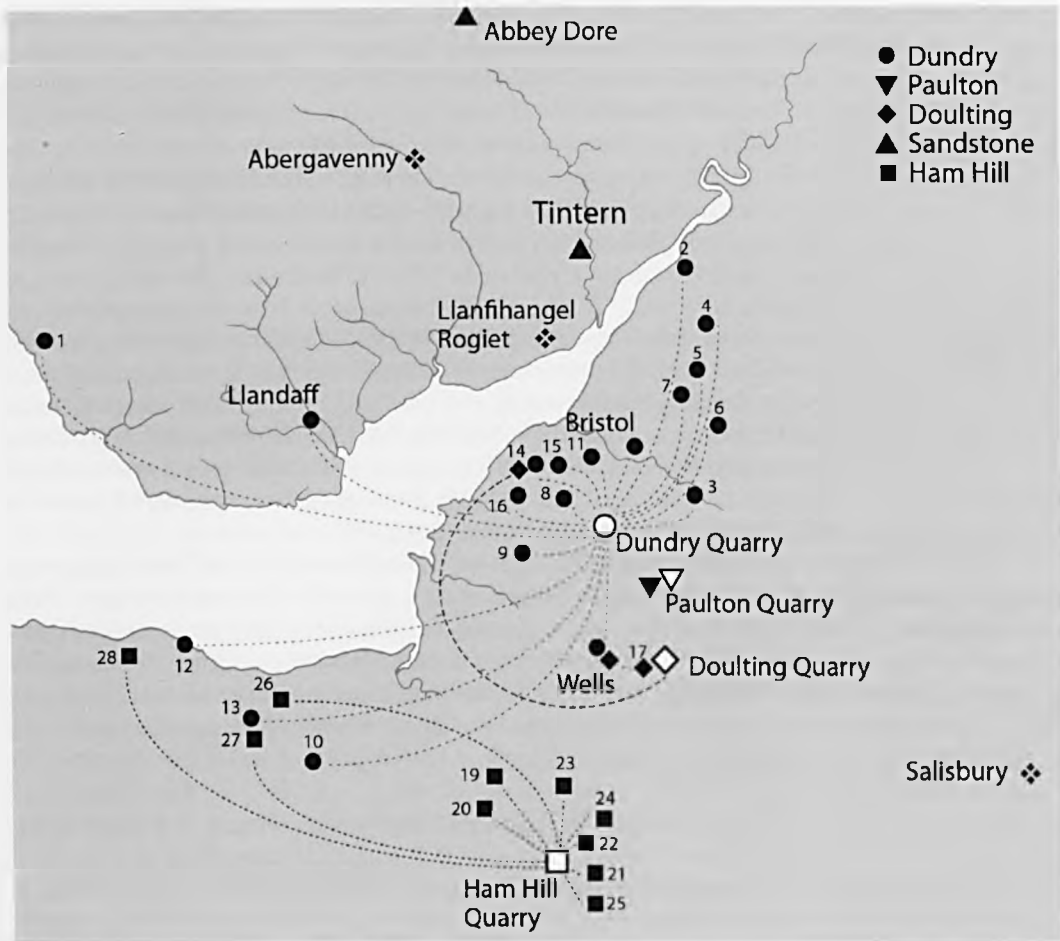


Fig. 14: Distribution of effigies by stone type. (Copyright: National Museum of Wales).

Carmarthen (St Peter) c.1240-45.

Devon:

Iddesleigh c.1250

Glamorgan:

Llandaff

1. Margam Abbey: c.1240-50

Gloucestershire:

2. Berkeley (St Mary the Virgin), three effigies: 1280-90; 1290-1300; c.1310

3. Bitton (St Mary the Virgin): c.1360

4. Cromhall (St Andrew): 13th-century?

5. Iron Acton (St James the Less), six effigies: c.1315; c.1375; c.1397; late medieval; 1631; c.1430

6. Pucklechurch (St Thomas of Canterbury), 2 effigies: *c.* 1360; *c.* 1325
 7. Winterbourne (St Michael), 2 effigies: *c.* 1400; *c.* 1400

Somerset:

8. Backwell (St Andrew) *c.* 1466.
 9. Churchill (St John Baptist), 2 effigies: 1290-1300; *c.* 1300
 10. Combe Flory (SS Peter and Paul), two effigies: 1327; *c.* 1327
 11. Long Ashton (All Saints), four effigies: *c.* 1280; *c.* 1290; *c.* 1470; *c.* 1470
 12. Minehead (St Michael): *c.* 1410
 13. Nettlecombe (St Mary the Virgin): 1260s
 14. Tickenham (SS Quiricus & Julitta), three effigies: *c.* 1240-50; *c.* 1260; *c.* 1300
 Wells Cathedral, three effigies: *c.* 1330; *c.* 1330; *c.* 1449
 15. Wraxall (All Saints), two effigies: *c.* 1500; *c.* 1500
 16. Yatton (St Mary the Virgin), four effigies: *c.* 1325; *c.* 1330-40; *c.* 1470; *c.* 1470

Worcestershire:

- Pershore Abbey: *c.* 1280
 Worcester Cathedral: *c.* 1240-50

Douling Quarry:

Wells Cathedral

17. Shepton Mallet, Somerset, two effigies: 1240s
 14. Tickenham, Somerset, two effigies: 1240s

Local Lias near Bitton:

Bitton (St Mary the Virgin), Gloucestershire: *c.* 1240

Light coloured calcareous sandstone:

- Dore Abbey: *c.* 1240-50 (local sandstone)
 Hereford Cathedral: *c.* 1290 (Old Red Sandstone)
 18. Crickhowell (St Edmund), Breconshire: 'Sir Grimbald Pauncefote', *c.* 1305 (Old Red Sandstone)
 Tintern Abbey: *c.* 1240-60 (local sandstone)

Calcareous grit:

Abergavenny: (Eva de Cantelupe) *c.* 1260

Ham Hill Quarry:

19. Aller, Somerset: 1260-1330
 20. Curry Rivel, Somerset: 1260-1330
 21. Brympton D'Evercy, Somerset: *c.* 1270
 22. Chilthorne Domer, Somerset: 1260-1330
 23. Kingsdon, Somerset: *c.* 1270-80
 24. Limington, Somerset: *c.* 1330

- 25. Pendomer, Somerset: 1320-25
- 26. Stamford Brett, Somerset: c.1260-1330
- 27. Nettlecombe, Somerset: 1260-1330
- 28. Porlock, Somerset: 1260-1330

Paulton local stone:

Paulton: late thirteenth century..

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THREE VISITORS TO GWYNLLŴG AND GWENTLAND TOWARDS THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

By Ralph A. Griffiths

The art of describing and characterizing regions - their landscape and seascape, sites and buildings, and their inhabitants - was increasingly popular from the second half of the sixteenth century. Curiosity about history and language, and appreciation of spectacle and beauty, among other considerations, explain why this interest has never ceased. Gwenllian Jones was an enthusiastic, sprightly and vigilant observer of the historic landscape, both in Gwent where she and her husband, David, made their home and in other locations with which they had associations. Among Gwenllian's many interests was John Edward Lee, a nineteenth-century antiquary who visited and then settled in Monmouthshire. She was fascinated by other antiquary-travellers, too, not least as they appear in the pages of *The Gwent County History*, of whose publication she was the single most energetic advocate. Three of them recorded their impressions at the end of the Middle Ages and one at least may have walked close to the site of Gwenllian's and David's home near the later medieval Tredegar park.

The valleys and vales of south-east Wales, and the Severn estuary that borders them, have attracted many an admiring visitor; indeed, the Wye valley came to be regarded as one of the most celebrated locations in modern Britain.¹ There had, however, been earlier surveyors of this region. Marcher lords in the later Middle Ages periodically ordered surveys to be made of their lordships, though these were mainly concerned with recording rents and assessing the effectiveness of courts, and only tangentially with the physical environment and buildings of the countryside and how people related to them.² The new breed of chorographers and topographers of the late sixteenth century relied heavily on John Leland's 'Commentaries', the wide-ranging notes which this experienced traveller made during his journeys in England and Wales in the 1530s - 'a whole worlde of thynges very memorable'.³ Written up mostly in English, these came to be known later as his 'Itineraries', which included visits to Wales during the years 1536-9 that coincided with critical changes to the constitutional, political and religious relationship between Henry VIII's realm and his Welsh dominion. Several of Leland's asides indicate that he was aware that he was observing the country just when the first Act of Union was being passed (1536) and the dissolution of the monasteries was under way after 1536.⁴ His descriptions of 'Gwynllŵg' and 'Gwentland' - the handful of medieval lordships between the rivers Rhymni and Wye which under his very nose were being formed into the

¹ J. Mitchell, 'Piercefield and the Wye Tour, 1740-1800', in Gray, M. and Morgan, P. (eds), *The Gwent County History, Volume 3: The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (Cardiff, 2009) 381-91; *idem*, *The Wye Tour and its Artists* (Almeley, 2010).

² For example, Davies, R.R., *Lords and Lordship in the British Isles in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2009) 89-90, 193 (Newport, 1386); Pugh, T.B. (ed.), *The Marcher Lordships of South Wales, 1415-1536* (Cardiff, 1963) 138-75 (including the lordship of Newport, 1500); and, later, Rees, W. (ed.), *A Survey of the Duchy of Lancaster Lordships in Wales, 1609-1613* (Cardiff, 1953), including the lordships of Monmouth, Three Castles and Caldicot.

³ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) s.n. (henceforward *ODNB*).

⁴ Toulmin Smith, L. (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, 4 vols (London, 1906-10), vol. 4 (1909) 167; *idem*, *The Itinerary in Wales of John Leland in or about the years 1536-1539* (London, 1906) vii.

new county of Monmouth - were of a landscape that in its essentials was directly in touch with the Roman and medieval past.

Nor was Leland the first visitor to this part of Wales to record his impressions. William Worcestre, a Bristolian who is commonly regarded as England's first antiquary and topographer, spent three days in September 1478 in the lower Wye valley; his notes of the visit survive, mostly in Latin, including acknowledgement of the information he gleaned from Welshmen and others whom he met.⁵ Both he and Leland embarked on their travels and recorded their observations largely out of personal interest (though Leland, a royal chaplain, had earlier been commissioned by Henry VIII to investigate the books owned by religious houses throughout the country). A third visitor, Dr Thomas Phaer, a writer and physician - he is known as England's first paediatrician - travelled on official business: sometime during 1551-3, he inspected the Welsh coastline from Chepstow to Chester and compiled a report in English on the ports and havens and their customs administration, including those along the northern shore of the Severn estuary.⁶ When taken together, these early travel accounts, written over a period of seventy or so years, shed light on places and people as they appeared to three intelligent observers, and at the same time hint at the changes that were taken place in the humane environment beside the Severn and up-country in the valleys and vales of south-east Wales. All three visitors were Englishmen. William Worcestre, who was born in Bristol in 1415, and John Leland, a Londoner who was born about 1503, approached south-east Wales across the Severn from south Gloucestershire, whereas Thomas Phaer, born in Norwich about 1510, had married a Pembrokeshire widow and may have travelled from his home near Cilgerran, south of Cardigan, to begin his 'perambulation' of the Severn shore at Chepstow. Each had different purposes and interests, so that their observations are complementary as well as, occasionally, overlapping.

William Worcestre was particularly fascinated by the Severn crossing itself and the great abbey of Tintern, where he spent two days. Brought up in Bristol, he may well have been familiar with the northern shore of the Severn, and although he spent most of his adult life as a much-travelled secretary and agent of the East Anglian soldier and landowner, Sir John Fastolf, he re-visited the west of England from time to time. Moreover, he had contacts in south Wales and among the immigrant Welsh community in the West Country who provided useful information to augment his record of his journey in 1478. Among them was John Griffyth, a Bristol merchant who lived at Westbury, near Bristol, while 'a man from Wales' provided him with information about the river-systems of south-east Wales, though the estimated distances between the several rivers may have been erroneous unless his informant was using 'Welsh' as opposed to 'English' miles.⁷ As he prepared to cross the Severn at Aust Cliff, he was shown a record of the *obits* of some of the founders of Tintern abbey 'registered in an ancient calendar'. At Tintern itself, William Powell was able to tell him more about the rocks, grounds and bars in the Severn channel which Worcestre has just seen.⁸

⁵ Worcestre, William, *Itineraries*, Harvey, J.H. (ed.), (Oxford, 1969); Worcestre, William, *The Topography of Medieval Bristol*, Neale, F. (ed.), (Bristol Record Society, 51, 2000). For Worcestre, see *ODNB*, s.n.

⁶ Robinson, W.R.B., 'Dr Thomas Phaer's Report on the Harbours and Customs Administration of Wales under Edward VI', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 24 part 4 (1972) 485-503 (hereafter *BBCS*). For Phaer, see *ODNB*, s.n.; he had been MP for Carmarthen Borough in 1547 shortly before making his survey.

⁷ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 263, 67, 199-201; Neale, *Topography*, 253. Leland noted that Welshmen estimated the distance between Caerleon and Chepstow as eight miles, 'but in deade it may be counted xii. English myles': *Wales*, 44.

⁸ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 55, 75; and for other informants, 57-9, 197, 285.

On Thursday, 3 September 1478, Worcestre took a boat from Bristol down the River Avon and then rode on horseback to Aust Cliff, where he spent the night. Next day he crossed by ferry to Chepstow in time for dinner, before re-mounting for the journey to Tintern. He spent two days there and then returned on 7 September to Chepstow and the ferry to Aust Cliff, ending up at Westbury on Trym before nightfall.⁹ In the course of the ferry crossings, he saw (so his diary records) Denny island, which rose out of the Welsh grounds in the estuary some two miles from King Road, outside the entrance to the Avon; he estimated that the island was three bow-shots in length and he could make out the sea-gulls (or mews) nesting there.¹⁰ He noted too the hazards of the crossing: the Gruggy rock, some two bow-shots in length and the same in breadth, situated towards the Welsh side of the channel near the haven at Caldicot, and (he thought) a mere quoit's throw from the English stones, which were one bow-shot across. Between the rocks was the dangerous passage known as The Shoots, some five miles from King Road and about the same distance from the chapel of St Tewdric the anchorite which was perched on a rock at the entrance to the River Wye.¹¹ Worcestre learned, too, about Charston rock, on the Welsh side of the channel between St Tewdric's chapel and the Gruggy rock some two miles away; it seemed to rise high out of the water and be as broad as a stone's throw. Opposite St Tewdric's chapel another rock was just as big and barely a stone's throw from Aust Cliff on the mainland. The pool near Charston rock, however, provided safe anchorage for large ships that had to drop anchor at low water. As for the round rock called The Bench, only when it was covered by the tide could a ship make ready to sail across the channel to Wales.¹² Worcestre's record of historical hydrography in the triangle between the River Avon, Aust Cliff and the mouth of the Wye, and the configuration and dimensions of rocks, islands and grounds that needed careful negotiation by boats, ships and the Aust ferry, especially at low tide, helps to explain the nature of shipping in what he called the Severn sea.

After his arrival at Tintern, he began to survey the various buildings of the abbey which was still a working monastery in 1478. He recorded the dimensions of the large cloister, the nave and the choir and transepts: he noted their length, breadth and height, the number of arches spanning the main church, the great north window where he counted fourteen glazed lights, the infirmary chapel – as long as sixty of his steps – and the chapter house, where he estimated that twenty-four of 'my steps or paces make 12. yards... and [perhaps growing tired] 50. yards make 85. of my paces or steps'. The great belfry over-topped the middle arch of the choir. The main vaulting he calculated was as high as eleven fathoms, each fathom measuring six feet. He admired the clerestory windows above the nave arches and judged them to be of the same proportions – though not of the same size – as those of Westminster abbey which he would have known during his years of service in Sir John Fastolf's household. His measurements were hardly mathematically precise, and his poor sight – from only one eye – may have made his pacing erratic, but otherwise his is an exceptional architectural description of one of Wales's greatest medieval buildings fifty years before it was dissolved and allowed to decay.¹³ At one stage, perhaps in preparation for his journey, Worcestre noted that a certain Potter

⁹ *Ibid.*, 37; Neale, *Topography*, 270-1.

¹⁰ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 75-7, 141.

¹¹ J.H. Harvey translated Worcestre's 'Tyryacle' and 'Tiriacus' as Tecla, but Tewdric, who is traditionally associated with Mathern nearby, is preferable; Worcestre had noted that the chapel was near Mathern, just a mile from Chepstow, and John Leland called it St Tereudacus's chapel.

¹² Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 77, 141; Neale, *Topography*, 272-3.

¹³ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 58-61; cf. Robinson, D.M., *Tintern Abbey*, 4th edit. (Cardiff, 2002); *idem*, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology, 1130-1540* (London, 2006) 282-5. For Worcestre's disability, see *ODNB*, s.n.

of Hanham, east of Bristol, produced a pot for the still to be made for Dom Dan Walter Brockweir at Tintern; he was perhaps a Cistercian monk and herbalist at the abbey, and Worcestre may have delivered the pot for him!¹⁴ The visit took three days, during which Worcestre kept a note of his travelling expenses of 3*s.* 2*d.*, including for horse fodder, shoeing, repairs to his saddle, and medicine for his horse. They were well worth it.¹⁵

John Leland's travel plans were much more ambitious. On one occasion he crossed at the Aust ferry, as Worcestre had done, and then journeyed through much of south Wales as far as the south-west peninsula; he also travelled extensively in central and north Wales. These journeys took place during 1536-9. As far as Gwynllŵg and Gwentland are concerned, his surviving 'Commentaries' or 'Itineraries' are less forthcoming about sources of information to supplement his own observations and reading. He recorded that he was told certain things from time to time during his journey, but rarely by whom. He mentioned Caerleon, 'where I lay', so presumably he was able to describe the town at first-hand, and he seems to have taken notes while standing in Monmouth.¹⁶ As for written sources, his description in Latin of the walls and ditches around Monmouth may have been taken from an official survey of a town that was part of the royal duchy of Lancaster, while more obviously he relied on Gerald of Wales's 'Itinerary of Wales' of almost 250 years earlier to describe the rivers of Breconshire (and perhaps elsewhere).¹⁷ These are quite meagre indications of his sources. However, it is likely that he augmented his knowledge by conversations with the gentlemen whom he mentioned individually in the course of his account, among them members of the Morgan and Kemeys families.

Although Leland, like William Worcestre, took the ferry from Aust to the 'further bank', he was less interested in the channel itself, and more concerned with the river-systems of the south-east, from the headwaters to the havens at the river mouths, and the main buildings and their owners in the valleys and vales.¹⁸ He echoed the distinctions between Gwynllŵg and Gwentland, marked by the Ebbw river, and between what contemporaries referred to as High Gwentland of the mountains and Gwentland Isaf (or Low) of the coastal vale, with an intermediate zone to the north of the great forested ridge.¹⁹

He observed the landscape along the Severn shore, south of the highway (or 'causey') from Newport to the River Rhymni, to be 'sumwhat low and fulle of dikes to drene it', so that plenty of beans and corn could be grown. The only wooded part of this district was the park which the dukes of Buckingham (as lords of Newport) had previously owned, three miles west of Newport along the highway; but its deer had since disappeared. Further north, towards Caerleon, pasture and woodland were more common, while the Rhymni valley was well-wooded, with interspersed corn fields in the parishes of Bedwas and Machen. He noted in extraordinary detail how many springs and brooks flowed into the Rhymni especially at Dyffryn Risca, including from some parishes in Glamorgan. To the north were 'rughe hilles and wilde valeis and plenty of wood'.²⁰

¹⁴ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 78-9.

¹⁵ Neale, *Topography*, 267.

¹⁶ A husbandman also told him about the Garren brook in Archenfield that rose in a wood called the 'Grege' (Crug), six miles north-east of Monmouth: Leland, *Wales*, 44, 46-7.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 45-6, 104.

¹⁸ He believed that the crossing was about three miles: *ibid.*, 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

Between the Rhymni and the Ebbw, Leland described a land that was also mostly hilly, better for cattle than for corn; though a very high hill called Twmbarlwm was pointed out to him, he did not associate it with the prehistoric enclosure or the Norman motte on its crest.²¹ Although his information about the vales of Gwentland was more sketchy, he did notice the distinctive Old Red Sandstone of the underlying geology which meant that the soil of ‘al Venteland is of a darke reddische yerth ful of slaty stones, and other greater of the same color’. The country was well replenished with woods, especially in the huge lordship of Abergavenny which ‘maketh the cumpace of Hye Venteland’; but it was also fertile in corn-growing, though the inhabitants were inclined to ‘study more to pastures’ and the countryside was already ‘wel inclosed’ by landowners.²² This was a sound landscape geographer’s appraisal.

Worcestre had not ventured further than Tintern along the Wye, and his belief that the river’s source was in the mountains ten miles beyond Brecon was mistaken; but curiosity (if nothing else) enabled him to gather details of its middle course as it made its way past Goodrich castle and Monmouth castle five miles away, and then on to Tintern abbey and Chepstow castle, where it flowed past St Tewdric’s rock before entering into the ‘great Severn’. Worcestre’s knowledge of rivers to the west was less precise: he knew that the Usk and the Taf also rose in mountainous country west-north-west beyond Abergavenny, and then flowed to the Severn at Newport and Cardiff.²³ John Leland, on the other hand, was aware of the River Ebbw because one of the Morgans had a house ‘about the farther ripe of Elboith ryver’. He knew this river was wider than the Rhymni and that it rose ‘yn Hy Wentelande about the quarter of a hille there caullid Marter [Merthyr], and rennith by estimation a xx. miles yn lenght, and goith by it self ynto Severne se about a mile beyounde the mouthe of Wiske that cummith by Newporte’.²⁴ He rightly appreciated that the Rhymni was the boundary between mid-Gwentland and Glamorgan. As to the upper reaches of the Wye, which he could have observed when he made his way from Monmouth to Hereford, he noted that its tributary the River Monnow rose in ‘Ewysland’ and ‘geteth a prety botom at Trewen, a gentilman’s place a x. myles from Monemuth’, which suggests that he had seen the river at this spot.²⁵ Of freshwater fish, he commented that ‘In the Wy River be umbers, otherwise graylinges, yn Walsch, as I remembre, cawllid caugin’.²⁶ Likewise, Worcestre had noted that various small boats used the havens of Cardiff, and Newport and Caerleon on the Usk, and especially at Tintern, Chepstow and ‘Betysley-water’ (Beachley) at the mouth of the Wye, while larger ships bound for Bristol could moor off the havens to unload their goods before proceeding up the Avon to The Back (later known as Welsh Back) in the port of Bristol.²⁷ John Leland learned (so he said) that Portskewett was situated between Chepstow and Caerwent at the mouth of a small stream that also joined the Severn. Once again, his knowledge of the Severn shore further to the west was more detailed. He gathered that between Usk mouth and the River Rhymni there was no haven or ‘cummyng in meete for shippes’ and ‘no very notable thing’. He

²¹ *Ibid.*, 13-14; see Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, T. and Howell, R. (eds), *The Gwent County History, Volume 2: The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070-1536* (Cardiff, 2008), fig. 2.

²² Leland, *Wales*, 44-5.

²³ Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 67, 199-201. Some of his distances were erroneous, whether by Welsh or English measurement.

²⁴ Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 84; cf. *idem*, *Wales*, 13-14.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 46-7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 49. He may have mistaken the Welsh word for grayling; but the manuscript is damaged at this point and Leland may have intended ‘glas-gangen’, grayling.

²⁷ Neale, *Topography*, 147.

found the banks of the Severn were ‘clyvid inough’ to prevent the sea from ‘raging’ into the low ground of Gwentland - the famous banks and gouts that had been maintained for centuries.²⁸

For Leland, the rivers were there to be crossed by ford or bridge as he travelled from place to place. In his day, all the bridges were of wood and vulnerable to decay and disaster. That across the Wye at Chepstow, a long span, seems to have been ruinous. He found those at Newport and Caerleon intact, as were the important bridges that eased communication into Glamorgan at the crossings of the Rhymni and the Ebbw. Pont Rhymni carried the highway from Newport and was situated two miles from the Severn sea, with the village of Rumney or (as he noted in Welsh) Tredelerch nearby; it stuck in his mind because David Kemmeys lived just a mile away. Pont Basaleg, over the Ebbw, was two miles above the confluence of the Ebbw and the Usk, and over it ran the highway from Newport to Cardiff.²⁹

Above all, the highways and bridges enabled Leland to visit the castles and towns of Gwynllŵg and Gwentland and the country homes of prominent families. His ‘Commentaries’ shed light on the changing townscapes. South-east Wales had one of the greatest densities of castles in medieval Britain, but by the sixteenth century the majority were either ruinous or their sites deserted. Leland could not fail to notice some of the great stone piles. The two that impressed him most were the largest in the region and were still inhabited. Indeed, Raglan, in his day, was a new castle whose rebuilding as a veritable palace had begun less than a century before he arrived. He noted that the Herbert family had ‘buildid al the beste logges of the castel of Ragelande’, so turning it into ‘a very fair and a pleasant castel’, with two ‘goodly parkes adjacent to castle’; to his mind it was appropriately situated almost equidistant from Chepstow and Abergavenny.³⁰ Curiously he said relatively little about Chepstow castle, though he must have passed it after landing in the Wye estuary from Aust. He reported it as standing ‘fayr and strong not far from the ruin of the bridge’; he had heard that one tower in the castle was called ‘Longine’, presumably the great Norman tower which was rectangular.³¹ Other castles were impressive in their way – ‘faire’, in Leland’s vocabulary – but hardly meriting further comment: Usk (or Bryn-buga) was ‘gret, strone and fair’, Abergavenny ‘faire’ and Newport ‘very fair’. More distinctive was Caldicot castle because (Leland noted) it belonged to the king in Low Gwentland and was not far from the bishop of Llandaff’s fortified manor house at Mathern, which he described as a ‘a preaty’ pyle; someone told him that Henry VII, who was born in Pembroke castle, was conceived in Caldicot castle – which is possible.³² Monmouth seemed an old castle, situated near the market place on a hill; there, he noted, Henry V had been born.³³ Ruined castles had interest for Leland only as monuments in the landscape, for example, Castell Coch and Castell Bychan, just outside the south side of Parc Bychan which had belonged to the duke of Buckingham.³⁴

²⁸ Leland, *Wales*, 43, 14.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-15. William Worcestre also recorded the Rhymni bridge, such was its importance: Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 197. Leland noted two other timber bridges over the Rhymni, Pont Bedwas (‘birche’) and Pont Llanedern, four miles lower: Leland, *Wales*, 35.

³⁰ Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 91; *idem*, *Wales*, 45. See Kenyon, J.R., *Raglan Castle*, rev. edit. (Cardiff, 2003).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 43; cf. Turner, R., *Chepstow Castle*, rev. edit. (Cardiff, 2006) 27-32.

³² Leland, *Wales*, 43-5; Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, *Gwent County History, Volume 2* (2008), fig. 42 (Mathern palace). For a visit by Henry’s mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, to the vicinity shortly after the baby was born, see Griffiths, R.A. and Thomas, R.S., *The Making of the Tudor Dynasty* (2nd edit., Stroud 2005) 57.

³³ Leland, *Wales*, 46.

³⁴ Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 84, 91; Leland, *Wales*, 12. The former may be identified with the motte at Castleton, the latter with the motte at Greenfield; according to Leland, Castell Coch belonged to a Vaughan.

Five or six 'English miles' from Chepstow, in a great wood under a hill, stood more 'notable ruines of a castel cawlded Trogy' beside a small brook, and even larger was Tregrug, two miles from Usk and otherwise known as Llangybi because it stood in the parish of St Cybi.³⁵

Leland was more fascinated by the newer manor houses and the families who lived in them by the sixteenth century; he mentioned some of the latter so frequently that he may have visited them and received information for his travelogue. He certainly made a list of the important 'Gentilmen' of Gwynllŵg. The Morgan family and their homes especially caught his attention. Indeed, it was one of the Morgans who 'tolde me' about lodges built recently at Raglan castle.³⁶ The senior branch of the family resided at Tredegar, in the house not far from the River Ebbw that predated the Renaissance building of the seventeenth century. Leland found it 'neither a castle nor a pile' but rather 'a very faire place of stone' belonging to Mr William Morgan, who was worth 300 marks (£200) in land.³⁷ Another Morgan's house at Machen he judged 'a fair house' beside the River Rhymni; he would also have been 'a man of fair landes, if his father had not devidid it partely to other of his sunnes'. Pencoed, where Sir Thomas Morgan (died 1566) was living, seemed 'a fair maner place', two miles from the Severn. Two other Morgans, one of them 'a man of meane landes', were living in the town of Newport, while yet another, called John Morgan, could be found in Llanbedr parish in Low Gwynllŵg.³⁸ The second family which Leland encountered were the Kemeys, from whom he may have received hospitality, though he said little beyond locating some of their houses. Roger Kemeys lived in Newport and had lands worth forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.) a year. Henry Kemeys, 'a man of meene', lived at Maesglas, some three miles west of Newport, while David Kemeys, the richest of them at £40 in landed income, lived about a mile above Pont Rhymni.³⁹ He also seems to have met Thomas Lewys, of an up-and-coming family whose lands straddled the Rhymni in Glamorgan and Gwynllŵg; he was living at 'Mairin' (probably Marshfield), two miles from the Severn shore.⁴⁰

Leland may have known Mid- and High Gwentland less well, apart from the Wye valley, at least to judge by the sparse comment on their landowning families. Aside from Raglan castle and its builders, he may have seen, at Troy, an older house belonging to the Herberts, situated no more than 500 'paces' to the west of Monmouth, while at Trewen on the Monnow he recorded 'a gentilman's place', some ten miles north of Monmouth.⁴¹

In short, Leland's comments reflect the social revolution of the later Middle Ages whereby gentry families of Welsh ancestry made their mark and largely replaced the aristocratic marcher lords and their officials as the leaders of local society; they were owners of substantial properties in town and countryside by the time Leland arrived. He may have met a number of them, and even, like an itinerant Welsh poet, stayed at their homes during his travels.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 42-5; Newman, J., *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000) 311-13 (for Tregrug). He also noted Llanfair Discoed castle in Low Gwentland, almost two miles north of Caerwent.

³⁶ Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 91.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 84; cf. Leland, *Wales*, 12-14. See J.G. Jones, 'Landownership and Power, 1530-1642', in Gray and Morgan, *Gwent County History, Volume 3*, 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-6; Leland, *Wales*, 14; *idem*, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 85. See Newman, *Gwent/Monmouthshire*, 371 (the remains of Plas Machen) 325-8 (Pencoed castle). Sir Thomas succeeded his father, Sir William Morgan, at Pencoed in 1542, so Leland evidently amended his travel notes: J. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire, Volume 4, Part 2* (London, 1932) 213-14.

³⁹ Leland, *Wales*, 14-15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 46-7.

It is clear that Leland, unlike Worcestre, visited the towns of Newport and of Gwentland, though it is less clear that he stayed within their walls. He tended to see Newport in relation to the Morgans' house at Tredegar and, two miles up the Usk, the town of Caerleon, which was evidently famous in the sixteenth century for its Roman past. He noted Newport's port and judged it a big town, though somewhat down at heel, its parish church overlooking it on a hill. Its gates were still intact in his time: the great stone east gate next to the bridge across the Usk, a second gate in the middle of the High Street through which people and carts passed, and a third at the town's west end. The friary not far from the town's quay below the bridge was presumably lately suppressed. 'The fairest of the toun is al yn one streate'; the rest was 'in ruine', he concluded. Nevertheless, he knew that some of the country gentry had houses in Newport.⁴²

A mile and more by footpath from Newport was Caerleon, 'a pretty stronge town', 'but I marked not whyther yt were waulled or no'. Nevertheless, he could identify some ruined walls of both the town and the castle. Leland was impressed by Caerleon. He described it as standing magnificently on the further side of the Usk. Great ships might come upriver as far as the town, as Leland believed they did in Roman times; and although Newport bridge posed an obstacle to the town's river trade, big boats were able to reach it. He heard one opinion expressed that the old Roman Christian church was near the house of one of the town's present-day residents 'where I lay'. He reported, further, that digging at Caerleon had revealed certain 'paintinges on stonis', and recently 'certeyne painted incrustamentes hard by the castel' had been found.⁴³

He was equally fascinated by the Roman civil settlement of Caerwent, not far to the east of Caerleon and which he estimated to be four miles from Chepstow. He believed that it had once been a fair and large city: he could see the remains of the four gates and most of the Roman wall was standing if 'diminished' and 'torne'; in the lower part of the walled enclosure, towards a little valley, he noticed the ruin of a 'strong' (unspecified) site – presumably the Norman motte in the angle of the walls. Within and close to the walls he counted sixteen or seventeen houses belonging to husbandmen, who presumably were now cultivating the town where Roman soldiers and townsfolk once dwelled. By contrast, Leland understood that the parish church of St Stephen was 'of new making': its earliest part, the chancel, dated to the thirteenth century. As at Caerleon, Roman remains were easily identified in the sixteenth century: the pavements of streets, foundations of great bricks, tessellated pavements, and silver and gold coins. Leland hazarded the opinion that Caerwent began to decay when Chepstow started to flourish, but here his chronology was awry.⁴⁴

Neither Usk nor Raglan ('ys bare') impressed him as towns and seemed of little significance despite their castles.⁴⁵ If he visited Chepstow after crossing the Severn, he did not tarry long. He acknowledged that it was the main town of Low Gwentland, even though there seemed some dispute as to whether its earlier name, Striguil, implied a different place. It was still strongly walled, from the end of the 'great bridge' over the Wye to the castle, but by the sixteenth century 'a great part of cumpace withyn the waulles' had been converted to meadows and gardens; yet the town's greatest asset, access to the Severn channel, meant that 'greate shyppes' could tie up at its quays on the tide.⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*, 14; Leland, *Itineraries*, vol. 4, 84.

⁴³ Leland, *Wales*, 43-5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Wales, 43; cf. Newman, J., *The Buildings of Wales: Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, 2000) 145-52. William Worcestre knew about 'the splendid city of Caerwent in the beginning of Wales', five miles from Chepstow: Worcestre, *Itineraries*, 66-7.

⁴⁵ Leland, *Wales*, 44-5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 42-3.

Further north, Abergavenny was reported to be ‘a faire waulled town, meately welle inhabited’, with a parish church and, in the suburb by the east gate, a notable priory.⁴⁷ Leland had more to say about Monmouth, newly raised to the status of the county town. It was walled and protected by two rivers, the Wye ‘to us standeth lower, and Mone [Monnow] hyer’. He transcribed a Latin description of the fortifications where the rivers themselves did not serve as a defence, that is, in the north part of the town from Monks’ gate almost to the River Wye. A great part of this wall had collapsed but there was a ‘high ditch’ still present. The account noted the three other gates, and the great bridge over the Monnow. The small church of St Thomas, he thought, had once been the centre of a suburban parish, though in Leland’s day it was a mere cell. The parish church was within the walled town, near the Benedictine priory.⁴⁸

The religious changes of Henry VIII’s reign, and the economic consequences of the dissolution of monasteries and priories, were barely evident when John Leland visited south-east Wales. Unlike William Worcestre, he did not show any appreciation of church architecture, but the closure of religious houses was forced on his attention. Although Tintern, the largest monastery in Wales, was surrendered by its abbot to the king’s commissioners in 1536, Leland did not note its suppression. Nor did he mention the dissolution of Grace Dieu abbey, which Leland described as standing in a wood near Monmouth with a rill running beside it and with very good pastures roundabout, or Llanthony priory further north, which he reported to be fair and situated between two great hills.⁴⁹ On the other hand, he did record the recent closure of lesser monasteries, including the Benedictine priory at Chepstow, the nunnery at Usk situated beside the river and ‘a flite shot’ from the castle, Abergavenny priory by the east gate of the town, Llantarnam abbey which was two miles from Caerleon in wooded country, and the priory of black monks at Monmouth close to the parish church.⁵⁰ The former priory at Goldcliff, which had belonged to a mother house in France, had been suppressed much earlier and its lands given to Henry VI’s new college at Eton in the mid-fifteenth century.⁵¹ Had he thought for a moment, Leland would have realized that the dissolution of all the houses of Gwynllŵg and Gwentland, and the sale of their considerable estates, would in short time have revolutionary social and economic as well as religious and charitable consequences for the region.

Our third visitor, Thomas Phaer, had a more focussed commission than both Worcestre and Leland, and allowed himself no personal reference. But Worcestre’s description of crossing the Severn and the natural hazards facing its shipping, and Leland’s account of the rivers and havens of Gwynllŵg and Gwentland, are complemented beautifully by Phaer’s report for the government on the ports and havens of the Severn and how their trade was managed – and had been managed well before 1551-3.⁵² He realised that the prevailing westerly and southerly winds assisted ships into the main ports of Chepstow and Newport on the northern shore. But he also detected an air of decay at Newport. It had a good harbour, opposite Clevedon in Somerset, but there were signs of silting at the mouth of the Usk. The castle and port presently belonged to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke (died 1570), whose officers issued licences and sealed cocket certificates for the payment of customs duties by

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 45, 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 45-6.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 43, 46, 50, 106.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 43-6, 49-50; cf. Williams, G., *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1997) 86-7.

⁵¹ Leland, *Wales*, 45.

⁵² Robinson, *BBCS*, 34, part 4 (1972), 492-4.

those who exported the produce of the hinterland and imported all kinds of provisions. It may have needed greater skill to negotiate The Shoots rocks and the English stones and the Gruggy, Mixom and Lady Bench rocks towards the Welsh side, but Chepstow had a good three-fathom haven at low water without significant silting in the wider and fast-flowing Wye. William Somerset, earl of Worcester (died 1589), lived in the 'fayer castell' from time to time, and his officials gave licences and cockets to importers and exporters alike.⁵³ Among the smaller havens, Phaer listed Magor, which had a pill attached to the port of Chepstow where small boats conveyed butter, cheese and other foodstuffs from the countryside to ships hove to in the channel. At Goldcliff, there was another pill for small boats to serve larger ships bound for, or leaving, Bristol; since 1467, the former priory estate had belonged to Eton College, which duly licensed the trade, though Phaer noted that no cockets were needed here.⁵⁴ Further west, the pill at Peterston and the mouth of the Rhymni could accommodate small boats, under licence from the earl of Pembroke as lord of Gwynllŵg. This was a succinct and authoritative description of the relationship between these havens, the ports of Chepstow and Newport, and Bristol as the region's entrepôt.

⁵³ Cf. Dimmock, S., 'Urban and Commercial Networks in the later Middle Ages: Chepstow, Severnside and the Ports of Southern Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 152 (2003) 56-9.

⁵⁴ Phaer seemed uncertain about Goldcliff's ownership: cf. Williams, D.H., 'The Religious Orders', in Griffiths, Hopkins and Howell, *Gwent County History, Volume 2*, 199, 201.

NEWPORT BOROUGH ORDINANCES, 1711

By David H. Williams

The author remembers with gratitude the unfailing support Gwenllian Jones gave him whilst he was editor of this journal, as well as at meetings of the Antiquarians and the Cambrians. He will always be mindful of how, despite being very ill, she attended a lecture he gave at Llangatwg Lingoed less than three months before her passing.

Introduction

In the mid-1840s, J.M. Scott and D. Morris, preparing to write their book entitled *The Ancient and Modern History of Newport* (published in Newport in 1847) utilised some deeds, they said, ‘from a musty pile of documents to which we have been kindly permitted access by Thomas Woollett, Esq., the town clerk’.¹ Amongst these deeds were a set of ordinances for the good government of Newport compiled by the borough corporation in 1711. Scott and Morris asserted that these regulations were in fact a modification of an earlier series of ordinances stipulated in 1589.²

The joint authors did not attempt any real analysis of the ordinances, but they were much used by Brynmor Pierce Jones in writing his *From Elizabeth 1 to Victoria, Newport, Monmouthshire, 1550-1850*.³ He felt that ‘many of these ordinances were based upon those of older or more important Corporations’ and he cited Cowbridge in particular. He also wrote that ‘there is an even stronger resemblance between some of these local ordinances and the provisions of various Statutes of the Realm’. By way of example, he related the ordinance regarding the measurement of corn in the market and the use of brass measures to two statutes of 1670.⁴

Fortunately a manuscript copy of the ordinances survives in the National Library of Wales, and the following is a transcription thereof. The details speak for themselves, but Newport is clearly seen as a reasonably prosperous market town and incipient port, and having a corporation endeavouring to provide good government and to uphold not only economic but also moral and spiritual standards. The ordinances also show a concern for the poor of the town, and for the health of the populace. The author, himself a native of Newport, has previously published two of the ordinances (relating to religious practice) in our journal,⁵ but now offers readers an easy-to-hand full transcription.⁶

¹ p. 15.

² p. 38.

³ Newport, 1957.

⁴ pp. 54-5.

⁵ *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 21 (2005) 107.

⁶ The author is grateful to Mr Graham Thomas, formerly of the National Library of Wales, for his assistance in the transcription of certain words.

NLW, Badminton Deeds, Group 2, No. 13,044.*Page 1.*

Newport Borough 1711 Lewis Morgan, Mayor.
in Monmouthshire

Ordinances made and agreed upon by the Assent and Consent of Lewis Morgan, Esq., Mayor, John Morgan of Tredegar, Esquire., John Morgan of Ruperra, Esq., Nehemiah Williams, Gent., Francis Pettingal, John Plumley, Roger Williams, Henry Herbert, Charles Ward, Thomas Morgan, John Jones, Richard Pettingal and James Williams, Aldermen of the said Borough, the 26th day of September 1711.

1st. Occupying the Liberties. Imprimis. We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons not being free shall hereafter occupy the Liberties of this Town that all and every such person or persons so offending shall severally forfeit for every offence 12/-, the one moiety thereof to the Mayor of this Town for the time being and the other moiety towards the Commonwealth of this Town.

2nd. Item. We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons whatsoever do make Assault, Affray or bloodshed within the Liberty of this Town upon any person or persons that every person or persons so offending shall forfeit for every such Assault and Affray, 7/-, and every bloodshed 10/-, the one moiety thereof to the Mayor, and the other moiety thereof towards the Commonwealth of this Town.

3rd. Markett free. Item. We do ordain and agree that it shall be lawful for every and all person and persons whatsoever to have free ingress and regress to this Town upon every Saturday and other Festival Days to sell their Victuals.

4th. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or persons whatsoever at any Markett day shall put Victuals to sell upon any Markett house, Bulk or Bulks, or under the Penthouses during the time of the Markett but that the same Bulks and Penthouses shall remain free to sell butter and cheese upon the said Markett days upon pain that every person so offending forfeit for every offence two shillings, the one moiety to the Mayor and the other as aforesaid.

f. 2.

5th. Item. We do ordain and agree that every person or persons within the Precinct of this Town shall pen and tyne⁷ their hedges between their Neighbours and themselves within two days after warning given them upon pain to forfeit for every default 3s/4d, the one moiety to the part grieved and the other moiety to the Common Attorneys.

6th. Two locks for the Record Chest. Item. We do ordain and agree that the Mayor of the Town for the time being and the town Clerk shall buy two Locks and maintain the same from time to time to set upon the Chest for the safe keeping of the Records.

⁷ enclose [The explanatory notes throughout this article derive principally from *Chambers English Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1990)].

7th. *Item.* We do ordain and agree that no person, Burgess or foreigner, shall come above the Barr in the Town Hall upon any Court day except he comes in his gown or Cloak decently and except he be called or one of the Aldermen to take his case upon pain to forfeit for every offence 7/-, the one moiety to the Mayor and the other moiety to the Common Attorneys for the time being.

8th. *Regrators,*⁸ *Item.* We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons shall buy any Wheat, Rye, Barley, Oats or Beans, or other Grain, Butter, cheese, Capons, hens or any kind or sort of Wildfowl, Fish, Eggs or other kind of Victuals other than such and so much as shall be spent sold or occupied in their own houses without fraud or cozen⁹ that then any such person that shall do any act contrary to this ordinance shall forfeit for every time they do commit any such act 2/-, the one moiety to the town and the other to the Informer.

9th. *Receiving Servants after 8 o'clock at night or before Day.* *Item.* We do ordain that if any person or persons within the Precincts of this Town do receive into his or their Houses Manservant or woman Servant dwelling in the said Town after 8'o'clock at night or before day unless he or they come on their Master or Mistress' Business or on some other lawful or reasonable cause that then every person or persons so receiving any man servant or woman Servant shall forfeit for every such receipt 6/8 the one moiety to the Mayor and the other Moiety to the Informers.

Page 3.

10th. *Lodging Women with Child.* *Item.* We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons shall receive harbour or lodge in his or their dwellinghouse or houses any woman begotten with child out of the liberties or Franchise of the Town being unmarried at the time of their coming to their house or Houses that every person receiving or harbouring such above the space of three days and three nights shall forfeit for every day and night more that they shall receive harbour or lodge any such woman 6/8 the one moiety to the Informer.

11th. *Foreigners to pay 40s/. to the Commonwealth.* *Item.* We do ordain and agree that no Stranger or Foreigner shall be admitted to be a freeman within this Town unless he do pay 40/. To ye Commonwealth of the said Town for the time being by them to be employed for some good use for the Commonwealth of the said Town unless he be born before his father was made free or married to the daughter or Widow of a Burgess and meaneth to be a Dweller within the town shall be free for 20s/. to be paid as aforesaid.

12th. *Demurrer.* *Item.* We do ordain and agree that no demurrer¹⁰ or Abatement be accepted or allowed in the Court of this Borough upon any action or Plaint commenced or sued under the sum of 40/. and that if any demurrer be tendered by any Plaintiff or defendant upon any declaration answer or replication to where the Action amounted to the sum of 40/. or above that then it shall be lawful as well for the plaintiff as for the Defendant against whom the Demurrer is offered or tendered yet to amend his Declaration answer or replication or to join in demurrer at his action.

⁸ Persons who bought and sold again at or near the same market thus raising the price.

⁹ cheating.

¹⁰ A plea in law that, even if the opponent's facts are as he says, they yet do not support his case.

13th. Nuisances forbidden. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or person(s) shall make any mixen¹¹ or cast any dung in the street from the Church to the Bridge nor in nor near to the Castle Ditch, Mill Street, the Bakehouse Lane, Saint Lawrence Lane, Arthurs Lane and Skinners Lane, the Castle Green or Cattle Market, nor shall suffer his or their Swine to go abroad in the places aforesaid upon pain that every (*f. 4*) person that shall do or so suffer to be done anything contrary to this Article shall forfeit for every Offence 12d to the Mayor for the time being & 12d to the Informer.

14th. Pigs to be Yoked and Pinned. Item, We do ordain and agree that no person or persons shall suffer his Swine or Pigs to go without Yokes and Pinns¹² within the Liberties of this Town upon pain to forfeit for such offence 6d to the party that receives Damage by such Pigs or Swine.

15th. Grain not to be sold 'til the Bell rings at 12 o'clock. Item. We ordain and agree that no Person either Burgess or Foreigner shall buy any kind of Grain in ye Market before the ringing of the Bell at 12 o'clock and that no foreigner buy by the space of one whole hour after the Bell be rung as aforesaid upon pain of One Shilling and fourpence for every such offence, one moiety to the Mayor for the time being and the other to the Informer.

16th. Washing within 9 Feet of Wells. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person shall wash any cloathes or other things within nine feet of any Well upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every offence 12d to be paid One Moiety to the Mayor and the other Moiety to the Informer.

17th. Breaking of Hedges. Item. We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons do break any of their neighbours Hedges within the Precincts of this Town every such Person so offending shall forfeit for every offence 3/4 the one moiety thereof to be paid to the owner of every such Hedge so broken and the one half of the other moiety to ye Mayor for the time being and the other half to the Common Attorneys for the reparation of the Highways within the Town.

18th. Horses in the Markett. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or persons shall leave any Horses upon Markett Days in the /street to the annoyance of the Marketts or the danger of any person after one proclamation made in that behalf on pain to forfeit to the Driver of them to the Pound 2d. and 2d. to the Pound Keeper.

Page 4.

19th. Constables fined. Item. We do ordain that any Constable of this Town for the time being shall pay and forfeit for every default that they or any of them shall do or neglect in not punishing Beggars haunting¹³ within this Town nor searching Inns and Alehouses or tippers in time of divine Service, or not apprehending such as use vain recreations or pastimes within this Town upon Sundays the sum of five shillings to the Commonwealth of this Town.

¹¹ dunghill.

¹² pens/enclosures.

¹³ frequenting.

20th. Small wort. Item. We do ordain and agree that all every person and persons that shall brew or make any Ale or Beer within this Town to be sold shall make for every Barrel of Ale, one Kilderkin¹⁴ of good small wort¹⁵ for the poor to have drink, and the said small wort to be boiled before it be put upon the brewing, upon pain to forfeit for every default one moiety to the party grieved or him that will inform and the other moiety to the common wealth of this Town.¹⁶

21st. Mayor to make Estreat of Fines. Item. We do ordain and agree that it shall be lawful for the Mayor of this Town for the time being after every quarter Sessions and Leet¹⁷ to make an Estreat¹⁸ of all the Amerciaments¹⁹ and fines which shall be found faulty within the said Town which shall be levied and answered by the Bailiffs within fifteen days after every such Quarters Sessions & Leet, the one half to the Mayor for the time being and the other half to the Common Attorneys for the time being to the use of the Common Wealth of the said Town the said Bailiffs for their default to be punished according to the Mayors pleasure without imprisonment of their bodies or greater fine than the value given them in charge.

22nd. Measures to be Sealed. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or persons shall sell any kind of Grain Salt or Oatmeal but by a measure without Hoop,²⁰ and that being allowed by the Mayor and his privy Seal to it – and that no Country Man or Woman shall carry any Measure to sell or buy within this Town but as aforesaid, upon pain to forfeit ten shillings for every offence to the Common Attorneys of this Town for the time being to the use of the Common Wealth of this Town.

23rd. Affrays on Market days. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or persons shall make any assault or affray within this Town on any market day upon pain to forfeit 20s/- or upon any fair day upon pain to forfeit 40s/ to the Common Attorneys of this Town for the use of the Commonwealth of this Town.

24th. Burgesses fined. Item. We do ordain that all Burgesses shall appear before the Mayor at the Courts of Pleas, Leets and Quarter Sessions to be holden for this Town at such time and place within the said Town as the Mayor for the time being shall appoint upon every summons which shall be given by the Bailiffs or either of them or to forfeit for every such default²¹ to be levied by the Bailiffs having a Precept from the said Mayor – authorizing them thereto forthwith after such default, the one moiety of which forfeiture shall be to the Mayor for the time being and the other moiety to the Common Attorneys to the use of the Common Wealth of this Town.

25th. Blown Victuals. Item, we do ordain that every Butcher within this Town that shall offer to be sold any Veal, Mutton or Lamb that is blown²² by them or by any others by their assent ... (f. 5) ... shall forfeit for every such offence 3s/4d and the meat that is so blown to the poor of this Town, and

¹⁴ A small barrel, a liquid measure of 18 gallons.

¹⁵ Unfermented malt, or malt in the act of fermentation.

¹⁶ The actual financial penalty has been omitted from this copy of the Ordinances.

¹⁷ The court-leet.

¹⁸ A true record or account.

¹⁹ A (discretionary) fine.

²⁰ 'hoop' normally refers to an encircling band.

²¹ The financial penalty is not stated.

²² blown = artificially distended, e.g. the stomachs of animals.

that no foreign Butcher shall use the Cutting or Carving any part or kind of the Victuals within this Town, upon pain of 3s/4d for every such offence or default the one moiety to the Mayor and the other as aforesaid to the Common-wealth of this Town.

26th. *Tuesdays Markett*. Item, we do ordain and allow that strangers and others that will come to buy or sell anything upon Tuesdays at the High Cross above the Gate to be toll free.

27th. *Unmarried Women keeping Chambers*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no Women shall keep Chambers within this Town or the Precincts thereof, except women who are married and such others who have Estates in Land or money or employment sufficient to maintain them upon pain to forfeit for every default 10s/ for every week after they be warned by any of the Mayors Officers to depart to the Common Attorneys of this Town to the use of the Common Wealth thereof.

28th. *Foreign Tanners*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no Tanners who do not live within the liberties of this Town shall buy any kind of Hides upon Saturdays or any other time within the said Town upon pain to forfeit for every such buying the sum of 10s/, and that no foreign Tanner shall sell any Clout Leather²³ or any other at any time except Fairs within the said Town on pain to forfeit 3s/4d to the Common Attorneys of the Town to the benefit of the Common Wealth of this Town.

29th. *Burgesses are to approve of persons being made free*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no foreign person or persons shall come free in this Town, unless he may have the goodwill of the Burgesses, and if may happen that there are but three lawful Heirs Apparent, that speak against any such person or persons, that then he or they may not be admitted to this freedom.

30th. *Offences triable by a Grand Jury*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no Kind of offence or offences which shall be committed within this Town or the precincts thereof shall be heard before any Petty Jury made before the Mayor for the time being but only by the Grand Jury made on the Qua(rter) Sessions or the Leet.

31st. *Pedlars raising Tilts*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no foreign Pedlar shall rear pitch or sitt upon any Tilt²⁴ within this Town upon Market days otherwise but upon their panniers or sheets upon the Ground upon pain to forfeit for every such Offence 6/8 to the Commonwealth of this Town.

32nd. *Buying Fish*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person or persons within this borough shall buy or sell any kind of Fish, Salmon, Sewin, Bordshed,²⁵ Sole or Flook,²⁶ or any other kind of Fish before it comes to the Bulk or Bulks of the Market House within this Town and there to remain for the space of one whole hour to the intent the officers called Siezors²⁷ appointed for that purpose may see the same upon pain that any such Buyer and Seller shall forfeit for any such offence 2/- one moiety to the Commonwealth of this Town as aforesaid and the other moiety to the Informer.

²³ Probably leather of mediocre quality.

²⁴ tilt = awning, tent, hut.

²⁵ ? the rare boar-fish, akin to a mackerel.

²⁶ the 'fluke', a flat fish, especially the common flounder.

²⁷ officials able to seize goods.

33rd. *Shares in the Marshes*. We do ordain and agree that none but Inhabiting Burgesses and such as are ... (f. 6) ... uprising or downlying from the feast of Christmas a Year or his Family lives within this Town for that time shall be admitted to have any part or parcel in the Common or Marshes belonging to this Town.

34th. *Essoin ye 4 Court*.²⁸ Item. We do ordain and agree that one Burgess may essoine ao/ another the fourth Court unless the plaintiff hath a specialty and that every foreigner against another may have the like privilege unless the plaintiff hath a specialty as aforesaid.

35th. *Travelling on Sundays*. Item. We do ordain and agree that every person who shall Travel with any pack Load or Bundle, or drive any Cattle or Carriages or ride thro' this Town to merrymaking which is usual or travel with any Vessel in the river within this Boro: on Sundays shall forfeit the sum of six shillings & eight pence for such to the use aforesaid.

36th. *Church Tax levied by Distress²⁹ and Sale*. We do ordain and agree that if any person within this Town shall at any time hereafter refuse to pay the sum rated upon him or her in lieu of Church Tax on his or her house or Lands the same being equally rated as usual and being once conveyed before the Mayor for the time being and can shew no reasonable cause not to pay the same that the Churchwardens for the time being may make a reasonable distress for the same and if it be not redeemed in three days that the Churchwardens may call two honest Neighbours to appraise the same and then to sell it for payment of the said Tax and reasonable charges returning the surplus if any there be to the owner.

37th. *Sale of Apprentices*. Item. We do ordain and agree that no person shall claim his Freedom within this Borough unless he hath been an apprentice within this Borough to a Burgess for seven Years at the least bona fide - and that all apprentices Indentures which are now in force shall be enrolled by the Town Clerk within a month from the date hereof and that for the future no apprentice shall claim his Freedom by service but such as are bound by Indentures to be made and enrolled by the Town Clerk and attested by the Mayor or two Aldermen, and that the Master who takes any Apprentice in any other manner or for a lesser time shall forfeit 40s to the Commons Attorneys of the Town to the use of the Commonwealth of this Town..

38th. *Repair of Streets*. Item. We do ordain and agree that every person within this Boro who shall not repair his Cawseys before and at the end of his house and Lands shall forfeit for every House and Lands 5s. and that such causeys shall extend in breadth to the centre of the Street against which the said House or Land shall stand..

39th. *The Clock and the Beadle's Clothes*. Item. We do ordain and agree that any person who shall at any time hereafter be rateably assessed or taxed being within this Town for his House or Lands towards the repairing of the Clock in the Market House or to buy a new one to set up in the Market House when the old one shall become not capable of repair or to the repairing of the Free School or for cloathing the Beadle may be distrained on etc. any reasonable distress made for the same by the constables for the time being and the said Distress sold rendering the surplus to the Owner.

²⁸ essoin = an excuse for non-appearance in court.

²⁹ The seizing of chattels for sale to remedy a debt.

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40th. *Raising of scandalous reports.* Item. We do ordain and agree, that if any person shall raise [*alt. rail*] any scandalous words within this Borough of any Person which words may not be actionable and yet may have ill tendency upon the reputation of the person spoken of or may occasion differences betwixt Neighbours, every person so offending shall be bound to his good behaviour and forfeit to the Common Wealth of this Town the sum of 6/8 for every offence.

41st. *Butchers to bring Hides.* Item. We do ordain and agree that every Butcher who shall bring any Beef Mutton Veal Lamb Goat or Kidd to be sold in the Market of this Town shall bring the hide and skin of every such Beef Mutton Veal Lamb Goat or Kid and also the Head Lights³⁰ Heart and Liver and expose the same to sale in open Market during all the time of Market unless they are sooner sold upon Pain to forfeit to the Commonwealth of the said Town 6/8 and if any Person or Persons inhabiting in the said Town shall buy any such Hide or Skin coming to the Market etc. before it be laid down in the Market shall forfeit the like sum of 6/8 to the use of the Commonwealth of this Town.

42nd. *Bulls unbaited.* Item. We do ordain and agree that if any person shall within this Town expose to sale any Bulls Flesh that hath not been baited he shall forfeit 6/8 and that a candle shall burn by the said meat during all the time of sale, and the Commons Attorneys shall provide a Bull Ring a collar & Rope which all persons shall use for Baiting of Bulls within this Town, the said fine to be Levied towards the Commonwealth of this Town.

43rd. *Unwholesome Meat.* Item. We do ordain and agree that if any Person shall at any time hereafter expose to sale within this Town any unwholesome meat shall forfeit 6/8 and the victuals to be burnt or thrown to the river of Usk and the said forfeiture shall be paid to the Commons Attorneys of this Town to be by them disposed of for the use of the Commonwealth of this Town.

44th. *Clerk of the Market.* Item. We do ordain and agree that the clerk of the Market for the time being shall every Monday morning for ever hereafter bring to the Mayor for the time being the three prices of Wheat in the Market of this Town the last Saturday before and that the Mayor shall weekly according to the Middle price of Wheat set out an assize for the Town and Country Bakers who shall sell any Bread within this Town which the said Bakers shall observe weekly on Pain to forfeit 6/8 to the Commonwealth of this Town and all the Bread that shall not answer the said assize – and the Clerk of the Market is to weight the Butter which shall be put to sale in the Market Bulks or anywhere in the Markets of this Town and that every Buck shall weigh four pounds, every half Buck two pounds, and every pound 16 ounces, and every Buck, half Buck or pound of Butter which shall not weigh as aforesaid shall be seized by the said clerk of the Market and given to the poor deducting to himself what the Mayor shall think fit ... (*Page 8*) ... to allow him for his trouble and that the clerk of the Market for every default he shall make shall forfeit 6/8 as aforesaid.

³⁰ ? the eyes.

45th. *Arms Defensive.* Item. We do ordain and agree that every Burgess within this Borough shall keep defensive arms in his House for preserving the peace and shall attend upon the Mayor for the time being with such arms when [he] goes about to proclaim the Fairs of this town if thereunto required, on pain to forfeit 10s. to be levied and paid to the Commons Attorneys of this Town to the use of the Common Wealth of this Town.

46th. *Refusing to be Mayor, etc.* We do ordain and agree that if any Alderman shall at any time hereafter being returned one of two in the election of Mayor by the greatest number of Aldermen & appointed by the Lord's Steward to be Mayor shall refuse the said Office and [to] take such oath and make such subjection as the Law doth or shall at such time require that the Lord's Steward shall fine such person not above £100 nor under £20, and if any persons elected to be Alderman shall refuse the same office or to take such legal oaths and [to] make such objections as the Law shall require the said Office Oaths and Subjections being tendered to such persons before the Mayor for the time being shall forfeit the sum of £10 which said forfeitures shall be paid to the Commons Attorneys of this Town for the time being to the use of the Commonwealth of this Town.

47th. *Burgesses refusing Office.* Item. We do ordain and agree that if any Burgess inhabiting or which shall inhabit within this Town shall be appointed to any ministerial office within this town by the Mayor of this Town for the time being and shall refuse to accept of the same shall forfeit any sum not exceeding £10 nor under 40s. which shall be imposed according to the Direction of the Mayor for the time being which said forfeiture shall be levied and paid to the use of the Common Wealth of this Town.

48th. *Sundays and Holidays.* Item. We do ordain and agree that any person who now doth or shall inhabit within this Town, being not otherwise exempted nor having any reasonable cause of absenting himself, shall resort every Sunday to divine service to the parish church of St Woolos and the days appointed to be observed in memory of the Deaths and Martyrdoms of the Apostles, and the days appointed in the Church of England in memory of the Nativity,³¹ Passion³² and Ascension of Christ,³³ and coming of the Holy Ghost,³⁴ Gunpowder Treason day,³⁵ the Martyrdom of King Charles the first,³⁶ the restoration of King Charles the second,³⁷ and the eighth of March – being the day of her Majesty's happy accession to the throne,³⁸ upon pain to forfeit for each default 1s.,³⁹ and that every of the persons aforesaid who shall do any manner of work, pen shop, or not keep the holy days ... shall forfeit 5s. for every offence, and that the Mayor and Aldermen for the time being, and the Bailiffs and Constables with their Maces and halberds to attend him, shall in their Gowns or cloaks walk to St Woolos Church to hear divine service and sermon, and in decent manner return back to such place as the Mayor shall appoint, and as to such persons who are inhabitants of this Town or may be at any

³¹ 25 December, Christmas Day.

³² Good Friday.

³³ Ascension Day, the Thursday after the Fifth Sunday after Easter.

³⁴ Pentecost/Whitsunday.

³⁵ 5 November.

³⁶ 30 January. (A special service was formerly printed in the Prayer Book for this day).

³⁷ 29 May.

³⁸ Accession Day – the anniversary of the Accession of Queen Anne. (The Prayer Book still provides the same forms of service for Accession Day, currently 6 February).

³⁹ 1 shilling in 1711 was equivalent in modern values to about £3-60.

time hereafter, and now are or may be stand *religione capti*,⁴⁰ or so unhappy as to dissent from the Church of England, but are exempted from the penalties of the Laws for not coming to Church by the late Statute of Indulgence,⁴¹ every such person must resort to some place allowed by Law for practise of true religious worship, and not stay at home or go to any place not allowed or, being allowed, to hear any teacher but such as is allowed for that place, on payment to forfeit 10s. for every default to the Commonwealth of this Town.

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49th. *Aldermen and Burgesses to attend at Courts.* Item. We do ordain and Agree that every Alderman & Burgess of this Town for the time being shall attend upon the Mayor for the time being summoned at all the Courts of this Borough, the Aldermen in Gowns or Cloaks and the Burgesses in decent apparel and clean Linen and without any Aprons before them and having appeared shall give due attendance and not depart without the Mayor's leave upon pain that every Alderman shall forfeit for default 5/- and every other Burgess 2/- to be levied and laid out to the use of the Common Wealth of this Town.

50th. *Rescues from the Beadle.* Item. We do ordain and agree that if any person or persons but such as are allowed as aforesaid shall with their cattle sheep or Horses graze the common Mead he or they shall pay six shillings & eight pence & if the Horses or other cattle trespassing in driving to the Pound shall be rescued from the Beadle the person who makes such rescue shall forfeit 10s. to the Common Wealth of this Town as aforesaid.

51st. *Fines to be Levied by the Bailiffs.* Item. We do ordain and agree that the Mayor for the time being shall grant his Warrant to the Bailiffs who by virtue thereof shall make reasonable distress upon every person for such offence as he shall commit in breach of any of the Ordinances aforesaid who shall account for the same upon oath before the Mayor and pay the money they shall receive to the Commons Attorneys for the time being who shall every Monday before Michaelmas⁴² upon their Oaths for all moneys received by them in their office account and how the same was laid out and return such securities or specialities⁴³ as they have taken and the money in their hands by virtue of their office to their successors within 15 days after and that the Commons Attorneys shall be chosen by the majority of voices happening in Court the first court after Michaelmas day and being Chosen sworn to the said office before the Mayor of the said court.

52nd. *Badgers and Forestallers to be prosecuted.*⁴⁴ Item. Whereas it appeareth to this court that the toll of Ancient times for Corn sold in the Market House of this Town hath for years last been lessened and diminished by the Farmers bringing in of samples into the said Market ... (Page 10) ... and the Bakers and Malsters of this Town by such samples contract for several quantities to be delivered and measured in their Houses by which practises the several statutes made against forestalling regrating

⁴⁰ Literally 'seized by religious scruple'.

⁴¹ The Fourth Declaration of Indulgence (1687, amended in 1688) allowed regulated freedom of worship.

⁴² 29 September.

⁴³ particularities.

⁴⁴ badger = hawkler – one who buys commodities to sell elsewhere; forestaller = one who buys or sells goods in advance (of a market).

and ingrossing⁴⁵ will be of little use and the poor of this Town oppressed, and the Toll arising from the sale of all corn within this Town which Toll by ancient custom of this Town is for the maintenance of the Poor will be lost. We do order and agree that the Bailiffs Constables and clerk of the Market do weekly and every week for the future take notice of all such Farmers Utterers and Vendors of corn that shall bring any to [this Town] to be sold within the Libertys of this Town and there sell or measure the same and that the said Officer do weekly return the names of such persons that shall sell and utter any corn to sale in private as aforesaid to the Town Clerk of this Town for the time being who is hereby ordered to prosecute such Farmers Utterers Vendors⁴⁶ & buyers of corn in private as aforesaid at the public charge of the Corporation.

53rd. *Foreigners to be rated.* Item. Forasmuch as it appears that several Mayors have made sundry persons Graziers, Drovers, and Scuders⁴⁷ free of this Corporation under pretence of which Freedom such persons made free as aforesaid have insisted being free of payment of all manner of Tolls by which exemption the Toll of this town is very much lessened and the charge of maintenance of the Poor increased and the Inhabitants of this Town who pay Scot and Lot⁴⁸ will in time be disabled to relieve and support their poor who by the decrease of Corn and Grain increase daily we do order and agree that every foreign Burgess and Freeman not inhabiting within this Town claiming the exemption of Freedom of Toll shall be taxed charged and the same Levied pro rata as the Benefit they shall receive and may receive by such exemption as if actually dwelling within this Corporation having regard to their Family and the benefit they receive thereby and to the end that the foregoing Ordinances and every of them may be made public, We do order and agree that notice shall be given to al the Burgesses of this Town to attend at the next court for this Town at the Guildhall which will be on Monday the first day of October next when all the Ordinances aforesaid shall be openly and Publicly read to them. And we do further order that copies of all such Ordinances as do relate to any foreigners shall be sett up and affixed to the Market house the Bridge Gate and the Middle Gates of this Town.

Lewis Morgan, Mayor
John Morgan
John Morgan
Nehemiah Williams
Francis Pettingal
John Plumley

Henry Herbert
Charles Ward
Thomas Morgan
John Jones
Richard Pettingal
James Williams

Conclusion

Ordinances once made could of course by annulled. This appears to have been the case regarding Ordinance 29 which helped to restrict the admission of newcomers as burgesses. Scott and Morris suggest that Ordinance 38 of the Elizabethan (1589) series was repealed in 1717, to make it easier for 'foreigners' to settle and prosper; the repeal cannot have applied to Ordinance 11 of 1711 as a fee of forty shillings was still payable.⁴⁹ Pierce Jones suggests 1722 as the date for cancellation of

⁴⁵ A common legal combination dating from a statute forbidding them of 1589; ingrossing = the act of buying commodities wholesale in order to sell at a higher price, clearly this was to the disadvantage of the poor.

⁴⁶ Both words basically mean the same: seller (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁴⁷ technically, one who passes or travels.

⁴⁸ A tax levied in proportionate shares for the defraying of municipal expenses.

⁴⁹ pp. 38-9.

Ordinance 29.⁵⁰ Either way, the reasons for the repeal suggest that some burgesses did not want many newcomers, referring to 'the too great observance of the thirty-eighth ordinance'. If Scott and Morris are correct in their interpretation, it is surprising that reference was made to the statutes of 1589 and not the very recent code of 1711. Be that as it may, the deed of repeal told that it was caused by 'the decay of dwelling houses, and the paucity of inhabitants within the town.' In other words, the prosperity of Newport was at stake.

⁵⁰ p. 51.

SOME ASPECTS OF METHODISM IN MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Arthur J. Edwards

In responding to the honorary assistant editor's invitation to write this article, it is entirely appropriate that it is prefaced with a reference to the life of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association's late secretary, Mrs Gwenllian Jones. The publication of this volume in her memory is evidence of the great respect and affection in which Gwenllian was held. The gap that has been left at the heart of Gwent county history organizations where she worked tirelessly for thirty years, has already been described. This article has particular relevance to Gwenllian who was a Methodist and the daughter of a Welsh-speaking Methodist Minister in Birkenhead. The modern Methodist church in which she worshipped in Newport was one where the old divisions described in this article from the Methodism of the past had long been resolved.

John Wesley and Monmouthshire

John Wesley first came to Newport on Friday 19 October 1739, the year after his famous evangelical conversion in Aldersgate Street in London. Wesley preached in Newport

on "What must I do to be saved?" to the most insensible, ill-behaved people I have ever seen in Wales. One ancient man, during a great part of the sermon, cursed and swore almost incessantly; and towards the conclusion, took up a great stone, which he many times attempted to throw; but that he could not do. - Such the champions, such the arms, against field-preaching!¹

It was nearly thirty-six years (he thought it was thirty-five) before John Wesley preached again at Newport on Monday 28 August 1775. On that occasion he preached

to a large and serious congregation. I believe it is five and thirty years since I preached here before, to a people who were then wild as bears. How amazingly is the scene changed! O what is too hard for God!²

Two years later Wesley preached again at Newport on his way between Llandaff and Bristol. He made no comment in his diary on that occasion, but the last occasion on which he preached in Newport on 27 August 1774, at the age of eighty-one, brought forth the exasperated comment: 'I hardly know such another place. The people hear and hear, and are as much moved as the benches they sit upon'. But Wesley did not feel that his labour was in vain because 'I spoke as strong as I possibly could on, "Awake, thou that sleepest!" And I judged from the number who attended at five in the morning, that it was not all lost labour'.³

Wesley had a much better reception in Pontypool, the oldest industrial town in Monmouthshire. Two days before his first sermon in Newport, he had preached at Pontypool in October 1739. Not having anywhere more convenient to preach, Wesley stood in the street in Pontypool and 'cried aloud to five or six hundred attentive hearers, to "believe in the Lord Jesus, that they might be saved."' In

¹ *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* (4 vols, Everyman's Library, 1906) vol. 1, p.234. Wesley never found field-preaching easy, but he followed the example of his colleague, George Whitefield. The journals are hereafter cited as *WJ*.

² *WJ*, vol. 4, p.54.

³ *WJ*, vol. 4, pp. 109, 296.

the evening I showed his willingness to save all who desire to come unto God through Him. Many were melted into tears. It may be that some will “bring forth fruit with patience”.⁴

On Monday 7 April 1740 ‘at the pressing instance of Howel Harris’ Wesley again set out for Wales.

In the evening I preached “repentance and remission of sins” at Llanvaches, three miles from the New Passage. Tuesday 8th, I preached at Pontypool, on, “By grace ye are saved through faith.”⁵ Wesley last preached at Pontypool at the beginning of October 1741. On Saturday 3 October, he preached on his way to Abergavenny:

A clergyman stopped me in the first street; a few more found me out soon after, whose love I did not find to be cooled at all, by the bitter adversaries who had been among them. True pains had been taken to set them against my brother and me, by men who know not what manner of spirit they are of, but instead of disputing, we betook ourselves to prayer; and all our hearts were knit together as at the first.⁶

By this time the disputes between George Whitefield and the Wesleys over the doctrine of Grace and Predestination had come to the fore. This concerned the nature and power of God’s grace in saving sinners. The followers of the sixteenth-century theologian John Calvin emphasized the absolute sovereignty of God in the matter of Election and Predestination. Calvinists even made a logical deduction from the premiss of predestination to salvation for the Elect to include an eternal decree of reprobation for those who were not among the Elect. Human perfectibility and free will had no part in God’s scheme of salvation as far as Calvinists were concerned.

John Wesley’s views on Grace were historically associated with the teaching of Jacob Arminius, a Dutch theologian who was writing about half a century later than Calvin. Arminius opposed the deterministic logic of Calvinism. Arminians insisted that God’s sovereignty did not undermine human free-will and that Jesus Christ died for all people and not only for the Elect. Wesley’s pamphlet on *Free Grace* contained the sermon he had preached in April 1739 in Bristol on the text of Romans 8: 32, ‘He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?’ Wesley said that ‘the horrible decree of predestination’ made preaching vain and destroyed the incentive of godly living. In practice people who believed that they were among the Elect seemed to have a desire to prove their election by good works which were believed to be the consequence of Grace.

Whitefield’s reply to Wesley was published in 1741. It asked Wesley to consider:

how you dishonour God by denying election. You plainly make salvation depend not on God’s free grace, but on man’s free will; and if thus, it is more than probable Jesus Christ would not have had the satisfaction of seeing the fruit of his death in the eternal salvation of one soul. ... But, blessed be God, our Lord knew for whom he died. There was an eternal compact between the Father and the Son. A certain number was then given Him, as the purchase and reward of His obedience and death. For these He prayed, John 17, and not for the world. For these, and these only, He is now interceding, and with their salvation He will be fully satisfied.⁷

⁴ *WJ*, vol. 1, p. 233.

⁵ *WJ*, vol. 1, p. 267.

⁶ *WJ*, vol. 1, p. 239.

⁷ Evans, Eifion, *Daniel Rowland and the Great Evangelical Awakening in Wales* (BTS, 1985) 129-32. Tudor, Geraint, *Howell Harris From Conversion to Separation, 1735-1750* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 82-3.

So the battle lines might seem to have been joined, but the differences between the Wesleys on the one hand and Whitefield, Howel Harris and Daniel Rowland on the other, were not insurmountable when it came to preaching the Gospel in Wales. As with all such disputes, they were exacerbated by those who used the doctrinal differences as excuses for non-cooperation. John Wesley knew that Harris and Rowland disagreed with his teaching about election and perfection. Harris defended the position of Daniel Rowland to Griffith Jones of Llanddowror in May 1741, but as late as October 1741, when Wesley preached in Pontypool, Rowland was still happy that Wesley was visiting Wales, even though Harris seemed to want the approval of Whitefield for the visit to take place. Wesley was well received by both Harris and Rowland though others tried to make mischief about doctrinal differences on the journey.⁸

Where all the religious leaders stood precisely in their attitude to strict Calvinism at this time is by no means certain. Wesley would not seem to have had a very close relationship with Daniel Rowland, but his relationship with Howel Harris in the work of the Gospel was cordial. How well did Howel Harris match up to the expectations of high Calvinism held by the Independent Minister Edmund Jones of Pontnewynydd, Prophet of the Tranch? Edmund Jones was one of a number of prominent Welsh evangelicals who met with Harris at Defynnog in 1740. Harris had preached a sermon on Assurance, which some of the Dissenters present regarded as 'ambiguous', and this led some of the Calvinists to suspect him of preaching a modified form of sinless perfection. Edmund Jones was the most ready to challenge Harris, and Jones expressed serious doubts about the possibility of meaningful association with the Methodists, although he had previously been one of Harris's assistants and had invited Harris to Pontypool in August 1738. It seems to have been George Whitefield's influence that ensured Harris's adherence to a modified form of Calvinism that kept faith in God's ultimate sovereignty while acknowledging human responsibility to respond to the free offer of the Gospel.⁹

Was the Revd Griffith Jones, rector of Llanddowror, founder of the Circulating Schools and spiritual director to Howel Harris a Calvinist? That is a question far less certain than has been suggested. Eifion Evans and Geraint Tudur have claimed him as a Calvinist and R. Tudur Jones has drawn attention to the criticism made by John Evans, Eglwys Gymun, of Griffith Jones for using Iaco ab Dewi's translation of Matthew Henry's Catechism, *Catechism o'r Scrythtur Yn Nhrefyn Gwyr y Gymmanfa* (1717) in his circulating schools.¹⁰

⁸ *WJ*, vol. 1, pp. 340-2; Evans, Eifion, pp. 132-4. Howell Harris (1714-73) was converted by the vicar of Talgarth in 1735. He grouped his followers into a society in 1736. He met Daniel Rowland (1713-90) in 1737, and he visited him at Llangeitho where Rowland, already ordained a priest, was curate to his brother, John. Daniel Rowland had been converted by Griffith Jones of Llanddowror in 1735. Harris tried unsuccessfully to be ordained to the ministry. He and Rowland became the leaders of Methodism in South Wales, but the two developed separately and quarrelled in 1750. Rowland became the leader of the Methodists in Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire.

⁹ Evans, Eifion, p. 134; Jones, David Ceri, *A Glorious Work in the World. Welsh Methodism and the International Evangelical Revival, 1735-1750* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff) 132-3, 199-201; Tudor, Geraint, p. 101.

¹⁰ Evans, p. 130; Tudur, p. 28; Jones, R. Tudur, *Relations between Anglicans and Dissenters: The Promotion of Piety, 1670-1730* (Walker, David (ed.), *A History of the Church in Wales* (CWP, 1976) 102).

One catechism doesn't make a Calvinist and Griffith Jones was not only tied to the Catechism of the Church of England but declined to become the mentor of the whole Methodist movement in Wales. Jones did not want to jeopardise the work of his Circulating Schools by being too closely associated with a revival which challenged the Established Church upon which he relied heavily for support. In the end Griffith Jones was an educator rather than a theologian. He distanced himself from the enthusiasm of his Methodist friends. He also distanced himself from the Baptist Calvinists at the time and it may have been that he kept his distance because they were Baptists rather than because they were Calvinists.¹¹

Monmouth was the first Welsh county to be visited by John Wesley. He preached his first sermon in Wales at Devauden on Monday 15 October 1739. His first convert was a poor woman who had travelled six miles to hear him, 'deeply convinced of sin, and weary of it; but found no way to escape from it'. She walked from Devauden to Abergavenny on Tuesday, and from Abergavenny to Usk on Wednesday and in the afternoon to Pontypool where 'the love of God was shed abroad in her heart. Knowing that her sins were forgiven her, she went on her way rejoicing to Cardiff'.¹²

In the early days of his ministry, John Wesley went most to Pontypool and Abergavenny, where he preached a sermon on the Pharisee and the Publican 'to the best dressed congregation I have ever yet seen in Wales' on 4 October 1741.¹³ Later Wesley more frequently visited Newport, where he found the people hard to impress, and Chepstow. On Monday 29 March 1762, Wesley preached at the New Room, the first Methodist chapel at Chepstow. 'One of the congregation was a neighbouring clergyman, who lived in the same staircase with me at Christ Church, and was then far more serious than me'.¹⁴ Wesley preached several times in Chepstow, but more often in Monmouth after 1777. In July of that year he arrived in Monmouth from Malvern Wells. The roads 'grew worse and worse till we came to Monmouth. Much disturbance was expected here, but we had none; all were deeply attentive'.¹⁵ Two years later, Wesley preached again in Monmouth on 12 August, 'at six in the evening, but did not observe one inattentive person then, any more than at five in the morning'.¹⁶ Wesley's first good impression of the people of Monmouth remained to the end. In May 1781 this was assisted by his stay in the home of 'Mr. C, a Justice of the Peace, one of the greatest men in the town', and this was repeated at his next visit on 9 August 1784, when 'we had a large congregation, both of rich and poor'.¹⁷ His last visit to Monmouth was made in 1788 at the age of eighty-five.¹⁸

The whole of the county of Monmouth was part of the Glamorgan Methodist Circuit until 1796. In 1794, the Revd James Buckley was appointed to look after the circuit which extended from Chepstow to Llanelly, Carmarthenshire. In 1808, the Circuit was divided and Monmouth became the head of the new circuit which included the whole area that was later part of the circuits of Abergavenny, Pontypool, Chepstow, Ross and Cinderford. In 1811, the Calvinistic Methodists severed their connection with the Church of England and created a new denomination.¹⁹

¹¹ Jones, David Ceri, pp. 118,205; Stewart, Howard R., *A Dazzling Enigma. The Story of Morgan Edwards* (University Press of America, 1995) 55-6.

¹² *WJ*, vol. 1, pp. 233-4.

¹³ *WJ*, vol. 1, p. 339.

¹⁴ *WJ*, vol. 3, pp. 82-3.

¹⁵ *WJ*, vol. 4, p. 106.

¹⁶ *WJ*, vol. 4, p. 165.

¹⁷ *WJ*, vol. 4, p. 207.

¹⁸ *WJ*, vol. 4, p. 293.

¹⁹ Young, David, *The Origin and History of Methodism in Wales and the Borders* (1893) 61.

Methodism in Monmouthshire from Wesley's death to the Twentieth Century

The progress of Methodism in Monmouthshire in the half century after the death of John Wesley in 1791 is best assessed from the Returns for South Wales of the Religious Census of 30 March 1851, edited by Professors Ieuan Gwynedd Jones and David Williams in 1976. Copies of the Returns for Methodists in Monmouthshire had previously been seen by Mr Arthur Gray-Jones who analysed them and published them in *Bathafarn: the journal of the Historical Society of the Methodist Church in Wales*, 19 and 20 for 1963 and 1964.

By 1851, there were twenty-four Calvinistic Methodist churches in Monmouthshire, mostly in the industrial part of the county where they had developed from the immigration of workers from west Welsh-speaking Wales who brought their religion with them. There was one Calvinistic Methodist church in Chepstow Registration District, at Gaerlwyd, not far from Llanvaches the home of Welsh Nonconformity through William Wroth in the seventeenth century. There was no Calvinistic Methodist church in Monmouth District and only three in the Pontypool District, where the Baptists predominated. There were eight in the Newport District but twelve in the district of Abergavenny where they were concentrated at the heads of the Valleys.

There were fifty-four Wesleyan Methodist churches in the returns of the Census, including four Methodist Reform churches, one in the district of Monmouth and three in the district of Newport. There were eight Wesleyan Methodist churches in the district of Chepstow and six in Monmouth. The language of worship was English in all of them. In the district of Abergavenny there were thirteen churches, nine English and four Welsh, at Tredegar, Rhymney, Ebbw Vale and Blaina. Of the eleven churches in the district of Pontypool, two were Welsh Wesleyan churches at Pontypool and Varteg. There was a Welsh Wesleyan Methodist church in Upper Machen and another in Brynmawr. Wesleyan Methodism was strong in industrial Monmouthshire. About three-quarters of the total of 8,238 who attended Wesleyan Methodist services in Monmouthshire on Census Sunday were in the districts of Abergavenny, where 3,060 people attended, Pontypool, where 2,262 attended and Newport, where 1,771 attended.

The cause of Wesleyan Methodism in the district of Pontypool was greatly assisted by the trustee and steward of the strong English Wesleyan church at Varteg, John Vipond, the local coalowner, whose nephew, Thomas Deakin, succeeded him as a trustee and was a Methodist lay preacher. Deakin also influenced the building of a chapel at Blaenavon.²⁰ The six Wesleyan Methodist churches in the district of Monmouth with a total of 498 attenders on Census Sunday, included the strong church of St. James, built in St James Street in 1837 to replace a previous building that had become too small for purpose. The church of St. James with seating for 340 people had a congregation of more than two hundred in 1851 in a beautiful classical building designed by the architect, G.V. Maddox of Monmouth.²¹

Divisions within Methodism after John Wesley's death produced not only the radical Methodist Reformers but also the more numerous Primitive Methodists after 1810. By March 1835, the town of Monmouth had forty Primitive Methodist members²² and in 1851, the district of Monmouth had 429 people attending services in chapels of the Primitive Methodists compared with 498 Wesleyans,

²⁰ John Vipond, a native of Staffordshire, is named as trustee and steward of the Wesleyan Methodist church at Varteg in 1851. His nephews, Thomas Hedges Deakin, Henry Vipond Bythway, John Vipond Edmonds and John Vipond Davies, are listed as trustees of the church on 19 Feb. 1886. The list of trustees may be found under Varteg Wesleyan church records held in the Gwent Record Office (Ref. D2170).

²¹ Knighton, Donald G., 'English Speaking Methodism' in Madden, Lionel (ed.), *Methodism in Wales* (2003) 42; Bold, Revd Wyndham E., *Methodism and its Beginnings in Monmouth* (1987) 47; Jones, Anthony, *Welsh Chapels* (1996) 60.

²² Bold, p. 53.

while there were no Primitive Methodist attenders in the district of Chepstow and the total number of attenders in Monmouthshire on Census Sunday was only 2,319. Primitive Methodist attendance was strongest in the district of Abergavenny with strong churches in Blaenavon, Tredegar and Ebbw Vale. They seem to have had no wealthy or influential supporters. The Blaenavon church was established in 1829 by miners who had emigrated from Shropshire and Staffordshire. Missionaries from Blaenavon helped to establish the church at Tredegar in 1841 and by 1851, the Tredegar Primitive Methodist Circuit included Merthyr, Dowlais, Brynmawr, Rhymney, Ebbw Vale and Blackwood.

The small congregations of Bible Christians with a government and methods similar to the Primitive Methodists, were mostly to be found at the other end of the county. Five of the eleven churches were in the district of Chepstow and three in the district of Monmouth. The three earliest were founded in the 1820s in Tintern, Llanfihangel Tor y Mynydd and Llanvaches. One was in Pontypool and another in the centre of Newport. The Bible Christians have uncertain origins in Monmouthshire though the latest research seems to suggest that they came here from Somerset.²³

The rate of increase in the population of Monmouthshire in the years 1801-41 was the greatest in Wales. It stood at 126% compared with Glamorgan's increase of 77%. The primary purpose of the Religious Census of 1851 was to assess the amount of accommodation available in churches and chapels and not to provoke the arguments that inevitably ensued about the accuracy of the attendance figures. For the benefit of this article, the formula first recommended by Horace Mann, the young barrister who tabulated them, has been used. Mann suggested that a true figure of attendance could be deduced for churches where more than one service was held on Census Sunday by taking all the morning congregation and adding half the afternoon congregation and one third of the evening congregation. Those who are simply described as Scholars have been disregarded, and it is hoped that this will accord with Mann's formula. The church and chapel accommodation available in Monmouthshire in 1851 was sufficient for 72.8% of the population, compared with 83.5% for south Wales as a whole and 91.3% for north Wales. The Nonconformists were at least three times as numerous as the Anglicans throughout Wales. That was less true for Monmouthshire where the Anglicans who attended church on Census Sunday amounted to nearly 17,000 while the Nonconformists were about 43,000, apart from the Roman Catholics, nearly 3,000 of whom were at mass on that Sunday. The Baptists in Monmouthshire were the strongest denomination with 17,504 people attending Baptist churches on Census Sunday. The Anglicans came second and Independents a poor third at 9,749. The Wesleyan Methodists had attendances of 8,238 followed by the Calvinistic Methodists at 4,260. Primitive Methodists provided 2,319 and Bible Christians 529.

The late Dr R. Tudur Jones in his account of Congregationalism in Wales described how much the Nonconformist denominations had in common by 1851 in their chapels, their ecclesiastical organisation, their services and their societies. 'It was clear' he wrote

that they all belonged to the same movement and, precisely because of this, they tended to make much of the often very trivial differences that did exist between them, and that gave rise to denominational jealousy. On the other hand, they formed a united front in their attitude towards public and national questions.²⁴

²³ Snell, K.D.M. and Ell, Paul S., *Rival Jerusalems* (CUP, 2000) 153.

²⁴ Jones, R. Tudur in Pope, Robert (ed.), *Congregationalism in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2004) 198.

More recently in an assessment of Calvinism in Wales on the five-hundredth anniversary of John Calvin's birth in 2009, Professor D. Densil Morgan of Bangor University has suggested that the work of Calvin himself was hardly known in Wales until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Calvinism itself began to be eclipsed, and by 1909, the system connected with the name of John Calvin had been superseded by theological liberalism and philosophical idealism, though a residual Calvinism remained. That is somehow reminiscent of the remark that the late Sir Glanmor Williams made about the Reformation, that it is 'a dog that has not barked in Welsh history'. It also accords well with the remark of Professor Ieuan Gwynedd Jones about the 'well-nigh universal moderate Calvinism of the intellectual leaders of Welsh religion'. The dog that failed to bark at the Reformation barked in the Methodist Revival, and summoned the great awakening that Methodism brought, not only to the somnolent Anglican Church but to the churches of the old Dissent in Wales, Baptists, Independents and Presbyterians.²⁵

According to Professor David Ceri Jones the Calvinism adopted by the first generation of Welsh Methodists was a missionary-minded brand of Calvinism that was both moderate and evangelical in ethos. While stressing the doctrine of eternal election, it avoided a similar statement of God's active decree of eternal reprobation. Rather than dwelling on the extent of the atonement, they preferred to emphasise the human responsibility to respond to the offer of the Gospel. This ensured that evangelism and mission lay at the heart of their identity. In doing that they avoided what John Wesley regarded as the most dangerous implication of predestination, that it produced a fatalistic theology which made superfluous the impassioned evangelistic preaching that was second nature both to him and also to the other leaders of the Methodist Revival. In this he was in good company with so many other religious leaders of moderate Calvinist theology in nineteenth-century Wales, who saw how high Calvinism could subvert the teaching of the Kingdom and the great commission to preach the Gospel to every person.²⁶

It is not clear how many Wesleyan Reform churches survived after 1857 as United Methodist Free Churches. In 1907, the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christians, begun in 1815, and the United Methodist Free Churches, came together to form the United Methodist Church. After the First World War, the leaders of the United Methodist Church and the Primitive Methodist Church, founded in 1810, sought to create one united Methodist Church with the Wesleyan Methodist Church.²⁷

There were no theological differences between the three Churches, but the Wesleyans were more concerned with sacraments and doctrine and had a higher regard for the ministry, while the United and Primitive Methodists had more affinity with historic Nonconformity. The Wesleyans tended to be more socially conservative and their membership tended to be drawn from professional middle class people and tradespeople, while United and Primitive Methodists tended to be drawn from members of the working class, though there were regional differences in the patterns of membership.

The Conferences of all three Churches voted for union and the Uniting Conference was held in September 1932. The Conference was not empowered to close churches or amalgamate Circuits against the wishes of the Trustees, and many separate Primitive and Wesleyan Methodist churches survived in the same small places as they had done for many years. The united Methodist Church has been better placed to face the challenge of secularism with more imaginative initiatives in Worship and in generous response to initiatives for Christian Unity. On which subject it well behoves an Anglican writer to say no more.

²⁵ Morgan, D. Densil, 'The Impact of Calvinistic thought on Welsh theology and Life', *The Journal of Welsh Religious History* (2009) 1-36; Jones, Ieuan Gwynedd, *Mid-Victorian Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1992) 15; Williams, Glanmor, *Reformation Essays* (1967).

²⁶ Jones, David Ceri, *A Glorious Work*, 122, 132-3; *The Journal of Welsh Religious History* (2009) 37, 49; Edwards, Arthur, *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool* (Apeps Press, 2009) 102.

²⁷ Davies, Rupert E., *Methodism* (Penguin, 1963) 186-7.

THE TRUE ANTI-PAMELA: SCANDAL AND SKULDUGGERY IN 1730s ROSS AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Charlotte and Julian Mitchell

Though she was primarily an archaeologist, Gwennlian Jones was interested in every aspect of Monmouthshire history, and when I told her about the subject of this paper she expressed great amusement. She used to quote back at me a remark I made on an Antiquarian outing, that we spent most of our time looking at buildings that were no longer there. I think she would have got special pleasure from the fact that many of the events described here took place in yet another. J.M.

On Sunday 22 February 1736, there was a fracas at Great House, Llantilio Crossenny, eight miles west of Monmouth, halfway along the road to Abergavenny. A ‘mad and drunk’ young Welsh music master and organist from Ross in Herefordshire was trying to force his way in to see the mistress who had recently spurned him. She and her mother, forewarned, were in the parlour, protected by armed servants who threw him out. He retired to the pub at the house’s gates, drank more, fell asleep, woke to be arrested by the local constable, fell asleep again and in the morning remembered nothing of what had happened. Great House, though, did remember, and it pursued him relentlessly through the courts for the next year. His name was James Parry and he was poor; his lover was Mary Powell, and she was worth five or six thousand pounds; he had, in her vengeful mother’s eyes, committed the unforgivable offence of trying to better himself by marrying across the boundary between the classes.

Bitter at being jilted of both girl and money, indisputably a cad, he wrote up the affair and published it in 1741 as *The True Anti-Pamela or Memoirs of Mr. JAMES PARRY, late Organist of Ross in Herefordshire. In which are inserted his Amours with the celebrated Miss _____, of Monmouthshire. Written by Himself.*¹ In this he gave a very circumstantial account of the whole of his acquaintance with Mary, including descriptions of where and when they had sex and how they used to cheat at cards together, adding their love-letters for extra scandal. He also told anecdotes, many discreditable, about several of their acquaintance, some named and some thinly veiled by the use of initials, and recorded conversations in which he insulted her disgustingly to her friends and relations. The picture he paints of the Herefordshire and Monmouthshire gentry in ‘the age of elegance’ is not elegant at all. But whatever one may think of his behaviour, the book is full of unique social information about the period.

A music master was a lowly figure; as Parry wryly remarked (II, 47), for them, as for dancing masters, marriage was the only hope of ‘an handsome Livelihood’. He himself was almost certainly a fortune-hunter, but a magistrate summed up the prevailing view: ‘no Man could be troubled for endeavouring to make his Fortune, nor for carrying on an Intrigue; especially, with a Girl of three or four and twenty Years of Age’ [I, 182]. And Mary was anything but reluctant to be hunted. She made

¹ Names are usually spelt with an initial followed by a blank, but several surviving copies have the names filled in by hand, the fullest we have found being that of the first edition of 1741 in the library of the University of Pennsylvania. We are extremely grateful to Lynne Farrington and Amelia Van Iwaarden for providing us with a list of names from that copy. The Beinecke Library, Yale University, owns a copy of the pirated 1741 edition which identifies Dr Galen, to whom the book is mockingly dedicated, as Mr [George] Rogers of Ross and Mr C___ as Mr Catchmayd; Mr Doomsday is initialled L on page 63. We are also grateful to Natalia Sciarini of Yale University Library for her help. The British Library’s copy of the pirated 1741 edition also has some names added. Among the families who are mentioned, as well as the Powells of Llantilio, are the Clarkes of the Hill, the Jones of Treowen, the Jeffries of Penrhos, the Seyses also of Penrhos, the Whites of New Weir, the Westfalings of Rudhall. Page numbers given here are from the first edition, ESTC N63317, which is in one volume, but the autobiography (I) and the letters (II) have separate pagination.

the pace – according to Parry, that is, though his word must always be treated with caution – and after a slowish start, it was a fast one. Parry makes the whole affair sound very dramatic, even operatic – he twice goes into theatrical dialogue, with asides, to describe legal confrontations. Mary is given to jealous tantrums and has a brutal half-brother of whom she is afraid and who fondles her in an incestuous manner. There is a near-miss at a clandestine marriage, there is sex, blackmail, letters written backwards or in lemon juice or urine, there are legal shenanigans, there is prison; and there is a startlingly oblivious mother who turns violently angry when she discovers the truth. The story ends with a wedding, shooting and death. No wonder it sold.

The Literary Background

The True Anti-Pamela is not unknown, but it has often been mentioned only to be immediately dismissed, as most of its readers have been literary historians who came across it in connection with the brouhaha surrounding the publication of Samuel Richardson's hugely successful novel *Pamela, or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740).² They have been more interested in its close namesake, Eliza Haywood's novel *The Anti-Pamela* (1741), which may have stolen its title, and in Henry Fielding's *Shamela* and *Joseph Andrews*.³ These are all satirical parodies of Richardson's tense and moving romance about a young servant girl whose employer Mr B. tries to seduce her. By reading Pamela's letters, as the reader does, he is transformed from a vicious young boor to a man of feeling, who learns to value her mind as well as her body. The novelty of the book was the voice of the down-to-earth young girl, half in love with the young squire but defiantly resistant to the idea that he has the right to ruin her spiritually and socially for his own amusement. Readers loved the moment-by-moment narrative, the vivid material detail, the romantic happy ending.

Its huge popularity led to a rash of copycat titles and imitations, of which *The True Anti-Pamela* was one. When Parry, or his publisher, named his book he was obviously hoping for comparable sales. The fit is rather awkward though:

Pamela, a poor innocent Virgin, withstood all the Attacks of a Person of Fortune; the Reverse, *Anti-Pamela*, is rich, and kept me for her Pleasure several Years . . . and then she jilted me.[iii]

Mary is not a 'poor innocent Virgin' but Parry is not either – he had had a girl-friend in London. He probably linked his story to *Pamela* partly because it had launched a debate about marrying for love rather than money – though it must have unintentionally been a godsend to those arguing that children should obey the parents protecting them from unscrupulous fortune-hunters.⁴ The class issues which

² Nickel, Terri, 'Pamela as Fetish: Masculine Anxiety in Henry Fielding's *Shamela* and James Parry's *The True Anti-Pamela*', *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 22 (1993), 37-49. She observes, 43, that it is really Parry not Mary Powell who resembles Pamela, and discusses the way his fear of castration, his employee status and his relative social position are mobilized in the text to discredit Mary and her femininity.

³ See for example, Kreissman, Bernard, *Pamela-Shamela: A study of the Criticisms, Burslesques, Parodies, and Adaptations of Richardson's "Pamela"* (University of Nebraska Press, 1960) 28. Thomas Keymer and Peter Sabor discuss *The True Anti-Pamela in Pamela in the Marketplace: Literary Controversy and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2005), 96-8. They make the point that Haywood probably took her title from Parry's advertisement, but they do not include it in their compilation of Pamela-related texts, *The Pamela Controversy: Criticisms and Adaptations of Samuel Richardson's Pamela, 1740-1750*, 6 vols (Pickering & Chatto, London, 2001).

⁴ A gloomy little book called *God's revenge against the breakers of the Ten Commandments, illustrated by a great variety of melancholly examples, as well modern as ancient, and calculated both to instruct and entertain. Intended for the use of every family, where there are children and servants* (W. Owen, London, 1750) 129, cites the case of Parry and Mary Powell as a warning to those who disobey their parents.

the novel raised were also no doubt important. Parry's memoirs bitterly reveal the anomalous social position of the professional musician.

The fullest study, by Welsh historian Moira Dearnley, rather plays down the Richardson angle: she reads Parry as autobiographer, and as representative of a certain type of 'Welsh rogue'.⁵ His near-brush with castration as a child treble is held to be the genesis of a full-blown complex, which dominates his account of his attempt to make his fortune through sexual potency, and his subsequent fury at being discarded by a socially superior mistress. As she points out, the book's uncertain status between fiction and autobiography makes it difficult to discuss. Many of its assertions can be documented, but the author is so transparently biased that his testimony is automatically suspect. If literary critics lose interest once they know it is a true story, historians are wary of someone with such obvious reason to lie. Yet Lennard J. Davis pointed out several years ago that the early novel took shape in just this debatable ground between reality and fiction.⁶ The Restoration had seen a series of scandalous *romans à clef* about the aristocracy and high politics, but when articles more recognizable as modern novels began to appear in the early eighteenth century they were often packaged as slices of reality. Both *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Pamela* (1740) were based on true stories, and present themselves to the reader as authentic found documents. One of the other *Pamela* spin-offs of the period was what purported to be the biography of Hannah Sturges, who married in 1725 her employer Sir Arthur Hesilrige, and was said to be the 'real' Pamela.⁷ So the fact that, as Dearnley says (60), Parry's 'story "reads" like a novel' no doubt felt less worrying to its original readers, whose suspension of disbelief may have been more willing than ours today. Swift had a story of a bishop who read *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) and said 'for his part he hardly believed a word of it'.⁸ This was a joke, obviously, but since so many fictions of the period were packaged as authentic, more plausibly than *Gulliver's Travels*, genuine uncertainty might often have been justified.

Other readers have looked behind the book's generic ambivalence to what it can tell us, casually and accidentally, about the circumstances of its hero's life. Historians of music have been glad of the glimpse Parry's memoirs give of the careers of professional musicians of the period.⁹ Local historians have long known about it; J. A. Bradney, who lived near Llantilio, mentioned the book in passing, inspiring the curiosity of W.J. Townsend Collins, editor of the *South Wales Argus* for twenty-two years and author of *Monmouthshire Writers* (1945) and *More Monmouthshire Writers* (1948). Collins wrote about it at length in the first issue of *The Monmouthshire Review*.¹⁰ Though disapproving of the author ('a cad with a vile mind'), he recognized the value of the unselfconscious picture of society and everyday life which is the backdrop to the scandal.

⁵ Dearnley, Moira, *Distant Fields, 18th Century Fictions of Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2001) xviii. See also Roberts, Michael, "'More Prone to be Idle and Riotous than the English'": Attitudes to Male Behaviour in Early Modern Wales', in Clarke, Simone and Roberts, Michael, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2000) 259-90. Roberts, fn. 61, cites *The True Anti-Pamela* in the context of the eighteenth-century process in which 'a taut and duel-defended honour gave way to politeness and civility.' In Wales, he argues, this tension was inflected by the association between Welshness and roughness.

⁶ Davis, Lennard J., *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1983).

⁷ *Memoirs of the life of Lady H—— the celebrated Pamela, from her birth to the present time* (Cooper, London, 1741).

⁸ Letter to Alexander Pope (27 Nov. 1726), in Williams, Harold (ed.), *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, 5 vols (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963), 3, 189.

⁹ Wollenberg, Susan, and McVeigh, Simon, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2004) 41.

¹⁰ Bradney, J.A., *A History of Monmouthshire, Volume I, Part I, The Hundred of Skenfrith*, (Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, London, 1904) 95-6; W. J. T. Collins, 'A Scandal of Old Monmouthshire' *The Monmouthshire Review*, 1 (January 1933) 8-27.



Fig. 1 (left). Portrait of James Parry from first edition.

(© The British Library Board , C.107.df.4).

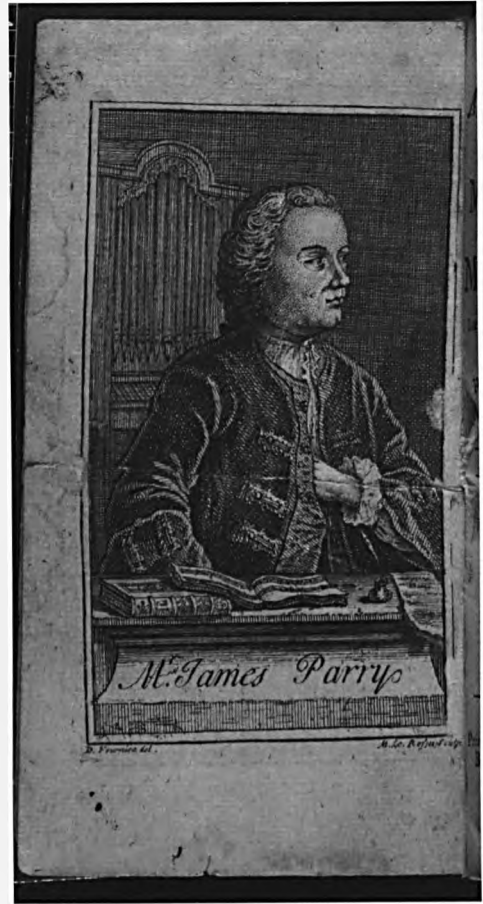


Fig. 2 (right). Portrait of Parry from the first pirated edition.

This is the same as the first but reversed, and with an organ in the background.

(© The British Library Board , C.136.f.27).

The Publishing History

The True Anti-Pamela went into several editions, perhaps because of its salacious content. The first was advertised for sale as newly published in the *Daily Post* of Friday 31 July 1741.¹¹ It had the love letters grouped together at the end of the book, making 381 pages in all. Very soon, however, the awkwardness of cross-referring to the back of the book in parentheses seems to have struck either the author or the publisher. A second edition 'carefully Revis'd' and with the 'many curious and entertaining Love Letters' included in the narrative was advertised in the *Daily Post* on the 26 September 1741. This was presumably the edition of which the British Library has a copy dated

¹¹ ESTC N63317. Lord Hervey sent it to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu in Italy as early as 16 July 1741, see Keymer and Sabor, *op.cit.*, 96. Her copy survives in the hands of her descendant the Earl of Harrowby at Sandon Hall, but unfortunately it is not annotated.

1742. Some names printed in full in the earlier edition are omitted. The effect is to make the story hang together better, and also to shorten the book to 358 pages.¹² To complicate matters, however, there was a pirated edition in 1741, with a similar text to the first but a slightly different title page. The most obvious difference (identifiable in catalogue entries) is that instead of 'Miss ____' it has 'Miss P ____' in the subtitle.¹³ It also has 426 rather than 381 pages. As *Pamela* mania spread to continental Europe, and imitations and translations sprang up everywhere, an enterprising Frenchman even published a pornographic novel which purported falsely to be a translation of Parry's *True Anti-Pamela*.¹⁴

For nearly thirty years, these three editions seem to have sufficed the reading public. There was, however, more news of Parry. At the end of his *Memoirs*, he had stated:

I am now, *May* the 9th (1741), made Master of Arms on Board the *Revenge* Privateer, Capt. *James Wimble*, in order to sail upon a *Cruize* against the *Spaniards*; and if the Almighty should spare my Life a few Years longer, I hope to give my Friends &c. a farther Account of myself. [I, 275]

One might be excused for thinking that this was a metaphor, since he had just embarked on his complicated strategy for revenge on the unfortunate Mary Powell. However, it turns out that the statement was literally true. His presence on the boat is confirmed and his death described in the 1748 memoirs of James Wyatt, the boat's trumpeter. Shared interest in music did not make the two men friends, though: Wyatt paints a picture of Parry as a drunken slob with a nasty temper.¹⁵

Wyatt's book seems to have been quite popular: an edition of 1755 is described as the sixth. In 1770, another edition of *The True Anti-Pamela* was published in two volumes in London by J. Lever.¹⁶ It called itself the second edition, and it was based on the first, with the letters at the back. It also included, however, the material about Parry's adventures on the *Revenge*, lifted wholesale from Wyatt and so freely adapted that it altered a quarrel between Wyatt and Parry in which a drunken Parry fires on the trumpeter to be Wyatt who is drunk and shoots at the organist. Lever's advertisements suggest that the gossip was so old that he didn't even know whose character he was traducing, since he refers to Mary as 'Miss Price of the Hill'.¹⁷

¹² ESTC T144533. Although this advertisement suggests that the second and re-arranged edition came out in 1741, all the copies we have seen are dated 1742. It seems significant that the story of cheating at cards is omitted, as though someone, if not Parry himself (who was dead by then), realized it showed him in an especially dishonourable light.

¹³ ESTC T199389. 'WRITTEN BY HIMSELF' is in capitals, which it is not in the first edition. 'Love and Gallantry' appear on the same line. There is a comma not a semi-colon after 'Author'. 'Booksellers' is on one line not hyphenated. The words 'Price Three Shillings' are omitted. The frontispiece portrait of Parry is also reversed and signed 'D. Fournier del. M. Le Rossu, Sculp.' rather than 'D Fournier, del. J. Mynde, Sc.' It includes an organ in the background. (See Plate 2). According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Daniel Fournier (c.1711-c.1766) advertised himself as 'a-la-mode beef-seller, shoemaker and engraver', and this seems a very early example of his skill. The two title pages are illustrated in Sale, William Merritt jr, *Samuel Richardson: A Bibliographical Record of his Literary Career with Historical Notes* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936) 117-20.

¹⁴ Sale, *op.cit.*, 118, citing the *Bibliothèque britannique* XXII (1744) 366, 368; Keymer and Sabor, *Pamela in the Marketplace*, 93.

¹⁵ *The Life and Surprising Adventures of James Wyatt: born near Exeter, in Devonshire, in the year 1707. Containing, I. His entering himself Trumpeter on board the Revenge Privateer, Capt. James Wimble, May 29, 1741. . .* (Duncomb, London, 1748). There is no doubt a deliberate reminder of *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719).

¹⁶ ESTC N14080.

¹⁷ The British Library's copy of Melchisedec Thévenot, *The Art of Swimming* (Lever, London, 1789) includes a page of advertisements for Lever's books including 'The true Anti-Pamela: or Memoirs of Mr. James Parry,

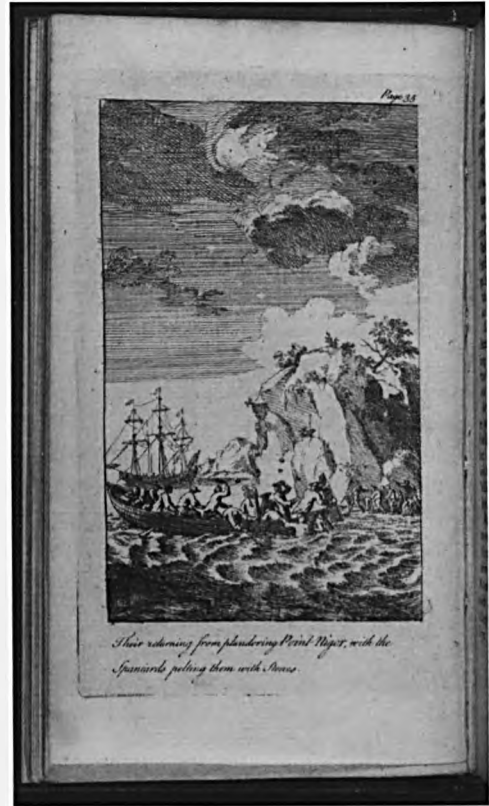
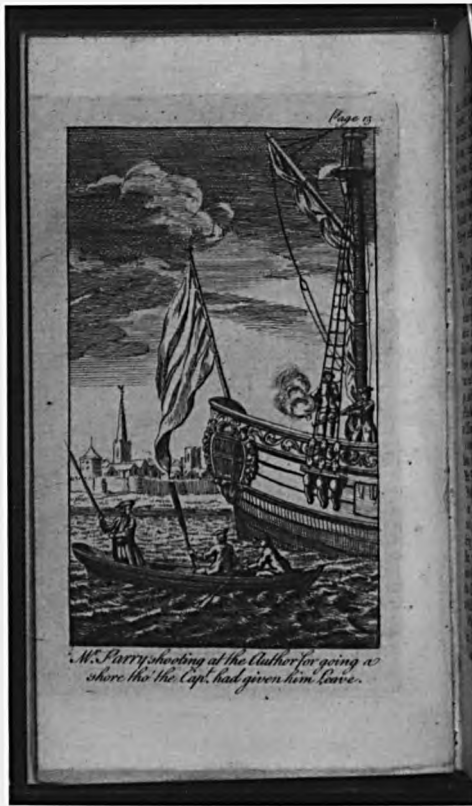


Fig. 3 (left). From Wyatt, Parry firing on Wyatt.
Fig. 4 (right). From Wyatt, Parry and his party being pelted with stones by the Spaniards as they retreat from an unsuccessful raid.
 (© British Library Board, 10817.aa.8).

As if it were not hard enough to account for this sudden revival of interest in a long-dead scandal, there was also another pirated edition around this time: *The True Anti-Pamela* (Dublin: Printed for Thomas Armitage, in Crampton Court, n.d.).¹⁸ Appropriately enough, this uses the pirated 1741 edition as copy text but does not include the extra material derived from Wyatt. Although Sale thought that it 'probably appeared in 1741', its publisher was at this address in the 1770s and 1780s, and it appears in a list of books published by him inserted in a book dated 1771.¹⁹ There may also

late Organist of Ross in Herefordshire with the Love letters that passed between him and Miss Price of the Hill: Also his Adventures against the Spaniards in the West-Indies'.

¹⁸ ESTC T194387.

¹⁹ Sale, *op. cit.*, 118. The British Library's copy of Kimber, Edward, *The Life and Adventures of Joe Thompson: A Narrative Founded on Fact*, 2 vols (T. Armitage, Bookseller in Crampton-Court, Dublin, 1771), has two pages of advertisements for books published by Armitage, including 'Memoirs of James Parry'. According to Máire Kennedy, in 'Book Mad: The Sale of Books by Auction in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record*, 54, No. 1 (Spring 2001) 48-71, Armitage operated from this address in the 1770s and 1780s. Using www.copac.ac.uk, which permits a search by publisher, no imprint with Armitage in Crampton Court has been found before 1770.

have been yet another edition with a different title in the following year.²⁰ More recently, in 1974, *The True Anti-Pamela* was reproduced in facsimile in the *Richardsoniana* series.²¹ Since 2003 copies of all the various editions of the book mentioned have been available to subscribers digitally reproduced in *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online*.²² All but the 1741 pirated edition can be consulted in Newport Reference Library.²³

The True Anti-Pamela

Assuming that at least in the early part of his memoir Parry is telling the truth, he was born in Carmarthen on 20 March 1712. His father was a dealer in human (and animal) hair for wigs. As a boy he had a very beautiful voice, and Bristol being to all intents and purposes the then capital of South Wales, he was sent there to be apprenticed to Nathaniel Priest, the organist of the cathedral. Known as ‘the Welsh boy’, he sang in the choir and at concerts where he earned good money, most of which his master pocketed. So beautiful was his voice that Priest urged him to be castrated – *castrati* being the highly paid opera stars of the time – and Parry’s cousin, a local watchmaker, offered him ‘a Gold repeating Watch worth Fifty Pounds’ to have the operation [I, 4], which a local doctor and a surgeon were ready to perform, though it was highly illegal. They would have saved much later trouble. But Parry was already very interested in girls, one of whom, Winifred Donning, of the family who owned the Severn ferry at Purton near Lydney, helped him run away to Carolina, where the Donnings had a property. However, Priest valued him sufficiently to have him kidnapped and brought back to Bristol, though by the time he arrived his voice was breaking.²⁴ Freed from his apprenticeship, he studied the organ at Bath and Hereford and in December 1729, still only seventeen, and probably not yet his later strong-set five foot nine [I, 177], he applied for and got the job of organist at Ross. Someone who had only seen but not spoken to him was most anxious he should be appointed: the pale-faced brown-haired Mary Powell, some eighteen months older than he [I, 29; II, 12].²⁵

In the book Parry calls her Parthenissa, a cross between the Greek *parthenos*, a virgin, with a Latin superlative to produce a word meaning the most virginal possible.²⁶ She was the great-grand-daughter

²⁰ Evans, Revd Daniel Silvan, ‘Attodiad i lyfryddiaeth y Cymry (Supplement to the Cambrian Bibliography)’ *Revue celtique* II, (1873-5) 346-51, lists *The Fair Jilt, or the Welch Gallant; being the Life and Adventures of Mr James Parry, late organist of Ross, in his extraordinary Amour with the celebrated Miss P ___ of Monmouthshire* (1771, 8vo). This work does not appear in COPAC, WorldCat or ESTC, nor have we found advertisements of it or other references to it. Could it perhaps have appeared in a periodical? One might interpret the new title as an indication that by 1771 the ‘Anti-Pamela’ phrase was no longer topical enough to attract purchasers, but in the absence of corroboration of the book’s existence it seems rash to speculate.

²¹ *Richardsoniana* (Garland, New York, 1974-5) vol. 7.

²² <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/>. This does not include *The Fair Jilt*, mentioned above, fn. 20.

²³ Class-mark M443.8.177.6. One of two copies of the first edition was acquired while Kyrle Fletcher was librarian. The other volumes were part of the Haines Collection, given to Newport Library by Sir Garrod and Lady Thomas in 1924. William Haines bought his first edition at Sotheby’s in January 1884; he noted it came from the collection of Lord Brabourne. His 1770 and Dublin editions were bought from Mr J.W. Lloyd, the postmaster at Kington, Herefordshire ‘who was also a good Antiquary and Collector of Rare Books’. We are most grateful, as ever, to the library staff for their help.

²⁴ A Bristol newspaper advertisement for his recapture appeared on 27 Feb. 1727, when Parry was just turning fifteen. Quoted by Dearnley, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-8, it described him as ‘a thick well-set Lad, speaks very fast and shrill, has a Wart on one side of his Nose, wears a Puke’.

²⁵ Mary Powell’s memorial in Llantilio Crossenny Church states that she ‘died June ye 3rd, 1760; aged 45’, which would make her born in 1714/15, or only 15 or 16 at the time her affair with Parry started, and far from legal majority. However, Parry states [II, 12] that she was born on 10 Oct. 1711.

²⁶ There was a romance called *Parthenissa* (1655) by Richard Boyle, first earl of Orrery. Keymer and Sabor, *op.cit.*, 96, suggest that Parry may have taken the name from there. However, it seems more likely, in view of the book’s

of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny, whose seventeenth-century diary is of great local interest.²⁷ Her father, William Powell, had two sons by his first marriage, the elder, Matthew, inheriting in 1723 and becoming High Sheriff of Monmouthshire the following year. William's second marriage came about because he had borrowed money from Mary's mother Elizabeth Smith 'and not being conveniently able to pay her, he courted her, and offer'd to settle a larger Jointure on her, than her Fortune could command' [I, 146]. They produced one child, Mary, but were not happy. When Elizabeth refused to break her marriage settlement William hit her on the breast, as a result of which she smoked incessantly and stank so much of tobacco that Mary took snuff to avoid her smell [I, 146 and 253]. Since neither of her half-brothers had produced children by 1730, Mary was the heiress apparent to Llantilio.

Matthew was an erratic, violent, stupid and 'monkey-faced' man, with something wrong with his palate so he could neither taste nor smell [II, 91]. He spent most of his time gambling and drinking in London, skipping about to avoid his creditors [I, 241], and his wife was permanently fuddled with brandy and rum. His step-mother Elizabeth had been counted in her youth a great beauty, 'not half a Yard (or at least, not much more) round the Waiste' [I, 146]. In an intriguing foretaste of what was to come, she was courted by Mary's tutor who sat on her lap and she on his. When Matthew heard of it he 'upbraided her for beneathing herself, and for forgetting my Pappa's Memory so soon; upon which they quarrel'd, and Mamma took all her own Goods from his House; and so we came to live here in Ross' [I, 147]. Ross was what Pen, a poor relation of William Powell who had become a servant in the family, called 'six little Miles' north of Monmouth, so some fourteen from Llantilio Crossenny [I, 154]. Mrs Powell had relations in the neighbourhood, the most important being Sir Joseph Clarke, who lived in a grand Palladian mansion called The Hill, a couple of miles outside the town [I, 143]. Sir Joseph was Mary's guardian, and the Clarke children were her friends.²⁸

Ross was small (the 1801 census recorded 533 houses with 2,347 inhabitants), and apart from John Kyrle, the philanthropist praised by Alexander Pope, it lacked distinguished citizens. But Kyrle had died in 1724, and with him all enterprising spirit seems to have left the town. The Powells were only minor gentry in Monmouthshire, they did not mix with grandees like the Morgans of Tredegar and Ruperra, let alone the Duke of Beaufort, and perhaps they could feel more important in Ross, where almost the only townspeople they seem to have known were milliners, mantua-makers, mercers, chandlers, curates, apothecaries and attorneys – these last including George Rogers, a relation of the Powells and the 'Dr Galen', to whom *The True Anti-Pamela* is mockingly dedicated (see note 1). Parry records him as gathering girls for a ball, but there was very little entertainment, and such as there was mostly of a low order; when the Buck-hunters gave a ball the orchestra (provided by Parry) consisted of 'a Nailor, a Shoemaker and a Pedlar' [I, 61]. At a later dancing-match, the music was provided by a barber-harpist who only knew one tune, Old Barnaby [I, 108]. Though the financial arrangements for playing the organ were unsatisfactory, Parry was in considerable demand as a music teacher, and Mary, in order to see more of him, told her mother she wanted to learn the spinet. But Mrs Powell did not wish to have the expense of a fire all winter in the room where the spinet was kept just to keep it in tune, so it was not until 1 May 1731 that lessons began [I, 51]. Parry was nineteen, Mary twenty (if he was accurate about their ages). Mrs Powell took to him, and he was invited to sup and dine and play cards, as well as teach, so that he was in the house five or six hours a day. Ross

frequent references to contemporary plays, that the source was Richard Steele's *The Tender Husband* (1705), which, as well as a heroine called Parthenissa, has a plot about marital discord. There is no reason to disbelieve Parry's statement [I, 2] that as a child he knew Steele, who died near Carmarthen.

²⁷ Bradney, J.A., (ed.), *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny: 1603-1654* (Bristol, 1907).

²⁸ The Clarke family's genealogy can be followed in Hereford Record Office B56/2/15, but that does not explain Mrs Powell's connection. According to Charles Heath, *The Excursion down the Wye* (6th edit., Monmouth, 1815, 52) Jane Clarke, the last surviving of Joseph Clarke's children, none of whom married, died in 1806. Her sisters, Alicia and Mary Clarke, who also feature in *The True Anti-Pamela*, had died in 1779 and 1789.

was a very gossip town and this led to a report that Mr Tudor, the curate, had seen Mary walking with Parry in the garden, he with his hand round her waist. When Mrs Powell questioned Tudor he denied all knowledge of it [I, 43-4]. Satisfied, she seems to have been remarkably blind to what was going on for the next five years.

Nothing serious happened till September, when Parry went to Gloucester to attend the Gloucester music-meeting – what was to become the Three Choirs Festival had begun there in 1715. On his return he told Mary about who was there and what the ladies wore. She fell into a jealous passion and started comparing the gentry of Monmouthshire (which everyone in the book regarded as an English county) with those of his native Carmarthen, taunting him that the local servants ‘wore better Linnen, lay upon better Beds, eat and drank better than did the Gentlemen themselves of Carmarthenshire’ [I, 35-6]. When Parry defended his countrymen, she threw a mug of cider at him. But the row only increased their mutual attraction, and Parry was soon so much in love that he was ‘as restless as a Butterfly, unless ‘twas when I was setting by her Side’ [I, 45]. It was not long before she was showing him a pimple on her bosom, then he was fondling her breast and telling her how much he loved her and she was confessing that she had loved him at first sight and was promising to marry him as soon as she was of age [I, 46]. To allay any suspicion her mother or the town might have, she persuaded him to make up to one of the mantua-makers with whom Ross seemed almost too well supplied [I, 48]. Not only Mrs Powell was deceived. So too was ‘Mr Doomsday’ of Balliol, a local man, son of a lawyer, with sisters in the town (I, 52), whom we have been unable to identify. Knowing how popular Parry was with the Powells, Doomsday offered him £200 if he could help him to marry Mary. When Parry again pretended to be in love with someone else, Mary chose a love-letter for him to copy from a book of letters called *God’s Revenge against Murder*.²⁹ This brilliant method seems to have appealed to him, because his letters to her printed in the book are a patchwork of similar plagiarisms.³⁰

In April 1732, Matthew Powell’s rum-fuddled wife died, and at the funeral in Monmouth, Mrs Powell and Mary were chief mourners, Matthew himself apparently not bothering to return from London. At midnight the night before, Parry had a secret rendezvous with Mary in which she was unlaced and almost undressed. But though this was promising, she was then required to go off to Llantilio and wait for her brother to appear, leaving Parry ‘as solitary as *Noah’s Dove*’ [I, 59]. When he went over to see her she embraced him warmly, but was worried that Matthew would marry again and have children, and she would then lose her inheritance. When Matthew turned up, he looked at Parry and said ‘Egad, these Musicians and Dancing-Masters are such d___d gawdy Fellows, that there is no such Thing as knowing them from Men of Fortune’. He ‘in an obscene manner, thrust his Hand down his Sister’s Bosom, and was pleas’d to handle her snowy Bubbies, as a Beau would have done a Pancake.’ [I, 61]³¹ His behaviour, always coarse, became even more so, and in a drunken rage

²⁹ Wright, Thomas, *The Glory of God’s Revenge against the Bloody and Detestable Sins of Murther and Adultery express’d in Thirty Modern Tragical Histories* (Moore, London, 1685). This was a popular compilation of lubricious tales which went into many editions.

³⁰ It is of course impossible to tell whether the letters he printed are authentic, or were subsequently improved and expanded for publication by the addition of plagiarized material. But sources can be traced for many passages in both sides of the correspondence. When Parry writes in Letter 46, ‘Oh! thou eternal Conqueror of my soul, whom ev’ry Hour and ev’ry tender Joy renders more dear’ [II, 81], he is quoting without acknowledgment from Aphra Behn, *Love-Letters between a Noble-man and his Sister* (Taylor, London, 1684) 202. In Letter 41 [II, 70], in which he asks ‘what Return for all my passionate Disquiets, but the good Counsel of my cross Fortune?’ he uses a passage from the English translation of the first of the famous *Five Love-letters from a Nun to a Cavalier* (Brome, London, 1678) 4. In letter 29 [II, 67] ‘thou art the Pride and Glory of my Heart! without Thee, all the World is worthless Dross; Life a base Slav’ry’ is taken from a passage in the earl of Rochester’s version of John Fletcher, *Valentinian: A Tragedy* (Goodwin, London, 1685) Act I, Scene I, 7.

³¹ The first edition has ‘Bear’, corrected to the more plausible ‘Beau’ in the pirated edition of the same year. ‘The female pudenda’ is given for ‘pancake’ in Farmer, John S. and Henley, W.E. (eds) *Slang and its Analogues 7 vols*, (privately published, London, 1890-1904), but offer no date for its use. It seems extremely rare.

in December he turned Elizabeth and Mary out of Great House at midnight, and they returned to Ross where they lived close to the churchyard.

In 1733, there were many frustrations. In the spring and autumn there were outbreaks of smallpox, and Mrs Powell, the nicotine addict, stuffed 'all the windows with Tobacco Dust to keep out the infectious Air' [I, 68]. Then Mary paid a long visit to the Clarkes. Then Mrs Powell moved to a milliner's the other side of the churchyard where private conversation was impossible. So Parry joined some visiting army officers in drinking so heavily that they were all ill [I, 76]. In December, the Powells returned to their own house, and the social round began again, with cards, especially Quadrille, the chief entertainment, which Mary and Parry enlivened by cheating their opponents. They also read a lot. Mary had volumes in French and Italian, and a collection of plays, including Rowe's *Tamerlane* and Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife*, *English Worthies*, Steele's *The Christian Hero* and a *History of Wales* (II, 78). But on 6 March 1734, things became more exciting.

Mary saw Parry kissing Dolly Dew (yet another mantua-maker), and called him 'Scoundrel, Beggar, Vagabond &c.' [I, 79], upon which Parry walked out to have dinner at the Post Office with a visiting Welshman who challenged him to a game of Fives with battleboards in the churchyard.³² Parry's were at the Powells' and he sent someone for them, but Mary would only hand one over, so he had to go himself to fetch the other, whereupon she fell to her knees and apologised. The reconciliation was so warm that she ended by saying she would deny him nothing in the world. 'Then, dear Miss, said I, (embracing her) *give me yourself; for there is nothing this side the Grave, that I so much desire*' [I, 81]. Next morning, while Mrs Powell was at church and the maid out on an errand, they read the marriage service over to each other – making them, they considered, man and wife in the sight of heaven – then consummated their love. No doubt Parry had urged a physical relationship before, but it was important for his later blackening of Mary's character to claim that it was she who initiated it. Thereafter they seem to have made love whenever possible. He still called her Miss in public, but Molly or Polly in private, and she called him Jemmy.

In spring 1734, Mrs Powell moved to another house across the churchyard, 'built of Wood, and plaister'd over, then painted in Imitation of Bricks' [I, 115].³³ There were children there spying on them, so Parry put a button on the inside of the parlour door with a spring lock to keep them out [I, 84]. But frustration came again in July when relations came to stay. One evening, at cards, Parry meant to squeeze Mary's foot, but trod on Mrs Powell's corns instead, which took some explaining away [I, 94]. There were more serious worries; Mary's periods – the 'flowers', as she called them – were irregular, and she was always afraid of getting pregnant [I, 91]. She was now twenty-two, and an attractive marriage prospect. Doomsday was still around, and Mrs Jeffries, a half-sister of Mary's father, who lived at Penrhos, only two miles from Llantilio, began pushing her son Dicky.³⁴ Parry's eye was inclined to wander, and in separate bouts of rage, Mary tore up his copy of Handel's *Julius Caesar* and damaged the spinet [I, 112]. In his turn he made her promise not to dance with Doomsday at 'the Balls and Cold Treats, always very elegant ... given by his Grace the Duke of *Beaufort*, and the Right Hon Noel *Somerset*, his Grace's Brother' after Monmouth races.³⁵ He had a spy there, the post boy, 'an arch Wag, known by the Name of my Lord *Farnaby*, a Lover of News', who reported that Mary had indeed not danced with Doomsday. But she had promised to be back in three days and stayed away five, and Parry wrote demanding her return. Her party came back at night in pouring rain, her female companion with a very bloody face, 'being scratch'd by the Briars in the narrow Roads' [I, 93].

³² This is the only known use of the word 'battleboards' for Fives.

³³ It belonged to a Mrs Kyrle, probably Frances, the widow of the Man of Ross's heir, Vandevort Kyrle, who had died in 1727. (Charles Heath, *The Excursion down the Wye*, 1st edit. [Monmouth, 1799] 35).

³⁴ Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, op.cit.98.

³⁵ These were important events in the annual social calendar, made more so this year as Somerset, M.P. for Monmouthshire 1731-4, was now standing (successfully) for Monmouth Borough.

Shortly afterwards, though she had promised not to, Mary went to the dancing-match where the barber-harpist played. Doomsday was again present and Parry was angry or drunk enough to throw part of an old joint-stool at the window. Though he missed, it made enough clatter to make the dancers think the place was falling down. Guessing who was responsible, Mary hurried home. Doomsday still imagined he had a good chance with her. One day, as he and Parry were riding together to visit the ironmaster George White at New Weir (who was related to Doomsday and whose daughter Parry was teaching), Doomsday confided that he was ordering ‘a new Suit of Cloaths, (trimm’d with Frosted Buttons) . . . lined with white Shagreen’ to be married in. But he was too late: Parry had, in his own words, ‘sprung the Mine’ [I, 110-1].

In spring 1735, there was an upheaval in the Llantilio household. The housekeeper and the bailiff were secretly married and sleeping together in the bed Matthew himself slept in when he was in the country [I, 113]. Pen discovered this by sewing the housekeeper’s sheets together, proving she wasn’t using them. In fact the couple’s bedroom door was too short for the door-case, and all Pen had needed to do was look over it. As the bailiff was also behaving in a curmudgeonly fashion – his dogs got white bread, when the servants couldn’t get enough even of brown – Mrs Powell thought Matthew should be informed by an anonymous letter written at her dictation by Parry whose hand Matthew would not know. Parry was hesitant until Mary told him ‘*if my Brother sends him about his Business, he will send me to keep his House, ’till he can be provided with good Managers; and when I am there, you and I can be married, unknown to any Body*’ [I, 114]. Matthew appeared, turned bailiff and housekeeper out of his bed, sacked them, then went back to London, leaving Mary in charge, just as she had hoped. Parry at once began making arrangements for a clandestine wedding.

He obtained a ring in Gloucester and arranged for the vicar of Tregaer, another of the very small villages connected to Llantilio by a maze of lanes, to conduct the service at Dingestow, rather further away towards Monmouth, where Parry’s friends the Joneses of Llanarth and Tre Owen, close to Dingestow church, were in on the secret. But Mary now had qualms. The vicar was a terrible gossip and would blab. She wouldn’t be married on Saturday, it was an inauspicious Cross Day; nor on Sunday, it was when the tenants came to call at Llantilio. On Monday, her excuse was more bizarre: there was no one to ride over with her because everyone was away dipping the hounds in salt water as one had been bitten by a mad dog. On Tuesday, she told Parry she couldn’t marry him yet: her brother would shoot them both. Besides, she must have her mother’s consent. Parry was angry. ‘You’ve kept me these three Years in *Ross*, wherein I have spent the Flower of my Youth to please you’ [I, 136], he said, and for the first time threatened to publish their love-letters. He repented swiftly and offered to give her the letters back. Whereupon she fell into his arms and confessed she’d only agreed to the marriage because she’d thought she was pregnant. But on her way to Dingestow: ‘I found the F_____s coming upon me’ [I, 141]. She *would* marry him, though, one day.

Monmouthshire was, as Parry put it, ‘one of the most gossiping Counties in the Kingdom’ and rumour about the pair was rife [I, 144]. It reached Sir Joseph Clarke; it reached Mrs Powell herself, and though she laughed about it, Mary thought more discretion needed, and persuaded her mother to join her at Llantilio. It was now that the lovers’ letters, carried by barely literate servants, were written backwards or in lemon juice or urine in case they fell into the wrong hands [I, 149]. In the spirit of a Richardson heroine, Parry, perhaps thinking of the future, had always made copies of his own, though he claimed it was Mary’s idea. Her letters become more flowery and dependent on quotation from this point. Perhaps the clandestine marriage had been too near a thing, and she was frightened at what she was doing, or perhaps Parry embellished them for publication. With Matthew showing no sign of remarrying, her inheritance seemed safe; perhaps she was just waiting for the moment to ditch her socially unsuitable lover. Dicky Jeffries visited daily, feeling her up and tongue-kissing her, to Parry’s fury [I, 155]. When she invited Richard Clarke, eldest son of Sir Joseph, and

the ever-lurking Doomsday to celebrate her birthday, she asked Parry to stay away [I, 160]. The last time they made love was on 8 October 1735, at the foot of the stairs, and Mrs Powell very nearly caught them. 'I slip't down the Garden Stairs with my Trowzers* at my Heels', he wrote, with a footnote explaining that '*Trowzers are commonly worn by those that ride Post down into the North, and are very warm; at the same Time they keep the Coat, Breeches, &c., very clean, by being wore over them' [I, 161]. Mrs Powell noted the white lime from the wall on the back of Mary's dress. At last she realised what had been going on.

The physical affair had lasted nineteen months, but the romance continued a little longer. Secret letters continued to pass throughout the autumn and early winter, via gardeners, ploughboys, grooms, and dairymaids. In November, Parry was in Ross, playing Macheath in *The Beggar's Opera* with a troupe of touring actors [I, 104]. Ever jealous, Mary wanted to know who his Lucy and Polly were and did he kiss them. That excitement over, he walked alone in Ross churchyard and the Prospect overlooking the Wye, feeling desperate and wondering whether to apply for a job as organist in Birmingham.³⁶ In January 1736, Mary finally broke it off, and he was told by Ambrose Grisewood, a Llantilio groom who kept the *Ostrey*, the pub across the garden from Great House, that Dicky Jeffries was definitely going to marry her. Mrs Jeffries, a woman with 'a very ruff Face and carrotty hair', came to sneer at him with 'a fiercer Look than any of the Tan-colour'd Devils which are painted upon the Church-Windows of *Fairford*'. She called him a highwayman and '*You poor Blockhead, you sorry scoundrel, Organ-playing Piper*' [I, 175]. Clarke, a J.P., wanted him arrested. This was when a fellow-magistrate said that Parry could not be blamed for trying to make his fortune. But he then suggested that 'he may be taken up for riding with a Gun or Pistols, being unqualified' and unfortunately Parry had done just that, though he'd given the pistols to Ambrose to lock safely away. Great House learned of this, and on 23 February 1736 [I, 183], a Herefordshire warrant was issued for his arrest. He moved to Monmouth, where the warrant would not run.

There he drank too much negus with a clergyman (who joked that her music-master had taught Mary the silent flute), then went on to Rockfield, where he stopped for a pint of brandy at the *Unicorn* and heard more about Dicky's tumbling and mumbling of Mary. Mad drunk he rode on to Llantilio where, on Mrs Powell's orders, Ambrose refused to serve him and pushed him down the steps. He then went – staggered, most likely – to Great House to confront the Powells, but they were ready for him and he was thrown out by 'dunghill heroes'. He returned to the pub, where Mrs Powell had now told Ambrose to serve him whatever he wanted, while a warrant was sent for. When the constable took him to Monmouth prison next morning, he was seen off by Mrs Jeffries and two or three cheering ploughboys [I, 185-95]. Jones and Edmund Berry, both Monmouthshire J.P.s, put up Parry's bail, and he was soon released. 'I . . . have been in the Carcass of her hundreds of times' he snarled to Dicky Jeffries's father, 'so that let who will marry her, there will be no Porter's Work; and you may tell your Son from me, she has room for his Leg.' Jeffries was shocked by such language: 'The Devil was in you both, *said he*' and left [I, 201].

When Mrs Powell turned against someone she was unrelenting. Ready to spend £500 to see Parry punished, she said any magistrate who took his side would be her enemy for life. James Seys, a J.P. from neighbouring Penrhos³⁷, told her it would damage Mary's reputation to proceed, but she was

³⁶ The subsequent scandal ended his hopes here. In the end the Birmingham people seem to have got their old organist back from Gloucester Cathedral in 1740, see Middleton, L. M., 'Gunn, Barnabas (d. 1753)', revised by Reynolds, K.D., *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

³⁷ Bradney, op.cit. vol 2, part 1, 95. The will of James Seys (d.1777), gent., of Pen-rhos, is MS NLW LL/1777/113.

adamant, and with Clarke harassed Parry from one sessions to another, the magistrates postponing the case from Newport to Chepstow to Hereford to Caerleon, each time requiring him to find new bail [I, 202]. He suggests there was a political element here. The Powells and their allies were Whigs – Mary, said Matthew earlier, had to marry a Whig, because ‘I hate the damned Tories’ – and Parry’s few supporters seem to have been Tories, so there may have been some political malice involved in his pursuit [I, 61]. The Jones family were Catholics, and when Mrs Powell threatened to get the laws against Catholics put into force it would have carried a real threat [I, 230]. Anti-Catholic feeling in Monmouthshire, fervent during the Exclusion Crisis sixty years earlier when local Jesuits were executed, seems to have remained strong. But the main motive for the harrying of Parry was anger at his social and sexual daring. At one stage Clarke had him brought before him with one of the milliners, trying to make her say that Parry had threatened to burn her house down. (A successful prosecution for arson could lead to fourteen years transportation.) But she was as much afraid of him ‘as a Cow of a Haystack’ and refused to oblige [I, 205]. Parry called Clarke ‘barbarously partial’ and Clarke called him a puppy and accused him of faking Mary’s letters [I, 207]. In the end, however, he was unable to get more serious charges brought than forcible entry and assault.

Between court appearances Parry offered to give Mary her letters back if he could say goodbye to her, but Mrs Powell would not consider it. To annoy her, he put in a bill for his services as music-teacher. At the Newport Sessions, after he saw Mary in the street and she gave him ‘a Cut-throat Sneer’, he refused to give security for good behaviour, and was committed again to Monmouth gaol. Mrs Powell had the bells rung in celebration [I, 220-5]. Bail proved impossible to get now and Parry languished there, paying ten shillings a week to be a boarder, though the sheets were ‘as coarse as a Nutmeg-grater’, and the gaoler and his wife drank the prisoners’ liquor without paying for it. Parry quarrelled violently with the wife, and when he started writing his memoirs she got hold of and burned them [I, 235-7]. When the next Sessions came on, he had to walk to Chepstow while the gaoler rode [I, 243]. His existing indictments were discharged, but the servants present on the fatal evening at Great House were continually used to bring further summonses for assault. Ambrose Grisewood, for instance, was told he would lose his job and be turned out of the *Ostrey* if he didn’t oblige.³⁸ Parry refused to submit, so it was back on foot to Monmouth, where he was playing Fives again when his younger sister suddenly appeared from Carmarthen, and after sixteen weeks imprisonment, he was bailed to appear again, this time at Caerleon [I, 245].

There, in October, the jury found him not guilty of forcible entry but guilty of assault, and he was fined the trivial sum of one shilling, which should have been the end of this ‘whiffling Cause’ [I, 246]. But Clarke was still after him, and back in Herefordshire in May 1737, Parry had to lock a sheriff’s officer in the garden at Wilton and make his escape, it being ‘by far more agreeable to hear the Birds sing, than the Mice cry’ [I, 255]. Proceedings continued somewhat haphazardly, while Parry went on writing his memoirs and giving himself ‘the Pleasure of fretting Mrs. P_____’s Gizzard’ with further demands for payment [I, 256]. But she had won. He had been in gaol, was out of money, and though he claimed, unconvincingly, to still be in love with Mary, he had lost her. He went to London where he continued to drink too much and was had up for assaulting a man in the street. He was a musician again, working on various theatrical projects but it did not last.³⁹ He had given up his

³⁸ The charge finally brought at Caerleon was of ‘disturbing the family and putting them in fear of their lives’ as well as assault on Ambrose’s wife Jane. Parry is referred to as a yeoman, which would have nettled him, as he considered himself by then a gentleman (Gwent Record Office Q/PB1/130). Penelope Powell (almost certainly the servant Pen) was cited in yet another summons issued by John Stratford, a J.P. of Walford and a ‘cousin’ of Clarke’s, in June 1737. It does not seem to have been served (I, 204ff. and Hereford Record Office F8/III/114).

³⁹ Dearnley, *op.cit.*, 63.

career, he claimed, at Mary's suggestion; they were going to be so rich together he wouldn't need one. He brooded on a possible claim for breach of promise, but decided to publish his ungentlemanly version of events instead – not for profit, he insisted, simply to do justice to himself and his relations and 'entirely to set the Truth in its proper Light' [I, iii]. George Rogers ('Dr Galen') threatened booksellers, and waylaid and attacked Parry in the street, but in the end, after some delay, the book duly appeared.

Matthew Powell and Sir Joseph Clarke had both died in 1738. By that time Mary had, according to Parry, made a fool not only of Dicky Jeffries, but an Abergavenny apothecary, an Usk attorney, a relation of Lord A—y and several others: 'This plainly shews that Money makes the mare to go!' [I, 266]. In the end she settled for John Lewis, an attorney from the aptly named Llwyn-y-ffortun (Fortune Grove) in Carmarthenshire, who had helped in Parry's prosecution. They were married in January 1740. Parry's book was not published until the following year, making her nationally notorious, but not so damaging as to stop her husband becoming a Monmouthshire J.P.⁴⁰ They had three children, and when she died in 1758, her memorial tablet in Llantilio church was placed as close to the altar as it could be. After her death, Lewis pulled down Great House and built a large plain classical mansion in its stead, called Llantilio Court. The immediate family died out in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the house was eventually bought by the Mather-Jackson family in 1873. After the First World War, finding it too large, they sold it to the Coal Board, who almost at once pulled it down. The site is now a field, in which some of the old specimen trees still flourish. The *Ostreys*, which had moved some time before to the other end of the village, ceased to be a pub early in the twenty-first century.⁴¹

The voyage of Captain Wimble in the *Revenge*, which Parry joined in May 1741, can be documented from other sources, but the autobiography of the ship's trumpeter, James Wyatt, is the only witness to Parry's later career.⁴² According to him, they soon captured a valuable prize which they brought into Plymouth. But Parry was drinking too much again, and when Wyatt disobeyed his orders by going ashore, shot at him. (See Plate 3). When privateering resumed, the *Revenge* was less successful. There were not very lucrative raids on Teneriffe, one of them the subject of Plate 4, borrowed from Wyatt to be the frontispiece to the second volume of the 1770 edition: 'Mr Parry and the Crew returning from plundering Point Niger with the Spaniards Pelting them with Stones'. Then, in another bungled raid on 10 September 1741, Parry was shot in (suitably) the heart and dropped dead. He was buried at sea, sewn up in his own hammock.

Meanwhile, even if we disapprove of Parry's behaviour, we can enjoy the intriguing light he throws on local life and his spicy invective. He liked to 'tongue-claw' and 'tongue-pad' people [I, 109, 221]. Nathan Priest's mistress 'hated me worse than a Quaker does a parrot' (presumably for squawking during silence) [I, 4]. An enemy has 'a Face as rough as a Map of *Switzerland*', another was 'that Honey-comb Face Son of a ____' [I, 49, 219]. He would have metamorphosed a third 'into a Cribbage-board', but he turned out to be a 'trembling Quill-flogger' [I, 219]. Someone unidentified was 'a coxcomical Cushion-thumper' [I, 169] – a parson, perhaps? He hates Mrs Jeffries 'worse than a Magpye does a Toad' and wishes that 'all the Curses contain'd in the Hundred and Ninth Psalm, befall thee, and attend thy Mushroom Family' [I, 220, 195]. There are other good phrases: Dicky Jeffries looks at him as though he were 'a Calf with six Legs and a Top-Knot'; a man called Phillips is 'a wet Quaker'; Mr Seys 'could see as far as another into a Mill-stone'; Mr Catchmayd,

⁴⁰ National Archives, C193/44, 17 Feb. 1744.

⁴¹ Bradney, *Monmouthshire*, op.cit.96.

⁴² Chapin, Howard M., *Privateering in King George's War 1739-1748* (Providence, Rhode Island, 1928) 217-9, states that James Wimble obtained a commission from the Admiralty on 18 Sept. 1740 and lost his first ship named *Revenge* in the Bahamas in November 1741. He then bought a new ship in Rhode Island, and continued to pursue Spanish shipping until shipwrecked again off Cuba in early 1744.

giving a discouraging idea of contemporary dental hygiene, 'would stick as close by me, as a Leech to my Gums'; someone tells him bad news which 'almost addled my Pericranium'; and Mary once 'look'd as dismal as *Ananias* in one of the Seven Cartoons'.⁴³ He uses odd words like 'illepidity' and 'illachrymal'; prison was 'my Stone-Doublet' [I, 232, 234]. But the doublet of his death was a hammock.

Parry's life was hardly exemplary, but the success of his book indicates that scandal such as he caused excited intense social unease. As well as being an invaluable witness to the social *mores* of small town and minor gentry life in the 1730s, he had some of the unselfconscious openness and lack of shame about his own conduct which distinguishes the really great diarists like Pepys, or Chips Channon, or Alan Clark. It would be good if some enterprising publisher would reprint *The True Anti-Pamela*, with the all the initials expanded, for a new and socially less anxious generation to enjoy.

⁴³ I, 189, 200, 211, 277, 229. The 'Seven Cartoons' were by Raphael; then hung at Hampton Court, they are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

‘A KIND OF SACRED LAND’: IOLO MORGANWG AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

By Prys Morgan

At first sight it seems quite inappropriate to link Iolo Morganwg's name with Monmouthshire. Although Edward Williams 'Iolo Morganwg' (1747-1826) is deeply associated with his native county of Glamorgan, he inherited a small farm in the parish of Rumney and lived there during 1784, and it could be argued that the nearby parish of Basaleg (which included Rogerstone, the home of the late Gwennllian Jones) was the most important spot on Iolo Morganwg's cultural map. Writing to his friend and patron, Owen Jones (Owain Myfyr) from Basaleg on 8 August 1784, he said it was 'a kind of sacred land'. 'This' he continued, 'is the ground which was trodden upon a great deal by Dafydd ap Gwilym, Morfudd, Ifor Hael and the pure wise and fair Nest of the sparkling teeth.'¹ It has been suggested that Iolo saw his relationship as a young scholar-poet with his patron, the wealthy London-Welsh currier, Owen Myfyr, as a modern reflection of that between the greatest Welsh poet, Dafydd ap Gwilym, and his patron, Ifor ap Llywelyn (Ifor Hael, Ifor the Generous) of Gwern y Clepa, Basaleg, in the fourteenth century. Morfudd was Dafydd's lover, and Nest was Ifor's wife.² Iolo had studied Welsh medieval poetry for many years, and by 1784, when he was farming in Rumney, he was adept at mimicking the poems of Dafydd ap Gwilym. Indeed he sent a sheaf of his forged poems to the unsuspecting Owen Myfyr in London, which were published as an appendix to the epoch-making 1789 edition of Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetry.³

Iolo shared an enthusiasm for Dafydd's poetry with all Welsh readers and writers in the eighteenth century, but it is possible to argue that Iolo may have had an unusually deep personal interest in Gwern y Clepa from childhood. Iolo was by trade a journeyman mason or stone-cutter, as was his father before him, based for most of his life at Flemingston in the Vale of Glamorgan. But his biographers all emphasize that the most powerful influence upon him was his mother, Ann Matthew(s), daughter of a farmer from Coychurch, but brought up at Boverton Place in the Vale of Glamorgan by her cousins, the Seys family, and educated by them as a cultured gentlewoman. She loved to rhapsodize in conversations with her son on the ancient families of Glamorgan and their history. In the recently-published Iolo Morganwg correspondence, there is one letter to Iolo in September 1784 (when he was living in Rumney) from his 'loving Aunt' Elizabeth Seys (she was later a Mrs Price and by 1784, a Mrs Blades).⁴ This aunt, Elizabeth Blades (1707-85) was said to have been responsible for the education of her cousin, Iolo's mother, and was the daughter of Richard Seys of Boverton, and heiress of Boverton Place. Richard's father, Evan Seys, had inherited Boverton towards the mid-seventeenth century because his elder brother, Roger, had been for various reasons disinherited. This Roger married a daughter, possibly called Cecil, of Rowland Morgan of Gwern y Clepa. Her nephew, a Colonel Myles Morgan (who died before 1678) appears to have lived in

¹ Jenkins, G.H., Jones, F.M. and Jones, D.C., (eds), *The Correspondence of Iolo Morganwg*, 3 vols (Cardiff, 2007) I, 256, translated 258-62[henceforth *Correspondence*].

² This is suggested by Glenda Carr in Jenkins, G.H. (ed.), *A Rattleskull Genius: the many faces of Iolo Morganwg* (Cardiff, 2005) 411.

³ Constantine, Mary-Ann, *The Truth against the World: Iolo Morganwg and Romantic Forgery* (Cardiff, 2007) *passim*, but especially 27-41 on Dafydd ap Gwilym and Ifor Hael.

⁴ *Correspondence* I, 262-3.

London, and it was his grandson, yet another Myles Morgan, who sold Gwern y Clepa on 15 October 1733, to the Morgans of Tredegar.⁵ G. T. Clark, the Glamorgan genealogist, takes a swipe at Iolo's theories when he describes Ifor Hael as 'the hero of much absurd fiction.' Clark's genealogies show Iolo's aunts, Elizabeth Seys and her sister Ann, the wife of Lord King, the Hanoverian Lord Chancellor, but only mention their mother as 'Wenllian', yet she is probably the link with Iolo's mother. G.J. Williams suggested that this Mrs (Wenllian) Seys was the sister of Iolo's grandmother.⁶ A perusal of the genealogies thus shows that, although Iolo was not directly related to the Morgans of Gwern y Clepa, his Seys aunts were cousins by marriage to the last Morgans who owned the house in its dying days. It seems fairly likely that Iolo's mother, with all her delight in family history, would have talked of the decline and fall of her connexions at Gwern y Clepa.

Iolo's mother died at the age of fifty-seven in 1770, and he left Wales for some ten years to work as a craftsman in various parts of Wales and England, taking every opportunity to copy manuscripts. In the course of his Odyssey he met the great scholar and wandering curate Revd Evan Evans (1733-88) or Ieuan Brydydd Hir, and was delighted when he heard that Ieuan had obtained the curacy of Basaleg.⁷ He claimed that he went to see Ieuan about 1779 in Basaleg and that they made a momentous visit together to the ruins of Gwern y Clepa. G.J. Williams suggested that the visit was in the latter half of 1779. Iolo claimed that he was with Ieuan as he composed his famous *englynion* on the ruins of the Court of Ifor Hael, and noted in his papers the original form of the poem as he heard them from Ieuan that day. G.J. Williams makes the intriguing suggestion that Iolo might have influenced Ieuan's poetic expression, since Ieuan's 'Court of Ifor Hael' verses differ markedly from the usual run of his poetry, and bear many signs of a wistful Romanticism more akin to Iolo's poetry.⁸

From time to time, Iolo worked at home in the Vale of Glamorgan, and courted, and eventually in 1781, married Margaret (or 'Peggy') Robert(s) of St Mary Church, and in so doing took over the property she had inherited, worth about one thousand pounds.⁹ She was in many ways a remarkable woman, literate and cultured, a formidable personality, and a stern critic of her husband. But it is her inheritance which is important to our subject at this point. Her father, Rees Robert, died in 1780, and he had inherited part of the lands of his brother, William Robert, who had died in 1766 and who was buried at Peterstone Wentlloog in Monmouthshire. His death is noted in the lugubrious diary of William Thomas of Michaelstone super Ely, who added that he had died a wealthy man.¹⁰ William Robert had the previous year bought thirty-five and a half acres of land in Rumney, and this was left in his will to his sister, but it was to go eventually to his brother, Rees Robert, and a nephew, William Hugh. This Rumney farm eventually came to Iolo's father-in-law, Rees Robert and, through his daughter's marriage, into the hands of Iolo himself.

The new-found wealth enabled Iolo to think of becoming a businessman in Llandaff and Cardiff, and he was able to buy a small sloop to trade across the Bristol Channel. Iolo spent so much of his time on his poetry and scholarship that his business was probably neglected, and he soon lost much of the money he had inherited through his wife, and his business ventures collapsed leaving a trail

⁵ Clark, G.T., *Limbus Patrum Morganiae* (London, 1886) 218 (Seys of Boverton), 329 (Morgan of Gwern y Cleppa).

⁶ Williams, G.J., *Iolo Morganwg: Y Gyfrol Gyntaf* (Cardiff, 1956) 92.

⁷ *Correspondence* I, 140, letter of Iolo to Evan Evans at Newport, possibly April 1779.

⁸ *Ibid.* 378-9. 'Llys Ifor Hael' appears in many Welsh anthologies, e.g. Parry, Thomas, *The Oxford Book of Welsh Verse* (Oxford, 1962) 322-3, and there is a translation in Conran, Anthony, *The Penguin Book of Welsh Verse* (Harmondsworth, 1967) 218.

⁹ Williams, G.J., *op. cit.* 415 n.

¹⁰ *Correspondence* I, 285 n.

of debts. By 1784, his ship, *The Lion*, had sunk somewhere between Bristol and Cardiff, and so did Iolo's hopes. The family moved in summer 1784 from Iolo's house in St Mary Street, Cardiff to Llandaff and there Iolo conceived the idea of turning his hand to farming.¹¹ He decided to sell his stock in trade to his father (who was also a mason), and moved to his lands in Rumney, where he seems to have lodged on his farm with the tenant, Lewys William Rees, from 16 June to 9 October 1784.

The fenny country of Wentlloog was very different from the farmland of the Vale to which Iolo was accustomed, with its reens and gowts, its warth and pills and oazes.¹² Iolo's father-in-law had raised mortgages over the years on the farm, the tenant farmed about half the land, so Iolo was able to farm only a small area, and the terms of his father-in-law's will meant that he had to pay six pounds *per annum* to his widowed mother-in-law. He also had to pay all sorts of local dues for the upkeep of the waterways of the marshes and the sea defences. He wrote to Owain Myfyr on 8 August 1784, that he had eight acres under wheat, which he was about to harvest and that he had high hopes of taking the whole farm in hand eventually.¹³

Iolo's life always seemed to veer between agonies and ecstasies, and his letter to Owain Myfyr is ecstatic about the beautiful hills of Basaleg, and his visit to Gwern y Clepa. He tells Owain Myfyr (in Welsh):

Gwern y Clepa is one of the houses where Ifor lived in his time. It is now a ruin, a few parts of the walls half erect, cloaked with ivy, and in its holes made by owls and bats and among the piles of stones below, the brambles grow and foxes burrow.

He mentions another of Ifor's houses, Y Wennallt, still standing in the upper part of the parish, and then he adds

A certain sadness comes to my thoughts and an excitement into my heart as I look upon these places. Ifor has gone, Dafydd has gone, etc., but the song which the latter sang and the praise which the former deserved, live and shall live, as long as the Welsh language lasts.¹⁴

He adds that Monmouthshire is just as Welsh as any other part of Wales.¹⁵

By September, a month later, the ecstasy had died away: Iolo wrote to his friend, John Edwards (Siôn Ceiriog), in London, admitting the *athrilit* (genius) once in him had subsided and gone, but that he was writing a good deal about Wentlloog, which Iolo rightly claimed had been part of the ancient Morgannwg, before Henry VIII's Act had created the new county of Monmouth, and he was busy collecting all sorts of interesting dialect forms from the talk of his tenant, Lewys William Rees (who came from Tre Ddu, now Blacktown, Marshfield), and he was about to go to Castleton to interrogate the gardener, John Phillips, about the Monmouthshire orchard-growers' vocabulary.¹⁶

¹¹ Williams, G.J., *op.cit.* 429-30. Jones, D. Ceri, 'Iolo Morganwg and the Welsh Rural Landscape' in *A Rattleskull Genius*, *op. cit.* 227-50, esp. 230 on Iolo's passion for farming around 1783-4.

¹² Paul Courtney, 'A landscape of improvement' in Gray, M. and Morgan, P. (eds), *The Gwent County History, Volume 3, The Making of Monmouthshire, 1536-1780* (Cardiff, 2009) 318-9.

¹³ *Correspondence* I, 256.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* English translation is on pp. 258-62.

¹⁵ Jones, J. Gwynfor, 'Language, Literature and Education' in *Gwent County History, Volume 3, op. cit.* pp. 285-311, esp. p. 301 *et seq.* for the decline of Welsh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹⁶ *Correspondence* I, 264, trans. on pp. 266-71.

Iolo seems to have been on good terms with Thomas Thomas, the Cardiff lawyer who was steward of the court leet of the manor of Rumney, and in January 1784 (months before Iolo went to live in Rumney), Iolo sent him a ballad entitled 'Rumney Leet: a Ballad', describing Thomas in flattering terms:

Nor shall the Muse in meaner verse
Thy trusty steward greet
Who, Thomas, can thy worth rehearse
Thy skill to rule the leet.¹⁷

But Iolo was not slow to criticize his neighbours, and G.J. Williams mentions a satire by Iolo called *Nani Gamp Aflan o Forfa Gwynllwg* (Nanny of the Dirty Exploit in Wentlloog Marsh), and his quarrel with James Evans, Rector of Marshfield.¹⁸ Iolo's papers record a violent scuffle, which appears to date from the night of 18 April, and thus just before Iolo went to live in Rumney. Iolo gives a graphic account of how the aged James Evans, on horseback and accompanied by someone called Tom, had arrogantly cross-examined Iolo as he went back to St Mellon's from visiting his tenant, and how this had led to a quarrel in which Evans had tried to horsewhip Iolo. Iolo unsuccessfully tried to get his neighbours to gather enough evidence to set the law on the aged parson. He got his own back by circulating a ballad entitled 'The Clerical Shepherd: a Monmouthshire Pastoral', which starts

Where the foul fens of Marshfield extend to the shore
In Monmouthshire lived this famed shepherd of yore...

And ends

Of Jemmy the Shepherd thus far have I sung
Truth form'd the narration, instructed my tongue,
Some Parson, perhaps, highly nettled may be,
But if the cap fits him, 'tis nothing to me.¹⁹

G.J. Williams rightly remarks that what is striking about the ballad is that Iolo pretended it was a translation from a Welsh poem by a bard called 'Iolo Morganwg' who dated from about 1285, and that this was the first mention of the name which soon after this became Edward Williams's own bardic pseudonym.

Iolo appears to have been as much a failure as a farmer as he was a businessman, and was unable to sustain his little family with the income of the farm, added to which he had to fend off the demands of his creditors who had lent him (and indeed his father-in-law before 1780) large sums of money. John Llewellyn of Coedrhiglan was steward of Rumney court on 10 March 1785 and demanded that Iolo should pay the principal and the interest due on the mortgage entered upon by the late Rees Robert.²⁰ Iolo was also involved in a long dispute in the 1780s over his inability to pay back a mortgage to William Rees of Court Colman, and these debts could not be met by the meagre earnings of the Rumney farm. So Iolo fled from the area in the autumn of 1784, and by January, appeared to

¹⁷ *Ibid.* I, 284.

¹⁸ Guy, J.R. (ed.), *The Diocese of Llandaff in 1763* (Cardiff, 1991) 128, 131. Evans was also vicar of Rumney but lived at Marshfield from 1742 to 1788.

¹⁹ Williams, G.J., *op. cit.* 435-7, based on NLW MS Llr E 8, 187-91.

²⁰ *Correspondence* I, 275.

be back in Flemingston, and on 19 January obtained a licence to open a small shop there, and soon after that he appears to have gone back to his work as a stonemason in Cheltenham. Despite escaping his creditors for a while by working in Wells, the whole sorry saga of mounting debts eventually caught up with him, and he ended up in the debtors' prison in Cardiff in 1786-7²¹. As late as 1787, while in gaol Iolo wrote to John Wood in the hope that he could raise some sort of mortgage on the farm at Rumney, to save his family from utter destitution.²² Iolo penned several letters including one to the Judge George Hardinge²³, to try to get his sympathy for his financial problems, which he said originated from the debts of his father-in-law, Rees Robert, but all to no avail, and by February 1787, the Rumney farm was put up for immediate sale, one Thomas Evans, presumably a neighbour, acting as the local agent.²⁴

So the attempt to make a living as a farmer in Wentlloog ended in total failure, and Iolo never again lived in Monmouthshire. But the 'sacred land' of Basaleg was a great inspiration, and as he worked once again at his proper craft of masonry, he busied himself with his secret craft of mimicking the poems of his beloved Dafydd ap Gwilym, sending his London friends, such as William Owen-Pughe and Owain Myfyr, specimens of poems which Iolo claimed he had found in obscure Glamorgan manuscript collections, and some of which had references to Ifor Hael and Gwern y Clepa. Pughe and Myfyr were busy preparing a bumper edition of Dafydd's poems, and Iolo was too slow for them to include his forged poems in the main body of the work, which they published at Myfyr's expense in London in 1789, so they included Iolo's poems as an appendix.²⁵ These poems known in Welsh as *Cywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* were not suspected to be forgeries until the end of the nineteenth century, and it was G.J. Williams in the centenary year of Iolo's death, who at last proved that Iolo had forged them.²⁶

Iolo had always been excited and stimulated by life in London, and spent much of his time there from 1791 to 1795 attempting to establish himself as a writer, and to finish the business of getting subscriptions for his book *Poems Lyric and Pastoral* published in 1794. While in London his addiction to laudanum, a tincture of opium which was imbibed by large numbers of people as a stimulant and as a cure for asthma, became serious. It was now that he acquired a number of new enthusiasms, political Radicalism, rational dissent, especially Unitarianism, and, most curiously, the cult of Druidism. The revival of Ancient Druidism had affected small groups of craftsmen and intellectuals in England since the 1720s, and in 1792, Iolo thought that the Welsh had a primary claim to be seen as the strongest link with the Ancient Britons, among whom the cult of Druidism had flourished before the coming of the Romans and Christians. He and his London cronies gathered together on Primrose Hill, London, at the summer solstice of 1792 to establish what Iolo called 'The Gorsedd of Bards of the Isle of Britain'. Iolo claimed that Druidism had survived persecution down the centuries in the mountains of Wales, and especially in the hills of south-east Wales, down to the present time amongst Welsh bards in secret. Iolo proclaimed that to open the Gorsedd, or druid society, to the general public was his task on behalf of the druid bards of Glamorgan and Gwent – *Beirdd Cyfoeth Morganwg a Gwent ac Ergyng ac Euas ac Ystrad Yw*. Iolo saw his province as the

²¹ Williams, G.J., *op.cit.* 441-53.

²² *Correspondence I*, 292.

²³ *Ibid.* I, 295.

²⁴ *Ibid.* I, 285 n. based on NLW MS 21389 E 99/27.

²⁵ Lewis, Ceri W., 'Iolo Morganwg and Strict-Metre Welsh Poetry' in *A Rattleskull Genius*, *op. cit.* 71-94, for Iolo's command of Welsh classical metres, and, more particularly on the Dafydd ap Gwilym forgeries, Phillips, Geraint. 'Forgery and Patronage: Iolo Morganwg and Owain Myfyr', *ibid.* 403-23.

²⁶ Williams, G.J., *Iolo Morganwg a Chywyddau'r Ychwanegiad* (London, 1926).

ancient Glamorgan and Gwent stretching from the river Tawe eastwards to the Wye, and including Gwent, and the ancient Welsh districts of western Herefordshire such as Archenfield and Ewyas. When he returned to Wales and held a Gorsedd in 1795, near Cowbridge, this again was the Gorsedd of Glamorgan and Gwent.²⁷ Iolo's Romantic vision of his Glamorgan saw it as part of an ancient kingdom including Monmouthshire, which could be identified with his imagined province of Eswyllwg, the kingdom of the ancient Silures. The wider dimensions were essential to Iolo, so that he could include in it Caerleon, with all its medieval associations with King Arthur and the Round Table, and it would have a special place for his beloved Gwern y Clepa. Iolo used the word 'eisteddfod' also for his Gorsedd, and eventually succeeded in grafting his Gorsedd of Bards on to the broader eisteddfod tradition at Carmarthen in 1819.²⁸ Iolo was anxious to show that there had been a tradition of holding eisteddfodau down the centuries across south-east Wales: he claimed that Ifor Hael had held an eisteddfod at his home in Gwern y Clepa in 1328 and that in that meeting the chair had been awarded for the first time for a *cywydd*, and it was won by Dafydd ap Gwilym – who else? – but that at that stage he was known as Dafydd Morganwg.²⁹ The eisteddfod was of course a Ioloic fantasy, but Gwern y Clepa certainly formed part of the round of the Welsh bards in the later Middle Ages, that is, the noble houses welcoming poets of the 'friendship poetry' intimately linking poets and patrons, as Dylan Foster Evans has so felicitously expressed it. Interestingly, he indicates that Dafydd's references to Ifor Hael refer to his living in 'Morgannwg', showing that the bards considered Gwynllwg (Wentllog) as part of the ancient Glamorgan.³⁰

Having set up the Gorsedd of Bards in the 1790s, Iolo found that within a short time he was not able to hold his druidic moots because of the strict laws passed by Pitt's government – the 'gagging acts' – against holding secular public meetings. One way in which he could express his restless spirit was to get together with like-minded friends to forward the cause of rational dissent, and in 1802, at a conference held at Gellionnen chapel near Clydach in the Swansea valley, he founded the South Wales Unitarian Society. To some extent Iolo and his friends were acting in self-defence, because anti-trinitarian views were strictly illegal until 1812. Despite these difficulties, Iolo appears to have been able to form a network of Unitarian friends and acquaintances, among them John Hodder Moggridge (1771-1834), a native of Bradford on Avon, an active radical writer and dissenter, who came to south Wales as an industrialist. He lived at Llanrumney Hall, and played a decisive role in the development of the town of Blackwood. Iolo would go to stay with him to discuss the furthering of Unitarian causes. It was thus that Iolo eventually returned to Rumney, to stay with Moggridge at Llanrumney Hall, in a corner of the parish very different from the fenny boggy scenes of his previous tragedies.³¹

Iolo stayed at Llanrumney in August 1813, and after his return home to Flemingston he wrote to his son Taliesin Williams on 16 and 17 August.³² He makes no mention of wishing to revisit his former farm on the Wentllog levels, but made every effort to revisit Gwern y Clepa.³³ He said :

²⁷ Charnell-White, *Bardic Circles* (Cardiff, 2007) 138-9.

²⁸ Jenkins, Geraint H., 'The Unitarian Firebrand, the Cambrian Society and the Eisteddfod', in *Rattleskull Genius*, *op. cit.* 269-92.

²⁹ Loeffler, Marion, *The Literary and Historical Legacy of Iolo Morganwg, 1826-1926* (Cardiff, 2007) 111.

³⁰ Evans, D. Foster, 'Talm o Wenttoedd': The Welsh Language and its Literature, c. 1070-c.1530' in Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, T., and Howell, R. (eds), *The Gwent County History, Volume 2, The Age of the Marcher Lords, c. 1070-1536* (Cardiff, 2008) 280-308.

³¹ *Correspondence* III, 163, note on J.H. Moggridge.

³² Taliesin Williams, or Taliesin ab Iolo, was born in Cardiff in 1787 while Iolo was in the debtors' prison.

³³ *Correspondence* III, 171-5.

I have been ever since last Tuesday morning from home in Monmouthshire in Lanrumney House, and Tredegar, Newport, Gwern y Cleppa etc. – and all turned out to be time sadly wasted in every sense, excepting what I had to do with Mr Moggridge and my visit to Gwern y Cleppa, the ruined seat of Ivor Hael, of which I made some sketches, which when finished you shall see. I had been there once before with the Revd Evan Evans, or Ieuan Brydydd Hir, but he had no patience then to stay and trace all the ruins and vestiges of this interesting ruin.

Iolo said that the ruins were so lost in thick woods that they were unknown to the locals, but he had managed to go all day on his nag - a rare example of Iolo going on horseback - through the woods to find and examine them.

The vestiges are extensive of the house, of the courts, gardens, etc. Some of the walls are still standing, the masonry good and very firm. Of these I made three hasty sketches. There are also vestiges of fishponds, a pigeon house half of which is fallen down, a pretty large park also without the wood, surrounded by good stone walls in better preservation than could have been expected. It is within a mile of Tredegar House.

Iolo had been given a letter of introduction to Sir Charles Morgan at Tredegar, but when Iolo called, he and his letter were ignored, and no one could tell him how to get to the ruins from the direction of Tredegar. Iolo's reaction was typical. 'So much for Tredegar and its once-famed hospitality, which during the life of the late worthy possessor of the estate, John Morgan, Esq., who died some twenty years ago, I had often experienced.' Iolo does not say who had given him the letter of introduction - perhaps it was J.H. Moggridge - but that person's comment was 'Poor Sir Charles! Poor rotten stick!'

Sir Charles Morgan was drawn in the 1830s and 40s, after Iolo's death, into the circle of Benjamin and Augusta Hall of Llanover, becoming a generous patron of the Abergavenny Eisteddfodau, taking the bardic name of Ifor Hael yr Ail (the Second Ifor Hael). If he had lived, what would Iolo have made of that? One quite different phenomenon that would have made Iolo rejoice was the way in which popular opinion in Wales adopted Ifor Hael as a hero, and in 1836, Urdd y Gwir Iforiaid - the Order of True Ivorites - was founded in Wrexham as a working men's benefit society, but also to forward the cause of the Welsh language, hence the number of inns across Wales called 'Ivorites Arms'.

Iolo died at Flemingston in 1826, and for many years before then he spent much of his time writing on Welsh history and literature, and inventing a *corpus* of druidic lore to back his vision of the Gorsedd of Bards of the Isle of Britain, all emphasizing the immense contribution of Glamorgan and Gwent to Welsh tradition across the centuries. So in conclusion it can be seen that Iolo's relationship with the 'sacred land' of Monmouthshire was curiously paradoxical. The reality of his dealings with life on the Wentlloog levels was glum, marred by bickering and financial disaster. In reality Iolo found that the home of Ifor Hael meant nothing to the locals, and its ivy-choked ruins were home to owls, bats and foxes, and the owners of the estate, the Morgans of Tredegar, cold and unwelcoming. Indeed, the distant connexions of Iolo's mother may even have been responsible for the ruination of Gwern y Cleppa. But the 'sacred land' was Iolo's inspiration, rising above sordid everyday reality, and that was Iolo's idealized Monmouthshire, the sublime Gwent that was the home of Arthur and the Round Table and above all, the home of Wales's most moving literary friendship, that of Dafydd ap Gwilym and Ifor Hael of Gwern y Cleppa.

OBITUARIES

KEITH KISSACK, M.B.E., F.S.A. (1913-2010)



The Cambrian Archaeological Association Visit to Monmouthshire, 1994, at Monmouth Castle.

Mr Jeremy Knight, Mr Steve Clarke, M.B.E., Revd Dr David H. Williams
(President), the Mayor of Monmouth, Mr Keith Kissack, M.B.E.

Keith Kissack, Monmouth's foremost historian, produced a remarkable series of books on his adopted town; his final volume – *Monmouth and its Buildings* – was published just days before his ninetieth birthday.

Born in Shropshire on 18 November 1913, the son of a vicar, Keith Kissack attended a preparatory school in Yorkshire and then Durham School where he excelled mainly at cricket and rugby. He trained as a teacher in London while living and working at the Docklands Settlement in Canning Town.

With the outbreak of war, Keith enlisted with the Green Howards and served in Palestine, Persia and in Italy, where he was seriously wounded. Before he was demobilised he was made adjutant of a re-settlement centre for Polish soldiers – a project for which his work was acknowledged at a formal medal presentation ceremony at the Polish Embassy in 1998. He married a Monmouth girl, Audrey Jones, in 1939, and after the war moved to Dixton Cottage where his two daughters were born.

Keith Kissack had been a magistrate, a member of Monmouth Borough Council, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London and a member, life member/president and vice-president of several local and regional organisations. He became a teacher and at Priory Street School, and was headmaster there from 1969 to 1973. Keith worked for many years at Monmouth Museum and Local

History Centre as well as the Regimental Museum at Monmouth Castle. He received, in 1976, the M.B.E. for his academic achievements and services to the town.

The writer of this tribute was a pupil in the very first class which Keith taught in Priory Street, and although nearly sixty years have passed, his influence remains. He had a profound affect on his pupils and encouraged the formation of the Monmouth & District Junior Archaeological Society, which was soon to drop the '& District Junior' of its title. Together with a fellow teacher, Mr A.L. Sockett, he inspired the character of the society and, leading by example, taught that Monmouth was very special – it was later designated by the Council for British Archaeology as one of the top ten historic towns in Britain. Keith was known for his friendly disposition; he loved Monmouth and considered that the town was worth defending against bad planning or unscrupulous developers – something for which his protégés became well-known.

Keith Kissack died, aged 96, on the 31 March 2010, and is buried with his wife, Audrey, in the parish churchyard of St Peter's, Dixton, beside the garden of Dixton Cottage, where he and his family spent so many happy years.

Stephen Clarke

A selection of Keith Kissack's publications:

- 1955 *The Formative Years 1075-1257*
- 1974 *Medieval Monmouth*
- 1975 *Life in the Monmouthshire Militia 1778-1812*
- 1975 *Monmouth—the Making of a County Town*
- 1977 *Victorian Monmouth*
- 1978 *The River Wye*
- 1981 *The Inns and Friendly Societies of Monmouth*
- 1982 *The River Severn*
- 1992 *Haberdashers' Monmouth School for Girls*
- 1995 *Monmouth School and Monmouth*
- 1999 *The Schools in The Priory*
- 2000 *Home Front Monmouth during the First World War* (with Betty Williams)
- 2001 *Monmouth Priory* (with David Williams and others)
- 2003 *Monmouth and its Buildings*

FITZROY, 5TH LORD RAGLAN (1927 - 2010)

Fitzroy, 5th Lord Raglan, who died on 24 January 2010, combined a life of public service with two great loves, music and Bugatti cars. From the Labour benches in the House of Lords he served on many committees, notably the Lords Standing Committee on the European Community of which he became chairman. He joined the SDP shortly after it was formed, but when it combined with the Liberals he moved to the cross benches.

Outside politics he was involved in a wide range of local and regional historical and conservation charities, being chairman of the Bath Preservation Trust, and later the Bath Society, as well as chairman of the Cwmbrân New Town Development Corporation for twelve years. In later life he endeared himself to the people of his nearest town, Usk, by his assiduous support of the Civic Society, the Usk Rural Life Museum, the Usk Agricultural Show, and the Young Farmers. He was generous with his time as well as with money, and with unstinting moral support. He was also a keen and hospitable supporter of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association; its members, and those of the Gwent County History Association, being more than once entertained at Cefntilla.



Lord Raglan (far right), standing next to Mrs Gwenllian Jones, at the unveiling of the plaque recording the 150 years of our Association; the Priory Hotel, Caerleon; 28 October 1997.

(South Wales Argus) (Photo: Pendre Sims)

When the MAA held its 150th anniversary dinner at the *Priory*, Caerleon, in October 1997, it was Lord Raglan who unveiled the commemorative plaque in the porch there. He was the guest speaker, and concluded his remarks by saying of the Association: ‘that it will continue to flourish one can have no doubt at all, and I wish it very well’.

Fitzroy Raglan was brought up at Cefntilla, the house with five hundred acres given to the 2nd Lord Raglan by friends and fellow officers of his father, who died in the Crimea. After Westminster School he went to Cirencester Agricultural College and then farmed the land at Cefntilla until the death of his father propelled him into politics *via* his hereditary seat in the House of Lords.

In 1971, Fitzroy met Nicholas Kraemer, a young conductor and harpsichordist, and the Raglan Baroque Players came into being. His serious knowledge of baroque music, but also of Mozart, was acknowledged by one of the players at his funeral when she said that his critique of their rehearsals before their annual concert at Cefntilla was always taken in god part, because they recognised his serious knowledge of and devotion to the music.

Fitzroy’s interest in Bugatti cars was equally professional. He was an accomplished mechanic and never happier (except perhaps at his Fortepiano) than when he was lying on his back under his Bugatti with a spanner in his hand.

His outstanding quality was the enthusiasm and application he brought to whatever he took on. He will be sorely missed.

**Richard Hanbury-Tenison
and Frances Pemberton**

REVIEWS

Wiliam, Eurwyn, *The Welsh Cottage: Building Traditions of the Rural Poor, 1750-1900*; (Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Wales, 2010). ISBN 978 1 871184 372. Hardback, 28 x 22 cm; 288 pages, 212 figures, mainly colour and black and white photographs. £29.95.

In the preface Wiliam writes 'This book is about the homes of the rural poor in Wales during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in particular the materials and techniques used to build them. By any standards it is a gem of a book. It is all you ever wanted to know, and more, about Welsh cottages of the rural poor. The book is superbly illustrated and takes full advantage of the collections of the Royal Commission and the National Museum of Wales. The text is equally impressive and readable, but shows to full advantage Dr Wiliam's scholarship and immense knowledge of his subject.

The book is not a gazetteer, and does not treat the subject on a regional basis. Instead it deals with the geography, settlement and traditions across Wales and then follows this with chapters on types of cottages, walls, roofs, interiors, builders, investors and lifestyles. There are good reasons for this, since the immediate local environment often dictated the nature of buildings and the materials available to build the cottages.

The types of cottages and their specific uses are given in detail with numerous contemporary descriptions and anecdotes to enliven the descriptions. For example William Richards writing in 1738 records "We stumbled upon a House, or a Dunghill modelled into the shape of a Cottage ... with such swarthy Plaister, that it appeared not unlike a great Blot of Cow-turd". There is a fascinating account of encroachment and of *unnos* (literally houses built in one night), These were of a temporary nature until more permanent structures could be built.

Of course not all cottages were squalid, and fair-minded travellers gave various descriptions of cottages made of stone, slate, timber, plaster, turf, mud, thatch and anything that the cottagers could lay their hands on. They could be fairly sophisticated in their construction, but the builders were adaptable. One of Dr Wiliam's illustrations, of an early cottage in Caernarfonshire, shows mud-brick walls on stone footings attached on to a turf wall, and with what appears to be a disused wooden toilet seat blocking a window opening.

Building techniques and structures are thoroughly investigated in the book, using examples of cottages from all over Wales. Most of these cottages are not from Gwent but they give much information on the type of structures, the building techniques, and the lifestyles of the poorer people living in this area. In 2005, I carried out an historical survey of many of the nature reserves belonging to the Gwent Wildlife Trust. What surprised me was the number of ruined cottages surviving on the reserves, often in the most inaccessible places. Many of these were abandoned in the nineteenth century with the movement of population from rural areas

Dr Wiliam's book deals with settlement and abandonment of such rural cottages and is therefore of direct relevance to our own area. The few references to Monmouthshire buildings include a photograph of Waun Farmhouse in Mitchel Troy. There is also William Gilpin's description in 1782 of a disabled woman's home at Tintern Abbey. 'I never saw so loathsome a dwelling. It was a cavity loftily vaulted between two ruined walls which streamed with various coloured stains of unwholesome dews. The floor was earth, yielding through moisture to a tread. Not the merest utensil or furniture of any kind appeared but a wretched bedstead, spread with a few rags and drawn in the middle of the cell to prevent it receiving the damp which trickled down the walls.'

Dr Wiliam alludes to the survey in the 1940s by Sir Cyril Fox and Lord Raglan of nearly 450 Monmouthshire buildings dating from the Middle Ages to about 1714, and the fact that only a small handful could be classed as cottages. It was concluded that the houses of the poor were too impermanent to survive and that the majority of cottages now remaining are of late eighteenth and nineteenth-century or later date. Dr Wiliam, however, maintains that that the 'Great Rebuilding' of Welsh cottages which swept away the older presumed primitive predecessors was due to a variety of reasons, including profit making and fashion. He concludes that the preservation of a handful of samples is not enough and that more attention and support for surviving buildings is vital. He also claims that we can learn from the concepts of low-impact living and sustainability demonstrated by the Welsh rural working class.

This is a large meticulously presented book with lavish illustrations and is excellent value for money, either as a coffee table book to dip into, or as a detailed historical reference source. I find it hard to fault. A separate glossary might have been useful, although the text is clear and terms are well explained.

Bob Trett

Trett, Bob (ed.), *The Friends of the Newport Ship, Newport Medieval Ship. A Guide* (Newport City Council, 2010); ISBN: 978-0-9519136-5-9; softback, 240 x 185mm; 40 pp.; 42 colour plates; £4-99.

This slim volume is a joy to read. The contents do just what is shown on the tin; it guides the reader, whether knowledgeable about maritime archaeology or not, around the spectacular find of the medieval wooden ship discovered during excavations for a new theatre on the riverside in Newport in 2002. This discovery, one of the most tangible possible demonstrations of Newport's mercantile history, awakened an enthusiasm within Newport that made the professional archaeologist want to cheer. As queues formed along the waterfront during the open days to see the ship emerging from the enveloping muds and silts, it was clear that this was a find of international importance that local people would identify with and champion to ensure a fitting future of study, conservation and eventual display.

Inevitably, after the battle for preservation was won, the money made available and the ship lifted, timber by painstaking timber, time passes and memories of the excitement can fade. The ship now rests in separate pieces in an unassuming industrial estate being recorded and undergoing conservation treatment. It was timely, therefore, for this booklet to be produced to remind people in general and visitors, who still attend open days and study tours to see the vessel, of the importance of the ship, the progress that is being made in its ambitious programme of conservation and recording, and plans for reconstruction. The booklet rightly is dedicated to Kate Hunter, the conservator of Newport Museum and possibly the most enthusiastic and likeable archaeologist one could ever meet. Without her dedication and her ability to share the excitement of the ship with others – politicians, fellow archaeologists, volunteers – the story of the ship might have been different.

The booklet is broken down into short descriptive chapters (a contents page might still have been useful) describing the excavations, the ship, the artefacts, environmental material, historical context and a final section on the post excavation analysis and research and conservation. There is a useful glossary of nautical terms for those who confuse (and who does not?) their stanchions and their stringers, their braces and their knees. Concentrating on the salient points, the chapters give as much information as is needed to understand the project while giving plenty of indications as to where to get further information or how to get involved in the work.

The illustrations are well chosen, showing the range of artefacts discovered, the reconstruction process, as well as the ship itself under excavation. The artefacts such as the archer's brace, combs and shoes bring the crew as close to us as the ship in which they served while the complexity of the construction of the ship is explained in a straight forward way that is easy to follow. Those readers fortunate enough to have seen the ship during excavation will appreciate the skill and sheer muddy determination of the archaeological team; just as laudable, however, is the less dramatic but equally important recording process which, let us face it, can be a bit repetitive and dreary. The book is positive about the future and suggests that the ship will have a public re-assembly into its original form to allow for public display. We are only too aware of the difficulties the realisation of this ambition will have to overcome. Funding, space, upkeep and maintenance will all be problematic issues as we know from similar displays in Scandinavia. We fervently hope that these will not prove insuperable and that the optimism of this book will be realised.

Sian E Rees

Elliott Jones, Kate and Cope, Wendy (eds), *The Swansea Wartime Diary of Laurie Latchford, 1940-1* (South Wales Record Society, Cardiff, 2010); ISBN 0-9553387-2-7 and ISBN 978-0-9553387-2-4; hardback; xviii + 265 pp., with illustrations; £16.95 (members' price £14.50), postage/packing in each case: £2.50.

At the time of the outbreak of the Second World War, Laurie Latchford was employed as a Customs and Excise official at Swansea docks. Originally from south London, his career brought him and his family to Swansea in the early 1930s, where (apart from a brief spell in 1936-7, when he worked at the Custom House in Liverpool) he was to remain, until his promotion to another post in Cardiff in 1941. The Latchford family moved to Caswell Road, Newton in 1938. In the same year, the County Borough of Swansea began extensive defensive preparations under the Air Raid Precautions Act of 1937, and Latchford voluntarily underwent air raid warden training, subsequently becoming one of the five wardens for the Newton area, near Mumbles.

In the 1930s and early 1940s, Latchford kept diaries, although he appears to have stopped writing a journal after his move from Swansea in 1941. His surviving diary for 1938 remains in private ownership, but he presented a copy of the one covering the period January 1940 to February 1941 (the subject of this edition) to the Swansea City Archives Office in June 1980, from where it was subsequently transferred in 1996 to the West Glamorgan Archive Service, in whose custody it remains today (WGA D.35).

Excerpts from the diary were serialised in the local Swansea newspaper, the *South Wales Evening Post*, in September 1980, as a result of which, its existence became fairly widely known. Not surprisingly, references to it have since appeared in a number of works on wartime Swansea, including June Morris's article on 'Morale under Air Attack: Swansea, 1939-41', published in the *Welsh History Review* in 1983, Nigel Arthur's 1988 book, *Swansea at War*, and the present reviewer's volume on the *Three Nights' Blitz*, which appeared in 1994. More recently, in 2005, the Swansea Museum published extracts from the diary in a booklet linked to a wartime exhibition.

Yet, despite its being recognised as 'one of the most valuable social documents of life in Swansea during this critical period', access to the full text of the diary has, until now, only been available through personal consultation by visitors to the West Glamorgan Archive Service's search room. The appearance of this welcome edition by Kate Elliott Jones and Wendy Cope means that it is now widely available for the first time for everyone to enjoy.

It is highly appropriate that this edition of the diary resulted from a 2005 initiative by the Oystermouth Historical Association to study the wartime history of the Mumbles, the community in

which Latchford himself lived. The editors, both active members of the Association, demonstrate a sound local knowledge of the area in which Latchford carried out his ARP work, thereby adding value to their excellent introduction to the edition, which admirably describes Swansea in the first years of the war, the background against which the events in the diary are set. They have also produced a very fine edition of the text of the diary, clearly set out and enhanced by excellent footnotes, which explain and amplify in great depth points made by Latchford in his account.

Latchford's own prose makes delightful reading, and he comes across as an insightful and thoughtful man who, through his position with Customs and Excise at Swansea docks and his part-time rôle as an air raid warden, was well placed to comment on happenings, both in Swansea and in the wider context of the war. Here, we find his observations on the general progress of hostilities, ranging from his views about the German invasion of the Low Countries, Dunkirk, the Norway campaign, the Battle of Britain, the Blitz on London, to the war in North Africa and comments on Churchill's speeches.

He describes the busy port of Swansea, commenting on the comings and goings of shipping, the threat at sea, even reflecting on the rumour that there was a U-boat in the docks. He talks about Swansea's coastal and aerial defences, and describes the repeated and increasing air attacks which Swansea sustained during the thirteen months covered by the diary. Indeed, as the enemy air raids became more frequent and intense, ARP duties impinged more and more on Latchford's family life. Eventually, we see him volunteering to serve in central Swansea during the Blitz of 17 January 1941 and participating on Sunday, 23 February 1941, in the exhausting aftermath of the 'Three Nights' Blitz', after which he 'reached home with fatigue making a hole in my stomach, dirty, smelling of smoke and covered with grey dust'.

Against this backdrop of wartime activities are Latchford's descriptions of the weather, gardening, and of his family and social life, showing how, despite all the difficulties and uncertainties of living through the early years of the war, some elements of life continued to be as normal as they possibly could.

Laurie Latchford's diary is a fascinating account of civilian life during the early years of the Second World War. It will be of great value to all those interested in the impact of the war on Swansea, South Wales and on British society at large. Kate Elliott Jones and Wendy Cope are to be thanked and congratulated for making it available for the first time, and in such a splendid edition.

J.R. Alban

Egglestone, Pat, and Cronk, Mark., *Llanfihangel-tor-y-Mynydd: A History of the Church and Parish, Volume Four, The Beaten Track, Part One, Meeting places – Inns and Alehouses*; published by The Village News, 2010; 30 x 21cm., laminated cover; 184 pp., cyclostyled; 12 colour plates, three monochrome photographs; 5 artistic drawings (3 of them by the late Fred Hando); 10 maps and plans. £12 (packing and postage, add £3-35). Obtainable from the authors at Ivy Cottage, Kingcoed, Nr. Usk, NP15 1DS.

For several years the authors have delighted the local historians of Monmouthshire with the fruits of their painstaking research into the history of this parish. This most recent volume, packed with information from primary sources – including census returns, parish registers, wills and inventories, is no exception. Its principal focus is the *Star Inn*, but there are also sections dealing with the *Carpenters Arms* at Llanishen; the *Bush*, *Cross Keys* and *Prince of Wales* inns of Llansoy; and the *Sloop Inn* at Llandogo, as well giving consideration to the Redbrook Brewery.

A great deal of valuable background information is afforded, as for hop production and cider making, while the derivation of place-names (such as ‘wain’) and of family names (like ‘chapman’) also finds place. In all sections much attention is given to the personalities who owned and/or managed the taverns, and their families. Not least was Joseph Brisland, inn-keeper and blacksmith at the *Star Inn*, from 1837 until his death in 1868, while a more modern landlord was Harold Williams who, in 1944, converted the stone cowshed into a public bar.

The *Star Inn* very probably had its origins and derived its name from Alos Starre of Llansoy who is recorded in 1676 as having erected a house and garden here on common land, but encroaching on to the king’s highway. Among the *Star*’s early guests was John Wesley who in 1748 noted it as being ‘a good but small inn’. Like other public houses it was a convenient meeting-place, as for a court baron of the manor (in 1754), and for local branches of friendly societies – like the Society of Tradesmen and Others (founded in 1805) and the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (dating from 1868).

A pleasing feature of this volume are the extracts illustrated from relevant estate plans and tithe maps. It is a volume which reflects much hard work, and should give great pleasure. Within its pages, the authors say that they are ‘amateurs with careful attention to detail’; they have certainly achieved that.

Gray, Tim and Mortell, Rachel, *Tovey Bros : a 150 year history in Newport*, published by Tovey Brothers, Newport, 2010; soft cover, 21 x 15cm., 60 pp., 45 monochrome and 14 colour illustrations. £6, sold on behalf of the St Woolos Cathedral Appeal, The Friends of Tredegar House and The Friends of the Transporter Bridge.

This fascinating and profusely illustrated study of the sole remaining independent funeral home in Wales, not only chronicles the history of the family firm since its inception in 1860, but also vividly describes the changing of funeral customs. The move of its premises from the Central Mews, Dock Street, to Cardiff Road, in 1963; the horse-drawn hearse finally giving way to motor vehicles in 1933; the abandonment of traditions such as the hiring out of funeral wear (hatbands, gloves and the like); the phasing out of memorial cards, and the practice of ‘gentlemen only’ at the graveside, but the coming in of new usages: cremation and natural burial grounds. Toveys, however, uniquely still makes coffins on site.

The fine collection of photographs include the funeral of Lord Tredegar in 1913 – the horse-drawn hearse immediately followed by a large contingent of policemen; Gwent Crematorium – opened in 1960, and the Usk Castle Chase Natural Burial Ground; an engraving of the Central Mews, Dock Street; a Tovey Bros shellibere – a long, flat horse-drawn carriage once for funerals, but in this instance for a day trip; the present premises, and a striking picture of The Transporter Bridge.

Always a philanthropic firm, Toveys organised excursions for wounded soldiers during World War II, and today offers a bereavement support service.

David H. Williams

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES, 2010

The **Annual General Meeting** was held on Saturday 24 April at 2 pm at Caerleon Endowed Junior School, Caerleon., when an illustrated lecture entitled – *Pigsties and Paradise: Lady Diarists and the tour of Wales 1795-1860* – by Liz Pitman who explored the diaries of intrepid English gentry women who travelled around Wales between 1795-1860.

Over fifty members attended the AGM, even though the sunny weather meant many members had to choose between their gardens and their duty to the Association. Despite a few hitches, the business section of the AGM re-elected existing officers and voted in new officers. One executive committee member was re-elected and three new members were added to the committee. The officers then gave their respective reports.

Evening Visits.

On *Tuesday 18 May* at 7.00.p.m., members had the opportunity to visit the interesting exhibition at Chepstow Museum, **The Wye Tour and its Artists**, displaying works from the age of British watercolours. The evening began with a talk by Julian Mitchell, the guest curator, on the development of tourism in the eighteenth century. Julian created an evocative picture of the problems encountered by those intrepid tourists and explained the development and influence of the picturesque and romantic movements on tourism and art. As Chepstow Museum could not accommodate so large a number of people we divided into two groups. The second group awaited its turn to visit the Museum by listening to Keith Underwood describing the murals he has created on the wall of Chepstow Drill Hall. Tea and coffee allowed social discourse and the evening was generally enjoyed by everyone present. The exhibition was greatly appreciated and many members declared their intention to make another visit.

On *Wednesday 11 August* at 7.00.p.m., a visit was paid to **Llanvihangel (Llanfihangel) Rogiet Church**, giving members an opportunity to view on-going work which is bringing this redundant medieval church (housing two fine effigies) back to community use as a Local History Centre on the Caldicot Level. Members will recall the article on one of its long-serving Victorian incumbents published in this journal two years ago. This 14th century church of St Michael and All Angels closed in 1973 when a drop in the number of worshippers meant that all services were transferred to Rogiet. In 2008, the Church in Wales passed ownership of the building to the ‘Friends of Friendless Churches’, which helps restore historically important churches no longer used for worship. The charity secured almost £50,000 from Cadw and the Church in Wales to fund major repair work, before management of the building was handed to Caldicot and District Local History Society. We were able to see the local history exhibition telling the history of Llanfihangel Rogiet and we also heard three talks which showed how much research the Society had undertaken into the history of the church and its incumbents. The Society had obviously gained from undertaking this project as the increase in younger members indicates. The drinks and home-made cakes were much appreciated by our members. Our thanks go to Mr Mark Lewis for organising the evening.

On *Tuesday 14 September* at 7.00.p.m., a wet day gave way to a dry evening for a visit to the **Caerleon Priory Field Excavations**, where Dr Andrew Gardner of University College, London, and Dr Peter Guest of Cardiff University explained the findings of the 2010 excavations, which concluded research excavation of a possible store building within the Roman Legionary Fortress begun in 2008. After some difficulty gaining access to the site, our group was rewarded by the disclosure of the amazing discoveries made during the excavations. The excavation, led by Dr Peter Guest, a Senior

Lecturer in Archaeology at Cardiff, had found a complex of monumental buildings outside the Roman fortress. The largest building is one of the largest known from Roman Britain. The excitement and enthusiasm of the archaeologists were infectious and made the evening truly memorable.

On *Tuesday 16 November* at 7.00.p.m., our concern was **The Newport Mediæval Ship and the New Scale Model**. With members wrapped up against the chill of a cold evening, Toby Jones, the custodian of the Newport Ship, welcomed us to the home of the now famous vessel on the Maesglas Estate at Newport. We were given a presentation that revealed how much work had been done on the steadily on-going project since those early days when the Association was among the first to throw its weight behind the campaign to save the ship. Technology has moved on apace and the new model of the craft truly showed this to great effect, each structural member reproduced accurately in miniature. Piece by piece the model has come together, eventually to aid the actual reconstruction, the completion of which few of us will witness, so long is the time scale. Behind the scenes much historical research is still underway, to track down the ship's history and pedigree. No name for her yet, but surely she won't remain nameless?

Day Excursions.

On *Tuesday 22 June*, the Association paid a visit to the **Ashmolean Museum, Oxford**, which has recently been re-opened after refurbishment, and to **Jesus College, Oxford**, a foundation with long Welsh associations. We arrived in Oxford after a problem-free coach trip, and were set down outside the Museum. Our guide, Cassandra, enthusiastically showed us some of the exhibits that were of particular interest to her, and proved to be of interest to us. She also described the changes that had taken place at the Museum and we marvelled at the light that had been inserted into the new building. We decided we needed to stay for a week to do the revamped museum justice.

We then moved on to **Jesus College** where we were by Miss Sarah Cobbold, the Librarian, who showed us the Fellows' Library. She had prepared an exhibition of antiquarian books for us to see. Many of the books related to Wales and everyone marvelled at their age, preservation and the beautiful illustrations on display. Then, Thomas Charles-Edwards, Professor of Celtic Studies, took us to see the College Chapel and then the College Hall, where the pictures on the walls were explained. We saw the picture of Sir John Rhys, the first Professor of Celtic, who became Principal of Jesus College. Afterwards we were treated to tea in the quadrangle and soaked up the beautiful surroundings in the afternoon sun.

Everyone agreed that the whole day had been splendid and grateful thanks go to Keith Underwood, our excursions secretary, who organised the day. We would wish to thank the landlady of the 'Ship Inn' in Caerleon for allowing us to park some cars at the rear of its car park. This allowed quick, easy access to the coach and was much appreciated. The beer and food is excellent and on a summer evening you can sit in the child-safe garden close to the River Usk.

On *Saturday 24 July* a god muster of members gathered at **Striguil Castle** (the name for Chepstow Castle before the fourteenth century). Rick Turner, one of Cadw's Inspectors of Ancient Monuments, co-editor of the definitive guide-book to the castle, gave us an introductory talk in Roger Bigod's Lower Bailey and then took us to the Great Tower. He explained the tower's origins and the various alterations to its structure. After a break we climbed the stairs to Marten's Tower (recently refloored and reroofed) to be shown the vestigial fragments of painted decoration on the plaster of what would have been a high status chamber. We then went into the newly decorated Earl's Great Chamber to see how research had been used to simulate how it might have appeared at the time. We ended the afternoon with tea in two hostelrys opposite the Castle. Thanks again to Keith for organising the visit.

On *Saturday 16 October* members had the rare pleasure of visiting **Iford Manor, near Bradford-on-Avon**, the home of Mr and Mrs Cartwright-Hignett. The house is only open in October, while the gardens are open during the year. An early building at its core, with its origins in the monastic wool trade, it now appears as an 18th-century classical residence. The astonishing contents come partly from Elizabeth Cartwright-Hignett's former home at Aynhoe Park and include some wonderful objects, furniture and painting. Who would have thought to see a Hans Memlinc of high quality? Mr Hignett's family also contributed and some of the furniture of Harold Peto is included. It was he who bought Iford after the dissolution in 1892 of his architectural partnership with Sir Ernest George. Their assistants included Edwin Lutyens and Guy Dawber (who had connections with our county's Eric Francis and H.Avery Tipping). Peto believed that a garden must be a combination of architecture and plants. His Italianate terraces therefore incorporate his extensive collection of Renaissance, Roman and Mediaeval sculpture, a feast in itself.

We went to Bradford for lunch, then spent a delightful afternoon with Jeremy Knight's friend, Brian Davison, a former Inspector of Monuments with English Heritage. We walked down through the upper town's narrow alleys, from the site of a large Iron Age camp, to the ancient Saxon church of St Lawrence by the river. We were given an excellent resume of the town's history – and everyone felt that it had been a fulfilling day.

Keith Underwood

EMPERORS, USURPERS, TYRANTS: CONFERENCE AT CARDIFF, 30 – 31 OCTOBER 2010

The year 2010 marked the 1,600th anniversary of the end of Roman rule in Britain in A.D. 410. To mark the anniversary, the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association was one of the sponsors of a major conference *Emperors, Usurpers, Tyrants: The History and Archaeology of Western Britain from A.D. 350 to 500* at the University of Cardiff on 30-31 October. The other sponsors were Cardiff University and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, whose centenary year it is. The conference also marked the inauguration of the University's new School of History, Archaeology and Religion. An impressive number of learned societies and publishers had bookstalls.

With around 250 people attending, it proved necessary to move the conference from its original venue to a larger building. Jeremy Knight, chairman of the Association, gave the first paper, on the historical context of A.D. 410 and the ways in which late Roman rulers were remembered in post-Roman Wales. He was followed by Roger White of the University of Birmingham, who spoke on the archaeology of western Britain in the fifth and sixth centuries and Richard Brewer of National Museum Wales, drawing on his work at Roman Caerwent. Neil Holbrook of Cotswold Archaeology continued the theme of the late Roman west with 'History divided by a Common Border' on the English and Welsh sides of the Severn.

A series of papers then covered aspects of late Roman Wales. Andrew Gardner of University College, London, spoke on the late Roman Army; Peter Guest of Cardiff University, one of the organizers of the conference, on coinage and Peter Webster, also of Cardiff University, on pottery. Hilary Cool of Barbican Research Associates described ways of identifying fifth century material among excavated late Roman assemblages in the absence of contemporary pottery and coins. Andy Seaman, again of Cardiff University, then discussed the origins of Christianity in late and post-Roman Wales.

The Sunday morning session concentrated on early medieval Wales. Alan Lane (University of Cardiff) looked at the differing interpretations of the end of Roman rule in Britain, catastrophe versus continuity ('Dark Age or Late Antique') and the Italian scholar Carlo Tedeschi, of the University of Cheiti, discussed the same theme in terms of the epigraphy of the Latin inscribed stones of post-Roman Wales and their relationship to contemporary manuscripts. Dai Morgan Evans, now of the University of Chester, gave a characteristically lively final paper on the ways in which post-Roman Wales created a Roman identity for itself. The conference concluded with a lively question and answer session chaired by Professor John Hines, with the speakers fielding questions from the audience.

The Association must express its gratitude to Cardiff University for hosting the conference and for its excellent conference facilities, to Peter Guest for undertaking its organization and to the students of the School of History, Archaeology and Religion, who did so much towards its smooth and efficient running. Plans for the possible publication of the conference papers are being discussed.

Jeremy K. Knight

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

John Alban, a Fellow of the Historical Association with a doctorate in history, is a native of Swansea, and has been County Archivist of Norfolk since 1997. He was formerly Swansea City Archivist, 1974-96 and also taught university courses in local history, medieval Latin and palaeography in Swansea and Cardiff between 1975-97. His extensive publications on aspects of local history, archives, the Hundred Years' War and on south Wales during the Second World War include *The 'Three Nights' Blitz: Select Contemporary Reports relating to Swansea's Air Raids of February 1941* (Swansea, 1994).

Steve Clarke, inspired by the late Keith Kissack at Priory Street School, first learnt the techniques of archaeology during an excavation conducted by Mr. A. L. Sockett, MA, in Monmouth in 1956. He has worked with Monmouth Archaeological Society and Monmouth Archaeology since that time. A printer with *The Monmouthshire Beacon* and later with own business (now run by his son), he was forced to become a professional archaeologist twenty years ago with the arrival of digitalisation and of planning guidelines, allowing professionals to take over the rescue work previously carried out by Monmouth Archaeological Society. His valued services to local archaeology have seen him awarded the M.B.E., and Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries. He is also a Member of the Institute for Field Archaeology.

Arthur Edwards has been a priest of the Church in Wales for more than forty years. He is a canon of St. Woolos' Cathedral, Newport and Vicar of Caerleon. He was Area Dean of Newport for eleven years and previously served as Rector of Cwmbran and Diocesan Director of Education. Educated at Pontywaun Grammar School and London University, which he left with the degree of M.Phil. for research in modern history, he trained for the Ministry at St. Michael's College, Llandaff. Publications include *Archbishop Green* (1986) and *Thomas Thomas of Pontypool*, a recently-published study of Monmouthshire's leading nineteenth-century Nonconformist.

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. She is currently working on a database of medieval tomb carvings and wills in Wales.

Ralph Griffiths is Emeritus Professor of Medieval History at Swansea University, and Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society. A native of Monmouthshire, he is presently general editor of the Gwent County History (2004-). He was formerly Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Swansea University (1998-2002) and Chairman of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (1999-2009). Among his books are *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: South Wales, 1272-1536*; *The Reign of King Henry VI*; and *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century*.

Ray Howell is Director of the South Wales Centre for Historical and Interdisciplinary Research at University of Wales, Newport. He is also Chairman of the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust. Art and Archaeology Editor of the journal *Studia Celtica*, he was a volume editor of the first two volumes of *The Gwent County History*. His latest book is *Searching for the Silures, an Iron Age tribe in south-east Wales*, published by The History Press in 2009.

Christabel Hutchings is a retired lecturer from Coleg Gwent. She gained an M.Ed at Cardiff University and more recently an M.A. in Celtic-Roman Studies at University of Wales Newport. She has just completed a calendar of the correspondence of Thomas Henry Thomas ('Arlunydd Penygarn', 1839-1915) for the South Wales Record Society.

Jeremy Knight, born in Caerleon, has been involved in the history and archaeology of Monmouthshire for most of his life, though his research interests extend through late Roman and medieval western Europe, particularly France and Ireland. Inspector of Ancient Monuments in what are now English Heritage and Cadw, he has excavated Roman and medieval sites, particularly Montgomery Castle, and written guidebooks to a range of Cadw monuments. His publications include *The End of Antiquity* (1999), *A Field Guide to Roman France* (2001), *Civil War and Restoration in Monmouthshire* (2005), and a co-edited history of Usk. His latest book, *Christianity, Literacy and Lordship: South Wales from the Romans to the Normans*, will be published later this year.

Mark Lewis was born and raised in Monmouthshire. His interest in archaeology was nurtured during excavations at Trostrey and Caerwent. He read archaeological conservation and conservation at Cardiff University, where he was awarded a PhD for his research on iron corrosion subsequently used to inform the preservation strategy for Brunel's ss Great Britain. Since 2000 he has been a curatorial officer at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon, and since 2006 has also been an archaeological conservator at the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

Charlotte Mitchell is Senior Lecturer in English Literature at University College London, and researches mainly in the nineteenth century. She has been interested in *The True Anti-Pamela* since first reading it in the 1980s, having come across it while working on a PhD thesis on the Herefordshire novelist Caroline Clive.

Julian Mitchell read History at Oxford and lives at Llansoy. Playwright as well as local historian, in 2010 he curated "The Wye Tour and Its Artists" at Chepstow Museum, while *The Good Soldier* was premiered at the Theatre Royal, Bath, and he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He contributed two chapters to Volume 3 of *The Gwent County History*.

Jana Horák is Head of Mineralogy & Petrology, Curator (Petrology), Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales and Honorary Lecturer, Cardiff University. A chartered geologist, her interests include the petrology of early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture, building stones in Wales and petrology of the oldest rocks in Wales.

Mark Redknap is Acting Keeper of Archaeology & Numismatics, Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, and Commissioner, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales. His fieldwork and publications cover terrestrial and underwater archaeology, but his main area of research is on early medieval archaeology, with particular reference to Wales, early medieval inscribed stones and stone sculpture, post-Roman ceramics and metalwork.

Sian E. Rees is an inspector of ancient monuments for Cadw. She read archaeology at Birmingham University, where she was awarded her doctorate. She joined the inspectorate of ancient monuments in England before moving to Wales where she was responsible firstly for south-west Wales and subsequently for eastern Wales. She has excavated at Carreg Coetan burial chamber and Haverfordwest priory. She has worked on the conservation of numerous ancient monuments – Cwmhir abbey and Ewenny priory – and the Roman town of Caerwent. Sian Rees is also responsible for the administration and protection of maritime archaeology in Wales.

Prys Morgan, Emeritus Professor of History, Swansea University, is a native of Cardiff, was educated there and Oxford, then taught history at Swansea for many years, retiring in 2002. He edited the *Transactions of the Honourable Society of the Cymmrodorion* for many years, and is now President of the Society. He has published books on Welsh History, was editor of the final volume of *The Glamorgan County History* and (with Maddy Gray) was co-editor of the recent third volume of *The Gwent County History*. He published in 1975 a short study in English of Iolo Morganwg, and was recently for some years a co-director of the 'Iolo Morganwg Project' at the Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, Aberystwyth.