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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

PAPERS TO MARK
THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
MONMOUTHSHIRE
ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION
(1847 - 1997)



Edited by: DAVID H. WILLIAMS

VOLUME XIII (1997)

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The cover illustration is of Caerleon Museum in its earlier days, from the lithograph by J. F. Mullock of Newport, c. 1850. (*Photograph: National Museum of Wales*).

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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

Vol. XIII

1997

FOREWORD: THE CAERLEON MUSEUM AND THE ASSOCIATION

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT (Chairman)

One hundred and fifty years ago, on Thursday, October 28th, 1847, a group of Monmouthshire people, '*Friends to the Formation of a Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon*', met at the Priory, Caerleon, the home of John Edward Lee, a Newport industrialist. After voting a local, substantial landowner, Lt. Col. Sir Digby Mackworth, Bt., into the chair, the meeting resolved that "*a society be formed, to be called the Caerleon Antiquarian Association*"; its aim being the establishment of a museum of antiquities found at Caerleon and in the adjacent area, and "*the furtherance of any antiquarian pursuit, whether by excavation or otherwise*". Sir Digby Mackworth was elected as our first President, with John Edward Lee as Secretary¹. In this year of 1997, the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association (for much of its life the 'Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association') thus celebrates its 150th birthday, or, to change the metaphor, reaches 150 very much not out.

Our founders chose a wise time for our birth. Britain, and Monmouthshire in particular, were emerging from the social conflict of the Chartist era and the starvation years of the 'Hungry Forties' into the relative prosperity of the mid-Victorian age. Layard was digging at Nimrud, and Charles Darwin had established his scientific reputation with his first major papers, and was working towards his *Origin of Species*. In Torquay, a Committee of the Natural History Society had been set up to explore the Palaeolithic remains in Kent's Cavern. The British Archaeological Association had published the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* in 1845, (and had almost immediately split into two - one faction becoming the (Royal) Archaeological Institute, taking the journal with it)². Early in 1848, Charles Roach Smith, a London chemist who had been rescuing and recording the remains of Roman London, much as Lee had been recording those of Caerleon, visited Caerleon. Lee's *Delineations of Roman Antiquities Found at Caerleon* had received in 1846 a very favourable review, written possibly by Roach Smith, in the *Archaeological Journal*³, and the two men now met. Smith cited several new inscriptions which, he said, Lee would "*shortly lay before the Caerleon Antiquarian Association - an institution recently founded by Mr. Lee and his friends*". Smith praised "*the zeal and good taste which are now combined in exertions to secure for it a museum of local antiquities in which they may be deposited*"⁴.

In the meantime, Wales had not lagged behind. The first volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* appeared in January 1846, as a private venture by two north Wales clergymen, the Revd. H. Longueville Jones of Llandegfan in Anglesey, and the Revd. John Williams (better known by his Bardic name of Ab Ithel) of Nerquis near Mold, and an early member of the British Archaeological Association⁵. In the third (July) part of the first annual volume, a letter from "*A Welsh Antiquary*" proposed the setting up of the 'Cambrian Archaeological Association', which had its first meeting at Aberystwyth in September 1847, making the Cambrians our elder sister by a month.

The Cambrians came into being to support a journal, the Monmouthshire Antiquarians to create a museum. The late Isca Bowen told the story of the foundation of our museum, and its subsequent vicissitudes⁶. It was at first intended to be housed in the lower room of the Town Hall and Market building, belonging to Sir Digby Mackworth, with a notice on the door telling visitors where the key was kept, but there was local pressure for the Town Hall to be cleared away, and so Mackworth gave land next to Caerleon church for a new museum building. Lee persuaded a fellow townsman of his, the architect H.S. Lockwood of Hull, to prepare *gratis* a design for the new building in Greek Doric style. A Caerleon builder, Mr. Benjamin James, agreed to erect it for £407, and the foundation stone was laid by Miss Mackworth, with much ceremony, on June 25th, 1848. By the following July more funds were needed, and a bazaar was held in the grounds of the Priory. "*This interesting event, so long the object of pleasing anticipation and comment in the fashionable circles, and indeed looked forward to by all classes of our part of the county*" raised £195. "*There have been few public occasions in this county*", reported the *Monmouthshire Merlin*, "*that have called together a more numerous, respectable, and indeed distinguished assemblage ... among them ... families of the highest station*"⁷. The excellent band of the 14th Regiment of Foot performed, the church bells rang, and the leading inhabitants of the town kept open house, finishing in some cases with a dance.

At the Museum, however, all was less happy. The contractor's work was not up to standard, nor to specification, and the Association decided - not before time, to employ an architect. After most of the faults had been rectified, the Museum opened in 1850. Many members will recall the old Museum with affection. Roman inscriptions were ranged around the walls, and a flight of stone steps led down to a basement with four Doric columns from the old Market Hall (possibly re-used Roman pieces) surrounding a mosaic pavement with a brick surround which took up much of the available space. Alfred Tennyson wrote to his wife in 1856 from the Hanbury Arms, describing how he was looking out on the river like King Arthur of old, and the town of Caerleon with its little museum of Roman tombstones and other things. Local tradition later claimed that he used to sit on the brick surround of the mosaic pavement in the basement, musing on King Arthur and the *Idylls of the King*. For many years, two large fragments of black basalt columns covered in hieroglyphics sat on the steps, brought back from Egypt by a nineteenth-century antiquary. They may have inspired Arthur Machen's *Novel of the Black Seal*, which centres on a black stone covered in strange writing, and is largely set in the countryside around Caerleon.

The upkeep of the Museum eventually became too great a responsibility for the resources of the Association. The roof was giving trouble, perhaps as a result of the original poor workmanship, and in 1895 its repair cost the Association £125, most of this being met by Lord Tredegar. There was more trouble in 1911, and again in 1921, when an architect estimated that repair could cost £500. The Association entered into negotiations with Newport Borough Council, but it could do nothing to help since Caerleon lay outside the Borough. The National Museum of Wales, and its energetic young Keeper of Archaeology, Dr. (later Sir) Mortimer Wheeler, agreed to help, and by July 1923 the collections had been re-catalogued by Elizabeth Phillips. In 1930 the building and its contents were handed over to the National Museum, and a new schedule prepared by W. F. Grimes. Those artefacts which were in the Caerleon Museum at that time remain the property of the Association.

Relations between the Association and the National Museum remain close. A joint committee meets periodically to consider matters relating to Caerleon and its Museum; the Association's library is housed in Caerleon Museum, and its committee meets there; whilst members of the Association, if wearing their Association badges, may enter Caerleon Museum free of any admission charge. Above all, the Association has benefited immeasurably from the series of distinguished scholars, officers of the National Museum, who have given their time and their energies to the affairs of the Association and brought to it the wider horizons of British and European scholarship. The name of our late Chairman, George Boon, comes immediately to mind. John Edward Lee had travelled widely, and corresponded with the leading Roman scholars of his day in France and Germany on Caerleon matters. George maintained this tradition, and ensured that the Association never lost sight of these wider perspectives. When the Association entertained the 17th International Chateau Gaillard Castles Conference to tea at Usk Castle in September 1994, and our president presented John Zimmer, president of its Comité Permanent, with our badge, we were maintaining an old tradition, though sadly our Chairman was too ill to be present.

Though the Association has largely ceded responsibility for its Museum, it has gained a journal of distinction, *The first Monmouthshire Antiquary*, a modest affair of 16 pages, appeared in 1961, the joint enterprise of our then Chairman, Cefni Barnett, and George Boon. Its title surely derives from that of our sister publication, the *Carmarthenshire Antiquary*, of Cefni's native county. Cefni was particularly good at encouraging young scholars, some of whom went on to make substantial reputations, to publish their first papers in its pages. The Association has every reason to look forward with confidence to its next 150 years.

NOTES.

1. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* I (1847) 79-80.
2. For the split, see: Wetherall, D., 'From Canterbury to Winchester: the foundation of the Institute', in Vyner, B. (edit.), *Building on the Past : Papers celebrating 150 Years of the Royal Archaeological Institute* (London, Royal Archaeological Institute; 1994). [Weatherall makes it very clear that the controversy had a strong element of Gentlemen *versus* Players, or to be more exact, of the social and intellectual Establishment based on the older Universities and the higher clergy, *versus* members of the new and rising mid-Victorian middle class, many of them in 'trade'. Though our Association happily avoided such frictions, Lee, industrialist, amateur geologist, artist and antiquarian, and Roach Smith, the London chemist, must have found much in common.
3. *Archaeological Journal* 2 (1846) 417-19.
4. Roach Smith, C., 'Notes on Caerleon and Caerwent', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 4 (1849) 258. Our birth was also announced in the *Archaeological Journal* 5 (1848), 167, noting the proposal to erect a "simple and appropriate building" for which Mr Lockwood of Hull had prepared a design gratuitously, and inviting contributions towards the estimated £400 cost.
5. On the foundation of the Cambrians, see: Lloyd, J.E., in Nash-Williams, V.E. (edit.), *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology* (Cambrian Archaeological Association, 1946), 11-23.
6. Bowen, E.I.P, 'Presidential Address', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* CXX (1971) 1-10. Much of what follows draws on this.
7. *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 31st July 1849.



John Edward Lee: 1808 - 1887.
(By courtesy of Caerleon Museum).

JOHN EDWARD LEE: A MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY.

By GWENLLIAN V. JONES.

John Edward Lee was born in Hull in 1808 and died in Torquay in 1887. From 1841 until his retirement to Torquay in 1868 he was active in Monmouthshire, both as an industrialist and as an antiquary. It can be said almost certainly that Lee was the inspiration behind the formation of our Association. He brought together the group of educated men, clergy and landowners, who, on October 28th, 1847, met at his home, the Priory in Caerleon, to form the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, - the earliest such county association in Wales, and only a month younger than the Cambrian Archaeological Association, though there were already several similar bodies in England. In Hull, Lee's birthplace, the Literary and Philosophical Society and its museum had been founded in 1822, and he became a member at the age of nineteen. A brief look at his early years in Hull demonstrates the blossoming of interests and expertise which were to stand him in such good stead in his years in Monmouthshire and beyond, as well as the themes and people linking the various periods of his life.

Lee was born on December 21st, 1808, into a family of merchants and ship-owners with interests in the whaling trade in Hull over several generations. They were tar and turpentine distillers, commission agents, ship and insurance brokers. Lee himself became proprietor of Lee and Tall, importing turpentine from America and tar from the Baltic. His father died when his baby son was less than six months old, and he was provided for by his maternal uncles, John and Avison Terry, very prominent businessmen in the town. They were related to John Frederick Terry of York, who, with their father (Richard Terry) was a subsidiary owner of the whaling vessel *Rachel Anne* from 1814 to 1818. Lee entered his uncles' shipping office at the age of sixteen. *'An important training ground for new merchants was the counting house of old established firms'*, says Gordon Jackson of eighteenth-century Hull¹. Lee's work in the shipping office may well have taken this form, in the light of his later business interests, his position as Treasurer as well as Secretary of our Association, and his continuing to audit the Association's accounts until 1886, eighteen years after his removal to Torquay.

When the Hull Literary and Philosophical Society and its museum were founded in 1822, Avison Terry was a proprietary member and so Lee, with special access to the museum, was able to further his interest in science, particularly in entomology. He found great joy in working at the Museum, housed at the Exchange until 1831. One obituary notice mentions that *'frequently at the end of the day's work he would shut himself in the Museum and stay far into the night arranging the specimens'*². The Society's minutes record that in 1831-34, Lee gave gifts of bones, fossils, and a model of part of Lincolnshire and its geology. Later he designed the interior lay-out of Caerleon Museum, purchased and arranged specimens, wrote the labels, and persuaded friends to donate Roman antiquities in their keeping; all tasks familiar to him from his experience in the Hull museum, where he may well have been Curator for a time. Its 1825 Annual Report records gifts from the proud townspeople of Hull - *'the mummy of a rat, a fur ball from a cow, and a unicorn's horn'*. These were a far cry from the Roman inscriptions, pottery, coins and gems, collected twenty-five years later for the museum in Caerleon.

It was as a young man in Hull that John Edward Lee first enjoyed the company of learned men of science and began to travel extensively in Europe and beyond, sketching interesting geological forms and meeting eminent geologists who remained his friends for life. He was very much influenced by John Phillips, firstly Curator at the Museum of York, and later Professor of Geology at Oxford and Curator of the Ashmolean Museum, who was invited to Hull to deliver a course of lectures on geology. Lee, writing in 1881, recalls those lectures vividly. Of 1824-25, he says,

'It was a common thing in the larger towns of the north of England for well-known scientific men to deliver courses on natural philosophy and science. In general, they were well attended, not only by younger learners, but by the older and wealthier classes who at the time considered it essential to increase their store of knowledge'³.

In 1831, at the first meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, organised by John Phillips, Lee was present. He supported its meetings regularly, travelling long distances to be present. He was often accompanied by eminent scientists from other countries, such as Professor Roemer of Breslau, who stayed with him in Torquay before travelling to Southport in Lancashire for the 1883 meeting⁴.

John Edward Lee was a typical scion of the early-nineteenth century Hull merchant families⁵, inheriting from his uncles the extensive farm of Summergangs outside Hull. In the early years of the twentieth century this was developed as a suburb of Hull, and one of the streets was named Lee Street⁶. Lee did not have a very strong constitution. The industrial atmosphere of Hull and his own turpentine and tar works may have been partly responsible for a break-down in his health, but this provided a wonderful opportunity for him to indulge in frequent foreign travel. These journeys formed the basis of two delightful books written in later life, *Selections from an antiquarian notebook* (Mullock, Newport, 1859) and *Notebook of an amateur geologist* (Longmans, 1881).

In 1829, at the age of twenty-one, Lee was in France; while in 1879 he visited Engelberg and Les Diablerets. Between those years, he travelled far and wide in Britain and Europe, sketchbook always in hand, and accompanied by his wife, Anne. In 1846 he took his last journey from Hull, travelling on a ship heading out of the port for the Baltic. He was intending to visit St. Petersburg and Moscow, but as the sea air did not suit his health he landed at Elsinore instead. He met Berzelius, a Swedish chemist of the Stockholm Academy of Science, and he visited the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen in his studio. In 1878, he visited Sweden again, with Professor Roemer of Breslau, and in 1880 travelled in Belgium with Professor Malaise of Gembloux⁷.

Lee was fluent in several European languages, and published a number of translations of excavations carried out at European sites⁸. The volume for which he is particularly remembered is Dr. Ferdinand Keller's *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland*. Lee translated the work into English, edited the material, and drew all the illustrations. The first edition, with ninety-seven plates, appeared in 1866, and the second edition, in two volumes, with two hundred and six plates illustrating more than two and a half thousand objects, appeared in 1878. An extremely important work, it introduced to the British archaeologist the remarkably well-preserved history of early man in Switzerland.

In 1841, John Edward Lee moved to Monmouthshire as a partner in the firm of J.J. Cordes and Company, nail, spike and rivet makers, with its premises at the Dos Works in Newport. One of the existing partners was Henry Ewbank, for whom the Hull firm of Richard Terry and Sons had acted as agents, possibly in the export of iron products. F.H. Mitchell became a partner at the same time. He was also one of the first to contribute to the Museum Building Fund in 1849, no doubt persuaded by the persistent Mr. Lee. Their connection with the Dos Works was long, and at times acrimonious, and they seem to have been resented by J.J. Cordes and his son, Thomas, for reaping the profits of the business without much practical input. Lee was probably fairly affluent when he came to Monmouthshire and looking for good financial returns on his investment while still enjoying ample time for the pursuits of a scholar and a gentleman.

Unlike J.J. Cordes, whose home, Brynglas House, looked down from its hill-top on to the Dos Works beside the Monmouthshire Canal in the valley below, Lee chose to live in the country in an attractive house, the Priory, set in large grounds on the west side of Caerleon overlooking the Roman amphitheatre. Here, in 1845, he completed *Delineations of Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon and neighbourhood*⁹. He was very conscious that the clearing away of old buildings in the town to make way for new ones was bringing to light interesting remains which were deteriorating because of exposure to the air and the ravages of the weather. He decided to record and illustrate such remains for posterity. He did not intend 'to write a history of the place or give a dissertation on Roman antiquities in general', but simply to give the necessary information to accompany the drawings. He hoped his work might contribute to a history of Caerleon or the Welsh Borders by 'some person with leisure and ability'. Always modest about his own scholarly achievements and abilities, he would be surprised to know that his books on the antiquities of Caerleon are still works of reference today.

Lee's first book arose out of his distress at the neglect of the remnants of Caerleon's glorious past. From the Priory he could see the quarrying of the ancient stones of the amphitheatre and the Roman fortress walls, providing remunerative employment for the labourers of the town. Many antiquities had thus been brought to light, but, he says,

'It is mortifying to state that by far the greater part are lost, scattered or destroyed. Caerleon may have possessed a far more excellent local collection of Roman antiquities than is now to be found there, but the opportunity was lost and probably may never occur again'.

Lee made accurate drawings of unpublished inscriptions and finds, some in full size 'for accuracy'. He recorded every fragment of Samian ware, however small, for comparison with fragments from elsewhere; a way of thinking ahead of his time. He mentions a tessellated pavement in a meadow in Bulmore, near Caerleon, noting that it was safe there as 'a treasure for some future antiquary'. He walked the fields and hills around Caerleon, recording Roman features and finds. He was able to record eight tombstones with inscriptions on the farm of Mr. Jones at Little Bulmore, regretting that elsewhere tombstones were broken up to mend roads, and that anyone could pick up pieces of stone with letters on. Lee tells of his neighbour, Mrs. Pritchard, to whom he was under 'the greatest obligation' for helpful information. She had once rescued a Samian dish, used as a soap dish by a labourer's wife, which had been broken and thrown away.

Mrs. Pritchard was one of five friends whom Lee lists in the preface to this book as having assisted him and thrown open their collections to him. The first was Sir Digby Mackworth (our first President) who carried out several excavations in Caerleon; his collection, *'though not large'*, contained some of the most interesting antiquities. Mr. Jones, the farmer at Little Bulmore, was another friend and one careful to preserve the antiquities on his land. John Jenkins, Esq., of Caerleon, owner of Ponthir Tinplate Works, whose improvements on his land led to the excavation of a Roman villa, had, in consequence, a good collection of antiquities which Lee drew¹⁰. The fifth friend was the Reverend C. W. King, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and son of a Newport shipping agent in the iron trade. He lived in Cambridge, where he collected and wrote extensively on engraved gems¹¹. Lee turned to him frequently for advice and information on coins.

It comes as no surprise that it was John Edward Lee who held the preliminary meeting which founded both the Caerleon Antiquarian Association and the Museum, and that he held the offices of both Secretary and Treasurer until his death. He led a committee of six gentlemen, - the Revd. Daniel Jones, the Revd. William Powell, John Jenkins, jnr., H.M. Hawkins, Illtyd Nichol and John Butler, with Sir Digby Mackworth as President and the Bishop of Llandaff as Patron. This was *'at a time when local museums were considered to be unjustifiable extravagances'*, as H.J. Randall said, discussing *'this notable achievement'*¹². A list of the contributions to the Building Fund of nearly eighty donors was printed; among them most of the important men of the county. Lee's uncles in Hull, John and Avison Terry, were also persuaded to contribute. In his Foreword, our Chairman, Mr. Jeremy Knight, has given an account of the trials and tribulations that accompanied the building of the Museum, and refers us to the history of the Association written by Isca Bowen, a former Chairman and President. It is all meticulously recorded in the hand of John Edward Lee in the minutes of the Association.

The primary concern of the new Association was the raising of funds to build the Museum, estimated to cost £407. By March 1849, £200 was still outstanding and Lee exhorted members constantly to contribute more. The Bazaar at the Priory had raised £172. On August 2nd, 1850, the Museum opened to members and the general public. The finds had been arranged and labelled by Lee, and a collecting box was placed in a prominent position. Having achieved their primary aim, the Committee set about organising the running of a scholarly society. A small excavation had taken place at the first annual general meeting on July 5th, 1848, when members visited Pillbach Farm near Caerleon, to see a tessellated pavement being uncovered. This was presented to the Museum by the owner, John James. After a few years, as our Chairman describes later, the annual meetings were held in a different venue each year, usually in one of the county's many castles. The morning business meeting would be followed by lunch and a guided tour of the castle by Thomas Wakeman of the Graig near Monmouth, or by Octavius Morgan, M.P., who succeeded Sir Digby as President in 1853. The weather was often bad and the attendance small. At Chepstow, in 1876, the lunch tent was blown down.

The question of publication was taken seriously, and each year members received a copy of the lectures given in the preceding year by Wakeman and Morgan. In the years when Lee's books on Caerleon were published, these were supplied to members at, or below, cost by the author. Not as many gifts were made to the Museum as Lee would have liked. In 1868, he complained that six coins were the sum

total for the year. He regretted that '*the Museum was making slow progress*' and that '*there must be a large number of antiquities in the hands of individuals who are not collectors. These objects, unless accessible, are valueless to science*'¹³. Lee's annual reports show that it was hard work getting members to do much more than pay their subscriptions. He pleaded with them to donate more to excavations and the building fund, and to participate more fully in the proceedings of the society. At Penhow, in 1860, he said that '*a society, to be useful, ought to include a number of working members*'. Fortunately, there were several 'working members' of great distinction, including Lee himself.

The annual meeting at Caerwent in 1855 was important for the society was now out of debt, with a balance of £3, and a long-cherished wish for a major excavation there had been fulfilled, carried out on behalf of the Association under the supervision of F.Y. Akerman, Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He conducted members around the excavation, read a report to the Society of Antiquaries, and the Association began to be known nationally. In 1856, at Usk Castle, Octavius Morgan proposed a change of name for the Association, saying that '*many were deterred from joining, thinking it a mere local society*'. He proposed that it should be called the 'Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association', but in 1857 members voted to call it the 'Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association', covering the area of its foundation and the wider county - where many members lived. Only in 1979 was Morgan's suggestion adopted, the inclusion of Caerleon being no longer thought necessary.

In 1849, a proposal was made to the Association by the Cambrian Archaeological Association that the two societies should merge, but the committee and membership, though flattered, decided that the two would work best as independent bodies. Some members of the Association, Lee among them, also belonged to the Cambrians and contributed articles to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. In 1855, the Association cancelled its annual meeting to join the Cambrians' meetings in Newport. After Lee's death, his many volumes of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* were given to the Torquay Natural History Society.

In 1862, Lee published *Isca Silurum; or an Illustrated Catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon*, dedicating it to Octavius Morgan. All the illustrations, by Lee, were of very high quality. Nevertheless, he asked the kind indulgence of antiquaries to the performance of an amateur¹⁴. The book covered stone inscriptions, altars, coffins and sculptures, as well as pottery, glass, ivory and metal objects. The Revd. C.W. King contributed a schedule of the coins found at Caerleon. Writing of this book in the Cambrian Archaeological Association's *Centenary Volume* in 1946, H.J. Randall commented that '*it was much more than a catalogue, and was the best work on Roman Wales in the nineteenth century*'. In 1868, Lee published a Supplement to *Isca Silurum*. This slim volume of twenty-two pages was to complete '*the notices of Caerleon and its antiquities up to the present date*'. This is significant in that it was in 1868 that Lee and his wife Anne, whom he had married in 1846, decided to move to Torquay for the sake of her health. He knew that there would be little future opportunity to concentrate in detail on the antiquities of Caerleon, and he was, in effect, bringing the chapter to a close.

John Edwards Lee and his family moved to Torquay in 1868, to live at the Villa Syracuse, a large house overlooking the sea, but also retained his home in Caerleon until at least 1870, travelling regularly between the two. He remained sole Secretary

of the Association until 1871, when he was joined by Frank Mitchell. He continued to travel to meetings until 1880, possibly staying with his son, Edward, at The Coldra. He sent apologies for the annual meeting of 1874, reminding Frank Mitchell of what to say, and discussing an inscription found at Caerleon. At Pembridge, in 1878, a vote of thanks was proposed to Lee for presenting members with his book on the excavations at Kesserloch in Switzerland. Professor Roemer and Miss Lee attended the 1879 and 1880 Meetings with him. That of 1880 was his last; thereafter failing health kept him in Torquay.

In Torquay, Lee gave much time to geology, having been made an honorary member of the Torquay Natural History Society in 1866 and a full member in 1871. A friend of long standing was William Pengelly, the excavator of Kent's Cavern and founder and Secretary of the Torquay society. Lee lectured frequently to the Society on geological subjects and became President for two terms in 1877, helping to run the Society, and giving generously to its funds. He became a member of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art in 1872, lecturing to them in 1874 on the classification of rocks, illustrated by sketches which reappeared in the *Notebook of an Amateur Geologist*, which he published in 1881. In Torquay, Lee found major discussions on the re-assessment of the antiquity of Man, in the light of Pengelly's discoveries at Brixham and Kent's Cavern, and he was one of a group of 'local celebrities' introduced to over 2,000 members of the British Association at Exeter in 1869.

Lee spent much of his later life writing and translating. In 1874, he produced *Roman Imperial Photographs*, consisting of forty enlargements of Roman coins, and *Roman Imperial Profiles*, containing over one hundred and sixty lithographic profiles enlarged from coins. Copies of the latter were presented in 1875 to members of our Association. He was at the same time adding to his collection of 10,000 fossils, which he presented to the British Museum in 1885. In 1859, Lee had been elected a Fellow of the Geological Society of London, and in 1861, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries - of which he was the local representative in Devon. He could, therefore, claim not only equal interest in geology and archaeology, but also equal recognition.

John Edward Lee died at Villa Syracuse on August 18th, 1887. The local paper told how 'he had held a high position at his residence in Caerleon, where he was distinguished by his scientific attainments and the interest he took in Public Insitutions'. For those of us in the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, a more fitting memorial would be the words of the Keeper of Archaeology (Mortimer Wheeler) at the National Museum on taking over in 1921 the Museum and its contents. The collection at Caerleon, he said,

'is well known as one of unsurpassed importance for the study of Roman Britain. The long series of inscriptions alone form a first-class series of historical documents and among the smaller objects are several pieces of richly enamelled jewellery. It is a collection entirely without parallel in Wales'¹⁵.



NOTES.

1. Jackson, G., *Hull in the eighteenth century* (University of Hull, 1972) 101.
2. *Geological Magazine* IV (1887) 527.
3. Lee, J.E., *Notebook of an amateur geologist* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1881) 1.
4. Torquay Museum: unpublished Papers of Torquay Natural History Society, - Letter from William Pengelly to his daughter Hester (September 1883).
5. Jackson, op. cit. 263.
6. Hull Record Office, Letterbooks of Hebblethwaite and Sons, Hull, 1895-1900.
7. Lee, op. cit. 78, 81.
8. Major translations were of: Ferdinand Keller, *Lake Dwellings of Switzerland* (London, 1866); Conrad Merck, *Excavations at the Kesslerloch* (London, 1876); Ferdinand Roemer, *Bone Caves of Ojców in Poland* (London, 1884).
9. Lee, J.E., *Delineations of Roman antiquities found at Caerleon and the neighbourhood* (London, 1845) vii.
10. Lee, J.E., *Paper on the Roman villa in the grounds of Castle Mound and careful plan*, published by the Association (1850).
11. King contributed a chapter on the coins found at Caerleon to Lee's *Isca Silurum*, p. 73.
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13. Secretary's Report at Annual Meeting at Llanthony Abbey, 11 August 1868.
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Appendix: SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF JOHN EDWARD LEE.

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Lake Dwellings of Switzerland, by Ferdinand Keller; translated by J.E. Lee (Longmans, Green & Co. 1866; 2nd. edn. 1878).

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'Notice on the occurrence of *Cupressocrinus* in a quarry of Devonian limestone near Kingsteignton', IX (1872) 387-88.

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'Notice of remarkable *striae* lately exposed at Portmadoc', (1870); Sections, p. 95.

'Notice of veins or fissures in the Keuper, filled with Rhaetic bone-bed, at Goldcliff in Monmouthshire', (1873) 116.

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'Notes on trappean rocks', VI: pt. 1 (1874) 400-11.

**OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.A., M.P., D.L., J.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.,
ANTIQUARIAN AND POLITICIAN.**

By DAVID H. WILLIAMS.

Charles Octavius Swinnerton Morgan, for many years the President of our Association, was born on September 15th, 1803, the fourth son (and fourth of the eight children) of Sir Charles Morgan, Bart., of Tredegar Park, near Newport, by Mary Magdalen, daughter of Captain George Storey, R.N.¹ Our knowledge of his early years is sketchy, and it may be for a placement for one of his elder brothers, rather than Octavius, that (in 1811) Sir Charles was seeking the goodwill of the Duke of Cambridge². Octavius was admitted to Westminster School in June 1816³, going up to Christ Church, Oxford, in January 1822, as a Gentleman Commoner and was in residence there until the end of the Hilary (Lent) term of 1825. Over the autumn and winter of 1823 he appears to have suffered from ill-health. His reading at Oxford included classical authors as Virgil, Sophocles and Horace. He satisfied the examiners for an ordinary pass (B.A.) degree, but returned into residence briefly in the summer of 1831 to qualify for his M.A. degree⁴. He had been elected a member of the Athenaeum in Pall Mall (on April 9th, 1827, with 148 votes cast in his favour, only 16 against)⁵, and had been advised a few days earlier to "go to the Geological" to canvas support as there was a tendency to blackball⁶. He remained a member of the Club until his death.

A young man of means, Octavius spent considerable time travelling on the Continent⁷, becoming a discerning collector with an affinity for clocks and watches. His house (The Friars, Newport) became 'a complete museum, rich in collections of every kind'⁸. It was noted, after his death, that "the greater part of Mr. Morgan's purchases were made in the palmy days of collecting, about forty or more years ago, when prices ranged so low"⁹. A noted horologist, he contributed two papers to the Society of Antiquaries (in 1848 and 1850) dealing with *The History and Progress of the Art of Watch-making from the earliest times*, and subsequently a paper on the Astrolabe¹⁰. Octavius also compiled (in 1848) a *List of Members of the Clockmakers Company of London, 1631 to 1732*, prefaced by a brief history of pendulum clocks¹¹, and made *Observations on the Classification and Arrangement of a Collection of Watches*¹².

Octavius bequeathed (in 1888) his own very large collection of watches and clocks to the British Museum¹³, and our Association were fortunate in 1991 to be given a lecture concerning them by Mr. David Thompson. Octavius had already presented the Museum (in 1866) with the 'Nef' (or 'ship') clock of Rudolf II¹⁴, and now the Museum also received such valuable pieces as: a French astrolabic table-clock of 1560¹⁵, a Halbrecht carillon clock made in Strasbourg in 1589¹⁶, and a Polish 'grand sonnerie' clock made in Kraków in 1648¹⁷. Amongst his many watches was one purchased in Ratisbon in 1837¹⁸. Octavius also collected and wrote on *Episcopal and other rings of investiture*¹⁹. A collector of china, as Limoges enamels, he was buying in Dresden itself in 1839²⁰. Interested in the analysis of, and the assay marks on, gold and silver, he had contacts with the noted chemist Michael Faraday (1830-49)²¹, and at our Annual Meeting in 1852 he read a paper *On the Early Communion Plate used in the Church of England*²². He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1832²³.



Charles Octavius Swinnerton Morgan: 1803 - 1888.

(By courtesy of the British Museum)

A Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries since 1830, his active involvement commenced when politics took him to London in 1841; from 1856 he was frequently a Vice-President, and also for a time acted as one of the yearly auditors²⁴. His many contributions to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, and the *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Institute*, show a prodigious output of learned writing²⁵. During the term of its existence, Octavius was also a frequent contributor to the *Red Dragon*, and to *Notes and Queries*²⁶. Giving a speech in Newport (in 1838) at 'Cymdeithas Cymreigyddion Casbach' on 'The Antiquity of the Cymry', Octavius declared that he wished to be proficient in Welsh²⁷.

Octavius was elected a member of the Committee of our Association on November 22nd, 1848, after the death of Mr John Butler; he also served on the Building Committee²⁸. After the death of Sir Digby Mackworth, Octavius was elected our President on August 18th, 1853, and held the post until his death; a presidency of thirty-five full years. Apart from much else, Octavius gave to our Museum "an elephant tusk richly carved found in a cave in India, and a piece of the mud bricks from the Great Wall of China". In 1867, he paid part of the cost when the Museum purchased a collection of 'ancient stone implements from the North of England'. In 1881 he re-arranged the Museum, "at considerable expense". He had the walls coloured, erected strong shelving, and added "a most useful case with drawers with glass tops to them". He gave, too, "a complete copy of all the publications of our society, nicely bound" (1882).

Keen on the antiquities of his native county, Octavius wrote numerous articles (often in collaboration with Thomas Wakeman of the Graig, Monmouth)²⁹, arranged small-scale excavations, and, not least, presented Newport Corporation with the original confirmatory charter (which he transcribed)³⁰ granted to the burgesses in 1427 by Earl Henry of Stafford³¹. Written in collaboration with Wakeman were eight papers published by our Association, commencing in 1846 with *Notes on Wentwood, Castle Troiggy, and Llanvair Castle*, and going through to *Notes on Penhow Castle* in 1867. Written by himself were *Excavations within the walls of Caerwent* (1856) and five later essays, including his account of *Goldcliff, and the Ancient Roman Inscribed Stone found there* (1881). In one of several papers of the same date, he drew attention (of interest to historical geographers, as your present writer) to the submerged forest found when Alexandra Dock was excavated in Newport (in 1877)³². His *Account of the Monuments in Abergavenny Church* was published in book-form in a limited run and sold at 15/-³³. With F. J. Mitchell, Esq., of Llanfrechfa Grange, Octavius made a detailed plan of Newport Castle (1858)³⁴. With Wakeman he also prepared a *Handlist of MSS deposited in the Society of Antiquaries*³⁵.

For much of his life Octavius was also a dedicated politician, and followed in the footsteps of his father, an M.P. for the county for forty years. In February 1841 he put up (as a Conservative) only a week before the election on a request signed by 277 voters. Elected unopposed on February 9th that year, as the Lord Lieutenant (Charles Hanbury Tracy) had withdrawn at the last moment, he told how "honour was this day conferred on me"; he was carried on a chair through Monmouth to rapturous applause. Later a Dinner was held at the Beaufort Arms, and, before leaving Monmouth after the Declaration, he gave £10 to be distributed to the poor of the town³⁶.

In June that same year he offered himself again for 'the New Parliament'. He said that his principles included "Loyalty to my Sovereign"; he was opposed to the repeal of the Corn Laws and to Catholic Emancipation³⁷, but promised that "the

*interests of the labouring and poor classes will ever have my most careful attention*³⁸. There were three weeks of electioneering (from June 19th to July 6th, 1841). Fortunately for Octavius, the Chartists decided to support his renewed candidacy; fortunate, because when Octavius had heard abroad of the riots in Newport in 1839 he had hurried home, sat as a magistrate on the bench which committed John Frost, and later on the Grand Jury which tried him³⁹. His 'Journal of Canvas'⁴⁰ shows him travelling up the valleys by horse-drawn carriage, passing into eastern Monmouthshire - to places such as Trelech (where "*the ringers set to work upon the bells*"), and Devauden - where he called on the noted school-master, Mr James Davies, in his school. Back in the west of the county, he was met at Newbridge by 60 freeholders on horseback, at Tredegar he addressed a crowd of thousands in the market-place, whilst at Blackwood "*the horses were taken from the carriage, and I was dragged through the Blackwood*". After the Declaration in Monmouth, which he attended with his fellow-M.P., Lord Granville Somerset, "*a fight ensued to destroy my chair*", but his carriage was dragged round the town by the very fellow who broke up his chair. His procession into Monmouth had been preceded by about 250 horsemen and "*a brake full of banners and bearers*". On returning home, he was met at Ebbw Bridge by the children of the Tredegar Estate workers.

Secure in his seat for years, Octavius was invited for dinner on February 2nd, 1857, by one Benjamin Disraeli of Grosvenor Gate, "*to hear the Queen's speech*"⁴¹. His diary for the 1868 election⁴² includes details of a lot of electioneering, but also tells of Octavius sitting on the Grand Jury at Monmouth Assizes (*August 6th*), going with our Association to Llanthony Priory (*August 11th*), attending Monmouth Races and Ball (*September 17th*), receiving Holy Communion in church (*Sunday, October 4th*), attending Usk Quarter Sessions (*October 19th*), and a Court of Sewers (*October 22nd*). November 24th was polling day, and he went to Monmouth for the Declaration. He retired from Parliament in 1874. Amongst the other interests of his varied life had been the Welsh School at Ashford, Middlesex; (in 1869, although having accepted the office of Steward, he was unable to attend a subscription dinner)⁴³; whilst one N. E. Hicks Beach (of the Colonial Office) regretted (in 1878) that Octavius was retiring as Secretary of '*The Farmer's Club*' and Lord Carnarvon regretted that he would be leaving London⁴⁴.

In his last years, Octavius's health began to fail. By 1884 was unable to attend our Field Days but contributed papers which were read for him at Skenfrith (1884) and White Castle (1885)⁴⁵. Octavius was able, with others, to deliver a paper in Newport to the Cambrians in 1885 on the *History of Newport and District*⁴⁶. Absent again from the field day in 1887, he proffered his resignation as President, but the members refused to accept it⁴⁷. Dying on August 5th, 1888⁴⁸, almost exactly a year after the long-time Secretary (J.E. Lee), and not long before his eighty-fifth birthday, he was buried in the family vault in Bassaleg Churchyard. That summer's planned field-day at Caldicot Castle was abandoned. His nephew, Lord Tredegar succeeded him as President, and notes found amongst Octavius's papers on 'sumptuous entertainments provided by the widow of Lord de Valance in 1296', were read at the field-day at Goodrich Castle in 1889⁴⁹.

NOTES.

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2. Military Commander of the Home District; NLW, Tredegar MS 945 (of 30-01-1811).
3. Information kindly supplied (01-09-1993) by Mr. John Field, Archivist of the School.
4. Information kindly supplied (16-06-1993) by Mr. Mark Curthoys, Archivist of the College.
5. Information kindly supplied (17-06-1993) by Miss Sarah J. Dodgson, Librarian of the Club.
6. NLW, Tredegar MS 982 (of 04-04-1827).
7. Collins, Collins, W.J.T., *More Monmouthshire Writers* (Newport, 1948) 61.
8. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd Ser. XII (1889), 385.
9. *Arch. Camb.* (1889) 353-354.
10. *Archaeologia* XXXIII, 84, 293; XXXIV, 259.
11. NLW, AC 908 E 73 (Archaeological Pamphlets) No. 23.
12. NLW, AC 908 C 17, pp. 801-819.
13. For his will, see: Newport Reference Library, q M160 929.3.
14. Tait, H., *Clocks and Watches* (British Museum; 2 edn. 1986) Figs. 40-42.
15. *Ibid.* Fig. 34.
16. *Ibid.* Fig. 13.
17. *Ibid.* Figs. 26-27.
18. Noted in NLW, AC 908 C 17, pp. 801-19.
19. *Archaeologia* XXXVI, 392; cf. NLW, Tredegar MS 981.
20. *Arch. Camb.* (1889) 353-354.
21. NLW, Tredegar MSS 962, 966, 984; cf. Collins, op. cit. 56, 58.
22. Archives of the Association.
23. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd Ser. XII (1889) 385.
24. *Ibid.* 385; NLW, Tredegar MSS 972, 979.
25. Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd Ser. XII (1889) 384.
26. *Old Welsh Chips* (Brecon) I, No. 8 (31-08-1888) 249.
27. Price, W.W., *Biographical Index* (NLW) 192.
28. This paragraph derives from the Minute Books and archives of the Association.
29. For lists of his writings, see: NLW MS 11.421C (*Enwogion Gwent*) 38-40; *Old Welsh Chips* I: No. 8 (31-08-88) 250-251; Collins, op. cit. 56. NLW, Tredegar (Schedule) passim.
30. In *Archaeologia* XLVIII (1884-85), cf. NLW, Tredegar MSS 1104-05.
31. Collins, op. cit. 56-57; *Old Welsh Chips* I : No. 8 (31-08-1888) 251.
32. *Ibid.* 57.
33. Archives of the Association.
34. NLW, Tredegar MS 1099.
35. Newport Reference Library, pq M000 900.
36. NLW, Tredegar MS 1154.
37. *Old Welsh Chips* I : No. 8 (31-08-1888) 250.
38. NLW, Tredegar MS 713
39. Collins, op. cit. 61; cf. NLW, Tredegar Box 40, Deeds 13, 22-24, 28, 30-31.
40. NLW, Tredegar MS 1503.
41. NLW, Tredegar MS 967.
42. NLW, Tredegar Box 71, Deed 707; cf. NLW, Twiston Davies Deed 5109.
43. NLW, Welsh School, Ashford, Deed 1244.
44. NLW, Tredegar MS 977, 979.
45. Much of this paragraph derives from the Minute Books and archives of the Association.
46. NLW, Tredegar MS 1098.
47. Archives of the Association.
48. *South Wales Daily News, Western Mail*, 06-08-1888; *Monmouthshire Merlin*, 10+17-08 1888.
49. Archives of the Association.

GLEN USK AND THE MACKWORTHS

By IAN BURGE.

Glen Usk was built in about 1820 not far from the much older Pencraig House, a seat of the Morgans from the sixteenth century. Described in the will of William Morgan (1661) as *"my house called Pencreeke in Llanhennocke"*, the old house (now Pencraig Farm) passed to William Morgan's eldest daughter Ann. She married Sir Herbert Evans of Knoll near Neath, and the estates of Gnoll and Pencraig passed to their only surviving child Mary, who married Sir Humphrey Mackworth. So it was that the land on which Glen Usk was built became Mackworth property. Sir Humphrey was a barrister, a politician, an author, a colliery proprietor, and a copper smelter with works at Melyn Crythan. After his death, in 1727, his grandson became Sir Herbert Mackworth, the first baronet. The Mackworths lived at Gnoll and Pencraig was let as a farm.

Glen Usk was built by the fourth baronet, Sir Digby Mackworth, but the architect is unknown. It probably stands on the site of an earlier house called the Cryddon, which may have been the home of Madame Gertrude Mackworth, a grand-daughter of Sir Humphrey. When Sir Digby built it there was no connecting road, and so he laid a carriageway (now the road) through his estate from the old Llanhennock-Caerleon road to Llanhennock church. Here he built his entrance gate and lodge keeper's cottage. The cottage, originally known as Glen Usk Lodge remains; it has a quaint stone turret. It was later renamed Oaklands Lodge by the seventh baronet. Sir Joseph Bradney said of Glen Usk, *"the situation is romantic and the garden and pleasure grounds are of great beauty. A feature of the house is a fine picture gallery"*. The latter, in the style of a Grecian temple, was joined to the house by a corridor in front of the old laundry buildings. We have no idea of the exact date it was added, or when the rectangular house was enlarged by the construction of the north-facing elevation with its entrance porch and venetian windows.

Sir Digby, the builder, was born in 1789, and had a distinguished military career. The family motto: *"Better Death than Shame"*, was fitting for a Colonel who fought under the Duke of Wellington in India and in the Peninsular campaign, and commanded a regiment at Waterloo. His services to the country caused him to be created a Knight of the Royal Guelphic Order instituted by the Prince Regent. When Glen Usk was built Sir Digby was in his early-thirties, and the estate of 1700 acres extended north-east as far as the house known as Croesonen (later described as a useful hunting lodge), and was bounded on the south by the meanders of the river Usk. Here he enjoyed the right to two 'stop nets' in the river - a simpler way to catch salmon than the tedious methods employed by anglers. Sir Digby's rôle in the formation of our Association and the building of the Museum has been described in the Foreword. He died in 1852, but eight days after the Duke of Wellington. The Vicar, the Revd. W. Powell, conducted the funeral service, the coffin being taken to Llanhennock church accompanied by family, friends, and household staff. The simple inscription on his gravestone says: *"Died Sept 22 1852. For 25 years he was a Sunday school teacher in the parish"*.

After Sir Digby's death his widow, Lady Sophia Mackworth, removed to Clifton where she died thirty years later. Glen Usk was let by 1870 to Samuel Homfray; formerly of Bedwellty, he was High Sheriff in 1841 and married a sister of Sir Charles Morgan of Tredegar Park. The iron and coal industry originated in Tredegar nearly 200 years ago, but it was the Fothergills with Jeremiah and Samuel Homfray who pioneered coal furnaces with the Tredegar Iron and Coal Company. The Homfrays built the first furnace at Sirhowy and, by 1864, owned collieries and iron works at Ebbw Vale, Abersychan and Abercarn. Samuel died in 1882 and was buried in the Homfray vault at Bassaleg; the brass memorial in St. Basil's church refers to him as living at 'Glen Uske'. From 1852 the estate had passed to the fifth baronet, Colonel Sir Arthur William Mackworth of the Royal Engineers. He came to live in the Priory at Caerleon, formerly the home of J.E. Lee. In his marriage settlement of 1865 he was described as being 'of Glen Uske'; later moving to the Priory, Caerleon. He married Alice Kate Cubitt (daughter of Joseph Cubitt of Great George Street, Westminster). Their engraved portraits still hang in Llanhennock village hall. It's corner-stone is inscribed: "*laid by Alice Lady Mackworth in 1885*". They had eleven children, six sons and five daughters.

After the death of Samuel Homfray in 1882, nothing is known of later tenants until 1899 when Charles H. Firbank leased Glen Usk for five years. Charles Firbank was the second son of Joseph Firbank who started work at 14 as a labourer on railway construction. He came to Newport in 1854 to work on the Monmouthshire Railway and Canal Company. By 1866 he was one of the largest contractors in the country. When he died at St. Julian's House on June 19th, 1886, his immense fortune was divided between his seven children. The business was inherited by his eldest son, Joseph Thomas (later Sir Thomas) Firbank, whose second son (born that year) was Arthur Annesley Ronald Firbank. St. Julian's House land was sold for building, and the lower St. Julian's estate provided ground rents for Charles Firbank of Glen Usk. He married Ethel Alice Cory (of Llantarnam Abbey), was High Sheriff in 1906, and became Master of the Llangybi foxhounds. My grandfather, Sydney George Burge, and his partner, Alfred Searle, were the family solicitors.

Sir Arthur Digby, now of the Priory in Caerleon, tried to sell off Glen Usk by auction on September 16th, 1903. The sale particulars describe the estate with its farms and land divided into 41 lots. Lot 29 was the freehold family mansion of Glen Usk with 58 acres including gardens and grounds, stabling, a mill and cottage, fishpond, fertile meadows and woodlands overlooking the river Usk, with a charming view of the meadows and woods on the opposite bank. The grounds included kitchen garden, greenhouse, tennis and croquet lawns. There was also an exotic hexagonal-shaped conservatory standing to the east of the house and joined to the drawing room by a glass passage. The temple to the west was said to be "*a classic building erected by a previous baronet for a picture gallery*". Pictures it may have had, but its main function was the provision of a billiard room and smoking room considered essential in Victorian days. The house had 15 bedrooms, but seemingly only one bathroom - described on the butler's bell-board as 'Mr. Bailey's bathroom'. Apart from the sale of Woodbank to Theodore Harding, the sale was not successful and the estate remained almost intact until the First World War.

Six years before Sir Arthur died in 1914, his son Humphrey (the seventh baronet, who succeeded to the estate), became engaged to Margaret Haig Thomas, the only daughter of Mr. D.A. Thomas, the Liberal M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil. He amassed

his fortune through the Cambrian Colliery Group, and while he did not attain political office after the Liberal landslide of 1906, he was sent to the U.S.A. in 1915 on important war-time missions by Lloyd George, after which he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Rhondda. He lived in considerable state at Llanwern Park until his death in 1918. D.A. Thomas was delighted that his only daughter married into one of the established families of the county, and, as a present to the happy couple, spent much money in renovating an old farm house near Pencraig, which Humphrey Mackworth named the Oaklands, renaming the Glen Usk Lodge as Oaklands Lodge. The Humphrey Mackworths did not live long at the Oaklands, nor anywhere else; the marriage was not a success and ended in divorce in 1923.

Miss Thomas/Mrs. Humphrey Mackworth was a militant suffragette, continuing her activities to the scandal of the Mackworth family after her marriage, and in 1913 she was sent to prison at Usk after making fire bombs for letter boxes. In 1915, she accompanied her father on his visit to the U.S.A. and on the return journey both survived the sinking of the Lusitania. In 1918 she succeeded to the title as Viscountess Rhondda and her father's fortune. In 1920, she refounded and subsequently edited the feminist and left-wing periodical, 'Time and Tide', until her death in 1958 at the age of seventy-five.

Oaklands had been let by the Mackworth estate for two summer seasons (before the Mackworth marriage) to Mr. James H. Griffiths, a member of the firm of Griffiths and Sons, Clothing Manufacturers, of Newport; and he entered into negotiations with the Estate to buy both house and land, and a price was agreed upon. Then, out of the blue, Mr. Griffiths was informed that the estate did not wish to proceed with the transaction. Upon enquiring why this was, the majestic reply received was to the effect that the Estate did not consider it would be proper to sell the Oaklands to Griffiths, who it had been learned was known in Newport and district as a prominent Dissenter. Undeterred, Mr. Griffiths proceeded to build his own house, Hafod, on his own land at Ponthir, a mile or so from Llanhennock, in about 1907. Ironically, Mr. Griffith's grandson purchased and went to live at the Oaklands in 1970, and enjoyed the sensation of various Mackworths turning in their graves at the thought of himself, also a Nonconformist, living at the Oaklands.

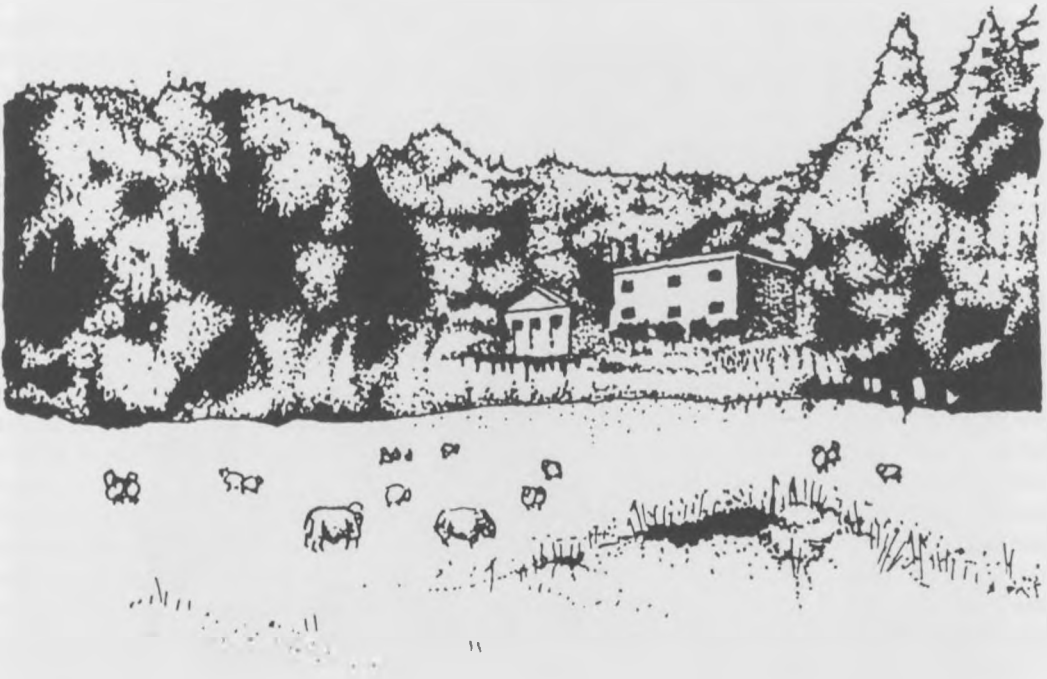
It may have been with sadness that Sir Humphrey sold Glen Usk and 364 acres on April 17th, 1918, to W.G. Jones of Castlefield, Rumney. Of his five brothers, one had been killed at Ladysmith in 1900, and others in the Great War, as the memorial in Llanhennock church bears witness. William Jones, a wealthy Cardiff shipowner set about improving the gardens, which were remodelled by the well known garden architect Avray Tipping. Today they are considered, by Elizabeth Whittle of the Welsh Historic Gardens Trust, to be a fine example of arts and crafts style. Contemporary photographs of the work involved show the construction of the extensive stone retaining walls for the terraces, men hoisting the rockery stones into position using wooden tripods and ropes.

William Jones had only a short time in which to enjoy his new garden, as he died on May 21st, 1920. Within two years, his widow married Sir Leonard Llewelyn. He died on June 14th, 1924, and so in 1925 Glen Usk was on the market again, "*under instructions from Lady Llewelyn*", but now only 1456 acres were for sale. Many of the farms were sold, but not the house. Lady Llewelyn remarried to another Mr. Jones in 1926, and Glen Usk was let mostly to Colonels of the Regiment stationed at Newport Barracks. In 1937, a five year lease was granted to Major Frank

Longueville Dean, at a rent of £200 p.a. Not a high rent , but he had to maintain:

'the water apparatus, the electric light plant, heating apparatus, all glass (including the glass in the billiard room roof); keep the drains, sewers and watercourses, free, clear and unobstructed; release the air valves in the water-pipes to permit a constant flow of water to the premises (*this still has to be done today*); to paint with two coats of good oil paint; to keep roofs, gutters, downpipes, sinks and sewers, free from leaves and dirt; preserve fruit trees and shrubs, and properly prune at seasonable times of the year, and replant any decayed or unproductive plants. (He was) to keep the gardens and grounds properly tended, manured, cultivated, and hedges, ditches, gates and fences, in good order and condition; (and) to keep all the carriage drives and paths on the premises free from weeds, and properly gravelled and rolled, hedges properly trimmed, and the lawns properly mowed, trimmed, and rolled'.

Colonel Dean bought the house at the end of the lease on August 6th, 1942, and reacquired parts of the estate, purchasing Pencraig Farm and the Wheatsheaf Inn. He loved Glen Usk, as did his children, Robin, Martin, and Victoria. Robin still owns and farms Upper Garn on the estate. Martin (who recently died) also married a Cubitt. After Colonel Dean's death on September 4th, 1968, Glen Usk was sold by his widow, Grace Dean, who preferred her house in Gloucester and the Beaufort Hunt. The writer and his lady purchased it in 1970, - together with the pea-fowl, Maurice and Mabel. The ninth baronet, Commander Sir David Arthur Mackworth, and Lady Mackworth, live at Hayling Island near Portsmouth. They visited Glen Usk on the occasion of the re-opening of Caerleon Museum in June 1987, after its re-building by the National Museum of Wales; Sir David unveiling the plaque placed on the left hand side of the Museum entrance.



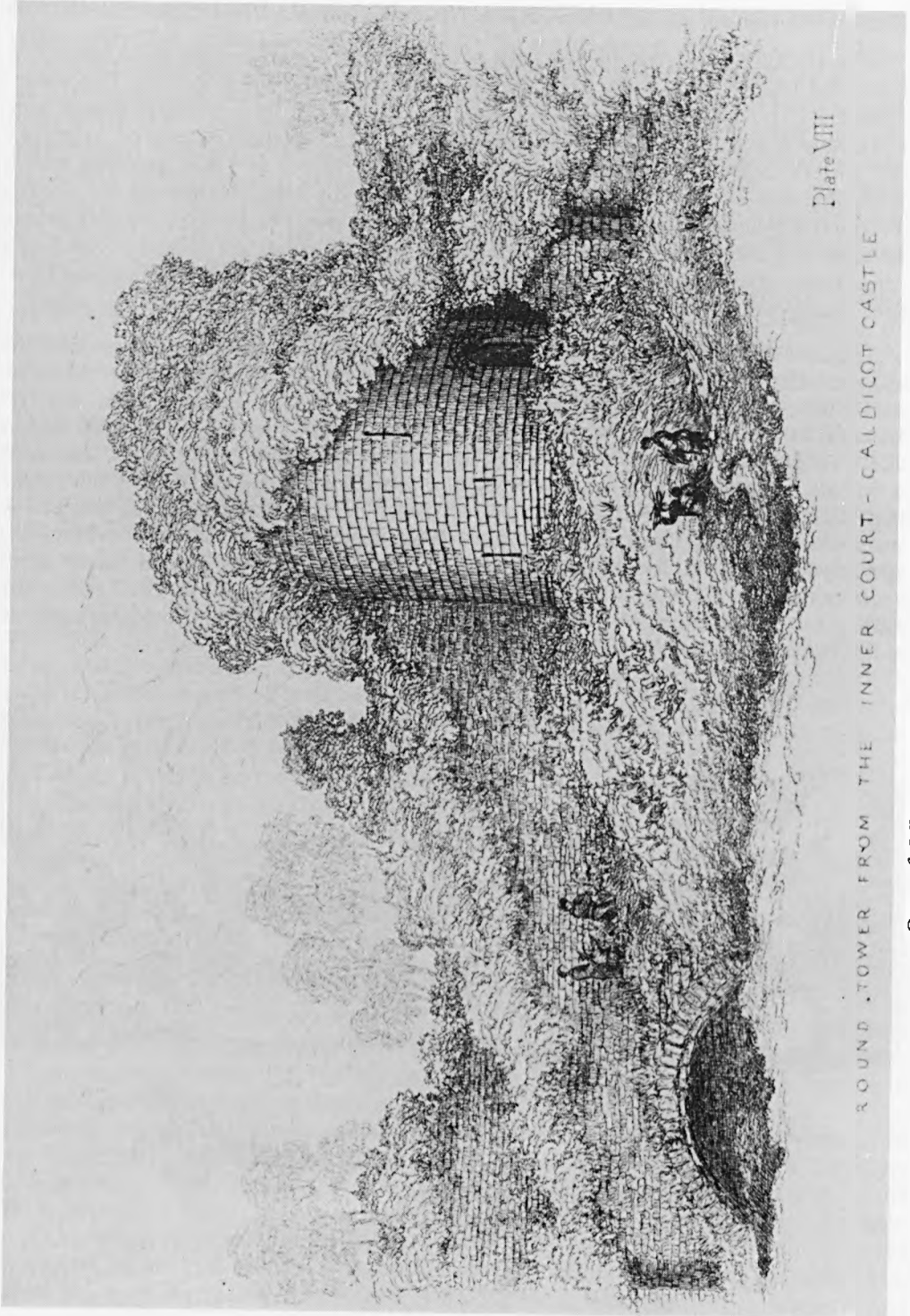


Plate VIII

ROUND TOWER FROM THE INNER COURT - CALDICOT CASTLE

One of J.E.Lee's illustrations of Caldicot Castle

EARLY CASTLE STUDIES AND THE ASSOCIATION

By JOHN R. KENYON

An important component of medieval studies for a number of years is various aspects of the castle, whether, for example, it is its architectural development, its relationship to the landscape around it or its political and administrative role. Several seminal works in the field of castle studies appeared in the 19th century, the classic being George T. Clark's *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England* (1884),¹ and many useful contributions may still be found in the publications of the numerous county archaeological and historical societies in Britain. Also noteworthy is a series of short monographs published by our Association, written by Octavius Morgan and Thomas Wakeman, the former tending to cover the architecture, the latter the history.²

The volume on Caldicot stemmed from the meeting of the Association at the castle on 18 August 1853. Octavius Morgan opened his account of the architecture with the following sentence: *'The Ruins of the Castle of Caldicot have never till lately received from the Antiquary the attention which they deserve..'*, and the same could still be said today, for a thorough analysis of the architectural development of the castle has still to be written.³ It must be remembered that Morgan's account, accompanied by some delightful etchings by the Association's Secretary, John Edward Lee (*Fig. 1*), was written over thirty years before Joseph Cobb acquired the castle, in 1885, and undertook its restoration, and, as Lee's illustrations show, much of the castle's walls in the 1850s were enveloped in rich foliage.

The earliest masonry at Caldicot, the keep and the bulk of the curtain walls, dates to the first half of the 13th century, the keep being the first stone structure. Morgan dates these buildings earlier than we would today, but correctly assigns the later work to the 14th century. His description of the remains is thorough, whilst more detailed information on various features appears in the text to the plates.

The castles in the second publication, Cas Troggy and Llanfair Discoed, are small scale and very ruinous, and the only really useful information to be obtained from this book as far as military architecture is concerned is from the illustrations, showing us the state of the monuments as they were at the time of publication, together with two useful plans.

Although the main monument in the 1864 publication is Pencoed, the description giving us some idea of the state of this mainly Tudor building prior to two restoration attempts in this century, the text on Langstone is of interest as it covers an earthwork castle and illustrates the problems that these monuments posed to the archaeologist and historian of the day. The origins of the motte or castle mound were much in dispute in the 19th century, some arguing for a pre-Norman date, whilst later in that century Ella Armitage and others offered convincing arguments for a Norman origin.⁴ Morgan examines various possibilities, whether prehistoric, Roman or later, with arguments for and against each theory, eventually settling for an early medieval date, the mounds being raised by the native British following the departure of the Roman legions, later to be re-used by the Normans. As such, for the castle historian of today Morgan's paper forms an interesting, but probably little read, contribution to the great 19th-century debate on the origin of the castle mound.⁵

The final publication to be considered here is the booklet on Penhow Castle, published in 1867. The format is much the same as the others, with Wakeman providing the history of the site and Morgan the description, and illustrations prepared by members of the Association (Fig. 2). The publication sheds light on the state of the building over a century before Stephen Weeks took it in hand to make it one of the great visitor attractions in the county. Although the current guide book to Penhow suggests that the main tower is Norman, it is considered by students of military architecture to have been built in the 13th century, and it is to that period that Morgan assigns it. Morgan also correctly describes the hall range as 15th century, and it is worth noting here that on some of the external masonry on the courtyard side there is a series of masons' marks identical to those to be seen in profusion at Raglan Castle, confirming the late-medieval date for this range at Penhow.

The early publications of the Association are unusual in that most county historical societies in the 19th century were producing journals, or at least they were in England. In Wales these societies and their journals are mainly an early 20th-century phenomenon, although the Powysland Club was producing its substantial *Montgomeryshire Collections* from 1867. The Association's monographs are an invaluable source of information, and wide-ranging in their coverage, and the publications of Morgan and Wakeman on some of the county's castles have proved to be of great value to the castle historian ever since they were published, although certain aspects must now be treated with caution.

NOTES

1. To mark the centenary of his death in 1898, the G.T.Clark Centenary Commemoration Committee plan to publish a volume covering the Clark's 'multifaceted career and wide historical interests', the present writer covering his work on castles.
2. The details of the volumes are as follows:
Notes on the Architecture and History of Caldicot Castle, Monmouthshire (1854).
Notes on Wentwood, Castle Troggy, and Llanvair Castle (1863).
Notices of Pencoyd Castle and Langstone (1864).
Notes on Penhow Castle (1867).
 A fifth volume on castles was originally prepared by the Association for the summer meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society in 1896, and is not covered in this paper. Published in 1898, its last page referring to the death of one of the Association's 'most distinguished members', G.T.Clark (see note 1 above), the volume covered a range of monuments, but notably the castles of Raglan, Monmouth, Grosmont, Skenfrith, White and Pembridge.
3. It had been the wish of David Cathcart King (d. 1989), doyen of Welsh castle studies, to tackle Caldicot, but failing health prevented this.
4. Although the motte was a Norman introduction to this country, excavations have on occasion found that the nucleus of a castle mound was an earlier feature, such as a Bronze Age barrow, later to be incorporated into a Norman earth and timber castle.
5. A small-scale excavation was undertaken in 1964 at the motte, and this has been published recently. See K. Blockley and P. Courtney, 'Langstone Court motte, Monmouthshire: excavations by Leslie Alcock, 1964', *Archaeology in Wales* 34 (1994), 17-25.



Mrs E.H.Mitchell's lithograph of the exterior of Penhow. Her husband, F.J.Mitchell, prepared the plan of the castle which appears as Plate IV in the monograph.

OUT WITH THE MONMOUTHSHIRES: THE ASSOCIATION IN THE MONMOUTHSHIRE MERLIN.

By JEREMY K. KNIGHT.

On May 23rd, 1829, the first number of a new newspaper for the county was published in Newport. The *Monmouthshire Merlin* was aimed both at the industrial and commercial interests of the rapidly growing town and at the wider county community. For any historian of Monmouthshire in the nineteenth century it is an indispensable primary source, not least as a week by week commentary on its industrial affairs. Its coverage of the mining valleys is unequalled. On March 27th, 1830, for example, it recorded the arrival of the first "steam carriages" at Nantyglo and Tredegar, the former ordered by Crawshay Bailey and soon to be immortalised in song¹. The same number included a detailed account of "that new invention" - the Water Balance headgear for collieries. A fortnight later there was a long report of a strike at Mynyddislwyn, involving that still mysterious secret society, the 'Scotch Cattle'².

Alongside the usual local newspaper fare of petty crime, accidents, and social events, there are occasional items dealing with the earlier history of the county. Such was the account by one 'Philo Monmothensis' of the history of Old Sally Collins, who for sixty years brought mule trains of coal to Monmouth from the Forest of Dean collieries; a personage worthy of being remembered³. There are also from time to time notes of archaeological finds, - as of a Roman coin hoard at Hendrew Farm near Caerleon in April 1851 (with enough detail for its contents to be reconstructed)⁴, and of the discovery in September 1845 of medieval coins at Newport Castle⁵.

From the inception of the *Merlin*, the affairs of our Association figured in its pages; our Annual General Meeting and Summer Excursion sometimes meriting a full page. It tells how on July 15th, 1848, the Association organised an exhibition of antiquities at Caerleon Free School (where of course we still meet), and heard a paper from John Edward Lee on some freestone coffins (one with a glass vessel) recently found at Caerleon during the building of a new railway (which was never completed) alongside the road to Usk at Pont Sadwrn⁶. It was fitting that this, our first public lecture, should have combined two themes, - rescue archaeology and the archaeology of Caerleon, which have been the subject of so many of our subsequent lectures.

By the 1850s, the practice of holding our annual summer meeting each year at a different venue in the county was already established. Lee's labours for the creation of Caerleon Museum had finally reached fruition in 1850, and Octavius Morgan had succeeded Sir Digby Mackworth as President on the latter's death in September 1852. Morgan was an active field archaeologist, arranging an excavation at Caerwent which uncovered a large Roman building and greatly augmented the collections of our Museum⁷. He also recorded other local discoveries, and, as the accounts of our meetings in the *Merlin* show, was a very active President. In August 1856, we paid our first visit to Usk Castle and in 1859 we were at White Castle⁸.

In 1860, the Association made one of its first ventures into excavation, opening a Bronze Age round barrow at Penhow. Since most barrows on the coastal plain have now been ploughed almost to extinction, it is of some interest that the Penhow barrow, 90 ft. (27 m.) in diameter, stood 9 ft. (3 m.) high. Excavation revealed traces of a

stone revetment to the mound and two post-holes, conceivably part of a stake-circle like those now known from other barrows. The only trace of a burial was a bronze dagger of the Early Bronze Age, possibly (though the account is very uncertain) with a cremation⁹.

By this time, our summer meetings were an established part of the Monmouthshire social scene, and had acquired a format which modern members would find perfectly familiar. Lee's *Isca Silurum* had been published in 1862, and from now on the accounts of our meetings became important first hand descriptions of discoveries which earlier would have found their way into its pages. In 1863, Lee showed the members a series of drawings of paving tiles and of masons' marks from the Great Hall at Raglan Castle. There had been conservation work a few years before, when tiles, cannon balls, and some items of ironwork had come to light¹⁰. We were at Grosmont the next year, and then at Chepstow, where the discovery of the Roman stone relief of a dog found at Caerleon by Police Sergeant Povall, still one of the treasures of Caerleon Museum, was reported¹¹.

In August 1867, our meeting at Trelech merited an entire page in the *Merlin*¹². Though parts of the account would have benefited from an editorial pencil, the occasion was worthy of the pen of Anthony Trollope. Though the *locus in quo* could not readily be reached by rail, the meeting was well attended, and the paper included a long list of those present, amongst whom clergy were to the fore. "The party having assembled on the open space in front of the village hostelry", it was welcomed by the President, Octavius Morgan, and the Secretary, John Edward Lee. Morgan then "ascended the ancient stepping stone" and addressed the members on Trelech church and the sculptured sun-dial. A number of unrecorded finds ("*recently discovered curiosities*") were reported¹³, before the party split into two for lunch at the Inn and in the village school. After lunch, the members were to have inspected the castle mound, but with the sudden onset of rain they retired to a nearby barn for their annual meeting. Lee reported that a copy of the recently published account of



The Trelech Sun-Dial (? 1867).
(Courtesy, National Library of Wales).

the labyrinth mosaic from Caerleon had been sent to every member not in arrears with their subscription (5/, but 2/6d. for unmarried ladies), and that the next publication was to be an account of Penhow Castle.

Lee then read a paper on 'Recent Discoveries at Caerleon'. This, like the other papers given, and even much of the discussion, was printed *verbatim* in the Merlin. The restoration in Caerleon of St. Cadog's church had revealed a previously unsuspected Norman arch, and part of another, at the west end. Lee showed a drawing of a "*painted Greek cross*" visible when the stonework was first exposed, but which had subsequently faded. He also told of the re-discovery of a Roman inscription with a consular date of A.D. 234 recorded by Coxe, with fragments of two others, during the demolition of an old house in Caerleon churchyard. Other papers then followed: on the ruined church of Llangunnog by F.J. Mitchell, and on Trelech by Thomas Wakeman. There was a lively discussion on the date of the castle mound, and of mottes in general, before Octavius Morgan closed the proceedings, and "*the whirl of departing vehicles and the clattering of horses' hoofs*" marked the return of Trelech to "*its ordinary quiet and repose*".

By now, the *Merlin* was not alone in the county. The *Monmouth Beacon* had started as early as 1837, and during the 1850s almost every major Gwent town acquired its local newspaper¹⁴. Full accounts of our summer meetings continued to appear in the *Merlin*, and sometimes in its rivals¹⁵, but a far wider selection of British and world news was now available to newspaper editors. In 1879, a meeting of the Association at Caerphilly Castle was told of the finding of the celebrated Roman inscription from Goldcliff¹⁶, and inspected a case of thirty Anglo-Saxon and Arabic coins from a hoard in Wisby, Sweden, brought back by John Edward Lee. In the previous year, however, Lee had moved to Torquay for the sake of his wife's health, and he therefore relinquished the Secretaryship of the Association.

The reports on our meetings were maintained through the 1880s, and Caerleon continued to occupy our attention. In 1881, we were back at our birth-place, meeting at the Drill Hall. Two years later, at Pencoed, it was reported that the Museum had acquired a Roman onyx cameo, "*bleached by the funeral fire*", found during the laying of water-mains to the Industrial School in Caerleon. Mr. Berrington, the excavator of Usk, had donated a handsome case to house the Usk antiquities, and had added a restored vase and the Roman funerary inscription¹⁷. By 1887, not only was the Museum in good order, but it was open on Bank Holidays.

The Association was also becoming involved in conservation matters. There was concern about the condition of Peterstone Wentloog church. A restoration fund was opened, and the landowner, Mr. J. Heath-Stubbs, contributed £100. In 1887, it was reported that a letter had been received from a Mr. J.R. Cobb, "*who had come from Brecon*" and had bought Caldicot Castle. "*What he had done there*", he said, "*might not be generally approved*", but he invited the Association to hold its next annual meeting at the castle. The Association promised to consider the offer¹⁸.

The following year there was news of the deaths of John Edward Lee and of Octavius Morgan, but life moved on. Lord Tredegar succeeded his brother as President, and among the new members was a Mr. Joseph Bradney. The Association tried its hand at barrow digging in 1888, opening the long barrow at Portskewett, and finding bones and pottery which were added to the collections of our Museum¹⁹. In 1891, the *Monmouthshire Merlin*, a unique chronicle of the events of the county for over sixty years, ceased publication.

NOTES.

Abbreviation: MM : 'Monmouthshire Merlin'.

1. MM 27-03-1830.
2. MM 10-04-1830. (For the 'Scotch Cattle', see: Jones, David J.V., 'The Scotch Cattle and their Black Domain', in *Before Rebecca: Popular Protests in Wales, 1793-1815* (Allan Lane, 1973) 86-113).
3. MM 30-10-1830.
4. Knight, J.K., 'A forgotten Roman Hoard from Monmouthshire', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies* 32 (1985) 417-18.
5. MM 27-09-1845.
6. MM 15-07-1848. (For these discoveries, see: Lee, J.E., *Isca Silurum* (London, 1862) 23 24.
7. Described by Morgan in *Archaeologia* 36 (1856) 418-37; Lee, *Isca Silurum* 94-103).
8. MM 9-08-1856, 10-09-1859.
9. MM 25-08-1860; and described by Morgan in Lee, *Isca Silurum* 108-09. (The location of the barrow is not clear. Morgan describes it as standing in a field called Barrow Field "not far from the Rock and Fountain Inn". It is probably the barrow at Carrow Hill (ST 433903) re-excavated by D.G. Buckley in 1973 ['The excavation of a Bronze Age Barrow Mound at St. Bride's , Netherwent, Monmouthshire', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* CXXIV (1975) 36-51], by which time the mound had virtually disappeared. The importance of the bronze dagger was re-assessed by Colin Burgess ['Two grooved ogival daggers of the Early Bronze Age from South Wales', *Bull. Board of Celtic Studies* 20 (1962) 75-94].
10. MM 3-04-1858, 15-08-1863.
11. MM 20-08-1864, 26-08-1865.
12. MM 31-08-67; cf. Williams, David H., 'A Field Day with the Antiquarians in 1867', *Monm. Antiq.* VIII (1992) 35-38.
13. Bronze socketed axes from Trelech and Troy (Monmouth); gold nobles of Edward III from Trelech and Monmouth, the latter found with a similar quarter noble on the river bank.
14. *Star of Gwent* (1853), *Chepstow Weekly Advertiser* (1855), *Newport Gazette* (ancestor of the *South Wales Argus*, 1857), *Pontypool Free Press* (1859).
15. MM 21-08-1869 (Tintern Abbey), 18-08-1871 (Raglan), 30-08-1872 (St. Briavel's), 22-08-1873 (Usk); *Star of Gwent* 20-08-1870 (Lydney).
16. MM 22-08-1879; Morgan, Octavius., *Goldcliff and the Roman Inscribed Stone found there in 1878* (Caerleon and Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, 1882).
17. MM 19-08 -1881, 17-08-1883. [The vicissitudes of the Usk material were described by George Boon ('Remarks on Roman Usk', *Monm. Antiq.* I, pt. 2 (1962) 28-33, and 'The earliest samian bowl from Wales', *Ibid.* II, pt. 1 (1965) 42-51). The 'restored vessel' is probably the early samian bowl by Martialis published in 1962. It, and other items, listed by Boon (1962, n. 2) were in our Museum in 1883, no doubt in Berrington's case. The rest was stored in the gun-room at Pantygolitre until 1893/95 , when they were moved to Caerleon. Most of the latter material now seems to be missing. Boon showed the importance of the Usk material, belonging as it did before the foundation of Caerleon. Professor Manning's subsequent excavations then revealed the Neronian legionary fortress.
18. MM 17-08-1887.
19. MM 24-08-1888.

WELSH ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETIES AND FIELD CLUBS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By R. J. SILVESTER

The 1840s witnessed an unparalleled emergence of regional archaeological societies. To the list of renowned English county organisations that included Norfolk (1846), Sussex (1847) and Somerset (1849), can be added the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1847, and, in the same year, the society whose 150th anniversary is celebrated in this series of articles. The Caerleon Antiquarian Association which was very soon to affix Monmouthshire to its title, was not the first regional organisation in Wales to take an interest in antiquities; the Swansea Philosophical and Literary Society, founded in 1835 and three years later under royal patronage renamed the Royal Institution of South Wales preceded it¹, as did the obscure "*society for investigating the natural history and antiquities of the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon and Merioneth*" which produced at least five annual reports from 1832 before disappearing without further trace. The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association is not a particularly well-documented society; while others were issuing annual transactions, the Association confined itself to the publication of occasional reports, and as Jeremy Knight shows above it is from the pages of the *Merlin* that the details of those early years have to be gleaned. Yet the Association's claim to fame as the earliest of the Welsh county antiquarian societies is emphasised by the fact that by the end of the century the only other county with its own antiquarian society - the Powysland Club - was Montgomeryshire.

The late Stuart Piggott in an article prepared in 1970 and republished some years later², examined the reasons and motivations behind the sudden upsurge in antiquarian societies: the romantic approach to history, the development of geological studies, but above all, and perhaps surprisingly to the modern mind, the changes in religious life which were articulated particularly by the Tractarian Movement, were all cited by Piggott. These are complex matters which cannot be followed up here, but it is interesting to note Piggott's contention that the earliest societies were practically all in those parts of England dominated by the Anglican church rather than where Nonconformity was prevalent - as in the industrial Midlands and the north. This offers an attractive though perhaps superficial explanation for the confinement of antiquarian groups to eastern Wales during the nineteenth century.

Anticipating the formation of these societies were a range of publications from the earlier part of the century, which dwelt on the history, literature and antiquities of Wales. To us, many of these are obscure, and most were short-lived. English was the preferred medium and, with the occasional exception such as *Y Drysorfa Hynafiaethol* which was published from Llanrwst and Caernarvon in north Wales between 1838 and 1842, the Welsh language was avoided. *The Cambrian Register* was first published in 1795, its second issue a year later and its third and last in 1818. *The Cambro-Briton and General Celtic Repository* appeared monthly and lasted from 1819 to 1822. *The Cambrian Quarterly Magazine and Celtic Repertory* fared little better, starting in 1829 and finishing with volume five in 1833, while *The Archaeological Magazine of Bristol, Bath, South Wales and the South-Western Counties*

clearly made little impact surviving for only three issues which appeared between May 1843 and January 1844³. Better established, at least in mid-Wales, was *Byegones relating to Wales and the Border Counties*, an annual publication that first appeared in 1873 and survived until 1938/1939. Only 100 copies of what can legitimately be claimed as a browser's delight, were published each year, representing the aggregation of weekly columns printed in the *Oswestry Advertiser and Montgomeryshire Mercury*.

If Monmouthshire and Montgomeryshire were the only Welsh counties with active antiquarian societies during the 19th century, it is worth recalling that there were others that took more than a passing interest in the antiquities of east and north Wales. First referred to in 1849, the Chester Archaeological and Historical Society extended its range in 1891 when North Wales was incorporated into its title, during the time that Henry Taylor, the historian of Flint castle and town, was its honorary secretary. A small but steady flow of articles on such aspects as the burial mounds of Penmaenmawr and the early Christian monuments of North Wales found their way into the pages of their journal in the last years of the century. Further south, the Shropshire Natural History and Archaeological Society emerged in 1877, effectively taking over from an obscure predecessor known as the Shropshire and North Wales Natural History and Antiquarian Society whose genesis was as far back as 1835, though it appears to have bequeathed few records to posterity and its work in Wales is undocumented.

Nor should we ignore the field clubs that sprang up in the second half of the century. Pre-eminent among these was the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club. Founded in 1851 and adopting its name from the Woolhope dome, a complex and distinctive geological area to the south-east of Hereford, the Woolhope continues today as the leading society in Herefordshire⁴. The first of the rules laid down on the foundation of the club invoked the practical study "*in all its branches, of the natural history of Herefordshire and the districts immediately adjacent*". Though archaeology was not added to Rule 1 until 1903⁵, it became obvious from an early stage that a significant sector of the Woolhope members were interested primarily in the past, and as early as 1864, the President in his annual address to the club argued for the official inclusion of archaeology in the club's pursuits. Furthermore, in the absence of an equivalent antiquarian society or field club in Radnorshire, Breconshire and northern Monmouthshire, it is not surprising to find that a sizeable proportion of the membership - nearly 15% in 1877 - resided in Wales, and at least one field meeting a year was usually held in the Principality.

Two distinct organisations, the Caradoc and Severn Valley Field Clubs, based in Shropshire but also taking an interest in things on the Welsh side of the border and with a handful of Welsh members from distant points such as Corwen and Colwyn Bay, amalgamated in 1893. Botany and meteorological observations dominated their publications, but features of archaeological interest were occasionally cited, and the Severn Valley Club from its inception in 1863 expressed a nominal interest in the practical study of archaeology in addition to natural history and geology. More obscure still was the Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club whose title was on occasions extended to include 'Archaeological Society'. It was not until the early years of the present century that reports of their excursions were published in a booklet, being reprinted from the same *Oswestry Advertiser* that carried *Byegones*.

The Cardiff Naturalists' Society was formed in 1867 with the primary aims of studying '*natural history, geology and the physical sciences*'⁶. After Swansea, it was one of the first societies in Wales to arrange public lectures given by outside speakers. Initially a financial embarrassment when they started in 1874, these became a regular feature, though other societies were slow to follow their lead. However, it was not until 1895 that an archaeological section of the Cardiff society was inaugurated, and this inauspiciously for the Naturalists' committee some four years later '*considered the question of the resuscitation of the Archaeological Section*' but felt it was '*inadvisable to revive*' what was evidently a moribund group⁷. Yet as early as their third field meeting an archaeological site - Dinas Powis Castle - was on the itinerary, and the first Presidential Address in 1868 referred to archaeology as a subject that '*our Society professes to become acquainted with*'⁸. Archaeological reports were regularly recorded in the Transactions and towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Society was even undertaking excavations at the Roman villa on Ely race-course.

Excavation was something that most of the societies and clubs dabbled in at one stage or another. In 1890 a proposal for excavations at Strata Marcella, the Cistercian Abbey just outside Welshpool, received strong support from the Powysland Club; the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association funded its first excavation at Caerwent in 1855, and in 1871 the Woolhope Field Club attended the opening of a barrow at Twyn-y-beddau near Hay-on-Wye in Breconshire. The establishment of museums, another feature common to these fledgling societies, featured strongly in the thinking of the Caerleon, Cardiff, Chester, Swansea and Montgomeryshire Societies, and even the Woolhope Field Club was involved in this activity by 1876. By 1880 the Powysland Club were attempting to reach agreement with the Cambrian Archaeological Association to expand its museum in Welshpool into a '*general and central Museum for Welsh Antiquities*'⁹, a plan which ultimately came to nothing.

There was a distinction between the archaeological societies as conceived in Monmouthshire and Montgomeryshire, and the field clubs, a distinction that highlights the intermediate role of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society. Without exception the field clubs focused on natural history, at least initially. Frequently though, it was only a matter of a few years before archaeology became a significant element of field-club programmes, even if this wasn't always acknowledged in the clubs' rules. Yet it is not this so much as the motivations of these organisations and their ruling committees which differentiated them from the antiquarian societies. The primary aims of the Caerleon Antiquarian Association in 1847 were firstly the establishment of a museum, something that was achieved rapidly, and secondly and much more generally, the furtherance of any archaeological pursuit¹⁰. Papers were delivered at the annual general meeting, and from 1850 occasional publications appeared under the Association's name, which Eric Wiles describes later. The primary purpose of the Powysland Club, other than the establishment of its museum was to oversee '*the collecting and printing, for the use of its members, of the historical, ecclesiastical, genealogical, topographical and literary remains of Montgomeryshire*'¹¹. To this end articles that had appeared many years previously in periodicals such as the *Cambrian Quarterly Review* and more recently in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* were republished. New work was also encouraged from its members, and a mainstay of the *Collections* became parochial history, some little consolation in the absence of a county history to rival, say, Theophilus Jones' *History of Brecknockshire*. That some people had

doubts about the long-term viability of a society that focused on recycling old material in a county whose historical traditions were not particularly well advanced is revealed in another contribution to *Bye-gones*:

'When the Club was established many were the prognostications that, half a dozen years, at most, would be its duration; by that time the Montgomeryshire mine would be exhausted, and the County would be wound up. Instead of which new loades are being continually tapped, and so far the prospect of exhaustion seems very remote'¹².

The field clubs provided a contrast, which at its most extreme might be defined as the difference between active participation and passive involvement. For them the field meetings supplemented by the annual general meeting offered the main events, and their published transactions, a medium for recording those events for the members. Publication, though, was an option rather than a necessity. The Caradoc Field Club produced its transactions only intermittently from its foundation in 1863, and in the 1890s, coincident with its amalgamation with the Severn Valley Field Club, it put out *The Caradoc Record of Bare Facts*, which as the name implies was no more than a listing of what phenomena were identified by the members. The Woolhope *Transactions* for the first fourteen years of its existence (1852-1865) were published as a volume as late as 1907, when the half dozen printed pamphlets from those years were integrated with the regular reports that appeared in the *Hereford Times*, supplemented by details from the minute book where the newspaper proved deficient. The Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club appears to have published nothing during the 19th century and its exploits were recorded only in the pages of the *Oswestry Advertiser* and subsequently in *Bye-gones*.

If the Woolhope Club can be taken as a general guide, the field meetings were social affairs, members sometimes assembling for breakfast (as laid down in rule 4 of their constitution), more usually for dinner, trains provided the only means of reaching many venues, papers were read and other business transacted often at the place being visited. Archaeology was frequently included, occasionally to the complete exclusion of the club's other activities. In 1875 at the invitation of John Edward Lee who had been a member of the Woolhope since 1864, there was a field meeting at Caerleon which led the president of the time to reflect that:

The Field Naturalists have, on the occasion of their first meeting this year, given a very liberal interpretation to their name¹³.

Not that the archaeological activities were an unqualified success. A visit to the camp on Walls Hills near Ledbury (Herefordshire) a few years previously had resulted in different views being propounded on the age of the earthworks. In his subsequent address, the president of the field club issued what can best be classed as a rebuke:

The subject of archaeology has, I think, this year received unusual, though not unmerited attention, and with the varied and conspicuous talent of many members of this Society, it is a subject well worthy of their research. Walls Hills.....was made the subject of an interesting discussion between Mr Lees and Mr Edmunds, two well known antiquaries, but for myself, and perhaps there may be some other non-archaeological gentlemen who sympathise with me, it would have been more satisfactory had the two learned antiquaries agreed a little more

in their views, as at present those who, like [myself] do not feel competent to decide the point for themselves are left in a deplorable state of doubt and uncertainty as to the real origin of the Walls Hills, and yet are not permitted to enjoy the bliss of utter ignorance'¹⁴.

Without the railway network, the field clubs would almost certainly not have prospered. Trains provided access to parts of Wales and the borderland which were too distant or remote for other forms of transport, and the train journey was part of the social event, frequently being detailed in the reports that went to make up the group's transactions. Usually though the final stage of a trip necessitated an alternative form of transport. In 1881 the Oswestry and Welshpool Naturalists' Field Club travelled to see the Liverpool Waterworks operations at what was later to become known as Lake Vyrnwy.

'After Aber-Hirnant the road becomes fearfully rough and steep in places passing through streams and hanging on the slope of the mountain in a manner rather alarming to some of the ladies of the party, who were not altogether reassured of the safety of the road by the driver gaily pointing out the spot where horse and carriage and all had lately rolled some sixty yards down the precipitous slopes resulting in the death of the horse, the smashing up of the carriage, and the marvellous escape of the driver'¹⁵.

The presence of ladies in the Oswestry and Welshpool party reveals a difference in attitude between different clubs and societies. Of nearly 150 members of the Powys-land Club in 1872, only three were women; the rules of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society permitted the membership of women from its inauguration in 1867, and ladies such as E.H.Mitchell and Mrs M.E. Bagnall-Oakley were contributing to the occasional papers of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in about 1865 and again in the 1890s. Some field clubs such as the Woolhope were exclusively male, though this discrimination does not seem to have been articulated in the rules of the club. The Woolhope's one condescension was the annual organisation of a Ladies' Day, and the prevailing attitude may perhaps be gauged from the report for July 1872.

'The goodly number of ladies arrayed in bewitching varieties of costumes bespoke at once the meeting of the year when absorbed naturalists are conspicuous by their absence but the rank and file of the club compound for the lack of severer quest of matter connected with the 'ologies' on condition of being allowed to introduce ladies to the excursion by special ticket and to give the day's march the character of a pic-nic.'¹⁶.

As late as 1918 the central committee determined that '*the indiscriminate admission of ladies would seriously interfere with the scientific objects for which the club was founded*'¹⁷.

If the attitude to women varied, the membership of both antiquarian society and field club was traditional with the emphasis strongly orientated to the middle class and in some cases the gentry. When Morris Jones drew up the proposal for 'a Society or Club to be called "*The Powys-land Club*"' in 1868 it was circulated to all the magistrates, clergy and the professional (e.g. legal and medical) men in the county. The strategy was not entirely successful for though about one-third of the county's magistrates immediately joined, Morris Jones lamented the fact that the Club attracted

only eleven Montgomeryshire incumbents yet *'the clergy having had a higher education than most of us and being resident in the county are, as a rule, better qualified for writing accounts of their parishes than laymen'*¹⁸. Other groups were more successful: of the 107 members of the Woolhope in 1867, thirty-seven were clergy. As Hudson has pointed out in his wider examination of Victorian archaeological societies *'the scholarly clergyman was one of the mainstays of the county archaeological society until at least the outbreak of the First World War'*¹⁹.

Close links between the various societies and field clubs were also a recurring feature. We have noted John Edward Lee's involvement with the Woolhope Club, and Morris Jones, the driving force behind the Powysland Club in its early years, advised on the establishment of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society in 1877 and sat on its committee. The second field meeting of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society in 1867 was held in conjunction with the Woolhope Field Club, and it was not unusual in the Welsh borderland to find three field clubs meeting up for excursions.

By the end of the nineteenth century the eastern half of Wales was relatively well served by established societies and field clubs that focused either wholly or in part on archaeological and antiquarian pursuits, and produced journals that increasingly found space for reports and articles outside the conventional framework of papers delivered at field or general meetings. These societies contributed to an increasing interest in the past which manifested itself not only in the museums that they established but indirectly in the formation of the National Museum of Wales, the National Library, and the county record offices. Nevertheless, with the exception of the short-lived society that claimed Anglesey, Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire (above) as its subject in the 1830s, the western regions were poorly represented. Generally, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that small regional groups began to emerge further west; in north Wales, for instance, the Nant Conwy Antiquarian Society was established in 1902 but appears to have faded out during the First World War, while the Llandudno and District Field Club came into existence four years after its neighbour but survived the war. There was fresh impetus, too, in the establishment of county societies: Carmarthenshire emerged in 1905, Cardiganshire in 1909, and Anglesey two years later; others such as Breconshire and Caernarvonshire followed in the inter-war years.

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THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS AT USK

By W. H. MANNING

Silurum gens non atrocitate, non clementia mutabatur, quin belleum exerceret castrisque legionum premenda foret. "The tribe of the Silures was turned neither by brutality nor by clemency from pursuing war and requiring encampments of legions to keep it down." With this bald statement in *The Annals* (XII, 32) Tacitus first introduces the Silures into history. Whether he had described them in more detail in a previous passage we do not know, for his earlier discussion of the invasion of Britain is lost. Fortunately his account of the campaigns against the Welsh tribes which followed the bringing up of the legion against the Silures survives. Ironically, although scholars have been familiar with his works for five centuries, it is only within the last thirty years that the physical remains of these campaigns have been discovered.

To have a relatively detailed account of any military campaign in Roman Britain is unusual. More often we have the archaeological evidence without the literary detail necessary to place it in its wider context. Admittedly Tacitus's account is imprecise in much of its detail; his was a literary work designed to be read by his contemporaries in Rome and they would have been bored by the precise details which we desire. The result is history painted with a broad brush, avoiding barbarous place names and topographical detail; a history which tells us that the Roman army campaigned in south Wales from about 49 AD, but which provides few of the details which would enable us to locate the events which he describes. But while it is true to say that archaeology will probably never discover the scenes of the skirmishes and pitched battles which Tacitus so graphically describes, it is capable of recovering the military infrastructure - the roads and the forts - which lay behind the more dramatic actions which fascinated him.

The importance of Wales for the study of the Roman army has been recognised for many years. In 1954 V.E.Nash-Williams drew together most of the information then available in his pioneering study of *The Roman Frontier in Wales*. To anyone reading his book today it soon becomes clear that almost all of the information then available related to the Flavian system of military control which was created in the seventies of the first century when the conquest of Wales was finally completed, with almost nothing being known of the early campaigns described by Tacitus.

Yet even then one of the keys to the problem of locating these early sites lay in the basement of the National Museum of Wales where a box of pottery from a nineteenth century excavation on the edge of Usk included Roman pottery dating from well before the Flavian period; pottery which could only have originated in a military site (Boon 1962,6). Usk had been recognised as a Roman site since the sixteenth century when Camden had identified it as the *Burrium* of the Antonine Itinerary. Early in the eighteenth century John Horsley, the father of Romano-British studies, pointed out that it must also be the *Bullaeum* of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Later writers, while usually accepting, the Roman origin of the town, added little to the discussion. Even William Coxe, who visited Usk with his friend and patron Sir Richard Colt-Hoare in 1798 and 1799, failed to record any significant Roman material (Manning 1981, 31ff).

The first major finds of Roman material came when the new County Gaol was built in 1846, but most of these were soon lost, and it was not until the Court-house was built alongside the gaol in 1876 that any serious study of the finds was possible. It was as a result of the interest generated by these discoveries that A.D. Berrington undertook some excavations in the field adjacent to the court-house. His discoveries included parts of three Roman roads and several walls, as well as a large amount of pottery and other artefacts. They were published by W. Thompson Watkin in 1878, and while later excavations were to show that most of Watkin's conclusions were wrong, his paper provided the first concrete evidence of the extent and location of the Roman occupation of Usk (Manning 1981, 7ff). It was Berrington and Watkin's work which formed the foundation of all later studies of Usk until major excavations began in 1965.

Unfortunately of the forty boxes of finds from Berrington's excavations which were presented to Caerleon Museum in 1895, all but one had disappeared by 1931 when that museum was taken into the care of the National Museum of Wales. Luckily that box contained enough decorated samian ware for its unusually early date to be immediately obvious to Grace Simpson and George Boon when they re-examined it in the early nineteen-sixties (Boon 1962; Simpson 1963, 66ff). What they found provided the first firm evidence for a Roman site dating from the late forties or early fifties of the first century to be found in Wales; a site which must have been connected with the initial Roman campaigns in Wales. The unique importance of Roman Usk was apparent at last.

Modern study of the site began in 1965 when planning permission was granted for housing to be built on the field by the side of the court-house where Berrington had found one of his roads in 1878. Largely at the instigation of George Boon and E.I.P Bowen, the Ministry of Works organised an emergency excavation and invited the writer, then a newly appointed lecturer at University College, Cardiff, to direct it. In many ways the task was daunting. The building site covered several acres; we were only allowed to excavate in those areas which were not to have either houses or roads built on them, and the total staff consisted of the director and four labourers. The result was that the site was sampled rather than excavated, but even so the results surpassed all of our expectations.

Before the work began the assumption was that Usk had been the site of an auxiliary fort, covering perhaps five acres at most, much of it lying below the gaol and court-house. By the end of the summer of 1965 it was clear that the extent of the Roman occupation was far greater than had been previously thought, and that it ranged in date from the mid-first century to the fourth century. Detailed examination of the samian ware made it clear, however, that this occupation could not have begun as early as the late forties of the first century, when Tacitus first records operations against the Silures. Rather it suggested that the military occupation of Usk had begun in the mid-fifties, and today there can be little doubt that the fortress to which the XX legion moved in 49 was at Kingsholm in Gloucester (Manning 1988, 19). The Roman army may well have campaigned as far west as the Usk valley at that time, but it did not occupy it in force until a few years later.

Having established the importance of the area around the gaol it was obviously necessary to respond to the threat created by various plans for the development of the facilities of the Detention Centre which then occupied the old gaol. The result was a series of large scale excavations which ran from 1967 to 1971 (Manning 1981).

These were far more extensive than the initial work, at times involving up to 150 people. Experience had shown that the only satisfactory way of elucidating the complex, and at times fugitive, remains of the military site was to clear and study as large an area as was possible. Fortunately the Welsh section of the Ministry of Works made the necessary resources available, and these were supplemented by the Department of Archaeology in University College, Cardiff which provided much, but by no means all, of the expert staff required for the excavations.

This phase was followed in 1973 and 1974 by excavations on the site of the cattle market, opposite the gaol, where it was intended to build a new local government headquarters (Manning 1989). Smaller digs in 1975 and 1976, which were designed to answer some specific questions on the nature of the Roman site, brought our work to an end, and by 1975 the main framework of the Roman occupation had been established. Subsequent excavations by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust have amplified some of the details, but resulted in no fundamental changes to the original conclusions.

The results of these excavations was to provide for the first time an archaeological framework for our understanding of the first phases of the Roman conquest of south Wales. The extent of the Roman occupation at Usk soon made it clear that we were not dealing with an auxiliary fort but with a much more extensive establishment. Observations in sewer trenches, selective excavations and geophysical surveys eventually proved that the early military site had been surrounded on all four sides by a turf and earth bank with an external ditch, which was doubled on the south side, enclosing some 48 acres (Manning 1981, 65ff). As with all military establishments of this date, almost all of the buildings within it were built of timber, the exception being the bath house, the edge of which was located as early as 1965 (Manning 1989, 134). The defensive bank was strengthened with timber towers set 100 Roman feet apart, with massive timber gates in the centre of each side. Only the east gate was actually excavated, but the position of the south gate was located in a geophysical survey, and the others may safely be assumed. The size and nature of the site left no doubt that we were dealing with a full-scale legionary fortress, almost certainly the headquarters of the XX Legion. Usk was closer to the military frontier of the early fifties, and it would have been logical to move the legion there from its original base at Kingsholm (Manning 1981, 34ff).

The excavations of 1968-1971 had lain in the area of the main east-west road across the fortress (the *via principalis*), and, as well as allowing us to investigate long stretches of the defences, they had revealed a group of three huge granaries, each 120 x 40 Roman feet, which had stood just inside the east gate; a common position for granaries in military establishments (Manning 1981, 138ff). Less normal was a group of smaller granaries which lay slightly to the south west of these (Manning 1981, 168ff). It was the discovery of these groups of granaries which led to the early, but erroneous, suggestion that Usk was a stores base rather than a normal fortress. The excavations on the Cattle Market site, which also lay on the *via principalis*, uncovered a pair of large workshops and part of an officer's house, as well as showing that the road itself had been flanked by covered colonnades behind which were open yards, probably for various kinds of stores (Manning 1989).

Dating sites of this type by archaeological means is fraught with difficulties, but in the case of the fortress at Usk the task was simplified by the large number of coins and huge amounts of pottery recovered in the work. Detailed study of this

material, which continued over many years, established that the fortress had been founded in the mid-fifties, most probably during the governorship of Didius Gallus who was in Britain from 52-57 and who is rather slightly referred to by Tacitus as having "held what his predecessors had gained and advanced a very few forts beyond that" (*Agricola* XIV; Manning 1981, 24ff). In fact, work on other pre-Flavian legionary fortresses in Britain, much of which was taking place at the same time as the excavations at Usk, suggests that Usk was one of a series of fortresses built at this time, the others being at Exeter, Wroxeter and Lincoln (Webster 1988, 91ff (Exeter), 120ff (Wroxeter), 145ff (Lincoln)). Taken as a whole this must indicate a total reorganisation of the military arrangements in the developing province in the mid-fifties.

One unexpected result of the excavations at Usk was the fact that the fortress had been partially closed down, with buildings being demolished and rubbish pits dug in compounds, some years before it was finally demolished (Manning 1981, 48ff). This reduction seems to have taken place in the later sixties, although it was not finally closed until Caerleon replaced it in the mid-seventies. The explanation of the changes of the sixties almost certainly lie in the fact that one of the four legions, which formed the backbone of the Roman army in Britain, was removed in 66/67, thus creating something of a crisis in the military structure of the province. The fortresses built in the fifties had been placed to control and protect south-western England (Exeter), south Wales (Usk), north Wales and the southern Pennines (Wroxeter), and north eastern England and East Anglia (Lincoln). The legion removed in 66 or 67 was the XIV stationed at Wroxeter, and its departure will have left a huge gap in the western defences of the province. The solution chosen by the Romans appears to have been to move the XX Legion from Usk to Wroxeter and fill the void created by that move by bringing the II Legion up from Exeter to a new fortress at Gloucester, close to the site of the earlier fortress at Kingsholm. The advantage of this change was that a legion at Gloucester was in a better position to act either in the south-west or in south Wales than a legion at either Usk or Exeter would have been. Neither Usk nor Exeter was demolished at this time: both were held by much reduced caretaker garrisons. Such an arrangement effectively retained them as part of the forward defences of the province, and, equally important, enabled the Roman government to retain the huge areas of land which surrounded all legionary fortresses (Manning 1981, 48ff).

In the first century AD a legionary fortress did not stand in isolation but was used in conjunction with auxiliary forts to provide a defence in depth; the whole system being under the command of the legionary legate. It was these forts, and the roads which linked them, which enabled the Romans to control a frontier region, with the legion providing the reserve necessary to deal with problems which were beyond the capacity of the smaller auxiliary units. That such a system must have existed around the fortress at Usk was self-evident, but it was not until the work there was well advanced that other parts of it began to be discovered. It was a process which was greatly helped by the fact that the excavations at Usk had established the type of ceramic assemblage used by the Roman army at this time in south Wales (Greene 1979; Greene in Manning 1981, 204ff; Greene in Manning 1993, 3ff).

As a result of the work of many archaeologists, amateur and professional in the area, we now have a fairly clear idea of the military system which controlled the southern Marches and south-eastern Wales in the fifties, and which was originally designed to provide the springboard for the complete conquest of south Wales (Man-

ning 1988; Jarrett 1994). Its southern end lay at Cardiff, where an unusually large fort dominated the coastal plain and the mouth of the Rivers Taff and Ely whose valleys gave access into hills to the north. Its position makes it fairly certain that it was also the base of a Roman fleet operating in the Bristol Channel. The existence of such a fleet explains why the Romans had reused the Iron Age coastal fort at Sudbrook the position of which makes it clear that it was concerned with the Severn estuary; presumably forming the Welsh end of a ferry route across the Channel (Manning 1981, 41). Further north the forts at Monmouth, Kentchurch and Abbeydore, and the probable fort at Weston under Penyard, all lay along the main road running from Gloucester along the north side of the Forest of Dean to reach the Usk valley at Usk itself.

Other forts were more concerned with controlling movement along the valleys which lead from the hinterland of south Wales into the Marches. These include the forts at Abergavenny, which blocked the Usk valley where it passed between the Black Mountains and the Brecon Beacons; the forts at Clyro and Clifford (which are too close together to have been occupied at the same time and so must be successive) which controlled the Wye Valley. Clyro, which a small excavation by Michael Jarrett showed to be of this date, is exceptionally large (30 acres) and, like Cardiff, may have contained a mixed garrison of auxiliaries and legionaries, or, quite possibly, cavalry and infantry auxiliary units without any mixture of legionaries (Nash-Williams/Jarrett 1969, 77). Such forts are a feature of the early years of the Roman conquest and probably reflect a situation when mixed groups, in effect small field armies, were kept together rather than dispersed to separate forts during the winter months. Whether Clyro is contemporary with Usk or predates it, as could well be the case, cannot be decided on the existing evidence. To the north of these a small valley giving access into mid-Wales was blocked by a fort at Walton, near Old Radnor.

Our knowledge of the system is almost certainly still incomplete, but it appears to be a linear arrangement, with the forward forts strategically placed in river valleys where they could control the movement of the natives while providing the spring-board necessary for further advances. In this it resembles the system of forts which was created by Agricola at the end of the first century in eastern Scotland around the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil. This blocked the mouths of the glens and provide the bases for an advance which never actually took place (Hanson 1987, 149).

The position of Usk, at the point where the road from England entered the Usk valley, was ideally suited for the first stages of the Roman conquest of Wales, but it was less well placed for permanent occupation. It was too far up the River Usk to be supplied by sea, and the site itself was liable to flooding. In both respects Caerleon was better placed, and it was at Caerleon that a new fortress was constructed in the seventies, when, following a rapid series of campaigns, the rest of Wales was conquered and the system of forts completely redesigned to reflect with the new situation. The fortress at Usk had no place in this system and it was demolished to be replaced by a small auxiliary fort. Even this only survived for a few years, being closed, along with many other forts in Wales, in the early years of the second century (Manning 1989, 180). Thereafter Burrium became a rather diffuse settlement largely concerned with iron working, probably under the general control of the II Legion at Caerleon.

That it is now possible to discuss the details of the pre-Flavian military system in south Wales is largely the result of the excavations at Usk. Without the knowledge

gained from that work the forts would have had to be studied in isolation, and the full nature of the military arrangement would have remained obscure. Indeed without the dating evidence for the coarse pottery (which is often the only major class of material found in them) provided by the work at Usk, even the fact that they were part of a single chronological phase might not have been obvious. The result is that today we probably know more about the early conquest of Wales than of any other part of Britain, and what thirty years ago was an archaeological vacuum, has become one of the most fruitful areas of research in the Roman archaeology of Britain.

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THE MAKING OF A MONUMENT: THE OFFICE OF WOODS AND ITS SUCCESSORS AT TINTERN ABBEY

By DAVID M. ROBINSON

A Crown Purchase.

Tintern Abbey has been in the care of the nation for close to one hundred years¹. In 1901, with the site already a focus of great antiquarian interest and a magnet for Romantic tourism, the abbey buildings and surrounding lands were purchased by the Crown from Henry, ninth duke of Beaufort (d. 1924)². In the decades which have followed, it has been the responsibility of various government departments to ensure the conservation and safety of this '*priceless national possession*'³. To a greater or lesser degree, each of these departments has contributed to 'the making of the monument' which we recognize so well today.

In looking for the earliest tentative steps in the story, we must begin at the Whitehall chambers of Mr E. Stafford Howard (1851—1916) during the first week of November 1900. Close to finalizing his department's plans for safeguarding the future of the celebrated Monmouthshire ruins, the Commissioner to H. M. Office of Woods, &c. was considering engaging a reputable architect to advise on the initial conservation needs. Howard was to dictate a letter addressed to Mr F. Waller of Gloucester, and it duly arrived at the College Green offices of F. S. Waller and F. W. Waller, resident architects — father and son — to the dean and chapter of the west country cathedral. '*You will no doubt be aware*', wrote the Commissioner, '*that the Crown is purchasing the Abbey of Tintern, [and] there may be repairs required ... which ought to be attended to at once*'. Nothing should be done, Howard stressed, '*except what is absolutely necessary to maintain the walls in their present condition & prevent their falling ...*'⁴.

On 5 November, it was Frederick W. Waller (1846–1933) who replied expressing his thanks for the 'great compliment' he had been paid in being asked to inspect the ruins and to report on the works needed. As Waller told the Commissioner, he had recently undertaken a similar task at the Glamorgan abbey of Margam, where '*as little as possible was done*'. It was with 'great pleasure' that he agreed to accept the Tintern invitation⁵. A few weeks later, Howard secured Treasury approval to pay 'a fee not exceeding £10. 10. 0. together with travelling expenses for the architect's preliminary report⁶.

By the time of the Crown purchase, after more than a century and a half of antiquarian and Romantic interest, later Victorian scholars had begun to adopt a more enquiring approach to the architectural history of Tintern⁷. And yet despite this attention, precious little had been done to conserve and protect the medieval fabric of the monument⁸. Superficially, the abbey had barely changed in appearance since the Buck brothers had published their sketch in 1732. In reality, however, the ruins had grown increasingly unstable and major architectural features were in imminent danger of collapse. So advanced was the decay, that without the benefit of detailed structural and engineering reports, Howard could not possibly have comprehended the scale of the task about to be taken on by his department in 1901. In the event, some thirteen years later, with much still remaining to be done, tenure of the ruins passed from the Office of Woods to H. M. Office of Works. Inevitably, the change brought with it new personnel and a fresh approach to the problems.

The Office of Woods and F. W. Waller: 1901–14.

Following the Crown purchase⁹, Waller's preliminary report was with the Office of Woods in the spring of 1901. In June, Howard wrote to him once again saying he intended to approach the Treasury Commissioners on matters of funding. Before doing so, the letter went on, 'I should like to have your opinion on one or two points to guide me. I have it in mind to propose to allot say £300 per annum, out of the proceeds of visitor fees, to the expenses of the Abbey to begin with. About £60 of this will be wanted for the caretaker & for keeping the grounds in order in the summer, leaving £240 per ann. to be spent in the work of preserving the walls as recommended by you'¹⁰. The sum was to prove hopelessly inadequate, and it is no small tribute to Howard and Waller that so much was achieved over the next thirteen years¹¹.

From Gloucester, Waller was soon in contact with Philip Baylis and Francis Hobbs. Baylis, a Crown servant, was the deputy surveyor of the Forest of Dean, and Hobbs had acted in the area for the duke of Beaufort and was to become the local agent for the Crown's Tintern and Raglan estates. All three men held periodic meetings at the site, discussing the progress and directing the work of the labour force employed by the Office of Woods¹². At times they were joined by Howard himself, who clearly maintained a close interest in the entire programme.

Waller's expertise was concentrated from the outset on the abbey church. Over the years, he was asked to make a series of reports on the condition of the fabric and to advise on appropriate solutions and likely costs. As each new problem area was considered, Howard was obliged to seek Treasury approval for the proposed expenditure in advance. The first of the major schemes to be dealt with in this way was the great east window, where the tracery head and the single surviving central mullion were becoming a cause of considerable anxiety. Such was the scale of the operation, it was deemed necessary to engage a firm of contractors to take down the existing mullion and to erect a replacement of identical form. After some discussion, it was the Cardiff based stone merchants and quarry owners, E. Turner & Sons, who carried out the work in 1904–05¹³. Their replacement mullion, along with its two horizontal supporting struts in mild steel¹⁴, have since become a very familiar backdrop to those views looking eastward along the length of the nave and presbytery. It was in this phase of work, too, that the gable above the east window was consolidated and new coping stones set over the restored masonry¹⁵.

Doubtless with growing confidence, Waller's attention turned to more areas of major concern around the church. In 1907–08, his energies were devoted to solving the difficulties with the eastern crossing arch. From here, in 1909–11 he progressed the campaign of works into the north transept, and finally moved on to the west front with its vast seven-light window in 1911–12. With each new phase, the true extent of the problems could only be gauged when the wooden scaffolding had been raised and Waller could observe the condition of the fabric at close quarters for the first time. Generally, matters were worse than he might have hoped, and he had no choice but to communicate the extent of his concerns to Howard. The Commissioner was left with the difficult task of getting Treasury approval for yet further expenditure.

There were, too, occasional setbacks and disagreements. In particular, Waller was clearly never comfortable with the engagement of Turner & Sons for the 1904–05 east window work, and yet the scale of the challenge presented by the fractured east crossing arch demanded putting out yet a second scheme to contract¹⁶. A forest

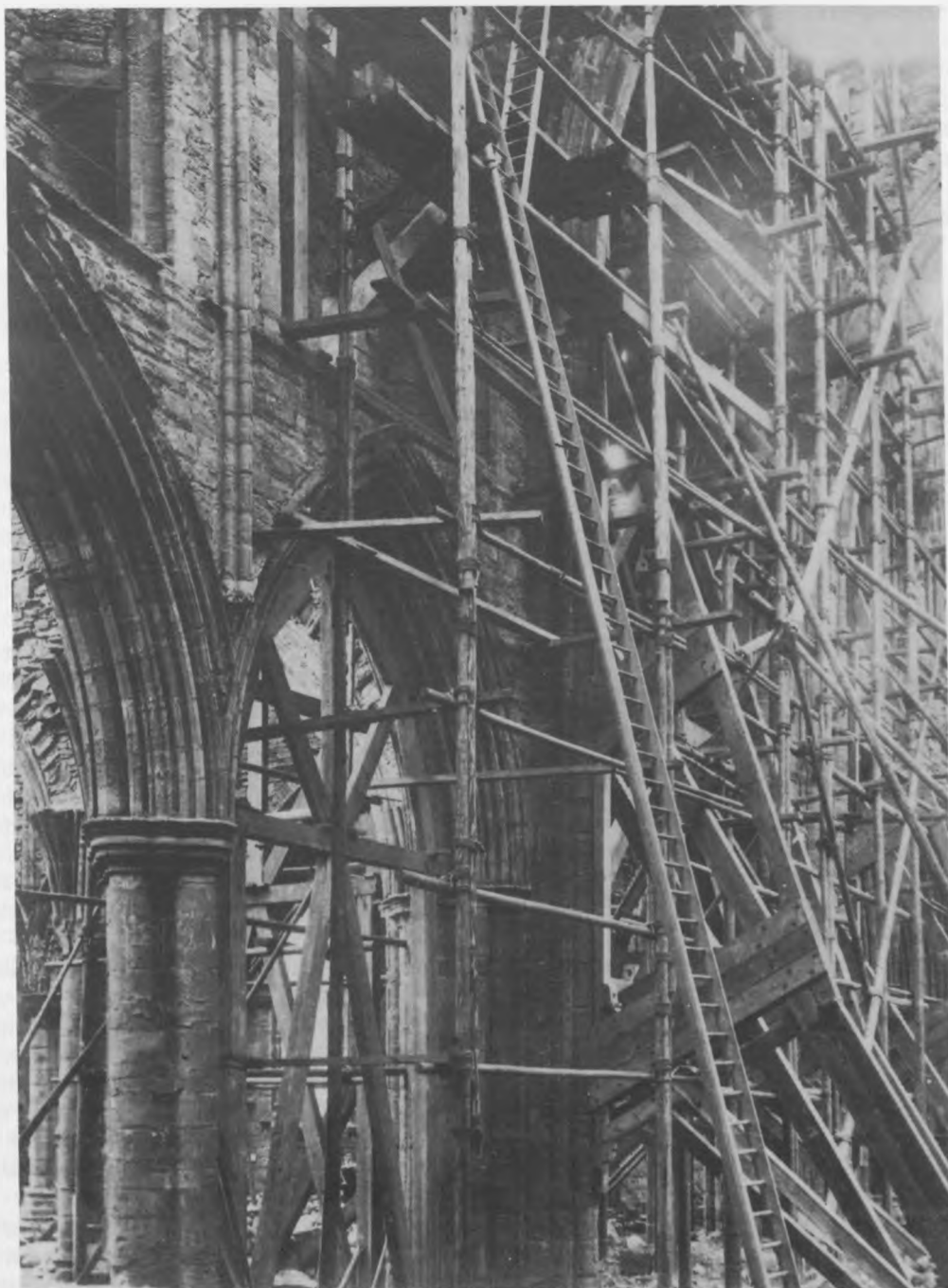


Plate 1: Office of Woods — A view looking south-east from the north transept, showing the scaffolding, centres and shoring raised in connection with the work on the east crossing arch in 1907-08 (Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments, Crown Copyright).

of shoring and scaffolding (Plate 1) was raised, and, in March 1908, the whole of the arch was taken down to the point of the spandrels. By late May it had rebuilt, but the shores and centres were removed before Waller had been given the opportunity to approve the work. A dispute arose over the *'true line of the arch'*. It was to drag on for many months, and only after a great deal of ink had been spilt by both sides was a compromise eventually reached. Rather than to wait for some form of arbitration by an independent architect, Turner & Sons preferred to take down the upper part of the arch and rebuild it closer to Waller's satisfaction¹⁷.

Meanwhile, apart from the upstanding fabric of the church, other works were to engage the attention of Baylis and Hobbs, with Waller providing advice and overall supervision. The early fourteenth-century doorway to the book room, and beyond it the sacristy vault, were two of the very earliest projects set in hand in 1902–03. In the following years, the warming house, the monks' day room, the plate tracery windows and the façade of the refectory, and the west range and outer parlour all saw consolidation¹⁸. Clearance and landscaping were also to feature among the programmes initiated by the Office of Woods. Two cottages obscuring much of the medieval detail in and around the porch and outer parlour, for example, were to be demolished, as was the Ship Inn which blocked an otherwise very fine view of the abbey church from the road. And woodmen were early employed in cutting *'a vista through the orchards'* lying in the shadow of the church so as to improve the appearance of *'the great west window & nave'* for those visitors approaching from the railway station¹⁹.

Sadly, it must be said, the files of correspondence relating to all these works reveal very little evidence for an awareness of the archaeological potential or sensitivity of the site. There is certainly little record of any controlled excavation on any part of the complex²⁰. It is true that the discovery of parts of the abbey's drainage system caused a good deal of early interest, and various channels were dug out to expose the stonework detail, but with precious little recording of the contents. In 1907, however, Baylis did lobby for the engagement of Harold Brakspear to prepare a detailed ground plan of the entire site²¹. Once again, there are few indications of a carefully planned excavation related to Brakspear's work, though it was at this time that the abbey's thirteenth-century infirmary building was uncovered and subsequently consolidated for display²².

By the summer of 1911, with work on the west front well advanced, scaffolding had been raised against the adjacent clerestory window. Waller was alarmed with this whole area and wrote to Howard saying that he found it *'in a distinctly dangerous condition'*. Hobbs was in total agreement and became somewhat frustrated by the delays. More than a year later, he endorsed Waller's action in writing to the Office of Woods *'plainly with regard to the Clerestory'*. *'Up to now'*, Hobbs went on, *'they have been under the impression this work was not pressing'*²³. But it was to be the spring of 1913 before shoring and full scaffolding had been erected in the two western bays of the south nave arcade²⁴.

With progress having reached thus far, in September of that year Waller received an unexpected letter from an administrator at the Office of Works: *'I am directed by Mr. Peers, Inspector of Ancient Monuments'*, it read, *'to inform you that arrangements for the transfer of Tintern Abbey from the Office of Woods to this Department having been settled, he is anxious to begin work on this monument'*. After thirteen years of close involvement, the Gloucester architect would have been under-

standably curious, and his pride perhaps not a little hurt. Indeed, the whole episode was handled far less tactfully than one might imagine for the age²⁵. Francis Hobbs was able to throw some light on the matter when he wrote to Waller on 17 September, saying that the 'handing over of the Abbey to the Office of Works has been "on the carpet" ever since Sir Stafford resigned'²⁶.

The Office of Works: Sir Charles Peers and Sir Frank Baines.

Recently promoted to Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Charles Peers (1868–1952) was one of the key personnel in the Historic Buildings Branch of the Office of Works at the time of the transfer. His colleague and Director of Works in the branch was Frank Baines (1877–1933). It was Peers and Baines who were responsible for overseeing the innovative and highly successful Tintern conservation campaign which extended from the period of transfer, right through to the later 1920s. Together, they were able to avert a number of potential disasters whilst contributing much to the essential character of the abbey as an 'ancient monument'.

Having met Waller on the site in the autumn of 1913, Peers and Baines were soon assessing the efforts of the Office of Woods and determining future plans. There was at least full agreement on one aspect of the situation, with Baines endorsing the 'very serious and dangerous' condition of the south nave arcade²⁷. He was, nevertheless, completely opposed to the scheme of works set before the Office of Woods by Waller. Indeed, it had been the intention to take down the entire clerestory stonework, stage by stage, to the point at which the arcade arches sprang from the heavily-stressed and crushed masonry of the late thirteenth-century piers. Baines immediately put forward other options and made revisions to the shoring arrangements which had earlier been implemented on Waller's instruction²⁸.

The war years afforded time for reflection, though they did not mean a complete cessation of activities at Tintern. The branch began with a thorough survey of the fabric, and with detailed assessments of the structural engineering problems²⁹. Masons, already trained in the approach to preservation at similar buildings, began by driving in large quantities of Portland cement to the wall cores. Efforts were understandably concentrated on the surviving nave clerestory. Once the cores had been consolidated, the wall faces were treated in more aesthetic terms. The pointing mortar employed, for example, was chosen for its resemblance to that used by the medieval masons³⁰.

The first major scheme to be tackled by the branch was the strengthening of the central crossing and the adjacent wall heads with a system of reinforced concrete beams. This involved cutting trenches up to 4 feet deep within the stonework at the tops of the walls. The beams were then set at the base of the trenches and embedded in masonry. The technique was to prove controversial, and was not without its critics. In fact, by the early 1920s, the whole approach by the Office of Works at Tintern was drawing attention within the architectural and the national press. The use of 'ferro-concrete' was seen by one correspondent to the *Morning Post* as 'a jettison of principles'. Another wrote of these 'misguided activities' (leaving posterity a whole collection of) 'shams from which both the spirit of antiquity and the touch of natural beauty will have been removed'³¹.

Within the branch itself, further controversy had been brewing over the most appropriate solution to the still very pressing problem of the south nave arcade. The earlier structural reports had shown that, deprived of its lateral support on both

sides, the upper part of the wall was in fact 'bulging' towards the centre of the nave. The whole problem was further compounded by the great mass of masonry now resting on just five piers of comparatively small sectional area³². By the summer of 1920, a decision had to be made between the two alternative schemes of work which had been set out on the drawing board; neither could be said to have won universal approval. The first of these schemes would have meant the construction of large, intrusive masonry buttresses against the north side of the arcade piers. For one member of the Baines team, this was the '*only sure method*' (which would) '*guarantee absolutely that there would be no collapse in the future*'³³. The second scheme involved rather more in the way of experimental technology. The proposal was to introduce a system of adjustable steel ties which would brace the overhanging clerestory level to the south aisle wall. In essence, this meant a 'lattice girder' would need to be raised over the entire aisle on the plane of the medieval roof.

Peers argued that the buttress scheme was inadmissible, and although he had reservations about introducing the lattice girder it was preferable to letting the wall collapse. The final decision, however, was left to the Ancient Monuments Board for England and Wales. A majority found in favour of the girder scheme, though one distinguished member of the Board felt it necessary to record his objections³⁴. This led to yet more work by Baines on the merits of the two alternatives, with a very detailed report sent to the First Commissioner of Works in May 1921. The Commissioner was said to dislike 'each necessity with equal cordiality', though accepted the braced girder scheme rather than risk the loss of the arcade altogether³⁵.

The construction of the lattice girder and its associated works were to take several years to complete (*Plate 2*), and still something had to be done to rectify the weaknesses in the crushed arcade piers themselves. From 1925, in a further enormous undertaking, temporary brick piers and arches were built to support the wall above the arcade. With these in place, stage by stage, the piers were taken down and steel stanchions erected in their stead. The original masonry from the piers was then in effect 'hollowed out', eventually to be replaced as a casing around each of the stanchions (*Plate 3*)³⁶. The method was not entirely untried, though neither was it without risk. That it was to prove successful, we can judge from the appearance of the arcade some seventy years later³⁷.

With the interior of the church returned after the many years of disruption, *The Daily Telegraph* of 31 August 1928 could announce: '*Restoration of Tintern Abbey — Scheme Practically Complete*'. And indeed it was. Huge efforts had gone into the work over the previous quarter of a century and more, and nothing on quite this same scale has ever been contemplated since. The Office of Works continued with other aspects of conservation and maintenance in the years leading up to the Second World War, but these activities were carried out at a much lower key. With the future of the church secure, it was possible to contemplate several less pressing though desirable aspects of the overall presentation of the abbey buildings to the general public. More of the monastic buildings on the north-east side of the site, for example, were 'excavated' and consolidated for display. Several more of the post-medieval cottages and associated buildings which had sprung up over the abbey complex had to be removed for the purpose. By degree, it was possible to add the outline of the infirmary kitchens and the abbot's accommodation to the overall ground plan³⁸.

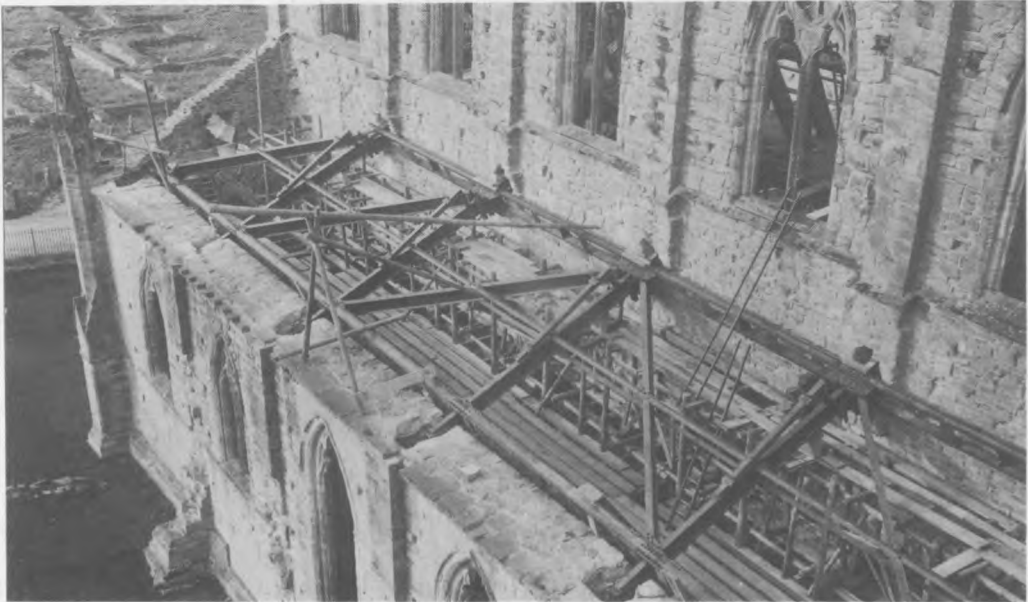


Plate 2: Office of Works — The lattice girder over the south nave aisle during its construction in the early 1920s (Cadw: *Welsh Historic Monuments*, Crown Copyright).

From the Ministry to Cadw.

Immediately after the war, staff at the Ancient Monuments Branch of the Ministry of Works was greatly stretched to keep to those standards of maintenance and display which had been the norm before 1939. In due course, the strength of Tintern's regular site labour force was to build up to three or four men. However, as the foreman's fortnightly reports of the later 1940s and early 1950s reveal, they were required to carry out no more than routine tasks. In October 1948, for example, they were *'resetting paving stones'* in the warming house; in February 1952 *'raking and washing out joints ... in preparation for lime pointing'*; and in July 1953 *'fixing copper tapes around columns'* in one of the south windows of the church³⁹.

In the early 1960s, it was decided to complete the investigation of those buildings on the extreme north-east side of the site⁴⁰. To begin with, in 1961, a trench was excavated close to the river bank to try and locate signs of the medieval boundary wall⁴¹. Attention then switched to a former cottage garden, which in fact was made-up ground covering the fourteenth-century abbot's hall. More than 6 feet of soil was 'cleared' before the basement details were revealed and the walls consolidated⁴². Thereafter, the monthly site reports covering the later 1960s give the impression of a phase of landscaping improvements and general grounds maintenance.

One episode which took place during this period, however, now seems to have been based on a rather unfortunate decision. For many years, very large quantities of *ex situ* stonework had been arranged on low banks across the north side of the site. The various fragments are known to have represented window tracery, cloister arcades, door jambs, vault details such as ribs and roof bosses, along with a host of

other medieval features from all parts of the abbey complex. In 1966, orders were given to prepare a large trench (approximately 6 feet wide, 6 feet deep, and 150 feet long), some 12 feet inside the existing north boundary wall of the site. The vast bulk of the loose stonework was buried in this trench to 'form a soak-away'⁴³.

The early 1970s saw the erection of major scaffolding in parts of the abbey church for the first time in more than forty years. Its appearance, of course, was very different from the timber poles used in the 1920s. In 1973–74 an inspection of the south arcade in the presbytery led to the treatment of cracks in several of the windows. In 1976, it was the turn of the west front, where again it was the window tracery which received attention. The mid 1970s also saw the construction of a new visitor reception building on the north side of the site. Sadly, it was to replace the more appropriate porch and outer parlour which had been used as the entrance to the site for some seventy years.

Over the last decade, the condition of the masonry in some areas of the abbey church has again given cause for concern. We cannot, of course, expect the work of earlier departments to last forever. There are, however, harder decisions which must be addressed in a fresh round of conservation challenges at Tintern. It will be necessary, for example, to consider just how much of the medieval fabric can be conserved *in situ* for very much longer. Already, in the 1980s, it was deemed necessary to replace several of the mullions and heads in the clerestory windows of the north transept. In this same area, the blind tracery arcade along the northern wall has also been reset in fresh Forest of Dean stone. And in 1995–96, it was the precarious condition of the pretty, decorative finial at the south-west corner of the nave which led to its regrettable but unavoidable removal. The original has been conserved, and it is a replica which now stands in its place.

Meanwhile, in the guest house area of the inner court, buildings which have been explored on and off since the tenure of the Office of Woods have finally been consolidated for public display. It was here that a swath was cut through the orchards in 1902 in order to improve the vista on the approach from the railway station. Here, too, cottages were early demolished, and in later decades trial excavations were made before a far more comprehensive programme of work in 1979–81⁴⁴. For each of these recent schemes, it is probably too soon to review the results with any degree of historical perspective. There are bound to be critics of the current department's actions, but in reality the alternatives can often appear even less attractive. In the matter of replacement stonework, for example, we would do well to remember that the approach was adopted as early as Waller's east window work in 1904–05.

As we approach Tintern's 100th anniversary in national care, it becomes ever more important to appreciate the details of the pioneering works campaigns at the site. They are, after all, of very great significance in themselves. But only when we are equipped with a thorough understanding of earlier approaches and methodologies can we possibly hope to make informed decisions on appropriate schemes of future conservation. The paramount aim of such schemes must be to ensure that the 'making of the monument' will continue into the next century and beyond.

The Association is grateful to CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments, for a grant in aid of publication of this article.



Plate 3: Office of Works — A view of one section of the south nave arcade during the 1920s conservation scheme. Brick supports have been raised and the masonry pier at the centre taken down. The steel stanchion has been put in place and awaits its cover of historic masonry (Cadw: *Welsh Historic Monuments, Crown Copyright*).

NOTES

1. This short paper presents only the barest outline of what might be called the 'making of the monument'. The bibliography is intended to direct the reader to those published and unpublished sources which provide for a far more detailed account of the conservation story. In the main, the text is derived from two important record sources: the relevant files from the Office of Woods and its successors are now preserved as Public Record Office documents; the papers from the Gloucester offices of the initial consultant architect, F. W. Waller, have been deposited at the Gwent County Record Office.
2. Only two Welsh monuments have an older pedigree in national care: Pentre Ifan Burial Chamber and Caernarfon Castle.
3. The quote is from the *South Wales Argus* of 16 June 1903.
4. For Howard's original letter, see PRO, Works 14/75 and GCRO, D 902-1.
5. For Waller's initial reply, see PRO, Works 14/75.
6. GCRO, D 902-1.
7. Important early studies include Potter (1847), Sharpe (1848), Blashill (1881), and [Paul] (1898). For coverage of the background through to 1900, see Robinson (1995), 21-5, Williams (1995), and the outline sketched in Courtney and Gray (1991), 152-55.
8. This is not to overlook the interest shown by the duke of Beaufort in the eighteenth century. The early works were probably initiated by Charles, the fourth duke, shortly before his death in 1756; see Robinson (1995), 21-2.
9. The sum of £15,000 was found by the Office of Woods from land revenue funds.
10. GCRO, D 902-1.
11. As a clear demonstration of the extent of the works tackled by the Office of Woods, it is informative to look at the number of pre-1914 'date stones' set into the fabric of both the church and the monastic buildings.
12. Occasionally, Waller sent one or two 'reliable workmen' from Gloucester Cathedral to assist in operations requiring particular expertise, such as the erection of shores and centres.
13. Waller was unconvinced by the credentials of Turner & Sons, and in August 1904 he wrote to Howard recording his view that he would prefer to engage a firm 'thoroughly vested in Church work and Gothic construction'; see GCRO, D 902-1.
14. The mild steel struts were designed and made by the London firm of Dennett & Ingle; Waller used them as consultants on several occasions.
15. The coping on the east gable was to become a matter of controversy (GCRO, D 902-9). It was probably at this time that the core of the gable stonework was reinforced with mild steel, and this appears to have contributed to a lightning strike in June 1996. There is a short note on this in Cadw's membership magazine, *Heritage in Wales*, 6 (Winter 1996), 6-7.
16. Waller prepared a very detailed specification in November 1907; see GCRO, D 902-2.
17. The incident is recorded on PRO, Works 14/76 and GCRO, D 902-7.
18. In the early years, it was Philip Baylis who took daily charge of much of this work. Indeed, Baylis was to become quite an authority on the abbey buildings, and he addressed the Herefordshire Woolhope Club on site in 1904: Baylis (1905). As various discoveries were made, Baylis put forward a number of suggestions for the approach to masonry consolidation. It was also Baylis, for example, who suggested the rebuilding of the night stairs in the north transept; the construction was complete by June 1905; see PRO, Works 14/75.
19. PRO, Works 14/75. The orchards stood on the ground to the west of the abbey church, in the area we now know to have been the abbey's inner court and occupied by guest accommodation. This site has recently been consolidated after excavation in 1977-80; see Courtney (1989).
20. The foremost scholar of monastic ruins at the time, William St John Hope (1854-1919),

first wrote to Waller with a letter of enquiry in October 1902. He was certainly at the site with Harold Brakspear (1870–1934) in April 1904; see GCRO, D 902–1.

21. This episode is covered in Robinson (1996).
22. Brakspear advised on the consolidation of the infirmary and was to continue to advise on 'archaeological' aspects of the works programme for a number of years; see, for example, PRO, Works 14/77. See also the report published by the Association in conjunction with a site meeting in 1911: Wood (1912).
23. The correspondence is on GCRO, D 902–9, and PRO, Works 14/77.
24. Messrs Byard & Sons were engaged as contractors to erect the shoring.
25. The initial Office of Works letter was dated 10 September 1913; see GCRO, D 902–9. But there is no doubt that Peers had jumped the gun, and the official transfer did not take place until the spring of 1914.
26. Sir Stafford Howard had been knighted in 1909 and left the Office of Woods in 1912; see GCRO, D 902–9 for the letter from Hobbs.
27. For the initial report from Baines (dated 30 October 1913), see PRO, Works 14/78, which also includes some first impressions from Peers.
28. The Office of Woods had entered into a shoring contract with Byard & Sons. The contract was to be terminated, with the Office of Works making its own arrangements over the winter of 1913–14. Waller was to submit his last account in March 1914, thus ending his direct contact with the site; see GCRO, D 902–9.
29. Apart from file detail, the essential elements of the work by the Office of Works through to 1924 are covered in Harvey (1922) and Harvey (1924). The survey drawings and plans associated with this phase of works now form part of the monument archive held by Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
30. The Office of Works was to defend its approach and became highly critical of the earlier practice of 'smearing Portland cement across joints and over the face of stonework'. The efforts by the Office of Woods were seen as a 'wretched apology for repair'; see Harvey (1924), 154.
31. The two letters quoted appeared in the *Morning Post* of 15 July and 18 July 1922. It was in response to such comment that William Harvey published his article in *The Builder* in August 1922.
32. As the church was constructed in the late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, the downward pressure would have been countered by the thrust from the nave and aisle vaults. With the 'bulging' which has occurred since the destruction of the vaults at the Dissolution, an eccentric load had been placed on the inner face of the piers and they had gradually been crushed as a result.
33. This view was expressed in a note to Baines in July 1920; see PRO, Works 14/1372. An impression of the appearance of the buttress scheme was published in Harvey (1922), 239.
34. In January 1921, Sir Reginald Blomfield wrote to Sir Lionel Earle, Secretary of the Office of Works, asking for his objections to be recorded in the minutes of the Board meeting; see PRO, Works 14/1372.
35. The report by Baines and Sir Lionel's eventual reply to Sir Reginald are also on PRO, Works 14/1372.
36. For a summary of the work with good illustrations, see BEA (1926).
37. Marginally later than the Tintern scheme, the Office of Works adopted a similar approach for the north transept arcade piers at Furness Abbey (Cumbria). There, however, the lower parts of the piers were reinforced internally with pre-cast concrete blocks. Mr Jason Wood has kindly provided background on the Furness work and provided the reference: John Swarbrick, 'The Reparation of Furness Abbey', *National Ancient Monuments Rev.* 2 (1926), 204–08, 263–70.
38. These do not appear on the plan in the 1929 edition of Brakspear's official guidebook, but make their first appearance in the 1934 edition.

39. An incomplete set of fortnightly reports forms part of the Tintern archive held by Cadw: Welsh Historic Monuments.
40. From 1962, the department was named the Ministry of Public Building and Works.
41. Apparently, no trace of wall foundations was discovered; see Robinson (1995), 18–19.
42. The clearance and consolidation on the abbot's hall continued through to 1966. The works in this phase also uncovered evidence for a circular dovecot adjacent to the abbot's camera. These new elements first appeared on the abbey ground plan in the 1970 impression of Craster's 1956 official guidebook.
43. The Tintern *ex situ* stonework is itself a subject of very great interest, especially since recent investigations have resulted in accurate paper reconstructions of a later thirteenth-century cloister arcade and an earlier fourteenth-century *pulpitum* screen. In the Romantic era, large quantities of stone had been piled up around the nave piers in decorative fashion. In 1923, Peers had been responsible for originating covered protection; see, PRO, Works 14/1372. This works record of 1966 is, however, of very great importance. The monthly report, dated 30 July, is the only documented notice of the fate of much of the material. Although the action sounds drastic, the stonework may well be preserved in a reasonable condition and is available for future study.
44. For the most recent excavations, see Courtney (1989).

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- Peers 1922: C. R. Peers, 'Tintern Abbey', *Trans Bristol Gloucestershire Archaeol Soc*, 44 (1922), 8–11.
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- Robinson 1995: David M. Robinson, *Tintern Abbey*, 3rd ed (Cadw Official Guide, Cardiff 1995).
- Robinson 1996: David M. Robinson, 'The Twelfth-Century Church at Tintern Abbey', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 12 (1996), 35–9.
- Sharpe 1848: Edmund Sharpe, *Architectural Parallels* (London 1848).
- Williams 1995: David H. Williams, 'Presidential Address: The Exploration and Excavation of Cistercian Sites in Wales', *Archaeol Cambrensis*, 144 (1995).
- Wood 1912: James G. Wood, *Some Features of the Monastic Buildings Disclosed by Recent Excavations within the Precincts of Tintern Abbey* (Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association 1912).

SOME MEMORIES OF THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIANS

By SHEILA W. THORNEYCROFT

I think I must be one of the longest serving members of the Association, having been a member for many years, and latterly serving on the Committee. Over the years I have known many of the Officers. Isca Bowen was Chairman when I first joined, a notable scholar who left his library of books to the Association. As Chairman, he was succeeded by Colonel Roderick Hill, then by Ian Burge, and then by Cefni Barnett. Cefni came from Carmarthenshire, where he started his working life as a reporter on the local newspaper, then becoming Assistant to George Eyre-Evans, the notable Curator of Carmarthen Museum. Coming next to Newport as Assistant Curator of the Museum and Art Gallery, he in time became Curator, and preferred to stay in that position on local government re-organisation and lose chief officer status in the Borough, rather than accept promotion as Keeper of Leisure; a post which would have involved ultimate oversight (from the Civic Centre) of the Museum but also of cemeteries, parks, and the like. Cefni will be remembered, above all, for reviving and recreating the *Monmouthshire Antiquary* in its present format. On his untimely death, the Chairmanship passed first to George Boon and, at his demise, to Jeremy Knight, both archaeologists of great distinction.

I remember George Boon with admiration and affection. He was a very kind man, kindness tempered by a delightful acerbity, not suffering fools gladly. His was a most distinguished career, - first at Reading Museum, and then at the National Museum of Wales - where he was successively Assistant Keeper, and then Keeper of the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, and finally, Curator. Despite his very busy academic and private life, he spared the time to advise me on the history of a Roman ring I own, taking a great deal of trouble in identifying it. The seal is set in bronze and represents the figure of Isis; this apparently made it somewhat exceptional. The ring was left to me by a great-aunt, who in turn had been given it by the vicar of the parish of Wroxeter, in which the site of the Roman town of Uriconium was found. The rector had found it in his garden. George, and Diana his wife, were great supporters of the Association and he is much missed. Diana has, deservedly, been made a life-member.

Just as important to the workings of any organisation is the Secretary, and here we have also been very fortunate, firstly in Mrs Judith Leslie, and, since her death, in Mrs Gwenllian Jones. I have many happy memories of Judy; she was a very good organiser, very thorough and living up to her own exacting standards. She arranged a wide variety of enjoyable visits (both whole day and evening events) and interesting lectures. Despite her stammer, she was never lost for a word. Question-time was her *forte*, and sometimes the speaker was halted in mid-flow. On more than one occasion, Judy would become impatient with lengthy lectures, and was even known to begin to mutter, 'the man's a fool, the man's a fool', increasingly in volume and audible to everyone; all this accompanied by significant looks at her watch which she thrust forward towards the speaker. It was very funny, but not quite Queensbury rules.

On another occasion the boot was on the other foot. This was during a trip to Badminton House many years ago, during Duchess Mary's lifetime, and shortly after

Princess Margaret's wedding. Judy, making conversation with the duchess, commented on how sad the Queen had looked during the Abbey ceremony. At once the Duchess turned her pale and intimidating blue eyes on Judy, and said: 'It is people like you who cause trouble'. For once poor Judy was silenced!

Another memorable trip was to Powderham Castle in Devon, the home of the Courtenay family; a truly romantic castle with a fine staircase and wonderful furniture. It is curious how one's memory works; despite the glories of the castle and its contents my most vivid memory is of the centenarian tortoise, now sadly deceased, - after all, he was a kind of antique. That trip was fraught with unlooked for complications, as the coach broke down on the motorway twice and had to be replaced.

The Association benefits greatly from our close connection with, and our venue for Committee meetings at, the Roman Legionary Museum at Caerleon, described by our Chairman in his Foreword. An important event in the calendar of the National Museum and Gallery is the special lecture held each autumn in celebration of the birthday of the second Augustan Legion and of its founder the Emperor Augustus. The proceedings are greatly enhanced by the attendance of the Ermine Street Guard in their magnificent uniforms, re-created by members of the Guard themselves.

Since Judy's 'reign', the Association has been very fortunate in her successor as Secretary, Mrs Gwenllian Jones, M.A. An able and meticulous organiser, she has followed in the tradition of excellent outings to a wide variety of sites, all personally visited in advance, so ensuring that arrangements and timings run smoothly. There is a wide range of speakers, though over the many years I have been a member, my one criticism - not of the Association *per se*, is how many expert speakers with good command of their subject are inaudible to their hearers. I wonder how much they enlighten their students? I may add that I am not yet hard of hearing!

This is a very important anniversary year in the life of our Association, almost the oldest in Wales, as, again, our Chairman, has pointed out. Our founder, John Edward Lee, would, I am sure, be delighted with the continuing life and activity of the society he created one hundred and fifty years ago.

Editor's Note: Mention of Cefni as Editor brings to mind how in the pages of the *Antiquary* was published my first Cistercian-orientated article (on Grace Dieu Abbey) over thirty years ago. Note of the excursions recalls how I received two boat-loads of Monmouthshire Antiquarians one fine summer Saturday afternoon in 1986 when I was Guest-Master of Caldey Abbey. *D.H.W.*

**PUBLICATIONS OF THE CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION,
later
MONMOUTHSHIRE AND CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION
now
MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION.**

By ERIC WILES.

Although John Edward Lee read a paper to the Association in 1850, and later had it printed for private circulation to the Members, it is Morgan and Wakeman's Notes on the Architecture and History of Caldicot Castle, published in 1854, which is the only known surviving publication of the Caerleon Antiquarian Association. The Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association as it subsequently became, modelled its publications on this work for the remainder of the century. They were clearly printed, with simple brown paper covers designed to be discarded when the volumes were bound to suit individual libraries. However, the *Account of the Ancient Monuments in Abergavenny Church* (1872) is an exception, and all copies seen in original condition are bound in brown cloth covered boards with black pattern on the front cover and gilt lettered spine.

Most of the earlier volumes contain a number of fine lithographic views and plans which illustrate the text. Many were from sketches by accomplished amateur artists within the Association, including Mrs. E.H. Mitchell, Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley and Mr. F. Mitchell. The first use of a photograph to illustrate an M.C.A.A. publication was in 1864 (*Notices of Pencoed Castle and Langstone*), and in 1872 the inclusion of no less than thirteen photographs of the ancient monuments in Abergavenny church show that photography had become widely accepted as a suitable medium for illustrations. The first coloured lithographic plates, of tessellated pavements at Caerleon and Caerwent, came ten years later in the volume *Goldcliff and the Ancient Roman Inscribed Stone.....together with Other Papers*. Henry Mullock of Newport printed all the Association's earlier publications, and his firm continued to do so until at least the first World War, with the exception of a volume of papers read at the 1896 meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society at Monmouth. This was printed by Henry Osborne at Gloucester, probably in conjunction with that Society's own account of the proceedings.

A series of Proceedings is known to have been published in the 1890's. Two surviving examples in the Haines Collection in Newport Reference Library are included in the appended list. A Catalogue of Exhibits in Caerleon Museum was published in 1909, and between 1912 and 1928 there was a further series of Proceedings which included papers listed below. Annual Meetings and Field Days continued regularly except for the war years. No publications have been traced for the period between 1930 and 1960. However, in 1961 Cefni Barnett became Honorary Editor and the first issue of *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* was published. From that time many important papers have appeared in its pages. The three volumes which Cefni edited covered the years 1961 to 1978. In 1980 the first two parts of volume IV appeared, with Jeremy Knight as the new editor. He continued with Peter Price, and later Adrian Babbage as co-editors until the completion of volume V in 1988. Rev. Dr. David H. Williams then succeeded to the editorial chair, and volume VI was

published in 1990. Annual volumes of The Monmouthshire Antiquary have since appeared regularly as a result of his efforts.

NOTE. Many of the publications listed below are scarce, and it is unlikely that the catalogue is wholly complete. The compiler would be glad to hear of any omissions.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on the ARCHITECTURE and HISTORY of CALDICOT CASTLE. Mullock, Newport. n.d. but preface dated 31st May, 1854. 45pp., ground plan, 12 lithographic plates.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on the ECCLESIASTICAL REMAINS at RUNSTON, SUDBROOK, DINHAM, and LLAN-BEDR. 1858. Mullock, Newport. 33pp., 10 lithographic plates.

Wakeman (Thomas) The MONASTERY OF AUSTIN FRIARS, at NEWPORT, With Notes on the House of BLACK FRIARS, and other Minor Ecclesiastical Establishments. 1859. Mullock, Newport. 11pp., lithographic frontis.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on the ANCIENT DOMESTIC RESIDENCES of PENTRE-BACH, CRICK, TY-MAWR, THE GARN, CRINDAU, and ST. JULIAN'S. 1860. Mullock, Newport. 29pp., 9 lithographic plates.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on the ANCIENT DOMESTIC RESIDENCES of TRE-OWEN, KILLWCH, and THE WAEN. 1861. Mullock, Newport. 19pp., 8 lithographic plates.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on WENTWOOD, CASTLE TROGGY, and LLANVAIR CASTLE. 1863. Henry Mullock, Newport. 49pp. + 3pp. list of subscribing members etc., 7 lithographic plates.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTICES of PENCOED CASTLE and LANGSTONE. 1864. Mullock, Newport. 38pp. + [i] + folding pedigree + repeat of title page and preface leaf. Photographic frontis. and 6 lithographic plates.

Mitchell Mrs. E.H. LLANTHONY ABBEY. Single lithograph, inscribed "Plate I" and initialled "E.H.M" (Elizabeth Harcourt Mitchell.) n.d. but probably c. 1865.

Morgan (Octavius) and Wakeman (Thomas) NOTES on PENHOW CASTLE. 1867. Mullock, Newport. 27pp., 4 lithographic plates.

Lee (John Edward) SUPPLEMENT to "ISCA SILURUM" or an ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE of the MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES at CAERLEON. Mullock, Newport. 1868. 22pp., 4 lithographic plates, some additional illustrations in text.

Morgan (Octavius) SOME ACCOUNT of the ANCIENT MONUMENTS in the PRIORY CHURCH, ABERGAVENNY. Mullock, Newport. 1872. iv + 87pp., thirteen photographs mounted on twelve leaves.

Morgan (Octavius) GOLDCLIFF and the ANCIENT ROMAN INSCRIBED STONE Found There, 1878. Together with other Papers. iv + 35 + i pp. 7 lithographic plates including three coloured folding plates. 1882. H. Mullock & Sons.

The other papers comprise :-

- Tesselated Pavement discovered at Caerleon, 1877.
- Tesselated Pavement discovered at Caerwent, 1881.
- Ancient Danish Vessel discovered at the Mouth of the Usk.
- Ancient Seal of the Monmouth Chancery, XV Century.
- Plan of a Maze formerly in the Ancient Gardens at Tredegar.
- Symbol of the Holy Trinity. And Two Other Stones, bearing Dates, from the Ancient Palace of the Bishops of Llandaff at Mathern.
- List of Coins in the Caerleon Museum.
- List of Officers and Members of the Association.

[Various Authors] PAPERS RELATING to the HISTORY of MONMOUTHSHIRE. Read at the Meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, held in Newport in 1885. viii + 78 pp., frontis (plan of Newport Town and Borough c. 1750), two folding plans, steel engraving of Newport castle, other illustrations in text.

The Papers comprise :-

- "R.W.B."** On the Early History of the Land of Gwent.
- [No attribution.]** Some Account of the History & Descent of the Lordship Marcher or County of Wentllwch.....
- [No attribution.]** History and Description of Newport Castle.
- Morgan (C.O.S.)** St. Woollos' Church, Newport, Monmouthshire.
- Woollett (Robt. F.)** Caerleon, Monmouthshire.
- Davies (the late Rev. James)** Caerleon On Usk. Reprinted from The Saturday Review of 4th December 1875.
- Mitchell (F. J.)** Notes on the History of Monmouthshire.

Bagnall-Oakeley (M.E.) & Bagnall-Oakeley (Rev. W.) AN ACCOUNT of some of the RUDE STONE MONUMENTS and ANCIENT BURIAL MOUNDS of MONMOUTHSHIRE. 1889. Mullock & Sons, Newport. 22pp., 9 lithographic plates.

Mitchell (Elizabeth Harcourt) THE CROSSES of MONMOUTHSHIRE. 1893. Mullock & Sons. ix + 45 pp. 14 plates. Slip inserted facing p. 43.

[Various Authors] PAPERS on MONMOUTH CASTLE and PRIORY. THE RAGLAN CASTLE. GROSMONT. SKENFRITH. WHITECASTLE. PEMBRIDGE. Read at the Meeting of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society at Monmouth. 1896. Henry Osborne, Gloucester. Title page, errata, 103 pp. 16 pages of plates (mostly photographic), several illustrations in text.

The Papers include :-

- Sheppard (H. E.)** Monmouth Castle and Priory.
- Bagnall-Oakeley (M.E.)** The Fortifications of Monmouth.
- Kennedy-Skipton (H.S.)** Henry V in Fiction and in Fact.
- Bradney J A** Raglan Castle.
- Bagnall-Oakeley [M.E.]** Grosmont Castle.
- Bagnall-Oakeley [M.E.]** Skenfrith Castle and Church.
- Bagnall-Oakeley [M.E.]** (Compiled by) White Castle.
- Bagnall-Oakeley [M.E.]** Pembridge Castle.

[Anon.] CATALOGUE of EXHIBITS in CAERLEON MUSEUM. July, 1909. Green paper covers, 20pp. Exhibits listed by case or position, with details of site of find etc. if known. Printed by Mullock & Sons.

Wood (James G.) THE LORDSHIP, CASTLE & TOWN of CHEPSTOW, otherwise STRIGUIL. With an APPENDIX on the LORDSHIP of CAERLEON. Mullock & Sons, Newport. 1910. 90pp. Photographic frontis. and 5 other photographic plates. Issued in green cloth bound boards with white lettered title on front cover.

Wood (James G.) SOME FEATURES of the MONASTIC BUILDINGS DISCLOSED by RECENT EXCAVATIONS WITHIN the PRECINCTS of TINTERN ABBEY. Paper read at the meeting at Tintern, 22nd August 1911. Mullock & Sons, Newport. 1912. 28pp. (including list of members and single page note by the Hon. Secretary.) No illustrations. Issued in green cloth bound boards with white lettered title on front cover.

Bradney (J.A.) CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS the ROYAL ARMY in 1646 and LISTS of PAPISTS in 1690, LATELY in the POSSESSION of SIR HENRY MATHER-JACKSON, Bart., C.B.E. Mullock & Sons, Newport. 1921. 14pp. No illustrations.

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**PROCEEDINGS of the MONMOUTHSHIRE
and CAERLEON ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION.**

1893 For the year 1892. List of Officers etc.; report of Field Meeting at Usk with mention of paper by Mr. S.W. Williams, and extract from paper by Mrs. Bagnall-Oakeley about early Irish Churches on the West Coast. List of Members; list of meetings since the formation of the Association; account for the year ending August 1892. Buff paper covers, 12pp.

1895 For the years 1893 and 1894. Main contents similar to the previous item. Field meeting at Caldicot in 1893 which included a visit to Caldicot Castle, and at Caerleon in 1894 when a short paper on the early days of the Association was read by F.J. Mitchell. Buff paper covers, 14pp.

August 1912. Report of General Meeting at Caerleon, list of Members, text of paper read at the meeting :-

Mackworth (Col. Sir Arthur) SOME MILITARY ASPECTS of the ROMAN OCCUPATION of CAERLEON.

August 1913. Report of General Meeting held at Kilpeck, list of Members, text of paper read at the meeting :-

Wood (James G.) On the PLACE NAME of KILPECK and the DEDICATION of the CHURCH THERE.

July 1914. Report of General Meeting at Llanmartin, list of Members, text of paper read at the meeting :-

J.B. (J.A. Bradney) PENCOED.

August 1919. Report of General Meeting at Caldicot Castle, List of Members, text of paper read at the meeting :-

Cobb (G. Wheatly) CALDICOT CASTLE, with coloured plate showing section of Keep and suggested form of Bretache

For the Years 1924, 1925, 1926. List of Officers, 1924 to 1927. Notes on the foundation of the Association. Lists of Presidents and Hon. Secretaries. Places at which meetings were held, and their dates from 5th July, 1848 to 19th August, 1926.

Report of Annual Field Meeting, 1924. **Notes by G. V.-H. (Gerald Vaughan-Hughes)** on the CHURCH of ST. TEWDRIG, MATHERN. Accounts, 1924.

Report of Annual Field Meeting, 1925 at Goodrich Castle and Monmouth; no details of papers read. Accounts, 1925.

Report of General Meeting, 1926 at Caerleon. Annual Field Meeting at Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle with short report. Accounts, 1926. List of Members, January 1927. Publications in stock.

For the Years 1927, 1928. List of Officers, report of Annual Meeting, 1927. Annual Field Day at Machen, with reports of papers:-

Picton (Rev. A.G.A.) The CHURCH of MACHEN.

Bradney (Sir J.) The LORDSHIP of MACHEN.

Paper printed after the above, but not related to the events of the Field Day:-

Wheeler (R.E.M.) A ROMAN PIPE-BURIAL from CAERLEON, MONMOUTHSHIRE.

Text and five figures including photographs.

Reports of General Meeting and Field Day at Raglan, 1928. Accounts (two years.) Revised Rules.

Bradney (Sir J.) The PEDIGREE ROLL of SIR ROGER WILLIAMS. Two colour plates of pedigree &c.

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THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY PROCEEDINGS of the MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION.

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Volume I | 1961-1964 | Hon. Editor: | Cefni Barnett |
| II | 1965-1968 | | Cefni Barnett |
| III | 1970-1978 | | Cefni Barnett |
| IV | (a) 1980 | (Parts I & II) | Jeremy K. Knight |
| | (b) 1981-1982 | (Parts III & IV) | Jeremy K. Knight & Peter Price |
| V | (a) 1983-1984 | (Parts I & II) | Jeremy K. Knight & Peter Price |
| | (b) 1985-1988 | (Part III) | Jeremy K. Knight & Adrian Babbage |
| VI | 1990 Annually to Volume XIII, 1997 | | David H. Williams |

Volumes I-III were printed for the Association by Hughes & Son, The Griffin Press, Pontypool. Volumes IV and V are large format (about 245 x 186 mm.), and the only one of these issues bearing a printer's imprint is Vol V part III, printed by Cwmbran Community Press, though other issues were printed by Kearline, Newport. Volumes VI to IX were printed by Gomer Press, Llandysul, Dyfed. Volumes X to XIII printed by the National Library of Wales Press, Aberystwyth.

*The author and the Association are grateful to KPMG
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MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN ASSOCIATION

PRESIDENTS, CHAIRMEN AND SECRETARIES, 1847 - 1997.

Presidents.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Sir Digby Mackworth, Bart. | 1847 - 1852. |
| C.O.S. Morgan, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.P. | 1853 - 1888. |
| The Lord Tredegar. | 1888 - 1912. |
| Sir Arthur Mackworth, Bart. | 1912 - 1914. |
| The Lord Tredegar. | 1914 - 1934. |
| Sir Henry Mather-Jackson, Bart. | 1934 - 1943. |
| The Right Hon. The Lord Raglan, F.S.A.* | 1943 - 1964. |
| E.I.P. Bowen, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. | 1965 - 1976. |
| G.C. Boon, Esq., F.S.A., F.R. Hist. Soc., F.R.N.S. | 1976 - 1982. |
| I. S. Burge, Esq. | 1982 - |

Chairmen.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Colonel Sir Joseph Bradney, C.B., M.A., D. Litt. | 1924 - 1933. |
| G. Vaughan-Hughes, Esq., M.A., J.P. | 1933 - 1938. |
| The Right Hon. Lord Raglan, F.S.A.* | 1938 - 1947. |
| E.I.P. Bowen, M.A., F.S.A. | 1947 - 1964. |
| Colonel E.R. Hill, D.S.O., D.L., M.A., J.P. | 1964 - 1970. |
| I.S. Burge, Esq. | 1970 - 1982. |
| Cefni Barnett, Esq., F.S.A. | 1982 - 1987. |
| G.C. Boon, Esq., F.S.A., F.R.Hist. S., F.R.N.S. | 1988 - 1984. |
| J.K. Knight, B.A., F.S.A. | 1995 - |

Secretaries.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| J.E. Lee, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A. | 1847 - 1871. |
| J.E. Lee, Esq., F.G.S., F.S.A. } F. J. Mitchell, Esq., F.S.A. } | 1871 - 1886. |
| F. J. Mitchell, Esq., F.S.A. | 1886 - 1907. |
| Sir Arthur Mackworth, Bart. | 1907 - 1914. |
| Major Albert Addams-Williams, O.B.E., F.S.A., LI.M. | 1915 - 1921. |
| Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, M.A. | 1921 - 1927. |
| J.R. Gabriel, Esq., M.A. | 1927 - 1957. |
| Cefni Barnett, Esq., F.S.A. (Hon. Joint Secretary) | 1951 - 1956. |
| Mrs. Judith V. Leslie. | 1958 - 1986. |
| Mrs. Gwenllian V. Jones, M.A. | 1986 - |

* Lord Raglan was both Chairman and President (perhaps on account of war-time difficulties) for a period of four years, - 1943 to 1947.

G.V.P.

FIELD EXCURSIONS AND LECTURES, 1996.**Day Outings: May 18th, to Radnorshire.**

After a delightful journey through the Radnorshire countryside, we met our guide for the day, Mr. Bob Silvester of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, over coffee and home-made biscuits at the seventeenth-century black and white Radnorshire Arms in Presteigne. We then walked around the now quiet little town, full of fine old houses, which was once the former county town with its own assize court and thriving malting and cloth manufacturing industries. At the magnificent parish church, much time was spent discussing the origins of the building and the many unanswered questions posed by the tantalising remains of so many periods. The afternoon was spent at Cefnlllys, near Llandrindod, a beautiful site near the river Ithon, where we saw the remains of an Iron Age hillfort, two motte and bailey castles, and a medieval borough. Those who did not care to brave the icy wind of the hilltop spent the time inside the ancient little church at its foot. After an excellent tea, we made for Castell Collen Roman fort, where Mr. Richard Brewer spoke on its history. We saw the first fort, built about 75 A.D., during the initial conquest of Wales, and subsequent developments over the next three centuries. It was hard to imagine this peaceful spot, full of grazing sheep, as the site of a garrison of 800 to 1000 infantry.

September 28th, to Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire.

Once again, we had perfect weather for our autumn outing, which was spent in the beautiful village of Dorchester. Here were to be found an abundance of riches, the legacy of six thousand years of virtually continuous human occupation. We viewed from the coach the site of a large Neolithic and Bronze Age ceremonial complex of henge, cursus and mortuary enclosure. On arrival, we walked to the massive Dyke Hills, the double bank and ditch defending the Iron Age 'oppidum' sited in a loop of the Thames just outside the village, after which we made our way to the village allotments, the site of the south-west corner of the fortified Roman town which succeeded a small Roman fort. Several members seemed more interested in the mounds of fallen damsons than in following the Hon. Secretary through the long grass and decaying cauliflowers to view the slight remains of the rampart! After lunch, we met at the Abbey, built in 1140 on the site of the Saxon cathedral of St. Birinus. Our guide, a churchwarden of many years' standing, showed us lovingly around 'his' church, a beautiful, light, and welcoming building, with a memorable Jesse window and several striking effigies. After tea at the George, a coaching inn dating from 1495, there was still time to explore a few more lanes and byways of this remarkable village.

Evening Visits.

The 1996 season will be memorable for the excellent attendance on most of the visits. The season started off with a visit to Pentwyn hillfort with Allan Probert. Rain for most of the day stopped some members from attending, but the stalwarts who braved the elements were well rewarded. We were joined by members of the Cardiff Archaeological Society for a visit to Machen Church, Lower Machen village and Machen Castle, most ably led by John Owen. Machen Castle, claimed to be the cradle of the Morgan family, was one of the castles of the Welsh lords of Caerleon. Its existence, hidden on a wooded hillside above the village, was a surprise to many. We were

invited into the ancient house of Plas Machen, and were promised a full tour of the house next season. Another evening under the guidance of John Owen was spent walking the countryside around Ruperra Castle and taking in its history. We then had the thrilling experience of visiting Ruperra itself, now a ruin after a fire in 1941. Built in 1626 for Sir Thomas Morgan, it has been badly neglected. The Association is supporting a bid by the Ruperra Castle Conservation Trust to rescue the building and its gardens. Mr. Philip Riden took us to see the old roads and ironworks in the Angidy Valley, on our now regular industrial archaeology evening, which has a good band of supporters. We are all sorry that Mr. Riden is moving from the area and we shall lose his expertise. At King Arthur's Cave, Great Doward, Dr. Nick Barton conducted us around this year's excavations in the cave, which has produced evidence of mammoth, woolly rhinoceros and cave bear. Dr. Barton's enthusiasm and clear descriptions of the work being undertaken made this evocative spot an exciting experience. Our final visit of the season was no less thrilling: at Abergavenny Priory Church Mr. Michael Eastham showed us the extensive restoration and conservation programme being carried out on its very fine early monuments. We felt privileged to be shown features which would be hidden from public gaze when the monuments were back in place.

Annual General Meeting: March 9th, 1996.

After the business meeting, held at the Endowed School, Caerleon, Mr. Medwyn Parry and Mr. Martin Locock spoke on 'The Defence of Britain', a long-term project to record the war-time defences of Britain. Mr. Parry covered the situation in Wales as a whole, and Mr. Locock talked about Monmouthshire, where he had already done some work (*Cf. last year's 'Antiquary', pages 68-72*). The subject stimulated much interest, and many members were happy to pass on information from their own experience.

October Lecture: October 12th, 1996.

This took the form of a day conference on 'The Civil War in Monmouthshire', held at the Caerleon Campus, University College of Newport, and was an outstanding success. A large and appreciative audience enjoyed stimulating lectures on several aspects of the subject by Mrs. Anna Tribe, Mr. Edward Besly, Mr. John Kenyon, Professor Sir Glanmor Williams, Dr. Madaleine Gray, and Mr. Julian Mitchell. The Association's Chairman, Mr. Jeremy Knight, set the scene with a comprehensive introduction.

G.V.J.

