

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

## ‘From the Welsh Good Lord Deliver Me’: soldiers, papists and civilians in Civil War Monmouthshire

*Delivered at the 148th Annual Summer Meeting at the Forest of Dean and West Gloucestershire, 2001*

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Fellow Cambrians! I am deeply conscious of the great honour that you have done me in making me your President in succession to so many illustrious names. I well recall when that devoted Cambrian Cefni Barnett said to a schoolboy who was a frequent (perhaps too frequent) visitor behind the scenes at Newport Museum ‘I think it’s about time you joined the Cambrians’. Today that same schoolboy stands before you wearing this Presidential badge, presented to the Association by another old friend, J. D. K. Lloyd of Montgomery. We are the guests this week of our sister body, the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, and of the Dean Archaeology Group. Whilst very much a Man of Gwent, I can claim some links with the Forest. My maternal grandfather was from the Forest, his brother was bandmaster of the Blakeney Silver Band, his uncle fought in the Gloucestershire Yeomanry in the Boer War, and I was brought up in a house called Pillowell at Caerleon. It is with a scandalous and highly illegal episode in Caerleon churchyard that I should like to begin.

In February 1604, the year before the Gunpowder Plot, the Justices of Assize for Monmouthshire were informed that ‘One William Howell Thomas, a recusant deceased, was buried on a Sunday in the daytime, in the churchyard of Caerleon in Monmouthshire, being brought thither by many recusants, carrying wax candles, burning before the corpse [forbidden by statute], and no minister [i.e. Protestant clergyman] was present at the same burial. Thereupon one Morgan ap John, having some speech with one Saunder William James, a recusant, touching that burial, the said Saunder said “We shall have the Mass, and that very shortly, or else thou shalt see many bloody swords”’. Clashes in Gwent churchyards between Catholics and Protestants, particularly during funerals, were not unknown. E. T. Davies cites examples from Llanfrechfa, Usk, Llangattock-nigh-Usk, Bettws Newydd and St Woolos as well as at Caerleon, but we should try to fit the last into its historical context.<sup>1</sup>

Monmouthshire had the largest percentage of Catholics of any county in England and Wales, including Lancashire. However, they were concentrated in certain areas. The ports of Chepstow and Newport had few or no Catholic recusants. The western parts of the county around Newport had the same low numbers as adjacent areas of Glamorgan and there were few Catholics in the coastal plain of Gwent Iscoed, with its links to Bristol and Gloucester. Gwent Iscoed already had gentry of puritan views by the later years of Elizabeth and it was here that William Wroth, the vicar of Llanvaches, with the help of Henry Jessey, established the first separated Church in Wales ‘in the New England manner’ in 1632.

In contrast, the towns of Caerleon, only three miles from Newport, and Abergavenny had large Catholic communities. Elsewhere, there were major concentrations north of the Wentwood ridge and east of the Usk around Llanarth and Clytha in central Monmouthshire and in Skenfrith Hundred along the north-east border of the county. In the latter, a cluster of ‘Catholic’ parishes can be identified both in the lists of recusancy fines and in sources such as the ‘Compton census’ of 1676.<sup>2</sup> They included Skenfrith itself, Llangattock-vibion-Avel, Wonastow, St Maughans, and Rockfield. Though the shortcomings of such sources are well known, the overall picture is reassuringly constant. In 1676 the

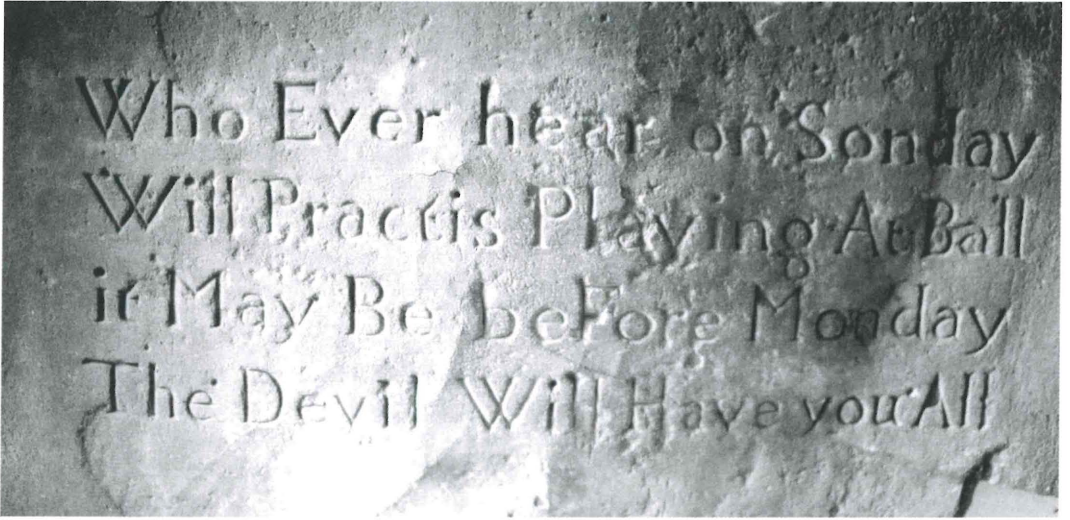


Fig. 1. William Wroth's riposte to the re-issue in 1633 of King James I's Book of Sports, permitting games on the sabbath. The inscription, originally forming the churchyard stile at Llanvair Discoed, is now in the church porch. *Photograph: Elizabeth Pitman.*

Fig. 2. Oak pulpit of 1632, Caerwent church. It carries the biblical text 'Woe Unto Me If I Preach not the Gospel' (1 Corinthians 9.16) and a cartouche with a view of Llandaff Cathedral. Gwent Iscoed was a centre of puritan influence in the pre-war period due to the influence of Gloucester and Bristol. *Photograph: Elizabeth Pitman.*

'papistae' in these parishes was between 20 and 30 per cent of the combined Anglican and Catholic total. In adjacent Grosmont it was 5 per cent. Monmouth itself had a strong Catholic element, though this co-existed with an equally strong Anglican tradition, centred on Monmouth Priory (the parish church) and Monmouth School, founded by the London Haberdasher's Company. The Catholic tradition in the town remained strong however due to the influence of the Herberts of Raglan and of other Catholic gentry in the surrounding countryside, many of whom claimed to be Herbert kin, and often bore the Herbert arms. In the nineteenth century the Monmouth-based Royal Monmouthshire Royal Engineers Militia was known locally as 'The Monmouthshire Militia (The Pope's Own)'.

These Catholic concentrations can usually be associated with the presence of Catholic gentry able to support and conceal priests and so provide the infrastructure necessary for pastoral care and the administration of the sacraments. At Skenfrith, the Catholic tradition can be traced back to the time of Queen Mary, when Sir Richard Morgan of Blackbrook was MP for Gloucester, and one of her leading supporters. Blackbrook then had a succession of Catholic owners. Around Caerleon and Llantarnam the strength of Catholicism cannot be separated from the presence of the Morgans of Llantarnam and some of their friends and neighbours, such as George Langley of Christchurch,<sup>3</sup> William and Jane Pritchard of Caerleon or Lady Mary Blount of Penrhos.<sup>4</sup>

Abergavenny had a close-knit community of urban gentry, some families of which, Gunters, Lewises, Wroths and Bakers, had both Catholic and Protestant branches. The Catholics included such figures as David Baker, son of a major figure in the town's cloth industry, who in 1605 gave up his post of Recorder and became a Benedictine monk as Augustine Baker. A pioneer monastic historian, six volumes of his manuscript history of the Benedictine Order in Britain survive in the Bodleian Library. We have a glimpse of him in the anteroom of Sir Robert Cotton's Library in Westminster, in fireside conversation with Cotton and William Camden.<sup>5</sup> His niece Margaret married Morgan Lewis, headmaster of Abergavenny Grammar School. When Augustine Baker paid his last visit to Abergavenny in 1620 and stayed with his sister, he would have met her three year old grandson, the future Jesuit martyr St David Lewis.

Well-placed contemporary observers frequently remarked how any quarrels within the county quickly became issues between Catholics and Protestants.<sup>6</sup> From the death of Elizabeth onwards there were rumours that Catholics were secretly assembling arms and munitions in some of the houses of the county, and plotting rebellion. The episode in Caerleon churchyard took place in the year before the Gunpowder Plot. By the 1630s, in the worsening political climate, such rumours proliferated and came to centre around the persons of Sir John Wintour of Lydney and his kinsman the earl of Worcester at Raglan.<sup>7</sup> Parliamentary propaganda aside, one question of the Civil War in Monmouthshire is how far this 'Catholic nonconformity of the gentry', as one historian has described it,<sup>8</sup> was actually involved in the war. Studies in other counties suggest that only a minority of Catholics were active royalists. Ann Hughes, for example, has estimated that in Warwickshire, with its strong recusant tradition and where the much fuller sources have been intensively studied, only between 42 and 52 per cent of Catholics took sides.<sup>9</sup> There were reasons for this. The war was being fought for a Protestant king whom the Jesuit wing of the Catholics refused to recognize, in defence (despite parliamentary propaganda) of a Protestant Church. Also, a 'Papist in Arms' faced not a heavy sequestration fine but the loss of his estates, and whilst royalists worth less than £200 a year were exempt from sequestration, there was no such lower limit for papists. The business of the County Sequestration Committee was mostly taken up with wealthy royalists and with Catholics of often modest status.

There has been no full length study of the Civil War in Monmouthshire since Arthur Clark's *Raglan Castle and the Civil War in Monmouthshire* (Chepstow 1953). Clark was senior history master at Jones's West Monmouth Grammar School, Pontypool, and I am glad to acknowledge my gratitude to my first



Fig. 3. Thomas Gunter's house, High Street, Abergavenny. The Catholic recusant chapel served by the Jesuit St David Lewis and rediscovered in 1907, was behind the gable end window on the right. *Photograph: J. K. Knight.*



Fig. 4. Thomas Gunter's House, Abergavenny. Graffiti in Chapel. *Photograph: Abergavenny Museum A. 46.61.*

mentor in historical studies. My subject tonight is not ‘The Civil War in Monmouthshire’, but rather ‘Monmouthshire in the Civil War’ — the stresses and conflicts that existed within the county community before it was destabilised by the war; the effects of the war on the county community, and the ways in which the community was changed by it.

One traditional view is that Monmouthshire was a deeply conservative county, solidly loyal to its king, and to the Catholic Marquess of Worcester in his castle at Raglan. Many of its gentry were Catholics, or Catholic sympathisers, and the clergy, linked to the gentry by patronage, and sometimes by kinship, were loath to upset the status quo. This situation was only destabilised by military conquest from outside, and by the physical destruction of Raglan Castle. Of course, there were a few whose loyalty was more pliable, like that weathercock Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby. A version of this view was well expressed by F. J. Mitchell of Llanfrechfa Grange, sometime Secretary of the Monmouthshire and Caerleon Antiquarian Association, in an address to the Cambrians at their Newport meeting in 1885.

The chief inhabitants of Monmouthshire seem to have taken the royal side, with the exception of two or three who were, like the majority of the commons, only anxious to live at peace, and to save their goods [sensible people one might think], and for that purpose were . . . to be found first on one side and then on the other.<sup>10</sup>

Notice how Mitchell, having dismissed the dissident group as insignificant (‘two or three’) then says that they shared the viewpoint of the great majority of people in the county, who sought only to live at peace. Clarendon said much the same thing about another border county:

The town of Shrewsbury, and all that good county . . . he [Charles I] entrusted only to that good spirit that then possessed it, and to the legal authority of the shirers and justices of the peace. And it fared . . . as in all other parts of the kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still was greater than of those who desired to engage of either party; so that they were generally inclined to . . . neutrality.<sup>11</sup>

Philip Jenkins, in his study of the Glamorgan gentry, has refined Mitchell’s analysis. He points out that whereas in England divisions in the war were between royalists, parliamentarians and a large body of ‘mere neutrals’, in south Wales the royalists themselves were divided between the ‘ultras’, grouped around the person of the Earl of Worcester and Raglan Castle and ‘Pembroke’s moderates’. The latter looked to the Earl of Pembroke for leadership and, though initially mostly royalist, had puritan sympathies. Under the pressures of the war (not unmixed with a measure of self-preservation), they became even more lukewarm, or deserted the royalist cause altogether.<sup>12</sup>

The two magnates who served as the Montague and Capulet of the county were Henry, the Catholic fifth Earl and first Marquess of Worcester, whose fortress-palace was at Raglan in the geographical centre of the county and his Protestant noble kinsman Philip, second earl of Pembroke by the second creation, whose main seat was at Wilton in Wiltshire, where the magnificent architecture was matched by Pembroke’s taste for paintings and fine bloodstock. Pembroke had been granted the lordships of Cardiff, Newport, Caerleon, Usk and Trellech by Edward VI, perhaps as a deliberate counterweight to the enormous local power of the Earl of Worcester. Similar magnate rivals existed in other counties, and Shakespeare knew all about these in the English (or in this case Welsh) shires:

Two Households both alike in dignity,  
In fair Verona where we lay our scene,

From ancient grudge break to new mutiny  
And civil blood makes civil hands unclean.

I shall not discuss the castles of Monmouthshire in any detail, since my predecessor, Professor J. Gwynn Williams, dealt with Welsh castles in the Civil War in his presidential address in 1987. However, it was central to the course of the war that the Earl of Worcester controlled all those that mattered — Raglan itself; Chepstow and Monmouth controlling the two key crossings of the Wye from England, and from puritan Gloucester; and Abergavenny, where the Usk valley narrows as it enters the Welsh uplands. Other castles in the county were long in ruin. Pembroke's main seat in South Wales was Cardiff, a distant outlier of the Wilton empire. Of his other castles, Newport was largely in ruins, though it had a small garrison late in the war under Richard Herbert, son of Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Usk had been partly demolished by Roger Williams about 1550, though one of the many branches of the Herberts still lived in the gatehouse. At Caerleon only the shell-keep on the Mynd remained defensible. On the other hand, areas around Usk, Caerwent and Trellech on the fringes of Wentwood contained many puritan gentry, who apart from being Pembroke clients, belonged to forest-edge communities with dispersed settlement patterns, a type of rural ecology associated throughout Western Europe with independent and radical ideas.

Below the two landed titans were about a dozen families important enough to have represented the county in parliament, and who dominated its society. When the pluralist Monmouthshire vicar John Edwards was expelled from his livings by the puritans for 'malignancy, and the persecution of the godly in his neighbourhood', he spent his enforced leisure translating Edward Fisher's anti-puritan work *The Marrow of Modern Divinity* (1645) into Welsh. His *Madruddyn y Difynyddiaeth Diweddaraf* (1651) was dedicated to 'the most excellent Herberts, the most kind Morgans, the most noble Kemeyses, the most truly handsome Williamss and other noblemen within the county of Gwent'.<sup>13</sup> This defines the main county families in ranking order, as seen by an insider, son of a curate of Caldicot, who, after Jesus College, Oxford, successfully courted the patrons of an impressive number of Monmouthshire livings.

From various sources, we can name about 320 active Monmouthshire royalists, including civilians and a few women. At least 50 were from outside the county, brought there by the exigencies of the war. Most are mere names to us, but Philip Jenkins's 'ultras' can be identified by their loyalty to the house of Raglan, their own group identity and sometimes by their religion. Many were Catholics or suspected 'church papists'. Philip Jones of Treowen, who claimed kinship with the Herberts and bore their arms, was married to an openly Catholic wife, one of the Morgans of Llantarnam. Some were 'Court Papists' like the Prodgers of Wernddu in Llantilio Pertholey and of Gwernvale near Crickhowell, equerries and grooms of the bedchamber to three successive Stuart Kings, or Sir John Wintour of Lydney, Worcester's Catholic brother-in-law and secretary to Queen Henrietta Maria. He was a speculator involved in a series of botched privatizations in the Forest of Dean out of which Wintour and the king hoped (vainly) to make money. The Progers claimed kinship with the Herberts. When James Prodger raised a regiment for the king and garrisoned Abergavenny, he gave it the resounding name of Colonel James Prodger Herbert's Foot. Though influential at court, and forming the core of the Worcester interest, these Catholic gentry were largely excluded from the alternative power structure within the county, or at Westminster, by their religion.

Other royalist gentry (Jenkins's 'moderates'), often had puritan sympathies and though initially loyal to the king, were hostile to the religion of the Marquis of Worcester and probably regarded Archbishop Laud with disquiet. Sir Thomas Morgan of Machen refused to serve under Worcester's son Edward Herbert, almost certainly on religious grounds, and later sat in a Cromwellian parliament. His son-in-law, Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby, started the war as a royalist colonel, later raising his own

regiment which became a virtual third force within the county before going over to Parliament in 1645. The fall of Bristol, whether to the king in 1643 or to parliament in 1645, was often a signal to these Monmouthshire ‘floating voters’ to change sides.<sup>14</sup> Usually regarded as weathercocks or trimmers (I was once told ‘there was bad blood in that family. They changed sides’), they are perhaps better seen as a group of conservative country gentry who looked back to the days of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth and the Spanish Armada and disliked the king’s religious and economic innovations. The oak pulpit presented to Caerwent church by Sir Trevor Williams’s father Sir Charles Williams in 1632 — the year before Laud became Archbishop — has been wrongly re-assembled at some date, but there is no doubt that its original home was Caerwent, for it bears a carving of Llandaff Cathedral, and the vicar of Caerwent at this time was John Dowle, Treasurer of Llandaff. Its inscription could hardly be more Protestant, indeed puritan, ‘Woe Be to Mee if I preach not the Gospel’, with, in best puritan style, a label giving the source of the text ‘1 Corinthians 9.16’. The carving of Llandaff Cathedral carries an equally defining message ‘we are not sectaries or non-conformists, we are Protestant Anglicans of the



Fig. 5. Lead or pewter badge with the profile head of Charles I and the motto ‘God Bless the King’. Found before 1867 ‘near Woodbank’ at Llanhennock near Caerleon: J. E. Lee *Isca Silurum* (1867), 120 and pl. XLVII, 13; Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association *Catalogue of Exhibits in Caerleon Museum* (1909). The several pounds of lead bullets recorded by Lee as found nearby were ‘found under the large oak at Llanhennock’ according to the latter source. This was the ancient Caerydor Oak, which stood in a field alongside the footpath between Pencrug and Llanhennock church, some distance from Woodbank. William Morgan of Pencrug (d. 1665) was a royalist Commissioner of Array. The badge is now in the Department of Archaeology and Numismatics of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales, and I am grateful to Edward Besly for his good offices in making these photographs available. *Photographs: National Museums and Galleries of Wales.*

established Church'. This is very similar to the preamble with which another of the group, William Baker of Abergavenny, thought it necessary to preface his will in 1648 — that he was 'a Protestant, and against all Papists and Anabaptists'.<sup>15</sup>

We first meet this group of Protestant gentry at the outset of the war, in September 1642, when Parliament ordered that Sir Thomas Morgan of Machen, Sir William Morgan of Tredegar, Sir Trevor Williams of Llangybi, Sir Nicholas Kemeys of Cefn Mably, Philip Jones of Treowen and Henry Probert be sent for as delinquents for executing the (royalist) Commission of Array and disarming the 'well affected'. The Commission of Array had only been sent to Protestant gentry (in Latin), so excluding the 'court papists' and other Catholics.<sup>16</sup> At this stage the group retained its traditional conservative loyalty to the Crown. Towards the end of the war however, things had changed, and the king summoned before him at Abergavenny a group of 'hinderers' who had refused to assist in raising the Scots siege of Hereford. They included Sir William Morgan, Sir Trevor Williams, Sir William Herbert of Coldbrook, William Baker of Abergavenny (who was so insistent in his will that he was neither Papist nor Anabaptist) and an unnamed fifth.<sup>17</sup> To understand how and why things had changed, we shall need to follow the course of the war.

The opening moves of the war, as elsewhere, concerned the armoury of the county militia. The peaceful England of Elizabeth and James had not encouraged private arms, and the first concern of king and parliament alike was to secure what limited weaponry was available. Control of the militia was the immediate *causus belli*. The county magazine was at Monmouth, a town controlled by the Herberts of Raglan and with a strong Catholic recusant tradition. An inventory of 1634 shows that the militia was of limited military value. It comprised 400 trained men, plus 50 horse and 60 pioneers. The main armoury in Monmouth Castle had corslets, pikes, muskets and swords for less than half that number (more may have been held elsewhere) and many were old and unserviceable. There were, however, good amounts of gunpowder, lead and match stored separately in Monmouth town and in Caerleon, where suitable dry cellars were presumably available.<sup>18</sup> In September 1642, parliament ordered that the magazine be moved to Newport, where it would be under the control of the parliamentarian Earl of Pembroke. The mayor of Monmouth refused to deliver it up, and was sent in custody to London. The deputy mayor, the town bailiff and Alderman Packer all claimed in turn that they did not know where the keys of the magazine were kept, and followed the mayor to London in custody.<sup>19</sup> The Marquis of Worcester eventually agreed to move it to Caerleon, safely across the Usk from Lord Pembroke. In mid September he declared for the king, seized Pembroke's castles at Cardiff and Newport and moved the armoury to Raglan Castle. As with a much later war, everyone thought that it would all be over by Christmas, but after the stalemate of Edgehill in October 1642, people began to realise that they faced a long and hard war.

In January 1643, Edward Herbert of Raglan, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, became Commander-in-Chief in south-east Wales. Already local rivalries were showing. Thomas Morgan of Machen refused to serve under him. The next month, Herbert marched on puritan Gloucester via the Forest of Dean with a force under a professional soldier, Sir Richard Lawdly. His younger brother, Charles Someset 'a maiden soldier', commanded the horse and Sir Trevor Williams served as Colonel of Foot, with a professional soldier, Sir Jerome Brett, commanding another regiment of foot. Lawdly was killed in a skirmish at Coleford, and replaced by Brett. The army encamped at Highnam, across the river from Gloucester, and settled down to besiege the city and await the arrival of Prince Maurice on its eastern side.

The ensuing fiasco, when Herbert's army was taken in the rear by Sir William Waller after a brilliant encircling move across the Severn at Framilode Ferry, and forced to surrender on 25 March 1643, has usually been laid squarely at the door of Lord Herbert. Clarendon, an enemy of Herbert during the long bitter years of exile, had already distorted the account of the skirmish at Coleford. He now wrote 'This



was the end of that Mushrump army which grew up and perished so soon that the loss of it was scarce apprehended, because the strength, or rather the number was not apprehended'.<sup>20</sup> He implied that Herbert had been grossly neglectful of his duty in being absent from his army and rumour on the quays of Bristol, repeated as fact by some modern historians, had him fleeing to Swansea in panic with his family, and planning to take boat from there.<sup>21</sup> Even Ronald Hutton, noting that Herbert disappears from the record during this crucial period, remarked, noting his re-appearance at a Hereford muster on 15 April, 'Precisely what the Lt. General had been doing for the past month is a complete mystery'.<sup>22</sup> Oddly enough, the answer to this mystery has been in print for well over a century.

Sometime around 1860, John Edward Lee of The Priory, Caerleon, founder of the Monmouthshire Antiquarian Association, found among the slates of his roof some papers, including a letter:

Captaine Thomas Morgan.

You are to remayne wth the Trayne Band under yor Comaund in the Towne of Chepstowe, to secure the said town, and not to permit any of the firearms to go out of the said town; also of the four pieces of ordnance which are there, you are to dispose two of them for the defence of the town of Monmouth: and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Dated at Ragland, the 28th day of March 1643. Ed. Herbert.<sup>23</sup>

Lee, by a quite uncharacteristic error, accepted the identification of the writer by Thomas Wakeman (who can never have seen the letter) as the roundhead Edward Herbert of Merthyr Geryn Grange near Magor, but he is of course the Royalist commander and he was where he should have been. The army was under a supposedly competent professional soldier. As Ian Roy as noted, it was normal practice to put an army under the titular command of a magnate, whilst 'entrusting the real work to a professional second-in-command'.<sup>24</sup> Oddly, some of the modern historians who criticise Herbert most strongly are the very ones who show how much the Royalist war effort suffered from the command of titled grandees rather than professional soldiers. If Herbert had been with his army, he would no doubt have been accused of 'playing soldiers'.

Herbert is seen in the Caerleon letter dealing very sensibly with the aftermath of the disaster. With his field army gone, Herbert was left with whatever garrison troops were at Raglan and Chepstow, plus the trained bands. Captain Thomas Morgan, of Llansor outside Caerleon, a Commissioner of Array, was at this time governor of Chepstow Castle and commander of the militia. These were divided between Chepstow and Monmouth, at the two gateways of the county. Morgan was to guard the river crossings at Chepstow and Monmouth. Waller invaded Monmouthshire and took Monmouth. With the line of the Wye forced, Morgan fell back on the next river line at Caerleon, where the letter was found. Lacking a siege train and 'very weary of the Welsh ways over the mountains' (and he had only gone as far as Usk!), Waller, with the castles and river crossings held against him, retreated to Gloucester. The Monmouthshire castles had done their job.<sup>25</sup>

In January 1644 Prince Rupert was made General of a new regional army based on Shrewsbury. His southern flank was covered by Herbert, with garrisons at Raglan, Chepstow, Monmouth, Abergavenny, Newport and Goodrich and three field regiments, the Marquess of Worcester's horse, Lord Charles Somerset's foot, and the Marquess of Worcester's foot. Sir John Wintour fortified Lydney in an attempt to control the Forest of Dean and its iron industry, which was producing armaments for the king. Rupert planned to raise a new cavalry regiment at Chepstow under Colonel Daniel O' Neill, one of his officers, but on 20 January Massey staged an amphibious commando raid on Chepstow, killing Captain Carvine in his chamber at the George, capturing most of the officers of the new regiment, and nearly bagging

both Edward Herbert and William Herbert of the Friars in Cardiff. Edward Herbert wrote to his kinsman how

God miraculously defended you in your last journey, for had you stayed till Monday, as you were persuaded . . . you had been taken that night at Chepstow, for the Gloucester men came by water to the house where you lay 2 or 3 hours before day, killed a Captain in your chamber and carried away prisoners all the strange Commanders, 12 in number, and about £300 in money. Also we hardly escaped them coming back, for as soon as we came to the waterside we took boat.

They sailed to Black Rock, where ‘the enemies boat lay, we having heard nothing of them’ and almost blundered into them.<sup>26</sup>

The previous year, another local figure, Sir Trevor Williams, had raised a regiment and fortified Llangibby for the king. This became in effect Williams’s private army, comprising Sir Trevor Williams’s Regiment of Foot and 200 Horse. Another regiment was recruited at this time by Sir John Wintour, who had left his wife in command at Lydney, but the men deserted en masse and went home. If they were Forest of Dean men, they may not have wished to serve under a man whose depredations in the Forest and interference with rights of common there had made him so unpopular, not least among the miners, cottagers and squatters who were the obvious source for royalist recruiting.<sup>27</sup>

The Royalist summer campaign ended in disaster on 2 July 1644, when Rupert’s army was broken at Marston Moor outside York by Fairfax and Cromwell, and the north was lost to the king. Rupert retreated via Chester and Monmouth to Bristol. In September, the last royalist field army in the west was destroyed at the Battle of Montgomery. The largely Irish foot stood their ground, but the Lancashire horse broke and fled, leaving the infantry to their fate. Some 1,200 or 1,400 were captured, and the 600 pieces of obsolescent armour from the castle ditch probably belonged to the luckless Irish foot. Indeed, the ghosts of the soldiers of Montgomery were seen there over a decade later.<sup>28</sup>

The rest of the northern horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale had meanwhile set out on an epic cross-country journey in an attempt to rejoin Rupert at Bristol. By early September they were in western Herefordshire, plundering the country people and carrying off their cattle. From here they moved into Monmouthshire, hoping to cross the Severn. They soon overstayed their welcome.

Colonel Samuel Tuke, cavalry officer, duellist, and minor poet, wrote to Rupert ‘there is no trust in the county generally – the greater part [are] niggling traitors – their tenants rise up and disarm and wound [our] men for coming to quarters assigned to them’.<sup>29</sup> Free quarter and its abuses were a hated aspect of the war and nominally Royalist gentry were now conniving with their tenants to resist royal exactions. Even before the fall of Montgomery, one royalist officer in Ludlow complained that ‘the malignancy which has lain in many men’s hearts has now burst forward to a manifest expression’, whilst Sir Michael Ernley wrote to Rupert that ‘since the disaster [at Montgomery] the edge of the gentry is very much blunted. They begin to warp to the enemy’s party’.<sup>30</sup> Parliamentary observers agreed. One wrote in the summer of 1644 that ‘the Welsh begin to entertain better thoughts of the parliament party’ and that many Welshmen were ‘coming in’ to Massey because of his ‘liberal carriage’. It was however the harsh royalist taxation and free quarter rather than Massey’s ‘liberal carriage’ that were causing this.<sup>31</sup>

One other problem which was becoming apparent to the leaders on both sides by this stage in the war was that of locally raised regiments under local leaders. Ironically, at the very time when Sir Trevor Williams was raising a regiment for the king, which was to become virtually a small private army, his brother Major Edward Williams of Sir Richard Herbert’s regiment was among the officers signing a petition to the king protesting against the raising of new regiments when experienced battle hardened

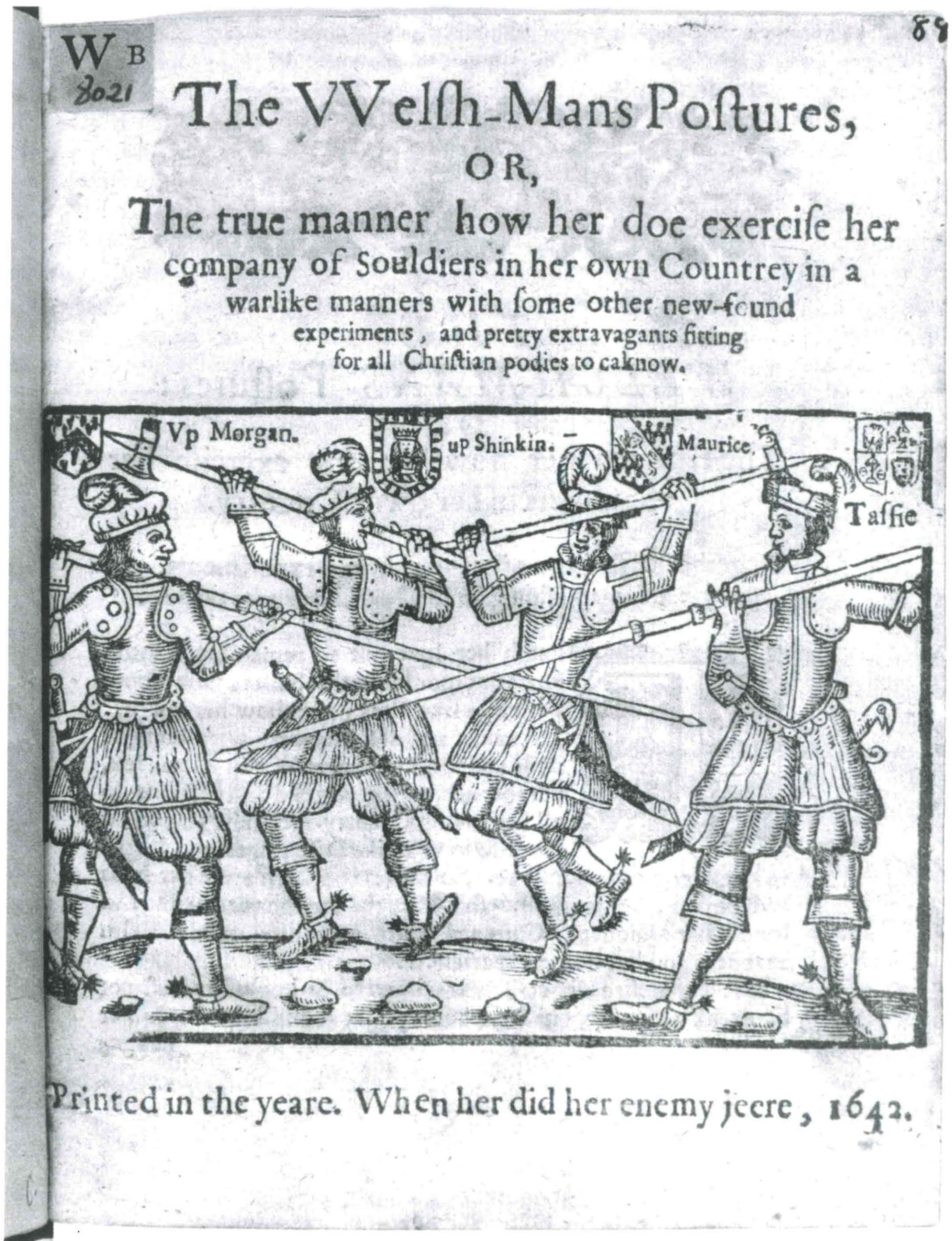


Fig. 6. Though the role of the Welsh Infantry in the Civil War is well known, representations of them, as on this satirical pamphlet of 1642, are rare. The arms are those of London livery companies. Why these were thought to have a Welsh significance is unclear. *Photograph: National Library of Wales.*

units were severely depleted by losses.<sup>32</sup> Some of these regiments were in any case of uncertain reliability. In February 1644 Wintour's newly-raised regiment at Chepstow mutinied and went home. The following October, after Sir Trevor Williams's troops had captured Monmouth for Parliament, they complained that 'they had not come to keep garrisons' and left 'every man to his own house' leaving Williams stranded in a strongly royalist town.<sup>33</sup> Webb recounts a family tradition of the Herefordshire royalist Captain Wathen. Escorting a force of recruits to Monmouth, Wathen and his men, whilst climbing Llanlawdy Hill beyond St Weonards, heard a jangling of horse harness 'coming down upon them through the hollow road'. Expecting to be charged by roundhead cavalry, the recruits fled. Wathen prepared for a hopeless fight, calling to one of his officers 'If I fall, search my pockets'. At that moment, the 'cavalry' revealed itself as a train of charcoal burners on their way to the Forest. Even Colonel Rowland Laugharne's Roundhead veterans tired of the siege of Raglan and returned home to Pembrokeshire.<sup>34</sup>

One parliamentarian was particularly worried about semi-independent commanders like Williams and Laugharne. Robert Moulton feared that 'the multitude of general persons in these counties, each commanding in chief and absolutely, as [in] Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, Brecon, Glamorgan, Pembrokeshire may in time cause some confusion if not prevented'. He suggested a commander-in-chief 'over all those counties' with 500 commanded men, strangers to the place, in each.<sup>35</sup> His fears were justified, for in 1648 resistance to attempts to disband Laugharne's troops led directly to the royalist seizure of Pembroke Castle.

In an attempt to evacuate the northern horse to Bristol, Sir John Wintour now occupied the Beachley peninsular, between the Severn and the Wye, 'a place of exceeding difficult approach', and began fortifying it with an earthwork. This has often been identified with the stretch of Offa's Dyke which crosses the penninsular, but Mr Alf Webb has drawn attention to two early field names, Upper and Lower Bulwarks Fields, further south, in the area of the present army camp, where the peninsular is at its narrowest. Massey, with troops from Gloucester, seized the earthworks and river crossing from Wintour.<sup>36</sup> In a second attempt, Rupert landed 100 foot and 8 troops of horse from Bristol at Beachley, together with iron-shod stakes which he planted as a palisade on the counterscarp bank outside the ditch. Massey attacked at dawn, but his musketeers found themselves trapped between the palisade and the main rampart. He forced his horse over, but was nearly killed by a musketeer before his men broke through to rescue him. Wintour held off his attackers with a pike on the edge of Sedbury Cliff. Robert Kyrle called out 'That is Wintour, pistol him', but he managed to scramble down to a waiting boat. Oddly, the place name 'Wintour's Leap' has somehow been transferred to the site of a slightly later battle involving Wintour and Massey's brother at Llancaut on the river cliffs of the Wye.<sup>37</sup>

By the following spring, civilian war weariness was even more marked. In March 1645, one of Rupert's officers, Colonel Thomas Dabridgecourt wrote to him from St Pierre:

If your highness shall be pleased to command me to the Turk, the Jew or the Gentile, I will go on my bare feet to serve you, but from the Welsh, Good Lord deliver me: and I shall beseech you to send me no more into this country . . . without a strong party to compel them, not to entreat them. . . . The ammunition hath been here seven days for want of carriages, and I fear shall stay seven more, unless I have some power to force the people; They value neither Sir John Wintour his warrants, nor mine, nor any; some say they will not come; the rest come not and say nothing, . . . and the force that it is Chepstow is not sufficient to compel them. Here be two or three constables that deserve hanging, and I had done it ere this, if I had but a party to defend me from their Welsh bills.<sup>38</sup>

The pressure which the war was exerting on the civilian population can also be seen from the diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny, whose experiences were no doubt typical of many in the county. In May 1645, Coningsby's cavalry were 'devouring his hay meadows'. In the following March 1646 Colonel Charles Gerard was 'at Llanvapley to burn my hay'. Four days later a neighbour's oxen were plundered and three days after that, Powell's hay crop at Llantilio Crossenny was 'burnt . . . by the soldiers of Monmouth'. In May he was imprisoned in Raglan Castle for failing to collect the assigned taxes from his hard-pressed neighbours and whilst he was in prison there, his house at Penrhos was plundered by Parliamentary troops. Even after the war, he had to put up with sequestration of his property and periodic searches of his house for arms by local puritans.<sup>39</sup>

William Jones of the Hardwick was a member of a long established recusant family of minor gentry. Kinsmen of the Progers of Wernddu, they had a small estate outside Abergavenny worth some £300 in goods and cattle. He lost half his cattle during the war 'partly by soldiery, partly by murrain', but worse was to follow. In 1648 he was arraigned before the county committee and deprived of his estate as a papist in arms. He had at some stage paid what he claimed was an innocent social call on his kinsman Colonel James Prodder, governor of Abergavenny, and in January 1646 fled from his house to escape some of Laugharne's parliamentary soldiers, who had killed one of his neighbours, and threatened him. After going to his mother-in-law, he ended up in Raglan Castle, but produced witnesses that he had left before the siege, and had never borne arms. The whole case he claimed consisted of 'malicious pretences of some who intended his utter ruin'. He eventually recovered his estate, and his son's widow was still there in 1717.<sup>40</sup>

These were the experiences of two Monmouthshire gentry in the Civil War, which have happened to survive. No doubt they could have been repeated many times over. A similar catalogue of woes can be compiled for local people in the Ludlow–Clun area. Lower down the social scale, one simple statistic may put things in perspective. For the Shropshire village of Myddle we have a list of the villagers who joined up, and those who were killed in the war.<sup>41</sup> The percentage killed was higher than for the same village during the First World War. Indeed, it has been estimated that in proportion to the population, more English and Welsh people died as a result of the Civil War than in either of the world wars of the twentieth century. After five years of war, the final sentence of Ronald Hutton's definitive study of the Civil War in these parts is hardly surprising: 'In the last analysis it was the local community, not Parliament, which defeated Charles I, not from hatred of his cause, but from hatred of the war itself'.<sup>42</sup>

The story of the siege of Raglan Castle at the very end of the war has often been told, but one thing not always noted is that until the arrival of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the siege was conducted by two Monmouthshire gentlemen, Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby and Colonel Thomas Morgan (not to be confused with his Royalist namesake the governor of Chepstow). Morgan, from Llangattock Lingoed, was a professional soldier who had served under the Protestant general Bernard of Saxe-Weimar in Germany and as Massey's second-in-command at Gloucester. The Marquis claimed that he had fortified his house not against Fairfax, but against 'the malice of the gentlemen of the Parliamentary Committee for the county', and he was perhaps more inclined to surrender to Fairfax than to two county gentlemen, one very minor and no longer resident, the other a turncoat of doubtful reputation. When Fairfax, whose 'noble grandfather at York' he had known, arrived at Raglan, he was prepared to discuss terms. A contemporary writer described how the Marquis and his household waited to surrender and saw 'through the window the General, with all his officers, entering the Outward Court, as if a floodgate had been left open'. It was a flood that was to sweep away Raglan and the semi-regal state which the Marquis kept there. By the end of the year, the Marquis was dead and Raglan a ruined shell.<sup>43</sup>

At the outbreak of war, the Puritan church gathered at Llanvaches had fled to Bristol and then to London, but now one of its members, Wroth Rogers of Llanvaches, Parliamentary Colonel and MP for

Hereford, and others were appointed Commissioners ‘for ejecting scandalous, ignorant and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. . . . ministers that are scandalous either in life or doctrine’. Anglican clergymen were summoned before the County Committee at Chepstow or Usk and cross-examined on the basis of allegations made by some of their own parishioners.<sup>44</sup> Madeleine Gray has estimated that 65 out of a total of 90 parish clergy were expelled.<sup>45</sup> Some had been active Royalists. Michael Hughes of Usk was accused of promoting the late tyrant’s service and using the Book of Common Prayer. Walter Harris, rector of Wolvesnewton, had been ‘in arms against the Parliament’, whilst Henry Vaughan of Panteg recorded in the parish register that it had not been kept up during the Civil War ‘partly by negligence and carelessness of curates while the rectors were living away at Oxford or elsewhere, partly by the fact that the register was removed from the chest . . . and deposited elsewhere, that it might not become the prey of the soldiery, who had burst open the doors and torn away the tapestry’.<sup>46</sup> One thing he had been doing ‘at Oxford and elsewhere’ was preaching before Charles I. He was one of the first ejected, though he became headmaster at Abergavenny Grammar School.

John Clegge of Llanybi was deprived of his living for not being able to preach in Welsh and for (rather sensibly, one would have thought) ‘quitting his habitation in the time of the wars whenever the Parliament forces came near’. Interestingly, there were few evictions for being unable to preach in Welsh. Most clergy were local, or from other parts of Wales (Michael Hughes and Henry Vaughan were both Merioneth men).<sup>47</sup> One man initially left in peace in his living, even though he had been in Raglan Castle (with his parish register) during the siege was Robert Frampton, vicar of Bryngwyn. A Dorset man, he had learnt Welsh, and claimed on his tombstone to be ‘skilled in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Welsh tongues’.<sup>48</sup> Elsewhere, Edward Williams of Gwernesney was deprived for ‘tippling and swearing and reading the Book of Common Prayer’. His will, published by Bradney, shows that he had considerable lands and livestock.<sup>49</sup> He was more fortunate than Charles Lewis of Llanllowell, who was not only deprived of his living by the puritans for drunkenness, but was put in the stocks at Chepstow.

Many of the puritan clergy appointed in place of ejected Anglicans were Baptists, and a number of fonts had to be replaced at the Restoration. At Penallt and Llandenny the fonts are dated 1660; at Skenfrith 1661; at Llanybi 1662, with the Prince of Wales feathers for Charles II. At Tredunnock the font, inscribed ‘William Morgan, Philip Vaine C[hurch] W[ardens] 1662’ is by the same hand as the Llandenny font and the remarkable Trellech sundial of 1689. The Puritan vicar, Walter Prosser, went off at the Restoration to serve a Baptist congregation at Hay-on-Wye in his native Breconshire. At Bedwas, the medieval font was used as a horse trough. At St Gwynllyw’s in Newport, many visitors probably think the splendid carved Romanesque font to be Victorian. Fragments of it were found buried under the floor of St Mary’s Chapel when this was restored in 1854. It was a very substantial piece of stone, and Henry Walter must have had quite a job breaking it up.

More positive aspects of their ministry are recorded, none too sympathetically, by Walter Powell, with George Robinson, the puritan vicar of Caerleon ‘preaching damnation’ to the people of Llantilio Crossenny or ‘Lieutenant Rogers’ (probably Hopkin Rogers of Caldicot) preaching there with ‘the smyth of Malpas’ expounding the scriptures.<sup>50</sup> In the event, the new order did not last. Oliver Cromwell died in September 1658. In May 1660, Lewis James, curate of Mynyddislwyn, recorded in his church register how ‘uppon . . . The 29th day of May 1660 our most gracious Sovereigne lord King Charles the Second (after his ma[jes]ties long travells and troubles) came from beyond sea. . . . Vivat Rex, Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici’ and how even before that glad event he ‘began againe to read and preach in Bedwellty church on the twentieth day of May 1660, Edmund Rosser [the puritan minister] having given over the place ye Sunday before, ye 13 th Maii’.<sup>51</sup>

The Civil Wars left long and often dark shadows. Though the puritan regime proved a Reformation too far, it left a legacy of religious nonconformity and radical politics that played a major role in shaping

Wales. First, however, as is often the case with Civil Wars, there was a generation of hatred and bitterness to be endured. Henry Somerset, grandson of the Marquis of Worcester and heir of the shell of Raglan, inherited an estate at Badminton in Wiltshire, his father's title in 1667, and eventually the dukedom which the king had promised his grandfather. He abjured his family Catholicism and moved to Badminton. He was married to a daughter of Lord Capel, who had been executed by the parliamentarians after the Second Civil War. One might recall Churchill's comment that the grass grows quickly on the battlefield, but slowly under the scaffold. In more practical terms, his family had suffered financially by its support of the king. Some Glamorgan families, like the Stradlings of St Donats and the Bassetts of Beaupre never really recovered from the financial effects of the war, but Worcester was determined to restore his family's economic and political status.

At the Restoration there was talk of Chepstow Castle being 'dismantled', but Somerset urged the king that it was 'the key to the four adjoining Welsh counties . . . a bridle to the ill-affected, who abound in those parts'. He persuaded the king to allow a reduced garrison, with the officer's salaries paid by himself.<sup>52</sup> His files of musketeers came in very useful in the following decades, whether to overawe the electors of Monmouth at election time or to defend his unpopular but profitable enclosures in Wentwood. He also built Great Castle House Monmouth of 1673, with its ornate woodwork and plasterwork, as a setting for formal ceremonial events. The Italianate central first floor window with its elaborate cornice, facing on to the former castle ward, made a suitable frame where he could show himself to the crowds on great occasions, or at election time.

Retaliation against the 'merciless Raglanders' as Nathan Rogers, the son of Wroth Rogers, called them, finally resulted in the so-called 'Popish plot' and the executions at Usk, Cardiff and Hereford of four Catholic priests. St David Lewis was the son of a headmaster of Abergavenny Grammar School, who at the age of 63 was a well known and well respected figure in the county.<sup>53</sup> Tried at Monmouth Assizes under the Treason Act of 1585, Lewis was hanged and drawn at Usk in August 1679. If the Civil War in Monmouthshire came to an end, it was in 1690, when the garrison of Chepstow marched out with their guns and were shipped to Ireland to fight for William of Orange at the Battle of the Boyne. The Civil War has indeed left long shadows.

#### NOTES

1. Complaint to Christopher Yelverton and Sir David Williams, Justices of Assize, quoted Frank H. Pugh 'Monmouthshire recusants in the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I, from the returns in the Public Record Office', *South Wales and Monmouthshire Record Society* 4 (1957), 110. E. T. Davies 'The Popish Plot in Monmouthshire', *J. Hist. Soc. Church in Wales* 25 (1976), 35.
2. Pugh op. cit. (note 1); E. A. O. Whiteman, *The Compton Census of 1676: A Critical Edition* (London, 1986).
3. For Blackbrook see J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire, Volume 1, Part 1. The Hundred of Skenfrith* (London, 1904), 58. George Langley is described as 'a person of great power and ability' (The National Archives: Public Record Office, Star Chamber, 8 James I (1609–10), 3 of 12): I. ab Owen Edwards, *A Catalogue of Star Chamber Proceedings Relating to Wales* (Cardiff, 1929), 308–12.
4. Pugh op. cit. (note 1), 109; J. Jones (ed.), *Monmouthshire Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 1560–1601* (Cardiff, South Wales Record Society, 1997), A5, p. 219. Jane Pritchard was the sister of Sir Edward Stradling of St Donats. Another sister was companion to Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, whose husband had been Spanish Ambassador to London at the time of Queen

- Elizabeth's succession and suggested to Lord Cecil that the Queen might marry Phillip II. She was by now in exile in Spain.
5. D. Baker, *Memorials of Father Augustine Baker* (Catholic Record Society, vol. 33). A. H. Dodd, *Dictionary of Welsh Biography*, 22–23. G. Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1995), 70–1 and n. 2. J. K. Knight, 'A nonconformity of the gentry? The seventeenth century Catholic recusant community of Abergavenny', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 20 (2004), 145–52.
  6. Lord Eure commented that 'few causes arise in the shire which are not made a question between the Protestant and the Recusant' (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1603–10*, 553). See also *ibid.*, 1581–1590, 374 and 297, complaining of 'divers seminary priests and their receivers' in Monmouthshire.
  7. For a characteristic scare story see *A Great Discovery of a Damnable Plot at Rugland Castle in Monmouthshire in Wales. Related to the High Court of Parliament by John Davis . . . the Chief Actor being the Earle of Worcester* (November 1641). Davis was the servant of a Ross innkeeper, who repeated gossip about his visit to Raglan to a London friend, coachman to an MP. Parliament ordered a guard to be put on Worcester's London house. See also *A True Copie of the Petition of the Knights, Justices of the Peace and Other Gentlemen, Ministers and Freeholders (in number many thousands) of the County of Monmouth* (17 May 1642). A Gloucester puritan claimed that locals had intercepted two cartloads of arms leaving Sir John Wintour's house at Lydney and that the people of Gloucester were fearful of an attack by the Monmouthshire Catholics. A. R. Warmington, *Civil War, Interregnum and Restoration: Gloucestershire 1640–1672* (Royal Historical Society, 1997), 30. The king wrote to Worcester's son, Edward Herbert, regretting the untrue and scandalous stories being circulated about his father and himself.
  8. B. Rea, *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (1988), 108–11. See also Richard Church's view, cited by Rea, that a recusant community below gentry level was 'almost always dependant on the proximity of a resident recusant gentleman'.
  9. A. Hughes, *Politics, Society and Civil War in Warwickshire 1620–1660* (Cambridge, 1987), 157.
  10. F. J. Mitchell, 'History of Monmouthshire' *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 5th ser., 3 (1886), 1–12.
  11. E. Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (Oxford, 1888), vol. 6, 270.
  12. P. Jenkins, *The Making of a Ruling Class: the Glamorgan Gentry 1640–1790* (Cambridge, 1983), 103–5.
  13. Edward Fisher, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity, touching both the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace* (1645). John Edwards, *Madruddyn Y Difynyddiaeth Diweddaraf* (1651).
  14. The parliamentarians Robert Kyrle and Colonel William Pretty went over to the king in 1643 when the royalists took Bristol. Sir Trevor Williams and the Glamorgan 'Peaceable Army' went over to Parliament in 1645 after Rupert had surrendered it.
  15. J. A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire. Volume 1, Part 2a. The Hundred of Abergavenny (Part 1)* (London, 1906), 177.
  16. *Commons Journal*, 27 September 1642.
  17. C. E. Long (ed.), *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War: Kept by Richard Symonds* (Camden Society, 1859), 268–71.
  18. Gwent County Record Office, Misc. MSS 648, Letterbook of Richard Herbert. Another militia muster roll of 1638 gives a similar figure of 400 foot and 47 horse: The National Archives: Public Record Office (PRO), State Papers 16/381/ 66, quoted J. L. Malcolm, *Caesar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642–1646* (London, Royal Historical Society, 1983), 234–5. The Ludlow Trained Band were similarly equipped in 1617, with, per hundred men, 40 corslets with pikes, 28 muskets



with wooden bandoliers, 28 'bastard muskets' and 4 swords and targets for NCOs: *Historical Manuscripts Commission 10th Report – Manuscripts of the earl of Westmorland etc.*, 365.

19. F. H. B. Daniell *et al.* (ed.), *The Manuscripts of his Grace the Duke of Portland, preserved at Welbeck Abbey* (London, 1891), 62–3; *Lords Journal*, 10 May 1642; *Commons Journal*, 28 March, 14 and 28 April 1642.
20. Hyde *op. cit.* (note 11), vol. 5, 293.
21. Letter from the Earl of Stamford to the House of Commons from Bristol, 15 April 1643: 'I was informed from very honest men that came from Wales that the Earl of Worcester with his whole family were come downe with very great haste to Swansea, there intending to take shipping' (Daniell *op. cit.* (note 19), 703–4). An entry in the Common Attorney's Accounts of Swansea Corporation, sometimes cited as supporting evidence, turns out to be irrelevant. It records payments in April 1643 for 'Dyett and horse meat' for a group of Worcester's servants, and lodgings for Sir Marmaduke Lloyd, who seems to have been in charge of them. Swansea was building a magazine at this time. The visit seems connected with this, for some of the expenses were offset against its costs: L. W. Dillwyn, *Contributions Towards a History of Swansea* (Swansea, 1840), 27.
22. R. Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort 1642–1646* (London, 1982), 56.
23. J. E. Lee, *Isca Silurum* (London, 1862), 121 and pl. 50, 1. The letter is now Gwent County Record Office, Misc. MSS 1357.
24. I. Roy, 'England turned Germany? The aftermath of the Civil War in its European context', in P. Gaunt (ed.), *The English Civil War: the Essential Readings* (Oxford, 2000), 253.
25. *The Victorious and Fortunate Proceedings of Sir William Waller and his Forces in Wales* (17 April 1643).
26. Letter Edward Herbert to William Herbert (*Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1644*, 8). 'Bur[ie]d Captain Carvine, who was killed in his chamber at the George by certain souldiers that came from Gloucester' (Gwent County Record Office, D/Pa. 86.1, Chepstow Parish Register, 20 January 1643/4).
27. B. E. G. Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, 3 vols (London, 1849), vol. 2, 511.
28. J. K. Knight, 'Excavations at Montgomery Castle Part II: The Finds: Metalwork', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 142 (1993), 210–25. 'Near Montgomery about Sunsett was seen by several p'sons a compleat body of horse marching two on a breast between 500 and 1,000 in ye road, but no sign thereof visible upon ye ground the next morning: affirm'd upon Oath' (British Library, Lansdowne MS 84b, fo. 191a, Diary of the Revd Philip Henry, 20 December 1660). 'A brief narration of an apparition seen near Montgomery in the year 1660' (E. Owen, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London 1900–22), vol. 1, 93).
29. Letter, Samuel Tuke to Prince Rupert 30 September 1644 (Warburton *op. cit.* (note 27), vol. 1, 525). On Tuke see P. R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales 1642–1660* (New York, 1981), no. 1460, p. 380. On his post-Restoration career see J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973), 97–8.
30. Henry Osborne to Rupert, 5 September 1644 (Warburton *op. cit.* (note 27), vol. 1, 550). Sir Michael Ernley to Prince Rupert, 21 September 1644 (*ibid.*, 519).
31. J. Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State . . .* (London, 1682), 743; H. G. Tibutt (ed.), *The Letter Books, 1644–45, of Sir Samuel Luke, Parliamentary Governor of Newport Pagnell* (London: Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1963), 63.
32. Newman *op. cit.* (note 29), no. 1575, p. 413. Edward Williams was wounded in the arm in a skirmish at Usk shortly before the siege of Raglan, fighting in his brother's regiment, which had

- recently changed sides. ‘M. P.’ (probably Revd Moore Pye): *The Gallant Siege of Parliament’s Forces Before Ragland Castle Maintained by Colonel Morgan* . . . [Two letters, signed ‘M. P.’] (London, 1646). Bradney’s statement (*A History of Monmouthshire, Volume 3, Part 1, The Hundred of Usk*) that he was wounded during the siege whilst fighting as a royalist is a misunderstanding based on this source.
33. Warburton op. cit. (note 29), vol. 2, 511. *A Full Relation of the Desperate Design of the Malignants for the Betraying of Monmouth Town and Castle*, (November 1645).
  34. J. and T. W. Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War between King Charles I and the Parliament of England, as it affected Herefordshire and the Adjacent Counties*, 2 vols (London, 1879), vol. 2, 252–3. *The Gallant Siege of Parliament’s Forces*, 1646.
  35. Robert Moulton to William Lenthall, 22 October 1645 (*Historical Manuscripts Commission. Portland Mss*, vol. 1, 294).
  36. J. Corbet, *Diary of the Campaigns of Massey West of Severn* (1645, ed. J. Washbourn, 1825), 117. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1644*, 512–13.
  37. Webb op. cit. (note 34), vol. 2, 100.
  38. Thomas Dabridgecourt to Prince Rupert, 11 March 1645 (British Library, Additional MSS 18981, fo. 83); Warburton op. cit. (note 29), vol. 2, 385 (misplaced among papers of 1644). Dabridgecourt was taken prisoner at Rowton Heath in September: J. R. Phillips, *Memoirs of the Civil War in Wales and the March 1642–1649* (1874), vol. 2, 272.
  39. J. A. Bradney (ed.), *The Diary of Walter Powell of Llantilio Crossenny 1603–1654* (Bristol, 1907).
  40. M. A. E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents (1889–92)*, 364, 2406, 3193. J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire, Volume 1, Part 2a Hundred of Abergavenny* (London, 1991), 184–5.
  41. Richard Gough, *Human Nature Displayed in the History of Myddle* (David Hey ed., *The History of Myddle / Richard Gough* (Harmondsworth, 1981).
  42. Hutton op. cit. (note 22), 203.
  43. There is a still useful older account in J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire, Volume 2, Part 1. Hundred of Raglan* (London, 1992), 15–23.
  44. I. M. Green, ‘The persecution of “scandalous” and “malignant” clergy during the English Civil War’, *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), 507–31.
  45. M. Gray, ‘The clergy as rememberencers of the community: Lewis James, curate of Bedwellty 1633–1667’, *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 16 (2000), 118.
  46. Gwent County Record Office D/Pa 111.1, Panteg Parish Register.
  47. For Henry Vaughan see Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (3rd edn, London, 1817), 531 and J. Foster *Alumni Oxoniensis*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1813–20), 111. He was the son of John Vaughan of Caethlin, Merioneth.
  48. J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire, Volume 2, Part 1. Hundred of Raglan* (London, 1992), 106. The sole surviving leaf, with a note by Frampton on its adventures, is preserved in the post-Restoration register: Gwent County Record Office D/ Pa 30.1.
  49. J. A. Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire, Volume 3, Part 2. Hundred of Usk* (Cardiff 1993), 135–6.
  50. Walter Powell *Diary*, 1 September 1650, 22 May 1651 (Bradney op. cit. (note 39), 42–3).
  51. Gray op. cit. (note 45). The diary is now Gwent County Record Office, D/Pa. 14.104.
  52. *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 1663–4*, 103.
  53. David Lewis, *A Narrative of the Imprisonment and Tryal of Mr David Lewis, Priest of the Society of Jesus: Written by Himself* . . . (1679).