

Monumental history: funerary monuments and public memory

By EDWARD PARRY

The Pryces of Newtown Hall were among the most influential gentry of Montgomeryshire from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries but today if they are remembered at all it is for the eccentricities of Sir John the fifth baronet.¹ He and his successors squandered the family wealth and their lands were sold; the mansion in Newtown was demolished in 1965. Almost the sole surviving reminder of this once proud and powerful family is the fine mural monument in the north aisle of St David's church which commemorates the first two wives of Sir John Pryce.² The long inscription records the admirable qualities of the two ladies in a conventional fashion but it is more noteworthy for the claims it makes on behalf of Dame Elizabeth, his first wife.

She was the granddaughter of Sir John Powell, one of the judges in the case of the Seven Bishops in 1688. Half a century after the trial the event was recalled indelibly in a church in a small Welsh town; why? Are there other similar monuments which recount such episodes in our history? The examples described below—from each side of the Welsh border—illustrate how political differences and religious antagonisms were remembered alongside the individuals whose lives are recorded.

Tombs and epitaphs have been the subject of popular and scholarly interest for centuries.³ Since the sixteenth century monuments and their inscriptions have been recorded and studied by heralds, genealogists and antiquarians; Leland, Camden, Aubrey and Dugdale were followed in the eighteenth century by many local gentlemen and clerics.⁴ It is clear also that visitors to famous churches were taking an interest in the monuments they housed; guidebooks to St Paul's and Westminster abbey appeared from 1600 onwards. These early tourists regarded the memorials of great men as sources of inspiration and instruction. The virtues of loyalty, chivalry, charity and faithfulness were exemplified by the inscriptions and the allegorical figures which adorned the monuments. Furthermore 'the didactic authority of monuments was reinforced by their new status as historical documents at a time when history was shifting its focus away from romance.'⁵ Sherlock reinforces this point arguing that 'monuments told posterity what should be known about the past.'⁶

While most of the recent scholarly work on monuments concentrates on their cultural background and on identifying craftsmen and patrons, little has been written about the political messages—implicit and explicit—they bear. An exception is Hugh Collinson's discussion of monuments which record the divisions of the seventeenth-century civil wars.⁷ He describes the eagerness with which people claimed kinship with those who helped Charles II in his escape after the battle of Worcester so keeping alive memories of the 1650s well into the eighteenth century. For example Sir Francis Wyndham whose memorial of 1715 recalls his father's role in sheltering Charles II on his way to exile in France.

The six monuments discussed below illustrate how the crucial events of the period from 1642 to 1688 were commemorated on memorials in Wales and the Border; some record the lives of contemporaries, while others recall their descendants and relatives. They also illustrate changing styles of church monuments between the late seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century. The portrait bust of William Lucy and the life-size figure of John Birch are typical of many seventeenth-century memorials; these are succeeded in the eighteenth century by the finely carved inscriptions of the mural monuments to Robert

Harley, John Powell and his Pryce relatives; finally there is the rather bizarre allegorical design of the Salwey monument.

The Restoration settlement was designed to recreate that bond between Crown and Church which had been sundered in the 1640s: penalties were imposed on dissenters by the Clarendon Code and the doctrine of non-resistance to lawful authority was expounded from pulpits; churches were adorned with royal coats of arms to underline this message. The return of the church hierarchy prompted the settling of scores in many parts of the country; ejected clergy were brought back, their temporary replacements were often persecuted, church property was reclaimed and buildings restored where necessary. The College of Christ at Brecon had suffered considerably during the Commonwealth and the restored bishop of St David's was determined to make good the damage. William Lucy also saw himself as a crusader against the incursions made by dissenters in these years. In the college chapel there is a fine monument to Lucy (a member of the Warwickshire family of Charlecote) who occupied the see from 1660 until his death aged 86 in 1677 (Fig. 1).⁸ The Latin inscription records Lucy's work in eulogistic terms.

Ecclesiae Anglicanae fulgebat sidus lucidum, Verbi Divini (dum res tulit) concionator assiduus, veritatis et Orthodoxiae vindex acerrimus, Schismatis et Haeresium averruncator strenuus, ordinis Hierarchi decus et propugnaculum et sedis Menevensis per Annos octodecim ingens Ornamentum.

(He shone as a bright star of the Anglican Church and broadcast assiduously the Word of God, as far as circumstances allowed. The keenest champion of truth and orthodoxy, he worked unflinchingly. For eighteen years he was a great ornament to the see of St Davids where the disciplined organisation of the church proved a fitting bulwark against schismatics and heresy.)⁹

The tendentious wording of the inscription is intended to exalt the bishop and the state church he served and to denigrate those who dissented from it. Orthodoxy is equated with truth; the Anglican church is a defence against the forces which threatened society. Despite his energetic efforts Lucy must have known he had failed to extirpate dissent as the results of the Compton census demonstrated in the year before he died, but that did nothing to lessen his unpopularity among nonconformists in south-west Wales.¹⁰

Eleven years after Bishop Lucy's death the Anglican hierarchy faced an appalling dilemma: James II, their King and Supreme Head, was attempting to reintroduce Catholicism and he wanted the bishops to help him. Seven bishops, including Sancroft the Archbishop of Canterbury, resisted his pressure and they were sent to the Tower. In May the bishops petitioned James II 'that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration'. When their petition was published the bishops were charged with seditious libel and committed to the Tower of London.

Their case was heard in the court of King's Bench on the 29–30 June 1688. Until 1701 judges were appointed and could be dismissed by the monarch, so in challenging the king's power two of them were risking not just their careers but their liberty. However, John Powell did just that and his comments during the hearing struck resounding blows for the freedom of the judiciary and against the absolutist claims of James II. 'My Lord, [addressing the Lord Chief Justice] this is a strange doctrine! Shall not the subject have liberty to petition the King but in parliament? If that be law, the subject is in a miserable case'. Later Powell boldly stated that 'If this [the King's claim against the bishops] be once allowed of, there will need no parliament, all the legislature will be in the King, which is a thing worth considering, and I leave the issue to God and your consciences.' Powell was the bravest and most outspoken of the judges; a second, Richard Holloway, also criticized the King's claims but not so forcefully. The result was that the four judges were divided and the jury returned a verdict of not guilty; the bishops left the Tower and were



Fig. 1. Bishop William Lucy, Christ College, Brecon. *By permission of Christ College, Brecon.*

greeted as heroes. On the same day, 30 June, a letter was sent secretly to William of Orange inviting him to come to England to enable the summoning of a free parliament; in the event he stayed as joint ruler with James's daughter Mary. John Powell thus played a crucial part in precipitating the sequence of events which became known as the Glorious Revolution.

The legal and constitutional consequences of the decision in the case of the Seven Bishops were momentous: the Bill of Rights of 1689 declared that 'it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.' Furthermore the position of judges was safeguarded from the arbitrary power of monarchs by the Act of Settlement in 1701 which made clear they could only be dismissed 'upon the address of both houses of parliament'.

To no one's surprise Powell was dismissed from the King's Bench in July but the prince of Orange—soon to be William III—in recognition of Powell's brave stance against James offered him the post of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, which he declined; however in May 1689 he was appointed to the Court

of Common Pleas. Sir John Powell died in 1696 and is buried in the church at Laugharne in Carmarthenshire, a village now much better known as the writing retreat of Dylan Thomas.

It was not until thirty years after Powell's death that an appropriate monument was erected in his parish church on the instructions of his son, Sir Thomas Powell who died in 1726. The memorials face each other across the chancel: that on the right to Sir John and on the left to Sir Thomas.¹¹ The judge's memorial is typical of the Classical style of the period with the inscription bordered by columns topped with Corinthian capitals above which is a broken pediment; in the tympanum there is a figure representing Justice holding a sword in her right hand and scales in the left (Fig. 2). The Latin inscription is now badly eroded and difficult to read but a copy was published in the late nineteenth century.¹² By comparison with the high-flown and self-aggrandizing statements that appear on many eighteenth-century memorials the wording of Powell's is modest. It begins with the expression of a hope which has been disappointed: 'You may learn what kind of man he was, not from a marble monument, but from the records of this kingdom and from the works of historians.' Sadly John Powell has not been given his due by historians even by those who wrote about his native Wales.¹³

Few personal details of Powell's life are provided with the interesting exception that as a boy he was 'nurtured in the liberal arts under an excellent tutor' (Jeremy Taylor, later Bishop of Down). How the son of a minor Welsh gentleman came to be taught by a protégé of Archbishop Laud, chaplain to Charles I and one of the most important religious writers of the time can be explained simply—civil war. Taylor was captured at Cardigan in early 1645 and for the next few years he enjoyed the protection and patronage of Richard Vaughan, second earl of Carbery at Gelli Aur (Golden Grove) near Llandeilo. As well as serving the Vaughan family Taylor taught at the school, Newton Hall, established by William Nicholson, the ejected vicar of Llandeilo, who became bishop of Gloucester after the Restoration. John Powell born in 1633 was one of the sons of local gentlemen sent to the school to prepare them for university. Powell went up to Oxford, probably to Jesus college, and despite the inscription's claim that 'he would have preferred the quiet life of a country gentleman . . . he chose to become embroiled in the knots and snares of the legal process'. His moment of greatness in 1688 is described as follows: 'There are seven witnesses to his zeal as a defender of the Church, the seven ordained Bishops who were brought before the bench of which he was the presiding judge, and who, he released without question on account of their faith in Christ which had been amply justified.' (The claim that Powell was the 'presiding judge' is misleading; Sir Robert Wright as Chief Justice of the King's Bench played that role.) For the remainder of his life Powell assisted 'anyone in trouble or under duress' and worked to protect 'the dignity of the Law and the monarchy', until, 'broken by the extent of his labours', he died in 1696 aged 63.

There is another unexpected reminder of the tumultuous events of 1688 in Laugharne church. A small mural tablet records the death of George Owen, gentleman, in 1736 and describes him as the 'Son of y^e late Reverend M^r MICHAEL OWEN Master of Arts formerly Vicar of this parish who lost his living for Conscience sake'. Michael Owen was a nonjuror, one of the sizeable minority of Anglican bishops and clergy who found it impossible to accept the removal of James II and his replacement by William and Mary. Five of the seven bishops whose case had been so vigorously argued by Sir John Powell were among them. It is surely unusual to find two monuments in a relatively obscure country church which so vividly highlight the key religious and constitutional issues of the later seventeenth century.

Curtis also records inscriptions on several stone slabs within the altar rails one of which is of particular significance for another connection with Sir John Powell.¹⁴ 'Here lieth the body of Matthew Pryce, Esq., second son of Sir Vaughan Pryce, Esq., of Newtownhall in Co. Montgomery, Bart., who died March 14th, Anno Dom. 1721. Aetatis suae 20.' This young man was presumably visiting Broadway the home of his mother Anna Powell, Sir Vaughan Pryce's wife, the daughter of the famous judge. This family connection was continued into the next generation when Sir John the 5th baronet married Sir Thomas Powell's



Fig. 2. Sir John Powell, St Martin's Laugharne, Carmarthenshire.

daughter Elizabeth. This latter alliance is recorded on an important monument in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, which also recalls the case of the Seven Bishops (Fig. 3).

Sir John Pryce whose first two wives are commemorated on this monument, was the most memorable of the Pryce dynasty of Newtown Hall. He achieved notoriety as a much-married man; after the deaths of the two ladies described on this monument he married a third time but his new bride—Eleanor Jones

of Buckland, Breconshire—was considerably disconcerted to find the embalmed bodies of the her two predecessors in the marital bedroom. She remonstrated with Sir John and the bodies were removed to the family vault in the parish church of St Mary. The third Lady Pryce died in 1748; the indefatigable Sir John was on the point marrying for the fourth time in 1761 when he expired.¹⁵



Fig. 3. Dame Elizabeth and Dame Mary Pryce, St David’s, Newtown, Montgomeryshire.

The first paragraph of the inscription gives the typical genealogical information about the Sir John's first wife, Dame Elizabeth, but pays particular attention to her paternal grandfather.

To the Pious Memory
of Dame ELIZABETH PRYCE
wife to Sr JOHN PRYCE Bart
daughter of the late Sr THOMAS POWELL
of Broadway in Carmarthen-shire Bart
by ELIZABETH daughter of THOMAS MANSELL
of Briton-Ferry in Glamorgan-shire, Esq.
(a lady of great Vertue & Merit)
and Grand-daughter to Sr JOHN POWELL, Knt
one of the Justices of the King's Bench in the
Reign of King JAMES II who eminently
Signaliz'd his Integrity & Resolution in the
Delivery of the 7 Bishops out of
the Tower.
She was a Lady of Singular Piety

(She died in 1731 aet. 33.)

Elizabeth Pryce's mother was a member of an important south Wales dynasty, the Mansells of Briton Ferry and Margam, however her chief claim to fame was as the granddaughter of Sir John Powell. This monument was erected probably between 1739, when the second of Lady Pryce died, and 1743 when Sir John left Newtown Hall to live at his third wife's home, Buckland near Brecon. Worshippers at the parish church in Newtown, like those at Laugharne, were exhorted to recall with gratitude the part played by Sir John Powell in preserving the freedoms they enjoyed under the law.

It is perhaps significant that the monuments at Laugharne and Newtown were commissioned some forty or fifty years after the events of 1688. The Glorious Revolution introduced an era of political and religious acrimony which saw numerous plots—and a serious rebellion—to reverse the changes effected in 1688–89. By the time these memorials were inscribed passions had cooled and the public display of approbation for the controversial decisions taken in 1688 was considered appropriate even within the walls of the established church. It is remarkable that a hundred years after the overthrow of James II the event was commemorated on the memorial to Lieutenant-General William Strode in Westminster Abbey which describes him as 'a strenuous assessor of both civil and religious liberty, as established at the Glorious Revolution by King William the third.'¹⁶

Passions still ran high in the 1690s when the Birch monument at Weobley in Herefordshire was erected and attracted the attention of the local bishop who was angered by the claims made for its controversial subject.¹⁷ John Birch's adult life—he was born in 1615 and died in 1691—spanned the political and religious crises of the century from the outbreak of the Civil War to the Glorious Revolution, in all of which he played a prominent role. As the commander of Parliamentary troops his most significant achievement was the capture of Hereford in December 1645. In religion a Presbyterian he campaigned against the persecution of Dissenters after the Restoration and he was in the Exclusionist camp in the last years of Charles II's reign. He was elected to the Convention in 1689 and saw the Glorious Revolution as a vindication of much he had fought for.¹⁸

He died on 10 May 1691 at Garnstone, the estate outside Weobley he purchased in 1661. Like many contemporaries Birch designed his own memorial for the church at Weobley; he intended that the causes which he had championed should not be forgotten. The monument extending from floor to roof level occupies the space in the chancel immediately to the left of the altar; the figure we see is dressed as a soldier with the accoutrements of war flanking the classical pillars and broken pediment which frame his statue. The inscription identifies him as 'Coll John Birch' and makes clear his high opinion of himself and the principles he espoused (Fig. 4).

As the Dignities He arrived at in the Field, and the
Esteem Universally yielded him in the SENATE HOUSE
Exceeded the Attainments of most so they were but
Moderate and Juste rewards of his Courage, Conduct
Wisdom and Fidelity. None who knew him denied him Ye
Character of asserting & vindicating ye Laws ye Liberties of
His Country in War, promoting its Welfare and
Prosperity in Peace; he was Borne ye 7th Sept 1626*
And died (a Member of ye Honbl House of Commons
Being Burgess for Weobley)
May ye 10th 1691

*(He was actually born on that day but in 1615; the wrong date was put on when the inscription was recarved, presumably after the attack on it by the bishop's men.)

The railings surrounding the monument 'extended into the raised altarway' which added to the provocation of the eulogy.¹⁹ So much so that three years after Birch's death the bishop of Hereford, in

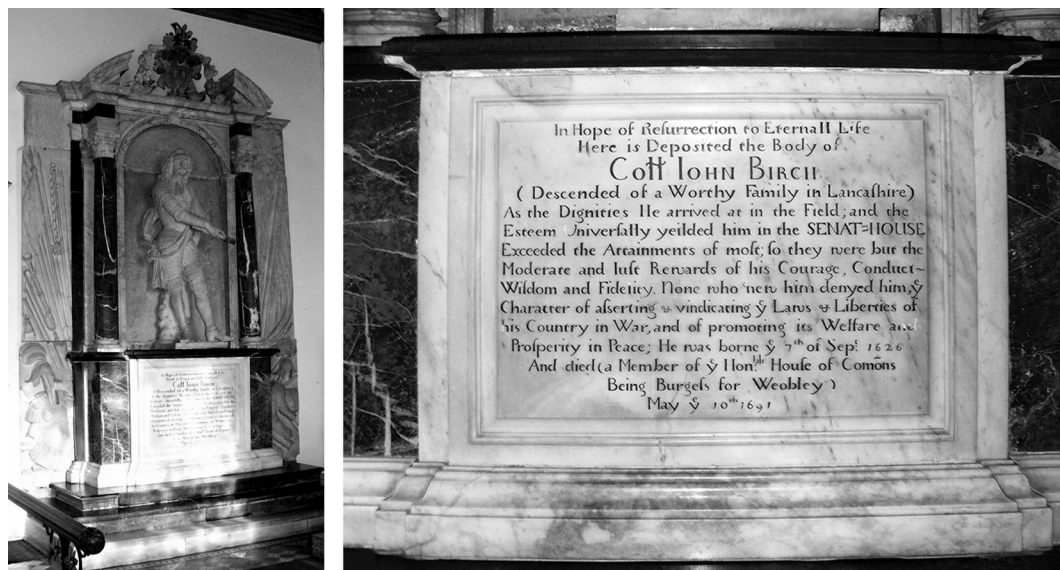


Fig. 4. Colonel John Birch, St Peter and St Paul, Weobley, Herefordshire.

response to an appeal from the incumbent and the churchwardens, went to Weobley determined to deface the inappropriate wording. Perhaps it was not so much the boastful and self-justifying account of his career as a Parliamentarian that offended the bishop as the insults Birch had offered to the church in his diocese. Bishop Ironside's predecessor in the see was Herbert Croft, a member of an old county family, three of whose brothers fought for the king. Croft was dean of Hereford when the city was captured by Parliamentarian forces and he courageously denounced the musketeers who forced their way into his cathedral; they threatened to shoot him and it was only Birch's intervention that saved his life. However, any gratitude was short-lived as Birch 'earned the enmity of the dean, Herbert Croft, by opening the Hereford vicars' choral cloisters to those made homeless by his men's attack, the memory of which long rankled in the county.'²⁰ Croft was further incensed by Birch's enthusiastic expenditure of £2,500 to purchase church property in the county. Bishop Croft died in 1691 eight days after his adversary and it was his successor Gilbert Ironside who attempted to exact revenge on Birch's reputation in 1694. The two men would have been well matched in a personal confrontation: Birch was for Burnet 'the roughest and boldest speaker in the House . . . but judgement was not his talent';²¹ Ironside was described by Fell as a 'prating and proud coxcomb' and in Dr John Hough's view he was the roughest man he ever knew.²²

After a struggle with Birch's relations Ironside's men were able to erase part of the inscription on the monument and to remove the offending railings. However, the Birch family fought back and sued the bishop; they won the case and were awarded £500 in damages. The inscription was restored—which is why his date of birth is given incorrectly—but the railings were not replaced. According to Sherlock 'Ironside sought to impose his version of history over Birch's memory . . . [but] . . . he failed to achieve his goal.'²³ So the account that survives in Weobley today is that of a Presbyterian Whig.

This would have met with the approval of Birch's Herefordshire neighbour Robert Harley. Their political careers just overlapped when they were briefly united by the Glorious Revolution: Birch and Robert Harley (who with his father Edward had taken control of Worcester in William III's name) met William at Salisbury before the advance on London. But it was in the reign of the last of the Stuarts that Harley became a figure of national importance and a bitterly divisive one. The final years of Queen Anne's reign saw a revival of religious controversy combined with deep uncertainty about the succession. The threat of a catholic, Jacobite monarch—and furious controversy about the proposed peace with France—resulted in political strife of a violence not seen since the Exclusion crisis in Charles II's reign.

Today, Harley is probably better remembered as the bibliophile whose collection is at the heart of the British Library.²⁴ A man of great gifts he aroused both admiration and distrust among his contemporaries and later historians. The attractive village of Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, had been home to the Harley family since the fourteenth century. In the Civil War his grandfather and father—Sir Robert and Sir Edward—were very active in the Parliamentarian cause and Lady Brillianna, his grandfather's third wife achieved celebrity for her defence of the castle against Royalist besiegers. This ancestry, rooted in opposition to arbitrary government and favouring Dissent, was a major influence on Sir Robert Harley's political career.

Externally, the church at Brampton Bryan is unassuming and functional which is not surprising as it was a rebuilt after the extensive damage caused in the Civil War and it reflects the Puritan beliefs of Sir Robert and his son. The memorial—at the east end to the right of the altar—is in keeping with the atmosphere of the church: it is plain and restrained, and there is no standing figure representing the deceased. The earl of Oxford chose to be remembered by a lengthy inscription rather than by one of the flamboyant statues which were popular at the time.²⁵ However, the strength of the message delivered by the inscription is unmistakable; this is more than a record of a man's life, it is an *apologia pro vita sua*.



Fig. 5. Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, St Barnabas, Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire.

It is a shock to find such a vivid reminder of a period of national crisis in a village church in rural Herefordshire (Fig. 5).

The memorial begins with a brief reference to Harley's parentage and to his titles and honours. There follows a recitation of his political career—from his election for a Cornish pocket borough, his appointment as Speaker of the Commons and his elevation to the Lords. The inscription then deals with the most momentous years of Harley's political career:

By Letters Patent dated 21 May 1711 he was by her [Queen Anne] advanced to the Title of Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer with remainder to the heirs male of his grandfather Sir Robert Harley Knight of the Bath

On the 29th of the same month she was pleased to appoint him
 Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain
 In 1712 he was installed Knight of the Garter
 On July 27th 1714 he resigned the Treasurer's Staff into the
 Queen's hands who died the first of August following

Thus some of the most dramatic events of the century are reduced to a few lines of factual report; the tortuous negotiations leading to the Treaty of Utrecht, the feud with St John (Bolingbroke) and the nerve-racking weeks following the Queen's death and the succession of George I are ignored. There is no mention either of Oxford surviving an assassination attempt by a French spy—the knife thrust was deflected by the heavy gold-thread embroidery of his coat; he nearly pre-empted Spencer Perceval as the first Prime Minister (although the position was not recognized as such in 1711) to be murdered in office.²⁶

But what follows is a more detailed explanation of how Oxford fought and thwarted the attempts by his enemies to blacken his reputation in the subsequent years. The narrative is dramatized by the use of upper case letters for the words which describe these false accusations and their successful rebuttal.

On the 10th of June 1715 he was by the House of Commons IMPEACHED of HIGH TREASON and other HIGH CRIMES and MISDEMEANOURS and on July 16th committed PRISONER to the TOWER

(His great rival Bolingbroke was also impeached but chose to flee to France rather than stay and confront his accusers. Harley rebutted the sixteen articles of the charges against him.)

By his ANSWER to ALL the ARTICLES of IMPEACHMENT which
 The VIOLENCE of PARTY could suggest against him. He had the
 HONOUR of JUSTIFYING the QUEEN'S MEASURES and his OWN CONDUCT and SHOWING
 HIMSELF to have been as TRUE a LOVER of his COUNTRY and as DISTINGUISHED a
 MINISTER as this NATION EVER KNEW

Nonetheless he remained in the Tower until 1717 when

After two years imprisonment he was on his own APPLICATION brought to his TRIAL and NOT ONE ARTICLE ALLEDGED against him being PROVED was UNANIMOUSLY ACQUITTED by his Peers

In the next two years Oxford returned to political life—though never again to favour at Court—as a member of the Lords where he spoke against government measures. However, after 1719 the effects of his incarceration in the Tower brought on his final illness. The inscription ends:

During his long and severe confinement he contracted so bad a habit of body that his health declined until the 24 May 1724, when he died aged 62.

A soul supreme in each hard instance tried
 Above all Fear, all Anger and all Pride,
 The rage of power, the blast of publick breath
 The Lust of Lucre and the dread of Death.

It is significant that this quatrain at the end of the inscription is by Alexander Pope; he was one of the group of writers including Swift, Defoe, Steele and Addison who were active in political journalism in the last years of Anne's reign some of whom Harley recruited to write in support of his ministry. Like Harley in his last years, Pope trod a dangerous political tightrope and his loyalty to the Hanoverian dynasty was uncertain until the 1720s.

The upheavals of the seventeenth century cast a long shadow and the parish church of St Lawrence at Ludlow provides another reminder of those troubled times. The memorial to Theophilus Salwey who died in 1760 is in the chancel among some splendid seventeenth-century memorials with which it makes a pointed contrast (Fig. 6). The form and style of the monument are unusual and not wholly successful; a rectangular frame with a pediment—compared by Pevsner to a window: 'Inside it a badly done seated putto on a Rococo pedestal and books, a skull and bones etc'.²⁷ But it is the inscription on the Ludlow monument which makes it noteworthy.

In Memory of
 THEOPHILUS SALWEY ESQ
 who was the eldest Son of EDWARD SALWEY ESQ
 a Younger son of Major RICHARD SALWEY
 who in the last Century
 Sacrificed all and everything in his Power
 in support of publick Liberty and in Opposition to Arbitrary Power
 the said THEOPHILUS SALWEY married
 MARY the Daughter and Heiress of
 ROBERT DENNETT of Walthamstow in the County of Essex Esq
 but left no Issue by her

Obiit the 28th of April 1760 Aet. 61

Pro Rege Saepe Pro Republica Semper

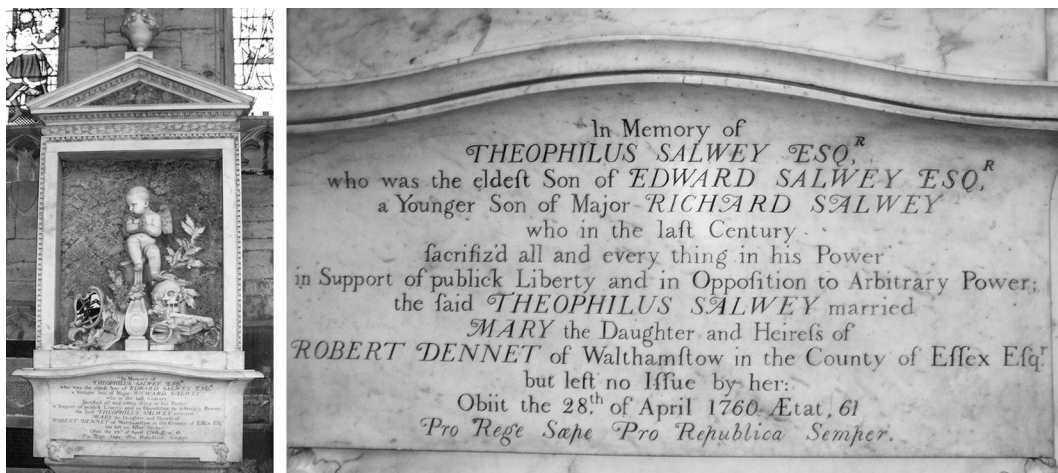


Fig. 6. Theophilus Salwey, St Laurence, Ludlow.

As with the Pryce monument at Newtown it is the recollection of the seventeenth-century which is stressed. It is Theophilus Salwey's grandfather, Major Richard Salwey whose virtue is recalled in 1760 not his recently deceased grandson. The Salweys were important landowners and builders of country houses in the area around Ludlow in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Richard Salwey, however, was a figure of national importance, now largely forgotten, in the turbulent years of the Civil Wars and the Republic.

To appreciate the significance of the inscription a brief account of Major Richard Salwey's career is necessary. He followed his father, also Richard, into politics during the 1640s and both were very active in the Parliamentary cause, so much so that father and son were appointed to sit in judgement on the king in 1649. However, like many others they refused the invitation and only returned to parliament after the regicide. Richard senior died in 1652 but the younger Salwey continued to be closely involved in politics at the highest level during the 1650s and remained on friendly terms with Oliver Cromwell. In 1651 he was one of eight commissioners sent to Scotland to arrange the union with England after Cromwell had crushed the Scots at the battle of Dunbar. He was nominated to sit in the Barebones Parliament of 1653 but declined the offer. Having turned down the post of ambassador to Sweden in 1653 he did accept a similar position at Constantinople the following year.

After Cromwell's death in September 1658 the country descended into eighteen months of political instability verging on anarchy. Among the many experiments in government was the establishment of two Committees of Safety; Salwey was a member of both of these bodies along with Sir Henry Vane, John Lambert, John Desborough, Charles Fleetwood, John Ireton and Robert Lilburne. This is a roll call of regicides and republicans who were to face execution, exile or life imprisonment after 1660. Salwey was fortunate in that he was imprisoned in the Tower for only a few days in January 1660 and he escaped punishment at the Restoration later in the year. However, for the rest of his life he was regarded as untrustworthy; he was arrested twice in the 1660s on suspicion of conspiring against the government.²⁸ In 1678 at the time of the Popish plot and Exclusion crisis he went abroad on the King's orders—and when the Duke of Monmouth rebelled in 1685 Salwey was again a marked man.

Such was the political career of the man who in 1760 is lauded as one who

Sacrificed all and everything in his Power
in support of publick Liberty and in Opposition to Arbitrary Power.

Clearly the Whigs were writing history in the middle of the eighteenth century.²⁹ The message is made even clearer in the Latin epigraph,

Pro Rege Saepe Pro Republica Semper
(For the King often, for the Republic always)

Given the closeness of the connection between the monarchy and the Anglican Church, which preached the doctrine of non-resistance to lawful authority, this is a remarkable assertion to find displayed so publically in a parish church.

These monuments provide important insights into the divisive political issues of the later Stuart period and how they were reflected in public testimony. Lucy and Harley represent the authority of church and state and their memorials are justifications for their work. The career of Colonel John Birch encompasses the uncertainties of public life from the Civil wars to the accession of William III. Sir John Pryce and Theophilus Salwey, from the ranks of the gentry, achieved little to merit our attention today but both were proud to assert their association with ancestors who had played vital parts in the history of seventeenth-

century Britain. Sir John Powell deserves to stand with Pym and Hampden as a champion of a limited monarchy and his role in the Glorious Revolution should be more widely remembered.

The inscriptions described above are significant in recalling the achievements of a disparate group of men and also because what is remembered can be seen as ‘the first rough draft of history’.³⁰

NOTES

1. For the Pryce family see *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (1959), 802.
2. St David’s church is now closed and there are plans to convert it into a ‘playbarn’; the Pryce monument will remain in the building suitably protected.
3. Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) provides a comprehensive account of the subject up to 1660 and much of what he writes is relevant to the examples discussed below. See also Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008) for the messages monuments and inscriptions conveyed to posterity.
4. See for example the section on sepulchral monuments in Rosemary Sweet, *Antiquaries: The Discovery of the Past in Eighteenth Century Britain* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 272–5.
5. Llewellyn *op. cit.* (note. 3), 347.
6. Sherlock *op. cit.* (note 3), 3
7. Hugh Collinson, *Country Monuments, Their Families and their Houses* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975), 59–74.
8. Lucy is one of a number of sixteenth and seventeenth bishops of St Davids buried at Brecon; Theophilus Jones refers to them as ‘our Brecknock bishops’ in his *History of Brecknockshire*, (1809), vol. 2, 741 et seq. Llewellyn *op. cit.* (note 3) draws attention to the number of bishops who were not buried in their cathedrals: while Hereford is exceptional in having seven such episcopal burials Lichfield, Lincoln and Peterborough have none.
The Lucy memorial may be the work of William Bird (Byrd) of Oxford: see my reference in *Brycheiniog* 35, 51 to an article by Katherine Esdaile in Brecon Museum, Gwenllian Morgan coll. A4 10(c). Richard Haslam in *The Buildings of Wales, Powys* (Harmondsworth/Cardiff: Penguin Books/University of Wales Press, 1979) notes that it is the only ‘half length portrait bust’ in Breconshire. The bishop’s son and grandson are the subjects of a much grander monument by William Stanton which stands nearby.
9. I am grateful to Mrs Avis Thomas for the translation.
10. This ecclesiastical census named after Henry Compton, bishop of London, recorded the numbers of Anglicans, recusants and dissenters in each parish.
11. In T. Lloyd, J. Orbach and R. Scourfield, *The Buildings of Wales, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), there is some confusion between the memorials to Sir John and his father.
12. M. Curtis, *The Antiquities of Laugharne, Pendine and their Neighbourhoods* (London, 1880), 107–8.
13. Nicholas Carlisle in his *Topographical Dictionary of the Dominion of Wales* (London, 1811) makes no mention of Powell. In Samuel Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary* (London, 1833) the entry on Laugharne merely refers to John Powell as one of the judges in the Seven Bishops’ case and mentions his house, Broadway, a little to the west of the town.

14. Curtis *op. cit.* (note 12).
15. The Pryce Monuments in St David's Church: Edward Parry in 'The Pryce Monuments in St David's Church', *The Newtonian*, The Journal of the Newtown Local History Group, 35 (2008), includes an account of Sir John Pryce's three marriages. See also Richard Moore-Colyer, 'Sir John Pryce and the 'Cunning Woman': a strange and cautionary tale', *Brycheiniog* 43 (2012), 73–9.
16. Nicholas Penny, *Church Monuments in Romantic England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); I am grateful to Bob Silvester for this reference and for the many helpful comments and suggestions he made on the first draft of this article.
17. The controversy surrounding the Birch monument is described in Sherlock *op. cit.* (note 3), 193.
18. For Birch see the entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* by Newton E. Key, (2004–12).
19. Sherlock *op. cit.* (note 3, 193).
20. This included the bishop's palace at Whitborne. In the early 1670s bishop Croft paid £2,000 to Birch who he called 'the greedy harpy' to recover church property. Key *op. cit.* (note 18).
21. Ibid.
22. Gilbert Ironside, Andrew M. Colbey, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–12).
23. Sherlock *op. cit.* (note 3), 193.
24. See the article by W. A. Speck in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004–12) for a summary of Robert Harley's political career.
25. Robert and his younger brother, Edward, married sisters—Elizabeth and Sarah—daughters of Thomas Foley of Witley whose wealth derived from his grandfather's ironworks. The comparison between the austerity of Sir Robert's monument and the grandiose, baroque structure at Great Witley in Worcestershire which commemorates his brother-in-law is striking. Thomas Foley owed his peerage to Harley—he was one of the twelve men ennobled to provide the government with a majority in the Lords in 1712.
The monument opposite the entrance to the church at Brampton Bryan is to Sarah Harley.
26. Ophelia Field, *The Kit-Cat Club, Friends Who Imagined a Nation* (London: Harper Press, 2010), especially chapter XV1, The Crisis, which captures the tensions and bitterness of the years of Harley's prominence.
27. Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England. Shropshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1958), 180. In the revised edition by John Newman and Pevsner (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 2006) the design is attributed to Sir Robert Taylor. There is a very similar monument at Honington, Warwickshire, to Joseph Townsend who died in 1763. Pevsner in *The Buildings of England. Warwickshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books) describes this as 'A large tablet with an asymmetrically placed large putto on an odd Rococo plinth. Oak branches on the l[eft], a skull on the r[ight].' The parallels with the Salwey memorial are too close to be coincidental.
28. On the second occasion Salwey was in the Tower for three months from November 1663 to February 1664. He was suspected of being involved in the Farnley Wood plot led by some gentlemen of the West Riding of Yorkshire who were disillusioned with the results of the Restoration. Their plans to capture Leeds came to nothing but the government took the threat seriously and twenty-six suspects were rounded up and all were executed for treason.
29. The most blatant example of politically biased sculpture of the period is the Temple of British Worthies at Stowe in Buckinghamshire. Here an eclectic group of sixteen Whig heroes including

King Alfred, the Black Prince, Queen Elizabeth I (the only woman), John Hampden, William III and John Locke are celebrated with the explicit aim of denigrating the reigning monarch, George II and his chief minister, Robert Walpole.

30. The saying 'Journalism is the first rough draft of history' was popularized in the 1940s by Alan Barth in the *Washington Post*.