THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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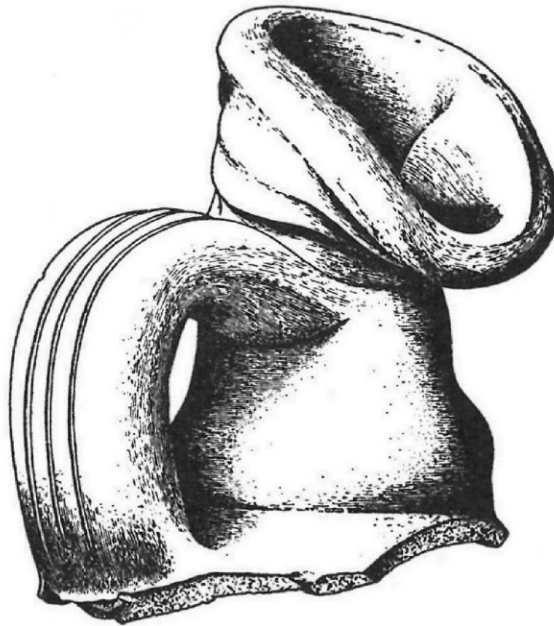
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Front cover: A flagon waster from Caerleon. See 'If These Pots Could Talk: Caerleon people and the trade in Roman pottery. The 24th Caerleon Annual Legionary Birthday Lecture' *by Peter Webster*, Fig. 20. Image from Boon 1966. © Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales. Displayed at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon. Accession Number 31.78, Collections of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, Caerleon Museum.

THE MONMOUTHSHIRE ANTIQUARY

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Given by Jeremy Knight FSA on the occasion of his 80th birthday dinner at The Priory Hotel, Caerleon, hosted by the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association in recognition of his contribution to archaeology in the county of Monmouth

Friends, fellow Antiquarians,

I am very touched by the honour you have done me by this lunch, and by all of you turning up. I have to begin by thanking Christabel, who does so much for this Association, and Richard for organizing it. Like my fellow townsman Arthur Machen I count it as a piece of great good fortune that I was born in what he called 'Noble, Fallen Caerleon on Usk.' George Boon once asked my father 'Have you lived all your life in Caerleon'? 'Not yet' replied Stan. That is rather how I feel at the moment. I'm told I saw my first Caerleon excavation from my pram and I visited the most recent – Andy Seaman's at Mount St Albans – two days before my eightieth birthday.

Though I haven't actually lived in Caerleon since I left for University, I still have family here and Caerleon has been a central part of my life for as long as I can remember. I have a clear memory of, at the age of five, going from the infant school, where we still hold our Annual General Meetings, across the road to the Legionary Museum. It was there also that I gave my first ever lecture – to the Caerleon Local History Society. This building also holds memories for it was here, in the house of our founder, John Edward Lee that we held our 150th Anniversary dinner some years ago with the Secretaries of the Cambrian Archaeological Association and of the Society of Antiquaries of London, along with Lord Raglan as guests of honour.

I can claim family links of a sort with John Edward Lee. My great, great, grandfather was from Malmesbury in Wiltshire. When the weaving industry there collapsed, he moved, like so many others, to south Wales and found work in Cordes' Dos Works at Newport. Thomas Cordes' partner was John Edward Lee and in Newport Museum there is a document signed by all the workmen, denying that they were making arms for the Chartists in office time. The very last signature is George Knight whose great, great, grandson is now President of the society which Lee founded. I apologise if what I have to say is largely autobiographical, but it's not really about me but of some of the things that have happened during my working life that it may be worth putting on record. Whatever I have managed to achieve has been due to two patient and long suffering women, Marion and Annie. Marion was my co-partner in my travels, excavations and research. When we were working on the history of the ironworks at Blaenavon, she once thought she had discovered a new research tool. She had been given the telephone number of someone who was said to have some nineteenth century company minute books in his possession. When she rang the number, a voice said 'Blaenavon cemetery, who do you wish to speak to?' When I met Annie, even though she is half Irish, she had never been to Ireland or to Hadrian's Wall – nor I to Venice, though Annie had lived there and in Rome for seven years. We had great pleasure in putting that right.

One day, when I was a schoolboy, exciting things started to happen on the old racecourse – now Caerleon Rugby Pitch. A chestnut paling fence appeared, wooden huts smelling of creosote were erected and a group of labourers and students began digging trenches across the field. It was as if the circus had come to town. Soon the schoolboy who hung about the site was given jobs to do and became an accepted member of the excavation team. Victor Nash Williams (1897–1955), who directed that excavation, was both Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum and Lecturer in Archaeology in the University, with two assistants, Leslie Alcock at the University and Hubert

Savory at the museum. He combined in his one overworked person, the jobs now done by the staff of the Archaeology departments of the University and the Museum plus that of the Glamorgan Gwent Archaeological Trust, as well as having an impressive publication record. He was both a proud Welshman and a devout High Anglican. When Leslie Alcock found post-Roman glass in his excavations at Dinas Powys, he took the fragments to Donald Harden, the authority on ancient glass. At that time, the only known parallels were from pagan Saxon cemeteries in England. Harden pronounced the glass as Pagan Saxon, which annoyed Nash Williams. 'I know Harden knows a lot about glass', he said, 'but he is wrong this time. We were Christians in Wales, not a lot of pagans like those English'. On another occasion, the Roman Frontier Studies Congress met in Algeria. They were visiting Roman outposts in the Sahara desert. Everyone was in shorts and open necked shirts, except for Nash, who wore his habitual blue pinstripe suit, homburg hat and carried a black umbrella. That day, for the first time in ten years, it poured with rain in the Sahara desert and everyone got soaked – except Nash. People assumed he must have a hot line to heaven.

In a sense, I was the person who separated the Archaeology departments of the Museum and University, for when Nash Williams died tragically early, Leslie Alcock gave me the job, as a first year undergraduate, of taking Nash's personal possessions from his room in college up to the museum. We kept one item – a photograph of Sir Mortimer Wheeler. I seem to recall that the last time I saw it was in Bill Manning's room in college.

Though I didn't quite run away to join the circus, as soon as my A levels were finished, with the encouragement of my parents, I put on a rucksack and went travelling around the country, looking at ancient sites. Once or twice I arrived at places like Colchester or Winchester and found an excavation in progress. Since excavations in those days were staffed by whatever volunteers the director could recruit locally, a stray volunteer with digging experience was always useful. I would stay on for a week or so digging before moving on. At University, the Department of Archaeology, housed in a Victorian house in Colum Road, had only three students in my year, one of them Geoff Wainwright, a lifelong friend, with whom I later shared an office in London. There were two lecturers, Leslie Alcock and Brenda Heywood (then Brenda Swinbank). Maureen Manning will remember taking the bus or train at weekends to dig with Leslie at Dinas Powys.

Soon after I left University, I found to my gratified surprise that I could actually be paid to do what I had been doing earlier – travelling around the country visiting archaeological sites and doing some digging. Not only could I earn a living at this, but I could do it in the company of a remarkable group of people known as Inspectors of Ancient Monuments. The Chief Inspector at that time was Paul Baillie Reynolds (1896–1973), a distinguished classical scholar best known for his book on the Ancient Roman fire brigade – the *vigiles*.[1] During the war, Baillie Reynolds (who served in the Royal Artillery in both World Wars) had been Director of a group of art historians and archaeologists tasked with reporting on war damage to buildings and antiquities in occupied Europe and doing what was possible to ensure their protection – a body later commemorated in the Hollywood Film *The Monuments Men*.[2] He had worked in Italy and Belgium during the liberation, but was now very near retirement. There was an unspoken rule that one did not disturb the Chief Inspector for an hour or so after he returned from his lunch at the Oxford and Cambridge Club. His successor was Arnold

[1]   Reynolds, P.K Baillie, *The Vigiles of Ancient Rome* (Oxford University Press, 1926), 8s 6d.
[2]   Their official title was The Monuments and Fine Arts Sub Commission of the Allied Military Government in Occupied Territories. Baillie Reynolds had written the original memorandum suggesting that the Ministry of Works, as specialists in conservation and protection, should be involved. In the film, perhaps inevitably, the Monuments Men are all American.

Fig. 1: Jeremy Knight delivering his Presidential Address to members of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association on the occasion of the 80th Birthday Lunch hosted in his honour.

Taylor (1911–2002). Arnold, apart from his magisterial work on the Edwardian castles of north Wales, was one of the founders of the Chateau Gaillard International Castle Studies Conferences, founded after the war, with French and German colleagues, to bring together scholars from various countries who had been separated by hostilities. At around the same time Eric Birley and his German colleagues did the same thing with the Roman Frontier Studies Congresses. Both still flourish and I attended the 28th Chateau Gailard conference, organized by one of my old Montgomery Castle diggers Kieran O'Conor, in Roscommon in August.

Many of my older colleagues had spent the war either behind enemy lines or in intelligence work. Arnold Taylor had worked on the interpretation of air photographs for the R.A.F. (along with our late member Mr A.L.Sockett of Monmouth). My immediate boss, Ray Gilliard Beer, who taught me how to interpret medieval buildings, spent the war getting allied airmen who had been shot down across the Pyrenees to neutral Spain, whilst the Inspector for Wales, Oswin Craster, had passed a dangerous war in Yugoslavia and occupied France. G.B., with his beret and Gauloise cigarettes could easily pass as a Frenchman, but I don't think that was true of the Dr Johnson-like figure of Stuart Rigold, who spent the war in Bletchley Park.[3] Riggie, linguist and distinguished numismatist, once told me that he spoke ten languages (five of them dead he added). He once listened intently to a visiting Sudanese Inspector of Ancient Monuments for half an hour and then conversed with him in his own language. Bletchley was still secret, but the usual cover story was, 'We got all the German newspapers via Portugal and knew from them that....', but I think we all realised that we were being told less than the whole truth.

[3]   On Stuart Eborall Rigold (1919–1980) see Detsicas, A. (ed.), *Collectanea Historica: Essays in Memory of Stuart Rigold* (Maidstone, Kent Archaeological Society, 1981).

Marion and I spent seven happy years in London, living in Portobello Road long before it became fashionable or expensive, when we were not digging in East Anglia, staying with friends and family in Paris, Madrid, Northumberland and Waterford and getting to know the late Roman and early medieval archaeology of France and Spain, which formed the subject of my first book. However, when the chance came to move back to Wales we took it. However, we seem to have given our children and grandchildren a taste for travel and for living in foreign countries, whether in Spain, Latin America or most recently Romania.

When we moved back to Wales, Cefni Barnett was just setting up the *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, initially a slim pamphlet-like volume. He was concerned that so little archaeological fieldwork was being done locally. David Williams will remember the field trips the three of us undertook in Cefni's car and the day when, with my father, we discovered the medieval moated site at Redwick. At that time, the Secretary of our Association was Judy Leslie. The main purpose of our outings and excursions was THE HOUSE. Judy had an excellent knowledge of the field monuments of the county, partly acquired on horseback, and archaeological sites were included in our visits, but they played second fiddle to THE HOUSE.

The Moment of Truth came, in of all improbable places, the car park of the Red Lion at Avebury. Richard Atkinson had just taken us around Avebury, and now offered to take us to see West Kennet Long Barrow. 'There won't be time to see the house', said Judy firmly. Then, in an Emperor's new clothes moment, a young and quite new member said the unthinkable: 'I don't want to see the house, I want Professor Atkinson to show us West Kennett'. I can't recall what followed, but the young new member was Gwenllian Jones and it says a lot for both women that thereafter they became good friends and Gwenllian became her understudy and eventual successor.

When I moved back to Wales, the Ancient Monuments Board for Wales, the predecessor of Cadw, was a tiny organisation. There were two Inspectors, Michael Apted and myself. Gradually, particularly as we acquired a few more colleagues, we were able to do other things. We installed site exhibitions on monuments, the first at Tintern Abbey as our contribution to European Architectural Heritage Year in 1975; we put explanatory panels up, replacing the gun metal signs reading 'Abbot's Camera' (a constant bafflement to visitors) or 'Night Stairs to Dorter', and David Robinson replaced the blue ministry guides, excellent, but which had seen many years of service, with a new range of guidebooks whose format has now been copied widely in both Britain and Ireland. Later, Richard Avent and David Morgan Evans established the Welsh Archaeological Trusts, which have proved such a valuable part of Welsh Archaeology.

I have indeed been fortunate to have been associated not only with Caerleon, but with places like Usk Castle, Grosmont and Skenfrith, Llanthony Priory and Montgomery Castle. Whenever I return to Montgomery these days it is populated with friendly ghosts. That brings me to a final quotation, from an historian now regarded as outmoded, G.M. Trevelyan. It was nonetheless a favourite quotation of Arnold Taylor, who included it in his Raglan Castle guidebook:–

> The poetry of history lies in the quasi-miraculous fact that once, on this earth, on this familiar spot of ground, walked other men and women, as actual as we are today, thinking their own thoughts, swayed by their own passions, but now all gone, one generation vanishing after another, gone as utterly as we ourselves shall shortly be gone, like ghost at cock crow.[4]

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[4]   G.M. Trevelyan, Autobiography of an Historian. In *An Autobiography and Other Essays* (London, Longmans, 1949), 13.

IF THESE POTS COULD TALK:
CAERLEON PEOPLE AND THE TRADE IN ROMAN POTTERY

By Peter Webster

This article is an expanded version of the 24th Caerleon Lecture given on 23rd September, 2015 to celebrate the 'birthday of the Second Augustan Legion'. Its aim was to explore the background of various pottery items in the collections of the National Roman Legion Museum and, if possible, to reveal something of the people who made, traded and used the pottery. Its raison d'être *is the belief that museums should be about people not objects.*

The starting point for this exploration is an amphora, the upper half of which was found in the Mill Street excavations of the 1980s (Fig. 1, Evans 2000, Fig. 69, 23; Acc. No. 87.6H[1]) and which is notable for the 'label' written down one side of the neck reading 'Leg II Aug'. The 'label' on the shoulder of the vessel is less clear but has been interpreted to imply contents consisting of first quality sweet 'raisin wine' (Hassall & Tomlin 1994, 310–12). Amphorae share with modern wine bottles and, indeed, sauce bottles the capability of identifying their contents and point of origin from their shape. This one comes from Crete (*cf.* Williams 2003; the Caerleon example is illustrated as Fig. 1, 5). So Cretan wine was being delivered to Caerleon (probably in the second century) but how did it get there? Does it represent the equivalent of Roman mail order or is there some other mechanism? It is certainly a product of a general trade network operating within the Roman world – a world wide web but a very different one from its modern electronic equivalent.

Let us widen the search somewhat and look at what else was reaching Caerleon in amphorae. A glance around the museum will reveal two further large amphorae (Fig. 2). One is a globular olive oil amphora from southern Spain (Dressel type 20, Peacock & Williams 1986, 136–140), the other an Italian wine amphora (Dressel 2–4, Peacock & Williams 1986, 105–6). If we move from the gallery to the basement stores, we can also find evidence for south Gaulish wine (e.g. Evans 2000, Fig. 71, 144) and fish sauce from southern Spain or north-west Africa (e.g. Wheeler 1928, Fig. 23, 78), each with their own distinctive shape. Among excavated finds are also the smaller so-called carrot amphorae probably from the Middle East (see map, Fig. 3) and probably containers for dates (e.g. Zienkiewicz 1986, ii, Fig.19, 19; *cf.* Peacock & Williams 1986, 109–10).

Thus we find a whole series of commodities coming into Caerleon from the Mediterranean. How was it done? We should perhaps say that Caerleon is in no way unique and that the same set of commodities was reaching the larger settlements, both military and civilian, all over the western Empire. They imply large scale production in their place of origin – large areas of olive groves and vineyards and a multitude of fish processing works in the Mediterranean (*cf.* for example, Peacock & Williams 1986, Fig. 15). They also imply a considerable transport network linking supplier and market. It all sounds very like a modern global economy, until one realises that at least some of these commodities were used by their producers to pay their taxes. So the state had a hand in ensuring that supplies like grain from Egypt or oil from north Africa or Spain was directed both to Rome itself and to the army on the frontiers. But there is no sign of a large Imperial merchant fleet as such or that deliveries on the frontiers were directed only to serving units. So one assumes that the fairly

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[1]   Since 1987 this amphora neck has been displayed at the National Roman Legion Museum in Caerleon but it is a long-term loan from the collections of Newport Museum and Art Gallery.

Fig. 1: Cretan wine amphora from Mill Street. A 'label' reading 'LEG II AVG' can be seen placed vertically on the neck. A less distinct 'label' on the body probably indicated the contents. *Image © Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales. By kind permission of Newport Museum and Art Gallery.*

Fig. 2: Two amphorae on display in the Museum. That on the left is a south Spanish oil amphora (Dressel form 20), that on the right an amphora for Italian wine (Dressel 2-4).
© Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.

Fig. 3: The sources of amphorae found at Caerleon. *Illustration by Tony Daly*. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

massive transport network which this implies was run by private contractors who also supplied the civilian population.

We can see this transport network in a number of ways. A sufficient number of ships were caught in storms and sank to yield a series of wrecks around the coasts of the Mediterranean (e.g. the Port-Vendres II wreck with its cargo of south Spanish olive oil, south Gaulish wine and metal ingots, Colls *et al*. 1977). We can also find evidence for the use of a river network. A well-known mosaic from the Piazzale della Corporazioni at Ostia (Fig. 4; Meiggs 1973, Pl. 25a) shows the transfer of amphorae from large vessels to barges at Ostia, while companion mosaics show that this is just one of many commodities moving around the Mediterranean (Meiggs 1973, Pl. 25c, Pl. 23, a–b for evidence for grain, and animals for the amphitheatre; also Pl. 26a for a relief showing amphorae being unloaded). A relief from near Cabrières-d'Aigues in the Musée Calvet, Avignon (Espérandieu 1907–38, no. 6699, vol. 9 (1925), 99–100; also Bromwich 1993, 155 & Pl. 20) shows what is clearly a river scene with a barge loaded with barrels being towed past what is presumably a quayside on which are amphorae, including the distinctive South Gaulish footed wine amphorae usually known as Gaulois 4 (Peacock & Williams 1986, 142–3) We can trace the same amphorae up the Rhone–Rhine river systems onto the Moselle, where a tomb relief from Neumagen shows them being unloaded and also, incidentally, the straw 'jackets' placed round them for protection.

Fig. 4: An amphora being unloaded from an ocean going ship onto a barge for transport up river to Rome
(Place of the Corporations, Ostia).

(Fig. 5; Espérandieu 1907–38, no. 5148 e & f, vol. 6 (1916), 340; in common with other Neumagen sculpture this is in the Landesmuseum, Trier). Another sculpture from Neumagen shows a pile of similarly jacketed amphorae, of the same type (Schindler 1980, 342, probably including Espèrandieu 1907–38, no. 5216, vol. 6 (1916) 397–8). The type of barges being used is evidenced by wrecks from the bed of the Rhine. One of the most complete is that from Zwammerdam (*cf.* de Weerd 1978). Similar finds from Mainz along with models of the Zwammerdam barge are among the exhibits in the *Museum für Antike Schiffahrt*, Mainz (and shown on its website at the time of writing: www.rgzm.de/Navis/Musea/NavismusEng.htm and on the RGZM Navis I online database).

Once they had reached a riverside quay the amphorae had to be moved to a shop. There are several depictions of this which suggest that most commonly two people would carry the amphora suspended from a pole resting on their shoulders. We see this in a wall painting from Augst (Berger 2012, 223, Fig. 251) in Switzerland and on a shop sign from Pompeii (Fig. 6). That this method could be termed traditional is suggested by a 6th century BC Greek vase painting showing a figure bounding along carrying two amphorae suspended from a pole (Laubenheimer 1990, 8). There is a degree of artistic licence here, as even empty amphorae are quite heavy – around 28 kilos (62 lbs) for an olive oil amphora when empty and a massive 91 kilos or 200 lbs when full. Even the smaller Dressel 2–4, Italian wine amphorae weighed 15 kg (33 lbs) empty and 40kg (88 lbs) full (*cf.* Peacock & Williams 1986, 52).

Once in the shop, the amphorae could be stacked as seen in many of the shops at Pompeii (and in a relief in the Metropolitan Museum, Laubenheimer 1990, 158), stored on shelves as in a shop from Herculaneum (Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 64) or decanted into smaller containers. The globular

Fig. 5: Amphorae being unloaded from a barge on the Moselle. Note the straw 'jackets'.

amphorae must have simply been rolled to empty them but the handle-like bases of other forms would allow them to be tilted over a block as in a painting of cupids as vintners, which forms part of the famous frieze from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (e.g. Coarelli 2002, 142–3). We might also bear in mind that wine, in particular, could be moved around in barrels as the famous wine boat from Neumagen in Trier museum shows (Espèrandieu 1907–38, no. 5103, Vol. 6 (1916), 386–88). Another Trier relief shows a barrel being moved on a cart, the Roman equivalent of a wine tanker. Barrels are, of course, well known, if infrequent finds, often appearing in re-use, for instance as well lining (*cf*. Boon 1975, Pl. 7). A form of liquid transport less likely to leave archaeological trace can be seen in another painting recorded from Pompeii, which shows a similar arrangement, but using a large animal skin (Fig. 7. Overbeck & Mau 1884, 579, Fig. 302). This arrangement allowed liquid, presumably wine in this case, to be emptied from one end of the skin, probably the neck end of the original animal, into empty amphorae, a reminder that these very large containers were non-returnable but could be re-used.

Nevertheless, emptying your amphora was the start of another problem for the Roman householder or shop keeper, because, of course, there was a limit to the number which could be easily recycled. The solution of the oil and wine importers in Rome was to break up the amphorae and dump them in a pile at the back of the warehouses – resulting ultimately in several large hills of which one, the so called Monte Testaccio, still survives near the Ostian Gate (Nash 1968, ii,

Fig. 6: A Pompeian sign showing two men carrying an amphora suspended from a pole.
Image © M.D.Thomas.
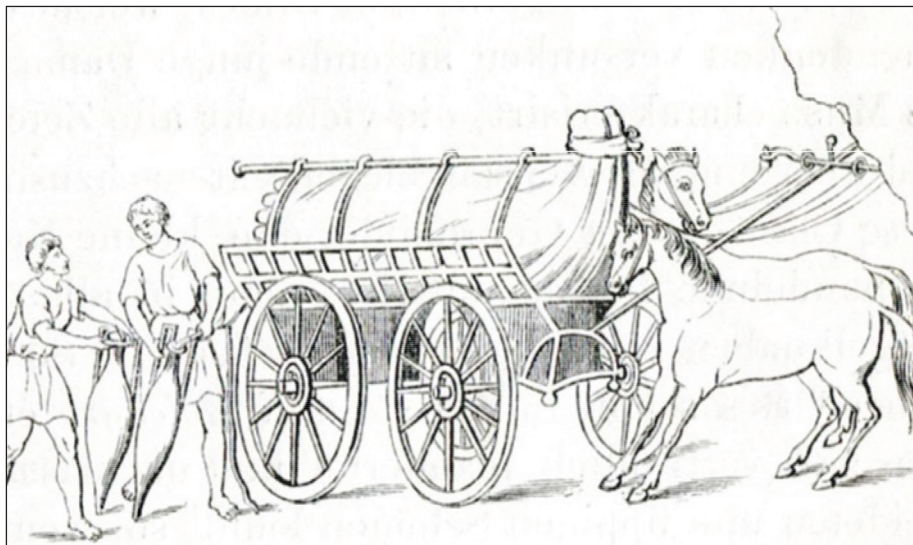
Fig. 7: Drawing of a Pompeian painting showing amphorae being refilled from a skin container on a cart.
From Overbeck & Mau 1884, Fig. 302.

Fig. 8: Globular oil amphorae used as a damp course in a shop building at St. Romain-en-Gal. *Photographed by the author.*

Fig. 9: The lower half of a globular amphora inverted over a glass jar used as a cremation container. From Hillside Lodge, Caerleon. *Photographed by the excavator, Mark Lewis, during conservation.* © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.*

411–13). Excavation shows that it is composed solidly of amphorae, mostly Dressel 20, olive oil amphorae. Elsewhere a few were re-used as containers and they found use by fullers as a convenient receptacle for urine. An ingenious example of re-use is found at St Romain-en-Gal where numerous olive oil amphorae were buried upside down beneath clay floors, presumably serving as a sort of damp course (Fig. 8, *cf*. Prisset 1999, 74 with a similar '*vide sanitaire*' illustrated, 62). Others were used for burials – including one, found recently (Fig. 9), inverted over a lead-capped glass jar from Hillside Lodge, Caerleon (for other cremations at this location see Clarke & Bray 2013). But most must have been broken up and dumped, though here Caerleon presents us with a problem. We do not know how many amphorae were found on the large pre-second world war excavations as, in the main, they were not retained and few are illustrated. The pottery from the large Roman Gates excavation (Evans & Metcalf 1992) was lost in a fire but the few stamps published (*ibid*. 86) does not suggest large quantities of amphorae. With the exception of the Mill Street excavations (Evans 2002, 283–97) all recently excavated sites, whether inside the fortress (Gardner & Guest undated, 32–8) or out (Guest, Luke & Pudney 2012, 79–85) have produced only modest quantities. It may be that a large amphora store awaits discovery but one does wonder whether the local community had their own, as yet undiscovered, Monte Testaccio.

Let us now turn from pottery which arrived in Caerleon as the container for a commodity to that which was imported for its own intrinsic properties. In the case of fine pottery, and particularly samian ware, we can follow the product from maker to market and again see something of the long distance nature of some Roman trade. The pottery which the British call samian ware and others *terra sigillata* was one of many red gloss fabrics made throughout the empire. British imports came mainly from manufacturing sites in Gaul and Germany. The method of manufacture is discussed elsewhere (e.g. Webster 1996, 1–12, Webster 2001) and was much the same on all kiln sites. It involved a series of processes which may well have been undertaken by different specialists either within a single firm or within separate ones. Plainware (largely undecorated) involved the throwing of the basic vessels, followed by the smoothing of accessible surfaces with a 'Former', drying and then the application of a slip before further drying. Decorated ware was more complicated as moulds had to be made and, while still plastic, impressed using small stamps (*poinçons*) which themselves had been made from clay and fired. The moulds themselves then needed to be fired before decorated bowls and jars could be formed, footrings cut, or added, and the whole vessel dried and slipped.

Once the pots had been thrown or moulded and dried, then dipped in slip and dried again, they passed to another specialist, the operator of a large kiln. Here we get some interesting documentation as some kiln operators included in each firing a list of what was being fired and who had brought items for firing. These lists were written with a stylus on the flat surface of one of the vessels to be fired. They follow a standard format listing names, then vessel types, then numbers. If we take a portion of just one list (Marichal 1988, 114–16, Graffito 1) we can see this. It transcribes (with figures 'translated' as Arabic numerals) as follows

Albanos – *panias* – 1025
Albinos – *vinari* – 500
Summacos – *catili* – 2460
Felix – Scota – *catili* – 5200
Tritos – Privatos – *paraxi* – 5550
Deprosagi – *paraxidi* – 2600
Masuetos – *acitabli* – 9500
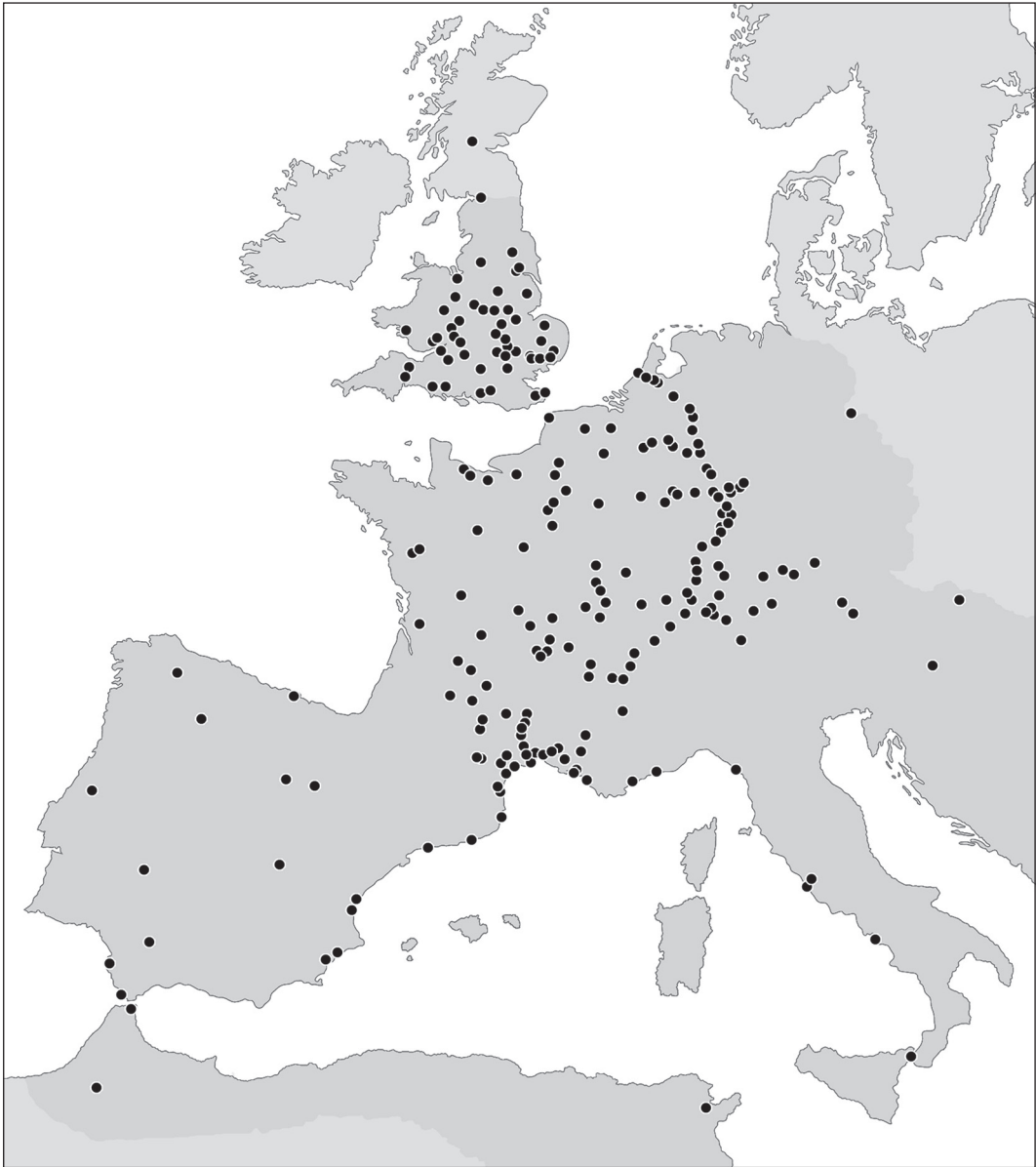
Fig. 10: Major deposits of south Gaulish samian from the later 1st century AD.
Illustration by Tony Daly. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.*

If we follow current thinking on the vessel names (e.g. Marichal 1988, 83–92; Dannell 2006) we find that this list includes 17,650 cups (*acitabli* and *paraxidi*), 1025 bowls (*panias*), 7660 plates (*catilli*) and 500 *vinarii* which may be jugs. The upper part of the list, not transcribed above, adds 1110 *canastri* (bowls) of various sizes, making a grand total of 27,945 vessels in a single firing. This alone shows something of the scale of the industry as, indeed, does the amount of waste pottery found on

sites such as La Graufesenque (e.g. the 'Fosse Gallicanus', Schaad & Genin 2007, i. 84; ii. 83–107, which was some 2.4m wide and 3m deep full of waste, mainly from a single, fairly minor, potter).

Thus samian involved production on a large scale and must also have involved a large infrastructure collecting and processing clay and growing and gathering fuel for the kilns. As with modern mass production, it probably involved a series of stages each undertaken by a different person. But it was not mass production in the sense of one big company producing everything. It seems instead to have been production by a large number of individual producers or firms. We can see this from the firing lists and even more clearly from the name stamps impressed on many of the pots. The number of known makers or firms is enormous, as the recently published 9-volume index of all known makers (about 4,500 of them) and their various stamps makes very plain (Hartley & Dickinson 2008–12).

We can track the products of the samian kilns all over Europe, and it is not surprising that, as with the amphorae we find a transport system dependent upon sea and river transport. An analysis by Allard Mees and Geoffrey Dannell of south Gaulish samian stamps within the Hartley and Dickinson index (Fig. 10, from Dannell & Mees 2015, Fig. 4) draws this out. Using material from the later 1st century one sees the importance of the Rhone and Rhine and of coastal sea traffic. To get to the sea, however, south Gaulish samian must have been taken overland across the southern Massif Central. Here, mule trains are the most likely means of transport and this may be why we have a relief from Narbonne showing pots contained in large nets being loaded onto a boat (Espérandieu 1907–38, no. 685, vol. 1 (1907), 420–1; for a clearer image see Dannell & Mees 2013, 179, Fig. 12.19). Once at the coast the pottery would be moved around by coastal shipping in much the same way as we saw for the amphorae.

Not all south Gaulish samian will have moved from the coastal route to the Rhone–Rhine river systems. We have the wreck of one coastal vessel, probably engaged in trading in an anticlockwise direction around the western Mediterranean and blown off course to sink at Cala Culip, off the extreme north east of Spain, with a cargo of at least 2760 samian vessels along with 79 Dressel 20 oil amphorae, 1475 pottery jars also from southern Spain and 42 pottery lamps made in Rome (Nieto & Puig 2001, 513) – the image of Masefield's 'Dirty British coaster' seems relevant, given the mixture of cargo.

That this pattern is a normal one is supported by the so-called 'Pompeii Hoard', a find made in 1881 in the *tablinum* of House 9, Ins. 5, Reg. VIII of a crate containing samian. This find provides one of the crucial dating tools for late 1st century samian (*cf*. Atkinson 1914, Dzwiza 2004). However, what is not always mentioned is that the samian shared its crate with lamps from north Italy. It is reasonable to suppose that a large consignment of samian taken on board ship, probably at Narbonne, had travelled along the coast until all or some of it was sold on to a merchant who combined it with part of another consignment of different origin and then moved it on. It is a rare glimpse of how cargoes could become diversified between manufactory and customer.

At the British end of the samian trade route, we have plentiful evidence of coastal shipping including a number of coastal craft from London (Marsden 1994) and we also know of at least one wreck of a craft carrying samian, in Kentish coastal waters north of Whitstable. Here, Pudding Pan Rock and the adjacent Pudding Pan Sands have long yielded the samian bowls which give these geographical features their name, along with cups in Lezoux colour coated ware (*cf*. Smith 1907 and 1909). The National Museum preserves a cup (Fig. 11) which is probably from this wreck and in more recent times, Mark Redknap has gathered similar finds from the fishermen, in this case bowls both fresh and very waterworn (Redknap 2015). Presumably the Pudding Pan boat was heading into London where at least one warehouse containing samian is known from the Regis House site

Fig. 11: Lezoux colour coated cup, probably from the Pudding Pan Rock wreck.
© *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

(Dunning 1945). That the Pudding Pan Rock wreck is not alone is, for instance, indicated by a samian mortarium, form 45, on display in Lewes Museum retrieved from the sea off Beachy Head.

One assumes that samian came into large ports like London and was then sent out in smaller consignments to those who actually sold it to customers. The Pudding Pan Rock wreck seems to prove importation into London but this does not mean that it was the only port receiving samian. It is well known that the major market for the Central Gaulish kilns was Britain and it seems highly likely that the main export route would, therefore, be along the Loire/Allier river system. The Pudding Pan Rock boat will probably, therefore, have travelled from the mouth of the Loire, round Brittany and up the Channel following one coast or the other. But, from the mouth of the Loire, the Severn is almost as easy to reach as the Thames (and closer). It is worth remembering the words of Gildas writing in the immediately post-Roman period. Describing Britain he says:

> It has the advantage of the estuaries of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, arms, as it were, along which, of old, foreign luxuries were wont to be carried by ships… (Williams 1899, 14–15)

One has only to think of such local finds as the Barland's Farm boat (Nayling & McGrail 2004) to realise that Roman coastal shipping was not restricted to the English Channel and the Thames. If wine from Gascony was being imported up the Bristol Channel in the Medieval period then any number of goods from Gaul might have travelled the same route in the Roman period. The idea of large warehouses on the Usk which we see in the well-known Alan Sorrell reconstruction of Caerleon (Sorrell 1980, 28, used in the various editions of Nash-Williams' site guide, e.g. 1952, Pl. III) may not be too wide of the mark.

We can follow pottery of all types into the markets of Roman Britain. There are a number of likely 'pottery shops' known, usually as a result of their having been destroyed in some catastrophe. Thus, there is one, or possibly two, known from the Boudiccan destruction of Colchester (Hull 1958,

Fig. 12: Calcite gritted jar of local origin in a style current in the Late Iron Age and early Roman period. From Jenkin's Field, Caerleon. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

152–6, 198–202) and another destroyed in a fire in the civil settlement at Castleford (Rush et al. 2000, 36–55). Probably the most evocative is from the portico of the Forum at Wroxeter, destroyed in a fire in the mid to late 2nd century, resulting in the recovery of pottery from at least two stalls, one selling samian bowls and also whetstones, the other selling British-made mortaria (Atkinson 1942, 127–46 & Pls. 32–7; this and other such deposits are discussed in Weber 2012). Here finally we see the point of contact between merchant and customer. But how many hands had the goods passed through before they reached their market? It seems likely that the initial purchase of goods from the producers and probably the major exporting routes, were in the hands of major merchants – *negotiatores* – but the actual transporting could well have been in the hands of smaller operators. It seems logical to think of some owners of barges and coastal shipping as individuals with one or a few boats operating along a comparatively short stretch of the main arteries of trade. It conjures up a picture of trade where the link between producer and customer was a tenuous one and where, at both the production and the marketing ends of the chain, there were many small operators. It is a world of global trade but not as we know it today.

It is worth remembering that the long distance network of trade which brought samian and amphorae to Caerleon, will have served to bring in many other commodities, not all of which are likely to leave much evidence in the archaeological record. Pottery is very much the visible tip of a much larger iceberg here. Equally, the network which brought in goods from long distances could well have brought them in from shorter ones as well. The lesson of the Pompeii Hoard is that once a trading route was established, it could involve both the buying and the selling of items *en route*.
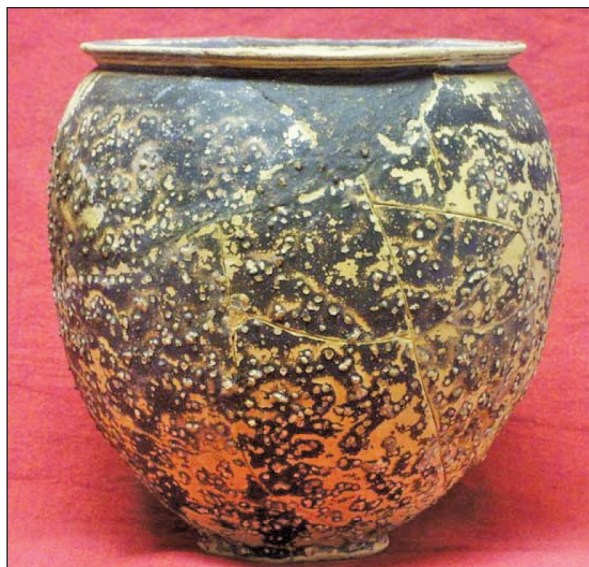
Fig. 13: A Lyon beaker from Usk. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

A quick tour of the cases (and stores) in the Caerleon Museum shows the large number of sources from which pottery supplies were drawn. However, not all sources will have supplied the British market at all times. If we take account of the dating for this material we can see how the pattern of trade changed over time.

We can begin with the establishment of the Neronian frontier in south-east Wales. This immediately throws a spotlight on the logistic problem facing the Roman army as it moved into new territory. In pottery terms the needs of the army were very different from those of the pre-existing population. One may suspect that the soldiers did not think very much of the hand-formed pots in dark grey gritted fabrics which were the staple of the locality. These simple jars, made without the aid of the potters' wheel, which are characteristic of the Iron Age/Roman transition in south Wales are, indeed, found in small quantities on Roman military sites, including both Usk and Caerleon (Fig. 12; *cf*. Manning 1993, 67–8; Nash-Williams 1929, Fig. 28, 1–5) but they can hardly have met the overall requirements of the army.

If we look at the suite of pottery found in the Usk fortress we can see that the garrison (and its accompanying civilians) relied heavily on pottery imported from the continent. Along with amphora-borne commodities (south Spanish oil and fish products, Gaulish and Italian wine), we find a range of finewares: large quantities of samian from south Gaul, but also colour coated cups and beakers from the Lyon region (Fig. 13, Acc. No. 82.10H, Usk 68 LQ; Greene 1979, Fig. 19, No. 2) and small quantities from other continental sources (south Gaul, north Italy) along with central Gaulish glazed and colour coated ware (Greene 1979, *passim*). Along with continental finewares we find mortaria from a number of continental sources, mainly in Gaul and Germany (*cf*. Hartley in Manning 1993, 390–1). Leaving aside the pottery vessels which arrived on the site as containers for some other product, these can all be classed as specialist products. The thick walled mortaria may not immediately strike one as in the same class as samian, but their very thickness made them difficult to fire and they thus required more expertise than is apparent at first glance.

A fortress such as Usk required many more, mainly cooking related, items than it did finewares. Some of these were supplied from other parts of Britain where pottery making was more developed than in much of Wales. So we find small quantities of pottery from the Severn Valley, southern and eastern Britain (*cf*. Greene in Manning 1993, 59–67), but the overwhelming proportion of kitchen wares was provided by local kilns established specifically to supply the fortress. The exact relationship between the Usk potters and the Usk Legionary garrison is not clear but we can be sure that most of the pottery produced found its way into the fortress and its civil settlement. We also have strong clues as to the origins of the potters themselves. Some forty years ago, Kevin Greene looked at the pottery being made for the fortress at Usk and showed that the origin of the forms lay on the continent mainly on the middle/upper Rhine and area. We can see this, for example, from his plotting of two distinctive forms (Usk forms 12 & 13, Manning 1993, 29, Fig. 13). If we superimpose the fortresses from which three of the four legions of the conquest came onto Greene's map of sites where these forms appear, there can be little doubt that the Usk potters came to Britain with the invading army (see map Fig. 14). If the Usk garrison did not import continental potters as well as continental pottery, then it certainly provided the sort of market which was sufficiently attractive to induce potters to follow it to Britain.

We have yet to discover the exact location of the Usk potteries, but they must have been sufficiently close to the fortress to allow members of the garrison to place special orders. This is made clear by a graffito cut before firing on a mortarium and reading (in translation) 'mixing bowl for the contubernium of Messor' (Manning 1993, Fig. 191, 35; also RIB 2496.3, Vol. 2, Fasc.6, 78–9; Fig. 15). One trusts that Messor refused to pay for this particular vessel as it is clearly a waster with large radial cracks and will have been pretty well useless for its intended purpose, but it is a demonstration of the ability of individual soldiers or groups of soldiers to commission pots from the local pottery.

With such a variety of both locally made and imported pottery at their disposal, one wonders why (and how) the army at both Usk and Caerleon also found a use for the hand-made jars in an indigenous Iron Age tradition which, as already mentioned, are also found on these sites. They are unlikely to have been seen as decorative items and they seem less serviceable as cooking vessels than other wares which were available. One wonders if they came into the fortresses, not as empty vessels, but as containers for some locally produced commodity or even delicacy. Or could they be evidence for those most elusive of people, locally sourced slaves?

With the Flavian conquest of Wales, the Usk kilns are paralleled by others associated with auxiliary forts. Frequently one can distinguish local forms which are likely to be the product of local potters. Occasionally we have firmer evidence as at Gelligaer where a kiln was found in the churchyard during the digging of a grave (Ward 1913, 7–13, Webster 2005) and, bizarrely to modern eyes, excavated despite now having an occupied (recent) grave at its centre (Fig. 16). The kiln form suggests that it may have been a tile kiln but dumped into it was pottery waste certainly from a nearby pottery kiln making a variety of forms, including mortaria.

All these potteries have a clear link with the fort or fortress close to which they are sited, but what is the nature of that link? We can be reasonably certain that some units made tiles for their own use. The Holt kilns are well known and there seems no reason to doubt that the stamped tiles of the Second Legion at Caerleon came from a similar establishment. But did the army make pottery or simply encourage potters to set up kilns outside its bases? It may be that the Usk pottery holds the answer. As we have seen, the fortress of Usk yields a discrete suite of pottery with clear continental connections. We do not know which Legion was based at Usk but a process of elimination suggests that it was the Twentieth. Once the fortress at Usk was closed we next find the Twentieth at Wroxeter, while the Second appears at Caerleon and the Fourteenth at Chester. None of these new fortresses
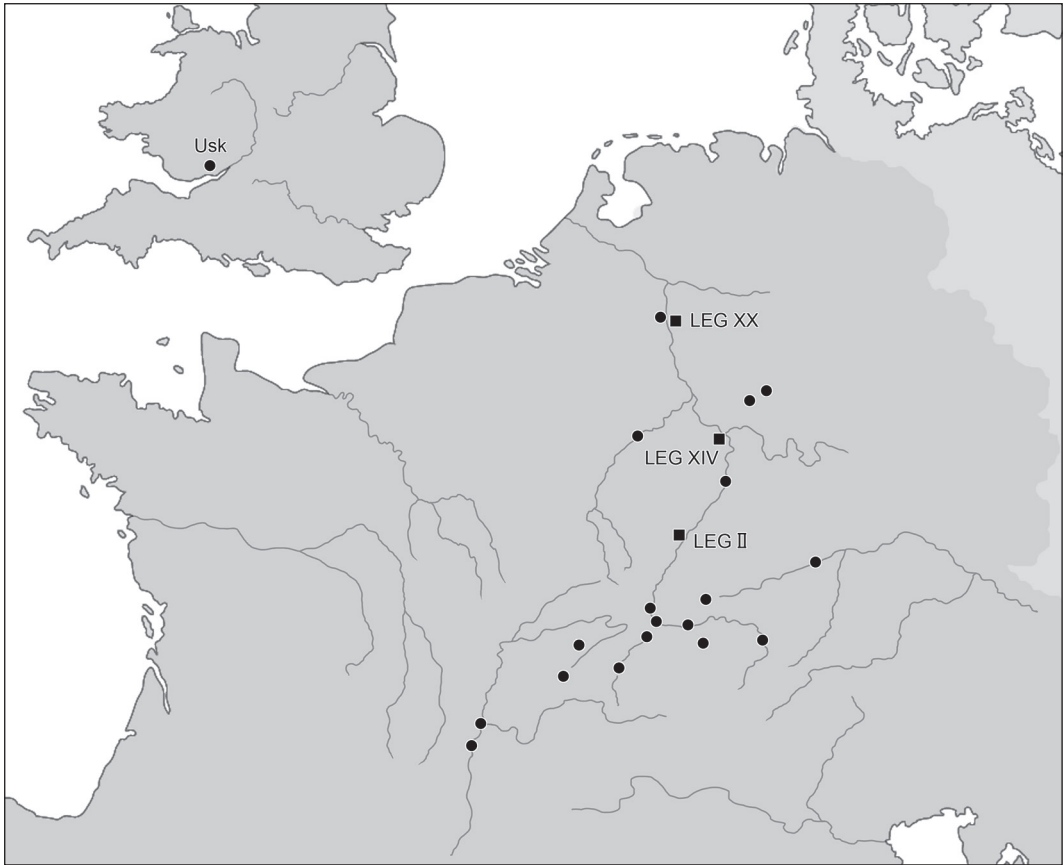
Fig. 14: Findspots of jars similar to Usk Fortress types 12 and 13 and the earlier position of Legions sent to Britain in AD 43. *Illustration by Tony Daly. © Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

produces pottery which bears a sufficiently close resemblance to the Usk suite to suggest that they represent the new base for the Usk potters (*cf*. Darling 1977, *passim*). This seems to suggest that the potters were neither members of the Legion, nor tied to the Legion in some way. Rather they had some looser connection which they could more easily sever and move on.

This brings us to an interesting question. Did the army buy or make pots for its soldiers? Clearly in the case of Usk, there were a group of potters who were making pots for army consumption. But what about the other pottery imported to the site of which there was much? It looks as if a basic set of pottery was provided by the army for each soldier (or group of soldiers). This might be pottery made near the fortress but it could be imported from elsewhere in Britain or abroad. Furthermore, it was presumably provided at a price, in line with other deductions from pay for all equipment. Other pottery could be and was bought or commissioned privately, as the Usk Messor mortarium shows. The great variety of sources supplying pottery to forts and fortresses suggests that, where possible, the army bought from merchants, only resorting to establishing a close link with local sources when it had to. This scenario may account for the strange case of the Caerleon samian mortaria, which, although relating to the later second century, is relevant here.

Fig. 15: An overfired mortarium from Usk inscribed ΛVIIISCONTUBERNIO MIISSORIS. The first word is incomplete but is probably 'pelveis' giving a translation as 'the mixing bowl for the contubernium of Messor'. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

Samian mortaria were generally available in Britain in the late 2nd and early 3rd century. If we look at Caerleon pottery assemblages, we find that they are relatively plentiful in the civil settlements but largely missing from the fortress. Only the Museum site and Jenkins Field, one, a tribune's residence, the other a workshop have more than the odd example and they are totally missing from barracks like those on the Prysg (Fig. 17). As all these areas produce plentiful samian from the period when the mortaria were current, we must assume that this is a matter of preference not supply. Presumably, they were not considered necessary for the basic army issue (more robust versions in coarseware were available) and few soldiers or barrack rooms found it necessary to buy them in. Merchants, wives and sweethearts out in the civil settlement clearly found them attractive and bought them in some quantity.

When the Usk fortress closed down we can be reasonably certain that the Usk potters moved away. But other potters will have followed the Second Legion to Caerleon and we can see evidence for several generations of them if we look around the museum cases. In the later first and early second century we find white slipped mortaria, marbled ware (usually vessels derived from samian forms), and mica dusted ware, the latter presumably seeking to emulate metalwork (Fig. 18). In addition, there was green glazed ware, wasters of which come from the Bear House Field, now the playing

Fig. 16: The Roman kiln excavated in the churchyard at Gelligaer. The shape suggests that this was a kiln for tiles but its fill included waste pottery indicating the nearby presence of a pottery kiln.
© *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.
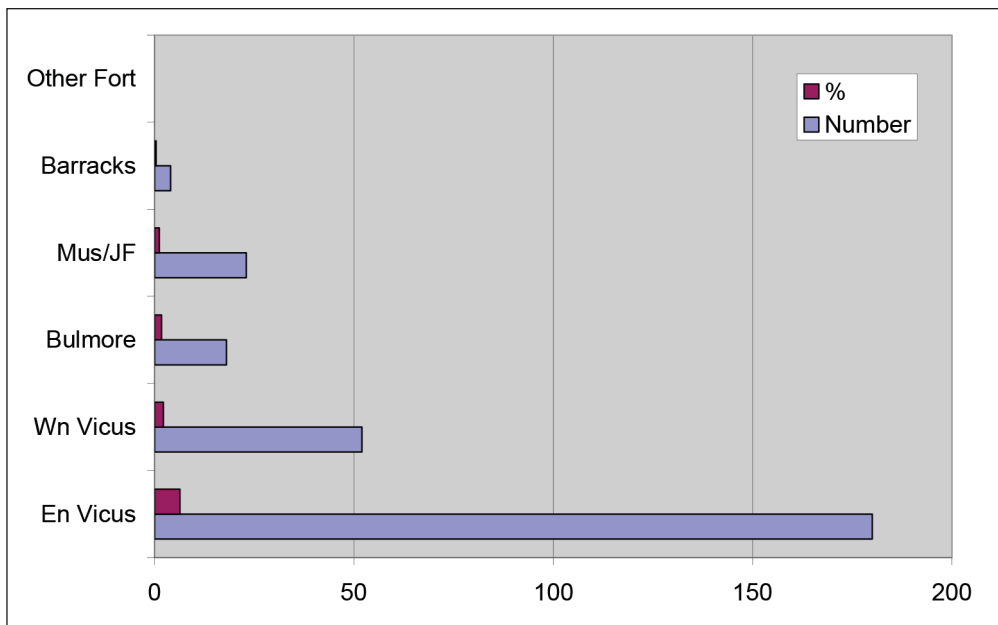
Fig. 17: Chart showing the frequency of samian mortaria on various Caerleon sites. Note the difference in quantities between sites inside and outside the fortress.
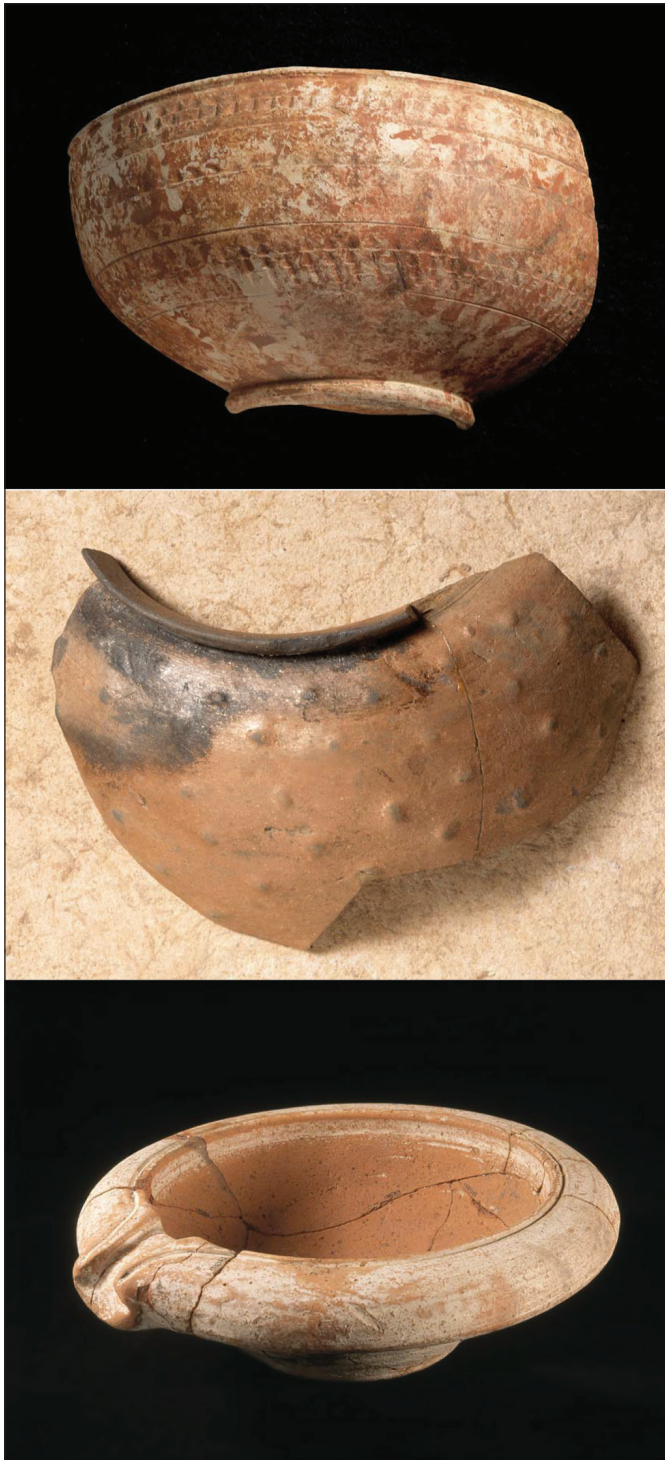
Fig. 18: Pottery produced in the late1st and early 2nd century AD pottery at or near Caerleon. Above is sponging to imitate marbling on a bowl similar to a samian shape. Middle is a mica dusted jar designed to be reminiscent of metal, while at the bottom is a white slipped mortarium.
© *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

Fig. 19: Green glazed pottery from Caerleon. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

fields to the west of the fortress (Fig. 19). Other, less specialist pots were also produced including flagons, a waster of which is on display (Fig. 20). The glazed ware in particular is a comparative rarity on Roman sites and the Caerleon examples seem likely to have been made somewhere in the western civil settlement not far from the findspots of the wasters.

The next generation of Caerleon potters are probably those responsible for the red-slipped ware we now call 'Caerleon Ware' (*cf*. Boon 1966) but also for a good deal of uncoated red pottery (Fig. 21). The range of vessels produced by this industry was considerable but among the more notable items are imitations of samian forms and other imitations both of metal and glass forms (Webster & Webster 1998). Another speciality was rough cast beakers. Until recently we had no knowledge of the kilns but some ten years ago some appeared on the hill above Bulmore and Abernant (Webster *et al*. 2004, Tuck 2006). This is not the most obvious place for pottery kilns, but it may be that the landscape was wooded as it is partially today and that the potters moved around the woods (rather like later charcoal burners) using coppiced timber as they went. We think of clay as the primary requirement for pots but the kilns, like Roman bath houses, must have used prodigious quantities of timber and it may have been easier to take the clay to the timber than the timber to the clay.

The forms produced by the Caerleon Ware potters are of interest. Only rarely would their imitations of samian be mistaken for the original (*cf*. Biddulph 2013). Their rough cast beakers are copies of, or substitutes for, beakers made in North Gaul (*cf*. Anderson 1981) and are distinctly chunky when compared to the originals. So 'substitute' is probably the correct word for them – and
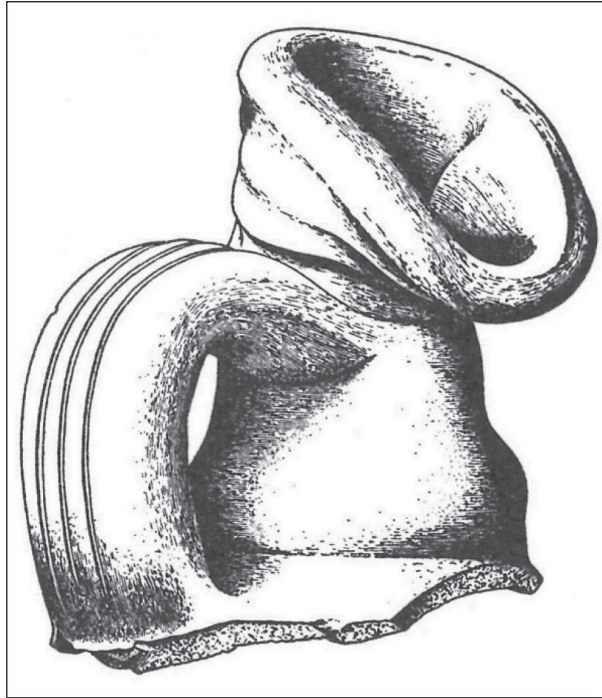
Fig. 20: Flagon waster from Caerleon. *From Boon 1966.* © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.*

Fig. 21: Caerleon ware mortarium rims from the Prysg Field, Caerleon. The stamps appear to be lettered but cannot claim to be literate, suggesting civilian potters. © *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.*
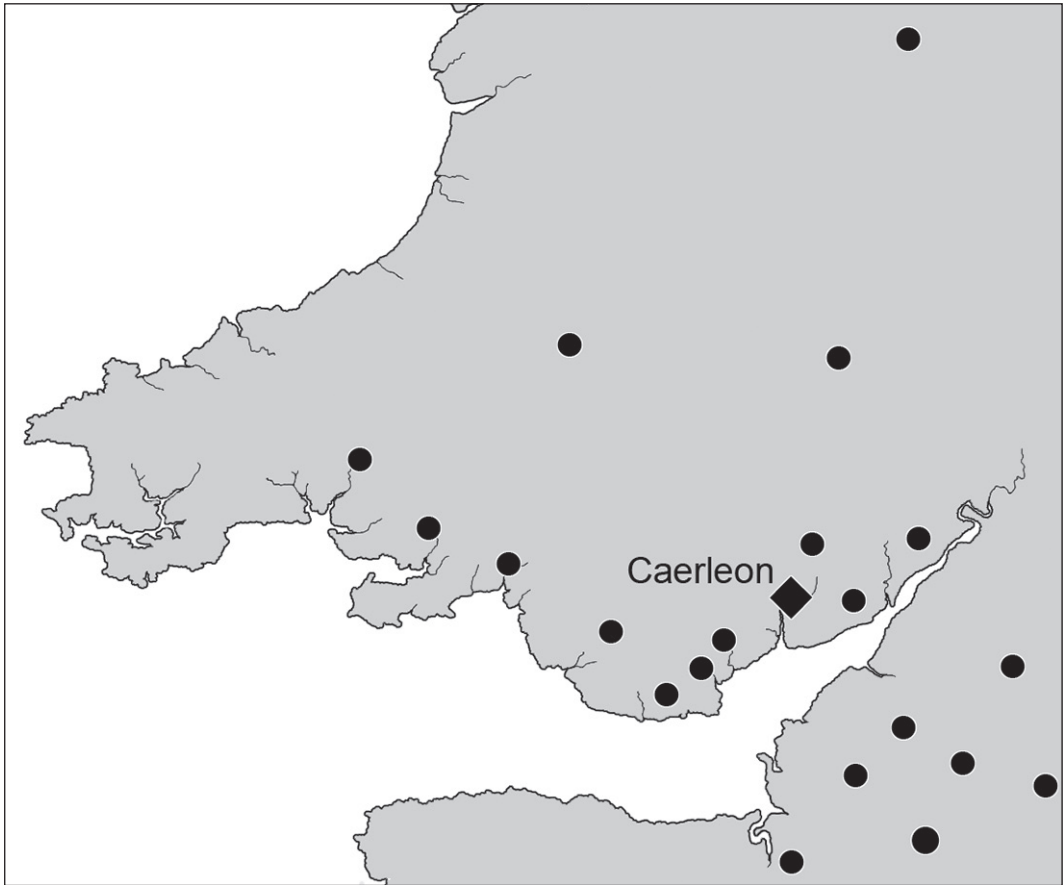
Fig. 22: Find-spots of Caerleon Ware. *Illustration by Tony Daly*.
© Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales.

in the case of the beakers they were highly successful substitutes as hardly any of the north Gaulish beakers are found in south Wales once the Caerleon Ware products are on the market. They may not have been as elegant as the imports but they could presumably undercut them for price and possibly also proved more durable.

Although the main market for Caerleon Ware was undoubtedly Caerleon, the products of this industry are found over a wide area (see map, Fig. 22). Although the Caerleon Ware potters were clearly producing for the Legionary fortress they were not legionaries, or the same potters as produced the stamped tiles, as the general illiteracy of their stamps shows, a point made long ago by Kay Hartley and George Boon (Boon 1966, especially 51–2). Rather they were presumably civilians producing for a largely local market but selling in as large an area as they could command, either directly or by selling to those merchants who themselves serviced the markets of south and west Wales and south west England.

Alongside pottery made in the general vicinity of the fortress, Caerleon was also an attractive market for potters working elsewhere in south east Wales. Here we find a regional tradition which

mainly produced grey pottery known as 'South Wales Grey' or 'South Wales Reduced' ware (*cf.* Manning 1993, 227–361, Tomber & Dore 1998, 209). The known kilns producing this ware were at Caldicot and Llanedeyrn but these are only two of what must originally have been many locations in south-east Wales. In common with many local potteries in Roman Britain, the south Wales kilns tended to specialise in forms which complemented rather than competed with pottery from outside the region. Thus we find many large storage jars, this being a size of vessel which does not repay transport costs when compared with smaller pieces. The industry also produced a range of other jars, some clear imitations of Black-burnished ware jars, but also including wide mouthed jars, a form where they had a near monopoly and a clear local demand, possibly as an alternative to more expensive mortaria as mixing bowls.

The pattern seen at Usk – imports of the more exotic items and commodities alongside local production, repeats itself across the next century and a half. The difference, however, is that continental sources were gradually replaced by British ones as the expertise in the production particularly of fineware and mortaria increased in the province.

Samian continued to be the main fineware used up to the early 3rd century although the place of manufacture changed across this time. The kilns of south Gaul (mainly La Graufesenque) produced samian for export up to the early 2nd century. The pottery of the last two decades of production suggest attempts at an increase in volume at the cost of quality control. This may have overstretched the supply of materials (especially fuel) or it may be that the increasing size of the potential markets in north-west Europe encouraged those concerned with the distribution and sale of samian to foster centres further north. For whatever reason, from the early second century, production for export switched to central Gaul, first to Les Martres-de-Veyre, and then Lezoux. For these two production sites, Britain was a major market. From the middle second century samian production was also under way in what is loosely called east Gaul (a variety of kiln sites in the areas between the Moselle and the Rhine which were actually mainly in Upper Germany). Although the products of these kilns are found in Britain, their main market was, for obvious reasons, the German frontier. Some of their products did reach Britain, presumably via the Rhine and Thames river systems but the volume was such that most seems likely to have been absorbed by markets in eastern and central Britain, leaving only small amounts for sites like Caerleon.

The mass export of samian from central Gaul ceased at the end of the second century and that from east Gaul in the middle of the third century. Why the central Gaulish industry collapsed we do not know. One suggestion is that the merchants who bought the samian from the kilns in the first place backed the wrong side in the civil war between Albinus and Septimius Severus and were put out of business in some way. It is possible, but one knows from modern parallels that businesses can collapse suddenly for reasons unrelated to political factors. More certain is that the Rhine and its frontier became an increasingly unstable area with invasions across it by German tribes in the mid-3rd century and this probably did put paid to the so called east Gaulish samian trade and reduced traffic on the Rhine itself. Replacing it, as we shall see, was an indigenous red-slip industry based in the Oxford area.

Other continental imports appear across the first and second centuries at Caerleon. The Lyon colour coated ware which is a feature of the Usk assemblage is present but only in very small quantities suggesting that it had ceased to be exported to Britain in the earlier Flavian period. The Lyon rough cast beakers were replaced by those from northern Gaul in the later 1st century, but, as we have seen, these were pushed out of the south Wales market by Caerleon Ware beakers in the early to mid-2nd century. Similarly, beakers from Köln, present in small quantities in the early 2nd century were supplanted by very similar products from the Nene Valley. Indeed, so similar are some

of the Köln and Nene Valley products that one suspects a migration of potters across the North Sea. Perhaps the latest continental finewares to arrive in any quantity were colour coated wares from Lezoux and the Moselle. These may well have arrived with samian from the same areas – we have already seen how the Pudding Pan Rock boat carried both Lezoux samian and colour coated cups. Whether their importation outlasted that of samian, is more difficult to decide, but one assumes that the Germanic incursions across the Rhine from the mid third century onwards, disrupted both samian and fineware traffic.

A more complicated pattern is presented by the smooth grey fabric known as *Terra Nigra* (*cf*. Greene 1979, 106–27) found especially in the Flavian period and in the fortresses of Usk and Caerleon. Early examples may well have come from the continent but most of that found in Wales is likely to be from British sources.

We see similar changes in the manufacture and marketing of mortaria. Although some first century mortaria were made locally (for instance at Usk and later at Caerleon) much was imported for sale at both fortresses. Especially noticeable are the so-called Gillam 238 type from northern Gaul (*cf*. Tomber & Dore 1998, 75–6) which certainly reached both sites (and most Flavian forts in Wales). These were, however, gradually superseded, partly by locally produced mortaria, including in the early to mid-second century those made by the Caerleon Ware industry, but also those from large conglomerations of mortarium makers, for instance in the Verulamium Region and the Mancetter–Hartshill area.

A clear pattern is thus emerging. Specialist wares from the continent were being marketed in Caerleon and elsewhere in the first century but were gradually being replaced by British products across the course of the second century. Presumably this involved a corresponding adjustment in trade networks, although there is no reason to suppose that for the merchants who ran pottery distribution in Britain, it meant more than a switch in sources (and an accompanying reduction in transport costs).

As continental imports of all types declined, we find colour coated wares appearing from the Nene Valley near present day Peterborough, and from Oxfordshire and (later) the New Forest. All seem to follow a similar pattern of production: a large number of comparatively small kilns concentrating in a single area. It looks very much as if the model of a mass of small producers we proposed for the samian industry is applicable here also. The Oxford industry is of particular interest (*cf*. Young 1977). Pottery was made in the area for local consumption from the first century but from around 240 AD the scale of production increased dramatically and we find the industry supplying colour coated ware and mortaria to a swathe of central England and Wales (*cf*. Young 1977, 65–7, maps 15–17; 135–47, maps 40–52). It is probably not an accident that the rise of the Oxfordshire production came at the time when samian importation from Gaul was all but ceasing. Some of the Oxford products are closely similar to samian plainwares and it can make a claim to be the successor of Gaulish samian as a supplier of fine red slip pottery in Britain and even in northern Gaul (*cf*. Brulet, Vilvordier & Delarge 2010, 264–5). Other Oxford colour coated products like the beakers and the stamped bowls fit into a general late Roman tradition unrelated to the earlier red slip industries. The Oxford industry also produced both red slip and white mortaria.

The considerable variety of pottery reaching Caerleon does not, of course, mean that all pottery was of equal importance in running a Caerleon household. If we look at any large assemblage from the site we will see how just a few fabrics dominate. As an example, we can look at the breakdown of the enormous Bear House Field culvert deposit, the infill of a major lateral drain along the eastern side of the western civil settlement. This spans in date the second to the fourth century, with a predominance of second and third century vessels, and was recorded as a single context by its excavator, Nash-Williams (Fig. 23 below).

	Flagon/ flask/ jug	Beak- er	Jar	WM Jar	Cup	Tazza	Bowl	Mortar	Dish	Lid	Total	%
Caerleon												
Oxidised	9		16			1	33		2	12	73	3.64
Cln Ware	30	80	6		26	3	47	55	42		289	14.41
Mica dusted	2				1		2	1	1		7	0.35
White slip	9	1				43	3	1			57	2.84
Glazed												
S.Wales												
SW Grey Ware	22		89	38			2		2		153	7.63
Severn Basin												
Sev. Valley W.			1								1	0.05
SW white slip								7			7	0.35
S.Britain												
Black-Burn'd	1	24	398				151		159		733	36.56
New Forest cc.		2									2	0.10
Midlands												
Verulamium								1			1	0.05
Manc'r-H'shill								2			2	0.10
Oxford col ct								1			1	0.05
Oxford white								20			20	1.00
Nene Valley		1									1	0.05
Gaul/ Britain												
Terra Nigra			1								1	0.05
Eggshell					4						4	0.20
Gaul												
Lyons col coat		2									2	0.10
Lezoux Col ct		1									1	0.05
Mosel keramik		2									2	0.10
SG samian					14		8		5		27	1.35
LMdV samian					1		5		3		9	0.45
CG samian	1	19			204		294	11	38		567	28.28
EG samian			1		19		16	4	5		45	2.24
Total	74	132	512	38	269	47	561	103	257	12	2005	100.00
%	3.69	6.58	25.54	1.90	13.42	2.34	27.98	5.14	12.82	0.60	100.00	

Fig. 23: A breakdown of pottery types from the Bear House Field culvert.

The variety is considerable but the vast majority is from just a few sources. We could, for instance present the totals by source as follows:

Source	Vessels	%
Caerleon products	426	21.24
south Wales	153	7.63
black burnished	733	36.56
other coarseware	31	1.55
samian	648	32.32
other fineware	14	0.70
Total	2005	100.00

The dominance of samian in the fineware market is clear, although it must be remembered that some Caerleon products will also class as fineware. Among coarsewares one fabric reigns supreme. This is what we today call black burnished ware. This fabric was mainly made in Dorset, although imitations from other areas are also known and local imitation was common (the South Wales Grey Ware potters could produce superficially very similar vessels, for instance). The forms produced in black burnished ware which reached south Wales were limited; cooking pots, bowls and dishes of casserole type and shallow pans predominate. These were cooking wares and one would have expected more of such ware to be made locally. That black burnished ware dominated the market in such wares requires some explanation. The ware wins no prizes for beauty so it must have had another asset which allowed it to out-compete rivals – probably a greater ability to heat up and contract without breaking – a sort of Roman Pyrex.

One might expect that the increase in British sources for pottery would bring with it an increase in local potteries but this is not the case. Indeed, in the third and fourth centuries, there was a tendency for pottery production to concentrate in a small number of areas within Britain. The potteries associated with forts and fortresses largely ceased in the second century. At Caerleon it is likely that Caerleon Ware ceased to be made in the decade *c*. A.D. 160–170. We can be less certain about the coarser wares but there seems to be less evidence for production close to Caerleon (rather than in south-east Wales generally) after the end of the second century. The only exception could be an unusual style of casserole present in small numbers in the later second and third century (Fig. 24)
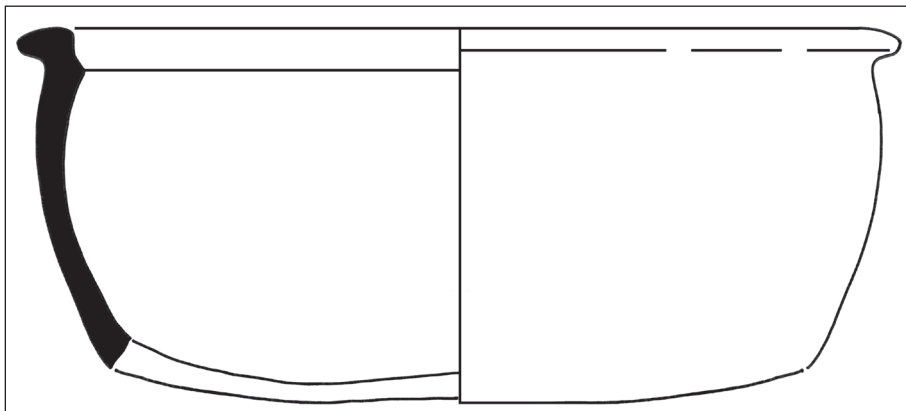

Fig. 24: African style casserole from Caerleon. Scale 1:2. *Illustration by Tony Daly*.
© *Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum of Wales*.

which Vivien Swan identified with African style cooking (Swan 1992). It may be that this indicates, as Swan maintained, the recruitment of Africans into the Legions, possibly under the Severans, an African dynasty, although the appearance of 'African' style casseroles on Antonine Wall sites (Swan 1999) must obviously be earlier than this. However, one has only to look at the clientele in one's local Indian or Chinese restaurant to realise that a liking for a style of food does not necessarily say anything about the ethnicity of the eater. Recently, the matter has been extensively discussed in relation to the 'African' style wares from the Antonine Wall fort at Bearsden (Bidwell & Croom in Breeze 2016, 180–1). This draws attention to the spread of this style of pottery to other parts of the western Mediterranean, particularly southern Gaul and suggests a migration of potters rather than consumers. This scenario seems better to fit the known movements of troops (*cf.* Breeze 2016, 379).

Certainly, the number of local kilns seems to have decreased from the late second century, as, of course, did the number of functioning forts. By the fourth century pottery supply was dominated by a few fabrics mostly produced in quantity in areas outside Wales – a situation which was probably disastrous for the local pottery user once it became difficult to market goods over longer distances in the post-Roman period. This is not to say that there were no local potteries. Those making South Wales Reduced Ware continued well into the fourth century but the more specialised wares from elsewhere in Britain, fineware, mortaria and Black burnished ware tend to dominate assemblages.

The pattern is an interesting one. Certainly we see a greater reliance upon British sources in the later period. But did this alter the mechanics of the pottery trade to any great extent? It seems likely that the merchant class who, as Britain developed, relied upon continental sources, simply transferred their purchasing of pottery, and their encouragement of major pottery-making centres into the province of Britannia. They may well have been prompted by the increasingly unsafe nature of many of the main trans-continental transport routes. For much the same reason we find a tendency in Britain as a whole for some of the longer routes to shorten as the coasts around Britain become less safe. Thus black burnished ware continues to appear in Wales but all but disappears in north Britain in the late fourth century to be replaced by a major expansion of potteries in Yorkshire.

A feature of deposits of the later fourth century in south Wales are calcite gritted vessels possibly from the south Midlands (Tomber & Dore 1998, 212). They are never found in large quantities, but nevertheless appear to be a marker for late occupation. Fourth century occupation at Caerleon is notoriously ephemeral and seems to be concentrated across the centre of the fortress. The number of south Midlands vessels from Caerleon is so low (a single example from the recent Priory Field excavations for instance) that it is difficult to suggest a purpose for this pottery. One can observe, however, that most examples found belong to jars with pronounced or hooked rims, suitable for securing cloth covers, for instance, so perhaps we are seeing some late Roman commodity container.

Thus, across the three centuries or so of its Roman occupation we find potters and pottery making their way to Caerleon from most parts of the western Empire. We have seen how there was a trade in pots along the main arteries of the Empire arranged so as to end up on the pottery stall in the local market. We can also see how the development of technical competence among British potters, probably coupled in the later Empire by an increasing danger of disruption along such crucial arteries as the Rhine, the English Channel and the North Sea, resulted in a gradual switch to sources within the province of Britain. But how did the pottery trade work? We know that there were pottery merchants – *negotiatores* – and it is probably these who ran the transport network. So there must have been some fairly large players in the trade chain. But, wherever we look, we also see small players as well. Agglomerations of kilns may have produced large quantities of pots, but, with a few exceptions, these looks more like a collection of individual potters rather than a single large company. Sales look as if they were also through small outlets. In between was a network probably

controlled by large investors or merchants but again it seems likely that there was a place for both local firms and local traffic.

Finally, we need to think about the role of the army, which certainly introduced another element to an already complex picture. We are used to large scale purchasing by government ministries and there is a tendency for some observers to think in similar terms for the Roman army. But the Romans did not have an MoD. You only have to look at the buildings in Caerleon to realise that there is no large administrative block. There was probably a lot more individual enterprise and certainly more individual initiative in the Roman world than we normally assume, as can be seen, for instance from the Vindolanda tablets (*cf*. Birley 2002, 100–5). This is not the modern army or a modern garrison town and we really need to think ourselves back at least to the era of Samuel Pepys, if not before, to see a fighting force operating in the same way. The sheer variety of pottery in use makes direct purchase by the army from its makers improbable. More likely is purchase, at a local level, from a mixture of merchants and local potters, but only for those items deemed essential. Beyond that, it was a matter of personal preferences both within the fortress and in the civil settlement outside it. It is the concentration of people in one place, presumably anything up to, or exceeding, 10,000 people in the case of Caerleon and its civil settlement, which drew both potters and pottery suppliers to the site and allowed the local residents to tap into Empire wide trade networks.

All in all, the residents of Caerleon had a considerable range of pottery from which to choose. They will have acquired some items because they came as commodity containers. Those in the Legion, will have been issued with some pottery. All Caerleon residents are likely to have bought items from local shops and markets. For more special items there were local potters whom they could commission, if need be, and visiting merchants would no doubt undertake orders for scarcer items. It is surely the latter route which allowed a Caerleon resident, presumably one with some military standing to judge by the label, to order and obtain the amphora of Cretan wine with which we introduced this exploration.

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A BONE-DISC NAIL CLEANER FROM SOUTH-EAST WALES

By Caroline Pudney

INTRODUCTION

The Llanmelin bone-disc nail cleaner was found during excavations of Llanmelin Wood Camp hillfort (ST46109257), in October 2012 (Pannett and Pudney 2012; Pannett and Pudney forthcoming). The excavations were led by Cadw with the assistance of Archaeology Wales as part of Cadw's programme of Community Archaeology and engagement activities. Several aspects of this find are unique and could potentially prove significant in the wider narrative of contact between south-east Wales and the areas to the east of the River Severn during the later Iron Age and Romano-British period.

THE SITE

Llanmelin Wood Camp is located approximately fifteen kilometres east of Newport. The site is in the guardianship of Cadw and is a Scheduled Ancient Monument (MM024). Situated on the western edge of a prominent carboniferous limestone spur, the hillfort has commanding views of the River Severn and coastal plain and overlooks the later Roman settlement of *Venta Silurum* (Caerwent), situated *circa* three kilometres to the south. The west of the site is bounded by a coombe, encompassing the Castroggi Brook. The monument is currently surrounded by dense woodland.

The hillfort consists of two main parts: a main camp and an annexe. The main camp is a multivallate enclosure consisting of a double bank and ditch, more in some places. The annexe, extending out from the south-east side of the main camp, is made up of three conjoined enclosures. The physical relationships between the enclosures of the annexe remain uncertain although current work by Cadw and RCHAMW hopes to elucidate this (Pannett & Pudney forthcoming).

Excavations in 2012 involved five small evaluation trenches focused upon areas previously excavated by Nash-Williams (1933), many of which were never back-filled. The early excavations suggested that the hillfort was first constructed during the third century, initially as a smaller enclosure surrounded by a single bank and ditch. Around 150 years later, the main enclosure was modified with the construction of additional banks. The outside of the inner bank was also revetted at this time. The third and final phase began around fifty BC when the entrance was remodelled and strengthened. The north side of the entrance was cut back and refaced so that timber platforms could be erected either side to create a stronger gateway. It is also thought that this was when the annexe was added, although the phasing of this remains uncertain (Williams & Williams 2008). No evidence for roundhouses or structures were identified although part of a possible roundhouse gully, pits and postholes exposed during the 2012 excavations suggest that it is highly likely that occupation was more intense than previous results suggest (Pannett & Pudney 2012; Pannett & Pudney forthcoming). Bones recovered showed that domestic animals such as sheep and pigs as well as red deer were present. Evidence of burning, copper smelting, antler carving and cooking/eating and distinctive middening were also found indicating that a range of activities took place here. Due to the limestone bedrock and alkaline soils, artefact preservation is strong.

Iron Age and Romano-British toilet instruments

Toilet instruments such as nail cleaners are hugely personal objects, relating to personal hygiene and appearance (Hill 1997). As a result they have been considered by archaeologists as significant

indicators of social practice and identity, including status, cultural identity, gender and age (Allason-Jones 1991 & 2011; Crummy & Eckardt 2003 & 2008; Hill 1997; Riha 1986; Swift 2000). In Britain, the earliest they appear in noteworthy numbers is during the late pre-Roman Iron Age (*circa* twenty BC – fifty AD) (Hill 1997, 104), where their use seems to have been limited to those of high status, perhaps as a sign of their social position. This was a time of great political, social and cultural change and the nail cleaners can be viewed as an embodiment of this.

Post-conquest, nail cleaners appear on a range of urban, rural and religious sites but finds to date tend to show a marked concentration across southern Britain. Where they are found in the north of the province, they tend to be recovered from military sites (Crummy & Eckardt 2003, 50). Usually made from copper-alloy, the shapes and styles of nail cleaners also begin to take on much more variation during this time. Despite this, they are not usually found in the same large numbers as other items of personal adornment such as brooches or hairpins.

The Llanmelin nail cleaner

The Llanmelin nail cleaner was recovered from within a mixed layer of possible slumping from the inner rampart within the north-eastern part of the main enclosure. Ceramics from the same context comprise late Iron Age and Roman transitional material (Gwilt *et al.* 2012), suggesting a date of deposition somewhere during the latter part of the first century AD. The nail cleaner (Fig. 1) is of classic bone-disc type, consisting of a bone head, slotted on to the top of a copper-alloy shaft (Crummy & Eckardt 2003, 53). The upper part of the shaft is circular and is decorated with an open panel design, at the base of which is a transverse groove, delineating the decorative section. The shaft is flattened at the points on the bottom of the object. No evidence of a suspension loop is present, indicating that this object was not worn or displayed on the body like many nail cleaners or toiletry sets but instead would have formed part of a suite of toilet instruments, likely kept within the home. The object measures 48mm in length.

Fig. 1: The Llanmelin bone-disc nail cleaner. Black and white scale in 1cm divisions.
Photograph: Rachel Roberts, Cardiff University.

Fig. 2: The distribution of bone-disc nail cleaners.

Bone-disc nail cleaners

Previous studies of bone-disc nail cleaners (Crummy & Eckardt 2003 & 2008), have shown a period of use ranging from the late first to fourth centuries AD, thus providing relatively broad coverage of the Romano-British period. The majority however, derive from second or fourth century AD contexts. It is currently uncertain whether these objects were used exclusively by men or women (Crummy & Eckardt 2003 53). Research has also demonstrated a regional distribution clustered around the east of the Severn Estuary, with a couple of outliers in Lincolnshire and the North-East. By adding data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme to the distributions collated by Crummy and Eckardt (Eckardt 2008), this Severn Estuary distribution is strengthened (Fig. 2).

Such a distribution has been suggested to represent a distinct regional or perhaps tribal identity (Crummy & Eckardt 2003, 56). This interpretation is strengthened by the parity with the *civitates* area of the Dobunni. An alternative interpretation links such spatial patterning to specific areas of influence of craftspeople, workshops or production centres. As such, the data could represent the marketing zone of a specific producer (*ibid*.). When compared with the distributions of other types of nail cleaner such as the Baldock type, a continued *civitates* bias can be noted (Crummy & Eckardt 2003, 57). It also raises a question as to the relationship between consumer demand and market provision. Was it that the producer/seller only sold in this area or was it that the demand was largely restricted to this region? A combination of the two is most likely, thus further adding to the concept of a regionally distinct object, reflecting regional tastes and perhaps, therefore, signifying a regionally distinct identity.

The types of sites where bone-disc nail cleaners have been found was also analysed by Crummy and Eckardt (2003). The distributions demonstrate find-spots at a combination of rural and urban settlement sites and at religious complexes. In comparison with other types of nail cleaners, the bone-disc type demonstrated a proportionally higher representation at rural sanctuary sites such as Nettleton in Gloucestershire (Wedlake 1982), Woodeaton in Oxfordshire (Bagnall Smith 1998) and Uley, also in Gloucestershire (Woodward and Leach 1993). At all three of these sites the nail cleaners were likely deposited as votive offerings.

The Significance of the Llanmelin bone-disc nail cleaner

In view of the wider context of bone-disc nail cleaners there are four significant implications of the example from Llanmelin. Firstly, if not considered as an outlier, the Llanmelin nail cleaner would begin to raise questions about the potential extent of market reach of the producer(s). The occurrence at Llanmelin places this reach not only across the River Severn, but to the east of the Wye. This could have repercussions for the role of river versus land-routes in the trade of objects and movements of people during the later Iron Age and Roman period.

Secondly, the presence at Llanmelin is unique since as far as the author is aware, no other examples have been recovered from hillfort contexts. Although the function of the annexe remains somewhat of an enigma and interpretations have ranged from stock enclosures to excarnation platforms (Gwilt, *pers*. *comm*.). Only further investigation of Llanmelin will help to clarify the role of the hillfort throughout the Iron Age, but a religious or ritual function should not be ruled out when considering the annexe. While the nail cleaner was not apparently deposited intentionally, such as in a votive offering, and therefore likely represents domestic activity/ refuse at the site, we cannot rule out a possible link with cult activity at Llanmelin, when set alongside the evidence for the predominance of bone-disc nail cleaners at sanctuary sites.

The third strand of significance that needs exploring relates to the possible late Iron Age or early Romano-British date of the object. Its presence at the hillfort within a conquest period context

corresponds to the abandonment of the site. It is therefore likely that the object was in use right at the end of the Iron Age and the site's main period of use, possibly at the time of the conquest itself. It is unlikely that the nail cleaner was brought to the site by one of the many incomers to the area during and immediately after the conquest since the context within which it was found was then sealed by the uppermost, and therefore latest, deposit that in turn produced mostly early Romano-British ceramics. It is also unlikely that the artefact is residual. This therefore either pushes the abandonment of the site into the early second century AD or potentially places the appearance of bone-disc nail cleaners within the later Iron Age. Considering the results of initial assessments of the ceramics from Llanmelin (Gwilt *et al*. 2012), the latter is more likely. This therefore adds weight to chronologies of the site and contributes to the argument for the 'Celtic' origins and use of toilet instruments in Britain (Riha 1989, 26 as cited in Crummy and Eckardt 2003).

Finally, in view of the potential late Iron Age date for the Llanmelin example in comparison to the largely Roman dates of the majority of other bone-disc nail cleaners, the find should be viewed in relation to social, economic and political (tribal) influences or contacts. In an area traditionally viewed as relating to the *Silures*, Llanmelin was interpreted by Nash-Williams (1933), as the Iron Age tribal capital and pre-cursor of *Venta Silurum*, the later *civitas capital*. Artefact studies have often attempted to demonstrate distinct *Silurian* identities, some of which potentially continue on into the post-conquest period (Gwilt 2007; Howell 2006). However, not all artefacts demonstrate this. When viewed in parallel with evidence for Iron Age and Roman coins (Pudney 2011 & forthcoming) and copper-alloy brooches (Pudney 2011) from a wider region around the Severn Estuary (i.e. areas traditionally considered to relate to the *Dobunni* and *Durotriges*), some artefact distributions begin to challenge any clear-cut regional (and possibly tribal), distinctiveness both prior to and shortly after the Roman conquest. When viewing the nail cleaner amongst this wider evidence, the production, access to and use of objects demonstrates very particular links across the River Severn as well as discreetly distinct practices separated by the same river. The case of the bone-disc nail cleaners suggests possible economic links beyond the traditional tribal distinctions, between the modern areas of south-east Wales and Gloucestershire. While this is not a revelation, it is perhaps more significant that the bone-disc nail cleaner demonstrates parity of embodied taste, fashions and cultural practices. This highlights the complex and changing nature of later Iron Age societies and material culture within the Severn Estuary region.

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AN ANCIENT GREEN LANE BETWEEN COURT FARM, LLANMARTIN, AND THE MAIN ROAD AT LLANBEDER, GWENT, *VIA* MILL OR WATERY LANE

By Mark Lewis

This note describes a significant, mostly linear, man-made landscape feature running broadly north–south between Llanbeder (ST39099062) and Court Farm, Llanmartin (ST39248959), Gwent, which for much of its length survives as a significant ancient hollow way, a green lane.

Definitions

'Highways include not only main and minor roads joining settlements, but also lanes and ways leading to fields and woods. Their history is not only of pedlars and pack-horses. From at least the early-medieval period, carts have been a feature of ordinary farm equipment.'[1] Where no permanent bridges were maintained, streams and rivers were crossed at fords.

This note uses the word 'highway' as defined by Rackham,[2] to include roads, bridleways and footpaths. Similarly, this note uses the word 'lane' to describe a road '*confined between hedges, fences or ditches*.' Highway surfaces need not be metalled, especially in Monmouthshire. G. A. Cook, writing about the year 1830, described the state of roads before the turnpikes as 'simply hollows formed by the action of water… with large banks and lofty hedges thrown up on each side to prevent trespass. In these Alpine gutters… the centre is invariably the lowest part, and frequent transverse channels run across, to prevent the rapid descent of carriages, or convey the water to some adjacent ponds.'[3] Member of Parliament for Monmouthshire, Valentine Morris, speaking in the House of Commons, said there were no roads in Monmouthshire and was subsequently questioned how therefore the people travelled, to which he replied, 'We travel in ditches'.[4]

Description, map regression studies and empirical evidence

The Llanbeder to Llanmartin section of ancient lane hollows increasingly in depth moving downhill in each direction, to the north and to the south, from the crest of the hill at circa ST392903 where comparatively very little hollowing has occurred. The two hollowed sections to the north and to the south of the crest of the hill conform to the description of hollow ways formed by combined traffic and water action given by Cook and Rackham.[5] As Rackham notes generally for Britain, the depth of the hollow way near to Court Farm and Llandevaud Mill evidences the combined action of traffic and water over a very significant period of time.[6] Examination of the sides of the hollow, its bed and bedrock exposures along them also suggest that the hollow has been worn down over a significant period of time and was never rock-cut to diminish the incline of the lane at these points

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[1]   Rackham, O. *The History of the Countryside. The Classic History of Britain's Landscape, Flora and Fauna*. (Phoenix, London, 1986) 249.

[2]   *Ibid*.

[3]   Waters, I. *Turnpike Roads. The Chepstow and New Passage Turnpike Districts* (Chepstow, Moss Rose Press, 1985) 9–10.

[4]   *Ibid*.

[5]   *Ibid*. and Rackham, *op. cit*., 278.

[6]   *Cf*. the section of ancient lane at nearby Cats Ash, Langstone, between ST37459104 and ST37239082.

Fig. 1: (left): The Llanbeder to Llanmartin hollow way near Court Farm, Llanmartin, during the heavy rain in January 2016. Fig. 2 (right): The hollow way leading northwards, downhill from the summit of the hill, towards Llandevaud Mill.

(Figs. 1 & 2).[7] The presence of an adjacent public footpath passing through the fields adjacent to the eastern edge of the lane along its nearly its entire north–south section probably indicates an historic desirability to avoid the traffic in the hollow sections of the lane where passing would be difficult and a desire to stay out of the water which runs, following rain, from springs near the top of the southern section of hollow way down towards Court Farm, Llanmartin. The adjacent footpath was present and acknowledged by 1882–1883 when it appears, adjacent to the lane, on the OS 1:2,500 sheet.[8] The presence of an adjacent footpath suggests that the status of the hollow way exceeded that of a footpath itself, at least by 1882–1883.

Visual inspection on the ground and study of maps shows that the Llanbeder to Llanmartin hollow way predates historic adjacent field boundaries, which all respect it. The present field boundaries are unchanged since at least 1882–1883.[9] Most of those shown on the 1812 OS 2" map No. 176E[10] may be identified with surviving field boundaries today.[11] The lane's boundaries and hollow sections now confine the traveller and their animals, preventing conflict between travellers and adjacent land users. There is much evidence for historic hedge laying or plashing of the lane's

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[7]   The exposed underlying geology comprises Palaeozoic Brownstones, the highest division of the Lower Old Red Sandstone. See Welch, F.B.A. and Trotter, F.M. *Geology of the Country around Monmouth and Chepstow* (London, HMSO, 1961) 46 and 33. These strata are relatively soft and susceptible to wear and erosion.
[8]   1882–83 OS 1:2,500 County Series Monmouthshire sheet, First Edition.
[9]   *Ibid*.
[10]   Accessed at Glamorgan Archives.
[11]   See the hedgerows (part highway) between Llandevaud Farm and Ford Farm on the 1882–1883 OS 1:2,500 Monmouthshire sheet and on the 1812 OS 2" No. 176E sheet.

boundary hedges. These have been long-since abandoned as maintained plashed hedging and have been allowed to form many of the mature trees along its route. The age of the grown-out, vertical, boles within the hedges on both sides of the lane are estimated to exceed 100 years in many cases.

The 1812 OS 2" MAP No. 176E shows the lane as a public highway. At first glance the route of the lane depicted on the 1812 OS 2" map appears to deviate very slightly from the route in evidence on the ground today and as surveyed on the later, 1882–83 OS 1:2,500, County Series Monmouthshire sheet. The nineteenth-century mill (which was described as the 'New Mill' on the 1830 OS map[12]) is not shown on the 1812 OS 2" Map No. 176E. The 1812 OS 2" map shows a northward kink to join the stream at right-angles and possibly run along the stream bed for a short distance past the mill along the course to the stream to the west of the mill (the same watercourse as today). The 1812 OS 2" No. 176E surveying and scale were less precise than the 1882–1883 OS 1:2,500 First Edition. The 1882–83 OS 1:2,500 Monmouthshire sheet shows two foot bridges marked, rather than fords, where the lane meets the stream. Any former ford(s) adjacent and to the west of Llandevaud Mill (which was disused by 1882–1883) appear to have been superseded by the time of the 1882–1883 OS survey. The Second Edition 1902 Monmouthshire OS 1:2,500 sheet shows a route between the two mill buildings running northwards to the site of the present-day timber footbridge situated north by north-west of Llandevaud Mill. The hollow sections of the lane with their grown-out remnants of layered hedging indicate that the present, modern, route of the lane appears to respect the ancient one, unchanged, to the south of Llandevaud Mill.

Historical and geographical context

That the section of lane links Llanbeder and Llanmartin via a north–south route leading south from the main Roman road between westward Caerleon and Caerwent to the east is potentially significant, especially because study of the 6" to one statute mile county OS sheets suggests the route may continue beyond the B4245 (Magor Road) near Court Farm, Llanmartin, towards Bishton (and probably Llanwern and beyond) to the south-west of Pant-yr-eos Wood, leading directly to the village of Bishton and the site of the so-called 'Bishton Castle'[13] and thence to the parish church. Extension of the Llanbeder–Llanmartin lane to the south leads directly to Court Farm and (probably its predecessor) the medieval Court Farm moated site which has a causewayed entrance in the eastern section of its north-east side pointing towards the route of a continuation of the lane.[14]

Llanbeder and Bishton are early-medieval settlements, possibly with earlier, Roman, settlement centres,[15] which are evidenced in early Llandaff charters.[16] It is perhaps geographically significant in

[12]   Sheet 35, Bristol, Ordnance Survey Old Series 1" map, published Tower of London, 1st May 1830.
[13]   Historic Environment Record National Primary Reference Number (hereafter NRPN) 00258g, ST392880. Castle Farm is so-named on the Bishton Tithe apportionment, plot 292, and was then owned by the lord bishop of Llandaff.
[14]   NPRN 307856, ST39018943.
[15]   See Roman settlement evidence at Ford Farm ('Villa' NPRN 310034) and the Enclosures NPRN 409490, situated just two fields to the east of the Llanbeder to Llanmartin lane – see Vyner, B.E. Cropmarks at Llanmartin, Gwent, *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, 28 (1979) 343–6. 4th century Roman coins and brooches have been found at Llanmartin, see Portable Antiquities Scheme records IERCW-63DAEBE02 and IARCW-63DAEBE0B. The Ford Farm Iron-Age–Roman vessel hoard was found to the west of Court Farm, Llanmartin, near to the southern end of the Llanbeder–Llanmartin lane. See Gwilt, A. & Lewis, M. Langstone, Newport: two bronze bowls, a wine strainer and a tankard (PAS: NMGW-9C0216; Treasure: Wales 07.24) *Portable Antiquities and Treasure Annual Report 2007*, 68–9. A 4th century Roman coin of Constantine I has been found at Bishton, see Portable Antiquities Scheme record IARCW-63DAE23DCO.
[16]   Davies, W. *The Llandaff Charters* (The National Library of Wales, 1979), no. 261, 127–8 (Llanbeder) and no. 180b, 110 (Bishton).

relation to the lane that Llanbeder and Bishton were both ecclesiastical, episcopal holdings, held by the bishops of Llandaff before the Norman Conquest, and remained so afterwards.

Llanbeder (ST371891) is recorded to have been gifted to the bishop of Llandaff by about AD 1045[17] and must have existed as a settlement even earlier to have already been named *LannPetyr* (Peter's Church or Enclosure) and to have been recognisable as a place (within *'Hennriu in Lebinid'*, i.e. 'Henrhiw in Llebenydd', Hen-rhiw itself meaning 'the ancient upward slope, acclivity or steep road' or 'the old place on the slope').[18] The medieval church building at Llanbeder was situated to the south of the main road (today the A48, formerly the Turnpike Road and Roman Road[19] before that), Llanbeder is labelled as '*Lanbider Ruins*' on the Samuel John Neele and James Cundee, 1812 map of Monmouthshire, the 1817, Samuel John Neele and John Wilkes, map, and the 1828, W.R. Gardner and C. Smith, and Henry Teesdale and Co. maps of the county. The ruins remained in 1839 when the James Pigot and son, 1839 county map labels them 'Lanbeder Chapel'. The site of the medieval church is shown on the 1882–83 OS 1:2,500 County Series First Edition Monmouthshire Sheet and its former site recorded on the 1902 Second Edition. The upstanding ruins of the church were recorded and published, with illustrations, by Morgan and Wakeman in 1858.[20] The church has since been demolished and a house, Llanbedr Hall, built adjacent to its site, to the east.[21]

Bishton (Lann Catgualatyr or Catgualader, ST387873) was gifted to the bishops of Llandaff *circa* AD 710 according to the Llandaff charters and it is also referred to in the *Vita Cadoci* (ch. 67).[22]

In 1677 the boundaries of the manor of Langstone reference four highways as 'the street or highway' leading from Christchurch to Cats Ash, 'the highway' leading from Newchurch to Cats Ash and two lanes, one from Cats Ash to 'Langston' and the other from 'Langston' to Milton.[23] The manor boundary in the vicinity of Llanbeder was referenced as the Stallion's Brook, Cae Marie southward to Coed Issa and southward along the wood to a brook called Nant y fford and along the brook to Wern Ysgob – The Bishop's Alders, which is the north-western boundary of the parish of Bishton.[24] The parish boundaries (which need not be the same as manorial boundaries) almost exclusively follow the routes of natural water courses between Great Caer-Licyn and Ford Farm today. Whereas sections of the Wentwood ridgeway form sections of the manorial and parish boundaries of Langstone (further plausible indicators of the antiquity of this communication route), the Llanbeder to Llanmartin holloway features in neither, falling firmly within, and traversing, Llanmartin parish

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17   *Ibid*.
18   Morgan, R. *Place-names of Gwent* (Llanrwst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2005) 109.
19   From at least 1773 this Roman road was often labelled the *Via Julia*, the 'Julian Way', by antiquarian writers. E.g. see Coxe, W. *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London: T. Cadell Junior and W. Davies, 1801), Introduction, 13, who names it the *Julia Strata*, citing '*the eleventh Iter of Richard's Itinerary with parts of the twelfth and fourteenth Iters of Antonine*.' See Sherman, A. and Evans E. *Roman Roads in Southeast Wales: Desk-based assessment with recommendations for fieldwork* (GGAT, 2004) report number 2004/073, 4.
20   Morgan, O. and Wakeman, T. *Notes on the Ecclesiastical Remains at Runston, Sudbrook, Dinham, and Llan-bedr* (Newport: Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, 1858) 29–33.
21   ST38879075. A medieval grave marker once built (reused) into the wall of the 14th century church may now be seen in the northern elevation of the eastern two-storey porch of Eastbourne House on the opposite side of the A48, to the south of Tregarn Road, ST3873890762.
22   Davis, *op. cit.*, 110.
23   Bradney, Sir J. *A History of Monmouthshire, Part II, Volume IV* (London, Mitchell, Hughes and Clarke, 1932) 203–4. Oliver Rackham (annotated map from private archive research notes on 'Wentwood disused roads and holloways') noted that the road adjacent and to the south of Pen-toppen-ash was Clawdd Gwardd in 1677, was Ffordd Mawr at Coed y Caerau *circa* 1045 and Gentforth near the summit in 1724.
24   Bradney, 203–4.

today. This observation supports the longevity of the importance of the Wentwood ridge way and possibly suggests a more recent date for the Llanbeder to Llanmartin section of hollow way if the most relevant geographical features in the landscape were the watercourses (not a highway hereabout) when the boundaries were fixed. Whilst this possibility must be considered, because ancient highways were common elements of boundary descriptions, there is no need for parish or manorial boundaries to respect more ancient communication routes. Either way, the historical evidence is consistent with the empirical evidence that the Llanbeder to Llanmartin hollow way was a highway and not any other kind of landscape feature (such as a boundary ditch, dyke, *etc*.). Llanbeder, Hendrew, Langstone and Bishton lay within the commote (later Hundred) of Llebenydd but Llanmartin lay within the commote (later Hundred) of Is Coed (Caldicot) by the time of the Domesday Book and the hollow way appears to have no connexion with these political boundaries.[25]

The 2" 1812 OS first edition, sheet No. 176E, for south-eastern Monmouthshire and the J and C. Walker, 1836, map of Monmouthshire clearly show the Llanbeder to Llanmartin holloway as a highway of sufficient significance for it to merit its inclusion as a mappable link between the two. All highways form an element of a network. In order to explore the usefulness of a direct north–south highway between the Wentwood ridge way, the old Roman road (later the turnpike road and now the A48), Llanmartin, Bishton and the low-lying fertile Severn Estuary Levels beyond, it is useful to briefly consider the importance of the Wentwood ridge way and the Roman road which is now the A48 in their own rights.

The Walkers' map shows a continuation to the north of the main road (the present A48) along the ancient Caerlicken Lane to join the Wentwood ancient ridge way, which itself was depicted in many early maps of the county as one of the major communication routes (between Caerleon[26], Newport and Cardiff to the south-west and Monmouth (via Cats Ash, Cas Troggy, Trelleck) to the north-east).[27] The Wentwood ridge way probably has prehistoric origins as supported by its topographical position and its relationship with ancient monuments such as Pen-Toppen-Ash[28],

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[25]   Moore, J.S. *Domesday Book. 15 Gloucestershire* (Chichester, Phillimore, 1982) Note W2, maps and map keys.

[26]   Another major historic route from Caerleon being via Tredunnock and the Newbridge-on-Usk, *cf*. Morden's card of 1676–1680 and the map of John Seller, *c*. 1694 both in Michael, D.P.M. *The Mapping of Monmouthshire* (Regional Publications (Bristol) Ltd, 1985) 34 & 70. As the river Usk would not be easily forded at Newbridge, the new bridge there must either have replaced an earlier bridge at or near this place, or the eastern ancient Wentwood ridgeway via Cats Ash afford a route which avoided the need to cross the river Usk after it had been crossed at Caerleon (a crossing point since the first-century AD and probably earlier. See Boon, G.C. 1972. *ISCA*. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales, 14, fig.3 and discussion, 16. See also Manning, W. H. 1981. *Report on the Excavations at Usk 1965–1976. The Fortress Excavations 1968–1971*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, Fig. 11, 56 and 41–2 and Davies, W. 1978. *An Early Welsh Microcosm. Studies in the Llandaff Charters*. London, Royal Historical Society, 30 and Map 2 which clearly shows the association of early charters and the Roman road system in south-east Wales. The Roman roads remained the major features in the early medieval landscape.

[27]   Michael, *op. cit*., 70; map of Emanuel and John Bowen, 1720; 72, map of Thomas Badeslade and William Henry Toms, 1742 and maps of John Cowley, 1744; Robert Walker, 1746; John Rocque, 1746, *etc.* . See also John Ogilby's 1675 map of '[His] Majesty's High-Ways', registered and illustrated 'in the hope of improving 'Commerce and Correspondency at Home', Plate 16: 'The Continuation of the Road from London to St Davids Commencing at Monmouth & extending to Burton Ferry' which clearly depicts the ridge way route passing 'The Ruins of Strogle Castle' giving Cats Ash suggested importance, probably as an inn, with Caer-Licken apparently noted as 'Coydleghni'.

[28]   NRPN 307891, ST37899155

Kemeys Folly Enclosure,[29] with the concentration of Roman archaeological finds here,[30] and Caer Licyn enclosure.[31] The Wentwood ridgeway is interestingly the only major highway in the south of Monmouthshire shown on Robert Morden's map of 1695.[32] The Wentwood ridgeway continued to be an important route between Newport and Monmouth throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as evidenced by its continued inclusion on maps of the county and it is worth noting that it is the only road in the south of the county described as a '*Great or Direct Road*' other than the road from New Passage (Portskewett) to Chepstow and Monmouth via St Arvans on the Kitchen and Thomas map of 1748.[33]

The ancient and medieval Welsh adherence to seasonal transhumance between the *hafod* and the *hendre* might, in itself, have led to the formalisation of coastal plain to higher ground (broadly south–north) communication routes within the landscape of Gwent below Wentwood.[34] The two major historic and ancient east–west communication routes (the modern-day A48 and the Wentwood ridgeway) formed primary communication arteries from, and to, which peripheral, broadly north–south, perpendicular routes will have communicated, especially between them, and between the A48 route and the coast. It has been pointed out to the author of this note by an experienced sailor that it is not easy to sail directly across the Severn Estuary when the tide is ebbing or flowing. Diagonal estuary crossings could be expected and numerous landing points on each side of the estuary could be expected to communicate directly via highways with the main ancient east–west road system in southern Gwent. This geographical reality is perfectly demonstrated by a memorandum contained within an Elizabethan Queen's Remembrancer's Roll which gives 'a briefe declaration of all Havens Roads Crekes and Shipyng places within the principalitie of Wales begynnyng at the water of Severne…'.[35] Beginning at Chepstow lying 'over agenst Awste…', it mentions Magor; 'Magin a pill or creke belonginge to Chepstowe where is grete ladying of small boates with butter chese and other kinds of vittells to shippes…'; then Goldcliff, 'a nother pyll for small vessels… where is also mouche ladying of thyngs to convey to the shippes of Bristoll…'; Newport; then 'Peterston' and 'Romney', both '…a pyll for small boats…'; and so on.[36]

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[29]   NRPN 307893, ST38439216.
[30]   See the online records of the Portable Antiquities Scheme Wales – PAS Cymru.
[31]   NPRN 307895, ST38989283.
[32]   Michael, 76. Also, *cf*. map of Robert Morden, 1695, 71 and map of John Cowley of 1744, 71.
[33]   Michael, 73.
[34]   *Maerdy* place names are indicative of early medieval and medieval summer pasturing and dairying close to the rising ground or margins of the low-lying wetlands on the neighbouring Wentlooge Level. See also *-morfa names*; Longley, D. 2004. Status and Lordship in the Early Middle Ages. In *The Gwent County History Volume 1. Gwent in Prehistory and Early History*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 311. The Caldicot Level equivalent appears as Summerlease and variants at Redwick (ST426850 & ST421849) near Magor Pill and numerous 'Summerway's at Caldicot (ST475873), Goldcliff, Itton, Llanvihangel Rogiet and Whitson. See Rippon, S. Gwent Levels: The Evolution of a Wetland Landscape. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 105 (CBA, 1996) 56–7 for the broad droveways which linked various resources as axial landscape elements, e.g. Summerway in Caldicot. Evidence for dairy farming in southern Gwent is also to be found in the Domesday book, taking the form of *hardwicks* (dairy farms or ranches), e.g. Llanfair Discoed, Dinham and Portskewett. See Longley, Fig. 12.6 and Moore (1982), *op. cit*.
[35]   Memoranda. 4 Eliz. Hilary, Membrane 133. *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Sixth Series, Volume XI (1911). London: Cambrian Archaeological Association, 421–32.
[36]   *Ibid*., 422–3.

Two of the most obvious Roman land routes are the route from Sudbrook and Black Rock[37] via Portskewett (Porth Is Coed – 'the port below the Wood') to Crick.[38] Another is Bowden's Lane running from the Croes-Wen,[39] through Magor, to another ancient port of Abergwaitha at Magor Pill (with its medieval and Roman occupation evidence).[40] Whilst these two parallel Roman routes are now recognised, other, similar, routes might be expected. Roman activity at Goldcliff,[41] possibly of a military nature, suggests that a reasonably direct route(s) from there towards Caerleon might be predicted, notwithstanding ease of access from the sea.[42] If not already established in or before Roman times, such a route would almost certainly have been formalised with the foundation of Goldcliff Priory by Robert de Chandos by the year 1113.[43] Recourse to the 1812 OS 2" map No.176E and the manorial and parish boundaries suggest that a route from Christchurch which incorporates Great Milton and possibly Llanwern might be one, either continuing to Monks' Ditch or (possibly) Chapel Reen[44] and possibly onwards to another port at Porton. Another might be *via* Liswerry,

[37]   Sudbrook, and perhaps the coast to Black Rock, were important sources of freestone utilised extensively at Roman Caerwent and Caerleon. See Allen, J.R.L. 'Roman and Medieval – Early Modern Building Stones in South East Wales: The Sudbrook Sandstone and Dolomitic Conglomerate (Triassic)'. *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, Vol. XXI (2005), 21–44.

[38]   RR60aa in Sherman, A. & Evans, E. *Roman Roads in Southeast Wales*. *A desk-based assessment with recommendations for fieldwork* (GGAT, 2004) 19.

[39]   Croes-wen is itself suggestive and ancient; Croes-wen – 'the crossroads in Gwent'. See Morgan, R. *Place Names of Gwent* (Llanrwst, Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2005) for parallels prefixed 'Croes'.

[40]   Rippon, S., *op. cit*., Fig. 11, 32–3. The significance of the Bowden's Lane highway is suggested by its description as 'the way leading from Aberweytha towards Wentwood' in the survey of 1271 (Bradney, Vol. 4, Part 1, 147). RRX80 in Sherman, A. & Evans, E., 50.

[41]   For the Roman Goldcliff Stone, see Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain I: Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford, 1965) no. 395. Goldcliff was a possible coastal source of lias limestone (along with the south Glamorgan coast between Penarth and Southerndown) of the type used at Roman Caerleon for lime-making (mortar), as a building stone and for architectural embellishment (including paving and inscriptions). See Zienkiewicz, J.D. *The Legionary Fortress Baths at Caerleon*. *I. The Buildings* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales and Cadw, 1986), *Cf*. footnote 37 above, where the Roman utilisation of the coastally available Sudbrook sandstone is noted.

[42]   Brewer, R.J. 'The Romans in Gwent'. In *The Gwent County History Volume 1*. *Gwent in Prehistory and Early History* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2004) 208. It has been suggested that the early medieval commote of Llebenydd might be a remnant of the legionary *prata*, grazing lands set aside for legionary use and within its *territorium*. See Longley, *op. cit*., 311 and Arnold, C.J. and Davies, J.L. *Roman and Early Medieval Wales* (Sutton Publishing, 2004) 58. However, a possible boundary stone [inscribed *termin(us)*] for the legionary *territorium* of Isca was recorded near the amphitheatre and this might suggest a very much smaller area of land (immediately surrounding the fortress, under direct legionary control. See Boon, G.C. *The Legionary Fortress of Caerleon – Isca* Roman Legionary Museum of Caerleon, 1987) 21–4. If so, the Goldcliff Stone might be interpreted as marking a localised Roman engineering work rather than as a (poorly executed) territorial boundary marker, or even, possibly, abandoned ballast (?). But see also Allen, J.R.L. 'The context and meaning of the Roman Goldcliff Stone, Caldicot Level'. *Archaeology in the Severn Estuary* 13, 147–54. Lle in Welsh means 'place' and could refer to an area of land, including land set aside or reserved. However, Morgan, *op. cit*., 143 favours 'Land of Llban (or Lliban)', consisting of a personal name and suffix –*ydd* found in the names of ancient Welsh territorial divisions, e.g. Meirionnydd and Senghennydd. However, it is worth noting that reference to Longley Fig. 12.7 suggests that the division of south-eastern Gwent between William of Eu, Thurstan and Alfred of Spain indicates a possible relationship with the boundaries of the commotes of Llebenydd and Is Coed, which may have their origins in much earlier times.

[43]   Crouch, D. 'The Transformation of Medieval Gwent'. In Griffiths, R.A., Hopkins, T. and Howell, R. (eds.) *The Gwent County History, Volume 2*. *The Age of the Marcher Lords, c.1070–1536* (Cardiff: University of Wales, Press, 2008) 23.

[44]   'Rhîn' or 'Rhine', see 1812 OS 2" sheet No. 176E. See Rippon, Figs.19–20, 40–9.

Hartridge and Chapel Reen.[45] Perhaps the most convincing, especially for subsequent medieval communication between Goldcliff Priory and its granges might be via Christchurch, Spithay and Pye Corner, over much of its length a major and reasonably direct route today.[46] It is possible that the Llanbeder to Llanmartin lane was also once an important link between the Roman and Turnpike road, that is today the A48, and the coast via Llanmartin and Bishton (and possibly Llanwern), possibly either *via* North Row (or North Street), Redwick,[47] or Porton.

If the Llanbeder to Llanmartin green lane has an early medieval or medieval origin rather than a Roman or prehistoric one, it would have been a useful communication route within the medieval parish of Llanmartin, providing direct access to the main (formerly Roman) post-Roman road, to Llanbeder and possibly to Bishton and, with time, would have allowed livestock to be driven along much of its length without escaping. In 1271, Sir Richard de la More, Lord of the Manor of Pencoed, was entitled to houseboot and heyboot from the chace of Wentwood for his house at Pencoed.[48] Pencoed, itself, means 'the top or end of the wood' and Bradney argued that this marked the farthest extremity of the chace of Wentwood. The manor of Llanmartin seems to have been separate from the manor of Pencoed by 1306, when it was held for a quarter of a Welsh Knight's fee of Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, by Walter and Maurice de Kemeys.[49] There is no mention of any rights within the chace of Wentwood for the Lord of the Manor or any other tenants of Llanmartin (the nearest to the wood being Pencoed and Hendrew hereabouts).[50] An alternative and direct route towards Wentwood and/or the main road(s) from Llanmartin, and perhaps Bishton beyond (and avoiding Pencoed), may have been preferable. If so, the Llanbeder–Llanmartin lane is likely to have been it.

SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

The Llanbeder-to-Llanmartin green lane is a well-preserved example of an ancient highway taking the form of a green lane and, for much of its length, a hollow way. It is typical of pre-turnpike and pre-macadam highways which would have been common throughout Britain from ancient times until the nineteenth-century. The route was a recognised and recorded highway by 1812 and it had a separate, parallel, adjacent footpath, to the east, by 1882–1883. A medieval or early-medieval origin is very likely. Roman or prehistoric origins are possible.

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[45]   NPRN 00171g, ST34068762, Thompson's Farm, Liswerry, was site of a Roman cremation cemetery discovered in a quarry in 1910. A fen-edge settlement on the lias limestone has been excavated near Pwll Pan ('Head of the Pool') at Hartridge Farm Lane, Newport, and evidence for occupation from the late Iron Age through to the fourth century was recovered along with evidence of bronze casting in the form of a clay mould by Archaeology Wales Ltd. Nearby quarrying is undated but drip gullies of round structures, a straight Roman wall and a ditched field system have been excavated, Rowena Hart and Sian Thomas (pers. comm.), Archaeology Wales Ltd.

[46]   Possibly originally avoiding a 'Pwll' beneath Pwll Pan. Benchmarks below the fen edge here are lower than other parts of the Level. Field systems and the nature of Broadstreet Common suggest a possible lake or marsh bounded by the Fen edge to the north and Broadstreet Common to the south? See Rippon, *op. cit*., Figs. 14–20, 40–9.

[47]   NPRN 00445g, ST4384, Coldharbour Pill, Redwick.

[48]   Bradney, Vol. 4, Part 1, 146. Also, 'Knaytho ap Adam and Blethin Seyes ought to have houseboot and heyboot at Henrew by conquest according to the quantity of their tenements there. And others at Henrew ought to have houseboot and heyboot' (*ibid*., 147).

[49]   Bradney (*ibid*.) 212.

[50]   Bradney (*ibid*.) 146–8.

MORE WATERCOLOURS BY JOSHUA GOSSELIN

By Julian Mitchell

In the *Monmouthshire Antiquary*, Vol XIX (2003) 87–112, I drew attention to the water-colours of Monmouthshire by Joshua Gosselin (1739–1813), the Guernsey lawyer and militia colonel whose daughter Amelia Smythies lived at Rhydymaen, three miles along the old turnpike road from Usk to Monmouth.[1] A large collection of Gosselin's watercolours had appeared for sale at Philips, Bond Street, London, in November 1999, and the Monmouthshire ones were acquired by the museums of Monmouth and Chepstow and by private collectors. On 22 March 2016 more of Gosselin's work appeared at Bonhams, Knightsbridge. Lots 71–3 contained scenes of Guernsey and Kent, lot 74 had six views of Monmouthshire, and lot 75 was a mixed bag of views and copies of prints of various dates, among which was a view of Raglan Church. The Monmouthshire views are all now in a private collection.

Six of these are dated 1805 and 1808, when Gosselin visited Rhydymaen. The exception is an idealised view of Chepstow Castle dated 1785 (Fig. 1), on which his less imaginative 1805 version seems to be based (*op. cit*., 111, plate 30). Gwernesney Church (July 1805) (Fig. 2) adds to the other local churches he painted that summer (*op. cit*., 108–10, plates 25–9). (The church has recently been closed.) An August 1805 view of Merdybach Farm (Fig. 3) is very similar to the one he made in July (*op. cit*., 108, plate 24) but with a signature pig and other animals instead of a cart. Raglan Church (1808, Fig. 4) is larger than the 1805 version (*op. cit*., 101, plate 9) and taken from the south instead of the north, with the Beaufort Arms in the background and churchgoers climbing over a stile rather than a man with a pig on a lead.

Figures 5 and 6 are an unusual pair of views taken from the front door of the farmhouse at Rhydymaen, looking across the Usk valley. The first is inscribed below the image 'View from Readymain towards Usk, 3 miles off, with a distant view of Mynydd-maen mountain near Pontypool, 10 miles off. J.G. del. June 1805.' The second, slightly larger, is based on the first and clearly meant to show improvements made in the last three years. It is inscribed on the back 'view from Readymain near & towards Usk Monmouthshire Ja Gosselin del: 1808'. As well as a few changes in staffage, it shows a new and flourishing stand of young fruit trees by the barn. Gareth Beech, of the History and Archaeology Department of the St Fagan's Natural History Museum, suggests that the changes are designed to make Rhydymaen seem less of an obviously working farm, with the new orchard hiding the farm workers visible in the earlier version.[2] This seems plausible, as the Smythies would have considered themselves gentry. Among Amelia's brothers were an admiral and a general, and her husband, an army officer himself before his marriage, had had another admiral as a step-father.[3] The orchard has long since disappeared, but the two views may be unique as a record of 'improvements', social and/or agricultural, in our county in the early nineteenth century.

In both versions there is a tall building a mile or so away on the left, which can be identified from the last of the new Monmouthshire pictures (Fig. 7). This is inscribed 'Bridge over the Pelth brook, with a distant view of Readymain. J.G. 1805'. It shows a man and a woman riding over the bridge and passing beside the building which stands on a small patch of hedged land on the north

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[1]   A milestone of uncertain date, marked 'Monmouth 9 miles Usk 3 miles' still stands on the corner where a lane leads to Llansoy from the north side of the bridge across the Pill.

[2]   Private communication.

[3]   *Op. cit*., 92–3.

side of the brook. With the front door open and figures just hinted at inside, it seems old, inhabited, but not in the best condition. Though the roof seems sound, the ground and first floor windows are part-blocked, no doubt to avoid the window tax, and the attic opening, in a gable with no hoist, though it might once have had one, is made of wood. In front of the building, where the lane to Llansoy ran (and runs), a pig is grazing, a woman is approaching with a basket on her head, and steps lead down to the Pill brook.

There were many corn mills in the area at one time or another; an old one up the Pill at Llangunnog, two along the road at Llanerthil, and one at Llangwm, which, though remodelled into a house, has some similarities to the building at Pont Pill. But Gosselin does not call it a mill, there is no record of one ever at the site, there are drip-stones on the windows, unlikely on a mill, and there is nothing on the ground today to suggest a vanished leat. (A little way up the Pill, field 22 on the Tithe Map of 1843 is called 'the Mill meadow', so if there ever was a mill in the immediate area it was probably there.)

So what was this building? Rodger Burchell, from whose MA thesis on 'Preindustrial Mills of Upper Gwent' (University of Wales, 2005) I have taken much of the above, has pointed out that 'the corner of the building up to the first floor level has been carefully constructed to allow carts easier access across the front of the building and along the road to Llansoy.' He suggests it may have been, at some time, owned by a miller, but was not a mill itself. This seems very likely: farm buildings are always being adapted to new purposes, and this one seems to have been adapted a good deal. But it was now near the end of its life.

In 1821 there was a plan for a new turnpike road (never constructed) from Piercefield to Usk, with a branch to join the existing Chepstow–Raglan road at Treworgan, and on the attached map the building at Pont Pill (spelt Pont Pyll) and its small enclosure are clearly marked.[4] It is there again as a dot on the OS map of 1830. But by the time of the Tithe map and apportionment (where Pill is spelt 'Peelth'[5]), the building has disappeared, along with its enclosure of one rod and two perches (tithe one shilling). The hedge too has gone, and the whole patch has been taken into the neighbouring field belonging to Cwrt-y-Gollen farm, and ploughed. Presumably the stone had first been taken to be used elsewhere.

Recently the field has become part of Rhydymaen farm. Mr Rhydwen Evans, the farmer, says there is no trace of the building's foundations, but crocuses used to grow in what was the roadside corner of the garden. He believes there to have been a stopgate or tollgate at the bridge, and perhaps, whatever the building had been in the past, that is how it survived into the nineteenth century. Today the Pill still runs, and the bridge, though reconstructed, still stands, but the building exists only in Gosselin's watercolour.

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[4]   Gwent Archives, Q/PANDBR/35.
[5]   These variant spellings show that Welsh pronunciation survived into the 1840s in the area, even if the incoming Smythies called Rhydymaen Readymain.

Fig. 1: An idealised view of Chepstow Castle dated 1785 upon which Gosselin's less imaginative 1805 version seems to have been based.

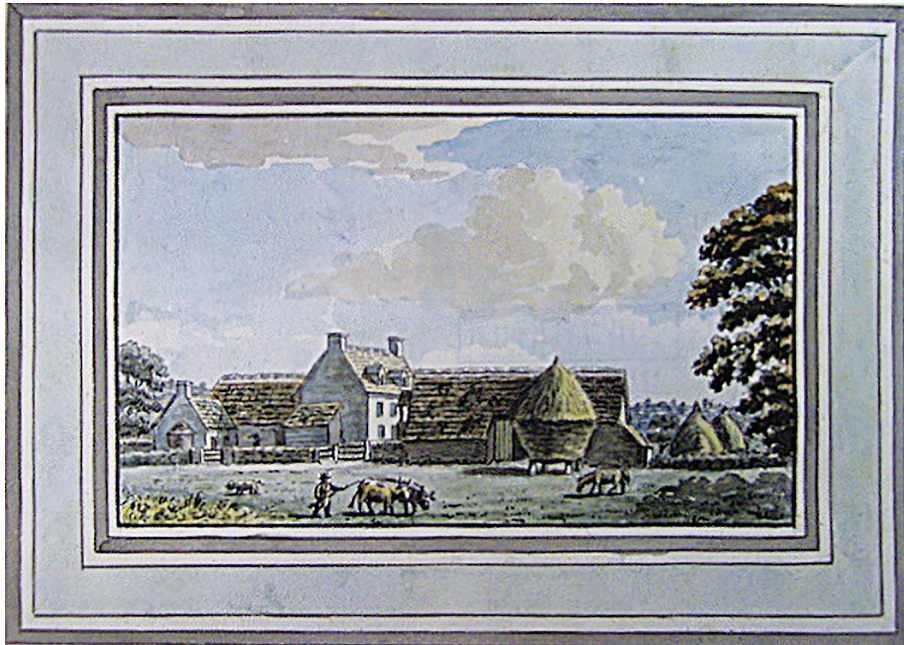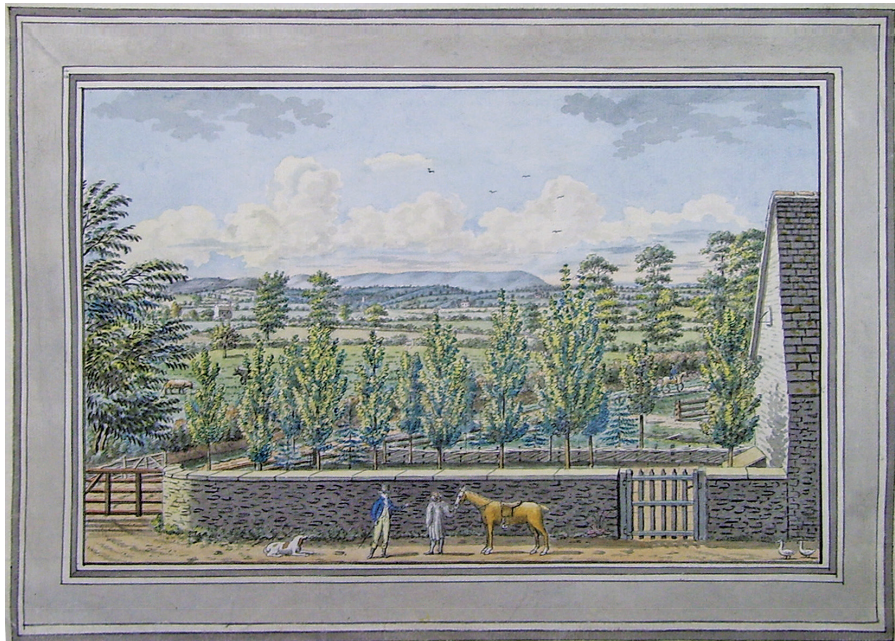Fig. 2: Gwernesney Church (July 1805).

Fig. 3: An August 1805 view of Merdybach Farm with a signature pig and other animals.

Fig. 4: Raglan Church (1808) looking northwards with the Beaufort Arms in the background and churchgoers climbing over a stile.

Figs. 5 & 6: An unusual pair of views taken from the front door of the farmhouse at Rhydymaen, looking across the Usk valley. The first is inscribed below the image 'View from Readymain towards Usk, 3 miles off, with a distant view of Mynydd-maen mountain near Pontypool, 10 miles off. J.G. del. June 1805.' The second, slightly larger, is inscribed on the back 'view from Readymain near & towards Usk Monmouthshire Ja Gosselin del: 1808'.

Fig. 7: 'Bridge over the Pelth brook, with a distant view of Readymain. J.G. 1805'.

CONSTRUCTING THE PAST: LLANOVER, 'ST GOFOR', AND THE NINE WELLS[1]

By Graham Jones

Augusta, first Lady Llanover, 1802–1896, remains one of Wales' larger-than-life characters. Proud of her Bardic name Gwenynen Gwent, 'the Bee of Gwent', both busy worker and queen, her considerable energies were directed to championing all things Welsh, made and unmade. The language, eisteddfodau, the harp, Welsh costume – these and more won her enthusiasm, patronage, and, crucially for this article, scope for imagination. Part One of the article explores her likely influence on a key element of her childhood and adult landscape, the Nine Wells at Llanover, and its association with a St Govor. Part Two seeks to place it in its wider historical, cultural, and topographical contexts and to pose some questions about the reception of religious dedications and the socio-economic organisation of this part of Wales in the period of their formation.

Any ecclesiastical parish, over time, is likely to have had a multiplicity of religious dedications, not only in honour of the patron of the parish church, but also the patrons of altars, images, and gilds, of chapelries and religious houses, of fairs and landmarks, of hermitages and, in the present case, wells and springs. Dedications studied systematically, comprehensively, and scientifically can throw light on communal concerns and understandings, about the world, ourselves, and our relationship with the cosmos, nature, and the seasons, and with others. However, while the overall mapping of dedications reveals distributions which show that dedication choices are overwhelmingly non-random, individual cases must be treated on their merits – with results which can remind us that things are not always what they seem.[2]

Augusta grew up on an estate at Llanover, five miles south of Abergavenny, which had been bought by her father. The great house her husband built for her there is in ruins, but much of its landscaped parkland survives, including the Nine Wells, also known as St Govor's Well or Ffynnon Gofor.[3] Access is now denied on the grounds of 'unsafe trees', 'an unguarded pool', and 'family privacy',[4] but it seems that it is much as described in 1871, a spring with eight others close by, their waters 'all flowing different ways but uniting in a bath'[5] – a plunge pool as it was recently described to the writer.[6] The Gwent–Glamorgan Archaeological Trust listing provides more detail: 'A group of nine small springs in a circle, at the foot of a short steep natural scarp [with] masonry surrounds incorporating small niches for two of the wells.'[7] A description from 1862 includes an important observation. That year the French traveller Alfred Erny paid a visit to Llanover during his *Voyage dans le Pays de Galles*, the report of which was published in the review *Le Tour du Monde* five

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[1]   This article is based on a paper given to the 2015 meeting of the Welsh Holy Wells Group and came out of wider work on religious dedications and parochial organisation in Gwent Uwch Coed.

[2]   These arguments are developed in the first comprehensive review of dedications in Britain, Graham Jones, *Saints in the Landscape* (Stroud, Tempus, 2007), hereafter Jones, 'Saints'.

[3]   Ordnance Survey grid reference SO313087, 51.772738N, 2.997071W. Spellings vary.

[4]   Correspondence with the Llanover estate.

[5]   Nicholas, *Annals and Antiquities of the Counties and County Families of Wales* (London, 1875), hereafter Nicholas, 'Annals', 2, 782. The text is said there to have been written in 1871.

[6]   My thanks to the volunteer at Llanover parish church who shared their local knowledge.

[7]   GGAT primary record number 01907g, SO31360862, citing Francis Jones, *The Holy Wells of Wales* (1954), and Edith M. Evans, GGAT 73, Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Sites Project (2003–2004).

years later.[8] He was swept off by the energetic and enthusiastic Augusta on a walk through grounds and village. 'In the middle of a small wood, I beheld nine fountains from nine springs, which ran as abundantly in summer as in winter, and which never dried up even in the driest of seasons.'[9]

Augusta's home lay in Lower Llanover towards the Usk, which these waters join near Llanover church. The division into Upper and Lower Llanover, which persisted into the nineteenth century, reflected the dominance of two manors in the later Middle Ages, both subsidiary to the overlordship of Abergavenny. One was Parc Llettis, including much of Upper Llanover, and the other Dyfnwal (anglicised as 'Downwall' or 'Donewall'), which seems to have included Llanover Court, otherwise known as Cwrt-y-porth-hir ('Court of the Long Entrance'), under which name it survives as a farmhouse just inside the northern boundary of Llanover Park in Lower Llanover. After the manorial lord of Llanover Court, William Prichard, ruined himself – rumour said by paying the fines of Royalist prisoners but the date suggests ruination began earlier – the two manors were nominally united through its purchase by Rhys Williams, lord of Parc Llettis. This had happened by 1615.[10] However, part of the Prichard property stayed with William's sister Barbara. This included Llanover House, alias Ty Uchaf, 'Upper House', at Rhyd y Meirch, Augusta's birthplace. Barbara's portion passed into the hands of her husband Walter Rumsey and then to the Cecils of The Dyffryn in Grosmont, who were in possession of Llanover House in 1692[11] and a century later, in or about 1792, sold it to Augusta's father Benjamin Waddington.

Llanover Court, meanwhile, was sold by Rhys Williams' descendant Herbert Williams in 1672 to Dame Anne Morgan. On her death in 1688 she left Parc Llettis, now anglicised as 'Parc Lettice' and including what would soon be the industrial area of Blaenavon, to her grandniece Mary, wife of the Dutch Baron Otto Schwerin. He being a foreigner, the manor escheated to the Crown, and by 1740 Park Lettice was purchased by John Burgh of Troy, steward to the Duke of Beaufort. Burgh also purchased Llanover Court and its demesne land. Division happened again when Burgh's childless granddaughter Maria left Parc Lettice to her mother while other lands, including Llanover Court, were left to her married sisters Amy and Anne. Their successors – Amy's son Thomas Powell, and Anne's grandson-in-law Osborne Yeates – were joint lords of the manor in 1816. Powell sold his portion at Llanover Court and the manor of Parc Lettice to Augusta Waddington's husband Benjamin Hall in 1826.[12]

Benjamin Waddington was the 43-year-old third son of a Nottinghamshire vicar and recently married after spending time across the Atlantic – he thought the countryside around

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[8]   Alfred Erny, '*Voyage dans le Pays de Galles*', in *La Tour du Monde, Nouveau Journal des Voyages* 8 (Paris, Librairie Hachette & Cie, 1867), 32pp.

[9]   Translation by Lucy Kempton, published in the online blog of Clive Hicks-Jenkins at <https://clivehicksjenkins.wordpress.com/2013/02/23/damian-lays-down-a-challenge-part-2/>, accessed September 1, 2015.

[10]   Thomas Gregory Smart, *Geneaology of the Descendants of the Prichards, Formerly Lords of Llanover, Monmouthshire* (Enfield, J. H. Meyers, 1868), hereafter Smart, 'Prichards', 50–5, citing MSS. of Hugh Thomas, British Library 6831, folio 60.

[11]   Smart, 'Prichards', 57.

[12]   Joseph Alfred Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire from the Coming of the Normans into Wales Down to the Present Time* (4 vols in 12 parts, London, Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1904–1933; repr. London, Academy Books, 1992), hereafter Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 381. Other details from Smart, 'Prichards', and the Gwent Archives introduction to the Llanover estate records, Gwent Records Office GB0218.D1210, <http://www.archiveswales.org.uk/anw/get_collection.php?coll_id=1535&inst_id=36&term=Parc%20Llettis>.   The farmhouse Parc Llettis lies about 1km north of Penpergwm, approached by a track from the north side of the B4598. On the overlordship of Abergavenny see below.

Goetre, south-east of Llanover 'continually reminded him of the wilds of America'.[13] He set about remodelling the house he had bought, Ty Uchaf, parts of which date from the fifteenth century,[14] and beautifying his new property alongside the road linking Rhyd-y-Meirch and the farms along the Usk. He used the Rhyd-y-Meirch stream which flows into the top of the property to create lakes, cascades, weirs and linking channels in a 15-acre water garden, including another stream to run through a walled Round Garden.[15] This was laid out with a dovecote, terrace, and ha-ha, all of which survive.[16] Here Augusta was born in 1802, the youngest of six sisters.[17] Today Ty Uchaf is lived in by Augusta's great-great-grand-daughter and family and its outbuildings constitute the Llanover Garden School.

In 1823 Augusta married Benjamin Hall (1802–1867), an industrialist's son and heir who owned the neighbouring estate of Abercarn. This had been presented to his father, also Benjamin (1778–1817), in 1808 by *his* father-in-law Richard Crawshay the ironmaster of Cyfarthfa.[18] Augusta's father-in-law, the eldest son of Dr Benjamin Hall, chancellor of Llandaff cathedral and originally from West Wales, had married Crawshay's younger daughter Charlotte in 1801, and in 1803 Crawshay made him a partner when he bought the Rhymney ironworks.[19]

Waddington's other daughters having either died or been provided for, he settled Ty Uchaf on Augusta at the time of her marriage. Three years later, in 1826, Augusta's husband bought the Parc Lettice estate from the then successor of John Burgh, Thomas Harcourt Powell, including Llanover Court, then a farmhouse. This he replaced in 1828 with a grander house to a design by Thomas Hopper (1776–1856), though the new building was partly demolished after only seven years. The previously 'much intersected' properties now amalgamated,[20] Hall in the 1830s built the existing stone wall to enclose the two houses and the immediate fields, converted to parkland. He also had three lodges built at the park's gated entrances.[21] Most of the planting is said to be from the 1830s,

[13]   William Coxe, *A Historical Tour Through Monmouthshire* (Hereford, Davies & Co., 1801), hereafter Coxe, 'Monmouthshire', 2, 265.

[14]   John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales, Gwent/Monmouthshire* (London, Penguin Books, 2000), 330. CADW Register of Listed Buildings, Grade II*, 'Ty Uchaf'.

[15]   'Llanover Park', Parks and Gardens UK, Site 2122, <http://www.parksandgardens.org/places-and-people/site/2122>. CADW Register of Landscapes, Parks and Gardens of Special Historic Interest, Grade II*, Ref. PGW (Gt) 41.

[16]   The identity of Waddington's landscape architect is not known. 'History of Llanover Garden', <http://www.llanovergarden.co.uk/history.htm>, accessed August 23, 2012. The Round Garden is shown on a 'Map of the Llanover Estate situate in the several parishes of Llanover (Upper and Lower), Llanvair (Kilgeddin) and Goytre in the County of Monwmouth', Ebbw Vale, Gwent Archives, D. 1210. 1511. Estate map, Llanover Estate (3 chains = 1 inch), 1837x1896. This is perhaps so dated because it names 'the Lady Llanover' as proprietor of the estate – Augusta became 'Lady Llanover' when her husband Benjamin Hall was made a baronet in 1838.

[17]   Augusta's sister Frances left descriptions of their home, published in Augustus J. C. Hare, The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen (2 vols, London, George Allen, 1879), hereafter Hare, 'Frances'.

[18]   1739–1810.

[19]   Richard Crawshay had purchased Abercarn from Samuel Glover for £3,500 in 1807. Crawshay also bequeathed him a three-eighths share in his estate in his will, which Hall eventually sold to Crawshay's son William (1764–1834).

[20]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 385.

[21]   'Llanover Garden School: History of Llanover Garden', <http://www.llanovergarden.co.uk/about/history.php>, accessed September 1, 2015.

too.[22] Joseph Bradney's *History of Monmouthshire* (1907) notes 'the gardens [of Llanover Court] are much to be admired, having long broad paths bordered with herbaceous plants with a background of tall trees, among which is a profusion of laurels and rhododendrons.'[23]

Just inside the western edge of these gardens is the Nine Wells. That a locally noted spring predated Hall's purchase seems likely, and not only from its constant flow as Augusta's French visitor reported. Bradney wrote that the group of springs was 'considered efficacious for various ailments' and that 'when Mr Waddington first came to Llanover crutches were found hanging on the trees as emblems of cures wrought.'[24] Bradney's informant may have been Augusta in old age, recalling a childhood memory, perhaps of a remark by her father who died in 1828, or her mother, who was twenty-two years younger and lived on until 1850, or it may have been some independent source reporting a local tradition. Mrs Waddington's own attachment to cultural tradition reveals a sensitivity to lore and custom – learning Welsh because of her daughter Augusta's interest in it, and sending a grand-daughter a sprig of dwarf furze and quoting a Welsh saying that 'love did not revive after that plant had ceased to bloom'.[25] Another possible source was Elizabeth, Lady Greenly, a frequent visitor and close friend of the Waddingtons. It is she who 'it is almost certain... first aroused [Augusta's] interest in Welsh'. Lady Greenly was 'an ardent *eisteddfodwr*', both competitor and benefactor, whose 'second tongue' was Welsh. She met Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg (1747–1826) the poet, antiquarian, and (as later revealed) literary and hagiographic fantasist, in 1803 and made annual subventions to him from 1806 until his death.[26] Augusta herself wrote in 1841 when she was 39 of 'two ancient wells' 'to this day in repute', 'Ffynnon Ofor' and 'Ffynnon Ofor Llygâd', the latter evidently good for eyes. A bath 'between or below', 'believed to be of marvellous efficacy', was 'existing in the memory of an old man who told me of it when a child.'[27]

If the springs were locally significant, it is worrying that no mention of them appears in Archdeacon William Coxe's remarks about Llanover in his description of Monmouthshire, published in 1800. He writes warmly about the 'continual hospitality' he received from the Waddingtons during a longish stay while undertaking much of his research.[28] Waddington *pere* took him on long hikes, including a climb to the top of the Blorenge. He notes the Nant Organ, half-a-mile from Ty Uchaf, the stream by whose defile they climbed the mountain, the Rhyd y Meirch 'torrent' as it entered the garden, but not a word about the spring and its crutches. Perhaps the archdeacon was not a man for 'superstition', and why should Augusta's father have made it up – her sister Frances described a man 'without the slightest particle of imagination'.[29] It is worth recalling that the springs were not on Waddington's land, though not necessarily out of sight, judging by the sweep of viewscape 'from Mr Waddington's land' in a drawing by Edith Palmer included in Coxe's book. She appears to

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[22]   C. S. Briggs, 'Llanover Park, Garden, Llanover', Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales gazetteer online, site 265942, <http://map.coflein.gov.uk/index.php?action=do_details&numlink=265942&cache_name= >, accessed September 1, 2015.

[23]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 1, pt. 2b, 385.

[24]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 1, pt. 2b, 385; followed by Francis Jones, *Holy Wells of Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales, 1954), 194.

[25]   Hare, 'Frances', 1, 68; and 2, 131–2.

[26]   Maxwell Fraser, 'The Waddingtons of Llanover 1791–1805. Reminiscences of Baroness Bunsen, née Frances Waddington', *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales Journal* 12, No.4 (Winter, 1960), 285–9, 287, 289.

[27]   NLW, MS. 21272E, Letters to Taliesin ab Iolo (Taliesin Williams), no. 247.

[28]   Coxe, 'Monmouthshire', 2, 265.

[29]   As interpreted by the editor of her letters: Hare, 'Frances', 1, 24–5.

have made the drawing from a rise in the ground and one can see what is probably Llanover Court farmhouse in the middle distance. No public footpath to Nine Wells survives; existing paths would have been snuffed out with the building of the wall and gates.[30]

How much of the springs' existing state predates Hall's laying-out of formal gardens around his new house of 1828 is unclear. An estate map of no earlier than 1837 does not show the Nine Wells,[31] and field boundaries in the immediate vicinity are at variance with those shown on the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 mappings of 1882 onwards, which do.[32] The same is true of an undated map catalogued as a 'Plan of Llanover Mansion and Park'.[33] It could be that detailing of the springs was not required on either. Against that is the attention to detail in the mapping of the Round Garden at Ty Uchaf and the walks in the formal garden adjoining Llanover Court. What there is on the first map is hatching denoting a bank along the western boundary of the formal gardens and for a short distance northwards from where the boundary carries on as that enclosing the house grounds.

The significance of this is that the Nine Wells indeed sits against a bank, from which the waters fall into the plunge pool. The bank coincides with the downhill edge of a thin lens of sand and gravel[34] which here meets the so-called 'glacial till'[35] on which the house and gardens sit.[36] There is another spring within 50 yards on the same line. The bedrock, which seems to be exposed here, is interbedded argillaceous rocks and sandstone.[37] The bank may once have been more prominent, for in her *First Principles of Good Cookery*, published in 1867, Augusta wrote of 'the Hermit of St Gover's Cell', who supposedly lived in the eighteenth century 'in a house cut out of a rock adjoining the cell and opposite the well of S. Gover'.[38] Augusta attributed to him her recipes and knowledge of Welsh cooking. In fact the recipes seem to have been handed down in her family. A recent food writer has described her 'first principles' as 'expounded through the complication of a tale of a Traveller who encounters a Hermit sitting by the Well of Gover on the Llanover estate. [The Traveller] having failed to obtain a decent meal anywhere on his travels, the Hermit condescends to explain the way to culinary success.'[39] A contemporary reviewer found this 'amusing' but unconvincing. It was in line with the author's general nostalgia for a lost past: 'Lady Llanover does not like the Poor Law, or the

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[30]   No mention of the spring appears in the account of Augusta's early years by Maxwell Fraser, 'The girlhood of Augusta Waddington (afterwards Lady Llanover) – 1802–23)', *Cylchgrawn Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales Journal* 12, No.4 (Winter, 1962), 305–22, hereafter Fraser, 'Girlhood', p. 306.

[31]   See earlier footnote. The archivist's catalogue dates the map to '1837x1896', perhaps because some of the land shown names 'Lady Llanover', a title Augusta did not have until her husband was made a baronet in 1838.

[32]   Ordnance Survey, 1:2500, 1882.

[33]   Ebbw Vale, Gwent Archives, D. 1210. 1524, 3 chains to the inch, showing also field acreages and with marginal notes of values.

[34]   Ordnance Survey geological map, 'glaciofluvial deposits, Devensian – sand and gravel' (Rock Unit) and Rock Type 'Sand and gravel [unlithified desposit coding scheme]' shown as the superficial deposit.

[35]   Ordnance Survey geological map, 'Till, Devensian – Diamicton [described in Wikipedia as 'glacial till'], Devensian Age', also shown as the superficial deposit.

[36]   On the uphill side of the lens is a small area of 'Head – clay, silt, sand and gravel (HEAD-XCZSV), Quarternary period', as a superficial deposit.

[37]   Ordnance Survey, 'Rock type'; 'Rock unit' is 'St Maughans Formation – interbedded argillaceous rocks and [subequal/subordinate] sandstone (SMG-ARSD)'. 'Age' is 'Early Devonian epoch'.

[38]   [Augusta Waddington Hall] Lady Llanover, *The First Principles of Good Cookery illustrated. And recipes communicated by the Welsh hermit of the cell of St. Gover, with various remarks on many things past and present* (London, Richard Bentley, 1867, repub. facsimile, Tregaron, Brefi Press, 1991).

[39]   Bobby Freeman, *First Catch Your Peacock: The Classic Guide to Welsh Food* (Talybont, Ceredigion, Y Lolfa Cyf., 1980), 306–8.

clipping of hollies, or the habit of eating often, or the extinction of the Welsh language, or schools of cookery, or the destruction of timber, or indeed any modern innovations whatsoever. The book almost begins with a formal complaint that no lady can now make a shirt...'[40]

The Welsh name Ffynnon Ofor occurs in 1837 as the incidental title of one of the vernacular melodies collected by Augusta's friend Jane Williams (*circa* 1795–1873), of Aberpergwm in the Neath Valley, which won Lady Greenly's prize at that year's Abergavenny Eisteddfod for the 'best collection of unpublished Welsh music, with the words, as sung by the peasantry of Wales'.[41] The words in the published version of 1844, twelve lines in praise of bird-song,[42] say nothing about the saint or springs and were adapted, perhaps by Iolo Morganwg, from a love song composed by the Williams' domestic bard Dafydd Nicolas (died 1774).[43] Williams wrote, 'This air was acquired from an old man near Llanover' (probably the singer known as 'Cobbler'[44]) and admitted 'He did not give any name to the air, which is here called the Well of Govor, from the persons who sung it having resided in the vicinity of the Nine Springs, known by the name of that saint; which are still objects of veneration, and have been recently restored by Sir Benjamin Hall, in whose grounds they are.'[45]

Clearly this name for the spring was current among members of Augusta's circle at least, since in 1845 'Ffynnon Gofor' appeared again at the Abergavenny Eisteddfod, as the title, largely incidental, for a set of romantic verses by another friend of Augusta, John Jones (1792–1852), formerly chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford.[46] Written under his bardic name Ioan Tegid, they won the prize for *englynnion* at the Abergavenny eisteddfod.[47] In a letter to Taliesin Williams, Iolo Morganwg's son and copyist, dated April 22, 1841, Augusta wrote that she had restored the Ffynonau and accompanying bath 'as far as possible to their original state'. In doing so were found 'nine springs including the old ones [see above] – I therefore whave formed a minor well over each spring – and the bath will be filled by all the contributing waters. I shall be very glad to show it you – as also the Cîl Govor ['Govor's Cell'] between the ancient wells. We have had also the satisfaction of finding a few foundation stones which we may reasonably believe supported the Holy Man's dwelling as no other is ever remembered in that spot.'[48] This puts a different gloss on Jane Williams' attribution of that work to Augusta's husband. However, in 1848 this was repeated by the editors of the Iolo MSS. (Taliesin having died the previous year.) They remarked on the nine springs close

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[40]   'Lady Llanover's Cookery Book', *The Spectator*, February 9, 1867, 19.

[41]   Daniel Huws, 'Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg', *National Library of Wales Journal*, 15.1 (Summer 1967), 30–55.

[42]   'Ffynon Ofor, Gover's Well', in M[aria] Jane Williams, *Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg* (Llandovery, William Rees, 1844), hereafter Williams, 'Airs', 70–1.

[43]   Daniel Huws (ed. and notes), in facsimile edition of Williams, 'Airs', Cymdeithas Alawon Gwerin Cymru, The Welsh Folk-Song Society (1988, repr. 2015), xxix, xxxviii, 47–9.

[44]   Williams, 'Airs', xxix.w

[45]   Williams, 'Airs', 84.

[46]   Under Lady Llanover's influence, Jones (1792–1852), 'a kindly and likeable man', was given the Lord Chancellor's living of Nevern, Pembrokeshire, in 1842, and in 1848 became a canon of St David's: Welsh Biography Online, <http://wbo.llgc.org.uk/en/s-JONE-JOH-1792.html>, accessed August 15, 2015.

[47]   John Jones, *Gwaith Barddonawl y Diweddar Barch* (Llandovery, W. Rees, 1859), 89–90: 'Englynion Buddugoliaethawl y Cadeiriau ssmwyth, Yn Eisteddfod y Fenni, Hydref 15, 1845; sef y Pedwar Englyn ar Bedair Cadair Eamwyth yn Llys Llanofor.'

[48]   NLW, MS. 21272E, Letters to Taliesin ab Iolo (Taliesin Williams), no. 247. My thanks to Lindsay Prosser for alerting me to this correspondence.

to each other, 'called Fynnon Ovor',[49] and they added that the springs had been 'recently cleared and restored by Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart., M.P., on whose ground they are situated'.[50] This is critical information, for Hall himself, it seems, had fallen under the charm of holy wells. Elected MP for Monmouth, Usk, and Newport, and later Marylebone, he is best remembered as Palmerston's First Commissioner for Works when in 1855 the clock on the Houses of Parliament was installed and its bell, Big Ben, named after him. The following year saw Hall's completion of modernisations to Kensington Gardens in Hyde Park. Part of this involved providing steps and railings to an ancient spring[51] which had been converted into a well earlier in the century, possibly in 1836.[52] Hall had it named St Govor's Well.[53]

This 'St Govor's Well' became so popular a landmark that J. M. Barrie included it, with, for the purposes of this inquiry, a useful illustration, in his children's story *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*.[54] It appears to have had an open basin, for Barrie tells of a boy who falls in and has to be saved from drowning. The 'ancient spring' was perhaps a result of Queen Mary II's remodelling of her Kensington House grounds including 'wilderness gardens'; that of Queen Anne, creating a new wilderness; or the extensive remodelling of Charles Bridgeman for Queen Caroline in the 1730s, with 'serpentine walks snaking through the trees'. Ancient or not, the spring shortly before or after Hall's changes was said to have been 'in charge of an old woman who, for a trifling sum, supplied glassfuls of the water to wayfarers'.[55] Its modern replacement of 1976, a drinking fountain at ground level, whose inscription pays tribute to him,[56] is tellingly described on the Megalithic Portal website as a 'Holy Well or Sacred Spring... A fountain on the site of Saint Govor's Well, an ancient spring in Hyde Park.'

So Augusta's husband is revealed responsible for remodelling, indeed re-engineering a spring on the edge of 'serpentine paths', and naming it after a spring in his own park with similarly landscaped gardens and walks and which he had 'recently cleared and restored'. Study of the nineteenth-century estate maps suggests this 'restoration' may have been substantial. Indeed it appears that the garden boundary was extended outwards to enclose the embayed spring in an ovoid alcove, a sort of picturesque dingle. The Ordnance Survey six-inch maps of 1886 onwards show a large 'Fish Pond' with boat house to the north of Nine Wells, and a complex of streams and water

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[49]   Taliesin Williams (trans. and ed.), *Iolo Manuscripts. A Selection of Ancient Welsh Manuscripts… from the collection made by the late Edward Williams, Iolo Morganwg, for the Purpose of Forming a Continuation of the Myfyrian Archaiology; and Subsequently Proposed as Naterials for a New History of Wales: with English Translation and Notes by his son, the late Taliesin Williams* (Llandovery, William Rees, for the Welsh MSS. Society, 1848), hereafter 'Iolo MSS.', 549.

[50]   Iolo MSS., 549.

[51]   Located 170m into the park from Palace Gate on Kensington Road.

[52]   Historic England, National Record of the Historic Environment, 'PastScape', Sites and Monuments Record 20510330 (Ordnance Survey grid reference TQ 2610 7894).

[53]   Hall's construction is shown on the 1869 OS County Series mapping and the 1872 London Town Plan, mapped at 1:2500 and 1:1056 respectively. David Furlong, 'London's Holy Wells', <www.davidfurlong.co.uk/holywellslond.htm>, accessed August 15, 2015.

[54]   James Matthew Barrie, *Peter Pan in Kensington Gardens*, with illustrations by Arthur Rackham (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1906), material extracted from *The Little White Bird* (London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1902).

[55]   Alfred Stanley Foord, *Springs, Streams, and Spas of London: History and Associations* (London, 1910), 171.

[56]   The inscription written around the well-head states: 'This drinking fountain marks the site of an ancient spring, which in 1856 was named St Govor's Well by the First Commissioner of Works later to become Lord Llandover [*sic*].' On the quality of the water – undeserving of its reputation for purity, being 'loaded with organic matter', see W. J. Loftie, *Kensington, Picturesque and Historical* (London, Field & Tuer, The Leadenhall Press, 1888), 24.

features in an area which on OS maps since 1930 is labelled 'Y Tytwyth Teg', possibly a misprint for 'Y Tylwyth Teg', 'The Fairy Folk', perhaps a children's play area.[57] How far Augusta's restoration 'as far as possible to their original state' actually achieved that goal, or indeed what she imagined that state to be, remains an enigma.

Hall was clearly open to the Romantics' passion for wells. It may be no coincidence, as Madeleine Gray has pointed out, that his family lived near Tenby at Daisyback Farm in Gumfreston, whose churchyard contains no fewer than three wells.[58] His enthusiasm had limits, however, for he resisted his wife's repeated desire to have the village renamed Llangovor, to reflect research into Welsh placenames which she had been conducting with Iolo Morganwg's son Taliesin, and the bard Carnhuanawc (Thomas Price). She told Taliesin that she became 'so annoyed as to strike Sir Benj sufficiently to induce him to alter the spelling'. 'Sir Benj' was 'bent against it'[59] – which now appears to have been good sense.[60]

St Gofor: Who – or What?

Despite Bradney's report in 1907 that the largest of the nine wells was called 'Ffynnon Gofor (Well of St Gover)' after the patron saint of the church',[61] and the mangled statement to be found on several web sites, that 'Saint Govor, a sixth century hermit, was the patron saint of a church in Llandover (*sic*) which had eight wells in its churchyard', Llanover's parish church has been dedicated in honour of the apostle Bartholomew since at least 1763,[62] and noted again as such in 1834.[63] However, in 1733, of the three dozen churches and chapels of the Abergavenny deanery, Llanover and one of its chapelries, Mamhilad, were the only ones not to return the name of their patron saints. It is thus possible that Bartholomew arrived with a mid-eighteenth-century restoration and reconsecration of the altar – apostles, acceptable to Protestants, were popular in that period for patronal functions.[64] Certainly the altar rails are dated 1700, while the porch is dated 1750.[65]

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[57]   OS six-inch sheets of 1930 and 1971.

[58]   Christine Buckley and Prof. Madeleine Gray, writing on the Jiscmail internet discussion list 'Wells and Spas', December 1999. My thanks to both for longstanding encouragement and advice.

[59]   Celyn Gurden-Williams, 'Lady Llanover and the creation of a Welsh cultural utopia,' PhD thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 2008, 35. The thesis is on line at <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/54798/1/U585187.pdf>, accessed August 19, 2015. NLW MS. 21272, Letters to Taliesin ab Iolo (Taliesin Williams). Nos. 247, 249, 268, 271 (1841–1843).

[60]   Benjamin Hall died following a shooting accident in 1867, having survived both his sons. After Augusta's death the estate passed to her only surviving child, Augusta, the widow of J. A. E. Herbert of Llanarth, Monmouthshire. Her heir was Major-General Sir Ivor John Caradoc Herbert (1851–1934), made Baron Treowen in 1917.

[61]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 1, pt. 2b, 385.

[62]   Browne Willis (ed.), *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum. Being an Account of the Valuations of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices In the Several Dioceses of England and Wales... To Which are Added The Names of the Patrons, and Dedications of the Churches... by John Ecton, Esq. Late Receiver-General of the Tenths of the Clergy. The Third Edition* (London, T. Osborne, H. Woodfall, *et al.*, 1763).

[63]   The Rev. Rice Rees, *An Essay on the Welsh Saints or the Primitive Christians usually Considered to have been the Founders of Churches in Wales* (London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836), p. 344 (where the parish name is spelled 'Llanofer'). With his essay, Rees won a prize offered at the 1834 Gwent and Dyfed Royal Eisteddfod. Ordnance Survey, County Series 1:2500, Monmouthshire, 1882.

[64]   Jones, 'Saints', 226.

[65]   For the porch, Jonathan M. Wooding and Nigel Yates (eds), *A Guide to the Churches and Chapels of Wales* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2011), 155, and the Listed Buildings register, which also gives date of altar rails, <http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/wa-1992-church-of-st-bartholomew-llanover#. VcxVIsvouM8>, accessed August 13, 2015, and cites John Newman, *The Buildings of Wales, Gwent/ Monmouthshire* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 2000), 328.

In the same century a St Gofor appeared from the suspect pen of Iolo Morganwg, Edward Williams, in documents shared with contemporaries, collected by his son Taliesin of Merthyr Tydfil (1788–1847), and published as the *Iolo Manuscripts* in 1848.[66] Williams Senior corresponded on industrial matters with Hall, and his son moved in the same cultural circles as Augusta. His indebtedness to Augusta's friend Lady Greenly has already been mentioned. Shortly after Taliesin's death, the bulk of Morganwg's papers were acquired by Augusta and not deposited at the National Library of Wales until she, too, had died.[67] Iolo listed Gofor as one of 'the saints of Gwent' together with Gwarwg (perhaps the eponym of Llanwarrow or Wonastow), Henwg (of Llanhenwg outside Caerleon), Ffwyst (Llanfoist, west of Abergavenny), and Mablu/Mableu (to the east).[68] Commenting on the entry in 1911, Sabine Baring-Gould and John Fisher wrote that 'from (it) we are to infer that [Gofor]... was the patron of the church of Llanover. His cell there [i.e. at Llanover] is pointed out.'[69] Indeed, Nicholas in 1871 made exactly that inference, possibly as a result of correspondence with Lady Llanover: 'The word "Llanover"... means the consecrated spot or church of Gover, who with Henwg and Gwarreg were the three primitive saints of Gwent.'[70] A feast day for Gofor, May 9, appears separately in a list of saints' days said by Iolo to be 'out of an old Calendar in a MS., written about 1500, in the possession of Mr. Thomas Davies, of Dolgellu'.[71] Not everything from the forger Morganwg's pen lacked veracity, but insertion of fantasies was one of his *modi operandae*.[72]

The church was labelled on a map of the ecclesiastical geography of medieval Gwent as 'S. Movor (Govor)' as recently as 2000,[73] though Baring-Gould and Fisher pointed out in 1911 that a saint's name in 'Llanover' would in fact appear in modern spelling not as Gofor but as Myfor.[74] A. W. Wade-Evans, the previous year, had opted for Movor, doubtless with Mofor or Myfor in mind.[75] Baring-Gould and Fisher cited Llanover's appearance in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Lanmouor,[76] with

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[66]   Iolo MSS., 152, 558.

[67]   'Lady Llanover was one of the most energetic members of the *Cymreigyddion y Fenni* ("Abergavenny Cambricists"), a society which flourished in the thirties of the 19th century and did excellent work for the cause of Welsh literature. Later on, the *Cymreigyddion* dwindled away, and eventually became extinct; whereupon their manuscripts came into Lady Llanover's possession, and were deposited at Llanover House. There they remained, in a large wooden chest in the library, until the death of their aged possessor.' 'The winning of Glamorgan: Introduction', in John Hobson Matthews (ed.), *Cardiff Records*, 4 (Cardiff, 1903), 1–5 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cardiff-records/vol4/pp1-5 [accessed 8 August 2015].

[68]   Iolo MSS., 144 (Achau Saint Ynys Prydain, 'O Lyfr Mr. Cobb, o Gaer Dydd') as a saint of Gwent; 549, translation and notes.

[69]   S[abine] Baring-Gould and John Fisher, *The Lives of the British Saints. The Saints of Wales and Cornwall and such Irish Saints as have Dedications in Britain* (4 vols, London, The Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1907–), hereafter LBS, 3 (1911–1913), 133.

[70]   Nicholas, 'Annals', 2, 782.

[71]   Iolo MSS., 558.

[72]   The Iolo MSS. editors remarked (vi) on 'certain literal errors', from which they exonerated Ab Iolo, 'who invariably inserted every thing as it existed in the Manuscript, however obvious the clerical and accidental character of the error might be'.

[73]   David H. Williams, 'The church in medieval Gwent (Maps)', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 16 (2000), 3–10, at 7 (Map 5).

[74]   LBS, 3, 133.

[75]   A. W. Wade-Evans, '*Parochiale Wallicanum*', Y Cymmrodor (London, Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1910), 22–124, at 73.

[76]   LBS, 133, citing J. Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys (eds), *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv Reproduced from the Gwysaney Manuscript* (Liber Llandavensis) (Oxford, privately printed by subscription, 1893), 321, where Llanover appears as 'Movor', in a list of synodal payments, with the churches of Llanover, Mamhilad, Trevedyn, and Goetre all assessed at 15d each.

similar forms found elsewhere.[77] The same name occurs in Merthyr Mawr, Glamorgan. There the saint's name is given in the *Book of Llan Dâv* as Mimor, Myvor, Movor, and so on.[78] Llanover's name developed as follows: *(de) Sancto Menoro* 1254,[79] Lammovor 1285, Llanimor 1291, Lanmovor 1349x53, Lannovor 1357, Llan Over 1559, ll. ofor *circa* 1566.[80] Whether or not Williams was aware of all this, it seems that he was working on the basis that the saint's name had undergone mutation with the addition of the Llan- prefix. It's not that Iolo made it up out of thin air, but that he wasn't aware of the earlier spellings. Nevertheless, it's to Iolo that 'St Gofor' must be attributed, at least at Llanover. As for the North Walian calendar, that remains a mystery.

Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan read the rare name Myfor as joining the honorific *mo*, 'my', to the name Môr.[81] A St Mor's protection was invoked for Henry VII,[82] and by the poet Lewis Glyn Cothi for a patron.[83] What has been taken to be a feast of St Mor, Gŵyl For, found mention in late additions to the Laws of Hywel Dda (a lord may take a tenant's 'cow of Gŵyl For') but it lacks a date and appears in none of the Welsh calendars, and it has now been proposed, though not altogether convincingly, that it refers to a sea-feast, *gwyl for*, not a saint's day.[84] Beyond Wales, Sir John Rhys suggested that the name Mofor might be related to the (uncertain) reading 'Mavorius' for one of two 'senior priests' commemorated on an inscribed stone at Kirkmadrine, Wigtownshire.[85]

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[77]   E.g. as 'Movor' in 1285, Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I, A.D. 1279–1288 (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), 366. See also George Owen of Henllys, *The Description of Penbrokshire*, published as Henry Owen (ed.), *Owen's Pembrokeshire*, Cymmrodorion Record Series (4 vols in 3, London, Chas. J. Clark, 1892–1906), 2, 301, fn 3, cited in LBS, 133, fn. 4.

[78]   As pointed out by Baring-Gould and Fisher, LBS, 3, 133. The patron saint of Merthyr Mawr is now Teilo. Hywel Wyn Owen and Richard Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul, Gomer Press, 2007), hereafter Owen and Morgan, DPNW, 318. They include 'merthirmimor', 1136x1154 [?Book of Llan Dâv].

[79]   Owen and Morgan, DPNW, 273. '*Ecclesia de Sancto Menoro*' appears in the list of churches and their valuations in London, BL, Cotton, Vitellius C. X., 105ff : W. E. Lunt (ed.), *Valuation of Norwich* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1926), though identified in error with St Maughans. See also C. A. H. Green, *Notes on Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff. Part I. The Cathedral Group* (Aberdare, T. E. Smith, 1906), hereafter Green, 'Churches', 156–60 , at 156, though there mistakenly identified as the church of Llanfaenor. The same identification was made by Diane Brook, 'The early Christian church in Gwent', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 5, pt 3 (1985–88), 67–84, hereafter Brook, 'Church', 73. Richard Morgan, *Place-Names of Gwent* (Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2005), 136, read Menoro as 'Mevero', 'a Latinised form' of Myfor. John Koch (pers. comm.) concurs with Owen and Morgan, the most recent etymologists to examine the name, in their identification of '*Ecclesia de Sancto Menoro*' with Llanover. Lunt seems to have been guessing that St M-n- indicated St Maughan; Green and Brook concluded that [the church of] Menor represented Maenor/Faenor and thus Llanfaenor. Without access to, and/or consideration of the early forms, the possibility that 'v' had been read as 'n' would be elusive.

[80]   Owen and Morgan, DPNW, 273.

[81]   Owen and Morgan, DPNW, 273. 'Original **Llanfyfor* appears to have developed to *Llanofor* and then to Llanofer influenced, at least in spelling by English *over* and Welsh *ofer*, "wasteful, vain". Local pronunciation of the English form tends to stress the first syllable.'

[82]   In a long litany of Welsh saints, mentioned simply by name. 'Awl i'r Brenin Harri'r Seithfed', Iolo MSS., 313–14, at 314.

[83]   Together with Ss Mary, Elizabeth, and Elwedd, in a praise poem for John ab Rice of the Vale of Neath. *Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi. The Poetical Works of Lewis Glyn Cothi* (Oxford, The Cymmrodorion or Royal Cambrian Institution, 1837), 86–8, at 88.

[84]   E.g. in the so-called 'Laws of Pomfret', Sara Elin Roberts, *Llawysgrif Pomffred: An Edition and Study of Peniarth MS 259B* (Leiden, Brill, 2011), 214–15, 330–1 (fn 1788–9); Aneurin Owen (ed.), *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* (2 vols, London, Commissioners of the Public Records, 1841), 2, 262–65 (IX.xxiii.1).

[85]   John Rhys, 'The Englyn. The origin of the Welsh englyn and kindred metres', *Y Cymmrodor* 18 (1905), 36–7.

Môr may translate Latin *Magnus* – hence 'Mawr'. However, a different direction opens up with John Koch's suggestion that Myfor points to the name Myfyr, meaning 'scholar', from another Latin name, *Memorius*.[86] Among those named Memorius in Late Antiquity are the general Flavius Memorius, latterly Count of Mauretania and Tingitana *circa* 400–425, known from his epitaph at Arles;[87] a deacon of Troyes sent with companions as envoys to Attila, who had them killed on September 7, 451;[88] and the bishop, possibly of Capua, known familiarly to his friend and colleague Augustine of Hippo as Memor, who opposed the followers of the British Pelagius and who wrote to the saint in 408/409 asking for a copy of his treatise on music.[89] A fourth Memorius may have been British. He was a priest and brother of St Faustus, the latter a reputed son of Vortigern and Sevira, 'daughter of Magnus Maximus' the usurper emperor proclaimed in Britain in 383.[90] Memorius was a member of Faustus' monastic community at Lérins *circa* 443 and perhaps afterwards in his episcopal retinue at Riez from 460.

Wales is, of course, replete with dedications reflecting fifth-century Gaul: Martin, Hilary, and German are among those honoured. Were Memorius of Leríns the patron saint of Llanover, it would force the question of the identity of the Fwyst commemorated in the name Llanfoist. It is not impossible, perhaps, that the personal name derives from 'Faustus'. That some have seen Maximus' pious wife, the British noblewoman of Welsh tradition named as Helen, as the patron of Llanelen, offers a seductively neat trio: two brothers and a grandmother. The incautious might even add in 'Victorinus', tracing the name of Llanvetherine's saint back to its Latin roots on the basis that Maximus' son Victor bore a family name. However, in the absence of dedications elsewhere honouring Faustus and Memorius the trio's neatness is its own enemy. Local devotion to the brothers is in any case not necessary for the attractive possibility that Helen (if she was indeed British) was allowed by her husband's triumphant enemy Theodosius the Great to return to Britain in relative seclusion, perhaps as the presiding member of a community of women religious. Upper Gwent could have been regarded as sufficiently remote in an imperial context for the defeated emperor's widow not to become the focus of political opposition while supported financially by relatives rather than

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[86] John Koch, pers. comm. I am ever grateful to Professor Koch for his kind guidance on all things linguistically Welsh.

[87] O. Hirschfeld (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 12, *Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae* (Berlin, 1888), 633, no. 92, listing his offices. He died aged 75.

[88] *Acta Sanctorum, September, 3* (Paris and Rome, Victor Palme, 1868), 68–72.

[89] Henry Wright Philllott, 'Memorius (Memor)', in William Smith and Henry Wace (eds), *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, 3 (London, John Murray, 1882), 902, citing Augustine, *Epistolae*, 101, 131, ed. Philip Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, 1 (Buffalo, Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887); Augustine, *Contra Julianum*, 1, Ch. 4 § 12; Mercator, in Augustine, *Opera Omnia*, in J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 10, App. 2, 1738. The association with Capua is made by Ferdinand Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (1624–1662), 6, 301, and Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Le Chiese d'Italia* (Venice, 1844), xx, 19, 123. Roland J. Teske (ed.), *The Works of Augustine, Letters 100–155, Pt 1, Vol. 2* (New York, Augustinian Heritage Institute, 2003), 17, locates Memorius' see in Apulia. Eclanum is near Beneventum in southern Italy. On Julian's Pelagianism, see Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1967, repr. 2000), Ch. 32.

[90] Faustus, *Epistula* 'Tanta mihi' [*circa* 485/486], to Bishop Ruricius of Limoges, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 64 (Turnhout, Brepols, 1985), 413–14; trs. Ralph W. Mathisen (ed.), *Ruricius of Limoges and Friends: A Collection of Letters from Visigothic Gaul* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1999), 103–4. Mathisen, 104, fn. 4, refers to Memorius as 'otherwise unknown' and that he 'seems to have accompanied Faustus into exile' as part of (103, fn. 12) his 'retinue'. See also Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae* IX.9.6, W. B. Anderson (ed.), *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*, Loeb Classical Library (2 vols, London, William Heinemann, 1893), 241, fn. 5.

by a pension like her daughters.[91] Ninth-century tradition held that her son-in-law Vortigern had family associations with Gloucester,[92] and his supposed granddaughter Modrun was identified with the wife of Ynyr (Honorius), founder of the Gwent royal line.[93]

Putting all that aside, Professor Koch recently drew my attention to the further possibility that *myfyr* at Llanover refers not to a person, but to a memorial. This chimes with local tradition which asserts that the patronal saint's grave was covered by 'a ponderous tombstone, on which is carved an ancient British cross, laid in the doorway of the church within the front porch',[94] though its design, a cross incised within a recessed circle, is elsewhere dated to the fourteenth century.[95] Some time before 1254 'Llanover', site of the '*ecclesia de Sancto Menoro*', may have been a 'church enclosure known for its holy memorial', whatever that phrase indicated. Llanover's church stands on a knoll beside the Usk, as good a place as any for drawing the attention of travellers – a point to which this account will return.

PART TWO

Nine Wells: Name and context

This leaves the Nine Wells without a saint, but with crutches on surrounding trees in 1792. In the open, wooden crutches would rot away over what, 50 years? Less than 30 years earlier, in 1765, there was a report of crutches left at a well near Duffield, Derbyshire, possible one of two mineral springs at Kedleston and Quarndon.[96] Waddington's wife Georgina, born in 1771 at Ilam, Derbyshire, twenty miles from Kedleston, might have known of this, even if Waddington himself, born at Harworth vicarage, in northern Nottinghamshire, had not. Other reports of crutches belong to the sixteenth or seventeenth century – St Anne's at Buxton, Derbyshire, for example,[97] Binsey Well near Oxford,[98] and St Erasmus' Well, Ingestry, Staffordshire.[99] Derbyshire and Monmouthshire were both significantly Recusant counties, though it is also of note that neither Kedleston nor Quarndon springs appear to have had patronal saints when crutches were noted in 1765, so perhaps the same was true at Llanover.

Taking a cure for lameness would involve immersing the limb in the curative water. So the pool at Llanover – 'tank' on the 1882 Ordnance Survey – may not be a Victorian addition,

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[91]   Pacatus, *Panegyricus Latini Pacati Deprani dictus Theodosio*, trs. in C. E. V. Nixon and Barbara Saylor Rodgers (eds), *In Praise of Later Roman Emperors: The* Panegyrici Latini (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994).

[92]   Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, 49, names Vortigern's great-grandfather, 'Gloui' (an eponym of Gloucester), as one of the city's founders. John Morris (ed. and trs.), *Nennius. British History and The Welsh Annals* (Chichester, Phillimore, 1980), 33, 74.

[93]   *Bonedd y Saint*, text B (MS Peniarth 45, 286–91) followed by G (MS Peniarth 127, 43–9). *John Humffreys Parry, 'Genealogy of the Saints', The Cambro-Briton III* (London, W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1821), 7–11; 81–7; 137–40; 201–4; 266–9; 335–8; 394–96; 455–8.

[94]   Nicholas, 'Annals', 2, 782.

[95]   David Ross, 'Llanover, St Bartholomew's Church', <http://www.britainexpress.com/attractions. htm?attraction=628>, accessed July 7, 2015.

[96]   Anon., 'Diary of a Journey to Glastonbury Thorn', *Reliquary* 15 (1765), cited in Robert Charles Hope, *The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England* (London, Elliot Stock, 1893), hereafter Hope, 'Lore', 58–9: 'Sunday, the 19th day of November. I called at Higham Hills, at Richard Lee's, and there I am told of a well near Duffield, where it is said that the cripples are cured, and some have left their crutches.'

[97]   Hope, 'Lore', 51.

[98]   Hope, 'Lore', 123.

[99]   Hope, 'Lore', 158.

though its present form may be. A Continental example of developing configuration is the spring of Sant Magí in a pilgimage landscape north of Tarragona in Catalunya. A devotional painting from *circa* 1560 shows two men, probably shepherds, bathing their diseased legs in a pool fed by a standing spout. The spring today retains the form it was probably given by incoming Dominican proprietors in the opening decades of the seventeenth century. A row of horizontal spouts directs the water into a lateral trough on one side of an excavated area which probably replaced the pool, and the whole occupies one end of a open arcaded chapel. Wells with multiple outlets or spouts and named 'Seven-' and 'Nine-Wells' occur across western Europe.[100] Fifteen of the 66 English 'Seven Wells', some called 'Sewell', are in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds, including Seven Springs east of Gloucester, and the spouts below Bisley churchyard near Stroud. There are said to be seven springs at Holy Well at Adforton, Herefordshire.[101] The recorded Welsh examples are Saith Ffynnon near Prestatyn, Seven Wells near Newtown, and Shoales Hook, Pembrokeshire. Names of the type 'Nine Wells' are less frequent; 20 in a recent count.[102] At Brampton, Cumberland, and Berwick-upon-Tweed, Nine Wells became St Ninian's Well.[103] At Rushton, Northamptonshire, St Peter's Well was known as Nine-Spring-Head before 1785, 'as being a Collection of Nine little Springs which gush forth, it's said, at as many distinct Apertures, within a small Compass of Ground, and are now drawn into a Stone Basin over which a handsome Summer House was built, by the late Lord Cullen'.[104]

However, the nearest example is Ninewells (its Ordnance Survey spelling) at Trellech on the far side of Gwent, on an isolated and heavily wooded hilltop overlooking the Wye. This Nine Wells, like its counterpart at Llanover, had a tradition of healing. Lindsay Prosser points out that some authors mistakenly transferred this healing tradition to Trellech's better known Virtuous Well, built in 1689 by Magdalen, widow of Sir Charles Probert, and itself the product, in the view of Tristan Gray Hulse, of a lady landowner's whimsy.[105] In 1810, Charles Heath described how at Nine Wells a number of small springs emerged beneath beech trees on the summit and within ten yards united to supply a cold bath.[106] According to Charles Heath, 'Mr Pritchard, carrier, Monmouth, having broke his leg, was advised by his surgeon as soon he was able to use a crutch, to bathe in this water, which he did, and in a very little time he was restored to the perfect use of his limb. Afterwards, it became the resort of the afflicted with lameness, and other infirmaties (*sic*), from all parts of the country, many of whom partook of its benefits; indeed, it is said, that the trees around exhibited many supporters of affirmity, left in them, as trophies, by those who had derived health from the virtues of these springs. At present, like the well at Trellech [Lady Probert's 'Virtuous' spa well], the Bath is seldom made use of, except by those who reside near it.'

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[100]   Keith Briggs, 'Seven wells', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 39 (2007), 7–44, hereafter Briggs, 'Wells'.
[101]   Jeremy Harte, *English Holy Wells. A Sourcebook* (Wymeswold, Heart of Albion Press, 2008), hereafter Harte, 'Holy Wells', 2, 429.
[102]   Briggs, 'Wells', 8.
[103]   Harte, 'Holy Wells', 3, 437, 449.
[104]   Harte, 'Holy Wells', 3, 404. For a description of the bath house from 1894–1895, 403.
[105]   Tristan Gray Hulse, paper at the 'Welsh Holy Wells' conference, University of Wales, Caerleon, 2012. My thanks to Lindsay Prosser for her kindness in drawing my attention to Ninewells and its literature and allowing me to read her University of Wales, Llampeter MA dissertation, supervised by Jane Cartwright, in draft.
[106]   Charles Heath, *Monmouthshire, Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Ancient and Present State of Tintern Abbey etc*. (Monmouth, Charles Heath, 1806), 47. See also Stephanie Poultner, 'Wells and Springs around Trellech', *Living Spring*, May 2000, hereafter Poultner, 'Trellech', online at <http://people.bath.ac.uk/liskmj/living-spring/journal/issue1/con1.htm>, accessed December 5, 2015.

The Ordnance Survey six-inch mapping of 1881 shows a single spring still issuing in the field opposite Ninewells cottage, perhaps with a stone surround, an open pool, and an oblong 'Cold Bath' against the field boundary. A photograph taken in the early twentieth century shows five steps leading down into this stone-lined bathing place, the counterpart of Llanover's 'plunge bath'. Trellech's 'Cold Bath' has been concreted over by a farmer to keep out cattle; ferns and other plants sprout from the walls and aquatic plants cover much of the water's surface. The photograph was used on a black and white postcard and labelled 'Old Roman Baths, Ninewells',[107] following Bradney's comment that Nine Wells was 'reputed as of Roman origin'.[108]

So, crutches were hung on trees at both Nine Wells, and both were furnished with a stone-lined bath, or plunge pool. The difference is that Llanover's was much more ornate, perhaps reflecting the Halls' comparative wealth. The Nine Wells estate at Trellech comprised a mere 123 acres in 1848.[109] It goes without saying that Nine Wells is one of many water sources in the immediate area. For example, the present Usk to Abergavenny road which Hall chose as the western limit of his park runs parallel on its far side to a spring-line which passes through Coed-y-Ffynnon. Nevertheless, multiple spouts drew the sick and devout to other sites in Britain, so could the same have been the case here? Any paths which may have led to Nine Wells have been ploughed out, overridden by landscaping, or stopped up. None shows up on a first trawl of LiDAR data.[110] Nevertheless, the location puts Nine Wells near a through route, the Usk–Abergavenny road just mentioned. Rydd-y-Meirch, the 'Horse Ford', probably refers to a splash where that road crosses the stream of the same name above Ty Uchaf. How ancient a route that may have been is unclear. While the 2004 survey of Roman roads in south-east Wales accepted earlier placements of the Brecon to Caerleon road on the east bank of the Usk,[111] it is quite possible that at least one alternative, and perhaps earlier route shadowed it on the Llanover side.

This would help explain the location of Llanover church marking 'Old' Llanover, now reduced to two or three dwellings. The church's prominence on a knoll above the Usk has already been mentioned. At the foot of the slope a north–south lane crosses the stream carrying the water of the Nine Wells a few yards to where it falls into the Usk. This was a potential watering point of some quality, therefore. Moreover, there may have been a crossing of the Usk here. A straightish road runs off the mountain above Llanover – intersecting with what is labelled as 'Ancient Road (site of)' on the 1882 Ordnance Survey[112] and with the present Abergavenny road close to old Llanover Court (Cwrt-y-porth-hir) and the north-west corner of Hall's park. Thereafter it divides just short of Llanover church, one arm aligned on the northern edge of the churchyard and the other on a pair of houses, Llansabath and what in the nineteenth century became the vicarage on the site of a farmhouse site, Little Llansabeth [*sic*].[113] On the opposite bank of the Usk from Llansabath is Castell Arnallt, once a place of considerable importance. 'It is possible... that Castell Arnallt represents an important transitional site perhaps best described as a fortified or developed *llys* ['court, place,

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[107]   Poultner, 'Trellech'.
[108]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 2, pt 2, 129.
[109]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 2, pt 2, 148.
[110]   LiDAR is an acronym for Light Detection and Ranging.
[111]   Andy Sherman and Edith Evans, 'Roman roads in Southeast Wales. Desk-based assessment with recommendations for fieldwork', GGAT report 2004/073 (Swansea, Glamorgan–Gwent Archaeological Trust, 2004), 34–7.
[112]   Itself descending from the mountain past Rhyd y Llwyfan ('ford of the wych elm') and called High Street; 'said to be Roman', Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 389.
[113]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 390.

manor house… of king, prince, nobleman']. It is also possible that the origins of the *llys* were in the early medieval period. This is clearly a site where additional investigation including excavation could pay substantial dividends.'[114]

Llanover and its historical contexts

At this point it is useful to recognise that Llanover itself may once have had a greater importance than seems immediately apparent today, Lady Llanover notwithstanding. Parish and chapelry boundaries show it had a *parochia* which was one of the largest in south-east Wales. Llanover church is the *matrix ecclesia* of the chapels of Trevethin, Mamhilad, and Capel Newydd, the latter standing on the summit of the mountain between Llanover and Blaenafon.[115] The configuration of its ancient parish boundary suggest the inclusion at some earlier period of Llanelen and Llanvair Kilgidin. The ancient parish in turn had manorial links across the Usk which were part of a demonstrable pattern of large-scale landed units of lordship and administration. This is supported by the evidence of similar routeways and agrarian organisation explored by Victoria Jackson and Jonathan Kissock in the case of Llanelen,[116] while the likelihood of a river-crossing at Old Llanover, also spotted by John Bowler,[117] puts Llanover close to a centre of regional power.

It is thought that Castell Arnallt, built close to where the road to Monmouth diverges from the road linking Brecon and Usk on the east bank of the river, occupied the site of the *llys* and birthplace *circa* 1120 of Seisyllt ap Dyfnwal ap Caradog, lord of Gwent Uwch Coed (the greater part of Gwent north of a line that takes in Mamhilad, Goetre, Kemeys Commander, and Trostrey). It was destroyed after Seisyllt and some of his household were killed at Abergavenny Castle by William de Braose, descendant of Hamelin de Ballon, William Rufus' agent in northern Gwent, in an infamous massacre during a Christmas feast in 1175.[118] It will be recalled that Dyfnwal, perhaps meaning something like 'Earth-strong', was the name attached to one of the two manors at Llanover, the one which included Llanover Court in Lower Llanover. The other manor was Parc Llettis. The origins and the *capite* of both manors lay across the Usk in the parish of Llangattock. The post-medieval Parc Lettice lies a mile north of Penpergwm, while Dyfnwal manor-house is thought to be probably identical with that of Llangattock, now much altered.[119] These manors probably represented the division of an earlier

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[114]   Mark Redknap, Steve Clarke, Ray Howell, Jeremy Knight, and Alan Lane, 'A research framework for the archaeology of Wales. South-East Wales – Early medieval (December 22, 2003)', Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales: <http://www.cpat.org.uk/research/seemed.htm>, accessed August 14, 2015.

[115]   Green, 'Churches', 27–8, citing Coxe, 'Monmouthshire', 2, 265. It belonged to the bishop and chapter of Llandaff (Green, 'Churches', 11), but earlier to the archdeacon and chapter (Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 390).

[116]   Victoria Jackson and Jonathan Kissock, 'A medieval landscape: Llanelen, Abergavenny', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 29 (2013), hereafter Jackson and Kissock, 'Llanelen', 3–8.

[117]   John Bowler, personal communication. See below.

[118]   J. A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. 1, Pt II. London: (1992 facsimile), 331–2, cited by Neil Phillips, 'Castell Arnallt: a topographical survey', *Gwent Local History* 90 (Spring, 2001), 8–11.

[119]   John Bowler, 'Penpergwm Archaeological Excavations 2012 – A Medieval Mill? At Coed Morgan, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire, South Wales. Archaeological Report, measured surveys & interpretation' (John Bowler/Trostrey Excavation Group, July 2013), online at http://www.trostreyexcavationgroup.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/PENPERGWM-MILL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL-EXCAVATION-2012.pdf. N.b. also *Donewall, Llanover and Parc Lettice Manor Court Book, 1542–1559*, vol. 1 (Salt Lake City, Genealogical Society of Utah, 1960). A Lettice ap Griffith Cadwaldr was born at Parc Lettice in 1230, according to a Mormon genealogical record – but no reference is given.

landholding closely connected with the lordship of Gwent,[120] and which probably also included Llanelen.[121]

Dyfnwal (*circa* 1090 – *circa* 1150) was grandson to Ynyr, last Prince of Gwent, claimed to be descended from a namesake Ynyr (a form of Latin Honorius) whose son Iddon was believed to have founded in the sixth century the churches of Llanarth and Llantilio Crossenny and the dynasty of Uwch Gwent.[122] Dyfnwal had married for his second wife an illegitimate daughter of Hamelin, a likely reason for his being allowed to retain his possessions and being recognised as lord of the mesne manors of Castell Arnallt, Parc Llettis, Llangattock, and Coed Morgan in Llanarth parish, as well as Llanover and Mamhilad.[123] Parc Llettis, including a large part of Llanover parish, seems to have been retained by Seisylls' descendents, while Castell Arnallt and Coed Morgan east of the Usk and Trevethin and Blaenafon west of the Blorenge became manors of the lords of Abergavenny.[124] In 1586 Rhys Williams held the united manor of Parc Llettis and Dyfnwal by a quarter of a knight's fee.[125] The latter comprised the lower part of the parish, also known as Llanover Dyfnwal, largely arable as opposed to the mostly mountain land of Upper Llanover. There seems to have been manorial change and complexity in the sixteenth century. In 1541 'Dyfnwal manor' and the 'manor of Parc Llettis and Llanover' were separately named, but in 1555 the reference was to 'Dyfnwal manor, parcel of Parc Llettis and Llanover'.[126] Then came the upsets of the seventeenth century before reunification under John Burgh and again under Augusta and Benjamin Hall.

Llanover's farm-names include some normally associated with major territorial centres, including Maerdy, 'the reeve's hall', Hendre, 'the old settlement', a name given to winter steadings in lowland–upland pastoral pairs, and Goetre, 'the woodland settlement' analogous to English Wo(o)tton. Across the Usk, Parc Llettis derives from *lletty*, 'dwelling', a name sometimes given to a summer lodge. Taken together, these names imply a major transriverine landholding of which Llanover was geographically the largest component, economically and ecclesiastically. What seems to be indicated is a demesne estate of the kings of Gwent, central to the area which approximates to what was probably the western commote of cantref Uwch Coed. It may be significant that in 1672 the 'lordship, manor, or seignury' of Parc Llettis-Llanover was said to be situated not only in Llanover but also in the Llanover chapelries of Trevethin, Mamhilad, and Goetre, in Llanelen whose parish shape fits into that of Llanover, and across the Usk in Llangattock-by-Usk, and beyond that in Llanarth.[127]

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[120]   'The parish of Llanover comprised the manors of Llanover, Park Lettice, and Dyfnwal, in the lordship of Abergavenny.' The Rev. C. A. H. Green, *Notes on Churches in the Diocese of Llandaff. Part I. The Cathedral Group* (Aberdare, T. E. Smith, 1906), hereafter Green, 'Churches', 27, citing Bradney. 'Monmouthshire', 378, 401, 402), but note that on 145 Green records that 'The parish of Llangattock nigh Usk comprises parts of the Manors of Parc Lettice, Castell Arnallt, and Coed Morgan, all in the Lordship of Abergavenny, which were held by the Welsh princes Dyfnwal and his son Sitsyllt until A.D. 1176. Coed Morgan was retained by the chief lord in his own hands until the fourteenth century' (citing Bradney, 146, and 331ff).

[121]   John Bowler, personal comment. My thanks are due to Mr Bowler for his kindness in sharing his considerable knowledge of the medieval landscape and landholdings in this part of Gwent.

[122]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 331.

[123]   As argued by Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 331.

[124]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 336, 390.

[125]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 338.

[126]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 378.

[127]   Bradney, 'Monmouthshire', 4, pt 1, 381.

Parish boundaries and interlinkages show how large this hypothesised territory appears to have been.[128] Llanelen's church and part of its wood was included in the assets of the lordship of Abergavenny with which Abergavenny's priory was endowed.[129] Llanover's longest common boundary was with Llanwenarth, whose ancient parish not only encompassed Govilon but also the expanse of its chapelry of Aberystrwyth as far as the Ebbw Fawr, and perhaps Llanhilleth, otherwise Llan Hiledd.[130] These were cut off from the rest of Llanwenarth by a detached portion of Llanfoist on the Coity Mountain, suggesting that Llanfoist and Llanwenarth were once united. If another detachment, that belonging Llantilio-Pertholey and isolated by the northernmost tip of Llanwenarth, points in the same direction, the prospect emerges of an early parochial entity all but surrounding Abergavenny – with the latter's parish either an eleventh-century surviving core or a twelfth-century extraction. Usk's links with Glascoed and Monkswood carry the cross-river pattern downstream beyond Gwent Uwch Coed. North of Gwent Uwch Coed the pattern's continuation into Breconshire prompts the observation that the hypothetical addition of Llangattock's transriverine parish, including Crickhowell and Llanbedr, to those of Abergavenny hundred and deanery results in a neatly coherent unit.

The association with Dyfnwal/Parc Llettis with Coed-Morgan and Llanarth allows the drawing of a likely eastern limit of the suggested territory along the river Trothey between Llanarth and Gwent's northern boundary. Llanarth's ancient parish included Clytha and Bettws Newydd, and probably Bryngwyn and Llansaintffraed. To the north are the parishes of Llanddewi Ysgryryd (including its chapelry Llanddewi Rhydderch), Llanvapley, Llanvetherine, and Llangattock Lingoed, with Llanvihangel Crucorney on the Herefordshire border completing the circuit.

Was Llanover's proximity to Castell Arnallt, plus its dependency on manorial centres across the river, a factor in the anglicisation of its name from 'myfor' or 'myfyr' to 'over' and eventually the association of Nine Wells with a 'St Gofor'? Was the presence of a healing spring a factor in determining the location of Llanover's court-house? One might even imagine the church at Llan Myfyr as a sort of royal chapel, a short boat-ride away while attendance at the castle's parish church at Llangattock entailed a walk or ride of a mile or more. Did the church *de Sancto Menoro* of 1254 in fact stand as a memorial for the victims of Braose's sacking, including Seisyllt's young murdered son? While that of course would be just another construction of history, it opens up the issue of the dedication of any previous church on the site. The likelihood of Bartholomew's arrival as patron saint in the eighteenth century has been noted, but an ancient impetus for Bartholomew dedications seems to be the appropriation of pre- and non-Christian sites of worship and healing, following the apostle's legend.[131] Such questions encourage a wider look at religious locales and their dedications and their relationship with the administrative and socio-economic landscapes in which they are embedded.

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[128]   Not to be confused with the modern civil parish of Llanover Fawr, created in April 1935 out of the parishes of Llanover, Llanddewi Rhydderch, Llangattock nigh Usk, Llanvair Kilgeddin, Llanvihangel nigh Usk, Llansaintffraed, and Llantilio Pertholey.

[129]   Charter of Hamelin de Ballon ('Baladone') to the abbey of St Vincent and St Lawrence near Le Mans, J. Horace Round, *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France: Illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1899), No. 1046, 368, printed in Charles and Menjot d'Elbenne, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Saint-Vincent du Mans (572–1184)* (Mamers-Le Mans, 1886–1913), 334–5.

[130]   Peniarth MS. 147, A list of cantrefs, commotes, and parishes, *circa* 1566, printed in J. Gwenogvryn Evans (ed.), *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898–99), 1, 920, col. 2. The epithet Vorwyn, 'virgin', was added to the (?saint's) name Hiledd in the slightly variant list, MS. John Jones, 1606.

[131]   Jones, 'Saints', 107–14.

Almost within a stone's throw of *Sancto Menoro* are houses named Llansabath/-sabeth. Diocesan documents of 1829–1831 refer to 'the Little Elizabeth otherwise (Little) Llansab(b)eth estate',[132] but was this an attempt at anglicisation that obscured the etymology? *Sabath* as a variant of Welsh *sabaoth*, 'hosts, armies', is recorded from 1620, but *sabaoth* is only found from the fifteenth century.[133] *Sabath/Saboth* can also refer to the Sabbath, but this is likewise recorded only from 1551. Conceivably the two *llan* names point to adjacent ecclesiastical sites, one of which was abandoned but sufficiently remembered to acquire a 'bibical' by-name at a relatively late date. In addition, the size of Llanover's ancient parish might well be thought to predict a collegiate or *clas* mother church with canons and an appropriately sized enclosure. Llanelen, too, has two sites, as implied by its mention *circa* 1150 as 'Sancta Elena et Peris'.[134] The second part here is explained by a local name Cilberis, a little way north-west of the parish church. Peris, the personal name associated with this *cil*, or cell, is that of a supposed sixth-century saint of North Wales (as in Llanberis), leading to a recent conclusion that the name may be a reference to early medieval ecclesiastical activity,[135] though it occurs elsewhere as late as the fourteenth century, sometimes in place of 'Peter'.[136] The name of Llanvair Kilgidin (Llanfair Cilgidin) signals another likely church-hermitage pair. History offers a concrete example of how the wooded and hilly country west of the Usk attracted monks to Llanover's ancient parish. Following the ravaging of Glamorgan by Eilaf, agent of king Cnut in 1022, when monks from Llancarfan were said to have fled there with the shrine and relics of their founder St Cadoc, finding refuge in what is generally accepted as the *llan* at Mamhilad ('*usque ad Mammeliat locum*').[137] Though Mamhilad's dedication honours St Illtyd, Cadoc is patron at adjoining Trevethin.[138] Mamhilad's enclosure is partly curvilinear and largely earth-banked, with a fall in the ground within,[139] and it has been noted that the lords of Caerleon apparently had some claim to the site or to the area.[140]

When the chain of parochial churches on the west bank of the Usk – Llanwenarth, Llanfoist, Llanelen, Llanover, Llanvair Kilgidin – came into being is difficult to judge. While some argue for Llanelen preserving the memory of the British Helen, others suggest honouring of Constantine's mother Helena, supposed rediscoverer of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, by returning Crusaders. There is now greater acknowledgement that the three-fold hierarchy of churches in sixth-century Gaul is likely to have operated in Britain also: episcopal churches, principally cathedrals; 'diocesan churches' serving large proto-parishes (minsters, *clas* or collegiate churches, and so on); and lords' estate churches and private chapels (*eigenkirchen*). Wendy Davies's work on charter evidence suggests 'an already dense pattern of churches in Gwent by the seventh century', with other

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[132]   National Library of Wales, Church in Wales, Diocese of Llandaff Episcopal 11, Chapter, LLCh/180 and 636.
[133]   Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru, s.v. 'sabaoth'.
[134]   Charter of Archbishop Theobald to St Vincent de Pres, *Liber Controversarium*, no. 59, trs. in Jeremy Knight, 'The early church in Gwent, II: the early medieval church', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 9 (1993), 1–18, at 9.
[135]   Jackson and Kissock, 'Llanelen', 3–8.
[136]   Sabine-Gould and Fisher, 'LBS', 4, 91–2.
[137]   A. W. Wade-Evans (ed.), 'Vita Cadoci' in *Vita Sanctorum Britannie et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1944), 110, '*Mammelliat locus*'.
[138]   Knight, 'Early church', 13. On the shrine, see J. K. Knight (1984), 'Glamorgan A.D. 400–1100. Archaeology and history', in H. N. Savory (ed.), *Glamorgan County History 2* (Cardiff, 1984), 369–70.
[139]   Brook, 'Church', 73.
[140]   Brook, 'Church', fn 42, 76, citing *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Henry III*, vol. 1 (London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), no. 289, 164.

historical and archaeological data pointing to the emergence of the existing network of parochial churches gathering pace from the late ninth century through to its full development at the start of the thirteenth.[141] To the categories just listed should be added monastic churches and eremetic oratories, and the many places of popular devotion which developed into chapels, healing sites including springs, or landscape features attracting folk traditions attached to often obscure saints. They were the parallels of the first church sites in southern Germany, for example, located at fords or crossroads, hilltops, burial barrows, or springs for baptism. In Wales the inventory of places of worship in place before the development of the full medieval pattern is thought to have included the *merthyr* churches and those with monastic dedications like Llangattock or Llangybi.[142] Moreover, a reassessment of universal cults in Wales is under way, revising long-held views that dedications honouring Mary and Michael, for example, were largely Norman impositions.[143] The local juxtaposition of Michael and Brigid, Llanvihangel- and Llansantfraed-nigh-Usk, is repeated several times across Wales.[144]

While, as already noted, monks sought 'desert' places in woods and mountains, Diane Brook's map of 'important', pre-Norman churches in Gwent shows a preponderance east of the Usk.[145] This appears to run parallel with the impression of major settlement and lordship centres on that side of the river in areas of low hills and more fertile, more intensively farmed soils, complementing the wooded and open moorland pastoral areas in the more mountainous areas on the west bank. Llanover's medieval administration from manorial centres in Llangattock-nigh-Usk reflects this. Gwent's Cadoc dedications are found particularly associated with Roman sites, clustered around Llancarfan in Glamorgan, and in Gwent Uwch Coed including Llangattock-nigh-Usk. (Trevethin in Llanover's ancient parish may have acquired its dedication as a result of the eleventh-century flight to Mamhilad). In contrast, Cadoc churches are notable by their absence in Gwent Is Coed and Gwynlliog, which was the territory of St Tatheus and his church at Caerwent.[146]

While all the above puts Llanover at the heart of an important administrative and economic unit before the Conquest, it leaves the enquirer no nearer to determining the identification of the holy person for whose intercession, or in thanks to whom ex-votos, specifically crutches, were said to have been left at Nine Wells, evidently in the century before the arrival of Lady Llanover's parents. Perhaps, though, the search for such a holy person is mistaken. Nine Wells at Trellech had no tradition of sanctity, it seems, only of healing, and that itself might be no older than the

[141]   Jeremy Knight, 'The early church in Gwent, II: the early medieval church', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 9 (1993), 1–18, hereafter Knight, 'Early church', 4, 13, noting for example the canons of the Council of Clermont-Ferrand, 535, for which see C. de Clercq (ed.), *Concilia Galliae*, Corpus Christianarum, Series Latina 148A (Turnout, 1963). On the continental evidence see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005), and S. Burnell and E. Jones, 'The archaeology of conversion on the Continent in the sixth and seventh centuries', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud, Sutton Publishing, 1999), 83–106.
[142]   Knight, 'Early church', 14.
[143]   R. W. D. Fenn and J. B. Sinclair, 'St Michael, Our Lady, and St Cadoc. Some ancient Monmouthshire dedications', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* 16 (2000), 99–106, citing, for St Michael, H. P. R Finberg. 'The archangel Michael in Britain', in *Culte de Saint Michel et Pèlerinages au Mont* (Paris, 1971). See also now Graham Jones, 'The cult of Michael the Archangel in Britain. A survey, with some thoughts on the significance of Michael's May feast and angelic roles in healing and baptism', in Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto, and André Vauchez (eds), *Culto e santuari di san Michele nell'Europa medievale / Culte et sanctuaires de saint Michel dans l'Europe médiévale. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di studi (Bari – Monte Sant'Angelo, 5–8 aprile 2006)*, Bibliotheca Michaelica 1 (Bari, Edipuglia, 2007), 147–82.
[144]   Jones, 'Saints', 196–7.
[145]   Brook, 'Church', 75.
[146]   Knight, 'Early church', 13, citing Canon E. T. Davies on the area of absence.

seventeenth century. The absence of a Welsh name for both the Llanover and Trellech springs begs the question. Nathan Rogers, in 1708, wrote of '...*Traleg* wells, which of late years have been much frequented and have been found very medicinal, and of the nature of *Tunbridge* waters, flowing from an Iron-Oar [*sic*] mineral'. The possibility that Lady Llanover's 'St Govor' was summoned to account for a failed 'spa' of *circa* 1700 during ownership of Llanover Court by the Cecils remains to be investigated. Fieldwork is the first essential step.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FOOD POLICY IN PONTYPOOL IN WORLD WAR ONE

By David Hopkins

INTRODUCTION

The importance of food supply during World War One has not received the attention it merits by historians. It was recognized by Lloyd George who commented that it was 'civilian food supply' that won the War.[1] In his memoirs Lloyd George gives the food question a global perspective. He claimed it caused the failures of Russia, Austria and Germany and indirectly drew America into the conflict.[2] All the main protagonists were unprepared for the War in terms of food supply.

Some pre-war observers realized that failure to feed civilians properly might lead not only to military weakness but also to public disorder. In 1911 a series of violent labour disputes in Britain culminated in a mid-August railway strike. It was short-lived but since trains were the main distributors of food to population centres, a national strike's potential to disrupt the food supply and trigger violent disorder was serious. In September 1911, Winston Churchill, Home Secretary, informed the First Lord of the Admiralty, Reginald McKenna (MP for North Monmouthshire), that 'the maintenance of the food supply in time of war and the prices resulting from its insecurity, touch public order very closely.' Churchill saw that the maintenance of order depended on 'poorer people' being able to buy enough staple food, especially bread, at affordable prices and that the Government would if necessary have to intervene should war drive prices up.[3]

This study concentrates on the home front where food was as important as at the battle front. Adequate provision was required not only to maintain an efficient fighting force, but also to sustain the morale and physical strength of civilians at home. Pontypool is a case study which demonstrates this.

In February 1917 the *New York Times* reported that Pontypool potato dealers had been attacked by a crowd, and the potatoes were seized by the police.[4] In December 1917 Pontypool was reputedly the first town in Britain to introduce rationing.[5] Why did a small Welsh town take such a radical step? The county history makes a brief reference to rationing.[6] It also mentions the Monmouthshire food riots in early 1917 and makes particular reference to an incident in Pontypool market which some contemporary accounts described as a riot. Some accounts indicate that there were other

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[1]   Quoted in L. Margaret Barnett, *British Food Policy During the First World War* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), xiii.

[2]   David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, vol 1 (London: Odhams Press, 1938 edn.), 755.

[3]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 11.

[4]   The *New York Times*, 25 February 1917, 3.

[5]   There is some discrepancy. Beveridge says Gravesend is first with Pontypool a week after.: Sir William H. Beveridge, *British Food Control* (London: Humphrey Millford, Oxford University Press: New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928), 196. However, *The Times* and the *Sunderland Daily Echo* claimed Pontypool was the first: 'Queues in the Fog- Local Experiments in Food Control', *The Times*, 20 December 1917, 3 and 'Pontypool on Rations', *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 December 1917, 2.

[6]   Peter Strong, 'The First World War', in Chris Williams and Andy Croll eds., *The Gwent County History: Vol. 5, The Twentieth Century* (Cardiff: UWP on behalf of the Gwent County History Association, 2013), 11.

food-related incidents in Pontypool and the plural 'riots' is used. Were these 'riots' and rationing policy connected? This question is central to this study.

The experiences of localities like Pontypool were influenced by Government food policy. The first section of this article deals with national policy in the first period of war 1914–16. The key question here is why the Government failed to intervene to control food supply. Shortages were more apparent than real until the German submarine campaign of autumn 1916 blocked food imports. It led to the creation of a Food Controller and the Ministry of Food towards the end of 1916.

Rising prices and profiteering were nationwide but Pontypool was affected particularly badly early in 1917. The second section focuses on the food 'riots' and considers their causes. Food shortages were driving prices up, creating tensions when traders overcharged. Coupled with this was Pontypool's situation as the commercial centre of an industrial area whose large population shopped in the town. The shortages this created continued to plague the town after the riots.

The third section considers to what extent the 'riots' and their aftermath influenced the introduction of rationing in December 1917. The town's scheme received attention across Britain and overseas and its influence on rationing elsewhere in the country is also studied. The section argues that the introduction of national compulsory rationing in July 1918 was driven by local schemes that spread across Britain. Pontypool's scheme gave momentum to these and therefore can take some credit for shaping national policy.

The study shows that national food policy was influenced by local developments which together pressurized the Government to depart from its *laissez faire* stance of 1914–16. Pontypool is a very appropriate case study because while many of its problems were common to other towns, it had also peculiar characteristics which exerted additional pressure and led it to take early action. To develop this analysis I have accessed local archives relating to Pontypool. In comparing the town with other areas I have used newspapers. .

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT FOOD POLICY 1914–16

The food supply concerns of localities like Pontypool were closely linked to the stance taken by central government. This changed as the War progressed. Initially food supply was left to the free market.[7] As the economy became stretched the problems facing local authorities eventually forced Government intervention. This section outlines the Government's move towards food control.

Margaret Barnett and Julie Stark agree that by August 1914, two-thirds of Britain's food, in terms of calories, was imported.[8] Figures available for 1909–13 show that the highest levels of imported food were recorded for sugar (100%), cereals (79%) and fruit (73%).[9] The working classes were the main consumers of imports and, as Stark has shown, their consumption had a very narrow base. Sugar was an important source of energy, especially for poor people. Stark cites a study of Glaswegian labouring families in 1913 whose meals lacked variety with a regular consumption of bread, sugar, butter, tea and beef. Potatoes might be added to these staples, especially in rural areas. A Parliamentary report of 1904 recorded that the dietary problem of the working classes was its 'excessive use of bread and tea'.[10] Four-fifths of bread grains were imported, as were all tea and sugar supplies and a high proportion of other commodities. Rural areas producing potatoes,

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7   J. L. Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet in the First World War' (PhD, Econ, London School of Economics and Political Science 1984), 11.
8   *Ibid*., 20–1; Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 2–3.
9   Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet', 21.
10   *Ibid*., 24–5.

vegetables and oatmeal might be less dependent on imports, but even then, if imported supplies to urban areas were disrupted, the prices of non-imported products would rise.[11]

Barnett has traced this growing dependence on imports to the mid-nineteenth century. After 1850 Britain's population increased dramatically and became more urbanized. British farms struggled to provide basic foodstuffs. Farming shifted from arable to pastoral because livestock was more profitable in this period when world grain prices fell and British farmers were unprotected by tariffs. Once under grass it was difficult to reconvert land for crops since time was needed to remove weeds and pests. The need to import grain placed great reliance on British shipping.[12] If this were to come under threat Britain's self-sufficiency would be jeopardized.

The impact of war

Lloyd George suggested that the 'experts' responsible for the War strategy had little understanding of the food problem. For them the War involved only the army and navy – the food question 'ended with the field kitchen'. The assumption was that war on the scale expected could only be a short one.[13] This meant that when war broke out, neither France nor Britain had made much preparation for maintaining food supplies.[14] Both nations believed that military stocks coupled with some requisitioning would suffice. France's agriculture was to prove inadequate. Britain as an 'import economy' relied on the Royal Navy to protect her markets, while the French and Russian armies defeated Germany. This 'business as usual' strategy was strained when France and Russia failed to overcome Germany.[15]

The outbreak of war created a wave of panic-buying with provisions shops recording record takings.[16] Outrage at hoarding prompted letters to *The Times*. One correspondent noted hundreds visiting his local Army and Navy Stores to lay in 'tons of provisions'. He called for government confiscation and imprisonment. Another observed his neighbour's coal purchases rising from 2 to 20 tons. This was creating panic. The writer suggested a 'few unthinking Englishmen' were responsible. A third letter noted the slow delivery of provisions to homes because stores were overrun by hoarders.[17] Panic-buying was largely a response of those who could afford it. Jerry White records London taxis 'laden with provisions people are taking home'.[18] This 'rush for food' by the well-to-do was resented and tensions spilled over into violence. A 'food riot' was reported in a Bermondsey grocer's where women refused to accept a price hike on 5 August.[19] The problems may have been localised and mostly small scale but there is a suggestion that some cases were significant and for some companies it was not 'business as usual'.

White notes how quickly this phase passed. Prices peaked in London on 8 August and then fell, though not back to their late July levels. Within a few days 'hoarding and talk of food panic had largely evaporated'.[20]

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[11]   *Ibid.*, 25.
[12]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 3–4.
[13]   Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 756.
[14]   Richard Perren, 'Farmers and consumers under strain: allied meat supplies in the First World War', *Agricultural History Review*, vol. 53 issue 2 (2005), 213.
[15]   *Ibid.*
[16]   Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet', 40–1.
[17]   *The Times*, letters 6, 7, 10 August 1914.
[18]   Jerry White, *Zeppelin Nights*: *London in the First World War* (London: the Bodley Head, 2014), 27.
[19]   *Ibid.*, 28.
[20]   *Ibid.*

The Government's response

Government concern for rising prices was reflected in the meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Food Supplies with representatives of principal provision dealers on 6 August 1914.[21] This was a significant gathering with representatives of the 'great companies' who owned some 3,000 distributing shops and of the Grocers' Federation representing 14,000 shops. The meeting considered measures for regulating retail prices. The Government sought to prevent undue price rises and seems to have been considering state control. *The Times* noted the cabinet's concern that the demand on food stocks was not 'justified by shortages'. It continued, 'excessive purchases are being made by needlessly alarmed customers whose unreasonable conduct cannot be too strongly deprecated.'[22] Government disapproval was clear but the response was perhaps not strong enough. Next day *The Times* reported that dealers had informed the cabinet that they had established a standing committee to 'advise as to the maximum retail prices which ought not to be exceeded for certain staple[s]'. In their report to the Cabinet Committee, the dealers hoped that with Government assistance, 'the present difficulty of obtaining supplies may be speedily overcome'.[23] The situation forced the Home Office to announce that there were enough food supplies to meet the country's needs for four months. Meat also was in good supply so there was no justification for price rises in meat or bread. The public were advised to report 'substantial rises' in retail food prices to the Cabinet Committee.[24] If 'selfish and unreasoning people' were buying more than their fair share, there was also the 'shameless trafficking' in food by unprincipled dealers. *The Times* recorded that for days in London's East End such dealers had been giving money to men and children to buy provisions in shops and 'corner' commodities to force up prices. They paid a small commission to their purchasers for their part in this practice.[25] On 14 August it was reported that the President of the Board of Trade, Sir Walter Runciman, had introduced a Bill in the House of Commons to stop 'cornering – the 'unreasonable withholding of foodstuffs'. He declared the practice was not common but that there had been cases in many areas which had led to great hardship, particularly for the poor. The Bill gave powers for the seizure of any foodstuff being 'unreasonably withheld' from the market, the owner being paid a reasonable price for it, as determined by a High Court Judge. The Bill was passed.[26]

The Government expected widespread economic dislocation, industrial distress and higher food prices and this prompted the appointment on 4 August of a Committee for the Prevention and Relief of Distress. Local authorities were warned to expect increased unemployment.[27] The number of people receiving poor relief rose as did the level of relief that needed to be paid. For example, in November, under the heading 'dearer living' the *Western Mail* reported that the recent increase in food prices had prompted the Pontypool Board of Guardians to increase outdoor relief for adults and children.[28] Such pressures were temporary, according to Stark, and after the initial increased demand drove prices up, they began to stabilise. The Government was aware of the problems but was cautious about intervening except in the case of sugar. Fears over sugar shortages led the Government to appoint a Royal Commission on 20 August 1914 and through the Commission's

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21   *The Times*, 6 August 1914, 6.
22   *Ibid*.
23   'State Control of Food Prices', *The Times*, 7 August 1914, 3.
24   *Abergavenny Chronicle*, 7 August 1914, 3.
25   'State Control of Food Prices', *The Times*, 7 August 1914, 3.
26   *Abergavenny Chronicle*, 14 August 1914, 4.
27   Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet', 41.
28   *Western Mail*, 14 November 1914, 5.

order of 26 October it gained a monopoly of all sugar imports and controlled its price.[29] This was the only Government intervention in food supply between 1914 and 1916, despite the early disruption to trade. Imports of food declined in August and September but by December 1914 imports of some foodstuffs had increased and the reduction in others was small. It was a measure of the success of the Sugar Commission and justified Runciman's view that private enterprise could best manage food supply. Stark argues that the 'silence of the press' on the subject implies its approval of the Government's policy of non-intervention in this early period.[30]

The suggestion that there was general consensus around Government food policy at this stage is confirmed by no mention of food in Hansard until February 1915 when there was a major debate about rising prices.[31] The Government, according to Beveridge, feared that businesses would suffer from state intervention, and refrained from regulating any prices except sugar. The distribution and supply of other commodities remained normal but prices had begun rising steadily.[32] Parliament voiced its concern and the President of the Board of Trade suggested raising wages was the solution.[33] Inflation was plainly not understood at this stage. Beveridge notes that the Government's concern was with food prices not shortages. By June 1915 retail food prices were 32 percent up on July 1914. A year later they were up 59 percent. Popular feeling ran high and Paliament began to fear the consequences.[34]

State Food Control

In 1915, according to Lloyd George, some still believed the War would not last long.[35] This 'dangerous obsession' meant tensions within Government over food supply. In the summer of 1915 a committee led by Lord Milner recommended increasing food output based on a return to arable farming. It proposed that a million more acres be put under wheat and price guarantees offered to farmers to break up their pasture. It took nearly two years for Milner's proposals to be put into effect. The Minister of Agriculture, dismissing Milner's report, argued that the potential enlistment of agricultural workers coupled with abundant harvests in Canada and Australia, meant that it was not the time for such an undertaking.[36]

At the same time the menace of German submarine activities diminished and, as Lloyd George admitted, the escalation of the autumn of 1916 was not anticipated in 1915. In 1916 harvests were bad globally and there was a sudden increase in sinkings by German submarines. Cabinet concerns over food supplies grew. Lloyd George and others argued for a 'programme of food production' and the appointment of a food controller to supervise distribution.[37] Their arguments were rejected. Lloyd George speculated that some in Government believed that Britain could not win the War and therefore did not want to plan for its extension; alternatively, he suggests, it may have been 'stupidity and inertia'.[38]

The Parliamentary debates in autumn 1916 reveal the opposing arguments over food policy. In the Commons on 11 October Prime Minister Herbert Asquith was asked, in view of 'the current high

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[29]   Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet', 41.
[30]   *Ibid*., 44.
[31]   *Ibid*.
[32]   Beveridge, *British Food Control*, 8.
[33]   *Ibid*., 9.
[34]   *Ibid*., 18–19.
[35]   Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 756.
[36]   *Ibid*., 756–7.
[37]   *Ibid*., 757.
[38]   *Ibid*., 758.

prices of foodstuffs, and the impossibility of the Government control of such prices when so small a proportion of the nation's food is produced in the United Kingdom' whether he would consider introducing nationwide wintertime rationing. It was argued that this would free up food for the very poor and promote 'national solidarity'. The Prime Minister doubted the current shortages warranted such measures. He believed 'voluntary avoidance of superfluous consumption' would be as effective as rationing.[39] On 17 October food prices were debated in the Commons. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked why grocers were allowed to decline to sell sugar to their customers unless they also purchased other groceries. Mr Butcher said the resultant hardship and unfairness applied especially to the poor and suggested that grocers adopting this system should not be supplied with Government-owned or Government-controlled sugar. Mr Mckenna, the Chancellor, argued 'that the pressure upon the poorer classes would be much harder if there was no such system', otherwise the rich would have simply bought up all the sugar early in the week. The Chancellor was then asked if he could divert some of the sugar used in producing luxuries towards a supply for the purposes of the War and whether or not large amounts of sugar were being used making cocoa and chocolate for export to neutral countries — or even the enemy. Mckenna denied this was the case.[40] The question of rationing was raised again. Runciman argued that Austrian and German rationing had led to 'evils' and that it would adversely affect those on fixed incomes and residences. He also stated that rationing petrol and sugar had already drawn widespread protests. The Government had received 200,000 letters against petrol rationing and thousands from 'the poor' against sugar rationing.[41] In applauding Runciman's speech Mr Wardle nevertheless pointed out that rationing in Austria and Germany had enabled those countries to 'hold out longer' and made victory more difficult for the allies.[42] Calls were made for the appointment of a Food Controller and the establishment of a Ministry of Food but Runciman was unmoved. While accepting that prices should not be ignored completely, for him the all-important issue was 'to provide plenty in the country...we want to avoid any rationing of our people'. Beveridge recalled how Runciman's speech had effectively won the debate. He had, however, revealed that about two million tons of freight had been lost to German submarines. This could not be overlooked by MPs. A Food Controller was appointed within a month.[43]

The appointment of the Food Controller and measures to control prices show that the state's food policy was moving towards greater control. However, the *Dawson Daily News* commented that one defect in Runciman's speech 'was the absence of any proposal to encourage food production'. Runciman, it claimed, aimed instead at reducing consumption and saving in shipping rates. It was hoped that 'he would announce a government decision to guarantee uniform prices for wheat, barley and oats for a term of years' but this was not forthcoming. Nevertheless, Runicman's announcement was significant. In the House, he described the Food Controller 'as the most essential man in the Empire'.[44]

Conclusion

While the food problem was a growing concern for the Government during 1914–16 it was slow to take action except regarding sugar. This was initially due to expectations that it would be a

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[39]   *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, fifth series, vol., 86, 11 October 1916, col. 91–2.

[40]   *Ibid*., 17 October 1916, col. 368–71.

[41]   *Ibid*., col. 507–9.

[42]   *Ibid*., col. 509–12.

[43]   Beveridge, *British Food Control*, 23; for the appointment, *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 15 November 1916, col. 827–939.

[44]   *Dawson Daily News*, 12 December 1916, 9, and *Hansard Parliamentary Debate*, 15 November 1916, col. 857.

short war, as Barnett suggests.[45] Retailers' offer to self-regulate prices also probably influenced the Government's non-interventionist attitude to business. Increased German submarine activities in autumn 1916 increased food shortages, leading to the appointment of a Food Controller and a Ministry of Food. This began a new stage in food policy and greater state control. Beveridge's view was that the public would have accepted compulsory rationing of sugar and other foodstuffs at any time after the end of 1916.[46] What delayed greater state control in the autumn of 1916 was the view of Asquith and others that there was enough food for the country so long as voluntary restraint was exercised and also that the public did not want it. Asquith's Government failed to realize that it was futile fixing prices without controlling supply.[47]

THE PONTYPOOL FOOD 'RIOTS', FEBRUARY 1917

By the end of 1916 the problems of food shortages were openly admitted by the Government. Imports had been reduced, prices were rising and profiteering was common. The new Ministry of Food and the Food Controller had to consider increasing home production and distribution methods. Some areas were more troubled than others by shortages. Anthony Mor O'Brien's study of Aberdare argues that the town had no major domestic food crisis during the War, largely due to its successful allotments campaign.[48] If there were few problems in Aberdare, for Pontypool it was different. Evidence shows that here a food crisis was growing in early 1917, and it reached a dramatic peak in February when 'riots' broke out in the town. This section traces the events leading up to these 'riots', and discusses their causes and the role of local and national administration in dealing with food supply in their aftermath.

During February 1917 two new orders for potatoes were issued which provoked trouble in Pontypool market. A stallholder, a farmer's wife, allegedly said she would rather give her potatoes to pigs than sell at the regulation price. Her customer, proceeding to help herself, declared she was going to have some for her 'kids'. Sympathisers supported her and in the ensuing chaos shoppers clambered over the stalls to grab what they could. Eggs were looted and thrown at 'profiteers'. The potatoes were eventually impounded by the police and sold at the regulation price. The *Cambrian Daily Leader* reported that in the previous week Pontypool had experienced a potato 'famine' which had led to the high price.[49] A report appearing in the *Pontypool Free Press* on 22 February was followed by another on 2 March when different details are given. Both describe an incident occurring 'last Saturday' indicating there were disturbances over food on two successive Saturdays.[50] The second report records that tensions were not confined to the market for 'throughout the day and in every shop in the town' there was a potato shortage which left many waiting for hours before obtaining even a small supply'. Additionally, the sugar shortage and the alleged refusal by dealers to sell unless other goods were purchased led to a 'threatening crowd assembling in Crane Street on Saturday evening'. The police finally intervened and people dispersed without incident.

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[45]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 21.
[46]   Beveridge, *British Food Control*, 46.
[47]   *Ibid.*, 42.
[48]   Anthony Mor O'Brien, 'A Community in Wartime, Aberdare and the First World War' (PhD, University of Wales, 1986), 206.
[49]   *Cambrian Daily Leader*, 26 Feb 1917, 1; *Pontypool Free Press* 22 Feb 1917; Strong, 'The First World War', 11.
[50]   That is 16 Feb and 23 Feb.

Causes

Government Food Policy

When he became Prime Minister in December 1916, Lloyd George paid particular attention to the problems of both food production and distribution. Production was entrusted to the Minister of Agriculture; distribution and rationing to the first Food Controller, Lord Devonport.[51] Food production measures ran ahead of distribution. On 1 January a Food Production Department was established empowered to encourage better cultivation of agricultural land.[52]

The Government's food production campaign concentrated on farmers who were guaranteed minimum prices for wheat, oats and potatoes.[53] This was to encourage them to cultivate land. A letter to *The Times* from a Covent Garden trader early in February 1917 protested at the Government's intervention in price-setting. The writer warned of a coming potato famine. Significantly he described himself as not only a farmer but also a businessman.[54]

An important urban aspect of the food production drive was the allotment campaign. Lloyd George stated that the value of allotments was recognised early on and even in the first year of war they grew rapidly.[55] In his memoirs he quotes returns from 1,161 towns showing nearly 2,000 acres of land for cultivation had been provided in 1917. Lloyd George suggests the campaign was also morale-boosting. There was a 'fraternity' of amateur cultivators and a 'kind of brotherhood of the potato'.[56] Dewey, however, questions the effectiveness of the food production campaign. Output fell in 1916 and though there was some improvement, by 1918 it failed to return to its pre-war level.[57]

Problems over potato prices had surfaced by February 1917. The poor 1916 crop caused shortages which led the Food Controller to issue an Order to try to keep their price down. Stocks had been further reduced by prolonged frost. The loophole in the Order issued by Devonport on 1 February was that it fixed the price at which the grower (farmer) and the retailer (greengrocer) could sell but imposed no limit on the wholesaler whose charges could vary. These 'middlemen' justified their charges by claiming that many farmers added charges for cartage to railway stations. The War Cabinet closed the loophole by placing a maximum charge farmers could make to wholesalers. This was to apply until the end of March 1917 after which the farmer was to get an extra sovereign per ton from the middleman who would then pass this on to the greengrocer, who in his turn could charge the public an extra farthing a pound.[58]

This reflects the indecisiveness of food policy in this period. Barnett has questioned how far this was the Food Controller's fault, or the Ministry of food's weak management and to what extent food policy was dictated by the War Cabinet.[59] The Food Controller lacked legal powers and the new system introduced in December 1916 proved insufficient for the demands placed upon it. The extent of these could not have been foreseen in the autumn of 1916. Food imports during the first two weeks of 1917 were half those of one year earlier, and stocks fell faster than usual.[60]

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[51]   Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 759–62.
[52]   *Ibid*., 762.
[53]   *Ibid*., 763.
[54]   *The Times*. 7 February 1917, 9.
[55]   Lloyd George, *Memoirs*, 785.
[56]   *Ibid*., 786.
[57]   P. E. Dewey, 'Food Production and Policy in the United Kingdom, 1914–1918', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30 (1980), 83.
[58]   *The Times* 19 February 1917, 9.
[59]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 98.
[60]   *Ibid*., 100, 102.

The problem with trying to peg prices when the food supply was diminishing was that the value of a commodity rose as supplies fell. This led to tensions which spilled over into violence. Among the food riots that occurred, several were over potatoes. In mid-January housewives in Maryport, Cumberland, ransacked farmers' carts when they refused to sell at a 'fair' price. In retaliation the farmers blockaded the town denying it potatoes and butter.[61]

The Food Controller issued a statement on the need for economy which was published in newspapers on 3 February 1917.[62] Because of the need to reduce consumption his department had calculated average amounts of bread, meat and sugar needed per person. He warned that should compulsory rationing be needed, the necessary organizational machinery was being prepared. The statement ended with an appeal to patriotism in voluntary restraint and to women in particular who can 'exercise so much influence' in the home.[63] Beveridge criticised the appeal for its unrealistic apportionment of foodstuffs. The working classes couldn't afford the amount of meat they were allowed, for example, but ate more bread than their limit.[64]

By mid-February the expectation of compulsory rationing was inducing 'numbers of selfish and unpatriotic individuals' to buy food beyond their need. Some shopkeepers were suspicious of customers' reasons, for example, that they were entertaining soldiers. On top of this country dwellers were coming into towns to buy provisions from larger stores.[65]

Local Problems

The Pontypool 'riots' surprised the local council. As in Aberdare fears of reduced imports had increased enthusiasm for allotments. Pontypool's allotments were judged to be a success at a council meeting in October 1916. One member, impressed by the produce grown by tenants on the council's allotments, said the council ought to acquire more land, reasoning that foreign imports would become more difficult and that food prices were likely to rise. Another councillor thought the Local Government Board should urge all local authorities to provide allotments which had proved a 'Godsend'. Reservations were expressed, however, regarding the amount of land to be taken since some should be kept for 'open spaces' for children's playgrounds, for example.[66] A similar discussion was had by the neighbouring Abersychan Urban District Council in December 1916 when both a labour shortage and food supply were considered growing problems. Proposals put to the meeting included using German prisoners to cultivate land and making use of uncultivated gardens. The clerk informed the meeting that he had contacted the Local Government Board regarding new food regulations and the council would have to consider new regulations to be issued by the Food Controller. Regarding the question of the powers to seize land for cultivation, the clerk confirmed that such powers existed under the Defence of the Realm Act.[67] The discussion indicates some of the uncertainties facing local councils and the complexities developing at national level over which body had responsibility for administering food policies. It is also an early reference to the national Food Controller who had been appointed just a week earlier.

The widespread coverage of the 'riots' in the press sets the incident in the wider context although local newspapers provide more detail. In Somerset it was reported under the headline,

[61]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 118.
[62]   *The Times*, 3 February 1917, 9.
[63]   *Ibid*.
[64]   Beveridge, *British Food Control*, 34–5.
[65]   *The Times*, 13 February 1917, 11.
[66]   *Pontypool Free Press*, 6 Oct 1916, 11.
[67]   *Ibid*., 15 Deember 1916, 2.

'Farmers holding the nation by the throat' and Pontypool's 'potato riots' were listed as evidence that across the country farmers were deliberately withholding potatoes. It was also claimed that the riots resulted from retailers from surrounding villages selling their stocks in Pontypool market at excessive prices.[68] The same details were published in other papers across the country.[69] Many of the reports presumably come from the same source so the evidence may be much narrower than at first appears. Additional detail is sometimes included, however, and the fact that the incident was reported in Australia and the United States indicates the extent of international concern. The *New York Tribune* reported difficulties in civilian potato supplies in London caused both by farmers withholding stocks and the demand for the army. Other vegetables were in short supply also and in Pontypool and Exeter the police intervened to ensure that produce was sold at the regulation price. The affray in Pontypool market was described as dealers trying to sell goods at high prices being attacked by a crowd.[70] In Australia the Adelaide paper *The Register*, emphasised the priority given to army requirements and also noted that grocers in Liverpool were besieged by people anxious to buy large quantities of prohibited and restricted goods. It commented that Swansea and Barrow (probably Barry) were without potatoes before going on to mention the rioting in Pontypool.[71] Much of the interest in the USA and Australia lay in the potential damage to their own trade with Britain.

Even if some of the details became distorted, food was clearly a problem. The Pontypool UDC discussed the events at length amid concerns about food exploitation in the area. Its meeting was recorded in full in the *Pontypool Free Press*.[72] Reporting to the meeting the market's collector said there had been exaggeration by the press though there had been the threat of something more serious. Wider concerns about the raising of prices were expressed, one councillor asking, 'what must the men who are fighting for us think when they hear that owing to the exploitation that is going on their wives and children at home are being implicated in scenes of this sort in order to obtain the necessaries of life?' This was not a problem confined to Pontypool. Sydney Walton, a journalist and publicist at the Ministry of Food highlighted a wider discontent in a report.[73] One letter sent home from France said 'War or no War, those at home have got to see our dependents get sufficient food'. Another man wrote: 'All the men's wives seem to tell their husbands about the trouble they have to get the food stuffs. You would think they would come to some terms when they see the country in that state.'[74]

The Council resolved that repetition of such price rises would lead to eviction from the market. A member reminded the meeting that potatoes were not the only commodity affected. He blamed the Government for fixing prices for farmers while ignoring the middle men.

Price regulation was evidently not of itself a solution. Food was a multi-faceted problem. Pontypool market-traders were probably selling at a loss, one of the committee claimed. Another believed that a 'certain class of people' had seen the disturbance as an opportunity to grab what they could. Trouble had escalated when a private trader had come to the market and bought up the whole stock. Rabbits too were being sold at extortionate prices and prosecution of offenders was proposed

68   *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 28 February 1917, 1.
69   For example, the *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 February 1917, 4.
70   *New York Tribune*, 25 February 1917, 5.
71   The *Register*, 26 February 1917, 7.
72   *Pontypool Free Press*, 22 February 1917.
73   Jeremy Wormell, *The Management of the National Debt of the United Kingdom 1900–1932* (London, New York: Routledge, 2004 edn), 760.
74   The National Archives (TNA), MAF 60/243, Sydney Walton, 'The effect of food queues at home on men at the front' (16 April 1918) quoted in Derek J. Oddy, *From Plain Fare to Fusion Food: British Diet from the 1980s to the 1990s* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 78.

where exploitation of the public was uncovered. A further problem was the practice of tradesmen compelling customers to buy other goods when they needed sugar. The Council was urged to draw the Food Controller's attention to this if it continued. In response the Chair commented that it had been a mistake not to issue sugar tickets. This would have ensured a fair distribution and not favour those with 'plenty of money'. In a dramatic statement, councillor Bythway concluded, 'It is a great hardship for poor people to have to spend five or six shillings in order to get a pound of sugar. What is carried on in the town is abominable.'[75]

In the aftermath of the market disturbance the clerk to the local council identified one specific problem relating to the town's food supply which was the tendency of 'outsiders' from outlying areas to descend on the town to buy food when their own local supplies had been exhausted.[76] The potential problem had been indicated earlier in the year when, on 25 January 1917, T. Allwyn Lloyd of the Welsh Town Planning & Housing Trust Ltd had sent his report to Pontypool Urban District Council.[77] Before outlining his town planning proposals, Lloyd had provided a very informative summary of the UDC area which helps explain some of the peculiar circumstances of the town in the War. The district was small in area and with a population of only 6,950. It was, however, surrounded by two other urban areas, Abersychan and Panteg, both much larger in area and population. Abersychan had 25,000 residents and Panteg 11,000. Pontypool, however, was the chief town of the valley, with a 'flourishing' market and many 'good shops and urban attractions' all of which, the report stated, were patronised by the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. Clearly if the supply of food to the town was limited there would be trouble.

Women

A great burden was placed on women who were expected to feed their household. Food riots resulting from potato shortages were recorded on 5 March in Cardiff, Swansea and Tonypandy in the Rhondda.[78] In Tonypandy a crowd of women threatened a greengrocer's assistants believing that wholesale dealers and retailers were withholding supplies. Presumably to get around the price limit, some local greengrocers were charging one penny for a brown paper bag, and when the women brought their own bags they were refused potatoes.[79] On 10 March it was reported that in Swansea a 'country' woman (presumably a stallholder) had been surrounded by other women when only two bags of potatoes arrived. Police seized the potatoes and doled them out in 2 lb lots.[80] Women did more than confront retailers, they staged large demonstrations to voice their feelings. In mid-March 1917 a Glasgow assembly of some 2,000 women protested to Glasgow Corporation against the holding up of supplies for profit.[81] In Derby, a 300 strong meeting against the 'scandalous' local food control committee contemplated how many years women would lose as a result from standing in the queues.[82]

Karen Hunt has argued that many women who got involved in such 'cost of living actions' became politicised by them and this may have had effects that lasted beyond the War.[83] She suggests

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[75]   *Pontypool Free Press*, 22 February 1917.
[76]   *Ibid*.
[77]   Gwent Archives (GA), A433/M19, Pontypool UDC Minute Book, 25 Jan 1917.
[78]   *Western Mail*, 5 March 1917, 5.
[79]   *Western Mail*, 5 March 1917, 5.
[80]   *Lincolnshire Echo*, 10 March 1917.
[81]   *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star*, 15 March 1917, 3.
[82]   *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 16 January 1918, 2.
[83]   Karen Hunt, 'The Politics of Food and Women's Neighborhood Activism in First World War Britain', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 77 (spring, 2010), 8.

that in the food queues ordinary housewives may have stood alongside political activists and been influenced by them.[84] Women were certainly not silent during the War. Towards the end of February 1917, a conference organised by the Women's Labour League in Westminster's Central Hall protested against Lord Devonport's voluntary rationing scheme and called for increased bread rations for working class families and improvements in sugar distribution. The bread needed to be increased, it was claimed, because few working class homes could afford the suggested meat ration.[85]

Conclusion

The food supply problems of late 1916 were not solved by the creation of the Food Controller. In Pontypool the continued shortages led to rioting even though the town's allotments were apparently successful. Prices rose and profiteering increased. Its particular problem was that it was a small town with a large outlying population. Food shortages were bound to cause trouble. Women were becoming increasingly active nationally and, as the main household shopper, were incensed by price rises and profiteering. They were at the heart of the Pontypool 'riots'.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL FOOD POLICY 1917–18

Government action to resolve the country's food problems was slow and ineffective. In Pontypool local pressures added to the tensions and expressed themselves in 'riots' early in 1917. Pontypool's problems continued throughout the year and while the Government remained indecisive the local authority had to react. In developing its own food scheme it was to influence national policy. This section considers these events.

Response to the Pontypool Food Riots

Throughout 1917 shortages worsened but solutions remained mainly local and voluntary. On 20 April, Pontypool UDC restricted Sunday Trading by closing 'Refreshment Houses'. This was to 'remove the prevailing waste of labour, money and material resources in the production, sale and consumption of luxuries'.[86] The local authority's limitations were apparent, however. Acknowledging the 'national shortage of food supplies', the minutes of 28 March included a note that the council 'urges the inhabitants of the district to use every effort in the care and economising of the consumption of food especially potatoes and cereals and prevent waste'.[87]

The situation in Pontypool supports Margaret Barnett's view that no real change in food policy in Britain occurred before the summer of 1917.[88] Regulation was voluntary and direction from both local and national government was advisory.

Lord Rhondda

On 28 May, Devonport resigned, his six months as Food Controller widely judged as unsuccessful. Barnett considered his policies 'erratic': seen by some as 'half measures' usually delayed.[89] Lord Rhondda was appointed Food Controller in June 1917. According to Beveridge he introduced 'the

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84   *Ibid.*, 22.
85   *Birmingham Gazette*, 26 February 1917, 5.
86   GA, A433/M19, Pontypool UDC Minute Book, 25 Jan 1917.
87   *Ibid.*, 28 March 1917.
88   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, xvi.
89   *Ibid.*, 121.

heroic age of food control in Britain'.[90] Rhondda, Beveridge argues, brought greater cohesion to a confused situation, delegating and appointing responsible officers. The Ministry of Food became more effective, its three core organizational responsibilities to control food supplies, regulate prices and manage food distribution and rationing.[91] When Rhondda died on 3 July 1918, he was mourned by the Government and public alike.[92] Lord Curzon described him as the most popular Food Controller in Europe.[93] Considering that Rhondda reportedly rationed himself on the principle of under-eating, his popularity and his post-war legacy are perhaps not surprising.[94] The existence of Pontypool's rationing scheme can be credited to Rhondda's policy of decentralization. The *Falkirk Herald* reported that he 'brought to his aid the Local Authorities', to deal with such issues as profiteering, and 'gave them large powers of option and differentiation to solve the special needs and circumstances of widely separated areas and localities' adding that, 'the local control has worked wonders.'[95]

Whether Devonport was as poor and Rhondda as good as was once thought by Beveridge and his contemporaries is now being questioned. As Margaret Barnett has shown, Devonport did agree, albeit reluctantly, to drafting a compulsory rationing scheme in April 1917.[96] John Martin argues that many of Lord Rhondda's policies were actually formulated under Devonport. Martin also suggests that Davenport's power to determine food policy was more limited than his critics have implied. Food policy was determined mainly by the War Cabinet who relied instead on the advice of the Royal Society's Food (War) Committee. Martin concludes that Devonport 'became a useful scapegoat for the food price inflation and the growing war weariness of 1917'.[97]

Rhondda's influence as Food Controller can be seen in Pontypool UDC's resolution to prosecute breaches of food regulations. In June several cases were brought by the Pontypool police to the Petty Sessions court. Two of the accused managed public eating places and had failed to keep 'a register relating to foodstuffs in form presented by the Food Controller'. Three had offered for sale bread 'not of even number of pounds in weight'; one of these had also offered 'light or fancy pastries' for sale. All were found guilty and fined 20 shillings. The following month a shop keeper was charged with staying open after 8 pm. Three others were accused of aiding and abetting, suggesting a major operation. Another case involved milk sold 'deficient in fat'.[98]

Food Control Committees

In the first half of August 1917 the Food Controller, through the Local Government Board, requested that local authorities appoint Food Committees to administer food control.[99] They were charged with administering a new scheme to distribute sugar, promote food economy and, once established, to deal with other foodstuffs especially bread and meat. They were also to regulate prices. The Food Controller was to fix the general scale of prices based on the 'reasonable' profits of traders; the Food

[90]   Beveridge, *British Food Control*, 51.
[91]   *Ibid*. 51–2.
[92]   *Southern Reporter*, 11 July 1918, 6.
[93]   *Aberdeen Journal*, 4 July 1918, 2.
[94]   *Daily Mirror*, 22 June 1917, 10.
[95]   *Falkirk Herald*, 19 June 1918, 4.
[96]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 106, 109.
[97]   John Martin, 'The Heroic Age of Food Control, 1917–18: Sinners and Saints (a reappraisal)', a paper presented to the 'Food & World War One Symposium', Liverpool Hope University, 2 April 2014, 2.
[98]   GA, CPP/M1/31, Pontypool Petty Sessions Register.
[99]   *Pontypool Free Press*, 18 August 1917, 4.

Committee was to enforce the scale and suggest local 'modifications'. Food Control Committees were to have not more than twelve members with at least one woman and one labour representative. Their primary duty was to 'safeguard' the interests of consumers and then to register grocers and other sugar retailers. After 1 October no unregistered retailer would be allowed to sell sugar. Forms for public registration were to be made available by the end of September.[100]

Pontypool's Rationing Scheme

This scheme for controlling food prices had its weaknesses. In Pontypool in mid-November it was reported to the Food Committee that people were 'aiding and abetting' retailers in charging above the recommended scale.[101] Towards the end of the year, evidence suggests the problem of food offences was increasing. On 4 December, the Chair of the Food Committee reported several prosecutions at the Police Court for breaches of the Meat (Maximum Prices) and the Conditions of Sale Orders. Offenders included the manager of the Abersychan and Talywain Cooperative Society.[102] At the Petty Sessions court on 8 December, 24 people appeared charged with offences relating to food regulations which had been committed from October onwards. Three separate cases of selling milk above the price fixed by the Panteg Food Control Committee were recorded; others related to over-pricing of lamb, beef, butter and bacon.[103] On 10 December a Birmingham newspaper reported that two Pontypool butchers had been fined for selling meat above the maximum price.[104]

The Abersychan and Talywain Co-op was summoned for attempting to impose a condition in regard to the sale of butter, tea, and bacon at Pontypool about the end of November: members were refused supplies unless they had registered their sugar cards with the Society. They were prosecuted at the insistence of the local food control committee. The defendants pleaded not guilty, claiming the Society's only object was to secure a fair share of necessary commodities for their 1,000 customers. The system adopted prevented people from going from one shop to another and obtaining more than a fair share of restricted commodities. With one exception the Bench fined the employees £10 each.[105] The system of tying a customer to a particular shop later became the defining characteristic of British rationing.[106]

Queues were a problem in Pontypool. In early December, Sarah Woods was arrested when she struck another woman in the face when standing in a food queue in George Street. The constable on duty stated that the queues in this street were causing difficulties though this was the only incident of riotous behaviour. The defendant stated that she had been queuing since 6 a.m. that morning when a Garndiffaith woman pushed her out of the queue to let a friend in. She remonstrated with the woman who then pulled her hair.[107]

Queues were primarily a problem faced by women, and many felt disquiet about them, as shown in section two. It was suggested, in a near empty House in March 1917, that local authorities should liaise with traders to ensure fair food distribution and to help women and children in queues.[108]

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100   *Ibid*.
101   *Ibid*., 16 Nov 1917, 4.
102   GA, A433/M20, minutes of the Pontypool Urban District Council.
103   GA, CPP/M1/31.
104   *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 Dec 1917, 8.
105   *Western Mail*, 10 December 1917, 3.
106   TNA, MAF 60/109, Cabinet Papers: 'Notes on the History of Rationing by Mr W. H. Beveridge' (undated, *c*. 1921).
107   *Pontypool Free Press*, 28 December 1917, 7.
108   *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, fifth series, vol. 91, 23 March 1917, col. 2163–6.

With the problems of profiteering, shortages and queuing multiplying, the town took action which again made national news. By mid-December 1917, some claimed Pontypool was the first town to 'get a rationing scheme into operation'.[109] On 14 December the local paper reported that the Food Control Committee were about to issue cards to local grocers and dealers. One card would be issued by the tradesman to every customer of the shop. The card would record the householder's name, number of family members, principal foodstuffs and the date and quantity supplied. The Committees monitored the food coming into the town each week in order to estimate quantities available for each customer.[110]

The stated reason for the scheme was the problem of non-locals 'rushing to the shops and depriving the people of the district of their proper share'.[111] Stopping queues was a further objective. The *Free Press* on 21 December noted that Pontypool was the first Food Control Committee in the country to introduce rationing. It was an example of the initiative Lord Rhondda had been hoping for from local committees in tackling queues.[112]

The scheme did not meet everyone's approval. A couple of weeks later it was criticised by a meeting of the North Monmouthshire Labour Party for preventing some regular shoppers in the town from getting supplies. The meeting called for closer co-operation between Pontypool, Abersychan and Panteg Food Control Committees in the distribution of food supplies and in particular for a card system common to all three areas. It also called upon Lord Rhondda to 'nationalise' the distribution of food supplies.[113]

The Pontypool Food Control Committee responded to its critics. In late January 1918, it was reported to the Pontypool Trades and Labour Council that the Panteg and Pontypool Food Control Committees had agreed to amalgamate to introduce one rationing scheme for the two areas. An executive committee would, sanctioned by the Food Controller, have extensive powers, enabling them to maintain the stocks at all shops, and to make an equitable distribution amongst all the retailers according to the number of their regular customers. The committee denied having monopolised supplies or excluded non-locals who had habitually shopped in Pontypool. Although the town's population was between six and seven thousand, the committee had issued 18,000 ration cards, 7,000 in Abersychan, 3,000 in Panteg, and a large number in agricultural districts whose residents depended upon Pontypool traders. It was regretted that Abersychan had not yet joined Pontypool and Panteg. It was claimed that the primary object of the original Pontypool scheme had been achieved, for queues had been abolished, although one woman observed that very much worse queues remained in the Pontypool market on Saturdays. She was disgusted with the Trade Unionists generally that they had the allowed the queues at all, and also allowed the womenfolk to be 'insulted and bantered' about in them. It was decided again to ask the Pontypool, Abersychan and Panteg committees to amalgamate for the purposes of local rationing.[114]

By late January 1918 an arrangement had been arrived at between the Pontypool and Panteg Food Committees and local Labour representatives to send a draft pooling scheme for local rationing to Lord Rhondda. The same bodies were to ask him to bring pressure to bear on the Abersychan Committee, to join them.[115]

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[109]   *The Times*, 20 Dec 1917, 3.
[110]   *Pontypool Free Press*, 14 December 1917, 4.
[111]   *Ibid*.
[112]   *Ibid*., 21 December 1917, 4.
[113]   *Ibid*., 28 December 1917, 5.
[114]   *Western Mail*, 23 January 1918, 3.
[115]   *Ibid*., 28 January 1918, 3.

Despite some local criticism, Pontypool's card scheme was immediately commended by national newspapers and thus brought to the attention of other, in many cases larger, towns.[116] Within a week Pontypool's system was referred to at the Cardiff Food Control Committee and a representative of one of the multiple shops urged the committee to adopt some such system. One of their inspectors, he said, had visited Pontypool found the system there with perfect order. Pontypool's shops were window-dressed as before the War, and customers were coming into the shops with their former regularity and order.[117] Within days the Cardiff Committee informed Lord Rhondda that it would introduce a card system for essential foods provided Rhondda informed them each week of the probable quantities of margarine, butter and tea that would be available. The committee decided to write to firms suggesting they should arrange a voluntary distribution of margarine, so that they could make wholesale distribution to other retailers in the city, instead of confining this to their own shops. The Pontypool system of distribution was the model.[118]

Further afield, in late December 1917 the *Manchester Evening News* praised Pontypool's scheme, reporting that: 'The cards have accomplished even more than was expected of them. Before they were issued queues lined the streets early morning to late at night. Now they have completely vanished'.[119] A similar report was published in Sunderland and again the purpose of the scheme was 'to banish the queue'.[120]

Compulsory Rationing

Pontypool was arguably the first town to operate its own rationing scheme. Its initiative was a significant step towards national compulsory rationing. Voluntary rationing was proving ineffective and by December 1917 demands for a compulsory system escalated. Women played a prominent part in this. On 4 December a female deputation visited Lord Rhondda to demand the immediate implementation of compulsory rationing. According to one paper they were from a wide area but shared similar experiences of long food queues. They felt a 'rampant discontent' with conditions that enabled the rich to buy as much food as they liked while the poor couldn't get any. It was, the paper continued, essentially a women's problem: 'they are the nation's caterers'. In a further attempt to appease the deputation, Rhondda added that a new order would provide cheaper milk for expectant mothers and infants.[121] The order would take two months.[122]

Rhondda's reply confirmed that compulsory rationing was in prospect. He said that unless his appeal for voluntary rationing produced better results, compulsory rationing was inevitable 'as soon as the machinery was ready.'[123] William Beveridge notes that discussions of various schemes for rationing were being discussed before the end of 1916 so some planning for a compulsory scheme must have been in place.[124]

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116   *Ibid*., 21 December 1917, 4.
117   *Ibid*., 28 December 1917, 3.
118   *Ibid*., 24 December 1917, 3.
119   *Manchester Evening News*, 27 December 1917, 2.
120   *Sunderland Daily Echo*, 20 December 1917, 2.
121   *Hull Daily Mail*, 5 December 1917, 3, quoting the *Daily Express*.
122   The Milk (Mothers and Children) Order, 1918 was issued on 8 February, 1918, *Manuals of Emergency Legislation. Food Control Manual, revised to April 30th, 1918, comprising the food controllers powers and orders* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918), 364.
123   *Whitby Gazette*, 7 December 1917, 5.
124   TNA, MAF 60/109, Cabinet Papers: 'Notes on the History of Rationing by Mr W. H. Beveridge' (undated, *c*. 1921).

The Government's final step towards compulsory rationing was driven by local schemes led by Pontypool. Among other early schemes were those in Gravesend and Birmingham. Gravesend's was based on individual ration cards while Birmingham adopted family cards. In both cases the customer registered with one retailer.[125] Towns were becoming impatient with Government inaction and fears of a proliferation of local schemes prompted the Food Controller to act. On 22 December 1917 Food Control Committees were empowered to enforce food control in their area, provided their plans were approved by the ministry.[126] This applied a national standard to the local schemes. By July 1918 a national system of compulsory rationing was in force.

Conclusion

Rhondda took much of the credit for compulsory rationing despite trying to defer it. His hand had been forced by local committees – and Pontypool had led the way in this. Trouble in the town can be traced to the beginning of 1917 and continued after the 'riot' of February. Queues and their potential for disorder triggered the introduction of Pontypool's scheme and it can be argued that fears of rioting lay behind similar schemes elsewhere. This is also the conclusion reached by Josh Sutton. His argument that the national scheme finalized in July 1918 was a response to 'growing, unruly and potentially damaging food queues', is a valid one.[127] It was predated, however, by local schemes trying to deal with the same problem and these schemes influenced the introduction of the national system.

Margaret Barnett has suggested that the popularity of compulsory rationing rested to a great extent on the long resistance to it by the government.[128] Pontypool's part in breaking this resistance has been central to this study.

CONCLUSION

This study has traced the development of Pontypool's food policy. It has shown that the process started with Government delays in controlling food supply. These stemmed from the belief that the War would be short and that food supplies were adequate. The change to the Government's food policy in 1916 is the theme of section one. When the Government began to intervene, its measures were ineffective and by 1917 serious shortages led to food riots. Pontypool was one of the towns to experience 'rioting' despite a successful allotments campaign. The 'riots' and their causes are studied in section two. Section three argues that the continued shortages and queuing and the potential for further violence forced the Pontypool authorities to adopt food rationing in late 1917. This was in advance of national compulsory rationing. The section further argues that Pontypool influenced other local schemes which together led the Government to move from its voluntarist stance to introduce compulsory rationing in July 1918. This study argues that rationing was a response to civil disorder and the fear of it rather than a means of supporting the War.

Several historians have considered the food policy problem and have noted the government's decision to adopt a 'business as usual' approach initially. Historians have not examined in enough detail what was happening in local areas before state control was introduced. By late 1916 the problem of food supply was serious enough in Pontypool to be discussed frequently by the area's

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[125]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 147.
[126]   *Ibid*., 147–8.
[127]   Josh Sutton, 'Ration or Riot – rationing as a means of crowd control', a paper presented to the 'Food & World War One Symposium', Liverpool Hope University, 2 April 2014, 2.
[128]   Barnett, *British Food Policy*, 146.

local councils. Their concern for bringing more land under cultivation by way of allotments reflected this, and they were forced to pre-empt new food regulations issued by the Food Controller. Jerry White notes that the Land Cultivation Order of December 1916 allowed local councils to acquire empty land for allotments but this, in London and elsewhere, came after popular feeling rather than anticipating it.[129] Relatively little research has been published on urban allotments. In Pontypool there is a clear impression of frustration with the slowness of central government action. While Gazeley and Newell argue that state intervention was purely in the interests of military victory, these local circumstances were serious enough to urge the government to intervene for the sake of public order rather than the War.[130] Julie Stark notes that food queues had become serious when Birmingham introduced rationing in December 1917.[131] The reasons for the government's non-intervention in the first two years of war, and the impact of its inaction on local areas are an important theme in this study of Pontypool.

The findings of this study suggest that further research into food riots and rationing would be worthwhile. In his study of the West Cumberland food riots, Anthony James Coles has argued that the food scarcity of the winter 1916–17 had not been experienced since the 1840s.[132] Scarcity, he suggests had been avoided since then by cheap imports – which were stopped during the War. Social protest expressed in food riots has not received the attention it merits. The role of women as the main shoppers and queuers is also an important theme, and also worth fuller investigation.

This study suggests that the influence of Pontypool and other towns on national food policy is a subject worthy of further research.

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[129]   Jerry White, *Zeppelin Nights*: *London in the First World War* (London: the Bodley Head, 2014), 174.
[130]   Ian Gazeley and Andrew Newell, 'The First World War and working-class food consumption in Britain', *European Review of Economic History* (2013), 17 (1), 71.
[131]   Stark, 'British Food Policy and Diet', 115.
[132]   Anthony James Coles, 'The Moral Economy of the Crowd: some Twentieth-Century Food Riots', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 18, No. 1 (autumn, 1978), 175.

REVIEWS

Celyn Gurden-Williams, *Pwy oedd Arglwyddes Llanofer, 'Gwenynen Gwent'?, Who was Lady Llanover, the 'Bee of Gwent'?;* **(Lady Llanover Society, 2016); 60 pp including illustrations, map and notes; ISBN 978-1-526204-92-9.**

The Lady Llanover Society was founded 'to promote an understanding of the life of Augusta Hall... and her contribution to the language and culture of Wales'. Publication of this brief account was timed to coincide with the 2016 National Eisteddfod taking place in Abergavenny, where Lady Llanover was a significant figure in the promotion of local eisteddfodau in the nineteenth century.

Within the constraints of a bilingual text, maps and numerous illustrations in only 60 pages the writer has managed to cover in eleven brief sections the essential elements of 'Gwenynen Gwent's' busy life and interests. These range from her upbringing, and growing interest in what she perceived as the disappearing Welsh language and culture in Monmouthshire, to the practical ways she fostered Welsh music, dress and customs, especially on her own estate. It was unusual for someone of her upper-class upbringing to take such an interest, but her position and wealth enabled her to create a Welsh idyll at Llanover. The author makes it clear that she could be autocratic in pursuing her aims, but undoubtedly her work was instrumental in saving much that is now valued as part of traditional Welsh culture.

The illustrations are well-chosen for each section (the list extending to three pages.) Augusta Hall's artistic skill is seen in her charming painting of a Welsh girl in the costume of Cardiganshire. This is one of several made for her prize-winning entry to the Cardiff Eisteddfod in 1834. (Others can be found on the Society's web-site.)

This book is intended to provide an introduction to the subject in a concise, easily readable form, and succeeds in doing so. The reader is also directed to the Lady Llanover Society web-site, which contains much the same information as the text and some different illustrations. For those who wish to read in greater depth two titles are suggested, one *High Hats and Harps. The Life and Times of Lord and Lady Llanover* (in English) and the other, in Welsh, *Oes Y Byd I'r Iaith Gymraeg*. It is to be hoped that visitors to the Eisteddfod who discovered this small book were inspired to find out more.

Anne Dunton

Olding, Frank, *Archaeoleg Ucheldir Gwent – The Archaeology of Upland Gwent* **(Comisiwn Brenhinol Henebion Cymru – Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Aberystwyth, 2016) ISBN 978-1-871184-57-0 paperback 216mm x 229mm, ISBN 978-1-871184-58-7 e-lyfr/e-book; 160pp with 91 illustrations. £14.95.**

Professor William Manning's preface provides a sound and succinct basis for any review of this work. It '*provides the perfect introduction to the subject*' being the product of '*a distinguished archaeologist*' in whom '*…no one has a greater knowledge or appreciation of the archaeology of the area*'.

Archaeoleg Ucheldir Gwent – The Archaeology of Upland Gwent complements the 2003 RCAHMW volume '*The Archaeology of the Welsh Uplands*',[1] both in format and concept, whilst

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[1]   Browne, D. and Hughes, S., 2003. *The Archaeology of the Welsh Uplands*. Aberystwyth, Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW).

allowing greater focus on the archaeology of Gwent.[2] A great strength of the book is the lack of any unhelpful adherence to a rigidly defined geographical or modern political area. This enables very helpful contextualisation of, and within, the main area of study as defined on page 14. Otherwise, 'extramural' sites could be said to include sites such as Killcrow Hill, Llanmelin and Croes Carn Einion, which overlook the Gwent Levels, and Llangorse, just outside the modern political boundary. Box features (and the preface), authored by senior experts in each case, provide peerless overviews of significant places, but also act as testimonies to the work of (along with the author) some of the greatest living contributors to the advancement of knowledge in, *and* public engagement with, the archaeology in this region – our great researchers, educators and inspiration to so many who have benefitted from their time, knowledge and support so freely given. The great beauty of the Royal Commission's images was noted by Prof. Manning but is worthy of repetition for it makes such lavish illustration a major feature of the book. Comparison of the image of 'Sultan' the pit pony in this volume (p. 135) with that in the 2003 RCAHMW volume (p. 98) demonstrates the passage of more recent time, a reminder that history and archaeology continue to be made, and will continue to be made. Chapter 6 importantly considers the present and the future, recognising *'a remarkable archaeological and cultural landscape'* which has fostered an *'intense sense of place'* which '*contributed… to the creation of modern Wales* [and] *the modern world*'.

Such a successful book-concept cannot fail to generate greater interest in the archaeology in a region often historically comparatively neglected; as illustrated by the reported description of the area as '*Wilds*' by Archdeacon William Coxe FRS (p. 16). The cover price of £14.95 will hopefully facilitate substantial numbers of purchases within the area of the study and greatly improve local knowledge of, and value accorded to, the archaeology featured. Gwent may now be proud to have a volume complementing the post-millennium raft of geographically neighbouring (and inter-visible) English upland studies across the Severn Estuary, e.g. the Mendip Hills and Exmoor, which make most interesting comparison archaeologically.[3]

Mark Lewis MSc, PhD, FSA

Jeremy Knight, *Blaenavon; from Iron Town to World Heritage Site* **(Logaston Press, 2016); ISBN 978-1-910839-01-0; paperback; 192pp+xvi; 88 illustrations, 56 in colour; nine maps and plans, three in colour; £12.95**

This is an attractive book in an accessible and readable format. The text has been developed from research done over many years, drawing on personal observations, documentary sources and professional expertise. The contents of the book comprise an introduction, eleven main chapters,

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2   The 2016, Gwent, publication was supported financially by the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association.
3   Riley, H. & Wilson-North, R., 2001. *The Field Archaeology of Exmoor*. English Heritage. Now freely available online in pdf format *via* the Archaeology Data Service (ADS). See also Hegarty, C. with Wilson-North, R., 2014. *The Archaeology of Hill Farming on Exmoor*. Historic England; Newman, P., 2011. *The Field Archaeology of Dartmoor*. English Heritage; Jamieson, E., 2015. *The Historic Landscape of the Mendip Hills*. Historic England; Johnson, N. and Rose, P., 2008. *Bodmin Moor: An Archaeological Survey – Volume 1: The Human Landscape to c. 1860*. English Heritage; Herring, P., Sharpe, A., Smith, J.R., Giles, C. and Johnson, N., 2008. *Bodmin Moor: An archaeological survey – Volume 2: The industrial and post-medieval landscapes*. English Heritage. The excellent volume – Brunning, R., 2013. *The Lost Islands of Somerset: exploring a wetland landscape*. Somerset Books – should also be mentioned.

an appendix, comprehensive bibliography and references, a general index and an index of personal names.

The Introduction sets the scene and draws one into the volume, and is followed by an overall coloured map of the area in the 1880s, spread over a double page, cleverly assembled at Gwent Archives from four separate sections. A Blaenavon Time Line occupies the next three pages; this leads us into the first chapter, which describes the history of iron-making in Britain, as well as locally. The following chapter details the landscape in which the town of Blaenavon grew and the beginnings of ore extraction from the early medieval period onwards. Chapter 3 sets the scene for the arrival of Hill, Hopkins and Pratt, their successful bid to lease tracts of the uplands from Lord Abergavenny and the founding of the ironworks.

Subsequent chapters deal with the operation of the ironworks through boom and bust, and the lives of the people, their working conditions, religious persuasions and leisure pursuits over the same period. Looking at Blaenavon today, it is hard to imagine the relatively short time that has elapsed between an open landscape of isolated farms and the industrial valley town which we see before us. What makes Blaenavon unique among the valley towns of the Industrial Revolution is the range and preservation of the remains of industrial workings from the earliest beginnings to open-cast mining operations undertaken during the 1940s. It is this unique aspect which formed the basis for nomination to World Heritage Site status.

With Chapters 8 to 10 we read of the slow decline of the industrial town mainly due to lack of investment, even though the invention of the basic Bessemer process at Blaenavon should have heralded a brighter future. This situation continued into the 20th century, through two major conflicts and the depression years of the 30s. By the late 1960s, much of the older housing was condemned and large-scale clearance works began. It was only with the intervention of people such as the author, Torfaen Museum Trust's director, Adrian Babbidge, and popular author Alexander Cordell, that recording work before demolition was undertaken and structures such as the ironworks were saved from the major rebuilding work taking place nearby. The growth of tourism ensured that when Big Pit closed in 1980, it was possible to reopen it as a museum in 1982. The seeds were thus sown and Chapter 11 tells of the transformation of the landscape around Blaenavon into a World Heritage site.

St Peter's school has been refurbished and became the Heritage Centre, the Cordell Museum – now The Community Museum – was set up and heritage trails were laid out. As a legacy of the Forgotten Landscapes Project (see page 152), a team of volunteers, based at the Heritage Centre, ensures that these trails remain walkable. These volunteers also maintain records of the local wildlife, especially around Garn Lakes, and another group monitors the condition of the archaeological monuments, in conjunction with Cadw. It may be of interest to learn that during such work at the scheduled area at Garnddyrys, research has indicated that steam power was used at the forge rather than waterwheels, as noted on pages 39–40. The replacement of waterwheels was already under way long before Garnddyrys was established (see page 8) and work by the Abergavenny Steam Society in the 1970s found no evidence for waterwheels either. It appears that the waterwheels mentioned in the sale document of 1833 refer to those used for ore extraction closer to the ironworks. It is gratifying to know that the research started by the author and his colleagues is continuing to this day and hopefully into the future. It is also gratifying to note that the steady population decline from 11,542 in 1891 to 5,626 in 2001 has been halted since World Heritage status, the figure recorded in the 2011 census was 6,055.

The large number of photographs, maps and drawings complements the text. Of particular interest is the double-page OS map of 1880, showing a multitude of tramways and terraces of workers'

housing, some of which have now vanished. There are photos of the personalities involved, alongside the structures they created, the workers themselves and pictures of today's Blaenavon. Figure 49, which shows the layout of the truck shop, part of which is still extant opposite the ironworks, is also interesting. Unfortunately, there are several mistakes with regard to the figures; there are two Figure 60s but no Fig. 53; Fig. 8 is referred to in the text as Fig. 20 (confusion with endnote notation 20); the caption to Fig. 80 refers to the restoration of the Pwll Du tunnel, but the tunnel itself remains inaccessible – the renovation work took place on the southern portal. There are two errors on page 114; Fig. 70 shows Percy Carlyle Gilchrist, but the text directs one to Fig. 64 (a photo of Henry Bessemer), and the caption to Fig. 71 states that the obelisk to Sidney Gilchrist Thomas is in the ironworks carpark, whereas it actually stands within the ironworks, as stated correctly in the text. The Blaenavon Cheese Company is shown on Figs 92 (a & b) and not 91 (a & b).

Spelling mistakes and minor errors are few, some of the former perhaps the result of someone unused to dealing with Welsh place-names. Cyfarthfa is spelt throughout as Cyfartha and this includes the index, Myddislwyn is instead of Mynyddislwyn on page 28 and Llanelli Hill occurs on page 14, correctly given as Llanelly Hill in all other instances. On page 13 small has replaced smell, on page 14 this waters should be these waters and working woman on page 75 should be working women. The favourite substitution of principle for principal occurs on page 147. Also on page 147, it is stated that Big Pit was deepened in 1860; this is when the pit opened, it was deepened in 1880. The location of the Tyla quarries is given as the Blorenge on pages 26, 56 and 121, whereas these are on Gilwern Hill. Valley of Coal is given as the English equivalent of NantyGlo on page 21, whereas Coalbrook would be the correct translation. On page 23 Thomas Hopkins widowed sister Sarah is Samuel Hopkins aunt not his niece.

More annoyingly, there are mix-ups with various groups of endnote notations. On pages 61 to 63 the endnote notations 43–48 are out of sync. – 42 on page 61 is fine, thereafter 40–42 are duplicated, so that 40 should be 43, 42 should be 44 and 43 should be 45; 41 on page 62 has no equivalent endnote; 44–46 are not in the text; 47 on page 63 should be 46 and 48 should be 47. The sequence resumes correctly on page 65 with another 48. Similarly, on pages 143 to 150 endnote notation 4 should be 5, 5 should be 6, 6 should be 7, 7 should be 8, 8 should be 9 and 9 should be 10. There are endnotes for 11 and 12 but there is no notation in the text. On page 143, the missing notation 4 probably ought to be placed at the end of the first paragraph. Other endnote and bibliographic errors are as follows; on page 109 the endnote 6 reference to Lilian Gilchrist Thomas appears in the bibliography as Thompson – under Thompson and under Gilchrist; on page 122 endnote 19 misspells Graber (i.e. Alexander Cordell) as Grabar; on page 127 endnote notations 10 and 11 are transposed and then there is a second 11; on page 135 Taylor's novel is noted as being published in 1921 whereas the bibliography gives 1925 as the year of publication; on page 183 endnote 41 has Famine to Festival instead of Funeral to Festival. Also Funeral to Festival has two entries in the bibliography, as WEA History group 2001 and as Blaenavon History group 2011. On page 184 endnote 44 appears to give the author of Funeral to Festival as Eric Turner. Also on page 184 endnote 49 should read 48.

'Blaenavon: From Iron Town to World Heritage Site' is packed with information and it is a shame that such a large number of printers' errors detract from the pleasure of reading it. It is to be hoped that corrections will be made in future editions of the book, since the content richly deserves it.

Joyce Compton

OUTINGS AND EVENTS FOR 2016

Saturday, 7th May: The Annual General Meeting at the Charles Williams Church in Wales Primary School
Following the business section of the AGM, the speaker was our patron Chris Williams, Professor of History and Head of the School of History, Archaeology and Religion at Cardiff University. Born in the former county of Monmouthshire, he takes a keen interest in the county. His talk was entitled 'The Battle for Mametz Wood, July 1916'. As Chris Williams stated, this was relevant to Monmouthshire as many Monmouthshire men fought at Mametz including his own great-grandfather. This attack was part of the Battle of the Somme which began on 1 July 1916. Although the first day was generally regarded as a failure, in the south gains were made and attacks were made on Mametz Wood between 7th and 12th July. We were told about the strategy of the commanders and the heroic efforts of the 38th (Welsh) Division which had not been trained for warfare in woodland and suffered severe casualties. It was fitting that the MAA should hear such an excellent analysis of the Battle of Mametz Wood 100 years after the event and remember the soldiers who fought against impossible odds.

Wednesday, 18th May: A Visit to Lydney Gardens and Roman Temple
Our editor Dr Mark Lewis FSA, who is also Senior Curator (Roman) at the National Roman Legion Museum at Caerleon, was our guide. We walked up to the remains of the late-Roman temple which was the main reason for the MAA's visit. Mark is an inspirational speaker and he brought the site to life and explained the possible uses of the ancillary structures such as the bath block which was probably connected to ritual cleansing as part of a healing process. He was also on hand in the small museum to explain the collection of artefacts, which endorsed the ritual purpose connected with healing. The cast bronze effigy of the 'Lydney Dog' was on display as were curse tablets, bronze letters and an abundance of bracelets and pins which probably were votive offerings. MAA members also enjoyed the garden with its rare plants and blooming azaleas and the lunch in the dining room or garden overlooking the Severn Estuary. It proved to be a most enjoyable and informative day.

Monday, 6th June: A visit to Gaer Fawr Hill Fort, Llangwm
Bob and Sylvia Fowles showed us Gaer Fawr Hill Fort. They have spent many years caring and overseeing the conservation of this amazing monument. It is a multi-vallate hillfort, enclosing an area of about 10 acres. The enclosure utilises a spur which forms a natural defence. Bob Fowles explained the site to the assembled group in brilliant sunshine. He told us that some geophysical and lidar research had been undertaken and had identified a circular platform within an enclosure. The site had long-established sunken track ways crossing the promontory and so post-medieval interference made the site difficult to interpret. Bob Fowles put forward many interesting hypotheses which it was felt only a controlled excavation would prove or disprove. Many thanks to Bob and Sylvia for showing us this important site and allowing us to view their finds.

Sunday, 26th June: MAA Garden Party and Social
The party was a great success except that just like last year, it rained. However, fifty people enjoyed themselves and we made money for the MAA which had been promised to heritage causes in Gwent.

Friday, 1st July: Remembering the Somme
We met at Stow Park Tennis Club on 1st July 2016 to see the film, 'The Battle of the Somme'. An estimated 20 million people saw the film in the weeks after its release. On the 1st July, the date the

battle commenced, some 20,000 British soldiers died. Peter Strong a committee member of the MAA and the Chair of the Gwent branch of the Western Front Association gave an excellent commentary to the film. Peter also provided relevant information about Newport with regard to World War One hospitals and prisoners of war. A collection was taken and money was raised for a military charity.

Saturday, 9 July: A coach trip to Gower
Two of our committee members Jeremy Knight and Rev. Canon Dr. Arthur Edwards agreed to lead us on a trip to Gower. First we visited Parc le Breos, a medieval deer park in which there is a Neolithic chambered tomb identified in 1937 as a Severn-Cotswold type long barrow. Built around 3,800 BC [and used for between 300 and 800 years], the barrow is trapezoidal in shape with the earth covering removed and surrounded a low dry-stone wall. The burial chamber was discovered in 1869 and inside were human and animal remains. Also in Parc le Breos is Cathole Cave where a reindeer carving was discovered by archaeologist Dr. George Nash in September 2010. After lunch we visited Oxwich Castle, a grand Tudor house built in the courtyard style by Sir Rice Mansell. At the entrance to the manor house is a mock-military gateway with the family's coat of arms cut in stone. Sir Rice's son, Edward, went on to create the much grander adjacent multi-storyed range. Our last visit was to St Cenydd's Church, Llangennith, a twelfth century church on the site of a sixth century abbey. In the south wall are the remains of a medieval doorway which had led to the cloisters. In the rear of the chancel arch is evidence of a rood-stair. The church has been subject to Victorian restoration and re modelling. Our president Jeremy Knight and Rev. Canon Dr. Arthur Edwards gave excellent presentations during the day.

Thursday, 4th August: A visit to the National Eisteddfod Wales 2016
Members attended at Abergavenny for the book launch of Frank Olding's *The Archaeology of Upland Gwent*. See below and Reviews section.

Sunday, 14th August: A visit to Dr. Any Seaman's excavation at Mount Saint Albans
We were invited to view the Andy Seaman's excavation at the Mount Saint Albans. He is Senior lecturer at Canterbury Christchurch University. His aim was to prove that the medieval remains on the top of the ridge above Caerleon are relevant to the widely held view that this was the site of a chapel dedicated to the early Christian martyrs, Julius and Aaron. A large group assembled to listen to Andy and his team explain the excavation. Pottery in the fill provided dating evidence earlier than 13th century. Following the visit Andy informed us that during the last two days of the excavation probable grave cuts were discovered. The MAA and the Gwent County History donated money to the excavation.

Saturday, 10th September: A Visit to Monmouth Museum
The Nelson Museum was founded in 1924, following a bequest to Monmouth of Lady Llangattock's collection of material relating to Admiral Nelson. The museum moved to the current premises in 1969 and the local history collections for the town were added. We were welcomed to the Museum by Sue Miles, Senior Custodian at the museum, Karin Molson, Learning Manager at Monmouthshire County Council and Anne Rainsbury who is, well known to us all and is the Curator of Chepstow Museum. First of all Karin Molson talked to us about their current exhibition: 'Stables to Studios: the Story of Rockfield, Monmouth & Music'. Then Sue Miles talked about the Nelson Collection. Finally Anne Rainsbury showed us two paintings by Monmouth artist Thomas Tudor (1785–1855). One was a landscape and the other showed the future owner of Lydart House in front of the mansion.

Tudor was best known for water colours, so it has been a coup to acquire these paintings. Both paintings needed attention and it is hoped that the money raised by our visit will go towards their restoration.

Saturday, 13th October: 'Gwent History through Early Documentary Films'
Peter Strong, the Chairman of the Gwent County History Association and also on the committee of the MAA, was the main organiser of this event. He was motivated by the fact that recently early film had been place on DVD compilations by the British Film Institute and other bodies. We saw a selection of short films relating to the coal and steel industry and the social history of the area. The numbers attending illustrated the popularity of the event and the films were enjoyed by everyone. Thanks also to the people who introduced the films or gave voice-overs. They were Mel Warrender, Chairman, Ebbw Vale Works Archival Trust, John Evans also a member of the MAA, Byron Grubb and of course Peter Strong.

Thursday, 3rd November: A talk by Frank Olding on the book *The Archaeology of Upland Gwent*
This book was published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient Historical Monuments of Wales and the MAA made a contribution to its publication. To thank the MAA for their contribution Frank agreed to give us a talk and so about forty members gathered at our Secretary and Treasurer's home. The talk was full of humour and up to date information on the sites of upland Gwent, some of which we were not so familiar with, or had not visited in a long time. It was an interesting and well delivered talk and the aerial photographs taken by Toby Driver from the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales were magnificent.

Christabel Hutchings

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Joyce Compton is a retired archaeologist, latterly Artefact Specialist for the Essex County Council field unit. She entered her career in archaeology from a background in quality control in industry, gaining Higher National Certificates in Pure and Applied Physics. She has excavated on various sites in Caerleon and Monmouth and dealt with finds from a number of locations throughout south Wales. She assisted Peter Webster in publishing the Roman pottery from Mill St, Caerleon, before taking up a post as Roman Pottery Researcher in Essex, leading to publication of a large pottery assemblage as part of Internet Archaeology Vol. 40. Currently she is working on the unpublished Roman pottery from the 1986–8 Usk excavations and, in her spare time, volunteers in the World Heritage landscape at Blaenavon.

Anne Dunton took a degree in French from London University, then completed an M.A. in Historic Landscape Studies at the University of Wales Newport in 2004 after retiring from a career teaching in secondary and primary schools.

David Hopkins graduated from Swansea University in 2015 with a II/I Honours degree in history. His final year dissertation forms the basis of this article. He lives in Griffithstown.

Christabel Hutchings has researched the history of education in the nineteenth century, for which she was awarded an M.Ed by Cardiff University. Furthermore she completed an MA in Celtic-Roman studies at the University of Wales, Newport; her dissertation was entitled 'Slavery and Status in Roman Britain'. In 2010, she was elected Honorary Secretary of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association. In addition she is also a member of the following committees; the South Wales Record Society; the Gwent County History; the Friends of Newport Museum and Art Gallery and the Friends of National Museum Wales. She has published articles in both *The Monmouthshire Antiquary* and *Morgannwg*.

Graham Jones began a new career in academia following the award of his doctorate in the Department of English Local History at Leicester University in 1996. After a Leverhulme Special Research Fellowship to extend his work on religious dedications and lordships in the medieval diocese of Worcester to that of Lincoln, he was appointed Stott Fellow in the University of Wales Centre for Advanced Welsh and Celtic Studies, where he expanded the survey into Wales and the Marches. He was subsequently Lecturer in English Topography at Leicester and since 2003 has been working on medieval forests and landscape at St John's College, Oxford, as well as continuing his research into dedications. His publications include Saints in the Landscape, the first comprehensive survey of dedications in Britain (Stroud, Tempus, 2007). He was elected FSA in 2014.

Jeremy Knight who was born in Caerleon, read archaeology at University College, Cardiff. For over thirty years, he was inspector of ancient monuments, whose wide area of responsibility included Monmouthshire. He has undertaken a major excavation at Montgomery Castle; written many guidebooks to monuments; and has published numerous articles. A major work, *The End of Antiquity*, was published in 2000 (2nd revised edit., 2007). He published *Civil War & Restoration in Monmouthshire* in 2005 and his book *South Wales from the Romans to the Normans – Christianity, Literacy & Lordship* was published in 2013. His most recent book, *Blaenavon: Iron Town to World Heritage Site*, was published by Logaston Press in 2016 and is reviewed in this volume.

Mark Lewis was born and raised in Monmouthshire. His interest in archaeology was nurtured during family walks in the south of the county and whilst working on excavations at Trostrey and Caerwent. He read archaeological conservation and conservation at Cardiff University. There he was awarded a PhD for his research on humidity and iron corrosion which informed the preservation strategy for Brunel's ss Great Britain and now informs the preservation of museum artefacts and structures, such as the Severn Bridge, worldwide. Since 2000, Mark Lewis has been a curatorial officer and senior curator at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon, and from 2006–14 was also an archaeological conservator at Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff. He was Chairman of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association from 2013–16. From 2013–17 he was Chairman of the Glamorgan–Gwent Archaeological Trust, having been a Trustee since November 2008. In 2016 he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Julian Mitchell read History at Oxford. He is a playwright, novelist and television scriptwriter; he was responsible for ten episodes of *Inspector Morse*, taking a cameo part in each. He is also a local historian of note, recognised when he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. He contributed two chapters to *The Gwent County History Volume 3*. He was also a guest curator for an exhibition, 'The Wye Tour and its Artists' which was on display at Chepstow Museum from May to September 2010; he also wrote the exhibition catalogue. His play, *The Welsh Boy*, staged in Bath in 2012, is based upon *The True Anti-Pamela*, the scandalous memoir published in 1741, of James Parry, who courted Mary Powell of Great House, Llantilio Crossenny.

Caroline Pudney read Archaeology at Cardiff University and was awarded her PhD there on the subject of 'Environments of Change: Social identity and material culture in the Severn Estuary from the First century BC to the second century AD'. She is a Lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Chester. Her main research focus is on Iron Age and Roman Britain, particularly the agency of objects. As a former community archaeologist for Cadw, Caroline also has a specific interest in debates surrounding public archaeology.

Peter Webster lectured at Cardiff University for much of his career, retiring as Reader in Archaeology in 2009. He is currently an Honorary Research Fellow at the National Museum of Wales and is working with volunteers on a number of the Museum collections including the extensive Caerleon pottery assemblage. He has excavated on a number of Roman and Medieval sites, including Melandra and Ribchester Roman forts and Cardiff and Dryslwyn Castles and worked on samian production sites in Gaul. He specialises in the study of Roman and later pottery in Wales and the west of Britain and is the author of many pottery reports, as well as the standard guide to Roman samian ware in Britain.

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Williams, Revd Dr D.H.
Williams, Dr D.M.
Williams, Mr G.J.
Wilson, Mr and Mrs C.
Wilson, Mr S.J.
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The members indicated thus died during 2016. The Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association offers its sincere condolences to their families and friends.

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